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LISTENING TO OUR GRANDMOTHERS' STORIES: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE LITERACY CURRICULA AT BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY/CARTER SEMINARY FOR CHICKASAW FEMALES, INDIAN TERRITORY/OKLAHOMA, 1852-1949.

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUTE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

AMANDA J. COBB
Norman, Oklahoma
1997

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A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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Acknowledgments

This project is the result of several years of thought and study and work, work not done alone, but with and through the help of others. At this time, I would like to extend my appreciation and thanks to those who made the completion of the study possible.

First, I would like to thank my director, Catherine Hobbs, whose guidance has been invaluable, and my committee members, David Mair, Alan Velie, Susan Kates, and Sarah Beach, for their direction, insight, and support. My sincere thanks must also go to other friends and mentors at the University of Oklahoma including Christyne Berszenyi, Debra Dew R. C. Davis, Dan Cottom, and Ron Schleifer.

I extend my gratitude to the Chickasaw Nation and to Governor Bill Anoatubby; to Betty Ruth Kemp, whose knowledge of Chickasaw history I have called upon more than once; to Marcia Haag for her linguistic expertise; and to the following, libraries, museums, and archives for their willingness to help in my search for difficult to find documents and materials about Bloomfield: The Ardmore Public Library, Ardmore, Okla.; The Ardmore Public Library William H. McGalliard Collection, Ardmore, Okla.; Carter Seminary, Ardmore, Okla.; The Chickasaw Cultural Center Museum Library Archives, Ada, Okla.; The Chickasaw Historical Society, Ada, Okla.; The Chickasaw Library, Ardmore, Okla.; The Chickasaw Library, Davis, Okla.; The Chickasaw Library, Healdton, Okla.; The Chickasaw Library, Johnston County, Tishomingo, Okla.; The Chickasaw Library, Love County, Marietta, Okla.; The Chickasaw Library, Wilson,

Okla.; The City of Madill Library, Madill, Okla.; The Edmon Low Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.; The Federal Records Center, Fort Worth, Texas; The Five Civilized Tribes Agency, Muskogee, Okla.;The Greater Southwest Historical Museum, Ardmore, Okla.; The Henry G. Bennett Memorial Library, Southeastern Oklahoma State University, Durant, Okla.; The Love County Historical Society, Marietta, Okla.; The Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.; The Robert L. Williams Public Library, Durant, Okla.; The State Department of Education, Oklahoma City, Okla.; and The Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla., and especially to the Chickasaw Council House Museum, Tishomingo, Okla..

I especially want to thank my aunt, Murielene Cobb Potts, for providing me with my grandma's (Ida Mae Pratt Cobb) school memoribilia, items which, for me, mark the beginning of the story, as well as Juanita Keel Tate, Frances Griffin Robinson, Hettie McCauley King, Pauline Williford Adkins, Claudine Williford King, Fanny Williford Skaggs, Leona Williford Isaac, Dorothy Wall Holt, Jeanne Liddell Cochran, Mary Pittman Parris, Ula Mae Pittman Welch, Clara Pittman Gatlin, Ora Lee Chuculate Woods, Fanny Hughes Bass, and Ida Bell Hughes Martin for sharing their stories with me.

My personal thanks are many and sincere: to Edie Rasmussen, whose friendship, advice, and support has seen me through graduate school from beginning to end; to Donnie Pollard for always listening; and to Melissa Waltner, Katie and Tony Caruso, and Mary Adams for their friendship and constant encouragement.

Finally, I would like to say thank you to my mother, Patricia Cobb, not only for her interest and assistance and for her tireless work researching and reading, but for creating a home where I was able to find "excellent things in women."

To my family whose understanding and love sustain me: my sister, Elizabeth Cobb McCraw; my brother-in-law, Shannon McCraw; my daddy, John G. Cobb; my mother, Patricia J. Cobb. How can I thank you enough?

Table of Contents

Abstract		viii
Preface:	*Pokni immih (For Grandma)*	1
Chapter 1:	*Nananoa anumpolit iah (To Start to Tell a Story)* Literacy and Schooling: Values, Purposes, and Community Goals	6
Chapter 2:	*Chikisa vlla vlheha-kut holisso apisa iat hochifochit hollissochih (Chickasaw Children Go to School to Read and Write)* Early Literacy Training: Schooling as Tradition	40
Chapter 3:	*Chikasa vlletek iholisso apisa (Chickasaw Girls' School)* Bloomfield Under Mission Control and Tribal Control: From Literacy to "Christianize and Civilize" to Literacy to "Equalize"	77
Chapter 4:	*Ohoyo inananoa (The Women's Story)* Bloomfield/Carter Under Federal Control: Literacy for Home Living	112
Chapter 5:	*Nananoa tahlih (To End the Story)* Literacies, Purposes, and Cultures: Questions of Value	173
Bibliography:		190
Appendix 1:	Biographies, Interview Questions, and Selected Quotations	202
Appendix 2:	Reproductions of Bloomfield Commencement Programs	263
Appendix 3:	Documents, Letters, and Pictures	286

Abstract

This project examines the literacy curriculum of the Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, a boarding academy established by the Chickasaw tribe in conjunction with missionaries. The school is unique in that the Chickasaw girls were not forced to attend one of the many federally run boarding schools in operation during the period of strict assimilation policies in U. S. history. Instead, the Chickasaw tribe, knowing that education was crucial to their survival as a nation, established a school system for their children for the purpose of assimilation, which became, in effect, a method of self-preservation.

In its history as a boarding academy for girls, Bloomfield/Carter had three different administrations: mission, tribal, and federal. Each provided literacy instruction to achieve specific objectives and consequently, changed the literacy curricula of the school in whatever way would help them achieve those goals. I identify four major types of literacy curricula or literacy strands offered under each administration: academic, social, religious, and domestic. The type of literacy curriculum most emphasized under each administration indicates what sort of lives the students were being prepared to lead and why. Using both archival and ethnographic methods, I analyze the literacy curriculum offered under each administration and the purposes and implications of those curricula.

The chief objective under every administration was acculturation; however, each administration wanted the students to acculturate for different reasons. Missionaries provided religious literacy schooling to "civilize and convert" the tribe; the federal government saw literacy schooling as a way to make "efficient U. S. citizens" of the students and saw domestic literacy as the appropriate curriculum. The Chickasaws, however, knew that economic success, necessary for their survival as a nation, could not be achieved without literacy education. The tribe found it necessary to acculturate in order to compete and emphasized social literacy to train women to become educated and refined--leaders in the tribe and wives of leaders who could help them compete economically and socially in a "white world." Literacy, for the Chickasaw tribe, was a weapon used defensively and offensively in the fight for national survival and preservation.

Preface
Pokni immih
(For Grandma)

Well, you missed a lot because she was a fine person. And a lot of fun.

Hettie McCauley King on Ida Mae Pratt Cobb (Dinah)

As I look back over the past few years, I see books, thoughts, even lines of poetry that intrigued me to such an extent that they became part of my consciousness. And though the ideas did not seem particularly connected at the time, they eventually gave rise to this project and have shaped it and given it meaning. If I had to discuss the ideas, name them, I would call them *continuance*--the *remembrance* of times, places, and people, the *knowing* of those times, places, and people through imaginative acts, and finally, the *going on*, the telling of the stories. Although many Native American texts express the idea of continuance, two in particular stand out: Maurice Kenny's *Tekonwatonti/Molly Brant* and N. Scott Momaday's *The Names*.

Maurice Kenny's *Tekonwatonti/Molly Brant*, a collection of personae poems, chronicles the life of Molly Brant (1735-1795), a Mohawk woman who was the sister of Chief Joseph Brant, a famous warrior, and the wife of Sir William Johnson, a legendary British major-general during the French and Indian wars. Kenny does not merely tell the story of Molly; in his poems, he creates more than thirty separate and distinct narrators, many of whom are actual, historical figures, whose voices tell

the stories of Brant's life and at the same time shed light on the time in which she lived.

Kenny has both historical and personal reasons for writing the collections. In his introduction, Kenny discusses how women, especially Native American women, have been left out of histories. Kenny writes about Molly because she is not only an important historical figure, but a fascinating and powerful woman in her own right. Also, Kenny, a Mohawk, writes to explore the lives of people in his own tribe, for Kenny's purpose is not purely to correct or revise history or even to add the story of an ignored historical figure to the archives; his purpose is personal as well. Kenny wanted to make Molly more than a "historical figure"-- he wanted to imagine Molly's existence, and through written language, to bring her to life and know her. Perhaps by imagining Molly and writing what he imagines as her voice, Kenny can know her, become a part of her life, and make her a part of his life, even a part of his own identity. Although Kenny states in his introduction that his purpose is to write a revisionary history of sorts, his poetry does more than that. In the epilogue, he writes in his own voice, "There is a need to touch" (193). Although this phrase is brief, it says a great deal. *Tekonwatonti/Molly Brant* is Kenny's attempt to touch, to reach through time and touch the past and know Molly personally. The idea of imagining someone into being is manifested in poems throughout the collection. One poem in particular, "Beth Brant, 1981: Letter & Post Card" reflects the imagining process.

. . . I've never given them much thought.
They've entered and left playing such a small role
in my imaginings,
but they are my history,
veins and tongues
are cousins, and grandparents.

I believe in dreams.

. . . I am not frightened,
but pleased they have entered my shadow.
I will knock on doors and windowpanes.
I will sleep them into my embrace.
I will open my veins for their blood. (52-53)

Like Kenny, Kiowa poet N. Scott Momaday also writes about knowing his relatives through an act of imagination. In his autobiographical narrative, *The Names*, Momaday writes about his mother, Mayme Natachee Scott Momaday: "Some of my mother's memories have become my own. This is the real burden of blood; this is immortality" (22). Momaday came to know his mother not only physically and personally but imaginatively. Momaday uses an imaginative process again in *The Names* when he writes about his grandfather Mammedaty, who died before Momaday was born.

> Mammedaty was my grandfather, whom I never knew. Yet he came to be imagined posthumously in the going on of the blood, having invested the shadow of his presence in an object or a word, in his name above all. He enters into my dreams; he persists in his name. (26)

Like Kenny's and Momaday's, this research project has a personal dimension for it is an historical analysis of the literacy curricula at Bloomfield Academy/Carter Seminary for Chickasaw Females (1852-1949), a boarding school that my grandmother, Ida Mae Pratt Cobb (Dinah) attended in 1924-26. The research began when my Aunt Murielene gave me Grandma's report cards, scrapbook, and pictures of her time at Bloomfield. Specifically, this project is a memorial to her. She was born in 1907, the year of Oklahoma statehood, and died in 1978; I was seven years old. Although I knew her briefly as a grandmother, I never really had the chance to know her as a person. Many details of her life I have gleaned through stories told by my father, my aunt, my grandpa, and others, friends and relatives in her community, that knew her. By all accounts, she was "a great favorite." She was certainly a favorite of mine when I was seven. She died suddenly on Monday, May 22, 1978. Just two days before her death, she attended the annual Bloomfield/Carter reunion for the first time. In May of 1996, I had the privilege of attending the Bloomfield/Carter reunion, where I spoke to the women about the plans for my research. I was sitting in the middle of the back row next to the center aisle. Juanita Tate, a family friend, distant relative, and fellow historian, was sitting on my right. As I addressed the women, Juanita,

known for her quiet, soft spoken manner and reserve, stood up and told me that she had just remembered something. On May 22, 1978, she had been sitting on the right side of my grandma, who was sitting in the middle of the back row, next to the center aisle. I thanked her for sharing that with me, and I thank her again.

This project is not a collection of poetry like Maurice Kenny's or an autobiographical narrative like Scott Momaday's. It is a scholarly historical project. Nonetheless, there is a need to touch, and this project is an attempt to know my grandma better, to reach through time, to listen to and touch the past. In my search through archives for documents, data, pictures, and memorabilia, I search for Grandma. When I listen to relatives and other women who attended the academy, I am, in a sense, listening to her. This project is *pokni immih* that is, *for grandma.* It is also for all of the women who attended Bloomfield and Carter, whose accounts made this project possible. I cannot begin this project without thanking them for their time, energy, and kindnesses. I am lucky to have known them, and I hope that this work is something that they will be proud to have been a part of. Many of them are someone's grandma.

Chapter 1

Nananoa anumpolit iah
(To Start to Tell a Story)
Literacy and Schooling: Values, Purposes, and Community Goals

Thus, the one room schoolhouse, with the proverbial schoolmarm standing in the doorway as a symbol of literacy and civilization, was one of the first landmarks of a western community.

David Wallace Adams. *Education for Extinction* (83)

Beginnings

Indian Territory, ca. 1850.

The story goes that Reverend John Carr of the Methodist Episcopal Church pitched a tent in a field of flowers. He was full of missionary zeal and missionary love, and he had a vision--a vision of a schoolhouse rising there out of the wildflowers. It was to be a schoolhouse for Chickasaw girls, a boarding school. He would build it and maintain it and grow orchards and raise animals to sustain it. He would superintend, and his wife, Angelina, would teach. He could not know that the terrible war soon to come would halt the progress of the school and work of the missionaries. He could not know that in time the school would become the cultural seat of Indian Territory, the pride of the Chickasaw tribe. He could not know of the fires that would destroy it again and again, and he could not know of the great desire of the Chickasaw people to rebuild and

begin again and again. Did he imagine, there in the field of flowers, the struggles for control that would ensue, or what would be at stake in those struggles? Or did his hopes for the school outweigh all other thoughts--hopes firmly rooted in the ideology of literacy and all it would bring: Salvation, civilization, nationalism, prosperity . . . . Imagine, John and Angelina making plans into the night, talking, eating, telling stories, and laughing with the Chickasaw families so anxious to see the school built. Imagine the little girls wondering what it would be like to go to the school, excited perhaps, perhaps homesick already. Imagine the Carrs, the Chickasaw families, and the daughters, all looking at the field of flowers, watching a schoolhouse rise up out of the field, each with their own vision of what it would become. It was to that field that former Chickasaw chief, Jackson Kemp mailed a letter to his friend John Carr who was camping there. He did not know how to address the letter. Remembering the wildflowers covering the prairie, he wrote on the envelope "Bloomfield." So the story goes.

The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females opened its doors to 25 students in the fall of 1852. Originally located near what is now Achille, Oklahoma, approximately 15 miles south of Durant, Bloomfield suffered several fires and in 1914 was relocated to the site of the Old Hargrove College in Ardmore, Oklahoma. The school was renamed Carter Seminary in 1932 and continued functioning as a boarding school for girls until 1949 at which time boys were admitted. Four years later, the school officially closed its doors as an academy when all of the children were integrated into the Ardmore Public Schools. The children continued

to board at Carter, however, and Carter Seminary is still in operation as a boarding facility for Native American children today. The story of Bloomfield is remarkable for many reasons, the most significant reason being its very difference from other boarding schools for Native American children. The school was founded by the Chickasaw tribe in conjunction with missionaries in 1852, a time when many tribes were still the objects of massive military campaigns. Bloomfield reached its zenith as an academy in the last years of the nineteenth century, a time when the federal government was waging a new sort of war against Indians. Although the Chickasaws had been forcibly removed from Mississippi to Indian Territory, and suffered substantial loss, illness, and deaths along the way, they had not been subjugated to a reservation, a fate met by many tribes. The federal government saw that now that tribes were relegated to reservations and considered wards of the government, campaigns to kill them seemed a bit inhumane. Not to mention expensive. Indian Reformers wanted new solutions to the "Indian Problem" that had plagued the republic since its inception. Their answer was civilization, thought of as, at once, a gift and a new battle to be fought. Civilization, the reformers concurred was a matter of education, of literacy. Providing the Indians with formal education would realize a sweeping progressive victory, and as historian David Wallace Adams points out, since reformers believed that schooling would speed the "cultural evolution" process, perhaps civilizing the Indians in a single generation, the victory would be won in record time (19). Adams quotes Merrill Gates, the president of the 1891 Lake Mohonk Conference for Indian reform:

> That is the army that is going to win the victory. We are going to conquer barbarism, but we are going to do it by getting at the barbarism one by one. We are going to do it by the conquest of the individual man, woman, and child which leads to the truest civilization. We are going to conquer the Indians by a standing army of school-teachers, armed with ideas, winning victories by industrial training, and by the gospel of love and the gospel of work. (qtd. in Adams 27)

Also, it should be noted, education was cheaper.[1] During this time period, children of many tribes were literally ripped away from their families and forced to attend federally run reservation and off-reservation boarding schools, the latter considered the most effective. Unfortunately, stories told by students of these schools are never happy ones. But Bloomfield was different. Bloomfield was founded by the Chickasaw tribe, not because the federal government demanded it, but because the tribe knew that literacy training was crucial to their survival as a nation, to their *preservation.* Bloomfield is also remarkable (1) because it was an academy for females (2) because the Indian academies were far superior to any schooling provided for whites in Indian Territory at that time, and (3)

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[1] In *Education for Extinction,* Adams offers an excellent discussion of government motivation for Indian education, a primary reason being economic. He quotes actual figures discussed in the education decision, figures which boggle the mind. It is perhaps important to note that the education discussion began *after* the tremendous Sioux victory over Custer at Little Big Horn. He illustrates this point with two pertinent examples, "it cost nearly a million dolllars to kill an Indian in warfare, whereas it cost only $1,200 to give an Indian child eight years of schooling" and "over a ten-year period the annual cost of both waging war on Indians and providing protection for frontier communities was in excess of $22 million, nearly four times what it would cost to educate 30, 000 children for a year" (20). Adams goes on to discuss how the treatment of the Indians was considered a stain on the new Republic, leading to a change in motto from "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" to "Kill the Indian, save the man."

because it existed as an academy long after the corresponding Chickasaw academies shut down, long after the demise of the academy system at the hands of the new, uniquely American common school that rose to dominance in the U. S. as the "one best" educational system. In its history as a boarding academy for girls, Bloomfield/Carter had three different administrations: mission, tribal, and federal, each of which battled the others for control, each of which substantially changed the type of literacy education students received. The missionaries, the tribe, and the federal government provided literacy training through formal schooling because doing so was valuable and useful, yes, to the Chickasaw girls, but more importantly to themselves, to their own purposes. The purpose each administration had is manifested in the type of literacy curricula they offered. What sort of lives were the students being prepared to lead under each administration and why? Literate in order to participate in what community? White? Tribal? Both? Literacy for acculturation or preservation? In this study, I analyze the literacy curriculum, or literacy curricula offered at Bloomfield Academy/Carter Seminary under each administration and the purposes and implications of those curricula. I must first, however, address the problematic nature of the term "literacy" and discuss how I will use it in this study.

Values, Purposes, and Community Goals

I first began to see the complicated nature of literacy in Catherine Hobbs' graduate literacy seminar as I immersed myself in the current scholarly conversations, finding every conversation filled with

discussions and arguments about values. At first this was difficult to understand. What was there to argue about? Wasn't literacy an inherently *good* thing? Finally I realized that whether literacy is considered a "state of grace" (Scribner 76) or a "violence" (Stuckey), it is, if nothing else, a question of **value.**[2] As David Bleich demanded of Deborah Brandt, "How can you write about literacy, without writing about values?" (Brandt ix). Literacy is valued by those who teach literacy and those who learn literacy for perhaps different reasons. What value literacy has for either party is dependent upon the community and context in which it is used, for literacy is always tied to **purpose;** it is something to be *used,* used *for something.* In "Literacy and the Politics of Education" C. H. Knoblauch contends that literacy is, historically, "a compelling value" and that definitions of literacy are always political, incorporating "the social agendas of the definers, serving the needs of the nonliterate only through the mediation of someone's vision of the way the world should be" (76). The vision of the "definer" then determines the purposes of literacy, directly affecting the curriculum and pedagogies of schools, which are important, formal sites of literacy instruction. He goes on to say

> Literacy never stands alone in these perspectives as a neutral denoting of skills; it is always literacy for something--for civic

[2]In "Literacy in Three Metaphors" Sylvia Scribner discusses literacy as a "state of grace," that is, the "tendency in many societies to endow the literate person with special virtues" (77). This particular definition helps explain how the "myth" or "ideology" of literacy has functioned and continues to function in our culture. J. Elspeth's Stuckey's *The Violence of Literacy* discusses how literacy can be used to perpetuate the power relationship between the dominant class and the working class. This metaphor effectively illustrates literacy as a "double-edged sword."

responsibility and the preservation of heritage, for personal growth and fulfillment, for social and political change. (76)

Knoblauch's contention informs this project in important ways. Bloomfield's three administrations, the missionaries, the tribe, and the federal government, established and changed the literacy curricula offered based on their values and differing purposes of literacy. Each administration sought to effect change in the lives of the Chickasaw students, and through them, their families and communities. They found that the most efficient way to effect change was through mass literacy instruction and used formally run schools as the sites of instruction. Literacy instruction and schooling are not synonymous terms; literacy instruction occurs at many sites. However, this project is the study of a particular site, a school. Schools are important sites for literacy research because as Berlin points out in *Rhetoric and Reality*, "Literacy has always and everywhere been the center of the educational enterprise. No matter what else it expects of its schools, a culture insists that students learn to read, write, and speak in the officially sanctioned manner" (Berlin 1). Bloomfield's administrations sought to effect change through literacy instruction in schools. Literacy instruction does indeed change the literacy learners and in every circumstance means *permanent change* on both individual and community levels, for literacy has implications for all members of a culture. Each of Bloomfield's administrations had agendas that served two purposes: the betterment of the administration itself, and the "betterment" of the Chickasaw girls, families, tribe. "Betterment" in this case means whatever the administration thought was the appropriate

sort of life for the Chickasaw women and Chickasaw tribe, such as subservience or upwardly mobility. What is especially interesting however, is that during each administration, the literacy "learners," that is the students, families, and tribe also had an agenda, the purpose of which was also for their own betterment. Under mission and federal control, the agendas of the literacy teachers and students competed for fulfillment.

This discussion of literacy, schooling, and purpose raises a significant point about literacy; specifically, that whatever agenda a school promotes is based on its conceptualization of literacy. Scholars do not agree on any single, best definition of literacy, and many competing definitions are based on what people perceive as the purposes of literacy. In "Literacy and the Politics of Education," C. H. Knoblauch classifies some of the most prominent scholarly conceptualizations of literacy into four major approaches: functional, cultural, critical, and literacy for personal growth. Each of the conceptualizations discussed connects literacy to values and purposes, focusing on the ways that literacy is used to further specific social and political agendas. Although Knoblauch did not intend for his classifications to function as a taxonomy, they do provide a useful way to group and analyze the most significant research in this particular area of literacy studies.

Functional literacy can be defined as the level of literacy, i.e., reading and writing per se, needed to function in today's society. This implies that literacy has very real economic consequences. In "Literacy in Three Metaphors" Sylvia Scribner refers to functional literacy as "literacy as adaption." She critiques this position by asking how it is possible to

determine what level of literacy is considered functional, as if the same standard of literacy is required in every situation. She continues her critique by asking not what the level or standard will be, but, perhaps more importantly, *who* will set this standard. J. Elspeth Stuckey offers a leftist critique in *The Violence of Literacy*, that functional literacy is tied to social and economic agendas. In other words, the ruling or dominant class wants the lower classes to be literate enough to work for them, not literate on a critical, liberatory level. Consequently, literacy becomes a tool for social control, not social reform.

In *Illiterate America*, Jonathan Kozol uses a functionalist definition of literacy and provides pages of alarming statistics to make the general public aware of the growing crisis of illiteracy in America. Kozol is defining literacy as the most basic ability to read and write. He first explains the illiteracy problem, establishing a crisis by explaining how much illiteracy costs America both economically and in terms of human dignity and democracy, then outlines a very specific plan of action. However, in the final chapter, "Beyond Utility," Kozol contends that a utilitarian or functional perspective of literacy is two-dimensional and is not good enough. The final section opens with what has become a popular discussion of what Knoblauch calls critical literacy; however, the book primarily focuses on literacy as an ability needed for survival.

The second perspective Knoblauch discusses, critical literacy, is advocated by Henry Giroux and J. Elspeth Stuckey among others, and is best exemplified by Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Critical literacy is much more than merely the ability to read and write in order to

function in society; it is the ability to read and write in order to participate in and, perhaps most significantly, to critique and change society. Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* offers a liberatory pedagogy that has powerful social consequences. He contends that schools are either tools that cause students to assimilate and conform to the agenda of the dominant structure or they are tools for liberation from oppression. Freire's book implicitly critiques a functionalist perspective that is controlled by an oppressive, economic agenda. Freire's solution has important implications for pedagogy. Freire urges readers to move away from a banking concept of education. In a banking pedagogy, students are not taught problem-solving or critical thinking skills, they are merely receptacles for information. Freire insists that literacy is not a gift to be bestowed or "deposited." Instead he asserts that classrooms should be places in which the world view and aspirations of the students are taken into consideration and serve as generative themes. These themes become problems that the students must solve, not on an intellectual level, but on the level of empowerment.

Cultural literacy, a third perspective, which differs substantially from both functionalist and critical perspectives, is a type of literacy based on the knowledge of specific canonical material. Knowledge of this specific material creates a common heritage and culture for Americans; this position is often critiqued because of its elitist implications. A specific canon of books and knowledge is an example of a particular culture and heritage. Such lists frequently act as powerful social gatekeepers. Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* and E. D. Hirsch's *Cultural*

Literacy were the first popular advocates of the cultural literacy position. Both scholars believe that knowledge of particular texts that make up our western intellectual heritage is what counts for knowledge at all. A cultural literacy perspective leads to a pedagogy based on a canon of Great Books. This pedagogy tends to be content centered rather than student centered and has social advancement consequences, that is, that knowledge of canonical texts leads to membership in elite and powerful social circles.

Knoblauch's fourth perspective on literacy is literacy for personal growth. According to Knoblauch,

> The assumption of a literacy-for-personal-growth argument is that language expresses the power of the individual imagination, so that nurturing a person's reading and writing abilities enables the development of that power, thereby promoting the progress of society through the progress of the individual learner. (78)

The type of curriculum change the personal-growth argument recommends includes a general expansion of the canon so that young women and minorities can "find images of themselves in schoolwork, not just images of white males," as well as other popular educational methods and programs, for example, expressive writing, personalized reading programs, and whole-language curricula (78). While the literacy-for-personal-growth perspective certainly does not advocate or lead to radical change as does the critical literacy perspective, personal-growth does

attempt to give a voice to the disadvantaged while at the same time, keeping the basic structure of our educational institutions in tact.

Each of the conceptualizations of literacy discussed connects literacy to values and purposes; however, none of these conceptualizations takes the necessary next step, which is to directly apply their definition of literacy to community specific contexts. Literacy does not have the same purposes or serve the same functions in every context or community. Different communities value and use literacy for different reasons; therefore, what literacy means and consequently how it is used is inextricably linked to community goals. A second important area of literacy research has highlighted the link between literacy and community goals by examining the literacy practices of a particular group of people or particular communities. Shirley Brice Heath's *Ways with Words* is one of the benchmark ethnographic studies in the field of literacy. Heath conducted a ten-year study of the literacy practices of two working class communities in the Piedmont Carolinas: Roadville and Trackton. Roadville is a white working class community whose members have worked in the textile mills for four generations. Trackton is a black working class community whose earlier generations were farmers, but whose current members work in the textile mills. The ways that each community uses language, both oral and written, are very different, and the communities' ways with words, at home, church, and school, were shaped by specific historical circumstances. Neither community uses language in the way that the townspeople, mainstream blacks and whites, do. Heath's study is particularly significant not only because she examines

the differences in the ways each community uses language, but because she examines the literacy practices of each community in their everyday negotiations--at home and church as well as at school, realizing that what counts for literacy at all may differ from setting to setting.

Since *Ways with Words,* several other scholars have conducted community specific literacy studies. Andrea Fishman, for example, in "Becoming Literate: A Lesson from the Amish," an essay published in *The Right to Literacy,* examines the literacy practices of an Amish family at home and school and discovers that the way Old Order Amish use literacy at home and at school is very different than the way it is used in mainstream schools. The Amish praise the ideal of uniformity; consequently, the Amish family and schools do not emphasize critical reading and writing. Neither are they interested in originality. Critical reading and writing could potentially lead to the breakdown of their value system. The children in the family, not only read and write, but read in write in the way that is valued by the Old Order Amish community--a way that preserves the traditions of the community. They are considered members of their community and know how to effectively participate in that community.

Catherine Hobbs' collection of essays, *Nineteenth Century Women Learn to Write* also offers a sample of literacy practices in cultural and community contexts. Hobbs defines literacy as a "moving target" that affects and is effected by other factors. This is similar to David Barton's metaphor of literacy as ecology. He defines literacy as a part of an environment. It both influences and is influenced by the other elements

of the environment (Barton 32). For Hobbs, this metaphor makes it possible to ask, not "How did literacy affect women?" but instead, "How did women affect literacy?" (Hobbs 1). She defines "effective literacy," which is more than the ability to read and write. Effective literacy is the way women used literacy practices to effect change in their lives and in society (Hobbs). Because so much of the history of women's literacy lies outside of institutional histories, Hobbs argues that women's literacy practices must be examined where they occurred and includes essays that examine women's literacy practices in nineteenth-century homes, schools, literary societies, and churches.

Like the work of Heath, Fishman, and Hobbs, my study of Bloomfield seeks to examine the literacy practices of a particular group of people at a particular site because we can more fully realize the power of literacy to manipulate and effect change when we examine how it was used and why in a specific context, for specific community goals. Each administration used literacy to serve a specific agenda; however, the Chickasaw tribe found ways to use literacy education to further their own goals throughout the school's history. By encouraging their children to attend mission schools in Mississippi in the early 1800s, by sending their children to eastern schools while waiting for their academies to be built, by building their own academies in conjunction with missionaries after their forced removal from their homelands, the Chickasaw tribe proved that they saw literacy education as inherently valuable because it was useful to them, to their purposes. Literacy, for the Chickasaw tribe, was a tool, a

weapon used defensively and offensively in the fight for national survival.

A third major area of literacy research that informs this project is concerned with understanding the relationship between written and spoken language. How scholars in this area define literacy depends on how they configure the relationship between orality and literacy. Several prominent scholars, including Ong, Goody, and Watt, use an extremely narrow definition of literacy as solely the reading and writing of printed material in order to separate literacy from orality and to isolate literacy as a variable for study. These "Great Divide" scholars contend that literacy has cognitive consequences and leads to abstract thought, rationality, critical thinking, and other logical processes, a notion which has been largely discredited. David Barton discusses how scholars have attempted to bridge this "divide" between orality and literacy by constructing a continuum from written to spoken language. Barton critiques the simplicity and linearity of the continuum noting that "in many literacy events, the written and spoken cannot be disentangled" (88) and that "They are not actually separable in real life, since spoken language is an important context for most literacy events" (90). The idea that orality and literacy are inextricably intertwined leads to what is perhaps the most expanded definition of literacy, the concept of language events, which focuses on orality and literacy as symbol systems that cannot be successfully distinguished. Michael Halliday notes, "It is a mistake to become too much obsessed with the medium" (qtd. in Barton 90). The concept of language events is similar to James Gee's notion of literacy as a "discourse

system." Gee conceptualizes literacy as a discourse system, comprised of speech and writing, and complicated by the context of a particular event and the social relations of the participants and by the ideological systems associated with the participants and event (qtd. in E. Barton 409).

The conceptualizations of literacy discussed above represent the most extreme positions in this area of literacy study; Both extremes are problematic. Narrow definitions of literacy are problematic because they frequently stem from a view of literacy as autonomous and decontextualized. According to Brian Street in *Literacy in Theory and Practice,* literacy is not autonomous or decontextualized, but inherently ideological. Street's ideological model has heavily influenced literacy studies over the last twenty years and forms the basis for my own definition. Street constructs a list of the major characteristics of the ideological model of literacy; Some of the most salient characteristics are as follows: (1) "the meaning of literacy depends upon the social institutions in which it is embedded;" (2) "literacy can only be known to us in forms which have political and ideological significance and it cannot, therefore, be helpfully separated from that significance and treated as though it were an 'autonomous' thing;" (3) "the particular practices of reading and writing that are taught in any context depend upon such aspects of social structure as stratification . . . and the role of educational institutions;" (4) "the processes whereby reading and writing are learnt are what construct the meaning of it for particular practitioners;" (5) "we would probably more appropriately refer to 'literacies' than to any single 'literacy'" (Street 8).

Expanded definitions of literacy are significant because they point out that literacy and orality are intertwined and that a "text" is not always written. However, using extremely expanded definitions of literacy as language or discourse systems, definitions which have few boundaries, make it difficult to specifically study written language and literacy practices. As David Barton suggests, "there is something to say about written language in a fairly precise way which would not be possible in a broader, more diffuse discussion " (23).

Some researchers use the idea the literacy is not specifically tied to reading and writing to discuss literacy as competence in a particular area or subject matter. These scholars conceptualize literacy as "broad-based bodies of knowledge or sets of skills, even bodies of knowledge as arcane as academic disciplines" (qtd. in E. Barton 408). This view of "literacy as competence" in a particular area is useful because it points out that there is no single "Literacy," but that there are many "literacies." However this view is not without pitfalls. In *Social Literacies* Brian Street points out:

> The further these usages get away from the social practices of reading and writing, the more evident it is that the term 'literacy' is being used in a narrow, moral and functional sense to mean cultural competence or skills. While this may be a telling example of the ideological ways in which the term is used in given social contexts, it is not much help at an analytical level when we are trying to compare one set of literacy practices to another: it becomes easy to collude with the imposition of specific cultural meanings on to the literacy

> practices of other people for whom these meanings are quite inappropriate. (Street 134)

The conceptualizations of literacy I have just discussed are significant because they show that definitions of literacy must have boundaries to be used usefully. Definitions restricted only to reading and writing do not take into account the ideological nature of literacy and the social and cultural practices that revolve around literacy and affect it and which are affected by literacy. At the same time definitions of literacy as discourse systems or competencies run the risk of being too general for studies that intend to specifically study written language and literacy practices. My own definition is based on Street's ideological model and furthermore, directly ties literacy to reading and writing, that is, literacy events and practices, which see orality and literacy as intertwined. However, in this project, literacy goes beyond literacy events and practices to include what Stephen Tchudi and Paul Morris call dynamic literacy, which "goes beyond words to include related skills" (12). Dynamic literacy is one of three terms Tchudi and Morris use to discuss literacy. They define basic literacy as the ability to "decode and encode, to pick up a book and not only to call the words but also to say what they mean" (12). Critical literacy is the ability to "move beyond literal meanings" and interpret texts, including television, film, or even political issues. Tchudi and Morris do not establish a hierarchy of terms but see basic, critical, and dynamic literacy as three circles linked to each other. It is particularly important to tie related skills to my definition of literacy because of the context of the study. Each of Bloomfield's administrations had a specific agenda for

literacy education. Literacy was seen as the appropriate tool to acculturate the Chickasaws and turn them into efficient, religious, U. S. citizens. In order to accomplish this task, the administrations had to include more than reading and writing in their curricula; Bloomfield students had to be introduced to the hidden curriculum--the appropriate social skills and cultural conventions, traditions, and ideologies (Street 109, Graff 289). These "related skills" were just as important to the achievement of the administrations' purposes as the more specific literacy subjects and consequently must be included in my definition of literacy. Related social and domestic skills are as much a part of the literacy curricula of Bloomfield as subjects directly tied to reading and writing, because as Street contends in *Social Literacies*, "reading and writing are . . . located within the real social and linguistic practices that give them meaning" (Street 3).

I have identified four major types of literacy curricula or literacy strands offered under each administration; however, under each administration one strand stands out as the most heavily emphasized, perhaps the most valued, indicating that administration's primary goal or purpose. At Bloomfield/Carter the students received instruction in courses that constitute four major categories: academic, social, religious, and domestic. The categories, which function as literacy strands or literacy curricula, can be defined as follows:

(1) Academic literacy curriculum

The first type of curriculum, academic, includes all the "regular" school classes, reading, writing, arithmetic, history, etc. Academic literacy includes whatever subject matter society considers "basic" or rudimentary knowledge, knowledge considered necessary to function and participate on as an educated person in society. Of all of the categories, academic literacy is the most directly tied to basic reading and writing abilities and the interpretation of text. Every school subject requires the reading of a particular subject matter in text books and also the completion of written homework assignments and tests.

(2) Social literacy curriculum

Social literacy, the second major type of curriculum, includes training in "extra-curricular" subjects. These subjects include music and elocution, which are directly tied to basic literacy, but also include other, similar and related skills such as art and dancing and proficiency in social traditions and conventions such as etiquette and manners. Art, dancing, and etiquette are related skills considered necessary to be "cultured," "refined" and socially mobile. These related skills are equally as important as music and elocution even though they are not directly tied to print literacy; Knowledge of social customs and norms is a necessary part of acculturation, the purpose of literacy education for Bloomfield students.

(3) Religious literacy curriculum

The third type of curriculum, religious literacy, includes not just actual classes in religion, for example, Sunday school and Bible study, but also training in daily religious rituals, such as attending sermons and devotionals, praying before meals and bedtime, singing hymns, and teaching others the word of God. Religious literacy is tied to reading and writing through the use of the Bible, catechism, The Book of Common Prayer, hymnals, and listening to and interpreting sermons and devotionals, which are usually literacy events. This knowledge is considered necessary for religious conversion and to aid in the conversion of others.

(4) Domestic literacy curriculum

Domestic literacy, the final type of curriculum includes instruction in cooking, sewing, cleaning, gardening, tending animals, child care, and personal hygiene and health, knowledge considered necessary for daily living and home making. Home economic instruction in cooking and sewing are directly tied to reading and writing because students use cookbooks and recipes, sewing patterns, and ladies fashion magazines. Gardening, cleaning, tending animals, child care, and personal hygiene and health may not always be tied to literacy events, but are certainly related skills necessary to proficiency in home-making, an important aspect of acculturation.

By placing greater emphasis on one type of curriculum over another, Bloomfield's administrations demonstrated what type of literacy instruction they valued, thus revealing what they believed to be the purpose of literacy education for the Chickasaw females, that is, what type of lives they believed the students would or should lead. By analyzing the literacy practices at Bloomfield under the three administrations, I can examine what the mission and objectives of each administration were and to what extent those objectives were achieved. Furthermore, this analysis is necessary in order to situate the literacy practices of the academy within the history of literacy education in the U. S. and more specifically within the history of both Native American's and women's literacy education. The story of Bloomfield is fascinating; however, that is not a good enough reason to study it. Research must be more than merely interesting. Consequently, before I began this project I questioned myself, "Why are the literacy practices at Bloomfield important?" "Why should we know anything about the literacy curricula of a particular institution for particular people at a particular time and place?" "What can we learn from this now?" Throughout my research the answers have become more and more clear.

Strands

A primary reason for studying Bloomfield lies in its historical value and the gaps it fills in the history of women's literacy education and in the history of Native American education, particularly the education of the Chickasaw tribe. We have very little knowledge of the history of women's

literacy education. According to Catherine Hobbs in the introduction to *19th Century Women Learn to Write,*

> histories of nineteenth-century education and writing instruction most often generalize from elite male experience, using records of the century's prestigious all-male institutions . . . The value of having histories of girls' and women's experiences of literacy need not be argued, yet the work of writing these histories and listening to women's "voices" from our past has only begun. (Hobbs 4)

Sadly, the voices of women are not the only ones excluded from our histories. Histories of education have rarely included Native American education, and unfortunately, histories of Native American education have rarely discussed the special concerns and perspectives of Native American women. However, many important texts on the history of Native American education in America exist, among them, Francis Paul Prucha's *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912* (1979), Michael C. Coleman's *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (1993), Margaret Szasz's *Education and the American Indian* (1974), and David Wallace Adams' *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928 (1995).* These texts offer diverse, well-informed perspectives on the experiences of Native American children in federally run boarding schools during the period of assimilation policies in American history, and in doing so discuss many different schools and a large variety of tribes and have greatly informed my knowledge of the history of Native American education. The texts do

offer specific examples but do not seek to focus on any one school or offer any pertinent information about Bloomfield Academy. As a matter of fact the experiences of children at Bloomfield and other academies run by the "Five Civilized Tribes" were so distinctive that in the preface to *Education for Extinction*, Adams writes that they are exempt from his study on the grounds that their stories are "sufficiently unique as to require a separate investigation altogether" (x). Devon Mihesuah undertakes just this sort of investigation in *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (1993). Mihesuah's site-specific archival research discusses the type of education offered at the Cherokee Female Seminary in Indian Territory, present day, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Mihesuah's research is particularly relevant to this project because the Cherokees and Chickasaws both belong to the "Five Civilized Tribes," that is, southeastern tribes who were removed to Indian Territory in the 1830s. The tribes have similar backgrounds, and the education of the Cherokee children in Indian Territory began at the same time as the education of the Chickasaw children. The type of education offered was also similar. Mihesuah's book is strictly historical and does not focus on literacy issues; however, a section of her work on the Cherokee Female Seminary appears in Catherine Hobbs' *Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write.*

Another significant site-specific study is *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (1994) by K. Tsianina Lomawaima. Chilocco was an off-reservation, federally run, co-educational boarding school for children of tribes across the nation located in northern Oklahoma. Lomawaima's work is particularly interesting because he uses

ethnographic interviewing strategies and includes important information from students who attended the academy throughout the book. Although the school was not for children of the "Five Civilized Tribes" nor run by them, many of the girls who graduated from Bloomfield/Carter went on to high school at Chilocco. Chilocco, however, was not their primary literacy experience. Bloomfield, which served as the primary literacy experience for many Chickasaw girls, has never been written about at any length.

The study of Bloomfield contributes to literacy scholarship not by revising or correcting already written histories of literacy instruction, but instead by telling an untold story--adding a strand to the history of women's literacy education, as well as to the type of literacy instruction marginalized students received and the special issues of language and identity they faced, particularly mixed blood students. The experiences of Native American children at boarding schools across the United States during the period of strict federal assimilation policies are quite different than the experiences of white children. Furthermore, Native American tribes are not identical; they have separate and distinctive languages and cultures, and their experiences have been shaped by differing historical circumstances. The disparity between the boarding schools founded by southeastern tribes and the federally run boarding schools to which the children of other tribes were sent is shocking. The Chickasaw boarding schools are unique in that the tribe founded and sponsored academies, as well as neighborhood day schools, long before the federal government took control of the Chickasaw school system. Of the Chickasaw boarding

schools, Bloomfield in particular stands out, largely because it was considered significant enough to remain in operation long after Oklahoma statehood. This research has special significance for the Chickasaw tribe--especially the women who attended the academy and their descendants because it will help to preserve Chickasaw stories and heritage.

Responsibilities

Research of any kind is a matter of various responsibilities--as an information gatherer, interpreter, analyst, narrator, and scholar. Historical research in particular carries with it certain ethical responsibilities of which I am very aware. In the field of composition, rhetoric, and literacy, historical research is, at the same time one of the most fundamental types of research and one of the most controversial. Rhetoric, composition, and literacy studies is generally considered to be a relatively young field with a brief history, and it has only been since the "renaissance of rhetoric" in the 1960s that scholars have begun to undertake historical research. Histories of rhetoric, composition, and literacy serve a number of purposes: They help validate the field as a discipline, give scholars a sense of tradition and a common framework from which to work, as well as a framework to critique, and furthermore, provide a sense of direction for future needed research. Histories are especially significant because they are not flat, static, pieces of research that serve merely to record and preserve--dusty books filed away in case we need them for reference. Instead, histories are acts of defining; they not only articulate our past and present identity as a field,

but serve as catalysts for future changes. In the sense that language *is* action, they are moving forces, defining, changing, and shaping our past, present, and future. Consequently, what histories include and exclude becomes considerably important.

In "The History of Composition" Robin Varnum discusses the problematic nature of histories of composition. She quotes Kenneth Burke, who asserted that any account in language, including accounts of history, act as terministic screens which serve to both reflect and deflect reality. In other words, the way we perceive or conceptualize our history affects the way we perceive our field today (Varnum). Varnum's position is similar to another scholar who has problematized the concept of histories, Victor Vitanza. In "'Notes' Towards Historiographies of Rhetorics or The Rhetorics of the Histories of Rhetorics: Traditional, Revisionary, and Subversive," Vitanza offers an in-depth discussion of "historiographies." The term "historiography" connotes the interpretive nature of history writing as opposed to the term "history," which seems to imply an omniscient, "truthful" account. He contends that the writing of history is inherently ideological and that this ideology cannot be escaped. Furthermore, he states that the ideology prevalent in most histories is that of commonsense, that is, common places, realism, and truisms. This sort of account presumes that language is transparent and that histories can be written from an omniscient, disinterested, factual point of view, one that is telling the whole story, free of personal bias. According to Vitanza, bias-free history writing is almost impossible. Authors of this type of account sometimes offer a feigned apology for their perspective, or even worse,

offer no apology or statement of their positions at all. Vitanza constructs a taxonomy by which historiographies can be classified. His categories include: Traditional Historiographies, Revisionary Historiographies, and Sub/Versive Historiographies. Of the three major categories, discussions of both Traditional Historiographies and Revisionary Historiographies have relevance to this project.

Vitanza's first category, Traditional Historiography has two sub-categories, (1) historiography with chronologic "time" or "man" as its major focus or (2) historiography that does not have "time" or "man" as its major focus, for example, a quantitative, economic history of prices. He writes "the two forms are alike in that they range from a naive, unselfconscious practice to a more popular, highly-conscious, positivistic practice of History Writing" (86). He goes on to discuss three labels frequently attached to this type of history writing: (1) the documentary model of historical understanding, (2) the archival model, and (3) the objectivist model of knowledge. All of these models are based on documents, artifacts, newspapers, diaries, etc.. According to Vitanza, authors of these accounts catalog the data "'as if' the data are representations of manifest reality. They write 'as if' from an omniscient point of view" (86). Consequently, such authors fail to bring to light their ideological position or even acknowledge that they have one.

Vitanza's second major category, Revisionary Historiography also has two sub-divisions: Revisionary Historiography as Full Disclosure, and Revisionary Historiography as Self-Conscious Critical Practice. According to Vitanza, historiographies that are Revisionary as Full Disclosure are

very similar to Traditional historiographies in that they seek to offer a complete picture of a particular subject; however, their purpose is to revise or to correct the previous historiographies on the same subject. Authors of Revisionary Historiographies as Full Disclosure write in order to right what was formerly wrong, or to add what has been left out. Vitanza contends that Revisionary History as Full Disclosure

> is still very much committed to archival facts, though there is at times a conscious understanding that texts are interpreted (deflected) across ideologies, and that archival facts themselves on occasion are subject to ideological distortion. Therefore it emphasizes the "rewriting" of history with the *primary purpose of "the full disclosure of facts.* (95)

The second sub-division, Revisionary Historiography as Self-Conscious Critical Practice differs from Traditional or Revisionary as Full Disclosure in that the author knows that historiography is ideological and has a specific agenda and that the author is up front with readers about what that agenda is. Vittanza asserts that this type of historiography

> is not at all a part of the disciplinary protocol of traditional history writing, for it is greatly more self-conscious in relation to not only ideological distortion but also to recent critical practices that attempt to account for such distortion. (99)

This project, a literacy history Bloomfield/Carter, has elements of three of Vittanza's divisions, Traditional Historiography, Revisionary

Historiography as Full Disclosure and Revisionary Historiography as Self-Conscious Critical Practice. This research is traditional in that I do follow an archival model and do attempt to offer a "factual" account of Bloomfield's history; however, I am in no way attempting to offer a "complete" history of the academy. This project is not Revisionary as Full Disclosure in the sense that it is attempting to "correct," "rewrite," or "replace" an already existing story. Rather, this research is attempting to add to the history of women's literacy education and the history of rhetoric/composition by adding a specific, untold story, that is, adding a strand to the stories that already exist. Furthermore, this project has elements of Revisionary as Self-Conscious Critical Practice. As a historical researcher, I am aware that the writing of histories is inherently ideological and that manifested in this project is my own ideological position--that literacy instruction is never a neutral process, but is inherently political. I do not suggest that this analysis of literacy education at Bloomfield/Carter is in any way a "complete" or "True" account. The analysis is my interpretation of the information gathered from archival research and interviews. However, it is not my intention to purposefully distort or exaggerate any details, facts, or other information used.

In "The History of Composition" Robin Varnum not only discusses the problematic nature of historical research, but also the type of histories that have been written thus far in rhetoric and composition studies. She accuses some composition scholars of being ahistorical in their assertions that the history of composition studies *began* in the 1960s. According to Varnum, it is crucial that we include the first part of the 20th century in

our histories. She contends that in order to recover and analyze this early history, we must go to specific sites and talk to the teachers and students who lived through this period (Varnum). In order to examine the type of literacy practices used at Bloomfield/Carter under federal control, from Oklahoma statehood to 1949, I chose to turn, as Varnum suggests, to the students, for the story of Bloomfield is after all *their* story. However, interviewing former students does not make this study an ethnography per se. A true ethnography examines a site that is still in existence or operation. Because Bloomfield/Carter integrated with the Ardmore Public School System in 1953, performing a true ethnographic study is impossible; however, listening to the stories of women who attended the academy is possible.

I am very aware as a researcher that interviewing former students and using their stories in my research is a tremendous ethical responsibility. Consequently, I have made a conscious effort not to appropriate the women's voices, but to let them speak for themselves as much as possible. However, no research is free from the ideological interpretation of the researcher. I am an acculturated mixed blood Chickasaw completing a Ph.D., from a family proud of its heritage and interested and active in tribal affairs. The women I interviewed, also mixed blood, are relatives of mine or friends of relatives. The responsibility I feel to my family and tribe is great. My responsibility and goal as a researcher and scholar throughout this project has been to understand and respect the researcher/informant relationship as well as to be self-conscious and critical of my own ideological position in order to

protect my own integrity, the integrity of this research, and finally the integrity of the women who were kind enough to participate in it.

I have had the opportunity to listen to 15 women who attended the academy between 1918 and 1950, some of whom are relatives. The interviews were primarily one-on-one though occasionally other relatives or friends were present. Two of the interviews were group interviews with sisters who attended at the same time. Each woman was asked the same basic set of questions; however, the interviews were conducted conversationally and some information or stories the informant offered led to other subjects or questions. I video recorded and tape recorded each interview and took notes both during and after each interview. All of the interviews have been completely transcribed. The questions arranged topically, fall into the following broad categories: Background Information, Daily Life, Administration, Teachers, Academic Curriculum, Extracurricular Activities, Native Culture and Heritage, Religious Curriculum, Citizenship, Discipline, Regulation, and Detail, Education and Life after Bloomfield/Carter, Opinion and Analysis, and Family and Children (Appendix 1).

This project would not be possible without the stories of the women I interviewed, all of whom were generous with their time, memories, and personal belongings. The story of Bloomfield is made up of the stories of the people who lived it. The telling of the story is important and good. Of those people, the only ones left to tell their stories are the students, the women:

Pauline Williford Adkins
Attended from 1932 to 1941
Chickasaw, Lebanon, Oklahoma

Fanny Hughes Bass
Attended from 1911 to 1914
Chickasaw, Tishomingo, Oklahoma

Jeanne Liddell Cochran
Attended from 1929 to 1934
Chickasaw, Houston, Texas

Clara Pittman Gatlin
Attended between 1940 and 1949
Choctaw, Durant, Oklahoma

Dorothy Wall Holt
Attended from 1940 to 1947
Choctaw, Ardmore, Oklahoma

Leona Williford Isaac
Attended from 1933 to 1941
Chickasaw, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Claudine Williford King
Attended from 1939 and 1948
Chickasaw, Newkirk, Oklahoma

Hettie McCauley King
Attended between 1925 and 1930
Chickasaw, Ardmore, Oklahoma

Ida Bell Hughes Martin
Attended between 1920 and 1930
Chickasaw, Tishomingo, Oklahoma

Mary Pittman Parris
Attended between 1935 and 1945
Choctaw, Durant, Oklahoma

Frances Griffin Robinson
Attended from 1927 to 1929
Chickasaw, Lebanon, Oklahoma

Fanny Williford Skaggs
Attended from 1939 to 1947
Chickasaw, Moore, Oklahoma

Juanita Keel Tate
Attended in 1918
Chickasaw, Ardmore, Oklahoma

Ula Mae Pittman Welch
Attended between 1940 and 1949
Choctaw, Durant, Oklahoma

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods
Attended from 1930 to 1936
Cherokee, Durant, Oklahoma

Chapter 2

Chikasa vlla vlheha-kut holisso apisa iat hochifochit hollissochih
(Chickasaw Children Go to School to Read and Write)
Early Literacy Training: Schooling as Tradition

There is no such thing as a *neutral* education process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, *or* it becomes "the practice of freedom," the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.

Richard Shaull. Foreword, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (16)

As I researched Native American boarding schools, I became increasingly aware of the radical differences between the experiences of students at federally run off-reservation schools and the students at boarding schools founded and operated by the southeastern tribes. I began to question *why* the southeastern tribes, and particularly the Chickasaws had such markedly different experiences than other tribes. In order to find answers for my questions, I began to dig deeper into the Chickasaws' history to discover what distinctive historical circumstances might have influenced their educational history. I read more and more about the urgency of the Chickasaws to build schools in Indian Territory. I began to question why the Chickasaws were so anxious to begin the schooling process? What prior experiences caused them to see literacy instruction as such a pressing need? I realized that the unique story the of Bloomfield

does not actually begin in 1850 with the building of the school in Indian Territory. In fact, the story begins much, much earlier, in Mississippi, the Chickasaws' homeland, when the tribe, fighting for survival, had their first experiences with literacy training. The tribe did not resist the religious literacy training provided by missionaries, and unlike many other tribes during the early 1800s, welcomed it, then sought it. A look at the early culture of the Chickasaws and the historical circumstances which influenced them may help to explain this reaction.

The Chickasaw tribe was originally located in northeastern Mississippi. Their lands extended into what is now Alabama and north through Western Tennessee and Kentucky to the Ohio River. The Chickasaw population ranged between 3,500 and 4,500, making it a small tribe when compared with the neighboring Choctaw tribe whose population was approximately 20,000 before European contact (Gibson 4). The Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes, both now of the "Five Civilized Tribes" of Oklahoma, are closely related and share an intertwining history. The two belong to the Muskhogean linguistic family and share essentially the same language, the only difference being dialectical. Many scholars propose that at one time, long before European contact, the two were actually one tribe. According to historian Muriel Wright, "Chickasaw" is the anglicized form of "Chikasha," which is a mnemonic for the Choctaw phrase, "chikkih ashachi," literally translated to mean "they left as a tribe not a very great while ago." She also suggests that the name "chikasha" has been used to signify rebellion (Wright 84). The two tribes have historically been intimately associated and have similar migration

legends. Arrell Gibson states that the legend is central to the Chickasaw religious corpus. The migration story describes the travels of the Chickasaw from their ancient home in the Far West to their home east of the Mississippi. The tribe was guided east by a sacred pole, which was carried on each day's march by the tribe's holy men. At night, the men placed the pole upright in the ground. Each morning the mystical pole would be pointing toward the East. This continued until after the tribe crossed the Mississippi River (Gibson 10). The story often includes two brothers who argue one morning about which way the pole is leaning. They cannot settle their argument so they diverge, each taking members of the tribe with them.

According to Wright, the Chickasaws were "noted for their warlike disposition which brought them into frequent conflict with neighboring tribes" (84). Gibson points out that the Chickasaw men were "hunters and fighters first and agriculturists on occasion. Their women and Indian slaves performed the menial tasks of clearing land, caring for crops, and gathering firewood" (7). Like many other tribes, the Chickasaw had no written language; important information, customs, and rituals were handed down by elders orally.

The Chickasaw's first European contact came with the arrival of the Spanish explorer DeSoto and his men in 1540. The tribe is mentioned in the narratives of DeSoto's expedition as the *Chicaza*. According to Wright, DeSoto demanded that the Chickasaws perform labor for them, inciting the Chickasaws and causing them to attack. They won this battle and in doing so "made the greatest stroke for freedom in the early history of the

Southeast" (86). By 1700 English traders established trading operations with the tribe, making the English allies until the American Revolution when the tribe sided with the colonies and even sent men to serve in the Colonial armies (Wright 86). At this time, the Chickasaws had settled in seven towns in the lower Mississippi valley (Gibson 7). Each village consisted of several summer and winter houses. The winter houses were circular, had a framework of pine timber, were covered in plaster, and thatched with grass. The rectangular summer houses had clay plastered walls, which were whitewashed on the outside and inside. The summer house was divided into two rooms, perhaps making it the origin of the double log cabin (Wright 86-87). According to Wright, the tribal government consisted of a head chief, *miko or minko,* sometimes translated as "king," which was selected from the highest-ranking clan in the tribe (Wright 87). The miko "was chosen by the tribal council to serve in the office for life. Originally each clan was ruled by a sub-chief, descent in the clan being reckoned in the female line. Next to the Chickasaw 'king' was the war chief or *tishomiko,* signifying an 'assistant to the chief'" (Wright 87).

The tribe's early contact with the European culture shaped the tribe culturally, eventually leading to intermarriage, early bilingualism, and further acculturation. Tribal leaders allowed white traders who married Chickasaw women to become members of the tribe. This happened often, and the mixed blood families became some of the most prominent and politically active in the tribe. The mixed-blood men were frequently the members who negotiated with other traders and most importantly, with

the United States government (Wright 87). The intermarriage of the Chickasaw women is especially significant and explains the Chickasaws interest in literacy training, which was vital to the mixed blood's business negotiations.

The Chickasaw's official relationship with the United States began in 1786 when the first Chickasaw treaty was signed at Hopewell, South Carolina. This treaty established boundary and trade agreements with the U. S. According to Wright, from 1786 to 1902, the Chickasaw signed 14 treaties with the United States and two with the Choctaw tribe (Wright 87-88). During this time, many Chickasaws, mostly mixed blood families, accumulated much wealth by turning to agriculture and developing farms and plantations, and increasing livestock herds (Gibson 80). The tribe also began to invest in slaves. This was an important time in the history of the Chickasaw tribe because (1) during the negotiations with the U. S. many of the mixed bloods became increasingly interested in tribal politics and began to take over tribal management from the full bloods, and (2), the tribe, looking toward continuing economic success, became increasingly interested in the education of their children. For the Chickasaw tribe, literacy education was *not* a neutral process nor a simplistic one. If, as Richard Shaull suggests, education serves to "facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it" then the literacy training of the Chickasaw children would have taught them to become subservient--the only role allowed Indians in the "system" of the 1800s. The Chickasaw tribe welcomed and encouraged literacy training not so they could become

laborers, but so that they could compete economically. The goal of the tribe was to participate equally in the present system, not to overthrow the system, but to redefine their allotted role within that system. Is this the "practice of freedom," described by Shaull? Was literacy a way for the members of the tribe to "deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world?" "Transformation" for the Chickasaws was a complicated issue. Their culture, their entire way of life was being "transformed" by the white culture whether they liked it or not. The Chickasaws were unable to fight for the old way of life and may or may not have wanted to. Were they trying to "participate in the transformation of their world?" Perhaps, what they were attempting through literacy, was to participate in *how* their world was transformed and to gain a measure a control over their way of life in the new system. Literacy was a way to provide that control.

Religious Literacy Instruction in Mississippi

The Chickasaws' desire for literacy training led to their first contact with missionaries where they were taught to read and write in order to become integrated in another facet of the "present system," Christianity. The New York Presbyterian churches sent the first missionary to the Chickasaws, Reverend Joseph Bullen, in 1799. According to Gibson, Bullen did not try to establish either a church or a school, instead, he taught religion, reading and writing to Chickasaw children in their homes (Gibson 107). Although Bullen was well received by the Chickasaws, he left in 1803. No missionaries visited the tribe again until 1819 when the

Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches sent representatives. This was because in 1819 Congress created the Office of Indian Affairs and passed the Indian Civilization Law, which invited protestant missionaries to offer Indians religious education if they would also include secular subjects (Gibson 109). The Civilization Fund, an annual appropriation of $10,000, was administered by the superintendent of Indian Affairs for this purpose, and the missionary societies received grants from the government for their efforts (Adams 6). The Indian Civilization Law was significant because it signifies that the government believed that literacy training was capable of "civilizing" tribes. Civilization meant acculturation, which entailed more than learning to read and write; acculturation included learning the appropriate social skills, cultural conventions, traditions, and ideologies. The federal government wanted the Indians "civilized." Protestant missionary groups wanted the Indians "Christianized." That the government chose to ally themselves with protestant missionaries and even appropriate funds indicates the government's belief that Christianity and civilization are inextricably intertwined. Both parties probably considered the education arrangement a fair trade. The tribe, generally not interested in religious literacy training, was hungry for basic academic literacy and took advantage of what was provided. Although the government would not begin to establish boarding schools themselves until the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Indian Civilization Law and accompanying Civilization Fund mark the beginning of what educational historians Button and Provenzo call "colonial education" for American Indians, that

is, education designed to acculturate while at the same time engendering subservience, and perpetuating inequality.[3]

The most significant educational effort was made by the South Carolina-Georgia Synod and the Cumberland Presbyterian Association, who established mission schools in the early 1820s. The societies founded two schools, called Charity Hall (Notes and Documents 486) and Monroe, for Chickasaw children between the ages of six and sixteen.[4] Monroe was located near McIntoshville, which was near the Natchez Trace and the Chickasaw Agency. Approximately 50 to 80 students were enrolled at Monroe, most of whom were mixed blood children although Gibson points out that the full blood population increased in the school's later years (110). According to Gibson, the school received federal aid for Indian student tuition in the amount of $500 to $800 annually (110). Monroe began as a day school, but after a year of operation became a boarding school. Students learned to farm on the school's 100 acre demonstration farm which produced most of the food needed to run the boarding school (Gibson 110). The boarding school/demonstration farm model used in the 1820s was a forerunner of the "manual labor academy," an educational model which experienced only brief popularity in the United States in the mid-1800s. Manual labor academies were based on the concept of Swiss

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[3]Educational historians H. Warren Button and Eugene Provenzo discuss the "colonial" education of women, African-Americans, and Native Americans in *The History of Education and Culture in America.* They contend that colonial schools "did not afford entry into higher-status occupations" and "perpetuated inquality, sometimes in spite of the best intentions of their founders" (135).

[4]Most of the information I have found in Oklahoma give details about Monroe, but not Charity Hall. For more information about Charity Hall contact Betty Ruth Kemp, former President of the Chickasaw Historical Society in Norman, Oklahoma or the Mississippi Historical Society.

aristocrat Phillip von Fellenberg's schools in Hofwyl, Switzerland (Button and Provenzo 125). von Fellenberg believed that schools should educate and socialize and accordingly, that the children of poor families should be socialized to be satisfied with their places in life. American educator Joseph Cogswell, who had visited the Hofwyl school in 1818, imported the idea because manual labor academies were cost-efficient and because students could learn trades. Their fall from popularity was due to the fact that many families wanted their children to attend school, so that they *wouldn't* be farmers or mechanics (Button and Provenzo 126). However, if manual labor or industrial model schools were not thought appropriate for white children, they were deemed entirely appropriate for women, African Americans, and American Indians and are considered colonial schools. By the 1880s, the federally operated reservation and off-reservation Indian boarding schools many Indian children were forced to attend were based on the manual labor/industrial plan.

The Chickasaw tribe, however, in spite of the colonial model on which the school was based, found the boarding school/demonstration farm model at Monroe very effective largely because they were becoming comparatively wealthy southern landowners and agriculture was an important part of their economic base. The Chickasaw leaders, impressed by the results at Monroe, favored the educational system and in 1824 even appropriated tribal funds to subsidize more schools (Gibson 111). The additional schools were Tokshish, Martyn, and Caney Creek. Tokshish school, which was established in 1824 two miles north of Monroe, functioned as a day school and had an enrollment of approximately

twenty students. Martyn School, which also had a demonstration farm, was established at Pigeon Roost as a boarding school in 1825 with an enrollment of approximately 30 students. Caney Creek, a boarding school, was established in 1826 in western Alabama, forty miles from the Chickasaw town. Missionaries established this school at that location because they believed that "their impact was greater on the students if far enough 'from the influence of their heathen relatives'" (Gibson 111-112).

The course of study at the Monroe, Tokshish, Martyn, and Caney Creek schools was comprised of three types of literacy curricula: academic, domestic, and religious. According to Gibson, the three-fold objective of the school was "to train the head, heart, and hand of Chickasaw children to accomplish 'temporal as well as eternal felicity'" (Gibson 112).[5] The academic literacy curriculum or "Head" studies included reading, writing, as well as spelling, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, and written composition, subjects which are directly tied to basic reading and writing abilities. The boys were instructed in domestic literacy or "hand" activities such as agriculture, carpentry, and blacksmithing, subjects which may have been tied to basic reading and writing through the use of almanacs, catalogs, measurements, or book-keeping. All are related skills important to acculturation because they provided "appropriate" methods of earning a living, and individual prosperity and property owning was an important national and progressive ideal. Girls learned sewing, weaving, and other

[5]According to David Wallace Adams, "Head, heart, and hand" was a phrase often used by Samuel Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute for blacks. Armstrong believed that African Americans could only make racial progress under the "benevolent tutelage of whites" and that the kind of education they needed was moral and manual training or training that encompassed "the head, the heart, and the hand" (Adams 45).

home making skills, skills tied to basic reading and writing through the use of patterns and recipes. All students were given training for the "heart" or religious literacy training based on the Bible. Gibson points out that because of a shortage of teachers, older students were asked to help the younger ones (112).[6]

The tribe was interested in literacy because they saw it as essential to their economic success and to their success in U. S. negotiations and were not in favor the religious literacy curriculum heavily emphasized by the missionaries. The tribal council's largest complaint was that there was more religious literacy training going on than the secular training the Chickasaws desired.[7] Anthony Gleason, a missionary teacher at Tokshish, said:

> The great outcry against the missionaries has been, that they were not teaching school, which, it was said, was their appropriate work, and that, if we kept on this way, we would get the people all crazy and spoiled, like the Choctaws. (qtd. in Gibson 114)

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[6]In *The History of Education and Culture in America,* Button and Provenzo discuss the popularity of "monitorial" schooling in the early 1800s, a system developed by Joseph Lancaster in which older pupils teach or monitor the younger pupils. The monitorial model was popular at schools for the poor because it was cost-efficient (67-70). They write "by1830, enthusiasm for monitorial schools had ebbed, although they would persist or reappear when there was not money for other forms of instruction" (70).

[7]Gibson notes that the Chickasaws' slaves were much more receptive to religious training than were members of the tribe. Missionaries first used the slaves as interpreters because they could speak English since they had been purchased from white traders and had learned Chickasaw from the tribe. According to Gibson, "About two-thirds of those admitted to membership in the Monroe Church were persons of African descent. It was found that 'they generally understand the English language and are more constantly accessible than the full Indians; and are of course are more within the reach of religious instruction'" (117).

This quote illustrates that the Chickasaws cared very much about what kind of literacy training their children received. That the Chickasaws described teaching school as the "appropriate work" of the missionaries demonstrates that the Chickasaws believed that the purpose of schooling was academic, not religious. Furthermore, the Chickasaws apparently believed that religious literacy training was not only inappropriate, it could even be harmful, causing the people to become "crazy and spoiled" like their long time neighbors and rivals, the Choctaws. Although the missionaries and the tribe were both interested in the establishment and continuing operation of the schools, tribal and missionary literacy goals conflicted. The Chickasaws, knowing that both the white settlers in the region and the federal government wanted them out of the way at any cost, needed academic literacy skills to successfully negotiate with the government and to compete economically, giving them leverage in negotiations. The missionaries were not interested in providing the tribes with solid academic training. They were only interested in making the Chickasaws functionally literate, that is, able to read and write well enough to participate in church services, study the Bible, and be converted to Christianity. In spite of the conflicting goals of the missionaries and the tribe, missionary schools served an important purpose for both parties, and both the tribe and the missionaries achieved their literacy goals. For example, according to Wright, "although the influence of mission churches and schools were never predominant in the nation . . . all the Chickasaw are Christianized and the majority are church members today" (Wright 96). At the same time, many graduates of these mission schools

became tribal business and political leaders for the nation, thus achieving tribal literacy goals.

Removal to Indian Territory

The history of the Chickasaw mission schools in Mississippi was short lived. Forced removal, the tribe's greatest fear, had become reality. The federal government passed the Indian Removal Act in 1830, which authorized the federal government to negotiate with tribes for the exchange of their land and stipulated that the relocated tribes would be provided with removal costs and subsistence for one year after their relocation (Gibson 153). Because the federal government had been relocating eastern tribes for years, the act came as no surprise. The act did, however, serve to formally solidify and vocalize the intent of the federal government.

The first plans for the tribe's removal surfaced in the treaty of 1832; however, by 1836, the government still had not found a place for the Chickasaws, and due to the demands of the southeastern states, an arrangement was made between the Choctaws at Doaksville and Chickasaws in the treaty of 1837 that provided for the settlement of the Chickasaw in the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory (Wright 88). The terms of the treaty mandated that the Chickasaws "were to have equal representation in the Choctaw General Council with the citizens of other districts organized under the Choctaw (q.v.) government" (Wright 89). It further stipulated that "all financial affairs of the two nations should be kept entirely separate and under the control of their respective officers," a

condition necessary for the Chickasaws to retain their status as a separate, autonomous nation (Wright 89).

The Chickasaws had accumulated substantial wealth before their removal and were then "the wealthiest of any of the Indian nations or tribes" before their removal (Wright 89). Wright points out that Pitman Colbert, a Chickasaw from an influential mixed blood family, "had six mules and a special wagon to haul his money (in gold loaded in kegs) from Mississippi to Doaksville, where he later operated a trader's store" (89). No amount of wealth, however, could protect the Chickasaws from sickness and death, hallmarks of the Trail of Tears. Fever, dysentery, and smallpox swept through the tribe during their removal; over 500 Chickasaws died from smallpox (Gibson 176). When the Chickasaws arrived in Indian Territory, grieving and sick, they found the subsistence supplies promised by the federal government spoiled and inedible. This problem occurred because of the lack of coordination between the collection of subsistence supplies and the arrival of the Chickasaws. Federal officials collected supplies far too early, so that by the time the Chickasaws arrived, the provisions were ruined; no fresh supplies were available (Gibson 176).

Problems with food supplies were not the only difficulties the tribe faced after removal. The Chickasaws' very nationhood was threatened, this time by the Choctaws. After arriving in Indian Territory, the Chickasaws were dissatisfied with their new situation. Because they were living in the Choctaw district, they were afraid that the Choctaws would somehow gain control of their finances (Wright 90). If the Choctaws

gained control, the Chickasaws could eventually lose their status as a tribe altogether. Unfortunately this very nearly happened, and the struggle to maintain control was fierce. According to Wright,

> The disposition and control of their national funds led to feuds among the Chickasaw that in time resulted in lawlessness and, in some instances, murders in the neighborhood of Fort Washita. (Wright 90)

By 1848, economic disputes were somewhat settled and "a semblance of unity was achieved with the election of Edmund Pickens as the chief under the formal written constitution (their first)" (Wright 90). One of the most significant post-removal events was the treaty of 1855, which defined the boundaries of the Chickasaw Nation and gave them "the unrestricted right of self-government and full jurisdiction, over persons and property" (qtd. in Wright 90). The new Chickasaw government redrafted the constitution and laws immediately and established a capitol at Tishomingo. The tribe had nearly been subsumed by the Choctaw tribe because of economic dispute and disaster. The near death of the tribe caused a surge of Chickasaw nationalism, which helped to reinvigorate their economic enterprises. Nearly all the members were engaged in agriculture. Some members, usually from prominent mixed blood families, operated grist and lumber mills, cotton gins, and mercantile establishments (Gibson 192-93). Because they knew that education was crucial to their financial success and ultimately to their survival, the Chickasaws urgently desired to continue their education, and their first written laws in 1844 made appropriations for a tribal academy, the

Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy, which opened in 1851. Four other boarding schools opened shortly thereafter. These include the Wapanucka Institute for girls, 1852; Bloomfield Academy for girls, 1852; Collins Institute (Colbert), 1854; and the Burney Institute for girls, 1859 (Wright 91). The use of written laws to appropriate funds for a tribal academy is an especially significant literacy event because it is, in effect, literacy in action --the use of literacy to perpetuate literacy. Using written laws, in English, to appropriate funds for an academy is an excellent example of the way in which the tribe used literacy, taught to them by whites, as a way to participate in a world that was being transformed whether they liked it or not, a way to gain control over their place in that new world.

Eastern Literacy Instruction

While the academies were under construction, the Chickasaws were dissatisfied with the fact that their children were not being educated. Furthermore, the tribe was aware and somewhat disgruntled by the fact that they were lagging behind the other "Civilized Tribes" in establishing schools for their children. Historian Carolyn Foreman quotes their federal agent Upshaw as reporting:

> The Chickasaws have great anxiety to have their children educated, and what is more astonishing, the full-bloods show as great a desire as the half-breeds; but they are *all* very anxious on this all-important subject. (qtd. in Foreman 141)

Consequently, during the late 1840s, the tribe sent several Chickasaw boys to schools including the Choctaw Academy in Kentucky (Gibson 200),

Delaware College in Newark, Delaware, and Plainsfield Academy near Norwich, Connecticut.[8] According to her reports, approximately four boys were sent to Delaware and between eleven and twenty were sent to Plainsfield; these figures vary. Most of the boys sent East were members of prominent mixed blood families in the tribe, families who were taking over the management of the tribe from full bloods, who were considered more conservative in business affairs. The fact that the tribe sent some children to eastern boarding schools, during what must have been an extraordinarily difficult time for them, demonstrates the determination they had for their children to continue their literacy education. In a single generation the tribe had not only persevered through prejudice and hatred, forced removal, sickness, death, and enormous financial loss, but had also battled to retain their nationhood. They began constructing schools for their children, but waiting even a few years seemed too long for the tribe. Now, the Chickasaws' job was to reconstruct their nation, build leadership, and develop economic enterprises that would ensure their survival and success in Indian Territory. Once again, the tribe needed tools for transformation. Literacy instruction through schooling was the key.

In "Education Among the Chickasaw Indians" Carolyn Thomas Foreman includes excerpts from letters and reports describing the students' experiences at Plainsfield, but does not give much information about who controlled Plainsfield or what kind of school Plainsfield was.

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[8]In "Education Among the Chickasaw Indians" Carolyn Thomas Foreman only briefly mentions that students were sent to Delaware and Kentucky. The excerpts from the letters and reports she includes discuss the progress of the students at Plainsfield. No detailed information about the Delaware and Kentucky schools is given.

Carlisle, the prototype for off-reservation Indian manual labor boarding schools did not open until 1879; therefore, the eastern academies attended by the Chickasaws was probably an academy for white students.[9] The letters included by Foreman verify this. According to Foreman, the boys at Plainsfield were placed with Norwich families and were well treated and quite popular. Foreman writes,

> The Indian lads were described by Robinson as 'well-mannered and civil and showing a distinct manliness of conduct. They became a popular feature of the academy, rather attracting than repelling the native students.' (Foreman 147)

Another report confirms that they were not only well treated at school, but also in the community.

> They are treated with respect and kindness in the Academy, in the families where they board, & in the community. A lively interest is manifested in their welfare among the people of the village, where they live. (qtd. Foreman 149)

These reports indicate that Plainsfield was a school for white children and perhaps that the Chickasaw boys were the only Indian students. The other students and community members might not have looked down on them because they were a novelty. Also, the Chickasaw boys might have been well treated or popular and not marked as inferior or different because they were attending the same academy as white children in the community instead of a separate school based on a colonial model.

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[9]In *Education for Extinction*, David Wallace Adams gives an excellent discussion of Carlisle, its founder, Richard Henry Pratt, and Pratt's theories regarding Indian education.

The type of literacy instruction at Plainsfield was probably similar to the other academies for white children that proliferated during that time. According to educational historians H. Warren Button and Eugene Provenzo, the academy, a uniquely American model of schooling, constituted the most important type of secondary school in American during the 1800s, its popularity declining with the rise of the high school at the end of the 1800s (40). Academies, sometimes called seminaries or institutes, were privately controlled and privately financed secondary schools. Most academies, though privately operated, were public in that any student who paid tuition could attend (Button and Provenzo 38). Academies were not usually college preparatory schools and differed substantially from the Latin grammar school model widespread in the early republic. The classical literary tradition heavily influenced the curriculum at Latin grammar schools in colonial America, and students, all males, were likely to have been taught, in addition to the beginning Latin grammar book, the works of Cato, Erasmus, Ovid, and Aesop, a curriculum which had outlived its practicality (Button and Provenzo 19). The academy was seen as the answer to the outdated Latin grammar school model of education. Academies, Benjamin Franklin proposed, should teach students the subjects that would be the "most useful" and the "most ornamental" (Button and Provenzo 39). The charter for the academy listed the following appropriate subjects:

> the Latin and Greek languages, the English tongue, grammatically and as a language, . . . French, German, and Spanish . . . history, geography, chronology, logic and

> rhetoric, writing, arithmetic, algebra . . . natural and mechanic philosophy [science], drawing . . . and every other useful part of learning. (qtd. in Button and Provenzo 39)

Academies, designed for practicality, were distinctly American and fostered a nationalistic spirit. According to Button and Provenzo, thousands of academies were established in the 1800s. Some of the reports Foreman included were written to the Indian Commissioner by a Reverend Alvan Bond indicating that Plainsfield may have been a church owned and operated academy.

Several reports chronicle the boys' progress at Plainsfield and show that the students received basic academic literacy training as well as religious literacy training. One report sent to the Indian commissioner by Reverend Mr. Alvan Bond gives the following evaluation:

> I have just returned from an examination of the boys . . . & have been highly gratified with their proficiency in the several studies, to which their attention is directed. They can read very well in Saunder's Second Reading book, --can spell with a good degree of accuracy, write a fair hand, and recite . . . elementary lessons. They are making progress in Arithmetic. Their deportment is manly and correct, and they are becoming assimilated in habits and manners to the Society, in which they are placed. (qtd. in Foreman 151)

The letter not only discusses the basic academic literacy curriculum, but also discusses skills such as deportment and manners, related skills and components of a social literacy curriculum. This report is particularly

significant because it links literacy to assimilation, the goal of literacy instruction, demonstrating that related skills, deportment, habits, and manners are just as important to the achievement of their literacy goals as subjects directly based on reading and writing. Some letters indicate that the tribe was also pleased with the type of education the boys were receiving and gives some clues to the thought of the boys as well. One letter states that,

> Several persons from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations have visited them the past season, & expressed their satisfaction with the progress they are making in English studies, and in manners. They are gradually acquiring the facility for speaking English, & seem desirous of becoming able to dispense with the use of their own language, & of becoming Americanized. In addition to reading & spelling, they are acquiring the rudiments of arithmetic, grammar, geography, and general knowledge. They excel in chirography, and several of them are able to compose, and write letter to their friends at home in good English. (qtd. in Foreman 155)

The letters regarding the progress of the students state that the boys are "acquiring the facility for speaking English" and learning how to write. Based on these clues, the students were probably receiving a very basic, primary level education that focused on the fundamentals of literacy, reading and writing. According to the letters, Plainsfield provided academic and religious literacy instruction, but not domestic. Manual

labor training is not mentioned in any of the letters or reports. Agent Upshaw wrote to one of the school superintendents that the boys should not be sent home until their education was complete because no schools were in operation yet in the Chickasaw nation. He states that he is

> confident that schools on the manual-labor plan are the only schools that will do much good in any nation of Indians. To give them an education without learning them to work, either as farmers or mechanics, is of but little use to them (qtd. in Foreman 157).

The literacy agenda of the Plainsfield educators was to "civilize and convert." The Chickasaw tribe still wanted their children to receive the basic academic training that would prepare them to be "Americanized" and live and negotiate on the same level as their white neighbors in Indian Territory. The students, who were training to become tribal leaders, were extremely interested in finding out what was happening at home. One letter states, "They manifest acute sensibility in respect to the interest & honor of their nation, & tender attachment to their friends" (Foreman 155). Foreman includes a few letters from the students themselves. One states,

> We only write these few lines, merely for you to see & know how We will improve hereafter. And I will ask good advice from you. If any delegation from our nation Should come to Washington City recommand them to visit us around. No more at present, But remaind your sincery & Your Chickasaw Indian Scholars. (qtd. in Foreman 156)

Another letter from students also demonstrates the boys interest in their nation and their desire to achieve the literacy goals set for them by the tribe. It states,

> We are all well and trying to learn as much as we can, And I care (sic) say, that I am very interested to get an Education as well as my people wants me learned, We the boys heard from home and learned that the Chickasaw Delegation will be on to washington City. Sometime in November of this inst, Ane we Desired very much for them to go round & see us. in particularly Edmund Pickens, who is one of the delegate, & principal Chief of the nation. You will please be & so kind as to advise them to come & see us?. . . Nothing more, at present, But remain your Respectfully most Humble servant. (qtd. in Foreman 163)

Although most of the letters and reports indicate that the students were happy and making academic progress, the boys faced at least one severe problem at Plainsfield--illness. One letter reads "Alas! these happy young men did not have charmed lives! Coming from a southern climate, their subjection to the terrible drafts of our northern winters was severely fatal" (Foreman 164). Six of the Chickasaw boys died at Plainsfield, most from consumption (164).

Literacy Instruction in Indian Territory

The Chickasaw boarding academies in Indian Territory were ready by the early 1850s and the surviving Plainsfield students returned home. Although the Chickasaw academies were operated in conjunction with missionaries, the tribe had their own purposes for literacy education. In *The Lure of the Indian Country,* published in 1908, Oleta Littleheart writes of a speech by Chief Littleheart, who might be her ancestor, disclosing that the tribe realized what their future would be like in America and wanted to be prepared. She writes that the chiefs of the tribe "had foreseen the coming of statehood for the Indian country, and citizenship for his people and the Indians of other tribes" and had met to devise a way to prepare the tribe (Littleheart 29). Littleheart states that the tribal leaders

> had determined to build great boarding schools in which to gather all the children of the Chickasaw and teach them the white people's language and the white people's ways; that they had passed a law forbidding the teaching of the Indian language. (Littleheart 29)

Littleheart's quote is particularly significant because it demonstrates that tribal leaders wanted to prepare the tribe for their future, *their future as a tribe,* and considered the learning of "white people's language" as necessary to their continuance, and furthermore links "white people's language" to "white people's ways." Instead of trying to become a part of the American culture, the tribe was trying to integrate American customs into their *own* culture. The plan was thwarted when leaders discovered that many full bloods would not let their children go to boarding school;

therefore, the neighborhood schools were established in full blood areas. Some families were paid to board their children. Littleheart says that this method had the desired effect, that the full blood families eventually learned the ways of the white people, and that many Chickasaw intermarried with white settlers (Littleheart 30). According to Littleheart, the tribe made a concerted effort to assimilate and become Americanized; however, their primary purpose in assimilation was tribal survival through cultural change. The acceptance of aspects of the American culture never meant the rejection of their own.

Missionaries, who had a different agenda for the literacy education of the tribe, played an important role in the establishment and operation of the Chickasaw boarding schools. The Presbyterians sponsored the Wapanucka Institute for girls in 1852 and the Burney Institute for Chickasaw girls in 1859, while the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy for boys, the Bloomfield Academy for girls, and the Collins Institute were founded under the auspices of the Methodist church. Missionary women served as the teachers of the academy. Most were young women from the northeastern region of the United States. Catherine Hobbs states that Troy, Hartford and Mount Holyoke "became prototypes for women's institutions in the Midwest and far West as well as the South . . . [and often] sent young women graduates . . . to Native American reservations to spread the ideology both of literacy and of Christianity" (Hobbs 14). Teaching at the mission schools was decidedly not a job for the weak in spirit. Teachers were expected not only to teach several classes, but also "to supervise the domestic chores of the students in kitchen and dining room.

They were also pressed into service for Sunday School instruction" (Hiemstra 38). Because of their demanding schedules, many teachers suffered from physical breakdowns and used the summer vacation to recuperate so that in the fall they could start over again (Hiemstra 38). The men who served as teachers or superintendents were also expected to do church work.

In "Presbyterian Mission Schools Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws" William Hiemstra discusses the Presbyterian Mission Schools among the Chickasaws and Choctaws. His comments on educational practices, curriculum, and teaching do not differentiate between the tribes. He does state that in 1852, the Chickasaws appropriated $5,000 more than was stipulated by their contract in order to increase and improve their educational facilities (Hiemstra 35). He goes on to say "In many ways the people of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations proved their interest in education. They discouraged truancy. They sacrificed the services of the children at home in order that they might attend Spencer Academy or another boarding school" (Hiemstra 35). That the schools generally maintained capacity enrollment shows that the tribes were pleased with the instruction, and Hiemstra maintains that the missionaries were impressed with their students as well. Hiemstra describes the curriculum at the Presbyterian managed Choctaw schools, but not the Chickasaw. In all likelihood, schools managed by the same church probably had similar courses of study. Hiemstra lists the following subjects in the academic literacy curriculum: "Reading, Writing, Orthography, arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, United States

History, Algebra, and English Composition." Textbooks include: "Swift's First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, Greenleaf's Mental Arithmetic, Comstock's Youths Book on Astronomy, Emerson's Historical Catechism of the Bible, and Gallaudet's Natural Theology" (Hiemstra 36). The schools did have a domestic literacy curriculum, and girls were instructed in related skills such as needlework and household duties, and boys were instructed in agriculture and mechanical labor, subjects which may or may not have been based on reading and writing, but which are also related skills and part of the domestic literacy curriculum. The religious literacy curriculum, which was probably the most heavily emphasized, consisted of church services, Sunday school classes, and daily Bible lessons, all of which are literacy event, based directly on reading and writing.

The Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy and Wapanucka Institute

As I researched Bloomfield, I came across some information about other Chickasaw boarding academies, the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy and the Wapanucka Institute, both of which closed with Oklahoma statehood.[10] Although not much has been written about them and very few records remain, the information I have found is important

[10]I have found very little information about Collins or Burney. The Collins Institute, also known as the Colbert Institute, was established in conjunction with the Methodist church in 1854. It was located in Perryville, which was in the Choctaw district in order to accommodate the Chickasaw living in that region (Gibson 203). According to Gaston Litton's "Education During the Territorial Period," the school was co-educational and followed the same plan of instruction as the other Chickasaw schools. The Chickasaw legislature made provisions for the Burney Institute, sometimes called the Lebanon Institute in 1857. Located near Lebanon, the school was contracted to the Presbyterian church. The Civil War interrupted the school's progress as a girls' academy and the institute became the Chickasaw Orhpan Home and Manual Labor School in 1887 (Missions and Missionaries of Indian Territory 97).

because, as sister institutions, they provide a context for what was happening at Bloomfield and because they offer insight into the Chickasaws' literacy goals during this time period. The accounts of the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy and the Wapanucka Institute match Hiemstra's description of Chickasaw and Choctaw boarding schools.

According to Carolyn Foreman in her article, "Education Among the Chickasaw Indians," plans for the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy were begun in 1844. In "Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy" Carolyn Foreman reports that the Chickasaw Academy was located twelve miles northwest of Fort Washita, fourteen miles west of the line dividing the Choctaws and Chickasaws. Reverend J. C. Robinson of the Methodist Episcopal Church served as superintendent of the school, and the school was often referred to as the "Robinson School" during its early days (Foreman 341). The school was funded by tribal appropriations; the missionary society contributed one-sixth of its funds. From 1850 to 1876, the Chickasaw Academy was a boarding school for approximately 30 to 50 elementary and secondary level boys (Chisolm 118).

The academic literacy curriculum consisted of classes in reading, writing, arithmetic, English, Latin, logic, biology, geometry, and sacred studies (Gibson 203). The domestic literacy curriculum was heavily emphasized and the Chickasaw boys spent a part of each day learning "agricultural and mechanical arts on the academy's two hundred-acre farm and several shops" (Gibson 203). The following report documented by Foreman, which lists the textbooks used and the number of students using each textbook, mentions daily Bible lessons and vocal music,

demonstrates that the school did offer religious and social literacy instruction as well as academic and domestic. The report lists the following textbooks and subjects:

> 'Goodrich's First Reader, and spelling, 20; Second do., 9; Third do., 21; Fourth do., 28; History of North America, (Goodrich's) 21; Ancient do., 7; Mitchell's Primary Geography, 52;. Besides which, all who are capable read a lesson in the scriptures every day and practice in vocal music.' (Foreman 343).

The religious literacy curriculum entailed more than daily Bible lessons; the students also attended church services and Sunday school and read Sunday school papers. According to Foreman, students memorized nearly 6,000 Bible verses (Foreman 344).

The social literacy curriculum included more than the study of vocal music. Historian Johnnie Chisolm had the opportunity to talk with a former student of the academy, H. H. Burris who remembered the academy's exceptional music department and band. He stated "No better band was found in the Nation than that of the Chickasaw Male Academy. I was in that band. I played the flute. I still have it" (Chisolm 122). Another significant literacy practice was the production of a school newspaper. Burris also remembers helping write and edit the paper, *The Chickasaw Academic Leaflet*. Burris said "'We printed it, right there in the Chickasaw Academy. We set the type and printed it, right there" (Chisolm 122). The organization of a school band and newspaper is especially significant not just because they are types of literacy practices, but

because both are customs of the American culture, and the learning of customs, traditions, and ideology were important literacy goals.

Another tradition, graduation, was considered the highlight of the year. Both Burris and Mrs. Shearer, a teacher at the Academy in 1880 remembered the annual commencement as the most important event of the school. The actual commencement lasted hours and according to Shearer, "It might be compared to a world's fairs so great were the crowds of people" (Chisolm 127). Burris remarked:

> Everybody from everywhere came. Often as many as eight or ten beeves were barbecued . . . All who could be taken care of slept in the Academy . . . But there were never too many to be fed by the school. (Foreman 121)

Huge commencement ceremonies are mentioned over and over in the histories of the Chickasaw boarding academies. The scope and significance of the commencement exercise demonstrates the value that the Chickasaws placed on education. Achieving literacy was something to be celebrated.

All of the Chickasaw schools were disrupted by the Civil War. After the Civil War, the tribe took complete control of the schools, excluding missionary input altogether. After the Civil War in 1868, Joshua Harley was placed under a contract system with the Chickasaw Legislature as superintendent. He became one of the most recognized superintendents of the academy, and the school was so often referred to as the "Harley Institute" that its name was finally changed sometime after 1889 (Chisolm 123). Harley died at the institute in 1889. Unfortunately, the academy was

partially burned between 1880 and 1885. Because the repairs would have cost almost as much as a new building, a new academy that held as many as 85 students, also known as the Harley Institute, was built in Tishomingo County. In spite of the fact that, according to Shearer, the school "reached its zenith of glory between 1895 and 1902," the school was forced to close its doors shortly before statehood. After statehood, the Harley building was used as a County farm and was later purchased by the Riverside Country Club of Tishomingo. Many students of the academy became prominent in the Chickasaw Nation as well as in the state of Oklahoma. Several of the students became active in the Chickasaw Nation and used their education to help benefit the tribe. The success of the students indicates the extent to which their education helped them to negotiate cultural boundaries and gain power for the tribe.

In 1852, the Wapanucka Academy for Girls opened just two years after the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy under the supervision of Reverend Hamilton Bale: ıne of the Presbyterian church. According to historian Muriel Wright e academy was located on the upper course of Delaware Creek, appro .ately five miles northwest of the town of Wapanucka, in Johnston County and was first officially called the Wapanucka Female Manual Labor School (Wright, 402-405). The school was first referred to as Allen's Academy after James Allen, who supervised the building of the school. Visitors to the area called the school Rock Academy because of its limestone exterior. Finally, the academy was called the Wapanucka Institute (Wright 405). The Chickasaw tribe appropriated funds that furnished three-fourths of the money to support the building,

while the missionary board supplied the remaining one-fourth. During its operation, the school boarded from between 40 and 150 Chickasaw girls of all ages. A school year consisted of four terms of ten weeks each, generally beginning in October and ending in July (Wright 408).

The academy was staffed mostly by women, many of whom came from the northeastern United States. Unmarried teachers received $100 in cash per year in addition to board. Married male teachers received $200 in cash per year, $25 for each child, and board for the entire family. The students were divided into three schools: primary, middle, and third. The following list of textbooks denotes the academic literacy curriculum: "McGuffey's readers and spellers, Smith's First Book in Geography, Smith's Inductive Oral Arithmetic, Smith's Quarto Geography, Tower's Grammar, and Ray's Arithmetic" (Wright 414). Religious literacy instruction came not only in the form of church services, but in some of the required textbooks such as "The Bible, Child's Catechism, the Assembly's Catechism" (Wright 414). The girls were also received domestic literacy training in related skills such as needlework, and housekeeping. The domestic literacy curriculum did not include manual labor or school maintenance. The heavier work at the academy, such as hauling, cutting wood, and tending stock was not included in the girls' duties and was instead done by African-American servants hired from Chickasaw slave owners (Wright 409). Unlike the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy, Wapanucka did not provide a social literacy curriculum. Superintendent Balentine said of the first year, "There has been much labor and much accomplished, but their readiness to learn, their obedience

. . . and their respectful kind manner, have lightened the work much, making the term pass of rapidly" (qtd. in Wright 415).

Like the other academies and schools, the Wapanucka Institute suffered from the Civil War. The school was discontinued in 1860 and re-opened in 1868 under the complete control of the Chickasaw tribe. According to the U. S. Agent for the Chickasaws and Choctaws,

> The schools among these Indians . . . were almost entirely destroyed by the war, [and] are once more in a prosperous condition, and are as largely attended as the generality of schools in the most enlightened States. (qtd. in Wright 422)

It has been said that both boys and girls attended Wapanucka after its re-opening; however, no documentation proves this. In 1872, the Chickasaw Legislature re-established the academy and stated that

> forty-five Females between the ages of fourteen and eight years old shall be selected for this School . . . students to remain not longer than four years . . . and then to be transferred to the High School there to complete a thorough English course of study. (qtd. in Wright 424)

Because it was condemned as unsafe, the academy closed in 1901 and re-opened two years later. Finally, shortly after statehood in 1907, the academy closed for good, and the building and land were sold at public auction. Although several articles list the names of male academy students who became politically prominent within both the tribe and state, little has been written about the eventual successes of the women who attended Wapanucka Institute.

Under missionary administration, there is no doubt that religious literacy was the most heavily emphasized type of literacy instruction at both the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy and the Wapanucka Institute. Domestic literacy training was very important at the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy, but perhaps served a different purpose for the Chickasaw than it did at the off-reservation boarding schools many children from other tribes attended. The purpose of manual labor at many Indian boarding schools was to teach the students to be subservient and accept what was considered to be their places in life. For the Chickasaws, however, agriculture was an important part of their economic base as it had been in Mississippi. The students at the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy learned agricultural skills so that the tribe could compete economically with white farmers in the region. After the Civil War, the tribe took control of the academies, excluding missionary control, and consequently, the emphasis on religious literacy. Finally the tribe had the chance to develop the academic literacy training they had sought for so long.

Post-Civil War Years

After the Civil War began, the Confederacy signed a treaty with the Chickasaws and Choctaws; their ownership of slaves created a natural alliance with the Confederacy. Nearly 250 members of the Chickasaw tribe were sympathetic to the Union and moved north to Kansas where they stayed until 1865. Chickasaw troops served in the Confederate Army, and

one of their first acts was to bring their children home from schools; the schools were closed for the duration of the war.

After the Civil War, the treaty of 1866 with the United States re-established the governments of both the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations. The Chickasaw government's primary concern was the re-organization of the schools.[11] Most of their money went to subsidize their twelve neighborhood day schools. According to Wright, insufficient funds and the disrepair of the buildings hampered their efforts, and the old academies were not reopened as boarding schools until after 1876. Missionaries were excluded from any further association with the schools after the Civil War. The Burney Institute re-opened as the Chickasaw Orphan School because of the large number of orphans after the war. The other academies retained their prior status. From that time on each was managed by a superintendent under contract with the Chickasaw school trustees (Wright 92). In the constitution adopted in 1867, a special section was devoted to "public education" and the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction was created. Wright states that the Chickasaw government disbursed large amounts of money over the years for the maintenance of the educational system. Some teaching positions went to Chickasaws who had previously attended the schools and "the best-paying teaching positions [were] distributed through political patronage and favoritism" (Wright 92). Because of the corruption that occurred under

[11]After the Civil War, both the Chickasaws and Choctaws refused to accept their freedmen as citizens, and, consequently did not provide for their education. According to Gaston Litton, the federal government appropriated $10,000 yearly out of the Leased District funds of the Chickasaws and Choctaws. A school was established in each nation with the appropriations (Litton 249). Litton goes on to say, that in spite of these efforts, very few freedmen ever received schooling before statehood (Litton 250).

the contract system at most of the academies, the federal government found it easy to find reasons to close the academies after Oklahoma statehood in 1907. Bloomfield was the only academy that remained open after statehood.

For the Chickasaw tribe, literacy education was not the "practice of freedom" Shaull suggested in the foreword of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* For years, the federal government tried to kill Indians or acculturate them. Missionaries tried to civilize and convert them. The Chickasaws fiercely struggled for survival in a world whose goal was to transform their culture by assimilating them and teaching them subservience. The tribe chose survival, knowing that survival meant change. The Chickasaws were forced to leave Mississippi and move to Indian Territory; removal was inescapable. But the Chickasaws took control of their situation as much as they could, making provisions for their own boarding academies, sending their children to eastern boarding schools a full twenty years before the first federally run off-reservation boarding school opened. Literacy, for the Chickasaws, was a way to control their own transformation; it was not a practice of freedom, but a practice of control--a way to create an acceptable place for themselves in a different world. What the federal government and missionaries did not count on was the ability of tribes to accept "American" ways without rejecting their own culture. The Chickasaws were not passive recipients of literacy and the cultural practices tied to it. As Brian Street discusses in *Social Literacies,* indigenous peoples "find pragmatic ways of adopting elements of the new ideology, or of the new forms in which literacy is introduced, to

indigenous belief and practice" (36). This was true for the Chickasaws. Change did not mean the end of tribalism, but tribal preservation. Bloomfield's story began, not in Indian Territory, but in Mississippi when the tribe received their first literacy instruction, thus beginning their long tradition of placing value on education. This early story shows the perseverance and determination of the Chickasaws to school their children and in doing so, preserve their nation.

Chapter 3

Chikasa vlltek i̲holisso apisa
(Chickasaw Girls' School)
Bloomfield Under Mission Control and Tribal Control:
From Literacy to "Christianize" and "Civilize" to Literacy to "Equalize"

We were taught to *Obey* and everything moved like clock work. The girls all worked and enjoyed it. Right there we learned many lessons that will be with us always. The one above all was to love our neighbor, and from the spirit I see manifested here to-day among you, my little sisters. I feel that that has been the motto of Bloomfield.

Mrs. Mead, student of Bloomfield, 1857,
Bloomfield Alumni Association Meeting, 1926

Have it said that you are from Bloomfield.

E. B. Hinshaw, superintendent of Bloomfield, 1895-1906

Although I grew up in Ardmore, Oklahoma, only a few blocks from Carter Seminary and had classmates who boarded there, I did not realize until I was in college that Carter was once Bloomfield, the school my grandmother attended. I began to ask questions and was amazed at the answers. Claudine went there? It burned how many times? The Chickasaws actually controlled it? My family and I began digging at the Chickasaw Council House Museum and local libraries, calling relatives. I kept going, sifting through programs of commencements that occurred a century ago, looking at dozens of photographs of white gowned young

girls as stiff as wedding cake brides, regarding their earnest faces and imagining. What would they say to me now? People gave me more recent programs, pictures, Polly in a Pilgrim dress. *What happened there?* Questions, questions, questions. Bloomfield was the only one of the Chickasaw schools that remained open after statehood--until 1949. Why? What happened in the early years that made it special? What *would* those people in the pictures say--what *did* they say? *"Right there we learned many lessons that will always be with us. The one above all was to love our neighbor."* A Mrs. Mead said that. She started school at Bloomfield in 1857; she was eight years old. It was run by the missionaries then. *"Have it said that you are from Bloomfield."* That was in Nettie Burris's class notes. Hinshaw was the lecturer. Those were the years of Chickasaw control--the "golden years." Finding information about the early years of Bloomfield was difficult; few records remain. Bloomfield was indeed the only school allowed to continue after statehood. Somehow, receiving an education at Bloomfield had become a tradition. Something was accomplished in the early years of mission and tribal control that was obviously very special. The missionaries and the tribe both had visions of what they would accomplish at the school. Literacy, after all, is never without purpose. What *were* the purposes of the mission and the tribe and how did the literacy curricula of the school change to fulfill those goals?

The Mission Years

For the Chickasaw tribe, providing literacy instruction for their children was a matter of survival. After their removal to Indian Territory, the tribe, reduced to subsistence living, nearly lost their status as a nation when the Choctaw tribe began to take control of their finances. The Chickasaws fought to regain control of their finances and their nation and took every step possible to rebuild their economic base. Knowing that economic success was directly tied to the literacy education of their children, the tribe made provisions to build neighborhood day schools and boarding academies for their children, daughters as well as sons. Literacy education would help them gain control of their situation and ensure their future survival and success. The tribe, not quite back on their feet, were not yet able to run the schools themselves. Help was not far away. Protestant missionary groups had been working closely with the federal government in an effort to solve the "Indian Problem" throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a partnership that had become even stronger since the Civilization Act of 1819. The missionaries' purposes were obvious. According to educational historian Lawrence Cremin, "The efforts of these missionaries were explicitly intended to create Indians who would be 'English in their language, civilized in their habits, and Christian in their religion'" (Cremin 234). Schooling, the glory of the republic, considered the panacea for every ill, was their method of choice. Consequently, different Protestant missionary groups helped the Chickasaws establish their schools. Reverend John Harpole Carr, of the Methodist Episcopal Church was selected by the Indian Mission

Conference to superintend the first Chickasaw missionary boarding school for girls, Bloomfield Academy.[12]

Before statehood, no organized system of schooling existed; a school was usually only as good as its superintendent. Consequently, Reverend Carr, who remained superintendent of Bloomfield until the Civil War, played a major role in shaping the school and its early traditions, beginning with the actual building of the school. As the story goes, Carr pitched a tent in the selected site, a field of wildflowers, and began construction. The school was originally located near what is now Kemp, Oklahoma in Bryan County, which was just across the Red River from Denison, Texas, the closest town and principal trade center. Bloomfield was supported by joint appropriation of the missionary board and the annuity fund of the tribe. In addition, the school received $1,000 of the interest of money given to George Washington by the first U. S. congress for his services in the Revolutionary War. Washington refused the money and set it aside for educational purposes. The $1,000 from Washington's education fund was included in the tribe's funds, and because of this, the school was originally supposed to have been named after George Washington. This would never happen. According to the old story, Jackson Kemp, former Chickasaw chief wanted to mail Carr a letter but did not know where to mail it since Carr was living in a tent on the prairie. Kemp, remembering the beautiful wildflowers covering the

[12]According to Sarah J. Carr, Reverend Carr's third wife, in her personal narrative "Bloomfield Academy and its Founder" John Carr became a member of the Indian Mission Conference in 1845 and traveled in the Doaksville Circuit. After his first wife, Harriet Newell, died, he was appointed to the "African Mission," an appointment he ws forced to resign after two years because of health problems. The Mission Conference then appointed him to build and superintend Bloomfield (Carr 368).

prairie, addressed the letter, "Bloomfield" (Carr 368). The name stuck, and the school was never known as "George Washington." The Chickasaw tribe supplied two-thirds of the funds for Bloomfield's maintenance while the missionary board supplied the remaining one-third, figures which should have given the tribe control of the school; however, the missionary board appointed the superintendent and had control of the school's operation. Carr was appropriated $66 yearly per pupil. He received a salary of $600 per year; teachers received $100, a figure that gradually increased to $250 by the time of the Civil War. According to Sarah Carr, John Carr's third wife, in her personal narrative of the school, all of the remaining salaries and other expenses came out of the yearly appropriations for the school. Reverend Carr kept the school out of debt by doing all of the building and repair work himself and by farming. He raised wheat, corn, and potatoes and had two orchards that furnished the school with apples, plums, and peaches. At this time hired help attended to the upkeep of the school; later in the school's history, most of the work was done by the students.

The missionary board recruited its teachers from colleges in the northeastern section of the United States. In 1852, John Carr married his second wife, Angelina Hosmer, from Bedford, Massachusetts, who was working in the Choctaw mission schools. A graduate of Mount Holyoke, Angelina planned the school's curriculum and schedule. Carr and his wife went to Massachusetts in search of teachers and employed Miss S. J. Johnson of Lenox, Massachusetts. Angelina Hosmer Carr and Susan (Sarah) J. Johnson constituted the first teaching staff at Bloomfield; Mrs.

Carr served as the matron and teacher and Miss Johnson as a teacher. The school only had a few other teachers under the Carr administration, all of whom were women.[13]

The mission boards purposely recruited women teachers for the Indian schools because women "would provide a benevolent influence and a refined atmosphere" (Peterson 105). They believed that women could help in the running of the mission schools by cooking, sewing, nursing, and housekeeping, while at the same time serving as role models in "'the practice of moral and religious principles'" (Peterson 105). Susan Peterson in "Patient and Useful Servants: Women Missionaries in Indian Territory" points out that "the main goal of the missionary was 'in reference to religion' and that the guiding purpose of the school was 'the salvation of the people'" (106). Most of the women missionaries before the Civil War came from the northeastern section of the United States, particularly Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, and New York, and had attended women's colleges like Mount Holyoke. Most found it necessary to "temper their abolitionist sympathies" in Indian Territory since some of the tribes owned slaves and would ally themselves with the Confederacy in the Civil War. Working at the mission schools was not easy. Various illnesses plagued the women and constituted the major problem faced by the mission women. According to Peterson,

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[13]Sarah Carr gives very little information about the women who taught during the Carr administration. She states that Miss Eliza Martin from Collin County, Texas came in 1855 and served as matron for one year. In 1856, Miss Ellen I. Downs from Champlain, New York became matron and remained in that position until 1861. In 1860, Miss Rebecca Pritchett, who lived with her mother in Virginia Point, Texas, was hired to teach the primary department (Carr 370-1).

> The most prevalent diseases were bilious fever, pleurisy, consumption, dysentery, whooping cough, scrafula, scurvy, liver trouble, and pneumonia. There were outbreaks of typhoid, measles, cholera, and smallpox to contend with and many new teachers became weakened from malaria attacks. Some succeeded in regaining their strength during summer vacations, but others did not . . . Missionary reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs contained frequent mention of wives, daughters, or female teachers who died during service in the field. (113)

Angelina Hosmer Carr ranked among these women who lost their lives in Indian Territory; she died in 1864. According to Carr's, narrative, both teachers and students experienced severe health problems and there were "eighteen funerals in that thinly settled neighborhood during that first winter" (Carr 373).

Because the school was not finished by December, 1852, a neighborhood school was established for both boys and girls until the construction of Bloomfield was finished. The Chickasaw tribe, anxious to continue their literacy training, sent their children to the neighborhood school while they waited. In her narrative, S. J. Carr recalls the names of three male students who attended the neighborhood school: Simon Kemp, Martin Allen, and Levi Colbert. These students were the sons of mixed blood tribal leaders, and their attendance demonstrates the desire of the leaders of the tribe to educate their own children, serving as role models for other families and influencing the entire tribe's opinions and

attitudes about literacy instruction. The school opened its doors in the fall of 1853 with a total of 25 pupils, which was the total number of students the school could accommodate at that time (Carr 369). Again the Chickasaw leaders proved their support of literacy education as well as their influence over other families. Carr lists the names of some of the older girls who first entered the school:

> Serena and Lorena Factor, twins, daughters of full blooded Indians.
>
> Rebecca Burney, daughter of a deacon of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
>
> Rebecca Colbert, sister of Frank Colbert who built the bridge across the river.
>
> Amelia and Lucy Kemp, daughters of Jackson Kemp.
>
> Mary and Frances Kemp, daughters of Joel Kemp, who owned the ferry.
>
> Mary Ann Colbert, daughter of Morgan Colbert, deacon in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.
>
> Alice Warner, daughter of Dr. Warner. She married Captain Welch of the Confederate Army.
>
> Mary Reynolds, whose parents resided in the neighborhood.
>
> Elvira and Elzira Colbert, daughters of Lemuel Colbert and Carter Elzira Hoyt.
>
> Others were: Emily Allen, Sallie Shecho and Mildred Fletcher. (Carr 373-374)

The list shows that many of the students in attendance were from the prominent mixed blood families of the tribe. Several of these families moved to the area surrounding the academy, which contributed to the growth of Kemp as a town. Both the number of students enrolled and the listing of students indicates the support the school received from the tribe. The school's capacity enrollment when it first opened shows the number of families willing to do without their daughters' help at home. Carr's list of students shows a number of Kemps and Colberts, families who were among the most active and influential in the governing of the tribe. Many of these families were mixed blood; this may indicate a reluctance on the part of full blood families to educate their children. To offset this tendency, many full blood families were paid to board their children. Some families, however, still refused to send their children to boarding schools. As a result, neighborhood schools were frequently established in areas with a high full blood population to encourage the education of full blood children.

The missionaries goal was to "civilize and Christianize" the Chickasaw tribe. They chose literacy instruction through formal schooling as the instrument to achieve this goal because they believed in the ideology of literacy. For the missionaries, literacy was the agent of salvation, nationalism, individualism, prosperity--every progressive ideal. Literacy and civilization came hand in hand because Christianity could not be achieved without literacy, and the missionaries knew, certainly, that there was no such thing as a "civilized" person who was not a Christian. As Cremin points out "the tie that had existed in the minds of

the colonial missionaries between piety and civility, between the ways of Christian belief and the ways of Anglo-American civilization, persisted into the national era" (234). Mount Holyoke graduate Angelina Carr established a curriculum at Bloomfield that would help realize the mission's goals: literacy to "Christianize" and "civilize."

The literacy curriculum at Bloomfield under missionary control had academic, social, domestic, and religious strands. The daily schedule at Bloomfield was patterned after the Mount Holyoke plan. The opening morning session began at 8:30 a.m. and continued with a recess to 12:30 p.m. (Carr 369). The academic literacy curriculum consisted of the following subjects:

> if necessary the English language and the alphabet, spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, both mental and written, and, as they advanced, natural philosophy, grammar, "Watts on the Mind," botany and history of the United States during the regular school hours. (Carr 369)

The academic literacy curriculum was patterned after the classical model at Mount Holyoke; however, it is important to note that during this period of time, many of the students enrolled probably had not have received any prior literacy training. The classes offered were primary level, reading and writing courses designed to introduce the students to English literacy. According to Susan Peterson the language barrier was among the major problems missionary teachers faced. Some school tried interpreters while others expected students to learn English as they were taught to read. Neither system was very considered successful (119). Other academic

courses were offered, but were probably taught at a primary level as well (Notes and Documents 488). At this time, no entrance requirements based on literacy existed, as they did in later years.

Afternoons were devoted to social literacy instruction. According to Carr's narrative, the girls were taught "needle, wax, worsted and coral work, also drawing, painting and vocal music. In each of these departments they showed taste and made fair proficiency" (Carr 369). Although learning social skills was an important part of the acculturation or "civilization" process, domestic literacy skills were an even more basic staple, and domestic literacy instruction was a significant feature of Bloomfield. The pupils were also taught to cut, make, and mend their own clothes in the afternoon, as well as how to do "all the ordinary house work, cooking excepted. The older pupils were taught each Saturday in the pastry department" (Carr 369). Older students were expected to study from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m.. Domestic literacy instruction was an especially important part of the school's curriculum because it was that type of instruction that would teach the girls the "civilized habits" missionaries considered essential.

Religion literacy instruction was easily the most prominent and heavily emphasized part of the curriculum. According to Carr, during the opening exercises of school each morning, the girls who could would memorize the same verse from the Bible instead of having Scripture reading. Each girl started with the first chapter of the Book of John, which begins, "In the beginning was the Word." Carr states that "Everyone was taught as far as possible to explain the meaning of the verse and give the

definition of the most important words. They finished the Gospel some time before the school suspended" (370). In the evenings, the students would repeat the verse they had memorized that morning. Another similar exercise the girls engaged in was voluntarily selecting a Bible verse, of their own choosing, which they repeated at the breakfast table. Most of the girls and all of the teachers participated in this ritual (Carr 370).

Reverend Carr preached on Sabbath morning in the school house every other week; He preached in neighboring communities on the other Sundays. Sometimes, the Reverend John Harrell, who was the superintendent of the Indian Missions would preach in his place (Carr 370). Occasionally, the church services would be held outside "in an arbor, near the branch, in the summertime" (Carr 370). Carr writes "They were nature's children and much preferred to worship in God's universal temple. At these services the whole school was always in attendance" (370).

Bible classes were held for the older students in addition to regular church services. Mrs. Carr taught the advanced class in Bible topics and "her pupils would compare well with any children of the same opportunities in the understanding of the Scriptures" (Carr 370). Younger students were taught the catechism and advanced to Bible classes after they had successfully memorized the catechism. Carr also states that singing was an integral part of the family worship. Religious study permeated the atmosphere at Bloomfield and was as much a part of the curriculum as academic or domestic study. The personal letters of two students, Harriet

Byrd and Lorena Factor reveal just how significant religious studies were at Bloomfield.

Bloomfield Academy, C.N.
April 3, 1857

Rev. Dr. Sehan:

I presume you would like to know how much we are progressing in our studies; and in religion. The school is doing well and most of the girls have become interested in religion since you were here last. We are very much interested in our Sabbath lessons. We love to search the Scriptures, for in them we find the words of eternal life.

Respectfully yours,
Harriet Byrd
(qtd. in Hall 13)

Bloomfield Academy, C. N. April 2, 1857

Rev. Dr. Sehan:

Dear Sir:

I am still in school, and the subjects which I am pursuing are arithmetic, geography, United States History and botany; all of which interest me very much, especially history. I am trying to make the best possible use of these advantages, hoping that some day to be qualified to impart the instruction

which I receive to those of my own people who are yet in ignorance and also to tell them of the love of Jesus.

Respectfully yours,

Lorena Factor (qtd. in Hall 14)

The following letter from teacher Angelina Carr also shows the stress on religious progress at Bloomfield under mission control:

Bloomfield Academy, C. N. April, 2, 1857

Reverend E. W. Sehan, D. D.

Dear Brother:

Our dear brother McAlester preached here last Sabbath and assisted Mr. Carr at communion. It was a very solemn and interesting day for us all. Fifteen of our pupils united with the church; of these twelve were baptized, the other three having been baptized in infancy. Sister E. I. Downs, our new teacher, whom we were expecting when you were here, also joined the church by letter.

Yours truly,

Angelina H. Carr (qtd. in Hall 14)

Religion is the main topic of these letters; academic progress is secondary if mentioned at all. Like the authors of the letters, S. J. Carr devotes the bulk of her narrative to spiritual matters. In her account of the activities at Bloomfield, Carr spends ample time describing religious actives; however, she merely lists the academic subjects without describing how

they were taught or going into depth about the progress made. Because the mission teachers' primary purpose was the "salvation of the people" (Peterson 106), her lengthy description of religious studies and activities is not surprising. The missionaries used literacy education to aid in the "salvation" and "civilization" of the Chickasaws. Teaching the students white Christian traditions was not enough; stripping the students of native traditions had to happen simultaneously. Cremin points out that "along with their formal classroom instruction, the missionaries were expected to work with the adults, on the one hand teaching them the reading and religion that would prepare them for conversion and on the other hand teaching them the ways of contemporary white agriculture and domestic economy" (Cremin 234). Thomas Hartley Crawford, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1838 to 1845 addressed the important link between literacy and acculturation:

> They must at the least be taught to read and write, and have some acquaintance with figures, but if they do not learn to build and live in houses, to sleep on beds; to eat at regular intervals; to plow, and sow, and reap; to rear and use domestic animals; to understand and practice the mechanic arts; and to enjoy, to their gratification and improvement, all the means of profit and rational pleasure that are so profusely spread around civilized life, their mere knowledge of what is learned in the school room proper will be completely valueless. (qtd. in Cremin 241)

Carr's narrative verifies this philosophy. She does not spend much time describing the progress of the students in their academic, social, or even domestic classes; instead, large sections are devoted to the progress made in religious literacy and in the habits of civilization. The missionaries made every effort to strip the students of their native culture. In fact, one of the purposes of having boarding schools instead of neighborhood schools was so that the students would be removed from their families and other "heathenish" influences. The girls were not allowed to speak the Chickasaw language at school, and in the cases of many mixed blood families, at home. Carr describes the ways in which the missionaries helped change the customs of the Chickasaw people. She writes, "It is no easy task to persuade anyone that the way their ancestors did is not the very best way" (Carr 372). For example, while the Carrs were at Bloomfield, polygamy was outlawed, and many couples were required to have a lawful marriage ceremony performed. She writes that "Many a couple, with children grown around them, stood up and made the solemn promise to cleave to each other 'so long as ye both shall live' as though they had not been doing so through all the years" (Carr 373). Another example she cites was the method of burial in Indian Territory. It was the Chickasaw custom to bury their dead in their houses. The first Chickasaw was buried in the cemetery while the Carrs were there. While Carr seems very proud of this progress, she writes about the Chickasaws with love, calling them "warm friends," not "heathens," and during the Carr administration in 1859, an older student at Bloomfield, Serena Factor, was

allowed to teach the primary grades until Rebecca Pritchett was hired in 1860. Carr writes that Serena was "honored and beloved by all . . . the girls all called her "cousin." She was gentle and sweet in her disposition, a devout Christian and exercised a strong controlling influence over the whole school" (372). The fact that Serena, a full blood, was allowed to teach the primary grades indicates a good relationship between the missionaries and students at this time and says a great deal about the missionaries' attitude toward them.

The missionaries did accomplish their literacy goals; by the Civil War, most Chickasaws were converted to Christianity, and it has been said that by the time the missionaries left Indian Territory, there was not a Chickasaw child who could not read and write. The Chickasaws, generally not in favor of the emphasis on religious literacy instruction at Bloomfield, had their own agenda. During the period of missionary control, the Chickasaws rebuilt their nation, solidifying and expanding their economic base and preparing their children to be leaders providing literacy education for them. For the Chickasaws, literacy was a way to "equalize" and enable the Chickasaws to compete economically with the white settlers populating the region. The Chickasaws began their tradition of education in Mississippi and had done everything in their control to school their children from sending them east to building schools themselves. They were proud of their accomplishments. Consequently, Bloomfield's commencement activities were celebrations.

Carr recalls that the school closed every year with a public examination, which was widely attended. Carr does not describe what sort

of examinations were held or how long they lasted. She does, describe the size and nature of the commencement activities. She writes

> Many of the parents lived at a distance and those who had no relations in the neighborhood stayed all night with us the night before. All who attended the examination, whether living near or far away, were invited to dinner. Usually as many as three hundred dined with us on that day alone. (Carr 372)

Commencement activities like the ones described were not uncommon in Indian Territory. The fact that so many people attended attests to the tremendous value the Chickasaws placed on the education of their children, female, as well as male, an education they would soon control.

The War Years

Neither the missionaries nor the Chickasaws could have known that Bloomfield would soon close its doors. The Civil War began in 1861, interrupting the plans of both parties and drastically altering life in Indian Territory. The fathers of many Bloomfield students immediately enlisted with the Confederacy and took their daughters home for the duration of the war. The Chickasaw Battalion was ordered to move in to Bloomfield and used the school house as a hospital and the sitting room as a commissary. Because the buildings were not large enough to accommodate all of the soldiers, many of them camped in the prairie surrounding the school (Carr 374). Historians Leland Clegg and William Oden discuss the hardships of the war years, hardships many don't associate with Indian Territory. They write "It would be painful even to

write of the atrocities committed toward the Indian during the war. All the horrors of the Civil War were found in Indian Territory--looting, fire, murder, rape. There were inter-tribal conflicts and rival councils set up" (Clegg 31). In spite of the terrible conditions many missionaries, including the Carrs stayed on in Indian Territory. Near Bloomfield, the Carrs opened a free neighborhood school, which was open three hours every morning. Carr writes that no missionaries received any sort of compensation during the war; they subsisted on whatever they could produce themselves. In 1865, John Carr married his third wife, Susan J. Johnson. According to Carr, "There was no hope of Missionary operation being resumed for years to come" (375). Consequently in 1867, the Carrs took their three children and moved to Paris, Texas to make a living, thus ending Bloomfield's missionary years.

The Golden Age

After the Civil War, the Chickasaws were once again faced with the rebuilding of their tribe, their resources, their schools. Reorganizing the schools was not an easy task, and this time, the Chickasaws would do it alone. The missionaries were gone, and the tribe took full advantage of the opportunity for complete control. For once in Bloomfield's history, the Chickasaw's literacy agenda was the only agenda. This is especially remarkable when placed in national context. The Chickasaws took control of their schools in 1865 and would keep control until 1907. Carlisle, the first off-reservation boarding school for Indians did not open until 1879. The children of too many other tribes were taken too far from their homes

and placed in federally run off-reservation boarding schools, schools that were certainly not interested in the opinions of the tribes. The Chickasaws had their own schools, *controlled* their own schools, schools located in the Chickasaw Nation in Chickasaw communities. It is no wonder that the period of Chickasaw control is considered the "Golden Age" of Bloomfield.

The years between the end of the war in 1865 and 1876 are sketchy. Although the Chickasaws adopted a new constitution in 1867, specifically stating that their children should be provided with a quality education (Mitchell 415), the school was not well organized and was "largely conducted upon the personal responsibility and individual of the person in charge" (Hall 19). The administration of the school changed hands several times between 1865 and 1876. At the close of the war, Captain Frederic Young of the Confederate Army, who later served as Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, opened a neighborhood school in the Bloomfield building that both boys and girls attended while the Chickasaw tribe reorganized.[14] An accidental fire destroyed the buildings; however, the neighborhood school continued operating elsewhere. In 1867 the tribe rebuilt the school, this time of frame and brick instead of logs.
In 1868, Dr. and Mrs. H. F. Murray succeeded Captain Young. Mrs. Murray, who had been educated in Salem, North Carolina, was originally from Mississippi and was a member of a prominent Chickasaw family. Dr. Murray, was a physician and retained his practice during his

[14]One of the students in attendance during the Young administration was Douglas Johnston. Johnston later served as superintendent of Bloomfield and was so respected that he was appointed Governor of the Chickasaw Nation.

administration of Bloomfield. The couple was considered well educated and culturally refined. Mrs. Murray bought the school its first piano; music was considered a vital part of the school's curriculum thereafter. The Murrays were succeeded by Professor Robert Cole in 1870. Cole acted as superintendent for the following five years and established high school grades.

Between 1865 and 1876, the individual superintendents of Bloomfield essentially did whatever they saw fit. The truly "golden years" of Bloomfield began in 1876, when the tribe, having fully reorganized their government, turned to the organization of their school system and made their purposes for Bloomfield clear. A school report, published in *The Vindicator*, a Choctaw newspaper in 1873, shows the nation's desire to raise the standards of their schools and their reasons for doing so. The report states:

> Send all our children to schools that could be carried on in a manner that would reflect honor on the Nation, besides conferring a lasting good upon the rising generation . . . and in their belief we ask the help and support of every sober thinking mind of our country. Let us inaugurate schools that will elevate our children to an equal footing with our white brethren. (Mitchell 414)

In 1876, the Chickasaws acted on those desires and Governor Overton signed a law establishing a Female Seminary at Bloomfield Academy. Professor J. E. Wharton was named superintendent of Bloomfield, which would be completely run under the auspices of the Chickasaw Nation; all

missionary contact was excluded. The law made provisions for a new and more accommodating school building. Furthermore, the law stipulated that the school would be contracted out to a superintendent of "the highest moral character, or Christian standing, with practical and successful experience in teaching and managing a first-class boarding school" (Hall 20). Significantly, the law established entrance requirements for the seminary, which stated that "no student shall enter said seminary until they can read well in McGuffey's Fifth Reader, spell well, and read in the New Testament, and be of good moral character" (Hall 20). The enrollment of the seminary was capped at 45 students; no family was allowed to send more than one child, and the child could attend for a total of five years (Hall 20).

Two other significant laws regarding education were enacted in 1876. One act both authorized the Superintendent of Public Instruction to issue certificates and designated a standard set of textbooks for each school. This section stated that "the standard of school books for the several schools shall be of uniform character, and shall be of the Southern Series of school books, and no other books shall be used or taught in any of the schools in this Nation" (Hall 21). The second law authorized the punishment of persons who attempted to decoy children away from school. All three of the laws show the Nation's interest in the betterment of their schools. Governor Benjamin Burney shared Governor Overton's interest and in 1879 stated that "'Education is the lever by which our people are to be raised to a mental level with our surroundings'"(Mitchell 416).

Robert Boyd succeeded Professor J. E. Wharton as superintendent in 1880. Boyd left in 1882, and the superintendentship was taken over by Douglas H. Johnston, a former student of the Bloomfield neighborhood school after the Civil War.[15] In 1888, the Bloomfield Academy buildings were condemned and the Chickasaw Council passed an act to build a new academy in Panola County. The Old Bloomfield was to be sold at public or private auction (Hall 25-26). Unfortunately the new school was destroyed by fire in 1896. The school was again rebuilt, in the same place as the previous one (Notes and Documents 328). Elihu B. Hinshaw served as principal under Johnston and succeeded him as superintendent in 1896. Hinshaw was considered an outstanding educator and held an A. B. and an M. A. degree. He was a pharmacist, lecturer, lawyer, author, and eventually the vice-president of the Southeastern Normal School at Durant, Oklahoma.

The Johnston and Hinshaw administrations are considered the high water mark of the period of Chickasaw control. The Chickasaws took full advantage of their period of control. Their purpose was to "inaugurate schools that will elevate our children to an equal footing with our white brethren." For the Chickasaws, the purpose of literacy was not to "Christianize" but to "equalize." The Chickasaw had a different literacy agenda than the missionaries and changed the literacy curriculum of Bloomfield accordingly. Although religious literacy was certainly not the focus of instruction under Chickasaw control, it was not entirely absent.

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[15]Douglas Johnston married one of the school's teachers, Betty Harper. Betty Harper was the daughter of Serena Factor, who was not only one of the school's first students, but the first student to become a Bloomfield teacher and the school's first Chickasaw teacher.

The students did attend church services every Sunday as well as Sunday school classes, which were taught by the school's teachers. Furthermore, the ritual of beginning each day's work with the reading of a scripture continued. The laws enacted by the Chickasaw Council required teachers, administrators, and students to be of good moral character or Christian demonstrating that although missionaries were not a strong force in Indian Territory after the Civil War, their legacy continued; most Chickasaws were Christian, and Christian values were an integral part of the school.

The academic literacy curriculum was much more stringent than under mission control. The Chickasaws set entrance requirements for Bloomfield and because basic literacy was one of those requirements, Bloomfield could offer more subjects and at a more advanced level. More students were able to meet the entrance requirements because many of the students were mixed blood and had at least one parent that spoke English. Language barriers were, in all likelihood, not as significant a problem as they had been in the missionary years. However, Douglas Johnston had a tremendous interest in popularizing education among the full blood families, and during his administration, the Chickasaw Legislature made a grant of ten dollars per month "for the maintenance of each pupil, whether living at home or boarding at Bloomfield" (Hall 29). As a result, more and more families moved within the surrounding area of Bloomfield, and the poorer families were able to educate their daughters at Bloomfield.

If the academic literacy curriculum was rigorous, it was due largely to the efforts of Professor Hinshaw, who developed an improved course of study for Bloomfield students and submitted it to the Chickasaw Legislature for approval. The Legislature was so pleased with the new plan that they showed their approval by issuing a charter to the school that authorized Bloomfield to confer diplomas on those students who had successfully completed the requirement for graduation. Bloomfield was the only one of the Chickasaw academies to receive this privilege. Furthermore, graduates of Bloomfield were immediately considered eligible to teach at any of the schools in the Chickasaw Nation without passing any teacher examinations (Mitchell 419).[16] The academic literacy curriculum offered at Bloomfield under Chickasaw control was considered "equal to the course of study offered in present day junior colleges" (Mitchell 419). According to historian Irene Mitchell the academic literacy curriculum included: "logic, chemistry, astronomy, botany, typing, art, elocution, and music" (Mitchell 419). Grade books and records available at the Chickasaw Council House Museum show that classes were also given in spelling, reading writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, U. S. history, physiology, rhetoric, civil government, natural philosophy, general history, algebra, and English and American literature (Appendix 3). According to Ralph Hall, classes in English composition and literature, mythology, and Caesar were also offered. Some of the books used include "Steele's Science and Astronomy, Barnes' Historical Series, Reed and Kellogg's Grammar, then Rhetoric, Ray's Arithmetic and Wentworth's

[16]One of the first students to graduate with a diploma from Bloomfield was Alice Hearell, who later married "Alfafa" Bill Murray, one of the most famous governors of Oklahoma.

Geometry" (Hall 37). The Chickasaw Nation furnished all of the textbooks. The academy also had "a good library, including encyclopedias, latest standard works in history and science, and choice literature" (qtd. in Hall 36).

The school's good reputation was not only due to the high academic standards. During the Johnston and Hinshaw administrations the school was sometimes referred to as the "Bryn Mawr of the West." It was considered a privilege to attend Bloomfield. Graduates enjoyed a measure of prestige and were known as the "Bloomfield Blossoms" (Mitchell 412). The Chickasaw's wanted to compete in a white world and needed their daughters to be "cultured" and "refined," able to negotiate social and economic boundaries. The students were trying to achieve social literacy so that they could participate in the white world and in the Chickasaw community as role models and leaders. Perhaps the "effective literacy," discussed by Hobbs, best suits the type of literacy education offered Bloomfield under Chickasaw control. The students were trained to be "True Women," and "Republican Mothers" who could effect change in their own lives and in the lives of others and help to ensure the survival of the Chickasaw Nation through change. Professor Hinshaw placed tremendous emphasis on the fine arts, and the social literacy curriculum was the most prominent part of the curriculum at this time in the school's history. Records from the Chickasaw Council House Museum list the following type of social literacy instruction: physical culture, oil painting, pastel, charcoal, and pen work, piano, guitar, mandolin, violin, banjo, voice, and elocution (Appendix 3). The records show that the school also

had an orchestra, glee club, basketball teams, and Indian Club Swingers (Appendix 3).[17] The art department was considered especially strong, and the work of Bloomfield students was exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis in 1904 and was awarded a prize (Mitchell 419). Hinshaw placed such emphasis on the social literacy curriculum that the following letterhead was used on Bloomfield stationary: "Bloomfield Seminary. Literary, Music, Art, Elocution. A School for the Higher Education of Chickasaw Indian Girls and Young Ladies." That phrase exemplifies Hinshaw's purpose. Notes from his lectures also show the stress he placed on social literacy. The following quotes were taken from the class notes of Nettie Burris:

> Be dignified and cultured young ladies.
>
> Be a graduate of some institution.
>
> Do not tease whatever you do.
>
> Away with selfishness, we are not living for selves alone but for the happiness of those with whom we come in contact.
>
> You will want to be measured by your success.
>
> Higher up the cherry tree grows the cherry.
>
> Have it said that you are from Bloomfield.

The class notes demonstrate that the Bloomfield Blossoms were striving toward "True Womanhood," an ideal of the late nineteenth century. The ideals of True Womanhood are manifested in every aspect of the social literacy curriculum, and the following poem, included in a

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[17]The Bloomfield basketball team may have been the first basketball team in the state of Oklahoma. During the Hinshaw administration, a Mr. Light, who had previously coached basketball at Notre Dame, came to teach at Bloomfield and organized and coached the basketball team.

commencement program could almost be viewed as a mission statement or class motto:

"The World of Women"
Be a woman--brightest model
of that high and perfect beauty.
Where the mind, and soul, and body,
Blend to work out life's great duty--
Be a woman--naught is higher
On the gilded list of fame;
On the catalogue of virtue
There's no brighter, holier name.

Be a woman--onto duty
Raise the world from all that's low,
Place high in the social heaven
Virtue's fair and radiant bow!
Let our influences to effort
That shall raise our natural human;
Be not fashion's gilded lady,
Be a brave, whole-souled true woman!

Commencement, always an important tradition at Bloomfield, was not just a celebration during the "golden years," it was a social *event*, the social event of the Chickasaw Nation. Rigorous oral and written examinations came first. The examinations were public, and parents and friends were allowed to participate in the questioning of the students

(Mitchell 420). Examinations were reputed to last several days. The commencement celebration began. Bloomfield was considered the cultural seat of Indian Territory, and newspaper reporters covering the event made a point of listing the most prominent guests and detailing the events of the day. Copies of newspaper articles covering the commencement exercises can also be found in Appendix 3 in addition to several different commencement programs. Because the commencement exercises were considered major social occasions, each year students made their own graduation dresses, which were considered to be the height of fashion. The class of 1904 chose white Japanese silk for their identical, ankle-length gowns; they were considered "fashion plates of loveliness" (Mitchell 420). The students also wore black mortar-board academic caps, which were embroidered with the initials "B. B." (Bloomfield Blossoms) in bright yellow (420). It has also been said that the caps were embroidered with a blossom. A music and literary program was presented to the audience. Each member of the graduating class was required to write and present an original essay at commencement (Mitchell 420-421). The following is a reproduction of the 1904 commencement program (Appendix 3). The program reveals a great deal about the social literacy curriculum emphasized at Bloomfield under Chickasaw control and can be compared with the commencement program from 1928, when the school was under the control of the federal government. The 1928 program is included in Chapter Four.

Program

Invocation.

Chorus--"Summer Fancies" . . . . . Metra

Glee Club.

Salutatory--"The Development of the Indian

Territory."

Lucy Young.

Class Recitation--"Wind."

Orchestra--"Zacatecas" . . . . . Cordina

Essay--"Helen Keller" . . . . . Jane Newberry

Piano (30 hands)--"Les Amazones" . . . . . Streabog

Carrie Love, Neta Johnston, Carrie Young, Melissa Johnson,

Sudie Durham, Lucy White, Grace Moore, Lizie Grinslade,

Effie Archerd, Illa White, Jennie Connelly, Rowena Burks, Eddie

Turnbull, Elsie Reynolds, Lorena Eastman.

Poem--"The Lotus Eaters" . . . . . Tennyson

Pantomimed by Class; Reading, Carrie Young.

Orchestra--"March Edina" . . . . . .Wiegand

Essay--"Our Alma Mater."

Charlotte Goforth.

Chorus--"A Natural Spell" . . . . . Bristow

Glee Club.

Piano (16 hands)--"La Premier Danseuse" . . . . . Zetterba

Myrtle Conner, Sophia Frye, Vera Burks, Cecil

Burris, Lena Thompson, Minnie Good,

Bennie Kemp, Ramona Bynum.

Program

Essay--"A Rough Surface, Polished, Shines Forth in Brilliancy."

Myrtle Conner.

Chorus--"Morn Rise" . . . . . Czebulka

Glee Club.

Solo (5 pianos)--"Invitation to a Dance" . . . . . .Weber

(op. 65.)

Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Bertie Smith,

Lucretia Harris, Rennie Colbert.

Essay--"History Making of the Present Age."

Ramona Bynum.

Duet (4 pianos)--"June Bugs" . . . . . Holst

Lillie Sacra, Daisy Harris, Illa White, Ruth

Easkey, Zula Wolfenbarger, Josie McGeehee,

Lena Thompson, Abbie Mead.

Orchestra--"Valse Ninette" . . . . . Bosce

Piano (quartette)--"Grand March" . . . . . Wallenhaupt

Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Bertie Smith, Lucretia Harris.

Valedictory--"Peace On Earth."

Bertie Smith

Graduating Ode--"Dear Sisters, Now Adieu" . . . . . Ayres

Seniors and Juniors.

Presentation of Certificates and Diplomas.

As evidenced by the program, the students were required to study canonical literature and poetry and the performing and fine arts, a strong social literacy curriculum that led to Bloomfield's reputation as a cultural hub. Historian Irene Mitchell writes "Music and drama at Bloomfield Academy were a part of the culture and had a lasting influence upon life in the Chickasaw Nation and . . . cultural heritage . . . received from the graduates of Bloomfield left its impress in the state of Oklahoma" (423).

Conspicuously absent from every list of course and activities are cooking, housekeeping, and sewing, staples of a domestic literacy curriculum. The fact that the students made their own graduation dresses is the only evidence that homemaking skills may have been part of the curriculum during this period. The emphasis on social literacy and the lack of emphasis on domestic literacy is due to the Chickasaw's mission for Bloomfield. The students at Bloomfield under Chickasaw control no longer needed the lessons in "civilization" that the missionaries provided. Now they wanted lessons in refinement. The Chickasaws did not provide literacy education for their daughters so they could become the servants of white women. Bloomfield Blossoms received literacy instruction so they could become the wives of leaders in the nation and leaders in the community. Bloomfield students needed social literacy instruction so that they would be prepared to participate in both Indian and white communities and help the tribe transcend significant social and economic boundaries.

Based on the records and articles I have found regarding the curriculum and life at Bloomfield, preserving the Chickasaw language and

heritage were most likely not on the educational agenda. It would be a mistake, however, to suggest that elements of Chickasaw culture were *never* present. For example, one commencement program includes an exhibition of Indian Club Swingers (Appendix 3). A newspaper article, which lists the foods served at the commencement barbecue, mention *tah fut la,* a popular Chickasaw dish. The 1904 commencement program lists the reading of an essay on the development of Indian Territory. But those instances are minor. Traditional Chickasaw culture was certainly not taught and perhaps discouraged at Bloomfield; however, at this early date, Chickasaw culture was not *lost* in the community. Students who attended school during the era of Chickasaw control did not face the same loss of traditional cultural heritage as students who attended after Oklahoma statehood, in the next generations because the old ways, though evolving, were still all around them. However, living cultures do change and customs and traditions evolve into new traditions. For the Chickasaws, education had become an important tradition. By changing, the Chickasaws were not becoming "less Indian" but were proving that their culture was dynamic and thriving. The Chickasaws, in control, defined what it meant to be Chickasaw.

Twilight

Unfortunately, the Chickasaws were not allowed to keep control of their educational system for long. In accordance with the Curtis Act of 1898, the Federal government took control of the schools and appointed a superintendent for Indian Territory (Jackson 201). The final years of

Bloomfield under Chickasaw control were years of struggle; Oklahoma statehood was imminent, and the federal government was constantly trying to take control, much to the dismay of the Chickasaw tribe, who was proud of what they had accomplished at Bloomfield. The tribe fought the takeover for several years and used every maneuver they could to keep control; however, they could do nothing because the Secretary of the Interior took control of their funds. Joe Jackson states that the tribes were forced to "cooperate with the inevitable,'" and that

> Under Federal control many outward forms were left unchanged. In fact, it was not unusual to leave popular Indian leaders in important administrative positions. However, there was never any doubt as to where the ultimate source of authority was lodged. (Jackson 201)

At the turn of the century thirteen day schools, four academies, and an orphans' home were in operation in the Chickasaw Nation. Meanwhile, the whites who lived in rural areas and who "generally outnumbered the Indians" had no such educational advantages. Jackson states that they had no way to tax themselves for schools and that because they were not allowed to attend the Indian schools, "the rural whites had to depend on scattered, poorly taught and poorly equipped subscription schools" (Jackson 202). The federal government, looking ahead to the advent of statehood, made provisions to increase the educational opportunities for rural whites. By 1907, 996 day schools were in operation; most of them were open for whites. In addition the government raised teacher standards and made provisions for towns to vote bonds and levy taxes for

education. The government also changed the curriculum of the academies "to the end that vocational work replaced or supplemented much of the liberal arts" (Jackson 202). By statehood in 1907, the government had laid the necessary groundwork for a state educational system by using the Native American school systems as blue prints, school systems they would soon abolish. Bloomfield Academy, the pride of the Chickasaws, was the only boarding academy allowed to remain in operation after Oklahoma statehood.

Chapter 4

Ohoyo inananoa
(The Women's Story)
Bloomfield/Carter Under Federal Control:
Literacy for Home Living

I will tell you something about stories . . . They aren't just for entertainment. Don't be fooled. They are all we have, you see . . . You don't have anything if you don't have the stories.

Leslie Marmon Silko. *Ceremony* (2)

The summer of 1996 was unlike any other summer of my life. I seemed to spend every weekend driving around Oklahoma, many times with my father and sometimes my mother too, to the homes of women who attended Bloomfield/Carter. I was getting to know my relatives. Those were good days--summertime mornings or afternoons spinning out, one hour turning into two, then three--long conversations over lunch or dinner or ice cold tea. Daddy and his cousins would talk and laugh, telling the old stories and poking through shoe boxes and albums full of old pictures. I listened. I had never heard many of these stories. People forget to tell them sometimes. But stories are important, and I heard lots of stories that summer, not just from relatives, but from other women as well. I made quite a few new friends. I learned that listening to stories is as important as telling them and that shared stories and sharing stories are what make a family a family and a community a

community. The students at Bloomfield/Carter became both to each other, family and community. I'm not sure that's what the federal government intended to happen, but it did. The school changed drastically after statehood. The government had different goals for literacy education than the tribe or the missionaries and changed the curriculum of the school accordingly. The women remember their school days well; they have given them some thought over the years. I listened to their stories. This is what they told me.

The Struggle for Control

The Chickasaws fought to maintain control of Bloomfield as long as they could, but they were really fighting a much larger battle. The federal government was determined to make a state out of Indian Territory. For this to be accomplished, Indian governments had to be dissolved, and the their lands, held in common ownership, had to be liquidated into individual allotments; surplus land would be given to white settlers. Consequently in 1893, Congress applied the General Allotment Act or the Dawes Act to the Five Civilized Tribes and established the Dawes Commission to carry out the process (Gibson 268). The Dawes Commission would create tribal rolls; only enrolled members of a tribe could receive allotments. For the Chickasaws, the General Allotment act did not just mean the liquidation of their land, it meant the literal termination of their government, of their status as a semi-autonomous nation. According to the Atoka Agreement of 1897, which applied to Choctaws as well as Chickasaws, the Chickasaw government would

terminate on March 4, 1906, and tribal members would become citizens of the United States. Chickasaw voters rejected the Atoka Agreement but their rejection was overridden when Congress adopted the Curtis Act in 1898, an act which contained the Atoka Agreement and a proviso that it be resubmitted to the Choctaw and Chickasaw voters (Gibson 272). The Chickasaws were forced to cooperate with the inevitable. Although the federal government was actually supposed to take control of the schools with the Curtis Act in 1898, the Chickasaws used every maneuver possible to keep control until 1906, the date of their termination. After statehood, the Bureau of Indian Affairs appointed Chickasaw governors who served as liaisons between the tribe and the federal government and who served as figureheads for the tribe. The governor had limited powers; the Chickasaw legislature was non-existent. The federal government would maintain this policy until 1934 when congress, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, passed the Indian Reorganization Act, also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act. The Reorganization Act repealed the allotment system and allowed tribes, at their own option, "to incorporate under provisions of the act and elect tribal government invested with certain legal powers" (Hirschfelder 23).[18] The Chickasaw tribe, however, did not elect their own governor until 1973. The first appointed Chickasaw governor in 1906 was none other than Douglas Johnston, the well respected and well loved former superintendent of Bloomfield Academy. Johnston served as governor until his death in 1939. Bloomfield/Carter

[18]According to Arlene Hirschfelder and Martha Kreipe de Montano, the Indian Reorganization Act repealed the allotment system, which had been in place for 47 years. They write "Its fundamental aims were development of Indian economic resources and restoration of Indian self-determination through revival of tribal governments" (23).

remained in operation as a boarding academy for girls until 1949. Johnston, during his governorship, may have used his position to help keep the school open. Johnston was not alone; Charles D. Carter, a Chickasaw/Cherokee, was elected to represent Oklahoma's fourth district in Congress from 1907-1926. Carter secured the appropriations for improvements for Bloomfield and did everything possible to keep the school open. Consequently, the Chickasaw tribe may not have had any real power of their own or clout with the federal government, but two of their most respected members did.

Literacy Purposes and Change

For the Chickasaws, literacy instruction through formal schooling was a tradition, and Bloomfield was the symbol of this tradition. During the "Golden Years" the Chickasaws controlled Bloomfield and provided literacy instruction for the students that would fulfill their goals as a tribe. Students, striving to attain the ideals of "True Womanhood," were training to become leaders in their community and in Indian Territory. The federal government had other purposes. The government used the Dawes and Curtis Acts as weapons to dissolve tribal governments, solving the "Indian Problem" once and for all. The government, having given enrolled Chickasaws citizenship, expected Chickasaws to become good citizens by completely acculturating and believed that Bloomfield, like the off reservation boarding schools in operation throughout the nation, would be the perfect place to accomplish these goals. The federal

government still believed in the ideology of literacy--literacy instruction through formal schooling was the necessary agent for change.

The federal government began their period of control by making several significant changes. The first change dealt with the school's administration. Professor E. B. Hinshaw, who had long been a favorite professor, principal, and administrator at Bloomfield, was succeeded by J. R. Hendrix, who was appointed by the Federal Government. Hendrix had also served as superintendent of the Ardmore Public Schools (History 7). The government also made two changes in the school's funding. Under both mission and tribal control, funding had always been provided to allow for a ten month school year; the federal government only provided funds for a nine month school year. Furthermore, the federal government discontinued the ten dollar monthly payment to families who boarded their children (Hall 50). In addition, the government altered the school's general setup, downgrading the school by reducing the grade levels from twelve to eight, then re-adding the ninth grade in 1927, (Mag. 9). Significantly, they also introduced a new domestic literacy curriculum, training students could put into immediate practice; under federal control, students would take care of the general maintenance of the school. Domestic literacy training was a necessary part of citizenship training, the federal government's objective. According to Bloomfield/Carter superintendent, Eleanor Allen, in interview with educator Ralph Hall in 1933, the mission of the school "was to develop an all-around efficient citizen" by providing instruction in "industry, esthetics, and civic and community interests" in addition to basic academic

instruction and cultural training (Hall 55). Allen considered the school "a preparatory school in more than one sense" (Hall 57). Students were prepared to attend high school at one of the Indian schools, Chilocco or Haskell, or to attend public high school. In addition, because many students did not continue their education but went back home or married and began homes of their own, a primary focus of the school was to enable the students to make those homes better places by providing training in "home living," that is, domestic art and science, cleaning, gardening, animal care, nutrition, and etiquette. In other words, the students were being taught "how to live" whatever sort of life they chose and to help others in their families and communities. Allen never mentions assimilation as an objective of the school; perhaps, that is because it was so generally accepted as the objective, that it need not be said.

A final change dealt with the school's student population. From 1917 to 1929, when the school was maintained with Chickasaw funds, which were controlled by the federal government, the school was open to Chickasaw girls only, of any degree of blood. After 1929, the school was maintained by federal funds and was open to Native American girls of any tribe who had at least one-quarter or more degree of blood (Hall 54). Although girls of any tribe were allowed to enroll, the majority of students were Chickasaw and Choctaw. Most of the remaining students were members of one of the other Five Civilized Tribes, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole. Hall states that Federal authorities were not only interested in enrolling students of a great degree of Indian blood, but also in enrolling "restricted" students, who often had a higher degree of blood, and any

students who had the poorest educational advantages at home (Hall 54-56).[19] Government Indian agents also strongly encouraged orphans and partial orphans to attend. This system for school enrollment differed greatly from previous systems. Under mission control, all families were encouraged to send their daughters. Under Chickasaw control, students applied to attend and were selected based on their ability to meet the entrance requirements, one of which was basic literacy. Under federal control, students attended for various reasons. I asked each of the women I interviewed why they had attended Bloomfield/Carter instead of a public school. The answers varied, to a certain extent according to *when* they attended. For example, women who attended in the 1910s and 1920s were often sent to Bloomfield/Carter because attending the boarding academies was a family tradition. Hettie McCauley King, a student in the 1920s, remembers how proud her parents were to be graduates of Chickasaw boarding schools. She remembered,

> Well my parents sent me because my mother went to the old Bloomfield . . . and my dad was in a government school . . . I forgot the name of where he went [Harley] . . . she just believed in education. And it was a government school . . . it was back then . . . it was considered really good. (2-6)

Hettie's remark indicates that her mother, a graduate of Bloomfield under Chickasaw control, "believed in education," and furthermore, believed in

[19]After the Dawes Act and the termination of tribal governments, the state classified Indians as restricted or unrestricted. Restricted Indians were considered wards of the government, had limited control over their own finances, and were eligible for educational benefits. Unrestricted Indians were legally independent from government wardship and handled their own affairs. At some schools unrestricted students had to pay to enroll. An individual's status was often very complicated (Lomawaima 37).

government run education. Bloomfield had obviously kept its good reputation, even though the Oklahoma public school system had been in place for a number of years. For Juanita Keel Tate, a student in 1918, attending Bloomfield was not only a matter of tradition, but a matter of practicality. She recalled how her mother, a graduate of Old Bloomfield, "was determined that we were going to get our education" in spite of the family's financial difficulties. Juanita's mother, Lula Potts Keel, was responsible for raising and educating 12 children. Juanita said that her mother "saw that we were all educated, and that is really the reason we all attended Indian schools. We could get a good education with practically no expense" (4-5). Like Hettie's mother, Juanita's mother valued education--to such an extent that all twelve of her children attended boarding schools instead of helping out at home.

Some of the women I spoke with remember being influenced by the stories of older sisters, cousins, and aunts who were attending Bloomfield/Carter. For example, Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929) remembers pleading to go to Bloomfield after seeing how "different" her cousin Dinah was on her very first visit home. She recalled,

> But I have a first cousin [Dinah]. . . had a first cousin, and she is Amanda's grandmother . . . But she got to go to Bloomfield because she was orphaned in that her father was not living and that helped her. When she came home the first time from Bloomfield, she was just so groomed and everything, you know, just so different and I wanted to go. So I just kept

> on and kept on until . . . my dad was the one who had the say-so and they took me to Bloomfield. (2)

Frances did not think she would get to go because as she remarked "they would not just take you if you lived near a school. They'd rather take orphans and children that lived a long way from school." Frances felt lucky because her walk to the nearest public school was difficult, enabling her to attend Bloomfield. She said,

> So, let's see, I lived about five or six miles from Bethel school and we had to of course walk and a lot of times when we would have a heavy, heavy rain well it would be hard for us to get across a little old branch. And . . . but this is the only way that helped me get in to Bloomfield. (2)

Frances wanted to attend because she wanted to be like her cousin Dinah, who was "so groomed." She actually attended because of her difficulty getting to school. Frances was hardly the only woman who spoke of practicality and the difficulty of getting to a school from rural locations. Many women, especially Depression era students, spoke of hard times and education disadvantages and stated that going to Bloomfield/Carter was the *only* way to get an education. A few remember being recruited by an Indian Agent because of their home situations. Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947) related the following story, which is exemplary of what many Depression era students expressed.

> Well, we lived out on a farm and at that time, there was . . . we didn't have a car and the school was probably . . . Yes,

> across the creek where you had to have mules to get everyone across when the creek was up. There was no bridge there at that time . . . This was back in the years of the Depression anyway. And there was no money . . . And some of the people in the neighborhood that were around there that had to go to that school had their feet wrapped up in tow sacks in the winter time. It was not an easy time . . . You know there was no money, and no food, and no grass, and no water, and no animals . . . That's why we were sent, I'm sure. Part of it . . . I understood that Indian Agent . . . you had to pay if you were Indian and you went to a public school anyway . . . So . . . but things were different when you had an Indian Agent to take care of your business for you. And the business included the children and where they went to school. So I know that my mother . . . I have no doubt what she said when she was advised to send us to boarding school so the Indian Department would not have to pay that school any money . . . Because whatever that Indian Agent advised them to do, they probably did because supposedly it would have been for their benefit. (6)

Fanny and Leona's story not only expresses how difficult life was during the Depression years in Oklahoma, but also gives insight to the way in which students were recruited by the government and what families' attitudes might have been about Indian Agents and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Like Fanny and Leona, Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin,

and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949) also said that they went to Carter because "the government came to see our mother and said we had to." The Pittman sisters were considered partial orphans because their father died when they were very young, thus making them candidates for recruitment. Mary, Clara, and Ula Mae made the following statement which not only explains *why* they had to go, but also reflects what they thought about the decision.

> There was nine children and our daddy died in 1934 . . . we didn't even get to go home for at least a year or two . . . I had to go up there when I was six. And I was the youngest. How I missed my mama. But I got over it. And I really . . . We had real good food. Three meals a day. A nice warm bed and clean linen. They taught us to always be clean, take care of our teeth. They took good care of our health . . . But I really enjoyed it and I really appreciated it because it really taught us things. And we had good things where we probably never would have had. (2-7)

The Pittmans' story is probably very typical of the experiences of many women who attended Bloomfield/Carter. Many women spoke of homesickness at first, but also realized that they "had good things"--they were well fed, well dressed, warm, and taken care of. The federal government recruited children from single parent families or from any family having financial difficulty whose children were at an educational disadvantage. The government recruited students with educational disadvantages, often from rural, primarily Indian communities, and with

higher degrees of Indian blood because they wanted to acculturate these students as much as possible, their purpose for literacy education. The federal government dissolved the Chickasaw's tribal government and made all Chickasaws U. S. citizens. The government believed that U. S. citizenship training would be effective only if students ceased to be citizens of their Indian nation and gave up the traditions and customs of their cultures. Because of this the school did not emphasize or even expose the students to any aspect of native history, heritage, or culture. As Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929) commented, "We were never exposed [to Chickasaw History]. I sure don't remember any of it . . . I don't think they . . . I think that they wanted us changed" (30). Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947) agreed that the school was trying to change them and described the changing process in greater detail. According to Fanny and Leona,

> [Teaching Native heritage and history] was not done then. They were taking this Indian person and turning them into . . . white people . . . a white person. So you have to eliminate everything culturally and everything else to get rid of that Indian, you know. Of course, it don't always work, but they tried very hard to do that, you know.

Some women remembered students who resisted "being changed." Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949) spoke of children, usually those of higher degrees of blood, who "couldn't handle it." They observed,

> A lot of those little kids could not adjust that were more Indian . . . We grew up around our non-Indian relatives. So we were never steeped in the Indian tradition . . . They just tried to get that out of you. They didn't want you to have any . . . They were changing us . . . You had to change with the times and that is where a lot of Indians have gone astray because they could not adjust. There are not enough programs to help them to live in what they call 'the white man's world.'
>
> (30, 45-46)

The Pittmans seem to accept what was happening as "just the way things were then" and also believe that changing with the times and adjusting to a "white man's world" is necessary. Claudine Williford King (1939-48) made a similar statement. Claudine is extremely proud of her heritage but does not regret what she was taught at Carter. She mentioned that they did learn some Indian history, for example,

> Yeah, we learned the Five Civilized Tribes and where they were located in the state . . . you know the old Picken's district and all those . . . the way the state was divided when they said that the Indians were going to get to have it all . . . you know, from now on. Ha. But they taught us all of that and then . . . but it wasn't an emphasis on Indians so much as it was just that they told us how it had been. They went on and taught us about other history. You know, it was . . . the emphasis then and I think it was good and I think it should

> be that way now was on everybody being American first and something else second, you know. I just think it was better that way . . . it works better that way. (21-22)

Claudine's statement indicates that she, like the Pittman sisters, thinks that the method Bloomfield/Carter used was probably the "best way," or a least a way to succeed in life. Although many women said they regretted not learning more about their culture and heritage growing up and took steps to learn more about it in their adulthood, they also believed that changing and adjusting was a necessary part of growing up.

As Leona Williford Isaac said "So you have to eliminate everything culturally and everything else to get rid of that Indian, you know"(42). The first item on the government's agenda to eliminate was the use of native languages. Forbidding the use of native languages was a standard practice at federally run Indian boarding schools throughout the nation and had been since their inception. Language, an obvious cultural marker, is one of the most basic aspects of an individual's personal and cultural identity. By forbidding students to speak their native languages, the government was, in effect, forbidding students to participate or even communicate with members of their cultures. Teaching literacy in English and only English was one way the government could shape the students' identities so that they would consider themselves Americans and not Chickasaws, Choctaws, or Cherokees. Of course, as Leona also said, "it don't always work" (42). While the government can attempt to strip students of what they consider "Indian" characteristics, tribes, who decide their own identities, can define and redefine what it means to be

Indian, selecting aspects of American culture and integrating it into their own. Throughout Bloomfield/Carter's history, students were strictly forbidden to use their native languages anywhere--in the classroom, on the playground, or in private. Fanny Hughes Bass, a student from 1911 to 1914, stated, "They didn't want anyone to speak Chickasaw . . . just English" (5). Students in later years remember finding ways to break the rule. For example, Claudine Williford King (1939-1948) stated "Yeah [students spoke Chickasaw] in our rooms and out on the playground. They . . . you weren't supposed to talk in you native language. And . . . but we did anyway. Especially out on the playgrounds and we were just careful when we were around the teachers no to do it" (12). But, as Claudine later related, not everyone was careful. Many women remember students who were punished for "talking Indian." Claudine related the following story describing the lengths to which one of her friends, a full blood student, would go speak her language:

> I had this one friend named Betty Lou Horse. She was full blooded Choctaw and she was just not going to give up on it. She just talked Chickasaw just any time she wanted to and she foamed at the mouth for the whole eight years because they would wash her mouth out with lye soap when you talked Indian. Yeah. She didn't care. That was her language. In fact, she was more comfortable in that. There were several who were, but she was the one that I remember . . . (12)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934) also remembers the language rule and discussed how difficult it was for some full blood students who

did not speak English at all when they first came to school. Jeanne told the following story, which describes what it was like for non-English speaking full blood students and how those students were treated by the teachers as well as the other students.

> I remember one girl who came after school had started, and I think I was in probably the second or third grade and she would not go to class but no one could . . . she didn't understand that they were trying to tell her because she did not speak English. And she would have been in that class and so when it was time to go into the classroom, she refused to go and they asked me to go see if I could coax her into the classroom . . . And she would not. She would just shake her head and I don't remember how they finally got her to go to the classroom, but I did feel sorry for her because I felt that it was the fact that she. . . I think she might have known a little bit of English, but the fact that they mostly spoke whatever her language was what made it so hard for her. And of course, she was frightened to death of being away from home . . . I think they knew enough that they could [leave home] . . . just like this girl. I think that she could understand and could speak a little, but would not. And that's the way they were more comfortable speaking their Indian language than they were white because they spoke a broken . . . called, we called a broken English . . . I remember this girl when she left there, she could speak just as well as anybody. And how they

> did that, I'll never know. But they were patient teachers and I don't remember that they had any special classes. They just more or less taught that student along with the rest and they picked it up. Now, not all ever gave up their broken way of speaking, but they certainly could communicate and we did not think anything about it at all. (16-17)

Although Jeanne describes the teachers as patient with non-English speakers, Bloomfield/Carter's rule about language use seems harsh by today's standards. What is surprising however, is that students frequently faced the same rule at home. Some parents and grandparents, especially if they were mixed blood or bilingual, not only discouraged their children from speaking their native language at home, but did not allow them to learn it in the first place. Parents believed that their children would not succeed in school or other aspects of life unless they knew English and knew it well. Many parents and grandparents thought that learning Chickasaw or another native language a detriment. Mixed blood families usually spoke English at home either because the white spouse never learned the native language or because the white spouse did not want their family to speak it. Ida Bell Hughes Martin (1920-1930), for example, stated "My mother didn't allow it. My daddy didn't allow it. My mother . . . talked the Chickasaw language . . . Well, you see, my daddy was white. And we was in a white district, I guess you would say" (5). Some of the women I spoke with understand their parents' reasoning for not wanting them to learn the language, but are saddened by the loss of language and wish they had learned it as children. Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

remarked "We didn't learn it, which I'm so sorry that we didn't. Because I would love to be able to talk" (5). Juanita Keel Tate (1918) remembers listening to her father talk. Her father's first language was Chickasaw and according to Juanita, "He spoke nothing but Chickasaw at home." In spite of this, Juanita only learned a few words and is not a speaker. Some families were more adamant than others about the home language rule and did not even allow the children to hear it spoken. Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934) told the following story to describe how language was handled at her home and why:

> We never . . . this family has never spoken anything except English, but we would ask Grandma Keel, which I knew she could speak it. But I never heard my mother not once, but I'm sure she knew it. And we would say teach us to speak Indian . . . not Chickasaw. And they would not do it. but when we would come into the room a lot of times, we would hear them speaking it. They immediately stopped. They never spoke it in our presence. My grandmother was adamant about not letting us learn that. We learned a few words. We had an uncle who when we got out of sight, we would have him teach us some words, but we really did not ever speak the language, which I regret. She said the way of the Indian was gone. We had to learn the way of the white people. That is what we were. We brought up as strictly white people. (3)

Although not every family was as strict about the language rule as Jeanne's, none of the women I interviewed were taught to speak their native language as children or could speak it now.

In order for the federal government to achieve their chief literacy purpose, creating "all around efficient citizens," they had to accomplish two tasks: stripping students of the culture and heritage and immersing them in activities that would foster patriotism and a nationalistic spirit. Students were encouraged to join the Girl Scouts and other civic and community minded organizations. The students knew that the school was federally run and remember learning about the government in civics classes and discussing current events. Ora Lee Chuculate Woods remembers,

> We had civics, and we had a flag pole in the middle. . . in the front lawn of the administration building we had a great big fish pond . . . a great big oval fish pond with gold fish in it. And in the middle of the fish pond there was an island and you could walk out there to the island to the flag pole and we would raise the flag every morning and brought it down at sundown every day. And it was a big event and we really did salute the flag and pledge the allegiance. Yes, and we recognized that the government . . . we learned that the government was good and that it was a government school and that it was because of the government that we were there. You know, we were aware. (15)

Historical circumstances helped the school achieve their objective. Many of the women I talked with attended school during World War I, the Great Depression or World War II. Depression era students knew that the government was helping their families; many of their fathers took jobs with the WPA, jobs which kept their families from starving. Students who attended during World War I and II had fathers, brothers, cousins, and uncles fighting overseas and recall worrying about the wars constantly. Nationalism surged and according to Juanita Keel Tate (1918), Bloomfield/Carter students, patriotic and eager to do their duty, contributed to the war effort in a number of ways. She recalls, "in my class we knitted dish rags for World War I. They were approximately a foot square . . . It so happened later on I knitted a sweater for World War II. I said, 'Well I knitted for two wars.' But that was good training for us" (10). Other students remember packing medical kits or growing victory gardens. The women remember the war years vividly and any discussions of citizenship training almost always turned to memories of war. Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947) related the following story:

> . . . we had the weekly reader . . . you know the current event reader every week and then we had drills . . . black out drills. We had to cover the windows with blankets . . . [some of the girls had fathers in the war] that is one thing about Indian men. A lot . . . most . . . I know in my family, all of them were gone. All that were of age was gone to the war. I had three uncles in the war and some brothers and several cousins. They were all gone except the old men and the little

boys . . . we . . . knit scarves and . . . even packed medical kits it seemed like or some kind of packing we did for the men. (22)

The federal government, in an effort to shape and mold Bloomfield/Carter students, encouraged or required participation in activities designed to foster nationalism and patriotism while at the same time discouraging or forbidding participation in native cultural activities. In the 1800s, missionaries built boarding schools far from Indian communities so that students would be "far from heathen influences." Students at Bloomfield/Carter, however, were not too far from their families even though they may not have gotten to see them very often. Although the administration wanted and needed parental and community support, they also needed a method of controlling the students' communication with their families. Letter writing was the chosen method. Pauline Williford Adkins remembers "We were required to write letters . . . and they read those letters" (28). Frances Griffin Robinson, who attended the school much earlier than Pauline remembers the same practices. She said "[Letters] were all censored. And if you put anything in there like I don't like school or something about one of your teachers, they would make you do it over. And they read all incoming . . . outgoing and incoming mail. It was all censored" (18). Letters may have been censored for a number of reasons. Perhaps administrators did not want students to become homesick or complain about the school. Another possible reason is that wanted to make sure the students were writing in English. Jeanne Liddell Cochran recalls "We had to write.

Everything had to be in English. Everything was English. Indian was out. We were Indian people, but this was a white method" (19). A few women do not remember writing original letters, but remember copying letters off the chalkboard in their English classes. Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch, who attended Carter during the late 1930s and the 1940s said,

> We had to write once a month . . . I remember we would say "Dear Folks, How are you? Fine, I hope." All of us wrote the same thing when we wrote . . . She wrote it on the board. We copied it. I can still see it. "Dear Folks" And I use to think, "What are folks?" And how are you. And the government saw that we mailed the letters. And they were free. (16)

Letter writing and censorship, citizenship training, and student population are all examples of ways the federal government changed Bloomfield/Carter after taking control in 1906. Bloomfield had always been the pride of the Chickasaws, especially during the "Golden Age," their period of control. Now the tribal government was dissolved and many of their schools were closed or closing with the exception of Bloomfield. Angry, the Chickasaws found a way to retaliate. Under mission and tribal control, Chickasaw families showed their support by sending their daughters to school and keeping Bloomfield's enrollment at capacity. The obvious way for Chickasaw families to show their opposition to federal control, then, was to refuse to send their daughters, which is exactly what they did. Under tribal control the school's

enrollment averaged 115; under the first year of federal control, 1907-08, the school's enrollment totaled only 43, with an average attendance of 24 (Hall 49). The decrease in enrollment at Bloomfield continued for the next few years, plunging so low that according to the 1911 Annual Report, Bloomfield maintained an average attendance of only 65%, the lowest average attendance of all the boarding schools (Hall 59). The Chickasaws' negative feelings toward the school were heightened by the fact that the school was completely maintained by Chickasaw funds, which were controlled by the Department of Interior, from the school's reopening in 1917 to July of 1929. Appropriations for the school from federal funds did not begin until 1930 (Hall 53). The Chickasaw's opposition of the school did not begin to lessen until 1910, when Annie Ream Addington, a member of the much respected Guy family of the Chickasaw Nation, took over the superintendentship of Bloomfield. As opposition continued to decrease, enrollments increased, and several improvements were made to the buildings, including the addition of cottages for domestic training (Hall 51). Addington's administration continued until January 24, 1914 when fire completely destroyed the school and all of its records. Bloomfield was not rebuilt, but was instead relocated to the site of the old Hargrove College in Ardmore, Oklahoma. Because the Hargrove buildings required many improvements and repairs, Bloomfield did not reopen until 1917 under the administration of one of the school's best known superintendents, Eleanor Allen. Allen, who had previously served as superintendent of the Wheelock Academy, a fact which probably comforted many Chickasaw families, is known for the many

improvements made to Bloomfield during her administration including the laying of the sewer, water, and gas lines, the addition of two wings to the Academic Building, a heating plant and steam laundry with equipment, a dormitory, which had a dining room, kitchen and bakery, and home economics department, and a dairy barn and cattle. She also improved the landscaping of the campus by adding many trees, a gold fish pool and flag pole, a small lake and outdoor stage, and works of art inside the buildings (History 7). Allen's administration continued until her first retirement in 1921 when she was succeeded by Minta Foreman, the superintendent at Wheelock Academy. Allen returned in 1923 and made several other improvements including a small cottage, poultry house, mule barn, oil house, boiler house, commissary, garage and implement shed, and employees' club (Oklahoma Indian School Magazine 9). Eleanor Allen remained until her second retirement in 1934 (History p. 7-8). During Allen's administration in 1932, the school was renamed Carter Seminary in honor of Charles Carter, who had always championed the school. Allen was the school's best known and perhaps most influential administrator. Very little information about the school's other superintendents or teachers exists.[20]

[20]I have found very little information about Bloomfield/Carter's superintendents after Allen. Allen was succeeded by Eva Lewers who served until 1936. Joseph B. Vernon acted as superintendent from 1936 to 1939 at which time William T. Johnson began his term, which continued until 1959. Johnson was the final administrator of the school while it was a girls' boarding academy; in 1949 Johnson enrolled 50 boys, making the school co-educational. Johnson left in 1950, turning over the administration to L. E. Larson, who served until 1957. Under Larson's administration in 1953, all students were integrated into the Ardmore Public School System although they continued to board at Carter, thus ending the history of Bloomfield/Carter as a boarding academy.

The teachers at the academy under federal control were employed by the U. S. Civil Service and were required to meet Civil Service standards. According to the Bloomfield Seminary Edition of the *Oklahoma Indian Magazine* in 1932, "Higher qualifications are now required for entrance to civil service teaching positions and together with the appointment of a special supervisor for the elementary grades, the standard of instruction is being rapidly raised" (15). At the time of Ralph Hall's interviews with Eleanor Allen in 1933, the Bloomfield staff consisted of "a clerk, five academic teachers, music teacher, two home economic teachers, two matrons, assistant matron, cook laundress, physician, engineer, dairyman, laborer, and two students assistants" (Hall 59). The teachers were paid year round and had 30 days of annual leave and 30 days of compulsory educational leave, during which time teachers worked toward credit hours for higher degrees (Hall 60). Unlike the teachers under mission and tribal control, who were frequently graduates of Eastern women's colleges, teachers under federal control came from around the area. Most of the women remembered very little background information about their teachers, if they were ever told any in the first place, and the names of teachers were long forgotten, with the exception of a few favorites. Many women recall that the majority of their teachers were white women. According to Dorothy Wall Holt, "A lot of our teachers were Caucasian. And if they were Indian, they weren't identifiable. If you look at them, you would say they weren't Indian" (18-19). Jeanne Liddell Cochran doesn't remember any "visible" Indian teachers either. She said, "I don't recall that they were Indian . . . they

were fair . . . I just assumed that they were not Indian . . . And I do not know what the qualifications had to be in order to get a job there, but it was really . . . I would think that at that time, a choice place for teaching" (13). Native teachers seem to have been few and far between, but not entirely absent, especially in the later years. A few women specifically remember Indian teachers. Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947) recalled "We had a full blooded Navajo Indian woman named Mrs. Webb that taught arts and crafts . . . She also taught at Chilocco because she was there when I went freshman year. She was teaching weaving." Pauline Williford Adkins, a student in the 1930s also remembers native teachers. She remarked,

> Most of them were white . . . We did have one lady that was Indian that I can remember . . . well, we had two. We had a Miss Lambert that came from Dougherty. And then we had this Canadian . . . she was Indian and French but came from Canada . . . Miss Hudson. And she wasn't there very long before Van Noy [Hughes] replaced her, and Van Noy, I guess, was [Chickasaw]. (10)[21]

Although Bloomfield/Carter rarely recruited native teachers, the fact that a few were employed is significant. One of Bloomfield's earliest teachers under missionary control was Serena Factor, a full blood and Bloomfield graduate. The Van Noy mentioned by Pauline is Van Noy Hughes, also a

[21]Van Noy Hughes was the sister of Fanny Hughes Bass and Ida Bell Hughes Martin and the cousin of Juanita Keel Tate, all of whom were interviewed for this project. Van Noy also attended Bloomfield, before teaching there. Van Noy, Fanny, and Ida Bell are the aunts of Betty Ruth Kemp, whom I also interviewed regarding her mother, a Bloomfield alum. Betty Ruth has served as the president of the Chickasaw Historical Society and is still on the board.

graduate of Bloomfield. Many women remember Van Noy because of the long years that she worked at Bloomfield/Carter and because of her dedication to the school and her students. Van Noy was mentioned by several women as an important role model not just because she was Indian, but because she was from the same region and raised in similar circumstances, and because she and her sisters also attended Bloomfield. Van Noy was someone who understood.

Van Noy was not the only role model. All of the teachers, among their other duties, served as role models, showing the students how to be "ladies." The teachers may have been the first formally educated women many students knew or had relationships with, and they helped instill and strong belief in education in many women. A few of the women remember specific teachers because of the special relationship they had with them. Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936), for example described one teacher, Miss Brigman as a major influence in her life and even expressed that her relationship with Miss Brigman was what she valued the most about her education at Bloomfield. In the following story she explains why:

> [My relationship] with Miss Brigman, for instance, the music teacher. I value that more than anything because I think she really made a difference to me . . . because she opened up so many possibilities becasue we listened to good music, and because we understood that it's more than what we can, than what we can appreciate what others can do. And it was just wonderful, and she was just a wonderful person, she was.

> [She showed me that there was] something we could grow to. And she was just really a challenge, and I really did admire her. She really did help me. (24)

All of the women I spoke with expressed satisfaction with their teachers and believe that they were well trained to do their jobs. Juanita Keel Tate, who lived in Ardmore her entire life, remarked "Even in associating with some of the teachers like the last 30 or 40 years . . . They were very dedicated people . . . and they sincerely wanted to turn out good students, and they made an effort to really understand those Indian students" (20).

The Curriculum of Citizenship

The teachers under federal control, like the teachers under mission and tribal control, had many duties besides teaching. Teachers were expected to organize and advise various student activities and clubs, take students on field trips, and generally serve as role models, ladies with "high moral standards" the girls were meant to emulate. Maintaining high moral standards was considered part of becoming "a well rounded individual," one of the chief objectives of the school; consequently, the school did provide religious literacy instruction. While religious literacy training was very much a part of life at Bloomfield/Carter, it was not heavily emphasized as it was during the period of missionary control. However, providing a Christian atmosphere was considered essential to the girls' training and was even thought of as a "Bloomfield tradition." *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* states "A well organized Sunday school and two large religious societies meet regularly every Sunday. A high moral standard is one of the chief objectives of the school . . . A

Christian atmosphere pervades the life at the school which we like to think an emanation of the spirit of its founders" (Mag. 25). Juanita Keel Tate remembers specific religious assignments and how she felt when she accomplished them. She recalls one example in particular:

> Once at Sunday school she asked us to learn the names of the books of the Bible by the next Sunday and those that did would be rewarded . . . so I worked all week . . . I will never forget that . . . I worked all week and the next week I was the only one in class who actually knew the name of every book in the Bible. I was so proud. I don't remember what the reward was and I didn't care, but I was so happy to know that. (8)

Although the school was originally run by the Methodist-Episcopal Church, no particular denomination took precedence over religious literacy training under tribal or federal control. Only a few women recall occasionally attending church services on campus. Most women do not remember attending church services at Bloomfield/Carter, but instead recall being taken to a variety of different churches in Ardmore. For example, according to Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941),

> A different preacher would come out and speak and then we had our choir that . . . I was in the choir there at one time and use to sing at the Episcopal Church . . . But the girls that wanted to go to church on Sundays could go and they didn't go to one every Sunday. They would go to different

churches. Maybe the First Baptist one Sunday, Presbyterian the next and something like that. (26)

Although religious literacy instruction was never as heavily emphasized as it was under mission control, it was an important part of the curriculum under every administration. Academic literacy instruction, on the other hand, was always the most basic part of the curriculum under every administration; however, it was never the most important or the most heavily emphasized under any administration. Under Chickasaw control the academic literacy curriculum, which was considered equal to a junior college education, was impressive. However, under Chickasaw control, the exceptional social literacy curriculum overshadowed the academic literacy curriculum. Oklahoma statehood led to the development of the state public school system. When the federal government took control of Bloomfield, they standardized the curriculum, changing the academic literacy curriculum at Bloomfield in accordance with state standards and appointed J. R. Hendrix as the superintendent of Bloomfield. Hendrix was chosen because he also served as the superintendent of the Ardmore Public Schools and could help implement the standardized curriculum. According to the 1932, Bloomfield Seminary Edition of *Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* the students used the state textbooks and followed the Oklahoma Course of Study. Approximately a third of the students' time was spent on academic subjects; the remaining two-thirds were devoted to domestic literacy instruction and recreational activities (Mag. 15-17). Although the *Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* does not list any subjects, my

grandmother, Ida Mae (Dinah) Pratt Cobb's report card, issued in 1926, lists grades for the following academic subjects: agriculture, arithmetic, civics, current events, English, penmanship, reading, history, and spelling. Other academic subjects, for which no grades are listed include: algebra, botany, chemistry, general science, geography, literary society, physics, and physiology and hygiene. All of the women I talked with considered the academic curriculum at Bloomfield/Carter more than adequate. In fact, Claudine Williford King (1939-1948) remarked,

> The first year that I went to Chilocco, they tested us as freshmen upon arrival there and there were five or six of us from Carter Seminary in the freshman class and we were at the top of the charts on all of the tests, and I tested second year college level when I entered as a freshman at Chilocco. Yeah, that was Carter Seminary. It was a very good education (25)

Although many women remembered feeling well prepared for high school, few could remember what occurred in their classes. The women tended to remember the most about their favorite subject or least favorite subject, or whatever assignment seemed to be the most demanding at the time. Some women recall specific exercises and activities such as sentence diagramming, math drills, or poetry memorization. Claudine Williford King (1939-1948), who excelled in academics both at Carter and Chilocco, remembered more than anyone else about what happened in her classes. According to Claudine:

> [Memorization] was a constant thing throughout schooling . . . All year long they would give you assignments and some of them lengthy . . . and you had to memorize them every one and then everybody had to take their turn and get up and recite them . . . those things . . . "The Highwayman" . . . Edna St. Vincent Millay . . . (17-20)

A few can still remember the poems. Most women recall being encouraged to read books. Claudine remembered that teachers

> would encourage you to go [to the library] and they would keep track of how many books you read in one of the later . . . fourth or fifth grade, I read sixty books one year. I remember getting some kind of star for that. But that was not unusual. There . . . everybody read. They were expected to read . . . They encouraged us to read any kind of book that was in the library. And many of them, and looking back on it, were I think probably ahead of the grade levels that they had there. (17-20)

Claudine also remembers that teachers heavily emphasized writing skills, not just penmanship. In the following account, she describes the methods used to teach writing:

> we had to do a written report of several pages. There wasn't a paragraph or two paragraphs. you had to have more than one page of a written book report or . . . and you had to do essays when you came back. You wrote about what you did during the summer. When you came back from

> Christmas, you wrote about what you did over the holidays or whatever you wanted to write about. You were expected to do a lot of writing. All the while you were learning how to put English together by parsing things, you know. We had to do it on the bulletin board . . . It was a good way to learn . . . you not only had to write these things but you had to begin getting up in front of the class, and there were no exceptions . . . and give oral book reports once a month or oral presentations of some kind so that you became equally able to express our thoughts as well as write them . . . (17-20)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934) also remembered the special attention to oral presentations, correct grammar, and diction. She explained,

> We did have to learn proper diction. We could not say "git." We couldn't say . . . we always had to say singing, thinking . . . ing . . . ing, you know. They drilled us on that constantly. I think that they stressed that [correct grammar] more than other subjects. However, you got equal time for everything. (30-46)

Claudine and Jeanne's accounts of academic classes and work indicate that learning English literacy, that is, reading, writing, and speaking, was an important part of the academic literacy curriculum and that learning to write and speak in the officially sanctioned manner was crucial.

The academic literacy curriculum at Bloomfield/Carter was equal to the curriculum of the Ardmore Public Schools, and Bloomfield/Carter had a good reputation in the Ardmore community, not only because of its

academic standards, but also because of the number of extra-curricular activities provided. Under tribal control, social literacy instruction was the most heavily emphasized strand of the curriculum. The students achieved excellence in the fine and performing arts, and the high number of cultural events Bloomfield offered served as the basis for the schools prestigious reputation as the "Bryn Mawr of the West." This tradition continued under federal control; the social literacy curriculum was very well developed. Classes in music were held four days a week with extra choir practices. Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947) remembered choir practices and special performances. They said, "When we sang that 'Hallelujah Chorus' . . . and also too we went down and sang at the radio station and it was recorded at Ardmore . . . KVSO . . . and we recorded Indian chants" (19). Many girls were given instruction in certain instruments in addition to their vocal training. The instruments taught depended on who the music teacher was at the time. Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941) remembered playing in the school orchestra. According to Pauline, "They had pianos all over that school. I imagine that there was six or eight or more in the administration building. They taught piano lessons . . . I started violin lessons. There was some that played clarinet. And the violins and cello and the bass viola and the piano that is what we had" (14-15).

Major plays were held once a year at the out-of-door stage and included such plays as "Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream,* and operettas such as *Hansel and Gretel,* and *Pandora,* or the *Paradise of Children*" (Mag. 17). Holiday plays were always a favorite. Everyone

remembered taking part in a Thanksgiving play. Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1940-1949) laughed as she remembered "We had one about the pilgrims, Indians and pilgrims, and one year I was Indian" (26). Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947) remembered how elaborate the dramatic productions were. They recalled,

> We had a little room in the back behind the stage that was filled full of every kind of costume you could imagine. So if you put on a cowboy show, you had everything that went with it. If you put on a George Washington, you had everything that went with the dress, the shoes, the buckles, the wigs . . . And also too you didn't just have costumes, they had backdrops that just rolled down off the stage that came down to set the scene, so to speak . . . Yes, when Thanksgiving came along, we had everything but the turkey . . . The costumes, the hats, the buckles on the shoes . . . I remember doing the Highland Fling and the [costume] was plaid you know with the little black hat . . . and oh, yes, I was on the end and got slung for . . . oh, yes, I recall. Mrs. Brigman was very, very precise and very determined that everything was going to be right. So every step, every song, every move you made was . . . she was a good teacher. (14-15)

Classes in painting and sculpture were also given (Mag. 17). Many women recall specific recitations, musical events, plays, costumes, and dances they participated in, events which broke the monotony of academic classes and domestic detail and became the highlights of their school careers. A few

women's favorite memories are of their participation in "programs," which were weekly events. In the following quote, Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934) explains what programs were:

> We had what we called, a program. They called it assembly once a week. And one of the teachers presented the program and whatever they wanted to do. And I learned poetry, so I was called on by the other teachers to recite poetry during the program. And sometimes they would have a play. Sometimes it would be a dance, like a certain dance of a certain country. See, we learned all of those things . . . at the time you were learning to do the dances, you learned the history of all of this. You know, everything was made into a learning process. You didn't just get out there . . . it was fun, but you learned what went behind these dances and the costumes and things that you wore . . . I remember that I had to memorize the whole book of Hiawatha. They called it Heawatha . . . (23-24)

According to the *Oklahoma Indian School Magazine*, "The special programs through the year are given much thought and preparation to the end that no child is conscious of having failed in her part" (Mag. 17). The women vividly remember their participation in programs and plays; some can still remember their stage fright. Their memorabilia and pictures frequently consist of programs or pictures of themselves in costumes performing everything from the minuet to the Highland Fling. They all remembered performing, not just for their parents, but more

often for social clubs in the Ardmore community. Performing was a part of life at Bloomfield/Carter.

Social literacy instruction was definitely an important part of Bloomfield/Carter's curriculum. The social literacy curriculum served to introduce the students to the type of culture valued in American society through specific poetry, books, music, art, plays, and dances. However, the federal government used the social literacy curriculum for different purposes than the Chickasaws had during their period of control. The Chickasaws wanted to train their daughters to be socially refined ladies, who were capable of leadership in both Chickasaw and white communities, women who could help them compete in a white world. For the federal government, social literacy training was a way to steep students in western culture and tradition. Social, academic, and religious literacy instruction all contributed to the making of "well-rounded" individuals and good, solid U. S. citizens. The final type of literacy curriculum, domestic, would not only make the students well-rounded, but would prepare them for the type of life the federal government expected them to lead--a life of homemaking. Teaching homemaking skills in school had become a national trend; home economic classes, domestic art and science, were staples of public schools everywhere. Students at Bloomfield/Carter received the same sort of domestic literacy training that female students in public schools received. According to the *Oklahoma Indian School Magazine,* students were required to take six hours a week of instruction and laboratory work in domestic science, cooking, and six hours of domestic art, sewing (Mag. 19-20). Many women

remember domestic art and science classes as their favorite subjects. In the following account, Frances Griffin Robinson, a student in the 1920s describes her first experiences learning to sew.

> Domestic science was our cooking and domestic art was the sewing. Now I really enjoyed those classes. Made good grades . . . we had them every day. The best I can remember . . . when I first started hem stitching, she let us do a tea towel first . . . mine was just black. I would have to take it out so much. And the others too. Our little old hands, I guess, was dirty. I don't know how they could be as strict as they were on us but we just . . . I just practically wore my hem out just trying . . . So I wish I could have that. I don't know what they did with it. But I sure still know all of those first things that we did like hem stitching, back stitching and all of that, you know. I learned how to embroidery. But I enjoyed those two classes and the teachers were real nice to us but they wanted us to do it right . . . just that one way. (11)

The Pittman sisters (1940-1949) also remembered the sewing classes and how advanced they were. Ula Mae related the following story which proved what good seamstresses they became:

> Our sewing had to be just so. In fact, I came back here my sophomore year and went to . . . high school here in Durant and I was in the tenth grade and they had sewing and they put me with the seniors and the dress that I made, they put it on display there. And the teacher told me that I could sew

> better than the senior girls. But that was due from the sixth to the tenth. (23-24)

However, unlike public school students, Bloomfield/Carter students immediately put their skills to use by performing "details," helping with the school's maintenance in the main kitchen and dining room, as well as in the laundry (Mag. 19-20). Although using student labor was a common practice at off-reservation Indian boarding schools, the period of federal control marked the first time in the Bloomfield/Carter's history that students performed general maintenance tasks instead of hired employees. The federal government believed that the method was cost-efficient and provided good life training for students. The heavy emphasis on domestic literacy training was not lost on the women I spoke with. According to the Pittman sisters (1940-1949), "It was really a Home Economical school. They were teaching you how to live. Not so much business like but in your home"(23-24). Other vocational subjects included gardening, animals, basketry, which focused on the making of small furniture and the caning of chairs, leather craft, pottery, and weaving. The leather, pottery, and weaving classes made use of Native American art in their designs (Mag. 20-22). The school employed a Navajo weaver at one point who taught the students how to make Navajo rugs and blankets, which were displayed at the school. *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine* states that much time was devoted to home-making courses and activities and that "The school endeavors to familiarize the pupils with all the material things that go to make up a well regulated home--chickens, hogs, cows, garden, orchard, flowers, and trees without, and with as much of the

useful and beautiful within the home as is possible" (Mag. 25). As a matter of fact, students received school credit for completing domestic tasks at home in the summers. In a letter to parents written in 1919, Eleanor Allen listed domestic chores for which students could receive school credit. According to the letter, work the students did over the summer would be displayed during the first week of school and a "credit day program" would be arranged. Allen encouraged mothers to attend "credit day," but wrote

> All mothers of our girls will go down on record as members of the Bloomfield Mothers Club, organized in 1919, whether present on that day or not. Encouraging your girls to make the most of what they have learned in school while at home and helping them continue their interest in education during the summer will go far to make the home and school one in bringing our girls up to the high standard of womanhood that all good mothers and teachers desire. (Appendix 3)

This letter demonstrates the stress placed on domestic literacy instruction and enlists the support of the students' mothers so that domestic training would be consistent year round. So much time was devoted to domestic literacy instruction that many women who could not recall the name of a book they read or a play they acted in could recall specific details of their domestic literacy training, especially a garment sewn or re-sewn or a pastry that failed. Some women remember sewing and cooking instruction as their favorite time of day. Others didn't enjoy it then, but certainly found

it useful later in life. As Claudine Williford King (1939-1948) said, "They taught us all of the things that we would need to know to get by" (23).

Detail assignments or school maintenance chores were not considered a part of the domestic curriculum per se, but seemed to be the most significant part of domestic instruction and this was the time when instruction was put into real practice. All of the work at Bloomfield/ Carter was done by the students from cleaning to laundering to keeping animals to gardening. Detail assignments rotated every six weeks so that each student could gain expertise at each task. Regular classes met five days a week; detail had to be done every day. Although some details were more desirable than others, complaining was not an option. No one was exempt. According to Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947):

> You had to . . . everything was done by the students when I went there. You had no housekeeper that mopped your floor, or made your bed. You did that. They didn't wash your clothes. You did that . . . You didn't have anyone . . you did it all. You know you mopped the floors, you waxed, you polished the woodwork, and washed and all of it. It was detail work and you were assigned to a certain area for so long a time. (28)

In addition to housekeeping chores, detail assignments included helping in the laundry and kitchen and serving in the dining room. No woman said that she actually enjoyed detail, but a few recalled how they made the best of it. The Pittman sisters (1940-1949) recounted "We made a game of

the work jobs. Everything that we did, we made a game. We tried to beat each other, but you had to beat them and do it good because they inspected your job. And if it wasn't good, you did it over" (14).

Most of the students from rural areas and farms found the work no different or perhaps easier than what was expected of them at home. Many women expressed pride in their labor and were horrified by the "run down" state of the school in later years, so different from the shining hallways they remembered. Others remember making the work into games and competition. Some recall the detail assignment they always wanted or the one they were stuck with for too long. Several women commented that they found the domestic literacy instruction useful. According to the Pittman sisters (1940-1949),

> I really . . . I think that it really helped us. Taught us how to take care of, you know, hygiene and then go home . . . Ula made curtains for the house. She always was a good seamstress, and we cleaned the house. You know, we didn't have much but it taught us, and we helped mama. (38)

Many women expressed, like the Pittmans, that they could go home in the summers and help in ways they had been unable too; they felt like they were really making a difference there.

Old Bloomfield, under tribal control was know for its lady-like students, the Bloomfield Blossoms. Under Chickasaw control this emphasis on manners and etiquette was a part of the social literacy curriculum in which the ideals of True Womanhood were manifested. Under federal control manners and etiquette were emphasized along with

hygiene, health, and child care, making them part of the domestic literacy curriculum. Because of the stress on manners, hygiene, and presenting yourself generally, some women referred to Bloomfield/Carter as a "finishing school." Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929) remembers how particular teachers and matrons were about manners and remarked, "And, gee, our manners had to be just so so. They told us that we . . . it was a finishing school more for ladies" (8). Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934) was also told at Bloomfield that the school was a "finishing school." In the following quote, she describes the deportment training:

> We had a dining room matron who quietly walked from table to table to teach us our manners . . . very quietly. If she saw you doing something wrong, she would very quietly correct you and tell you why . . . she was very gentle and very quietly correcting our manners all of the time . . . That school was just like . . . the finishing school because they certainly worked at teaching you what you had to know . . . your manners, your way of presenting yourself . . . all of that. You got that. (10-13)

While others do remember being taught etiquette and manners, they did not refer to Bloomfield/Carter as a "finishing school," but called it a place where you learned "home living." According to Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941):

> That is one thing that they did teach us was manners and everything like that. That is one thing that I appreciated about the Indian school and of course a lot of the kids today

don't . . . they don't get it at home. . . You know we learned like table setting and everything like that, where the fork went and all this stuff and they did teach you things like that . . . how to set a table. But they did teach us as I said manners and keeping yourself clean and everything like that . . . They tried to teach . . . some of the kids that came in to school, I guess lived so far back out in the woods and everything and of course we lived out in the woods too, but we did keep clean even if it was a number two tub and everything, but some of them came to school and they just [didn't] have it. (21)

The emphasis on domestic literacy instruction, both domestic art and science and detail, is evident in a 1928 commencement program, which invites the audience to inspect the work of the students and visit the dormitories and laundry facilities. Demonstrations in "The Home Preservation of Eggs," "Scoring a Dress," and "First Aid" are also items on the program, items conspicuously absent from the 1904 program.

Closing Exercises

Bloomfield

1928

Friday, June First

A. PHYSICAL TRAINING

Nine o'clock--On the Campus

B. INSPECTION

From ten to eleven.

Work of the pupils will be found in the various school rooms. Guests are also invited to visit the dormitories, laundry, and premises generally.

C. MORNING PROGRAM

Auditorium--From eleven to twelve

First Stanza of our National Anthem ..... Audience

Chorus--Greeting to Spring ..... Strauss

Readings--

What is so Rare as a Day in June? ..... Lowell

Sophia Frye Reeder

Knee Deep in June ..... Riley

Jewel Crummey

Piano Duet--a. After School March ..... Brownfield

b. Merry Springtime ..... Brownfield

Julia Reeder Theda Goldsby

Demonstrations--

Home Preservation of Eggs .... Willie Turner

Scoring a Dress ..... Leslie Morris

Assisted by Julia Reeder

First Aid ..... Lourena Hayward

Rhythm Band--a. Rustic Dance ..... Howell

b. Rendezvous ..... Komask

Primary Pupils

Readings--

Daisies ..... Frank Demster Sherman

Neva Kirkwood

Little Birdie ..... Alfred Tennyson

Pauline Elam

To a Honey Bee ..... Alice Carey

Maisie Brown

Prince Tatters .....Laura E. Richards

Aline Hayward

Folk Dances--

Tarantella:

Thelma Steel, Fannie Ned, Leslie Morris, Catherine McElroy, Winona Setliff, Ursula Bohreer, Willie Post, Alma McCoy

Highland Fling:

Irma Worcester, Doris Overton, Verna Williford, Vila Pickens

Piano--a. Minuet A La' Antique ..... Paderewski

b. Valse Caprice ..... Newland

Eva May Price

Vocal Solos--a. From the Land of the Sky-Blue Water . . Cadman

b. I Love a Little Cottage ..... O'Hara

Grace Elam

Exit March--Stars and Stripes Forever ..... Sousa

Dinner

From one to two

Admission by Ticket

Evening Program

Friday June First

Eight-thirty

Out-of-door Stage

Play

Midsummer Night's Dream . . . . . Shakespeare

(qtd. in Hall 61)

Commencement under federal control remained the event it had been throughout the school's history, demonstrating the value the Chickasaws continued to place on education. The Chickasaws could no longer control the type of education their children received, but that did not mean that they did not encourage it or value it. Literacy instruction, for the Chickasaws had become a cultural tradition and commencement, the symbol of that tradition, became a new kind of ceremony or ritual. In spite of the objectives of the federal government, literacy education, was still an important method of tribal preservation. Their children educated at Bloomfield/Carter and later Chilocco would one day reorganize the tribal government.

After leaving Bloomfield/Carter, many women went on to attend Chilocco, an off-reservation Indian boarding school near Newkirk, Oklahoma. Ida Bell Hughes Martin, Juanita Keel Tate, Frances Griffin

Robinson, Ora Lee Chuculate Woods, Pauline Williford Adkins, Fanny Williford Skaggs, Leona Williford Isaac, Claudine Williford King, Mary Pittman Gatlin, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch all attended Chilocco for some length of time; many graduated. Some of the women I talked with married immediately and started a family. Others finished high school and started families and started work, some for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A few continued their education and received Bachelor and Master's degrees. All of the women value the education they received and saw to it that their children were educated. Education had become tradition, and the legacy of Bloomfield/Carter is the belief, instilled in the women, that education was good--something to be sought, not just for themselves but for their children. Graduates of Bloomfield/Carter wanted their children to have more education and higher levels of education than they had. Some of the women shared stories of their lives after Bloomfield/Carter. When I asked the women about their lives after Bloomfield/Carter, it was interesting to see what they included and what details they spent the most time discussing. Whatever they included was obviously what they considered to be the most important parts of their lives. The stories of Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936) and Claudine Williford King (1939-1948) centered on education. Ora Lee sought higher education for herself; Claudine sought it for her children. Ora Lee expressed that she thought that education was the best thing a person could have. Every time she and her husband lived near a college, they found a way to attend, and eventually earned graduate degrees. They live in Durant, the seat of the Choctaw Nation, a few blocks from Southeastern

Oklahoma State University. In the following story, Ora Lee, a Chilocco graduate, remembers how hard she and her husband, also a Chilocco graduate, worked to put themselves through college:

> I could see that I could get a government loan and they would let me work for my room and board and they would send me to Southeastern on this government loan . . . I came directly to Durant and went to OPC [Oklahoma Presbyterian College] and enrolled at Southeastern. And I stayed at Southeastern and went summer and winter right straight through and I graduated in 1943. And while I was at Chilocco, I met my husband . . . he was a year ahead of me, so he stayed at Chilocco doing post-graduate work until I got out . . . He's Chickasaw. And so he moved into his folks' house and came to Southeastern, and I could live at OPC and go to Southeastern. And that was in 1939, so in 1939 we enrolled in college and in 1940 they mobilized the National Guard. John joined the National Guard at Chilocco . . . so we were going to get married when we finished college, but see our college was interrupted . . . and he said . . . let's just go ahead and get married when the semester ends . . . so we got married . . . when the draft board called him . . . he said 'Well I've got to go.' and his boss said . . . 'We can get you out of that draft as easy as anything.' And he said 'No I want to go. I'm trained and it's my country and I want to defend it.'

> . . . he did his basic training and I finished with my class in 1943 . . . He felt the call to preach . . . and we decided to . . . go to Shawnee so that he could go to OBU . . . [He pastored] a church near Lufkin, Texas . . . But that was not far from . . . Stephen F. Austin College. And he said 'This is just too close not to go to that school.' So he went to school there and got his Master's in English . . . and [Hardin-Simmons College asked] him to come and teach English. . . so I went to Hardin-Simmons and got a Master's in history at the same college as he was teaching English. (3-10)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948) and her husband live in Newkirk, a town in northern Oklahoma, very near Chilocco, where they both worked at some point in their lives. Claudine, although very proud of her own education and accomplishments, was more interested in discussing the accomplishments of her five children. The following story demonstrates the value Claudine places on education:

> Went to high school there [Chilocco] and met my husband there . . . Graduated as valedictorian of the class of 1952. There were 92 Indians in that class . . . I chose to go to Hill's Business University in Oklahoma City . . . we got married the fall after we graduated from high school . . . My husband had been a year ahead of me there. He is Creek. And he had been a year ahead of me but when he had to go overseas with the 45th during the Korean war, so when he came back he was in my class . . . and we got married in the fall of 1952 . . . He went

> on to OSU. We stayed at Chilocco four years and lived there on the campus. . . And then in 1956 we moved to Stillwater so that he could go to college . . . he went back to Chilocco in 1963 . . . and have been here [Newkirk] for over 30 years . . . He worked for Chilocco for 22 years and I worked here in town at an abstract company primarily because we have five children and they were in school here . . . I did go to work at Chilocco as the registrar and worked there for seven years before it closed. And then both of us . . . were employed at Conoco and got good jobs . . . we had to put five kids through college . . . four of them [graduated] . . . the oldest is a computer electrical engineer. He is working on his Ph.D. right now. . . the second one is . . . the managing director of environmental affairs for an oil company in Alaska . . . The third boy . . . is getting his Master's in environmental engineering in December . . . our only daughter . . . got her Master's in zoology . . . they are all self-sufficient. (34-37)

The years many women spent in school first at Bloomfield/Carter and then at Chilocco were important because they shaped the women's values and beliefs. Many women call their classmates at Bloomfield/Carter and Chilocco their family; they share the same stories. The schools designed to strip them of their identities as Indians, actually reinforced that identity. Many women spent twelve years of their lives surrounded by nobody but other Indians. As a result, the women value more than the education they received, they value their family--their Bloomfield/Carter

Indian family. Several women, graduates of Bloomfield/Carter and Chilocco, devoted much of their lives to Indian education and other Indian affairs. Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947) lives in Ardmore and worked at Carter Seminary for several years. In the following account, she describes her life after attending Carter:

> I was going to go to . . . Chilocco and then I met this guy . . . my future husband . . . It was during the war and all the men were gone . . . we thought that we wanted to get married, and so I got married real young and my uncles had a fit when they came in from service, you know . . . then I went on and had my first baby at 17 and two more children, and I was real young with them growing up. And then when they got up and I did not work when they were young but when they got up in high school, I went back to school and got my GED and then I started working here at Carter for the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . . I don't work for the tribe [now]. I work for Delta Community Action out of Duncan, and [Carter] just donates me office space here because I have volunteers here. I am supervisor of the foster grandparent program . . . They help with the little kids and the young ones that come in. (28-33)

Although she is no longer employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, her office is located at Carter Seminary, and she has served as the president of the Bloomfield/Carter Alumni Association.

Like Dorothy, Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929) also married young and spent much her life as a homemaker before working for the

BIA. Her daughter Chiquita was named after the daughter of one of her favorite teachers at Bloomfield. Frances loved to work with children, and began her career later in life by working for the BIA in several capacities, once at Carter Seminary. She said,

> I went one year [to Madill High School] . . . and then we went to Murray [in Tishomingo]. They had four years in high school and two in college there . . . I didn't [finish]. I went ahead and married . . . We were married 27 years. Ended in divorce and I went right to work for the BIA. No problems. Being up there and having a little bit of responsibility with children helped me get my job . . . [At Carter] . . . I was over the dormitories and guidance. Boy, I enjoyed my work with the kids. (32-34)

Frances has always been active in the Bloomfield/Carter Alumni Association and has been a member of Ohoyohoma, a local club for Native American women.

Juanita Keel Tate (1918), a product of Indian schools, was never involved in Indian education. Instead, Juanita, always involved in tribal affairs and is a well respected family and tribal historian. Juanita's husband was not Chickasaw, but always helped her in any way he could. In the following story, Juanita describes her life right after graduation and the early years of her marriage:

> I graduated from Chilocco in May, 1928 . . . I was going to Ardmore Business College and he [my future husband] happened to be the manager of that . . . and I met Ernest . . . I

> did some court reporting and then I even opened a public stenographer's office there on main street . . . I was trying to raise my brood of little children and do that too and it just didn't work. So, I just closed that down and then when Ernie studied law and opened his law office, well, I worked for him . . . Ernest was a white man. He wasn't Chickasaw . . . He wasn't Indian at all, and if anyone asked him to participate . . . he would always say, and I was glad he did. He would always say "No, let the Indians do their own thing." So, if he could help in any way, of course, he did, to whatever extent was necessary. (14-15)

Juanita instilled her interest in the tribe in her children and grandchildren. Her children are involved in tribal affairs and preservation activities, and her son, Charles Tate, has served as a tribal judge. One of her grandsons, Jerod, is a musician and composed the score for a ballet, choreographed by his mother, based on the Trail of Tears.

Many of the women I spoke with loved their school years. Others were happy to leave and move on. All of the women, however, stated that their studies at Bloomfield/Carter helped prepare them for whatever lay ahead in their futures. As the Pittman sisters remarked, Bloomfield/Carter "was teaching us how to live."

Literacy for Home Living

Under federal control, Bloomfield/Carter changed its organization, its student population, and its curriculum in ways that would help them

achieve their purpose--the making of "all round efficient citizens," who would be prepared to handle whatever life threw them. The school was a boarding school and had to, in effect, raise the students; consequently, the curriculum was designed to provide the students with different literacies, religious, social, academic, and domestic, literacies that would enable students to make some sort of life for themselves and their families, the best life they could. Domestic literacy, what Pauline referred to as "home living," was the most heavily emphasized because at that time, good women citizens were expected, no matter what else they did, to make good homes. The students at Bloomfield/Carter, frequently from rural and poor backgrounds were expected to go back home in the summers and use their knowledge to help their families and then to begin their own families, families they would raise and educate. Attending Bloomfield/ Carter was the first step in a continuing cycle of self-betterment and education. The federal government saw literacy education as an efficient way to turn Indians into good citizens and took every possible step to acculturate the students. What they did not realize, however, was that segregating the students only made them closer. For the Chickasaw tribe, literacy instruction was a tradition; they were used to the acculturation process. The federal government thought that acculturation meant that students would give up whatever characteristics made them Indian. The tribe knew that changing through acculturation did not have to mean giving up "Indianness" for "whiteness." Only tribes can decide what it means to be Indian. For the Chickasaw Nation, literacy education had always been a means of self-preservation, no matter who was in charge.

The Chickasaw tribe is proud of the education students received at Bloomfield/Carter under every administration in the school's history. The Chickasaws have always considered Bloomfield/Carter a good thing, no matter what the purpose of the school was at any given time, or whether or not they agree with that purpose. That is the nature of literacy--no matter what the literacy teacher intends, literacy is finally used to achieve the goals of the learners. I asked the women what they thought the mission of the school was, what sort of life they felt they were being prepared to lead, now, after years of reflection. I will conclude with their responses.

Hettie McCauley King (1925-1930)

> [Bloomfield was preparing me] for a good life. Really to me it was inspiring. We were all proud to be there. I couldn't say anything against Bloomfield. (24)

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> In those days they [the Chickasaws] were anxious for the children to all be educated. To prepare them for life or whatever was out there. Just to be good students and citizens as far as I can tell. (20)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

> [Carter was preparing me] to be independent and I am independent . . . because we had to follow the rules and if you

learned that basically when you first came, that sticks with you all through your life. I mean you can be an individual and still . . . I don't conform at all, but I do try to make my way. (31)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

[They were preparing you to be] anything that you wanted to be. They emphasized that you could do what you thought you could do. They certainly equipped us academically for whatever . . . I mean, it was mostly accepted that you would do that, go to school some place. Yes, they did encourage you to go to school, but they also taught you how to . . . all of the necessary things that you need to know if you weren't going to go to school . . . to cook and to sew and make a good home, you know. They were just trying to teach you everything they could and they gave you a smattering of everything. (31)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

[The objective was] to make white people out of Indian . . . really I think . . . bottom line . . . We just kind of went along with it. I look back and I think it is because my grandfather was a white man, my dad was a white man, and my grandmother and my mother probably thought. . . . especially my grandmother probably thought that was the best for us and we just kind of . . . we didn't know any better. You know

. . . after I got grown, I wanted to know all about my history. So I have to get out and look that up. (34-35)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934)

I think the primary thing was to bring these Indian girls into the mainstream. I really think that was what they were striving for, which a lot of people thought is cruel. But it is like my grandmother said, this is . . . the way of the Indian is gone and you need to learn the way of the white people because they are in charge and that was . . . so we knew that when we went that by the fact that she would not let us learn the Chickasaw language. We knew it. And I think that was the purpose of it and you will hear the girls refer to that as a finishing school. Because we were taught academics. We were taught the arts. We had our classes. We had to learn art. You know the paintings and such as that. We had to know that. We had music. We had . . . they tried to . . . and had to learn our proper manners. And that is what they were trying to do and the way they taught is like a very expensive finishing school today . . . and when they did away with it, I thought how terrible . . . You could not have asked for a better school anywhere in the United States than that was. (44-47).

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> Bloomfield was preparing me to be] well a housewife, really . . . Domestic . . . [preparing us] mostly for the white world I believe. We . . . seems like going back to your own tribe or anything like that came later on in years. After I got out of school, they wanted everybody to go back to their own way of living and . . . well, their language and everything like that. I believe that came after I got out of school . . . they were trying to prepare us for the white man's world and get out and mingle with other people besides our own . . . besides Indians. (35-36)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

> They were preparing us to go back alone. The ability to be able to learn . . . I had to learn to milk a goat, and . . . I don't think the expectations was that they would . . . it wouldn't make any difference what they were doing, they would still go back to the wood stove and the cow and that type of living anyway. So I think it was just accepted. (44-45)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

> This is what I learned [at Bloomfield] and how I knew how to carry on in a job [later in life] because I had to teach these little old fellows that would come in and we . . . taught them table manners and we had to go through all of this with them.

> And how to use a telephone. They didn't know what a telephone was . . . when I first started and I was over in Cherokee County, and Lord, you never went into a more backward . . . when they started building these houses for them . . . it took a while for them to acclimate those people enough so that they would move into houses . . . I thought that I had crawled back into the dark ages. (43)

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936)

> Custodial Care . . . I really feel that she had the idea that she was training the girls to be leaders of the community. I think she [Eleanor Allen] was really finishing them to be leaders of their community. And she had this attitude . . . I tell you that she really stirred a conscientiousness and awareness of the girls to be something bigger than that little school. (18)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> [The mission at Carter] was to educate the Indian children that came there so that they could fit into the mainstream and make a good life for themselves. I don't . . . you know, I have heard comments that they were trying to take away their Indian heritage. I don't think that's right. Because they talked a lot about it and we dressed up, you, know, read all of the Indian stories and Hiawatha poems and all that stuff.

> What they were trying to do was . . or I felt like and did a very good job of it was to equip us to get by in the world the way it was and is. They did not put down the Indians. They didn't want us to talk Indian because and I regret that. . . I wish they had not done that. But it was one way that they . . . we learned the English language thoroughly and completely and how to write and how to express ourselves and get along. (32)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> That's what they were doing is teaching us how to live. (18)

Chapter 5

Nananoa tahlih
(To End the Story)
Literacies, Purposes, and Cultures: Questions of Value

. . . We at Carter Seminary believe that a free society is dependent upon education for the transmission of values, traditions, and ideals. We believe that education must enhance the dignity of the individual. Dignity connotes knowledge, self-confidence, self-discipline, and responsibility . . .

Carter Seminary Philosophy, present day

Taped on the wall above my desk are two pieces of paper. One is a copy of a page from the guest register of the Bloomfield/Carter reunion, dated May 20, 1978. My grandmother's name is on it. Her handwriting looks like my father's. The other piece of paper is a list of reminders I typed up myself--things I wanted to think about as I wrote. The first item on the list says, "Tell the story," the second, "Be true to the story." I look again at the guest book page and see names I recognize. Frances Griffin Robinson signed right under my grandmother, which is not surprising; they probably went together. Dorothy Wall Holt was there that day too. I don't recognize the other names. Although those signatures belong to women I have never met, I do know that the story is their story too. When I wrote "Be true to the story," I was also, in a sense, writing, "Be

true to the women." Literacy is interesting because although it is something one individual teaches another, its legacy affects many. The current Carter Seminary Philosophy states that education is used "for the transmission of values, traditions, and ideals." Education not only transmits values, traditions, and ideals, education, *literacy*, is a value, a tradition, and is always tied to an ideal--we believe in education because of what we hope it will bring us. Consequently, seeking education is one of the most positive, hopeful actions an individual can perform. I look at the signatures on the guest book, knowing that these women, Bloomfield/Carter alums, left their legacy: a hope for the future and a belief that education is good and valuable.

Literacies and Purposes

Literacy is a question of value. The Chickasaw tribe encouraged their children to attend mission schools in Mississippi, sent their children to eastern boarding schools, and established their own academies in Indian Territory after their forced removal from their homelands, demonstrating that they saw literacy training as inherently valuable because it was useful to their purposes. Literacy, for the Chickasaw tribe, was a weapon used defensively and offensively in the fight for national survival. In its history as a boarding academy for girls, Bloomfield/Carter had three different administrations, each of which functioned as literacy teachers, who set the new values for literacy. The missionaries, the tribe, and the federal government provided literacy schooling in order to achieve their own purposes. Each administration changed the literacy curricula of the

school in whatever way would help them achieve their objectives. The type of literacy curriculum most emphasized under each administration, academic, social, religious, and domestic, indicates what sort of lives the students were being prepared to lead and why.

Under mission control, Methodist Episcopalian missionaries provided instruction in only the most basic academic literacy, largely because some of the Bloomfield students had received no prior literacy training at that point; consequently, teaching students to speak and write in English was of critical importance. Other academic subjects, such as arithmetic, grammar, and U. S. history were taught as the students progressed in basic English literacy. Missionary teacher, Sarah Carr listed drawing, painting, and vocal music as courses taken by the students, demonstrating the presence of a social literacy curriculum. The domestic literacy curriculum included "needle, wax, worsted and coral work" and were taught to "cut, make, and mend their own clothes in the afternoon," as well as how to do "all the ordinary house work, cooking excepted" (Carr 369). However, in her narrative, Carr does not spend time discussing these subjects, the way they were taught, or the progress the students made, but merely lists them. Instead, Carr devotes the bulk of her narrative to the description of religious training and progress. Letters from two students also demonstrate an emphasis on religious literacy. An emphasis on religion is hardly surprising; the primary purposes of the missionaries, to convert and civilize, were inextricably tied. Training in academic, domestic, religious, and social literacy were all necessary to achieve these purposes. The tribe, controlled by influential mixed blood

families, was in favor of the education of their children and set an example for the rest of the tribe by enrolling their daughters at Bloomfield and moving to the vicinity of the school. Reverend John Carr and his wife remained close friends with tribal leaders and by encouraging them to enroll their daughters, helped to further achieve their purposes throughout the Chickasaw community. The Chickasaws were never satisfied with the stress on religious literacy, but did achieve important basic literacy skills and began to learn the customs of the "white world," abilities they needed to negotiate cultural, social, and economic boundaries.

Because the Chickasaws were dissatisfied with the emphasis on religion, they excluded missionary control after the Civil War, choosing to run Bloomfield themselves. However, the missionaries had achieved their purpose; most Chickasaws held Christianity as a value by the time the missionaries left Bloomfield. Consequently, religious literacy remained a part of the curriculum, indeed was among the entrance requirements, but was not foregrounded. The Chickasaw tribe had their own purposes for education. Economic success, which was necessary for their survival as a nation, could not be achieved without education. The tribe found it necessary to acculturate in order to compete. Under Chickasaw control, Bloomfield gained its reputation as an advanced academic institution and as the cultural seat of Indian Territory. Because much of the basic academic training had been accomplished under mission control, the tribe was able to establish entrance requirements, thus enrolling more mixed blood students who had been exposed to English

literacy and "white" traditions earlier and who were more able to meet these requirements. Consequently, Bloomfield was able to offer more and more advanced subjects. The tribe wanted more than a basic academic curriculum--they wanted a competitive academic curriculum and thus, hired classically trained graduates from Eastern women's colleges. The academic curriculum at Bloomfield, based on classical ideals, was considered equivalent to a two-year college education at the time. Students studied Latin, philosophy, and literature in addition to more basic arithmetic and history. The true emphasis at Bloomfield, however, was social literacy, and the "Bloomfield Blossoms" devoted much of their time to the study of the fine arts and elocution. The women were "finished" but learned more than etiquette, manners, and how to be lady-like. The ideals of True Womanhood were manifested in the social curriculum and the women were considered models of grace, strength, and culture.

Conspicuously absent from the plan of study at Bloomfield under tribal control is domestic literacy training. The making of commencement gowns is the only mention of any domestic training. Sewing and cooking are not listed among the required subjects. The emphasis on academic and social literacy and the lack of emphasis on domestic literacy gives insight into the Chickasaws primary purpose. The Chickasaws were training women, not to become hired help, but to become educated, cultured, refined women--leaders in the tribe, wives of leaders who could help enable the tribe to compete, economically and socially in a "white world." This was an important period in Bloomfield's history because it was the

only time that the Chickasaw's literacy agenda was the only agenda. They controlled their schools at a time when the federal government forced children of many other tribes to attend off-reservation boarding schools.

The tribe fought to keep control of Bloomfield, but were finally defeated when the federal government took complete control of their funds in 1906 in accordance with the Curtis Act. Many families in the tribe did, however, express their dissatisfaction with federal control by refusing to send their daughters to the academy, resulting in the lowest enrollment and average attendance figures in the history of the academy during the first few years of federal control. Under federal control, Bloomfield/Carter did retain its good reputation in spite of the changes that occurred. The academic curriculum was not based on classical models, but was equivalent to the academic plan of study at Oklahoma public schools. Religion and high moral standards were considered a part of a well rounded education but were not in any sense the primary objectives of the federally run academy, and the only religious literacy instruction students received was in the form of non-denominational church services and Sunday school. The social literacy curriculum, still an important tradition at Bloomfield/Carter, did not diminish, and the school offered a wide variety of classes in music and art, as well as dramatic activities, recitations or programs, and community performances. The ideals of True Womanhood, and the emphasis on becoming cultured, refined ladies, once a part of the social literacy curriculum evolved into lessons in basic manners and etiquette, which many of the women refer to as the "finishing school" qualities of the

academy. Under federal control, these "finishing school" skills were combined with home-making, hygiene, and other domestic training.

The domestic curriculum at Bloomfield/Carter, which was all but absent under tribal control, emerged under federal control. Approximately one-third of all class time was devoted to classes in domestic art and domestic science. But, what provided the most training in domestic literacy was not actual coursework, but practical application, that is, detail. Under both mission and tribal control, the maintenance work at the school was done by employees. Under federal control, the school was largely self-sufficient. The students spent a good deal of time every day completing their assigned "detail." Students worked in the kitchens, and laundry. They cleaned, tended the animals, and gardened. They learned to make baskets, small pieces of furniture--anything that would be useful and/or decorative in the home. The "finishing school" emphasis on manners, etiquette, and health, domestic courses, and detail assignments together make up the domestic curriculum of the school. They provide training in what Pauline Williford Adkins called "home living, " training she said made the difference there. Time and time again, women I talked with said that what Bloomfield/Carter taught them "how to go back home and make it better," and "how to live," skills the women have appreciated and valued and passed on.

The federal government's purpose was to bring Native Americans into the mainstream, especially "restricted" children. By changing entrance requirements, the federal government accepted students who were no less than one quarter Indian, orphaned, part orphaned, from rural

areas without public schools close by, and from primarily Indian communities. Assimilation and acculturation was one of the primary purposes of the federal government. Another significant purpose was shaped by other circumstances however. Members of the tribe were not as prosperous as they had been prior to statehood. The period of federal control, from 1907-1949, spanned World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II. The curricula at the school was also a response to these very real historical circumstances. Many families, hit hard by the times, sent their children to Bloomfield/Carter, frequently at the request of Indian Agents, because they knew their daughters would be well fed, well clothed, and well educated--things their daughters might not have received if they had stayed at home. The federal government did expect the students to continue their education, but they also expect the students to go back to their communities and families, to start their own families, and to become leaders there.

Acculturation, Preservation, and Identity

Literacy is a question of value and a question of purpose. The missionaries valued religious literacy for conversion, the tribe valued social literacy for competitive success and survival, and the federal government valued domestic literacy for home living. The underlying, or perhaps conscious purpose of the school under every administration was acculturation. The major tension at the heart of this study, of this school, is the tension between what seem to be two opposing poles: assimilation and preservation.

Under mission and tribal control, the Chickasaws were fighting for their survival. Their very continuance as a nation was dependent on their ability to negotiate in a white world. Their ability and willingness to acculturate became their strength. Education became their weapon. Many people would see this acculturation as dying as a culture, not as surviving. But what were their choices? To change and continue on or to resist and dissolve? Cultures are dynamic, active, and ever-changing. A static culture is not a living one. Society allows other cultures to change, why not Indians? Why not the Chickasaws? The Chickasaws chose to change and in changing they maintained their identity, they preserved their identity. Their choice did not make them any less Chickasaw. As Devon Mihesuah states, "While it is tempting to define "Indianness" by non-Indian standards--and that is indeed the norm--to do so is inappropriate. Tribes decide their identity for themselves" (Mihesuah 115).

The school did strip the students of their culture, traditions, and heritage. Under federal control, students were not taught Indian history. They were not allowed to speak their native languages and were even punished for it. Planned cultural activities probably did not take place often, if ever. A few women mentioned dressing up like Indians for a play or recording Indian chants at the local radio station. These activities could be classified as "cultural"; however, they are not the activities that really count. Many women left home at the age of six to spend the next several years, perhaps as many as twelve, at Bloomfield/Carter and then Chilocco --surrounded by other Indians. The purpose of the boarding academies may have been assimilation, but the students were, in fact, segregated.

Ironically, the government got the students ready for the mainstream by making sure that they associated with no one but other Indians for the whole of their formative years. Many women speak of the people they went to school with at Bloomfield/Carter and later at Chilocco as family. In the following story, Claudine Williford King, a student at Carter in the 1940s, demonstrates just how close--just how much like family boarding school students can become.

> It was just a wonderful place to be, and I made life long friends there. And feel very much a part of the Indian world. My husband and I both. He was in a grade school for boys . . . Indian grade school and you and just go back there. We went to a pow wow this spring . . . But we felt at home. It was a good feeling to hear the drums and listen and visit with old friends, you know. That's the way we grew up. And a lot of that was the same feeling you have when you get together with Carter Seminary girls. They are more like sisters than anything else because you lived with them for eight years . . . a lot of people go to [reunions] and it's a special feeling those boarding schools when you lived with some one for eight years. They become as much family to you as your own family and another story . . . there was a tornado that went near Newkirk here a couple of years ago. And somehow it got picked up on the national news, and now understand that we have five children and a state full of relatives here, but the phone rang and it was one of our Chilocco classmates

> from Los Angeles who said, 'Are you guys all right? We saw on the television that you had a tornado in Newkirk.' Well, that's just the kind of family feeling you had at Carter and also at Chilocco. Made very close bonds. When my husband was in the military and they were called up to active duty, they were down in Louisiana and they were playing softball outside the barracks and talking and laughing and he said at the next barracks there was a kid sitting on the step crying. And one of the Captains came over there . . . my husband was a Sergeant and he said to him . . . he said, 'What are you guys doing over here? How is it that all of your guys . . . they don't seem to be having the problems ours are? They are homesick. They don't know one another. They don't know what to do with themselves.' He said, 'You guys are just all out here just talking and laughing and having a good time.' And he [my husband said, 'Well that's because we're already like a family unit. We have lived together for years.' And so it was an advantage to them. And I think one reason there were so many Medal of Honor winners from that all-Indian company from Chilocco because they were with their family and fighting for guys that they had known and lived with all their lives. (40-41)

Claudine and her classmates at Carter and Chilocco became family because of the stories they share. Many women met their husbands at Chilocco and married after high school. Of the women I talked with, most

attend Bloomfield/Carter reunions and Chilocco reunions. Many are active in or keep up with tribal affairs. Some have made an effort to learn their history after their school years. Many attend tribal events, and some are members of Ohoyohoma, a local club for Native American women. Two of the women later worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Carter. One woman is a family and tribal historian. Few women left their families and communities after school; most started their own families, in or near the communities they came from and are still there today. The school did serve as a tool of assimilation, but it also served, at the same time, to preserve--to instill in them a common bond and identity as Indians. However, their identity as Indians does not make them feel less American. In fact, most are patriotic citizens and proud of their country. For most women, having citizenship in two nations does not cause a conflict of identity--the two are very much intertwined.

At last I am forced to ask myself what I think about the literacy curricula offered at Bloomfield/Carter, its purposes, its results. This story began with my grandma and comes back full circle to her. For my grandma and our family, that she was a Bloomfield student is a matter of some pride, a privilege, the beginning of an important chain, for Grandma saw to it that my father finished high school and had the chance to attend college. My own parents encouraged me to attend graduate school and to teach. And our educations have not served to alienate us from our tribe, but have only encouraged our continuing participation and interest in our tribe. So for me, all in all, the good with the bad, the literacy education at Bloomfield/Carter did cause a loss of culture, who for many might have

been painful. But change is painful, and with change is continuance, something I value.

Once again I will turn over the narration of the story to the women so they can say what they thought of their education at Bloomfield/Carter. It is their story, and it is right for them *nananoa tahlih*--to end the story.

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> I found out that when I went to Chilocco from Carter Seminary and after having been at Carter eight years that I received what amounted to a finishing school education. I did not know it at the time, but Carter had a very good educational system . . . We received a really rounded education . . . They taught us all the things we would need to know to get by. To cook and to sew and to read and write with the best of them. And to sing and to know about the classics. (23-24)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

> I felt like it was so neat when we went to school. We felt privileged . . . I felt special because I was treated real well. (33)

Hettie McCauley King (1925-1930)

> Oh, I think it was really great. I had such a good time when I was there. The teachers were really good . . . top notch . . . One of the teachers told me that it was like a finishing school. (7)

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936)

> We wanted to be the best and we wanted to be ladies and we wanted to excel at everything we did. We had to have the nicest and cleanest building and we wanted to pass every examination and wanted to do everything we could to beat the Wheelock [Choctaw] school . . . [I enjoyed my education] very much. There was some things about it that I didn't like . . . I think that I did not feel challenged academically. And I feel like . . . I didn't feel like I was challenged to do my best. (19)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

> I made straight A's at [public school]. But we [at Bloomfield] were a lot ahead of the other students at other schools . . . at that time, it was so demanding. You know, you just didn't get by with being anything but doing your best . . . I really do [think it was superior]. (34-35)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934)

> This was a fabulous school . . . But I loved that school. I really did. It was first class. It was beautiful. And they taught us really . . . I can look back now and it was more advanced than public school because when I left at the end of the fourth grade, they would have put me either in the sixth or seventh grade. (5-6)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> There is one thing, of course, the kids are going to school in Ardmore now and they are probably getting more book learning than we really got, but they are not getting the . . . well, the home living or whatever you would call it . . . the difference there. Well, I just appreciate what I did learn by going to school out there. It is just altogether different from what it is . . . I think it was worthwhile. (40)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> I really do [think we had a good education there]. They taught us manners, to be neat and clean and you know . . . like now you know if you got to get up at a certain time and then if you do just have a job, just a plain job, you knew to get up and get there on time. Not be late, you know, and . . . everything. I really . . . I think that it really helped us. (37-38)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> Yes, [it helped me with] like manners and how to present yourself and meet the public and everything like that . . . And I worked out in the public for [years]. (34)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

> I think the education part as far as the . . . yes, it was all right. It was the segregation that we had that was the [biggest disadvantage] . . . I wasn't aware that I was. Now, don't get me wrong, you know, sometimes you can't get divorced from a thing if you don't know about it . . . Because we didn't ever get mixed with anyone. . . You went back home and everybody . . . you knew those people from the time they were in the cradle, you know, or they knew you. And it's . . . and you know your nearest neighbor . . . I feel like that as far as that benefit part, I feel like that we did learn because they didn't pass you unless you learned. And a lot of the other schools, they just pass you along now. Or they do now. Yeah, you either learned it or you didn't go to the next grade . . . But to become aware of that [segregation] I had to leave that to know how segregated it was. It was just one little isolated spot. You had no access to radios, newspapers . . . no family come in to . . . no one told you news . . . You know, it was like . . . it is like something that you are not aware of until after you left it. Or that was the way it was with me . . . But the

expectations for you even at Chilocco I thought if you are going to go back to the woods and get married and have a bunch of kids and cook on a wood stove and use a rub board, and to me that is the way . . . you know, I got that, it wasn't that . . . you had newspapers, books, radios, and whatever at Chilocco but not at Carter. That was the . . . you know, and I thought we were hundreds of miles from home. I did. And I thought when some little girl run off and they brought her back in a government car, which happened. I thought how brave she was. (59-62)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1929-1934)

I loved it. I loved it. I was never so upset in my life as when I had to leave there. (44)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

We had good teachers. Taught us a lot. Lot of useful things. Taught us discipline. I mean, self-motivation and discipline which you need to succeed. And I think a lot of young people these days lack that. Taught us that we could do anything that we wanted to do. And there are a lot of kids who went through Carter Seminary and Chilocco who have done very well. And whose children have done very well. So it was a good thing. (45)

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Appendix 1

Biographies, Interview Questions, and Selected Quotations

Order of Materials

I. Biographies
Bloomfield/Carter Alums:
(In alphabetical order)
- Pauline Williford Adkins
- Fanny Hughes Bass
- Jeanne Liddell Cochran
- Clara Pittman Gatlin
- Dorothy Wall Holt
- Leona Williford Isaac
- Claudine Williford King
- Hettie McCauley King
- Ida Bell Hughes Martin
- Mary Pittman Parris
- Frances Griffin Robinson
- Fanny Williford Skaggs
- Juanita Keel Tate
- Ula Mae Pittman Welch
- Ora Lee Chuculate Woods

(Also included)
- Ida Mae Pratt Cobb (Dinah)

II. Interview Questions
Topics:
- Background Information
- Daily Life
- Administration
- Teachers
- Academic Curriculum
- Extracurricular Activities
- Native Culture and Heritage
- Religious Curriculum
- Citizenship and War Stories
- Discipline, Regulations, and Detail
- Education and Life after Bloomfield/Carter
- Opinion and Analysis
- Family and Children

III. Selected Quotations

Topics:

- Reasons for Attendance
- Native Culture and Heritage
- Native Language at School
- Native Language at Home
- Citizenship and War
- Letter Writing and Correspondence
- Teachers
- Religious Curriculum
- Academic Curriculum
- Extracurricular Activities
- Domestic Curriculum
- Detail
- Etiquette and Deportment
- Opinion and Analysis of School Mission

Biographies

Pauline Williford Adkins (Chickasaw)

Pauline Williford Adkins, was born near Lebanon, Oklahoma. She attended Bloomfield/Carter from 1932 to 1941 and Chilocco from 1941 to 1943. Pauline attends the Bloomfield/Carter reunions and serves as Secretary/Treasurer of that association. She frequently attends the annual Chilocco reunions. Pauline worked in Dallas for the Dr. Pepper company for many years. She has one son, Steven Walden, and two grandchildren, Jennifer and Robert James. She currently lives in the same place she was born, approximately two miles north of Lebanon.

Fanny Hughes Bass (Chickasaw)

Born in Connorville, Oklahoma, Fanny attended Bloomfield between 1911 and 1914. Her mother, Mamie Alexander Hughes attended the Burney Institute, also known as the Lebanon Orphan's Institute. After her schooling, Fanny married Grady Bass. Fanny is the sister of Ida Bell Hughes Martin and Van Noy Hughes. Fanny is well known for her interest and work in arts and crafts, particularly for her crochet work. She currently lives in Tishomingo, Oklahoma, the original seat of the Chickasaw Nation, and celebrated her 99th birthday in March, 1997.

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (Chickasaw)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran was born in Love County, Oklahoma, just south of Marietta. She attended Bloomfield/Carter from 1929 to 1934. Her mother, Minnie Keel Liddell attended Old Bloomfield and the Burney Institute. Jeanne worked for 21 years for Brown Oil and Tool Incorporated in Houston, Texas. She has two children, John Eugene Ellis and Beverly Maree Ellis and is married to Chudleigh B. Cochran. Jeanne currently resides in Houston, Texas, but kept her mother's house south of Marietta and returns there frequently.

Clara Pittman Gatlin (Choctaw)

Clara Pittman Gatlin was born in Bennington, Oklahoma. She attended Carter Seminary in the 1940s and went on to school at Chilocco. Clara's mother was a full blood Mississippi Choctaw and raised nine children. Clara's sisters, Mary Pittman Parris and Ula Mae Pittman Welch also attended Carter Seminary and Chilocco. Her brothers attended the Jones Academy, a co-educational boarding school run by the Choctaw tribe. Clara currently lives in Silo, Oklahoma, just west of Durant.

Dorothy Wall Holt (Choctaw)

Dorothy Wall Holt was born in Maysville, Oklahoma and raised in Ardmore. She attended Carter Seminary from 1940 to 1947. Dorothy is active in the Bloomfield/Carter Alumni Association and currently serves as Registrar. Her aunt, Josephine Sewell Cantrell attended Haskell.

Dorothy's grandmother, Nettie Jack. a full blood Mississippi Choctaw, came to Indian Territory on the second removal. Her father, John Baptist Wall, is deceased, and her mother, Mary Wall resides in Ardmore. Dorothy has three children, Jimmy Don Grayham, Gary Grayham, and Pattie Dawn Grayham, all of Ardmore. Jimmy Don is a retired Major in the U. S. Armed Forces. Dorothy currently lives in Ardmore and works at Carter Seminary for Delta Community Action.

Leona Williford Isaac (Chickasaw)

Born in Lebanon, Oklahoma, Leona Williford Isaac attended Bloomfield/Carter from 1933 to 1941 and graduated from Chilocco in 1946. Leona worked for many years for the Oklahoma City Public School System. She has four children, Ray, Richard Lynn, Roberta, and Robert and has ten grandchildren, Chris, Christy, Tiffany, Jason, Derek, Damon, Brandon, Iain, Brittany, and Mandy, as well as one great-grandson, Colton. Leona, a resident of Moore, Oklahoma said that her primary hobby was reading, which she grew to love while at Carter. She remarked, "I don't know what I'd do without my glasses or my books."

Claudine Williford King (Chickasaw)

Claudine was born in Marshall County, Oklahoma, just north of Lebanon. She attended Carter Seminary from 1939 to 1948 and then Chilocco, where she graduated as valedictorian. She met her husband, John David King, a member of the Creek Nation, at Chilocco. They have five children, Darrell, Damon, Teron, Laura, and Jonathon. Claudine and

her husband both worked for many years at Chilocco. After the school closed, they worked for Conoco until their retirement. They currently live in Newkirk, Oklahoma, which is near Chilocco and frequently attend Chilocco reunions.

Hettie McCauley King (Chickasaw)

Hettie McCauley King was born in Ardmore, Oklahoma and attended Bloomfield Academy in the late 1920s. Hettie has attended Bloomfield/Carter reunions and was a member of Ohoyohoma, an organization for Native American women. Her mother, Kizzie Kernel McCauley was a graduate of Old Bloomfield. Hettie married Raymond King, who worked at Tinker Air Force Based following his service in the U. S. Army Third Armored Division. They have two foster grandchildren, Mark and Mia Methvin. Hettie lives in Ardmore where she is a member of the Maxwell Avenue Church of Christ. She is currently working on her autobiography.

Ida Bell Hughes Martin (Chickasaw)

Ida Bell Hughes Martin, a sister of Fanny Hughes Bass, was born in Connorville, Oklahoma and attended Bloomfield in the 1920s. After leaving Bloomfield, Ida attended Riverside, a federally run boarding school in New Mexico, where she learned to weave on a loom. Ida's mother, Mamie Alexander Hughes attended Burney Institute in Lebanon, Oklahoma. Ida has two children, Sherry Sue Horton and Robert Martin. She currently resides in Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Mary Pittman Parris (Choctaw)

Mary Pittman Parris was born in Bennington, Oklahoma, which is near Durant, Oklahoma, the seat of the Choctaw Nation. She attended Carter Seminary from approximately 1935 to 1942 and continued her education at Chilocco. Mary occasionally attends Bloomfield/Carter reunions. One of nine children, she is the sister of Ula Mae Pittman Welch and Clara Pittman Gatlin. She currently lives in Durant, Oklahoma and is a Jehovah's Witness.

Frances Griffin Robinson (Chickasaw)

Frances Griffin Robinson was born in Lebanon, Oklahoma and attended Bloomfield from 1927 to 1929. After leaving Bloomfield, Frances attended Murray State College in Tishomingo, which was then a high school and junior college. In addition to homemaking, Frances worked at several schools, including Carter Seminary for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She has one daughter, Chiquita, and two grandchildren, Jaquelyn and John Pat. Frances lives in Lebanon, only a few miles from her birthplace and enjoys attending Bloomfield/Carter reunions.

Fanny Williford Skaggs (Chickasaw)

Fanny Williford Skaggs was born in Lebanon, Oklahoma and is a sister of Leona Williford Isaac. Fanny attended Carter Seminary from 1939 to 1947. Her mother, Alice, attended Burney Institute. Fanny went to high school at Chilocco and worked for the U. S. Department of Navy in Washington D. C. following her graduation in 1951. After moving back to

Oklahoma, Fanny married Carl Skaggs. She worked for Red Ball Motor Freight in Oklahoma City for many years and still lives in Oklahoma City.

Juanita Keel Tate (Chickasaw)

Juanita Keel Tate was born in Ardmore, Oklahoma and attended Bloomfield Seminary in 1918. Her mother, Lula Potts Keel was a graduate of Old Bloomfield. Juanita graduated from Chilocco in 1928. She married Ernest W. Tate, an attorney, and became a legal secretary. Juanita has attended Bacone College, Southeastern Oklahoma State University in Durant, Oklahoma, and East Central University in Ada, Oklahoma. She has three children, Charles Guy Tate, Roberta Ann Tate Boland, and Gwendolyn Tate Gentry. Juanita, who still lives in Ardmore, is active in tribal affairs. She has been a member of Ohoyohoma and is a member of the Bloomfield/Carter Alumni Association. She attends Bloomfield/Carter and Chilocco reunions and is respected as a historian.

Ula Mae Pittman Welch (Choctaw)

Ula Mae Pittman Welch was born in Bennington, Oklahoma, which is near Durant, Oklahoma, the seat of the Choctaw Nation. She is the sister of Mary Pittman Parris and Clara Pittman Gatlin. She attended Carter Seminary in the 1940s and went on to school at Chilocco. Her mother, a full blood Mississippi Choctaw, raised nine children, all of whom attended boarding academies. Ula Mae married and currently lives in Durant, Oklahoma.

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (Cherokee)

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods was born in Sequoyah County, Oklahoma and attended Bloomfield/Carter from 1930 to 1936. She continued her education at Chilocco and after graduating attended Southeastern Oklahoma State University in Durant, Oklahoma. She went on to earn two Master's degrees, one in Education and one in History from Hardin-Simmons University. Ora Lee married John Woods and raised five children, three of which are living. She and her husband currently live in Durant, Oklahoma.

Ida Mae Pratt Cobb (Chickasaw)

Ida Mae Pratt Cobb, known most of her life as Dinah, was born in Indian Territory on July 3, 1907, the year of Oklahoma statehood. She lived her whole life just north of Lebanon where she was born. She attended Bloomfield Academy from 1924 to 1926. Dinah, my grandmother, married Trueman Calvin Cobb, a farmer and rancher in 1929. They had two children John G. Cobb of Ardmore, Oklahoma, and Murielene Cobb Potts, who lives in Lebanon on the family's farm. Dinah and Trueman had five grandchildren, Ed, George, and Steve Potts, Dinah Elizabeth Cobb McCraw, and Amanda Cobb. Dinah died in 1978.

Interview Questions

Background Information

1. Where are you from? Tell me about your family.
2. What were your parents' occupation? What was your parents' level of education?
3. Why did your parents want you to attend Bloomfield/Carter?
4. In what year did you start to school there? How old were you?
5. How many years did you attend?
6. Had you attended any school before starting there? If so, where? What kind of school? Public? Church?

Daily Life

1. Describe your living arrangements? Dormitory? Shared room?
2. Describe a weekday schedule beginning with the time you woke up and ending with bed time.
3. How were weekends spent? Could families come to visit? Could you leave the seminary?
4. Was there any planned entertainment?
5. Were there holidays observed?
6. How was discipline managed?
7. Was there any emphasis on etiquette and manners? How were these taught?
8. Could you communicate with your family by mail? Were you encouraged or required to write letters?

9. Describe the health facilities. Was there a doctor or nurse on campus? Were you given any treatment, shots, lice, etc. . .

Administration

1. Who were the administrators, superintendents, principals while you were there?
2. Were the administrators from Oklahoma or elsewhere?
3. Where they mostly male or female? Indian or white? Married or single? If married, where did their families live?
4. Describe your relationship as a student to the administrators.
5. Did the administrators have any other responsibilities at the school? If so, what?

Teachers

1. Who were the teachers while you were there?
2. Were they from Oklahoma or elsewhere?
3. Where did they live?
4. Were they any specific religion?
5. Where they mostly male or female? Indian or white? Married or single? If married, where did their families live?
6. Describe your relationship with your teachers.
7. Did teachers have any other responsibility besides teaching? If so, what?

Academic Curriculum

1. Describe a weekday class schedule. Do you remember any specific classroom activities?
2. How large were your classes? Was more than one grade taught in the same room? What was the average enrollment when you were there?
3. What was your favorite subject? Why?
4. What was your least favorite subject? Why?
5. Was a library or library books available? Was reading required? Can you remember any specific book you read?
6. Was there a set study period? If so, how long? Where was it conducted? How was it monitored?
7. Describe your English classes. Were there classes in grammar? In composition? Penmanship?
8. Did you ever read or memorize poetry? Did you read any literature? Can you remember anything you read specifically?
9. Did you use textbooks? If so, do you know what kind?
10. Were you required to write compositions or themes? How were they marked?
11. Did you receive report cards? If so, how often? Did your parents receive progress reports, including conduct?
12. Were any reference books available? Dictionaries? Atlases?
13. Was there instruction in sewing and cooking? Describe these classes.
14. What were the facilities for sewing and cooking like?
15. Was there any other type of domestic instruction?
16. How much of the day was devoted to practical arts and sciences?

17. Which received the most emphasis--social studies, math/science, language arts, practical arts?

Extracurricular Activities

1. Was there instruction for speech and dramatic activities? Elocution? recitation, etc . . .? How often were there performances or assemblies?
2. Was memory work required? If so, what?
3. Was there instruction in music? Did you learn any instrument?
4. Was there instruction in any type of art? Painting? Weaving?
5. Was there instruction in any social dancing?
6. Did you have a school newspaper or yearbook/scrapbook of any sort?
7. Were there any physical education classes? Organized sports? If so, what kind?
8. Were there any special commencement exercises? Describe these.
9. Were you made aware of current events? Did you have access to newspaper or radio?

Native Culture and Heritage

1. What is your degree of Indian blood?
2. Did more mixed blood or full blood students attend the school? Were there differences in the attitudes toward education and the academy between mixed and full blood students? Attitudes toward each other?
3. Did you speak English when you started school? Only English?
4. If you did not speak English, how were you taught? In class? from other students? Not formally?

5. Was any language other than English taught?

6. Were you ever encouraged to speak your Native language if you spoke one to begin with?

7. Were you made aware of tribal affairs and government? Were there course in Chickasaw or Five Civilized Tribes history?

8. Did you ever participate in Chickasaw cultural events at the seminary?

Religious Curriculum

1. Was religious education required? Bible memory work? Catechism?

2. Was church required? How often? Was there a specific denomination? Required prayer?

Citizenship and War Stories

1. Was there an emphasis on citizenship? Were your required to salute the flag? Memorize preamble or other?

2. Were there courses in Oklahoma or U. S. history and civics?

Discipline, Regulations, and Detail

1. Describe the rules and regulations at the school.

2. How were students disciplined?

3. Describe the "detail" system?

Education and Life after Bloomfield/Carter

1. At what age did you leave Bloomfield/Carter and why?
2. Did you go on to high school? Where? College or any other type of education?
3. Describe your life after leaving the school.
4. Did you marry? Tell me about your husband. Was he Native American, white?
5. Are you active in tribal affairs? Participate or attend any Chickasaw events?

Opinion and Analysis

1. What sort of life was Bloomfield/Carter preparing you for?
2. What would you say was the mission or objective of the school?
3. When Bloomfield became Carter, did the practices of the school seem to change in any ways?
4. How would you compare your education at Bloomfield to your education at a public school?
5. Overall, did you enjoy your time at the school?
6. Do you have any stories you'd like to share? Best or worst experiences?
7. Did you or have you kept in touch with any of your friends at Bloomfield/Carter?
8. Do you or have you ever attended any of the Bloomfield/Carter annual reunions?
9. Do you feel that your education at Bloomfield prepared you for your later life? If so, what areas, subjects, or type of instruction in particular?

Family and Children

1. Do you have children? If so what are their occupations?
2. What is their level of schooling?
3. Do they participate in tribal events?

Selected Quotations

Reasons for Attendance

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> My mother, who was Lula Potts before she married my father, Guy Keel, was a graduate of old Bloomfield . . . She was determined that we were going to get our education. That's really . . . since she and my daddy separated and divorced, she was determined that even though it was financially difficult to educate 12 children, she would see that we were all educated and that is really the reason we all attended Indian schools. We could get a good education with practically no expense. (4-5)

Hettie McCauley King (1925-1930)

> Well my parents sent me because my mother went to the old Bloomfield . . . and my dad was in a government school . . . I forgot the name of where he went [Harley] . . . she just believed in education. And it was a government school . . . it was back then . . . it was considered really good. (2-6)

Ida Bell Hughes Martin (1920-1930)

> My daddy always said, "Get out and get your education.' And he made us all go to government schools. (27)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

So, let's see, I lived about five or six miles from Bethel school and we had to of course walk and a lot of times when we would have a heavy, heavy rain well it would be hard for us to get across a little old branch. And . . . but this is the only way that helped me get in to Bloomfield becasue they would not just take you if you lived near a school. They rather take orphans and children that lived a long way from school. But I have a first cousin [Dinah]. . . had a first cousin, and she is Amanda's grandmother . . . But she got to go to Bloomfield because she was orphaned in that her father was not living and that helped her. When she came home the first time from Bloomfield, she was just so groomed and everything, you know, just so different and I wanted to go. So I just kept on and kept on until . . . my dad was the one who had the say-so and they took me to Bloomfield. (2)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

Our dad was killed in 1931, and I guess the field agent with the Indian Department sent these field agents out and they got kids that was orphaned or part orphaned . . . half orphaned or whatever and I guess that's the way we got into school. That's the best I can remember, and it wasn't easy . . . to leave home at that time . . . six . . . but after four or five years of it, well, you get use to it and it didn't make any

difference then. We was always kind of glad to get to school because when you got out of school for the summer, you had to work on the farm . . . She [my mom] wanted all of us kids to go to school (3-4) . . . It hurt for about four years. I didn't want to go to school. I hung on to the car door. Didn't want to go. But you know, after I got on up along about the fourth or fifth grade, it didn't make any difference. I was always kind of glad to get back to school . . . It is just like a big family to me. All these kids. (38)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

Well, we lived out on a farm and at that time, there was . . . we didn't have a car and the school was probably . . . Yes, across the creek where you had to have mules to get everyone across when the creek was up. There was no bridge there at that time . . . This was back in the years of the depression anyway. And everything was . . . And there was no money . . . And some of the people in the neighborhood that were around there that had to go to that school had their feet wrapped up in tow sacks in the winter time. It was not an easy time . . . You know there was no money, and no food, and no grass, and no water, and no animals . . . That's why we were sent, I'm sure. Part of it . . . I understood that Indian Agent . . . you had to pay if you were Indian and you went to a public school anyway . . . So . . . but things were different

when you had an Indian Agent to take care of your business for you. And the business included the children and where they went to school. So I know that my mother . . . I have no doubt what she said when she was advised to send us to boarding school so the Indian Department would not have to pay that school any money . . . Because whatever that Indian Agent advised them to do, they probably did because supposedly it would have been for their benefit. (6)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

I lived in a primarily Indian community about 12 miles southwest of Madill . . . My older relatives . . . females all went to school at Carter Seminary . . . And I had a couple of aunts who were just two years older than me and two years older than that and two years older than that and they had good things to say about it and came home each summer talking about it and I anticipated going there. And I was sent there because I wanted to go but primarily my parents sent me there because it was during the depression. They had very little. We lived. . . I would have had to walk a mile to two miles to get to the bus stop and cross a creek that was sometimes was high water . . . and I was the only one in the community who turned school age that year. There would not be a bunch walking with me. I would have to go alone. So I went away to Carter Seminary in September of 1939. (2)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> Well I think why we had to go because the government came to see our mother and said we had to. That's what we always understood. So I went all eight or nine years . . . There was nine children and our daddy died in 1934 . . . we didn't even get to go home for at least a year or two . . . I had to go up there when I was six. And I was the youngest. How I missed my mama. But I got over it. And I really . . . We had real good food. Three meals a day. A nice warm bed and clean linen. They taught us to always be clean, take care of our teeth. They took good care of our health . . . But I really enjoyed it and I really appreciated it because it really taught us things. And we had good things where we probably never would have had. (2-7)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

> I came to Carter Seminary . . . it was then, in 1940. I think I was in the second or third grade becasue I went to school in public school before I came here. . . and the reason that I came . . . it was in the war and everything was hard for everybody, you know, and my mother and grandmother talked about, you know, Carter Seminary, and I could hear them talking and so I thought even as a small tot, it would be helpful because it was hard . . . went to a little school that was a two-

room school house there that I walked like a mile to and from school . . . and I like to be warm and so I thought that would be neat because they told me all of the advantages of coming for a good education and have a nice, warm place to stay in the winter and be home in the summer and I could come home and visit, you know, and all of that. And they would visit me. Well, that didn't sound too bad because I like to be comfortable. Also I was the oldest of six children and I had a lot of responsibility. And I remember thinking 'Man, this sounds good.' So, that's the reason I came. I didn't have to come. You know, I was given the choice. My mom said, 'Let's try it and if you don't like it, then you can come back home and go to school here.' (2-3)

Native Culture and Heritage

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

We were never exposed [to Chickasaw History]. I sure don't remember any of it . . . I don't think they . . . I think that they wanted us changed. (30)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

I don't know why it [Native heritage and history] was [discouraged] or anything. They didn't teach it. And when I went to Chilocco I did have Indian history. And you know I use to think that there wasn't but five tribes, but after . . . having Indian history . . . . well I found out that there was all

kinds of tribes. And then after I got out . . . of course, there was so many different tribes at Chilocco that even after I got out of school . . . left Chilocco I found out that there was a lot more than went to school there. (18-19).

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

[Teaching Native heritage and history] was not done then. They were taking this Indian person and turning them into . . . white people . . . a white person. So you have to eliminate everything culturally and everything else to get rid of that Indian, you know. Of course, it don't always work, but they tried very hard to do that, you know. And at that time, that was the policies, that's the way it was. you did not speak any language other than English. And there was, I recall . . . a little girl. She had a bad heart, but I can't . . . I'm trying to think what it would be called today, but anyway, she couldn't get around well. Sometimes we carried her, you know, this way. And I recall having to carry her up and down the stairs to the dining room in Wiley Hall and she sat at my table. I remember her being sick at the table. I cleaned up the table. And you know, and like to got sick myself. But anyway, she had . . . really long black hair. And when it's real long and you are ill, it's hard to take care of it . . . you know, you've got long hair now and to keep it clean and washed. Because my grandkids have long hair and I fuss about it all the time

because we have to wash it so much. Anyway, something about her hair not being cut and they cut her hair off. And her oldest sister . . . one of her older sisters and her dad . . . I think it was her father came there and I just recall hearing just enough to remember that something about her hair being cut and how it was done. you know, it was not done at all. And apparently it was superstition was that if she cut her hair, someone very close to her would die. (42)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

Yeah, we learned the Five Civilized Tribes and where they were located in the state . . . you know the old Picken's district and all those . . . the way the state was divided when they said that the Indians were going to get to have it all . . . you know, from now on. Ha. But they taught us all of that and then. . . but it wasn't an emphasis on Indians so much as it was just that they told us how it had been. They went on and taught us about other history. You know, it was . . . the emphasis then and I think it was good and I think it should be that way now was on everybody being American first and something else second, you know. I just think it was better that way . . . it works better that way. (21-22)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

> [The emphasis on citizenship and patriotism] is real good except that we didn't get a lot of Indian history at all . . . the only thing that I knew is what my grandmother had told me. She came from Mississippi . . . She was on the second removal. There was two. First and then the second just before statehood. The went back down to Mississippi to get all those that wanted to come up before statehood and get this land. So they came up and got their lots then. And the only thing that I knew about our history was from my grandmother . . . But that's one thing that I didn't get was any Indian education at all. And during that time I think it was that way at all of the schools . . . [the school] was run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs . . . the government. And I appreciate all of the education that I got. (23)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> Not too many ran off from there . . . If they did run off it was because they were lonesome. You see, we're half Indian and from experiences I have had since I've got grown, a lot of those little kids could not adjust that were more Indian. I hope that we didn't make a difference in what color we were, but being children we probably did and some of those that couldn't adjust . . . Some of them couldn't handle it . . . We

grew up around our non-Indian relatives. So we were never steeped in the Indian tradition . . . They just tried to get that out of you. They didn't want you to have any . . . They were changing us . . . You had to change with the times and that is where a lot of Indians have gone astray because they could not adjust. There are not enough programs to help them to live in what they call 'the white man's world.' (30, 45-46)

Native Language at School

Fanny Hughes Bass (1911-1914)

They didn't want anyone at school to speak Chickasaw . . . just English. (5)

Ida Bell Hughes Martin (1920-1930)

My mother didn't allow it [speaking Chickasaw]. My daddy didn't allow it. My mother did [speak]. She talked . . . before she married my daddy, she, you know, talked the Chickasaw language and she could always talk it and, you know, hear what they said . . . Well, you see, my daddy was white. And we was in a white district, I guess you would say. (5)

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936)

> Some of the girls spoke Indian when they came and they were punished for it. And they would gather in a huddle in corner and speak it. And they were punished for it. (17)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> Some of the girls that came there did not speak English at all. They were full blood whatever. They were not all Chickasaws . . . And they . . . a lot spoke whatever their language was in private because the school would not allow it. They would not allow it at all. In fact, they punished them if they continued to do it after they were told not to. And they started teaching them to speak English [immediately]. Which made it hard for some students because they came there not being able to speak English, and I remember one girl who came after school had started, and I think I was in probably the second or third grade and she would not go to class but no one could . . . she didn't understand that they were trying to tell her because she did not speak English. And she would have been in that class and so when it was time to go into the classroom, she refused to go and they asked me to go see if I could coax her into the classroom . . . And she would not. She would just shake her head and I don't remember how they finally got her to go to

the classroom, but I did feel sorry for her because I felt that it was the fact that she. . . I think she might have known a little bit of English, but the fact that they mostly spoke whatever her language was what made it so hard for her. And of course, she was frightened to death of being away from home . . . I think they knew enough that they could [leave home] . . . just like this girl. I think that she could understand and could speak a little, but would not. And that's the way they were more comfortable speaking their Indian language than they were white because they spoke a broken . . . called we called a broken English . . . I remember this girl when she left there, she could speak just as well as anybody. And how they did that, I'll never know. But they were patient teachers and I don't remember that they had any special classes. They just more or less taught that student along with the rest and they picked it up. Now, not all ever gave up their broken way of speaking, but they certainly could communicate and we did not think anything about it at all. (16-17)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

They [students] would speak it among themselves . . the ones that could speak, they talked to each other . . . [they were] not really [punished], but we was supposed to learn the white man's English. We were supposed to learn English (22-23)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> Yeah [students spoke Chickasaw] in our rooms and out on the playground. They . . . you weren't supposed to talk in you native language. And . . . but we did anyway. Especially out on the playgrounds and we were just careful when we were around the teachers no to do it. Most of us were. I had this one friend named Betty Lou Horse. She was full blooded Choctaw and she was just not going to give up on it. She just talked Chickasaw just any time she wanted to and she foamed at the mouth for the whole eight years because they would wash her mouth out with lye soap when you talked Indian. Yeah. She didn't care. That was her language. In fact, she was more comfortable in that. There were several who were, but she was the one that I remember . . . (12)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> They made you quit speaking it. I imagine we spoke it because our grandfather lived with my mother and he was full blood and our mother was full blood . . . our mother had the accent, but I imagine they made us quit speaking it. See a lot of the kids though, that's all they knew. . . (40)

Native Language at Home

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> My father's first language was Chickasaw. He spoke nothing but Chickasaw at home. However, he had good intelligence. He became active in tribal affairs and his grammar was very good . . . He didn't teach us per se. We really . . . we really learned a lot by just listening to him when other Chickasaws would visit . . . when his brothers would visit in his home. One of my aunts was full blood Chickasaw . . . Caroline Keel, Uncle Tobert's wife. And they would all speak Chickasaw when they visited one another. Of course we understood and we could say quite a few words in Chickasaw, particularly the names of food. We could always . . . we knew we would never starve as long as we could learn Chickasaw . . . the names of Chickasaw food. (7)

Hettie McCauley King (1925-1930)

> I think that my mother could [speak Chickasaw], and she taught us very few words. See they were raised in a white world. (8)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

> My mother was full blood. But they just loved to visit and talk Chickasaw and I would hide in the corner of the house to listen. Of course, I was the oldest. The rest of the kids were

just playing or whatever but I was so inquisitive and I got scolded lots and lots of times because I would sneak around and listen. Never knew what they were saying. (5)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

We never . . . this family has never spoken anything except English, but we would ask Grandma Keel, which I knew she could speak it. But I never heard my mother not once, but I'm sure she knew it. And we would say teach us to speak Indian . . . not Chickasaw. And they would not do it. but when we would come into the room a lot of times, we would hear them speaking it. They immediately stopped. They never spoke it in our presence. My grandmother was adamant about not letting us learn that. We learned a few words. We had an uncle who when we got out of sight, we would have him teach us some words, but we really did not ever speak the language, which I regret. She said the way of the Indian was gone. We had to learn the way of the white people. That is what we were. We brought up as strictly white people. (3)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

She [my mama] talked it. She could talk it and everything but we didn't . . . well, she didn't talk Indian to us . . . I don't know if she did [want us to learn it] or not. Back then, they

wanted us to learn English more or less . . . a few words I know and a few words I know what they mean but I don't really speak it or understand it. So, you could be talking to me all day about . . . in Chickasaw and I wouldn't know what you were saying. (5)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

[My parents and grandparents] didn't talk to us in Chickasaw. They talked among themselves . . . the older ones. Now at Carter we did a lot more . . . there were a lot of Chickasaw and Choctaws there. There were only five of the 160 students who were not Choctaw or Chickasaw . . . so there was a lot of Choctaw and Chickasaw talked at Carter and we heard that all the time and I knew a lot of it and could understand some of it. I never could talk Chickasaw. Never really tried. But I don't even know that I would even understand any of it anymore because it has been so long since I have heard it. But it was a good place to grow up. (5-6)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

My grandmother did [speak Choctaw]. No, [she didn't teach me] because her husband or my grandfather was white and she spoke to her friends when they would come to town, but I couldn't ever learn it. I know some words, you know, but I couldn't speak it. No, [my mother couldn't speak]. And my

dad was white. And so we didn't learn it, which I'm so sorry that we didn't. Because I would love to be able to talk. (5)

Citizenship and War Stories

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

All I knew is that I had two brothers in World War II, and they were in the Army. Ruddy and Overton were both in Army camps. So the day that the Armistice was signed, Miss Allen . . . called an assembly. Well, we all left class and went to this general assembly room which is on the top floor of the building and the stage, by the way, was just about a foot off the floor at one end of that great big room. I never will forget when Miss Allen . . . she was real fair skinned, and she stepped up to the podium and she announced, 'Girls the war is over. Armistice has been signed.' And when she said that, the girls all just whooped and hollered and some just screamed. Others just sat down and cried. One of my cousins, Phelia Lavers, who was sitting right by me, began to sob and she said, 'Well, I'm glad the war is over, but it is too late for my brother. He has already been killed in France' . . . Another thing that struck me, she said . . . Miss Allen, herself, began to cry and she said, 'Well, there's no reason to say anything further. We're all too full.' And I thought that was a strange expression . . . we're all too full. She meant emotional wise. But . . . there was just utter chaos in the

room by then. So, she dismissed us and we all went back to class. I hugged and held Phelia's hand all the way back to class. (11-12)

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936)

We had civics, and we had a flag pole in the middle. . . in the front lawn of the administration building we had a great big fish pond . . . a great big oval fish pond with gold fish in it. And in the middle of the fish pond there was an island and you could walk out there to the island to the flag pole and we would raise the flag every morning and brought it down at sundown every day. And it was a big event and we really did salute the flag and pledge the allegiance. Yes, and we recognized that the government . . . we learned that the government was good and that it was a government school and that it was because of the government that we were there. You know, we were aware. (15)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

. . . we had the weekly reader . . . you know the current event reader every week and then we had drills . . . black out drills. We had to cover the windows with blankets . . . [some of the girls had fathers in the war] that is one thing about Indian men. A lot . . . most . . . I know in my family, all of them were gone. All that were of age was gone to the war. I had

three uncles in the war and some brothers and several cousins. They were all gone except the old men and the little boys . . . we . . . knit scarves and . . . even packed medical kits it seemed like or some kind of packing we did for the men. (22)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

. . . we learned all of that [citizenship]. World War II started in '41 and we were there at school. I was in the fourth. And then in the . . . I guess I was in the seventh, our youngest brother got killed. So the war. . . I mean, we don't like to think about the war . . . one time we had to practice putting on these big old gas masks. I thought boy, was it going to get bad and they're going to come over here. In fact . . . they took us down to the . . . that auditorium . . . and we saw the filming of when they dropped the atomic bomb over there . . . But that ended the war and we were so happy. (28-29)

Letter Writing and Correspondence

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

[Letters] were all censored. And if you put anything in there like I don't like school or something about one of your teachers, they would make you do it over. And they read all

incoming . . . outgoing and incoming mail. It was all censored. (18)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1920-1930)

We had to write. Everything had to be in English. Everything was English. Indian was out. We were Indian people, but this was a white method. (19)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

We had to write once a month . . . I remember we would say "Dear Folks, How are you? Fine, I hope." All of us wrote the same thing when we wrote . . . She wrote it one the board. We copied it. I can still see it. "Dear Folks" And I use to think, "What are folks?" And how are you. And the government saw that we mailed the letters. And they were free. (16)

Teachers

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

Even in associating with some of the teachers like the last 30 or 40 years . . . They were very dedicated people . . . and they sincerely wanted to turn out good students, and they made an effort to really understand those Indian students. (20).

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936)

> [My relationship] with Miss Brigham, for instance, the music teacher. I value that more than anything because I think she really made a difference to me . . . because she opened up so many possibilities becasue we listened to good music, and because we understood that it's more than what we can, than what we can appreciate what others can do. And it was just wonderful, and she was just a wonderful person, she was. [She showed me that there was] something we could grow to. And she was just really a challenge, and I really did admire her. She really did help me. (24)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> I don't recall that they were Indian . . . they were fair . . . I just assumed that they were not Indian . . . And I do not know what the qualifications had to be in order to get a job there, but it was really . . . I would think that at that time, a choice place for teaching. (13)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> We had good teachers. Had several different . . . of course, they came and went . . . Most of them were white . . . We did have one lady that was Indian that I can remember . . . well, we had two. We had a Miss Lambert that came from Dougherty. And then we had this Canadian . . . she was

Indian and French but came from Canada . . . Miss Hudson. And she wasn't there very long before Van Noy [Hughes] replaced her, and Van Noy, I guess, was [Chickasaw]. (10)[22]

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Isaac (1933-1947)

And we a had a full blooded Navajo Indian woman named Mrs. Webb that taught arts and crafts. And she had three looms in that arts and crafts room. . . the big room. And every one of them had a rug on it . . . She also taught at Chilocco because she was there when I went freshman year. She was teaching weaving. And I did do a little throw rug out of rag . . . a rag rug that is what it was. It was a little rag rug. And she taught us to use little looms . . . And then she went . . . to the University of Arizona. And then I read in the paper about Mrs. Webb. They gave her some kind of an award. (56)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

We had several Indian teachers, and my second grade teacher was a graduate of Chilocco. (14)

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[22]Van Noy Hughes was the sister of Fanny Hughes Bass and Ida Bell Hughes Martin and the cousin of Juanita Keel Tate, all of whom were interviewed for this project. Van Noy also attended Bloomfield, before teaching there. Van Noy, Fanny, and Ida Bell are the aunts of Betty Ruth Kemp, whom I also interviewed regarding her mother, a Bloomfield alum. Betty Ruth has served as the president of the Chickasaw Historical Society and is still on the board.

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

> A lot of our teachers were Caucasian. And if they were Indian, they weren't identifiable. If you look at them, you would say they weren't Indian. (18-19)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> They got the best teachers . . . We had Miss Gormley, remember her . . . Oh, then she married and her name became Tate. And we thought she was so pretty, and she took a screen test and it wouldn't take. She was too pretty for the movies. And she was part Cherokee. She was a beautiful woman. And friendly, but she . . . you know, when we got into the classroom, we all behaved ourselves . . . She was so pretty . . . And all of them dressed real neat, and they were mannerly and all, and they were trying to make ladies out of us . . . I learned how to play bridge. They taught us how to have little tea parties . . . we had our little tea cups, and I spilled mine one time and that embarrassed me . . . Miss Gormley . . . I remember we would be looking at her, and she would say, 'Why are you girls looking at me?' And we would say, 'Because you are so pretty.' She was. (19)

Religious Curriculum

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> Once at Sunday school she asked us to learn the names of the books of the Bible by the next Sunday and those that did would be rewarded . . . so I worked all week . . . I will never forget that . . . I worked all week and the next week I was the only one in class who actually knew the name of every book in the Bible. I was so proud. I don't remember what the reward was and I didn't care, but I was so happy to know that. (8)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> We had chapel every Sunday . . . and Mrs. Allen conducted the services . . . we had Scripture reading . . .We had to learn Bible verses and we were required, you know, certain groups to give that in chapel . . . And we went to church in our best clothes . . . Yes, you did get your religious training there, but they couldn't say this is a Methodist service, this is a Baptist serve and whatever. Every so often, they would have a minister from some church and they would announce that it was from that church . . . And then they had . . . on Sunday evening the had BYPU. If you were a Baptist, you went to those if you wanted to. (32-33)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> A different preacher would come out and speak and then we had our choir that . . . I was in the choir there at one time and use to sing at the Episcopal Church . . . But the girls that wanted to go to church on Sundays could go and they didn't go to one every Sunday. They would go to different churches. Maybe the First Baptist one Sunday, Presbyterian the next and something like that. (26)

Academic Curriculum

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> There was phonics, writing, reading and on up to your . . . higher level of math and your history, your reading and your English . . . you just progressed like you do in the public school here . . . we did have to learn proper diction. We could not say "git." We couldn't say . . . we always had to say singing, thinking . . . ing . . . ing, you know. They drilled us on that constantly. I think that they stressed that [correct grammar] more than other subjects. However, you got equal time for everything. If was the fact that they came from so many backgrounds and a lot of them were so poor. And they were bringing them up. And a lot of them resisted. (30-46)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> When we would read a story . . . we would act it out. And I remember that we had this story once about the hen and she would say 'See my fancy top knot.' I will never forget it because I had to do it over so many times because I wouldn't drop my voice at the end of the sentence. . . But that is the way they taught. You did not just get to walk away from it. You had to do it properly. And she had me to do that one sentence until I could drop my voice to show that it was a period and not a question . . . I would never forget it because I had to do it so many times and I couldn't. Just make it sound like a question. That is what she was trying to get across, that there were certain . . . periods and questions and all of that . . . And so she wanted us to know when you read what they meant and that was the purpose. That's the way they taught you until you learned it and then you moved on. (25)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

> I had to read so many books every month. You know, and that all had to be down and a report made and turned in . . . I had to do mine orally when I went. I had to stand up in front of the class and tell about the book that we read . . . Joyce Kilmer . . . "Evangeline" . . . King Lear . . . (16-18)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> The first year that I went to Chilocco, they tested us as freshmen upon arrival there and there were five or six of us from Carter Seminary in the freshman class and we were at the top of the charts on all of the tests, and I tested second year college level when I entered as a freshman at Chilocco. Yeah, that was Carter Seminary. It was a very good education (25)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> I remember taking geography and spelling . . . We had spelling bees at the . . . where you would try to out spell other people. There were contests and you learned quickly that way. We had arithmetic drills at the blackboard for speed and that was another good way of learning because you didn't want to be embarrassed that you didn't know this, so people worked . . . we worked hard at our studies and they brought you along as fast as you could go. We had spelling, arithmetic, geography . . . all of the basics. (14)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> [Memorization] was a constant thing throughout schooling . . . All year long they would give you assignments and some of them lengthy . . . and you had to memorize them every one and then everybody had to take their turn and get up and

recite them . . . those things . . . "The Highwayman" . . . Edna St. Vincent Millay . . . They would encourage you to go [to the library] and they would keep track of how many books you read in one of the later . . . fourth or fifth grade, I read sixty books one year. I remember getting some kind of star for that. But that was not unusual. There . . . everybody read. They were expected to read . . . we started having to do once a month book reports where we had to do a written report of several pages. There wasn't a paragraph or two paragraphs. you had to have more than one page of a written book report or . . . and you had to do essays when you came back. You wrote about what you did during the summer. When you came back from Christmas, you wrote about what you did over the holidays or whatever you wanted to write about. You were expected to do a lot of writing. All the while you were learning how to put English together by parsing things, you know. We had to do it on the bulletin board . . . It was a good way to learn . . . you not only had to write these things but you had to begin getting up in front of the class, and there were no exceptions . . . and give oral book reports once a month or oral presentations of some kind so that you became equally able to express our thoughts as well as write them . . . They encouraged us to read any kind of book that was in the library. And many of them, and looking back on it, were I think probably ahead of the grade levels that they had there

. . . reading, writing, English, arithmetic, and history were the classes that remember. (17-20)

Extracurricular Activities

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> We were always memorizing poems and of course, I told you about this little play that we had, and I played the part of the spider. And then there was this, someone was a caterpillar, you know, a fuzzy little caterpillar crawling, crawling on the ground. I looked and looked everywhere and you're not to be found. When I said my part, I was so scared that I couldn't look at the audience and my teacher aid that I looked down at the floor the entire time I was saying my little poem. And I guess that was my first experience at stage fright. (9)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

> Well I don't remember the name of this play, but we had the real Dutch shoes . . . those wooden Dutch shoes and we dressed like Quakers, and we did this dance. And this was in the auditorium, but there was this other play that we had down there at the lake . . . most of them were outside . . . but they had good plays and they spent a lot of money I am sure on the costumes. (26)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> We had what we called, a program. They called it assembly once a week. And one of the teachers presented the program and whatever they wanted to do. And I learned poetry, so I was called on by the other teachers to recite poetry during the program. And sometimes they would have a play. Sometimes it would be a dance, like a certain dance of a certain country. See, we learned all of those things . . . at the time you were learning to do the dances, you learned the history of all of this. You know, everything was made into a learning process. You didn't just get out there . . . it was fun, but you learned what went behind these dances and the costumes and things that you wore . . . I remember that I had to memorize the whole book of Hiawatha. They called it Heawatha . . . we had plays and operettas and things like that, we were dressed in the costumes. And I do not know to this day who prepared those costumes, but they were beautiful. They weren't just something that you would run out and get. They did store them when they weren't using them. (23-24)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> I know I was in the Pilgrim play one time . . . I remember we had the long dresses and everything like that because they have got the picture out here . . . and we entertained . . . they

had the Rotarians out or the Lions Club or some of the other clubs that would come out . . . We had an orchestra. The girls played . . . they had pianos all over that school. I imagine that there was six or eight or more in the administration building. They taught piano lessons . . . I started violin lessons. There was some that played clarinet. And the violins and cello and the bass viola and the piano that is what we had. (14-15)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

We had a little room in the back behind the stage that was filled full of every kind of costume you could imagine. So if you put on a cowboy show, you had everything that went with it. If you put on a George Washington, you had everything that went with the dress, the shoes, the buckles, the wigs . . . And also too you didn't just have costumes, they had backdrops that just rolled down off the stage that came down to set the scene, so to speak . . . Yes, when Thanksgiving came along, we had everything but the turkey . . . The costumes, the hats, the buckles on the shoes . . . I remember doing the Highland Fling and the [costume] was plaid you know with the little black hat . . . and oh, yes, I was on the end and got slung for . . . oh, yes, I recall. Mrs. Brigman was very, very precise and very determined that everything was going to be right. So every step, every song, every move you made was . . . she was a good teacher. (14-15)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

> I was in choir too . . . when we sang that "Hallelujah Chorus" . . . and also too we went down and sang at the radio station and it was recorded at Ardmore . . . KVSO . . . and we recorded Indian chants. (19)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> In every year you had music and we had one teacher who taught us songs in Spanish and French and German. And we had another who taught us all of the classics. She played so many of them for us and identified the instruments in them and she taught us . . . introduced us to information about paintings and painters . . . I sang in the choir for years . . . yes [I took piano lessons], and I learned to appreciate music there because they taught us at those early ages to sing in harmony in the different parts, and I sang alto, and I remember when we were in the eighth grade, we sang and performed Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata. And a lot of people from Ardmore came out to listen, and they just clapped and clapped and clapped. They thought it was wonderful that we could do that . . . in music we had a lot of the folk dancing where we dressed up in costumes and we did everything from the minuet where we even had the wigs and the little pantaloons . . . satin pantaloon sets and white socks and the

shoes with the big, gold buckles on them too, I guess European style folk dances with the big full skirts. (17, 18, 24)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> And they use to have the girls that belong to it [the orchestra] . . . played with the orchestra wore long dresses that they put on. They played at the school and downtown in Ardmore too. When I got in there we had a rhythm band and they put me on the xylophone thing . . . and we listened to opera music. (53)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> We had one about the pilgrims, Indian and pilgrims, and one year I was Indian. (26)

Domestic Curriculum

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> At eight years of age you don't know how to do much sewing but our teachers taught us how to hem dish towels. We hemmed some of them by hand and there were some old fashioned Singer sewing machines . . . Singer and White and other early day models of sewing machines . . . the old treadle type, and we were so proud because she let us sit down at

those sewing machines an hem dish towels . . . she also taught us to knit and we knitted . . . in my class we knitted dish rags for World War I. (9)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

Domestic science was our cooking and domestic art was the sewing. Now I really enjoyed those classes. Made good grades . . . we had them every day. The best I can remember . . . when I first started hem stitching, she let us do a tea towel first . . . mine was just black. I would have to take it out so much. And the others too. Our little old hands, I guess, was dirty. I don't know how they could be as strict as they were on us but we just . . . I just practically wore my hem out just trying . . . So I wish I could have that. I don't know what they did with it. But I sure still know all of those first things that we did like hem stitching, back stitching and all of that, you know. I learned how to embroidery. But I enjoyed those two classes and the teachers were real nice to us but they wanted us to do it right . . . just that one way. (11)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

When we were in the second grade we learned to cook and the first thing that we learned to cook was cheese straws. Can you imagine that . . . I didn't even know what a cheese straw was, and then we cooked it. And we had partners. We had

so much time and we had to get it mixed, we had to get it baked and we had to clean up in our time. . . . I can't remember the cooking teacher but they were so patient. (27)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

We learned to sew. . . we had to . . . make our own pajamas. We had to make a complete set, top and bottom, out of flannel . . . We did it from scratch . . . from start to finish . . . We progressed from that kind of sewing . . . the dormitory matrons showed us all how to embroider, which I still dearly love to do . . . I made a Mexican tablecloth when I was in about the fifth grade that was beautiful. I gave it to Momma and Dad . . . They taught us how to knit . . . We were supposed to make sweaters to send overseas for the Army and a lot of the girls finished their sweater. I never did finish mine. I was always busy taking out stitches that I had pulled too tight. But they did teach us how to knit. They taught us how to darn socks. They taught us all of the things that we would need to know to get by. (23)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

. . . in the fourth grade, yes, you had to start taking Home Ec classes where a part of the day you maybe worked in the laundry and in the laundry we had to wash the clothing of the younger students . . . you started washing . . . working in

the laundry, learning how to wash clothes and put bluing in them at the time to keep them white. And how to iron. They taught how to iron a shirt properly. Start with the padding under the shoulders and then do the cuffs, then do the sleeves, then the left front, and around the back and to the right side. They taught us how to iron everything and we had to keep the younger kids clothes clean. And I was in a contest later at Chilocco where I got a ribbon of some kind for ironing the best white shirt. I learned it at Carter. They taught us how to cook, how to make fudge. All of the good things that we liked, we would get to do those occasionally. They taught us how to make beds. I later won a medal for making a military style bed, I guess . . . bouncing a quarter. Square corners and all. (17-18)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

We started Home Ec. in the sixth grade. We learned to sew and cook. See it was really a Home Economical school. They were teaching you how to live. Not so much business like but in your home. Our sewing had to be just so. In fact, I came back here my sophomore year and went to . . . high school here in Durant and I was in the tenth grade and they had sewing and they put me with the seniors and the dress that I made, they put it on display there. And the teacher told

me that I could sew better than the senior girls. But that was due from the sixth to the tenth. (23-24)

Detail

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

You had to . . . everything was done by the students when I went there. You had no housekeeper that mopped your floor, or made your bed. You did that. They didn't wash your clothes. You did that . . . You didn't have anyone . . you did it all. You know you mopped the floors, you waxed, you polished the woodwork, and washed and all of it. It was detail work and you were assigned to a certain area for so long a time. (28)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

Every six weeks they had a new detail assignment up on the bulletin boards and you had an area that you were expected to clean. Sometimes the bathroom, sometimes the hallway, sometimes the outside. You swept the sidewalks, you scrubbed the toilets, you cleaned whatever it was that they assigned you to do. (7)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> But we made a game of the work jobs. Everything that we did, we made a game. We tried to beat each other, but you had to beat them and do it good because they inspected your job. And if it wasn't good, you did it over. But I remember working the kitchen and I had to pour up the milk. We had the big . . . Whatever those big milk cans came from . . . Cooper's Dairy over there in Ardmore. And I would go in and I was supposed to stir the cream up but I wouldn't. I would take the cream and pour it in one pitcher and put it on my table. I think that's why I'm so big now. Then you stirred the rest of it and you had to pour it in these . . . we had aluminum pitchers and the milk was as cold as it could be. and I had to go around and set those on the tables. (14)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> We had chickens and pigs . . . goats . . . lambs . . . She took care of chickens and we got to raise them. We had to take care of feeding them and cleaning the dropping board. And then in the spring we dressed them out. We scrubbed them in soap and water. I don't know if they do that in the big factories.

Then we sold them to the school and we got to divide that money up among the class. (38)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

We had the pigs and the chickens to take care of . . . I think before they had a dairy barn and had cows and things . . . But we didn't have those . . . we had a huge garden. Victory garden during the war. (21)

Etiquette and Deportment

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

And, gee, our manners had to be just so so. They told us that we . . . it was a finishing school more for ladies. (8)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

We had a dining room matron who quietly walked from table to table to teach us our manners . . . very quietly. If she saw you doing something wrong, she would very quietly correct you and tell you why . . . she was very gentle and very quietly correcting our manners all of the time . . . That school was just like . . . the finishing school because they certainly worked at teaching you what you had to know . . . your manners, your way of presenting yourself . . . all of that. You got that. (10-13)

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

> That is one thing that they did teach us was manners and everything like that. That is one thing that I appreciated about the Indian school and of course a lot of the kids today don't . . . they don't get it at home. . . You know we learned like table setting and everything like that, where the fork went and all this stuff and they did teach you things like that . . . how to set a table. But they did teach us as I said manners and keeping yourself clean and everything like that . . . They tried to teach . . . some of the kids that came in to school, I guess lived so far back out in the woods and everything and of course we lived out in the woods too, but we did keep clean even if it was a number two tub and everything, but some of them came to school and they just [didn't] have it. (21)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

> I really . . . I think that it really helped us. Taught us how to take care of, you know, hygiene and then go home . . . Ula made curtains for the house. She always was a good seamstress, and we cleaned the house. You know, we didn't have much but it taught us, and we helped mama. (38).

Opinion and Analysis of School Mission

Juanita Keel Tate (1918)

> In those days they [the Chickasaws] were anxious for the children to all be educated. To prepare them for life or whatever was out there. Just to be good students and citizens as far as I can tell. (20)

Hettie McCauley King (1925-1930)

> [Bloomfield was preparing me] for a good life. Really to me it was inspiring. We were all proud to be there. I couldn't say anything against Bloomfield. (24)

Frances Griffin Robinson (1927-1929)

> This is what I learned [at Bloomfield] and how I knew how to carry on in a job [later in life] because I had to teach these little old fellows that would come in and we . . . taught them table manners and we had to go through all of this with them. And how to use a telephone. They didn't know what a telephone was . . . when I first started and I was over in Cherokee County, and Lord, you never went into a more backward . . . when they started building these houses for them . . . it took a while for them to acclimate those people enough so that they would move into houses . . . I thought that I had crawled back into the dark ages. (43)

Ora Lee Chuculate Woods (1930-1936)

> Custodial Care . . . I really feel that she had the idea that she was training the girls to be leaders of the community. I think she [Eleanor Allen] was really finishing them to be leaders of their community. And she had this attitude . . . I tell you that she really stirred a conscientiousness and awareness of the girls to be something bigger than that little school. (18)

Jeanne Liddell Cochran (1930-1935)

> I think the primary thing was to bring these Indian girls into the mainstream. I really think that was what they were striving for, which a lot of people thought is cruel. But it is like my grandmother said, this is . . . the way of the Indian is gone and you need to learn the way of the white people because they are in charge and that was . . . so we knew that when we went that by the fact that she would not let us learn the Chickasaw language. We knew it. And I think that was the purpose of it and you will hear the girls refer to that as a finishing school. Because we were taught academics. We were taught the arts. We had our classes. We had to learn art. You know the paintings and such as that. We had to know that. We had music. We had . . . they tried to . . . and had to learn our proper manners. And that is what they were trying to do and the way they taught is like a very expensive

finishing school today . . . and when they did away with it, I thought how terrible . . . You could not have asked for a better school anywhere in the United States than that was. (44-47).

Pauline Williford Adkins (1932-1941)

Bloomfield was preparing me to be] well a housewife, really . . . Domestic . . . [preparing us] mostly for the white world I believe. We . . . seems like going back to your own tribe or anything like that came later on in years. After I got out of school, they wanted everybody to go back to their own way of living and . . . well, their language and everything like that. I believe that came after I got out of school . . . they were trying to prepare us for the white man's world and get out and mingle with other people besides our own . . . besides Indians. (35-36)

Fanny Williford Skaggs and Leona Williford Isaac (1933-1947)

They were preparing us to go back alone. The ability to be able to learn . . . I had to learn to milk a goat, and . . . I don't think the expectations was that they would . . . it wouldn't make any difference what they were doing, they would still go back to the wood stove and the cow and that type of living anyway. So I think it was just accepted. (44-45)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> [They were preparing you to be] anything that you wanted to be. They emphasized that you could do what you thought you could do. They certainly equipped us academically for whatever . . . I mean, it was mostly accepted that you would do that, go to school some place. Yes, they did encourage you to go to school, but they also taught you how to . . . all of the necessary things that you need to know if you weren't going to go to school . . . to cook and to sew and make a good home, you know. They were just trying to teach you everything they could and they gave you a smattering of everything. (31)

Claudine Williford King (1939-1948)

> [The mission at Carter] was to educate the Indian children that came there so that they could fit into the mainstream and make a good life for themselves. I don't . . . you know, I have heard comments that they were trying to take away their Indian heritage. I don't think that's right. Because they talked a lot about it and we dressed up, you, know, read all of the Indian stories and Hiawatha poems and all that stuff. What they were trying to do was . . or I felt like and did a very good job of it was to equip us to get by in the world the way it was and is. They did not put down the Indians. They didn't want us to talk Indian because and I regret that. . . I wish they had not done that. But it was one way that they . . .

we learned the English language thoroughly and completely and how to write and how to express ourselves and get along. (32)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

[Carter was preparing me] to be independent and I am independent . . . because we had to follow the rules and if you learned that basically when you first came, that sticks with you all through your life. I mean you can be an individual and still . . . I don't conform at all, but I do try to make my way. (31)

Dorothy Wall Holt (1940-1947)

[The objective was] to make white people out of Indian . . . really I think . . . bottom line . . . We just kind of went along with it. I look back and I think it is because my grandfather was a white man, my dad was a white man, and my grandmother and my mother probably thought. . . . especially my grandmother probably thought that was the best for us and we just kind of . . . we didn't know any better. You know . . . after I got grown, I wanted to know all about my history. So I have to get out and look that up. (34-35)

Mary Pittman Parris, Clara Pittman Gatlin, and Ula Mae Pittman Welch (1935-1949)

That's what they were doing is teaching us how to live. (18)

Appendix 2

Reproductions of Bloomfield Commencement Programs

Order of Materials

1892 Commencement Program (Chickasaw Council House Museum)

1896 Commencement Program (Chickasaw Council House Museum)

1904 Commencement Program (Chickasaw Council House Museum)

1905 Commencement Program (Chickasaw Council House Museum)

1909 Commencement Program (Chickasaw Council House Museum)

1928 Commencement Program (qtd. in Hall 61)

Original Copies can be found in Appendix Three

1892 Commencement Program

Bloomfield Seminary

Monday Evening

JUNE 27th, 1892.

Programme

Opening Song . . . . . Song of Greeting by School

Trio--"Husaren March,". . . . . C. Gurlitt

Misses Bacon, Turnbull and Saffron.

Speech--"Make Your Mark,". . . . . Master Eli Kemp

Recitation--"Whipoorwill," . . . . . Miss Debbie White

Piano Duett--"On Blooming Meadows," . . . . . King

Misses Stella Chisolm and Nettie Burris.

Vocal Solo--"Cute Little Shoes and Stocking," . . . . . Retissor

Mattie Collins.

Concert--"When We are Women," . . . . . Little Folk

Chorus--"Sister Spirits Haste Away," . . . . . Riley

By School.

Instrumental Trio--Valse . . . . . Streabbog, Op. 183

Misses Parker, Collins and Moberly.

Drill--Dumb Bells ..... By Class

Recitation--"At Home on the Farm," .....

Miss Mattie Collins.

Building Song ..... Little Folks

Recitation--"Mat, Hal and I," ..... Miss Mattie Bacon

Dialogue--"Mother Goose" .....

Piano Duett--No. 1, Don Juan de Mozart, ... Beyer

Recitation--"Nobody's Child," ..... Miss Lula Burris

Song--"The Little Waiters," ..... Eight Little Girls

Recitation--"An Old Womans' Complaint," .....

Miss Turnbull

Instrumental Trio--"Le Secret," ..... Gautier

Misses Potts, White and Harris

1896 Commencement Program

Graduating Exercises

of

Bloomfield Seminary

Monday, June 22, 1896

1:30 p.m.

Bloomfield, I. T.

Program

Opening Song . . . . . "Greeting Glee."

Instrumental Duett, ... Overture . . . . . Weber

Misses Dosia Kemp and Debbie White

Salutatory and Essay, ... 'The Dawning of the 20th Century,"

Miss Lizzie Newberry.

Piano Solo . . . . . Impromptu . . . . . Schubert

Miss Nettie Burris

Vocal Quartette . . . . . "Distant Chimes"

Misses Saffron, Bacon, Burris and Newberry.

Essay . . . . . "Do With Thy Might What Thy Hands Find to do,"

Miss Lizzie Saffron

Chorus--"Come Join in Our Holiday."

Instrumental Duett . . . . . "The Witches Flight" . . . . . Russell

Misses Lizzie Newberry and Lizzie Saffron.

Essay . . . . . "There is Gold in the Cushags Yet,"

Miss Gertie Bacon

Instrumental Duett . . . . . William Tell . . . . . Rossini

Misses Nettie Burris and Gertie Bacon

Vocal Sextette . . . . . "Down Among the Lilies,"

Misses Whites, Moberly, Kemp, Heald and Creavens.

Valedictory . . . . . "Concentration of the Mind Necessary to Mental Attainment,"--Miss Nettie Burris.

Anthem . . . . . "They That Trust in the Lord."

Presentation of Diplomas.

1904 Commencement Program

Class Motto:

"Through the Clouds to the Stars"

Commencement Exercises
of
Bloomfield Seminary

Thursday, June 9, 1904

CLASS COLORS: WHITE AND PINK

CLASS FLOWER: WHITE ROSE

Program

Invocation.

Chorus--"Summer Fancies" . . . . . Metra

Glee Club.

Salutatory--"The Development of the Indian Territory."

Lucy Young.

Class Recitation--"Wind."

Orchestra--"Zacatecas" . . . . . Cordina

Essay--"Helen Keller" . . . . . Jane Newberry

Piano (30 hands)--"Les Amazones" . . . . . Streabog

Carrie, Love, Neta Johnston, Carrie Young, Melissa Johnson,

Sudie Durham, Lucy White, Grace Moore, Lizie Grinslade,

Effie Archerd, Illa White, Jennie Connelly, Rowena Burks, Eddie

Turnbull, Elsie Reynolds, Lorena Eastman.

Poem--"The Lotus Eaters" . . . . . Tennyson

Pantomimed by Class; Reading, Carrie Young.

Orchestra--"March Edina" . . . . . .Wiegand

Essay--"Our Alma Mater."

Charlotte Goforth.

Chorus--"A Natural Spell" . . . . . .Bristow

Glee Club.

Piano (16 hands)--"La Premier Danseuse" . . . . . Zetterba

Myrtle Conner, Sophia Frye, Vera Burks, Cecil

Burris, Lena Thompson, Minnie Good,

Bennie Kemp, Ramona Bynum.

Essay--"A Rough Surface, Polished, Shines Forth in Brilliancy."

Myrtle Conner.

Chorus--"Morn Rise" . . . . . Czebulka

Glee Club.

Solo (5 pianos)--"Invitation to a Dance" . . . . . .Weber

(op. 65.)

Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Bertie Smith,

Lucretia Harris, Rennie Colbert.

Essay--"History Making of the Present Age."

Ramona Bynum.

Duet (4 pianos)--"June Bugs" . . . . . Holst

Lillie Sacra, Daisy Harris, Illa White, Ruth

Easkey, Zula Wolfenbarger, Josie McGeehee,

Lena Thompson, Abbie Mead.

Orchestra--"Valse Ninette" . . . . . Bosce

Piano (quartette)--"Grand March" . . . . . Wallenhaupt

Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Bertie Smith, Lucretia Harris.

Valedictory--"Peace On Earth."

Bertie Smith

Graduating Ode--"Dear Sisters, Now Adieu" . . . . . Ayres

Seniors and Juniors.

Presentation of Certificates and Diplomas.

Orchestra

Class Roll

Ramona Bynum	Charlotte Goforth
Myrtle Conner	Lucy Young
Jane Newberry	Birdie Smith

Faculty

Earl S. Light

Mrs. E. B. Hinshaw

Mica Mullins

Zenobia Yarborough

E. Jennetta Bennett

Pearl J. Staats

Ruth T. Hubbard

Elihu B. Hinshaw, Superintendent

1905 Commencement Program

Commencement Exercises

of

Bloomfield Seminary

Thursday, June 15th

1905

Colors: Red and White

Flower: Carnation

Programme

VOCATION

SONG OF WELCOME . . . . . Bammerel School

SALUTATORY AND ESSAY . . . . . "Glimpses Through Lifes Window"

Ruth Easkey

ORCHESTRA--A Tiptopper . . . . . Corey

Piano

PIANO (30 hands)--At the Children's Dance . . . . . Streabbog

ESSAY . . . . . "The End Crowns the Work"

Rennie Bourland

ESSAY . . . . . "Pretty Places I Have Seen"

Angelina Cravat

ESSAY . . . . . "Duty"

Lucretia Harris

CHORUS--Io vivo, e t'amo . . . . . Campana

Seniors and Juniors

ORCHESTRA--Spanish Silhouette . . . . . Pomeroy

ESSAY . . . . . "Romance"

Eddie Turnbull

ESSAY . . . . . "Easy People"

Peachy McCauley

ESSAY . . . . . "Sketches of Great Musicians"

PIANO (20 hands)--Coquettish Smile . . . . . Engelman

Programme

Continued

VIOLIN QUARTET--Selections . . . . . Rossini Weber

ESSAY . . . . . "Progress of the Chickasaws"

Rennie Colbert

ESSAY . . . . . "Female Heroism"

Josie McGeHee

ESSAY . . . . . "The Unskilled Workman Blames His Tools"

Daisy Harris

PIANO (18 hands)--Yellow Jonquils . . . . . Johanning

Orchestra Accompaniment

VOCAL QUARTET--La Sereneta . . . . . .Rondinello--Violin Obligato

ESSAY . . . . "Education Is to Man What Sculpture is to Stone"

Lillie Sacra

ESSAY ..... "Happy Days At Bloomfield"

Vera Burks

ESSAY ..... "Drinks"

Carrie Young

ORCHESTRA--Uncle Sammy ..... Holzman

OVERTURE (5 pianos)--Tancred ..... Rossini

ESSAY AND VALEDICTORY

"We Are on the Bay, the Ocean Lies Before Us"

Sophia Frye

GRADUATES' FAREWELL SONG ..... Lejeal

PRESENTATION OF CERTIFICATES AND DIPLOMAS

Class Roll

Sophia Frye	Daisy Harris
Ruth Easkey	Illa White
Carrie Young	Peachy McCauley
Lillie Sacra	Eddie Turnbull
Vera Burks	Lucretia Harris
Rennie Colbert	Angelina Cravat
Josie McGeHee	Rennie Bourland

Faculty

Earl S. Light, Principal

Mrs. E. B. Hinshaw

Mrs. E. S. Light

Gertrude Merrell

E. Jeanetta Bennett

Minnie Chenoweth

Ruth T. Hubbard

Elihu B. Hinshaw, Superintendent

1909 Commencement Program

The Class of

Nineteen Hundred Nine

of the

Bloomfield Seminary

Requests the honor of your presence

at its

Commencement Exercises

May twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth

Colbert, Oklahoma

Graduates

Classic Class

Virginia Fletcher, Valedictory

Stella LaFlore Carter, Salutatory

Mattie McKinney Garside

CLASS MOTTO--Esse, Quam Videri

CLASS COLORS--Old Rose and white

CLASS FLOWER--White Rose

Typewriting Class

Sina S. Waldon

Mary F. Thompson

Tommie McCoy

FACULTY

J. R. Hendrix, Superintendent

Miss Roxie Persis Burke, Principal

Miss Lillan Julia Murphy

Miss Edith Catherine Staggs

Miss Lena Maude Abbott

Miss Mabel Alice Woody

Mrs. J. R. Hendrix

Miss Vina Janet French

Mrs. Josephine Kremer

PROGRAM

Invocation

Chorus . . . . . "Voices of the Woods"

Salutatory and Oration--"The Development

of Oklahoma" . . . Stella LaFlore Carter

Oration--"Its is Better to Be than to Seem"

Mattie McKinney Garside

Piano Duet--"Valse Brillante" . . . . . Schulhoff

Lorena Eastman and Leila Hampton

Address . . . . . Rev. J. L. Morris, Dallas, Tex.

Violin Solo . . . . . Mabel Alice Woody

Address . . . . . Hon. C. D. Carter, M. C.

Piano Solo--"Butterfly" . . . . . Grieg

Sina Waldon

Valedictory and Oration--"We Launch to Anchor--Where?" . . . . . Virginia Fletcher

Presentation of Diplomas . . . . . Supt. J. R. Hendrix

Class Song . . . . . "Indian Summer Waltz"

Words by Stella LaFlore Carter

Benediction

1928 Commencement Program

(qtd. in Hall 61)

Closing Exercises

Bloomfield

1928

Friday, June First

A. PHYSICAL TRAINING

Nine o'clock--On the Campus

B. INSPECTION

From ten to eleven.

Work of the pupils will be found in the various school rooms. Guests are also invited to visit the dormitories, laundry, and premises generally.

C. MORNING PROGRAM

Auditorium--From eleven to twelve

First Stanza of our National Anthem . . . . . Audience

Chorus--Greeting to Spring . . . . . Strauss

Readings--

What is so Rare as a Day in June? . . . . . Lowell

Sophia Frye Reeder

Knee Deep in June . . . . . Riley

Jewel Crummey

Piano Duet--a. After School March ..... Brownfield

b. Merry Springtime ..... Brownfield

Julia Reeder Theda Goldsby

Demonstrations--

Home Preservation of Eggs .... Willie Turner

Scoring a Dress ..... Leslie Morris

Assisted by Julia Reeder

First Aid ..... Lourena Hayward

Rhythm Band--a. Rustic Dance ..... Howell

b. Rendezvous ..... Komask

Primary Pupils

Readings--

Daisies ..... Frank Demster Sherman

Neva Kirkwood

Little Birdie ..... Alfred Tennyson

Pauline Elam

To a Honey Bee ..... Alice Carey

Maisie Brown

Prince Tatters .....Laura E. Richards

Aline Hayward

Folk Dances--

Tarantella:

Thelma Steel, Fannie Ned, Leslie Morris, Catherine McElroy, Winona Setliff, Ursula Bohreer, Willie Post, Alma McCoy

Highland Fling:

Irma Worcester, Doris Overton, Verna Williford, Vila Pickens

Piano--a. Minuet A La' Antique . . . . . Paderewski

b. Valse Caprice . . . . . Newland

Eva May Price

Vocal Solos--a. From the Land of the Sky-Blue Water . . Cadman

b. I Love a Little Cottage . . . . . O'Hara

Grace Elam

Exit March--Stars and Stripes Forever . . . . . Sousa

Dinner

From one to two

Admission by Ticket

Evening Program

Friday June First

Eight-thirty

Out-of-door Stage

Play

Midsummer Night's Dream . . . . . Shakespeare

Synopsis

The festivities in celebration of the wedding of Theseus and Hippolyta are brought to a sudden halt by Egeus who "begs the ancient privilege of Athens" in case his daughter Hermia continues to disobey him.

Theseus has sudden and important business with the rejected suitor, Demetrius, and so clears the way for the favored Lysander.

Helena plays false to friendship and so furthers complications. At this cruel juncture the fairies, who have ever held sway over mortal affairs, step in and could have quickly untied the tangled threads but for Puck's knaveries committed either unwittingly or willfully (who knows?)

At last, due to the power of "Dian's bud o'er Cupid's flower" true vision is restored and the preparations for one wedding are enlarged to encompass three.

The players, having had one fairly satisfactory rehearsal, feel competent to perform their play on the great occasion, while the fairies hasten on to bless the new abode "to all fair posterity" sending

"Puck with broom before,

To Sweep the dust behind the door."

Dramatis Personae

Theseus, Duke of Athens ..... Opal Grayson

Hippolyta, Betrothed to Theseus ..... Ernestine Troutt

Egeus, Father of Hermia ..... Grace Harris

Lysander ..... Grace Elam

in love with Hermia

Demetrius ..... Mildred Hayward

Hermia, daughter to Egeus, in love with Lysander ..... Lourena Hayward

Helena, in love with Demetrius ..... Frankie Davis

Players

Quince, a carpenter ..... Eunice Griffin

Snug, a joiner ..... Catherine McElroy

Bottom, a weaver ..... Willie Turner

Flute, a bellows-mender ..... Ursula Bohreer

Snout, a tinker ..... Angie Brown

Starveling, a tailor ..... Winona Setliff

Fairies

Oberon, King ..... Sophie Frye Reeder

Titania, Queen ..... Willie Post

Puck, or Robin Goodfellow. ..... Jewel Crummey

Fairy in Waiting ..... Dovie Turnbull

Fairies in Titania's Train

Peaseblossom ..... Louise Post

Cobweb ..... Ruth Littrell

Moth ..... Dazel Davis

Mustardseed ..... Louise Williams

Fairies in Oberon's Train

Julia Reeder, Theda Goldsby, Pauline Bronaugh, Frances Elam, Zila Pickens.

Mortal Child, stolen from an Indian King ..... Ruby Kirkwood

Attendants on Theseus and Hippolyta

Greek Maidens:

Eva May Price, Rose Frazier, Lucile Perry, Arbelle Harris, Viola Ned, Ruby Brown.

Greek Youths:

Louise Tyubby, Quincy Harris, Dorothy Bohreer, Marybelle Columbus, Irene Buchanan, Emiline Cline.

Scene--A Wood Near Athens.

Note--As was the custom on the stage in Shakespeare's' day, we beg the audience to draw on their imagination when the players meet in "another part of the wood," and also where Titania leads Bottom to her bower.

"So good-night unto you all
Give me your hands, if we be friends."

CLASS OF 1928

Angie Brown	Grace Harris
Jewel Crummey	Sophie Frye Reeder
Grace Elam	Willie Turner
Lourena Hayward	Louise Tytubby

School Sentiment--"Pointing the Way"

School Color--Primrose Yellow

Appendix 3

Documents, Letters, and Pictures

Order of Materials

All documents, letters, and pictures are used with permission of the Chickasaw Council House Museum, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

I. Pictures

Adelaine Johnson, Graduate of Bloomfield Academy, 1889

Bloomfield School and Students, 1897

Bloomfield Academy near Achille, Oklahoma, 1908

Bloomfield Academy near Achillle, Oklahoma, date unknown

Bloomfield Academy near Achille, Oklahoma, with students

E. B. Hinshaw, Douglas Johnston, and Juanita Johnston, with students

Alice Hearrell Murray, Douglas Johnston, and Lula Burris

E. B. Hinshaw, Cora Chisolm, Alice Hearrell, and Margaret ?

Seated Group of Bloomfield Students

Stella Chisolm and Alice Hearrell

Stella Chisolm and Annie Chumuttie Kemp

Bloomfield Graduates

Bloomfield Blossom Basketball Team (Hinshaw Administration) and information by Juanita Johnston Smith

Bloomfield Students at Ardmore, Oklahoma (Old Hargrove College)

Thanksgiving Play at Bloomfield/Carter at Ardmore, Oklahoma (1930s)

Carter Seminary Bus and Students (post-1932)

II. Commencement Programs, Diplomas

Bloomfield Commencement Program, 1892

Bloomfield Commencement Program, 1896

Bloomfield Commencement Program, 1904

Bloomfield Commencement Program, 1905

Bloomfield Commencement Program, 1909

Articles on Closing Exercises

Annie Chumuttie's Diploma, 1892

Julia Chisolm's Diploma, 1897

Lillie Kemp's Diploma, 1913

III. Letters

E. B. Hinshaw's letter to Douglas Johnston, 1904

Eleanor Allen's letter to patrons of Bloomfield, 1919

IV. Records, Report Cards, and Students Lists

List of Students and Teachers, 1884-85

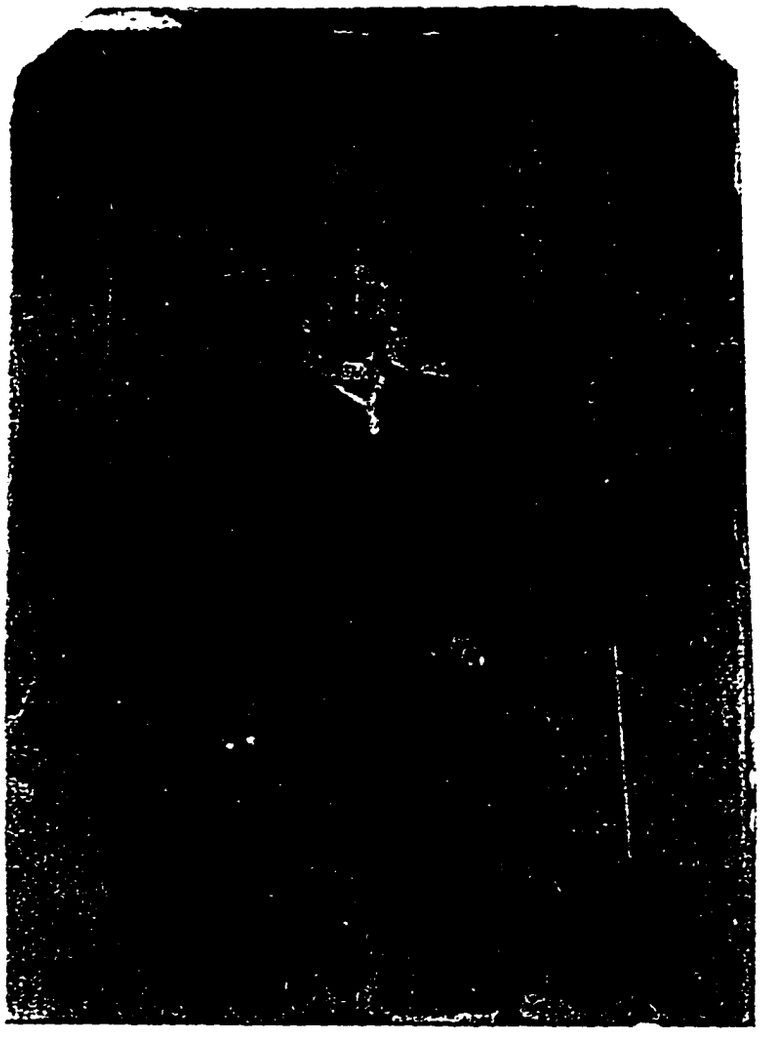
Bloomfield Seminary, Monthly Report of Scholastic Standing for January, 1885

Bloomfield Seminary Gradebook, Second Quarterly Report, 1895

Bloomfield Seminary Third Quarterly Report, 1903

Bloomfield Seminary Fourth Quarterly Report, 1903-4

Ida Mae Pratt's Report Card, 1926



ADELAINE JOHNSON
1889
Graduate of Bloomfield Academy

Tin Type
Plate

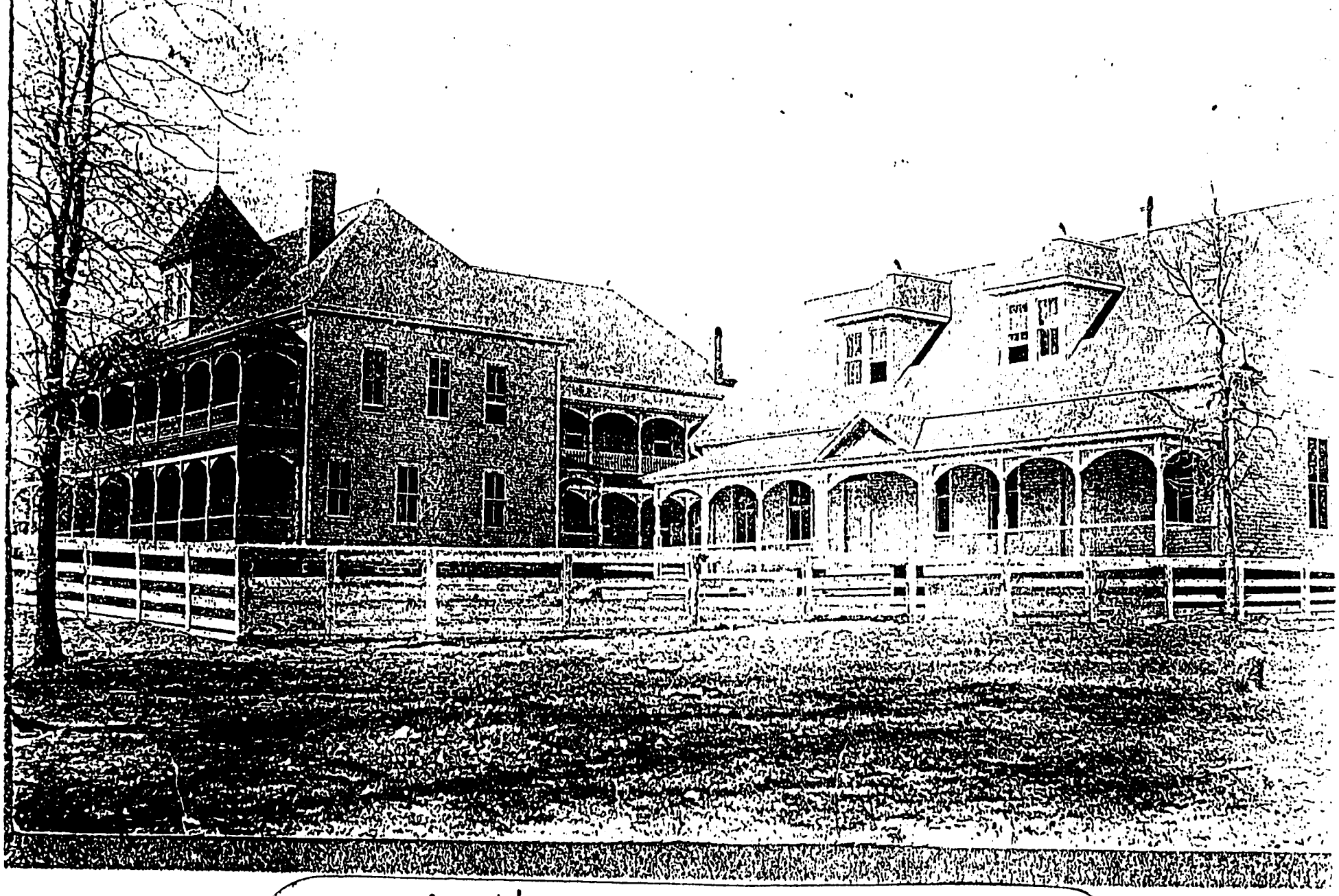


BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY NEAR
1765' ACHILEE, OK.

P60 2e



BLOOMFIELD SCHOOL 1897



Bloomfield P60.2.H



MOORE
DENISON, TEXAS

Bloomfield



Hinshaw

Juanita Johnston
Douglas Johnston



ALICE HEARRELL MURRAY, SUPT.
D.H. JOHNSTON & LULA BURRIS

P60.3 Bloomfield


Cora
Chesnutt



Christmas, Stella - Love to U. T. Ware

Pearrell. Merry Christmas to you. Mary Hatton

'30



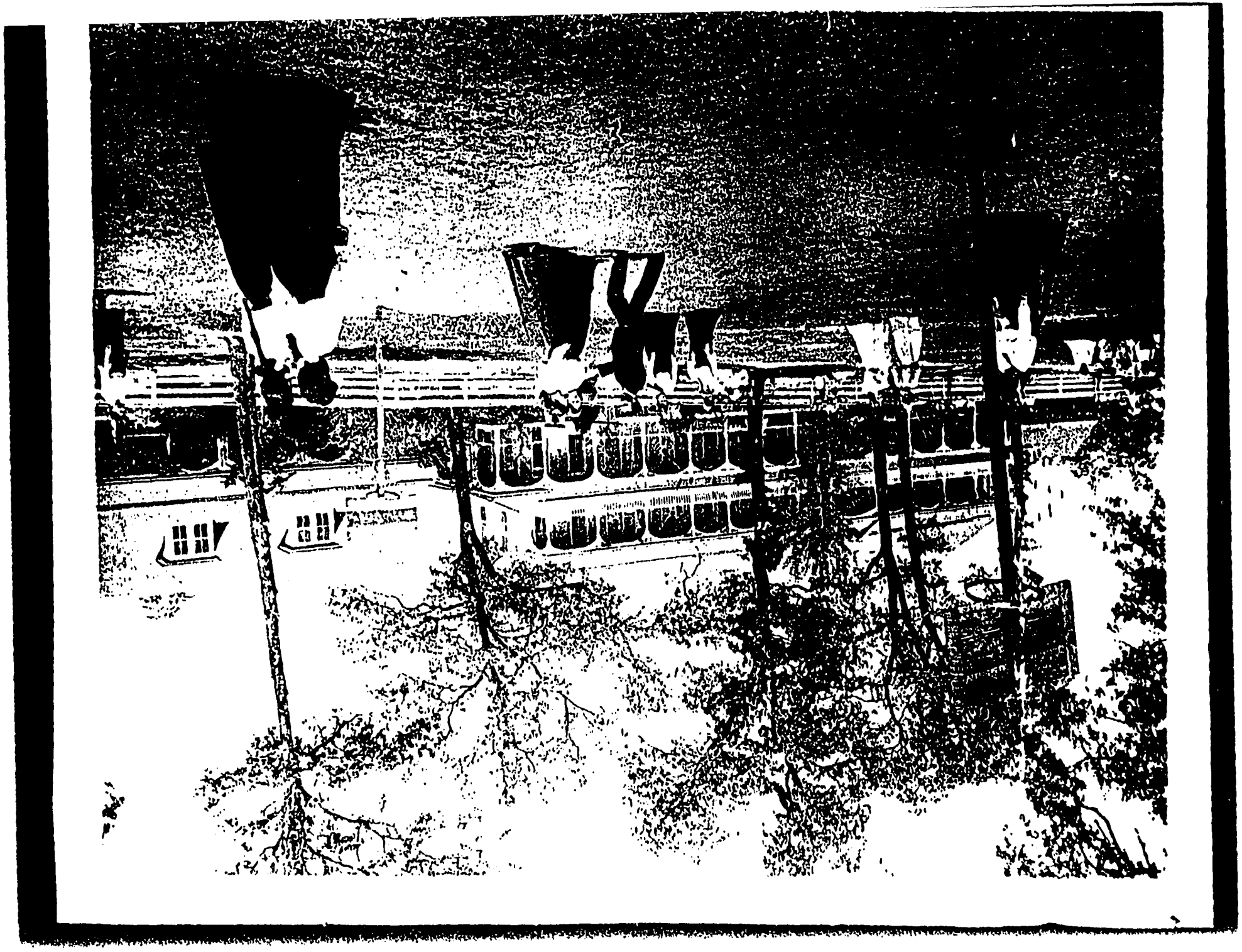
Bloomfield Grads

rrisholm Wood

Lumuttie Kemp.

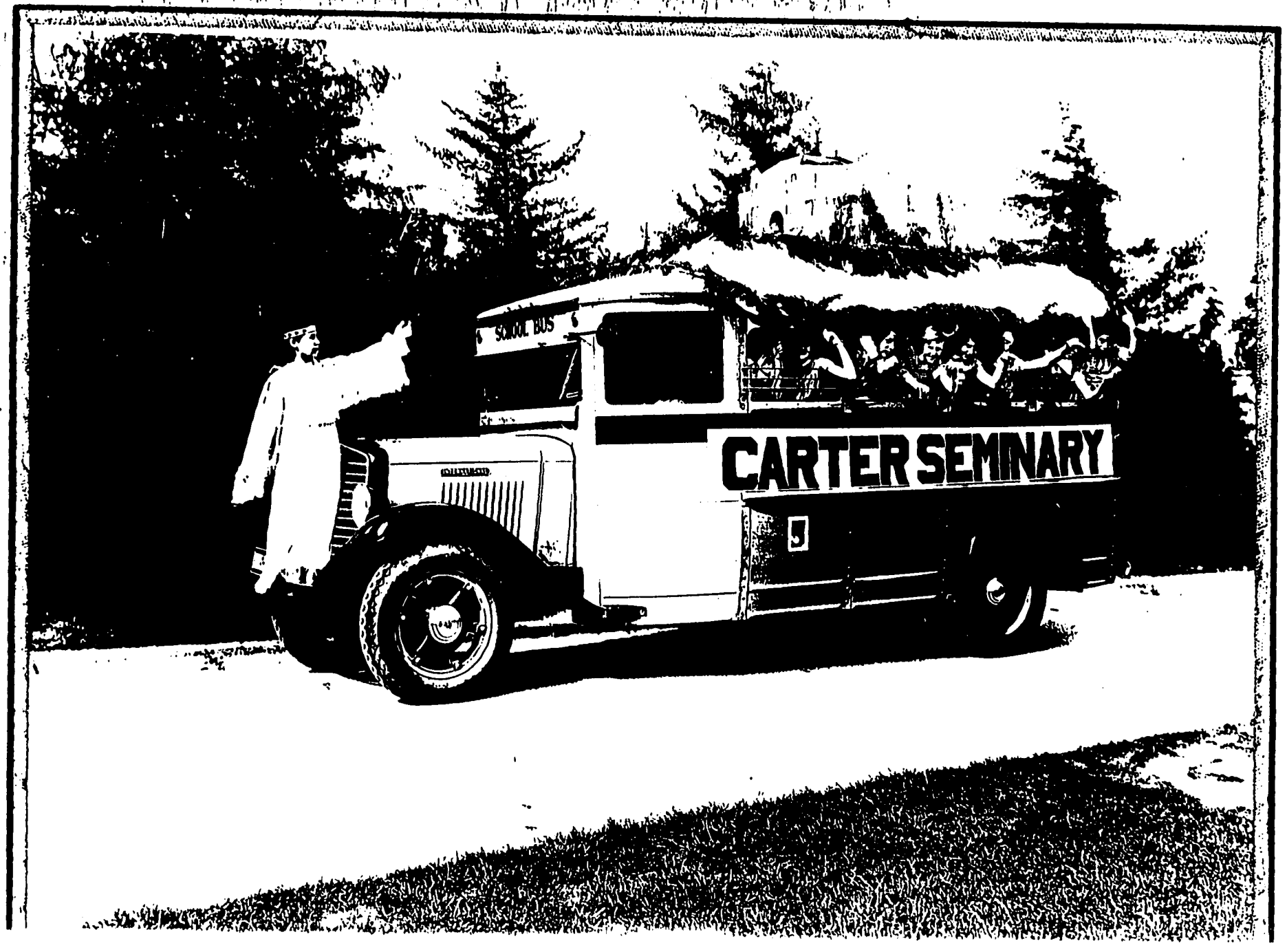


[illegible] Grade [illegible] 1960-61








SCHOOL BUS
CARTER SEMINARY

ELIHU B. HINSHAW, A. M., Sup't.

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY.

LITERARY, MUSIC,
ART, ELOCUTION.

A School for the Higher Education of Chickasaw Indian Girls and Young Ladies.

National Normal Director,
President Examining Board,
Chickasaw Nation.

Near COLBERT, IND. TER.

April 10, 1904.

Gov. D. H. Johnston, Emet, I.T.

My dear Friend:-

It is with no little degree of pleasure that I note that you are again nominated for Governor of the Chickasaw Nation. I think that the nomination is almost equivalent to an election, so I might almost congratulate you on an election.

I am so glad that this matter has happened, just as it has, although, we all knew that you would be the man. In fact, you are the only man who will satisfy the people. Wherever we go or from whatever source we hear, it is, Gov. Johnston. You have done so much for your people that they naturaly turn to you in the closing struggles of the Nation as their only source, to terminate tribal affairs to the very best advantage of each and every Indian concerned.

With the very kindest feeling and the best of all my wishes for your welfare, I close.

Your friend,

E B Hinshaw

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

Ardmore, Oklahoma,

August 5, 1919.

To the Patrons of Bloomfield:

It is necessary for Bloomfield girls to accomplish a certain amount of work in their studies and in their housework before they can get a diploma from the school. When they have finished any one thing in their books or in their housekeeping course, we call it a "credit". The girl who gets the most credits and the highest grade in each will, of course, be at the head of her class.

Our girls learned to do many things well at school last year and it is our wish that they have already shown the homefolks how helpful they can be.

They will this summer learn many things at home that we are anxious to hear about. It is but fair to them to let them count these things in with their school list of credits and we shall be very glad indeed to do this.

Following is a list of things girls may get credits for by bringing back a letter from mother or other member of the family:

1. Washing all the dishes well, for as long as a week, making them "shine" and taking nice care of the dish cloths and tea towels.

2. Taking full care of a bed room for at least a week. Sweeping and dusting it properly, airing it, airing the Bedding, keeping the linen clean and having two sheets on at all times and clean cases for the pillows.

3. Having the care of the baby or any small member of the family as much as a week during vacation. Bathing it, washing its hair, dressing it, feeding it, putting it to sleep and seeing that no flies disturb it, and otherwise "minding" it while the mother is busy at other things.

4. Caring for the sick nicely for even as much as three days. Taking their temperature, bathing them to reduce fever, changing their clothing, and the bed linen, giving their medicine according to drections, sitting up with them, and preparing light and proper nourishment for them, and doing anything to interest or amuse them while getting well.

5. Cooking and serving a breakfast, dinner, and supper, without help and doing the dishes and cleaning up generally after the meals. It is not necessary to do all of this the same day, so that at some time during vacation each of the three meals is prepared. A higher grade will be given if the menu is given with the report or letter.

6. Washing and ironing either alone or helping some one for at least six different days.

7. Care of the chickens, feeding, cleaning chicken houses, gathering and keeping account of the number of eggs for at least one week. The number of hens, roosters, and small chickens should be known as well as the value of the flock. The value of the feed and that of the eggs should be kept whether the latter is eaten or sold.

8. Feeding and milking one or more cows for a week, caring for the milk and making butter. The value should be figured out as with the chickens and eggs.

9. Work in the garden, yard, or in the fields for at least a week. This need not be for a week at one time, but for enough days to make a week. Any other work of this nature if reported on will be given credit. We have stated a given time, such as one week or three days, but should the pupil report a longer time she will be given a higher grade.

10. Ten per cent will be added to both English and Reading grades in September for one good book read during the summer. If more than one and if the story of it can be told or written a certain per cent will be added to the yearly grade in English and Reading.

The following will constitute another class of credits, as this work needs to be brought to school to be graded:

1. Sewing:

The pupil will receive a grade and a credit on one or as many different garments as she may bring back with her. It will be necessary for her to measure, cut, baste, sew and finish the garment herself in order to get a grade. This may, however, be done under the direction of the mother or other person, but the actual work must be done by the pupil.

2. Canning; preserving, or jelly making:

The pupil should prepare the fruit and do all the work even to sealing and labeling by herself, altho it may be under the direction of another as in the case of sewing. In order to get credit on this it should be brought to school. The canning might be done in half pint jars, the "Economy" is best and the jelly in the smallest glasses that can be found. Should any girl do this she may be given bread and butter at times and enjoy the "fruit of her labor" throughout the year.

3. Crochet, tatting, embroidery, or any other form of fancy work will be given credit if brought back to school. This must be strictly the work of the pupil. Credit will be given whether on a garment or in the piece if it is as much as a yard.

Should our girls take an interest in doing the things outlined above, we will arrange a display of their work during the opening week, read reports on housework in chapel, and arrange a credit day program.

All mothers of our girls will go down on our record as members of the Bloomfield Mothers Club, organized in 1919, whether present on that day or not. Encouraging your girls to make the most of what they have learned in school while at home and helping them continue their interest in their education during the summer will go far to make the home and school one in bringing our girls up to the high standard of womanhood that all good mothers and teachers desire.

Trusting that your children have lightened your cares during the summer and that they have made sunshine in the homes as they did at Bloomfield, I wish to remain with kind regards to you and family,

Your friend,

Supt. & S. D. A.

A:M

1892

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY.



MONDAY EVENING,



JUNE 27TH, 1892.

PROGRAMME.

Opening Song ..... Song of Greeting by School

Trio—"Husaren March," ..... C. Gurlitt
Misses Bacon, Turnbull and Saffron.

Speech—"Make Your Mark," ..... Master Eli Kemp

Recitation—"Whimpoorvill," ..... Miss Debbie White

Piano Duett—"On Blooming Meadows," ..... King
Misses Stella Chisholm and Nettie Burris.

Vocal Solo—"Cute Little Shoes and Stockings," ..... Re-
tissor Mattie Collins

Concert—"When We are Women," ..... Little Folks

Chorus—"Sister Spirits Haste Away," ..... Riley
By School.

Instrumental Trio—Valse ..... Streabbog, Op. 183
Misses Parker, Collins and Moberly

Drill—Dumb Bells ..... By Class

Recitation—"At Home on the Farm," .....
Miss Mattie Collins.

Building Song ..... Little Folks

Recitation—"Mat, Hal and I," ..... Miss Mattie Bacon

Dialogue—"Mother Goose"

Piano Duett—No. 1, Don Juan de Mozart. ..... Beyer
Misses Stella Chisholm and Gertie Bacon

Recitation—"Nobody's Child," ..... Miss Lula Burris

Song—"The Little Waiters," ..... Eight Little Girls

Recitation—"An Old Woman's Complaint," .....
Miss Turnbull.

Instrumental Trio—"Le Secret," ..... Gautier
Misses Potts, White and Harris.

Graduating Exercises

OF

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY,

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1896,

1:30 P. M.

Bloomfield, I. T.

PROGRAM.

Opening Song ..... "Greeting Glee."

Instrumental Duett, ... Overture, ... Weber
Misses Dosia Kemp and Debbie White.

Salutatory and Essay, ... "The Dawning of The 20th Century,"
Miss Lizzie Newberry.

Piano Solo ..... Impromptu ..... Schubert
Miss Nettie Burris.

Vocal Quartette ..... "Distant Chimes"
Misses Saffron, Bacon, Burris and Newberry.

Essay ..... "Do With Thy Might What Thy Hands Find to do,"
Miss Lizzie Saffron

Chorus - "Come Join in Our Holiday."

Instrumental Duett, ..."The Witches' Flight", ... Russell
Misses Lizzie Newberry and Lizzie Saffron.

Essay ..... "There Is Gold in the Cushags Yet,"
Miss Gertie Bacon.

Instrumental Duett ..... William Tell ..... Rossini
Misses Nettie Burris and Gertie Bacon.

Vocal Sextette ..... "Down Among the Lillies,"
Misses Whites, Moberly, Kemp, Heald and Cravens.

Valedictory ..... "Concentration of Mind Necessary to Mental Attainment," -Miss Nettie Burris.

Anthem ..... "They That Trust In The Lord."

Presentation of Diplomas.

Class Roll

RAMONA BYNUM — CHARLOTTE GOFORTH

MYRTLE CONNER — LUCY YOUNG

JANE NEWBERRY — BIRDIE SMITH

Faculty

EARL S. LIGHT, Principal

MRS. E. B. HINSHAW

MICA MULLINS

ZENOBIA YARBOROUGH

E. JENETTA BENNETT

PEARL J. STAATS

RUTH T. HUBBARD

ELIHU B. HINSHAW, Superintendent

Class Motto:
"Through the Clouds to the Stars"

Commencement Exercises

OF

Bloomfield Seminary

Thursday, June 9,
1904



CLASS COLORS: WHITE AND PINK
CLASS FLOWER: WHITE ROSE

Program

Invocation.

Chorus—"Summer Fancies".....Metra
Glee Club.

Salutatory—"The Development of the Indian Territory."
Lucy Young.

Class Recitation—"Wind."

Orchestra—"Zacatecas" .....Cordina

Essay—"Helen Keller" .....Jane Newberry

Piano (30 hands)—"Les Amazones".....Streabbog
Carrie Love, Nota Johnston, Carrie Young, Melissa Johnson, Sudie Durham, Lucy White, Grace Moore, Lizzie Grimslade, Effie Archerd, Ila White, Jennie Connelly, Rowena Burks, Eddie Turnbull, Elsie Reynolds, Lorena Eastman.

Poem—"The Lotus Eaters".....Tennyson
Pantomimed by Class; Reading, Carrie Young.

Orchestra—"March Edina" .....Wiegand

Essay—"Our Alma Mater."
Charlotte Goforth.

Chorus—"A Natural Spell".....Bristow
Glee Club.

Piano (16 hands)—"La Premiere Danseuse" Zetterhalt
Myrtle Conner, Sophia Frye, Vera Burks, Cecil Burris, Lena Thompson, Minnie Good, Fannie Kemp, Ramona Bynum.

Program

Essay—"A Rough Surface, Polished, Shines Forth in Brilliancy."
Myrtle Conner.

Chorus—"Morn Rise" .....Czebulka
Glee Club.

Solo (5 pianos)—"Invitation to a Dance".....Weber (op. 65.)
Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Bertie Smith, Lucretia Harris, Ronnie Colbert.

Essay—"History Making of the Present Age."
Ramona Bynum.

Duet (4 pianos)—"June Bugs".....Holst
Lillie Sacra, Daisy Harris, Ila White, Ruth Easkey, Zula Wolfenbarger, Josie McGeehee, Lena Thompson, Abbie Mead.

Orchestra—"Valse Ninette" .....Bosco

Piano (quartette)—"Grand March".....Wallenhaupt
Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Bertie Smith, Lucretia Harris.

Valedictory—"Peace on Earth."
Bertie Smith.

Graduating Ode—"Dear Sisters, Now Adieu"..Ayres
Seniors and Juniors.

Presentation of Certificates and Diplomas.

Orchestra.

Class Roll

SOPHIA FRYE
RUTH EASKEY
CARRIE YOUNG
ELLIE [illegible]
VERA BURKH
BENNIE COLBERT
JOSIE McGEHEE
DAISY HARRIS
ILLA WHITE
PEACHY McCAULEY
EDDIE TURNBULL
LUCRETIA HARRIS
ANGELINA CRAVAT
RENNIE BOURLAND

Faculty

EARL S. LIGHT, Principal
MRS. E. B. HINSHAW
MRS. E. S. LIGHT
GERTRUDE MERRELL
E. JEANETTA BENNETT
MINNIE CHENOWETH
RUTH T. HUBBARD
ELIHU B. HINSHAW, Superintendent.

Motto: "Rich reward crowns diligent toil."

Commencement Exercises

of

Bloomfield Seminary...

Thursday, June 15th
1905

Colors: Red and White. Flower: Carnation.

Programme

INVOCATION

SONG OF WELCOME ..... Bammeret
School

SALUTATORY AND ESSAY ... "Glimpses Through Life's Window"
Ruth Easkey

ORCHESTRA—A Tiptopper ..... Corey

PIANO (30 hands)—At the Children's Dance ..... Streabbog

ESSAY ..... "The End Crowns the Work"
Rennie Bourland

ESSAY ..... "Pretty Places I Have Seen"
Angelina Cravat

ESSAY ..... "Duty"
Lucretia Harris

CHORUS—Io vivo, e t'amo ..... Campana
Seniors and Juniors

ORCHESTRA—Spanish Silhouette ..... Pomeroy

ESSAY ..... "Romance"
Eddie Turnbull

ESSAY ..... "Easy People"
Peachy McCauley

ESSAY ..... "Sketches of Great Musicians"
Ila White

PIANO (20 hands)—Coquettish Smile ..... Engelmann

Programme

Continued

VIOLIN QUARTET—Selections ..... Rossini-Weber

ESSAY ..... "Progress of the Chickasaws"
Rennie Colbert

ESSAY ..... "Female Heroism"
Josie McGehee

ESSAY ..... "The Unskilled Workman Blames His Tools"
Daisy Harris

PIANO (18 hands)—Yellow Jonquils ..... Johanning
Orchestra Accompaniment

VOCAL QUARTET—La Serenata ..... Rondinello—Violin Obligato

ESSAY ..... *"Education Is to Man What Sculpture Is to Stone"*
Lillie Sacra

ESSAY ..... "Happy Days at Bloomfield"
Vera Burks

ESSAY ..... "Drinks"
Carrie Young

ORCHESTRA—Uncle Sammy ..... Holzman

OVERTURE (5 pianos)—Tancred ..... Rossini

ESSAY AND VALEDICTORY

"We Are on the Bay, the Ocean Lies Before Us"
Sophia Fryo

GRADUATES' FAREWELL SONG ..... Lejeal

PRESENTATION OF CERTIFICATES AND DIPLOMAS

The Class of

Nineteen Hundred Nine

of the

Bloomfield Seminary

Requests the honor of your presence

at its

Commencement Exercises

May twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth

Colbert, Oklahoma

Graduates

Classic Class

Virginia Fletcher, Valedictory
Stella LaFlore Carter, Salutatory
Mattie McKinney Garside

CLASS MOTTO—Esse, Quam Videri
CLASS COLORS—Old Rose and White
CLASS FLOWER—White Rose

Typewriting Class

Sina S. Waldon
Mary F. Thompson
Tommie McCoy

FACULTY.

J. R. Hendrix, Superintendent
Miss Roxie Persis Burke, Principal
Miss Lillian Julia Murphy
Miss Edith Catherine Staggs
Miss Lena Maude Abbott
Miss Mabel Alice Woody
Mrs. J. R. Hendrix
Miss Vina Janet French
Mrs. Josephine Kremer

Program

Invocation

Chorus.....“Voices of the Woods.”

Salutatory and Oration—“The Development of Oklahoma”.....Stella LaFlore Carter

Oration—“It is Better to Be than to Seem” Mattie McKinney Garside

Piano Duet—“Valse Brillante”.....Schulhoff
Lorena Eastman and Leila Hampton

Address.....Rev. J. L. Morris, Dallas, Tex.

Violin Solo.....Mabel Alice Woody

Address.....Hon. C. D. Carter, M. C.

Piano Solo—“Butterfly” .....Grieg
Sina Waldon

Valedictory and Oration—“We Launch to Anchor—Where?” .....Virginia Fletcher

Presentation of Diplomas.....Supt. J. R. Hendrix

Class Song.....“Indian Summer Waltz”
Words by Stella LaFlore Carter

Benediction.

...the subject of Fame—by Miss Ida Reynolds."

Miss Eula Colbert read "Twilight Musings," a meritorious production. Miss Eula has a fine voice and rare elocutionary talent.

Miss Sophronia Walker read "Good Nature," in a clear, distinct tone, and elicited many commendations.

Miss Minnie Colbert read "Kind Words," to which she did ample justice, and her clear, earnest tone, inspired by sentiments of kindness, found their way direct to the heart.

Miss Lucy Harkins, of some twelve summers, read "Friendship." The composition was above the average from one of her years, and was remarkably well read.

Miss Lizzie Perry, a very bright little girl, and nearly a full blood, read a lengthy and very interesting composition on the subject of "Our World."

Miss Mary Harkins read a splendid production entitled "Treasures of the Deep." Miss Mary is a fine reader.

Miss Ella Colbert read "A Mother's Love," a production that was both worthy of the subject and the fair writer.

Miss Lizzie Burris, who has almost completed the course of the institution, read a splendid essay, subject—"Pleasures of Memory and Hope."

Miss Bettie Harper also a member of the advanced class, and a fine elocutionist read "All that Glitters is not Gold."

After the close of the exercises the prizes for scholarship were distributed.

First Prize—For highest average in all branches pursued. Lady's Work Case. Awarded to Miss Lizzie Burris.

Second Prize—Greatest advancement in arithmetic. An elegant silver cup. Awarded to Miss Lizze Perry.

Third Prize—Second class in arithmetic. Silver Thimble. Awarded to Nannie Kemp.

Fourth Prize—Greatest improvement in penmanship. Gold Pen. Awarded Miss Sophronia Walker.

Fifth Prize—Best Penmanship. Gems Penmanship. Awarded to Miss Bettie Harper.

The following students received certificates of Promotion.

Misses Lizzie Burns,	Ella Colbert,
Minnie Colbert,	Fannie Colbert
Littie Collins,	Eula Colbert,
[illegible] Harkins,	Bettie Harper,
Lucy Harkins,	Nannie Kemp,
Madeline Perry,	Lizzie Perry,
Ida Reynolds,	Ella Reynolds,
Sophronia Walker,	Nellie Westley,
Zolia McCurtain,	Elsie Calhoun,
Bessie Cravens,	Alice Brown.

A marked feature of the work exhibited by the writing class, was the uniform excellence and neatness. Many of the books and specimens deserved a special premium. Great credit is given Prof. King who seems to have as happy facilities in imparting instruction in penmanship as in the literary branches. The exercises of the day were closed by a well-timed address by Col. G. W. Harkins, Nat. Supt. Education, expressing [illegible] with the work of

Ryan and her daughter, Miss Ella, Sherman; Sister Superior St. Xavier's Academy, Denison; Mother Theresa, Corsicana; Arch Lankford, Uncle Ben Sea, Prof. Brodie, Rock Academy, I. T.; Mrs. Gov. Overton, C. N.; Mr. Joe Fisher and H. H. Burris, Tishomingo; Col. Frank Colbert, Colbert Station; Drs. Jno. A. Cobb and Harkins, also Mr. Cobb of Denison; Capt. Tandy Walker, B. F. Perry, Stonewall, I. T.; Col. L. Reynolds and family, John Webb and family and Judge Bacon, Panola county.

The large and orderly assembly expressed themselves as highly gratified with the character of work performed by Judge Boyd and his efficient corps of teachers. At 5:30 the audience was dismissed, and soon the academy grounds, which had been the scene of so much life and activity, were as quiet as the primeval forest, from which they will not be awakened before Oct. 1st., the beginning of the fall term. Thus passed one of the pleasantest days of my life.

THE BLOOMFIELD LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

Lilzie Burris, President.
Bettie Harper, Vice-President.
Ella Colbert, Secretary.
Eula Colbert, Librarian.
Mary Harkins, Treasurer.

We, the young ladies of Bloomfield Seminary, have organized The Bloomfield Library Society for the purpose of establishing a Student's Library for the benefit of our school. Being located in a country remote from cities and bookstores, we take this method of soliciting the aid of the patrons of the school, and the friends of education in general, who desire to favor our enterprise. Literary contributions are particularly desirable, and shoold be the works of standard authors:

Poetical, Historical, Scientific and Educational Works, also Improved School Texts, School Charts, Apparatus, &c., are preferable.

Where such a contribution would be inconvenient, a cash contribution will serve the same purpose.

Contributions can be sent by mail or express to the address of The Bloomfield Library Society, care of R. L. Boyd, Principal, Denison, Texas.

THE LITTLE GIRL WHO WOULDN'T SAY "O."

A little girl wouldn't say "O."
(She was learning her letters, you know).
And the very same night
She awoke in a fright.
For the Letter-land King on his throne
Said "O" in a thunderous tone.
And it startled her so
That she quickly said "Oh!"
And the little girl's trouble was done.

Roused by a clear-voiced trumpeter of dawn,
In joy I seek the golden courts of day;
The dusky cohorts of the night have gone
Far down their western way.

A winding forest path invites my feet,
Low winds are calling from the dewy aisles;
Before me lies the forest's dim retreat,
A maze of leafy miles.

Some power occult so moves me that I cross
The sleeping garden where humanity lean,
And win, through hoary oak groves draped with moss,
The woodlands' wide demesne.

A mockingbird salutes me as I go,
An oriole greets me as I press along;
I feel in all my veins a quickening glow,
Companioned thus by song.

Through interlacing boughs of pine and palm
I catch brief glimpses of a turquoise sky;
Below, as softly as an evening psalm,
The river ripples by.

I gain or along the royal forest's heart,
And pause, where proud magnolias lift in state
Their wealth of [illegible], whose pale petals part
Sweetly revealed.

Here, in the early legendary days,
Beside these mighty, time-defying boles,
Gathered around their camp-fire's ruddy blaze
The swarthy Seminoles.

And through the trembling shadows round me cast
My startled fancy pictures, even now,
A stealthy chief in gliding style past,
With bow of stout ash bough.

Recalling memories of a perished time,
While thus I stray through changing glow and gloom,
I do not heed how trumpet-creepers climb
Or golden jasmines bloom;

But taking leave of present thoughts and things,
I voyage on years that swiftly backward flow,
And dwell with those who reigned as forest kings
Two centuries ago.

Clinto

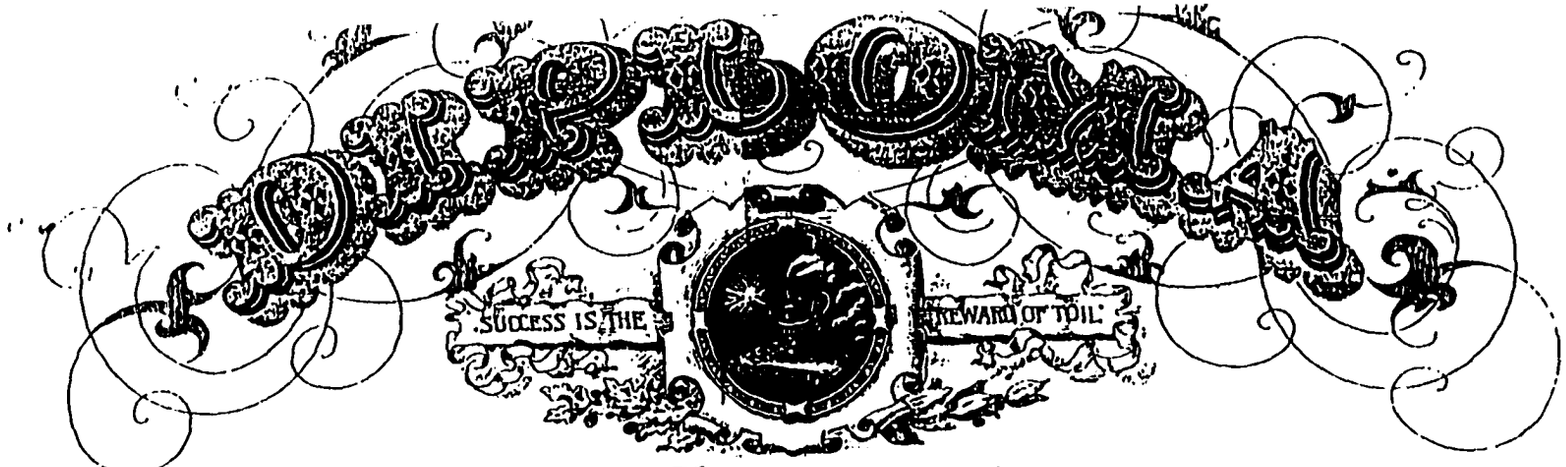
SAYS HE.

"Whatever the weather may be," says he—
"Whatever the weather may be—
Its plaze, if ye will, an' I'd say me say—
Supposin' to-day was the wintriest day,
Wud the weather be changin' because ye cried,
Or the snow be grass, were ye crucified?
The best is to make your own summer," says he,
"Whatever the weather may be," says he—
"Whatever the weather may be!

"Whatever the weather may be," says he—
"Whatever the weather may be,
It's the songs ye sing an' the smiles ye wear
That's a-makin' the sun shine everywhere;
An' the world of gloom is a world of gree,
Wid the bird in the bush an' the bird in the tree,
Whatever the weather may be," says he—
"Whatever the weather may be!

"Whatever the weather may be," says he—
"Whatever the weather may be,
Ye can bring the spring, wid its green an' [illegible]
An' the grass in the grove where the snow lay cold,
An' ye'll warm your back wid a smilin' fire
As you sit at your heart like an old hearth-[illegible]
Whatever the weather may be," says he—
"Whatever the weather may be!"

—*J. W. Riley, in Indianapolis Journal*



IS TO CERTIFY THAT

Annie Chamberlain, M. L.

has completed in a satisfactory manner the prescribed course of study

Bloomfield Seminary

Empl. Principal

Assistant

Kemp. Fund. Sy.

June 28 1892.

STANES 208 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

SUCCESS IS THE REWARD OF TOIL

IS TO CERTIFY THAT

Julia A. Christian, M.L.

has completed in a satisfactory manner the prescribed course of study at

Bloomfield Seminary,

Chickasaw Nation, Ind. Ter. June 23, 1897.

Trustee Supt.

Trustee Prin.

Asst.



BE IT KNOWN

THAT

Lillie Kemp

Has completed in a satisfactory manner the Common School Course of Study for the

Bloomfield Seminary

and by proficiency in scholarship and integrity of character has merited honorable Graduation and is therefore entitled to this

DIPLOMA

In Witness Whereof We the Undersigned have hereunto affixed our signatures

Given at Hendrix, Okla. this 4th day of June A.D. 1913.

Maude Woolford Principal

Jno. B. Brown Superintendent

Clarence Clark

1884 & 1885

1 Mary Harkins - +
2 Lucy Harkins. -
3 Sara E. Hearrell - +
4 Alice Hearrell.
5 Sefronia Walker. +
6 Annie Walker. +
7 Mary Thomas.
8 ~~Phoebe~~ Hamilton
9 Margarite Thomas.
10 Nancy Nelson -
11 ~~Edoza~~ Colbert. -
12 Mary Farmer. -
13 Henrietta Love. - +
14 Minnie Kingsbery -
15 Linda Lewis. -
16 Nellie Turnbull -
17 Lutie Turnbull +
18 Lizzie Kemp. - +
19 Ellen Greenwood
20 Ella Greenwood +
21 Laura Thompson
22 Bessie Cravens.
23 Sallie Cravens. +
24 Rose Cravens. -
25 Georgie Crockette +
26 Pennie Taylor
27 Mayme Taylor.
28 Epsie Shiwashi Shawahi
29 Fannie Sheco.
30 Susie Brown.
31 Mary Hawkins -
32 Winnie Frazier.
33 Lewie Collins -
34 Mittie Collins. -
35 Mollie Heald. -
36 Rella Williams
37 Bettie Willins. -
38 Clemmie Roark. - +
39 Ida Reynolds. - +
40 Dosia Kemp. -
41 Mollie McLee. +
42 Lilah Moore - +
43 Lillian Layman
44 Nannie Kemp. +
45 Lizzie Perry - +
46 Alice Perry - +
47 Alice Brown -
48 Emily Brown. -
49 Melvinia Brown.
50 Edna Reynolds.
51 Maggie Sturdivant
52 Lizzie Earl. -

53 Mary Johnston -
54 Irene Waite -
55 Minnie Reams. - +
56 Lizzie Goings. -
57 Alice Chisholm. - +
58 Stella Chisholm.
59 Mary Chisholm -
60 Julia Chisholm.
61 Lillie Colbert. -
62 Lelah Colbert. -
64 Nancy Colbert -
66. - Angie Alberson. -
66 - Marie Godfrey. -
67 - Pearl Godfrey. -
68 - Edna Godfrey -
69 - Meda Moore -
70 - Edna Moore -
71 - Susie Moore. -
72 - Retia Moore. -
73 - May Parker. -
74 - Allie Black. -
75 - Kizzie Kernal
76 - Gertie Bacon -
77 - Mattie Bacon. - +
78 - Madiline Berry
79 - Emily Sealy -
80 Margarette Alberson
81 Lizzie Newberry -
82 Laura Moberly -
83 - Pettie Mead. -
84 - Pearl Polls -
85 Jewel Polls. -
86 Lula Polls. -
87 Mattie Collins. -
88 Louise Collins. -
89 Myrtle Wyndham. -
90 Lula Weaks. -
91 Kate Bourland. - +
92 Minnie Bourland. -
93 Belle Young. -
94 Lucy Young. -
95 Carrie Young.
96 Lou Young.
97 Jewel Boyd.
98 Lula Harris +
99 Mamie Harris. +
100 Nettie Harris. +
101 Hellen Harris + -
102 Emma Harris. -
103 - Annie Chunnuttee +
104 - Eliza Chunnuttee
105 - Susie Chunnuttee +
106 - Bendie Calhoun.

107 Nettie Calhoun
108 Mattie Calhoun
109 Janie Newberry.
110 Lena Harris. -
111 Daisy Harris -
112 Louretia Harris. - +
113 Birdie Harris. -
114 Susie Cooper. -
115 Birdie Cooper. -
116 Katie Goforth -
117 Mary May Libby. -
118 Sophia May Libby. -
119. Sadie May Libby. -
120 - Bessie May Libby. -
120 - Julia Victor. - +
122 - Mickie Victor. -
123 - Gracie Easton. -
124 - Belle Folsom - +
125 - Frances Folsom. -
126 - Nannie Folsom. - +
127 - Lula White -
128 - Debbie White.
129 - Ella White.
130 - Martha Willis -
131 - Rushie Leal. -
132 - Ida Morley. - +
133 - Bessie Welch. -
- Stella Hewitt -
- Marietta Hewitt -

136 - Ada Ryan -
137 - Daisy Ryan. -
138 - Susie Ryan. -
139 - Ellen Chapman
140 - Lula Kemp. -
141 - Meta Yarborough
142 - Bettie Yarborough -
144 - Ella Yarborough -
145 - Minnie Yarborough
146 - Jessie Yarborough
147 - Elvira Hawkins. -
148 - Minnie Hawkins. -
149 Mary James -
150 Elsie James. -
151 - Minnie James. -
152 - Cornelia Walker.
153 - Ida Walker.
154 - Daisy Hearell.
155 - Ada Hearell.
156 - Lilah Camden
157 - Leah Pickens -
158 - Leanna Pickens -
159 - Josie McGee.
160 - Lula McGee -
161 - Nettie Burris
162 - Lula Burris
163 - Daisy Burris
164 Mamie Burris.
165 Maude Burris.

166 Eddie Johnson –
167 Mary Turnbull –
168 ~~Rosa~~ Turnbull. –
169 Eddie Turnbull. –
170 Bernella Durant. +
171 Cordelia Durant. –
172 Lillie McCoy.
173 Bettie McCoy. –
174 Ruth Easley –
175 Lou Colbert. – +
176 ~~Dora Bates~~ –
177 ~~Edna Bates~~ –
178 – Ada Jefferson – +
179 – Julia Porter. – +
180 – Lizzie Ismislade. –
181 – Lallie McSwain. –
182 – Nannie Duckworth
183 – Maude Duckworth
184 – Sallie Duckworth –
185 – Jewey La ~~Flore~~ –
186 – Louvica Leflore –
187 – Lizzie Saffron. –
~~188 Amanda Potts~~ + Amanda Potts +
189 – Laura Potts. +
189 – Laura Johnson. –
190 – Ola ~~Reynolds~~ Powell +
191 – Bettie Barker. – +
192 – Bettie Heald –
193 ~~Maude Collins~~ –
194 Salina Austin. –
195 Mattie Austin. –
196 Arizona Isoforch – +
197 Mary Isoforch –
198 – Fannie Skeen – +
199 – Cora Skeen. – +
200 – Ada Colbert
201 Lula Brown.
202 Lela Brown.
203 Maud Collins –
204 Maggie Collins. +
205 – Mattie Cheadle. –
206 – Ley Hamilton. –
207 Mary Hamilton. –
208 Susie Blevins –
209 Annie Morris. —
210 Madge Maytubby +
211 Cora Chisholm +
212 Lucy Krause –
213 Lena Krause –
214 Delia Franklin
215 Edna Franklin
217 Roxsena Burks –
218 Vera Burk –
219 Etta Colbert –
220 Cora Colbert
~~221 Lula Eads~~

222 Nora Bales - R
223 Edna Bales. -
224 Claude Lewis. -
225 Elsie Hendrix -
226 Nora Hewett. -
227 Morena Brown. -
228 Lizzie Connally. -
229 ~~Lelly McCoy~~ -
230 Zenia McCoy -
231 ~~Bettie McCoy~~. -
232 Lula Bynum. -
~~233~~ - Permelia Reynolds.
234 - Rhoda Kemp -
235 - Minnie Good.
236 - Elsie Calhoun
237 - Lena Mellon.
Minnie Trenton
May Bealer.

Teachers and officers -
Mr & Mrs. D H Johnston
" R M. King - -
Miss Mary Williams Pre
Mrs. Williams Music
Miss Belle Anderson -
Miss Mary Harkins
Miss Bettie Harper. -
Mrs. Kate Bishop
Miss Nannie Anderson
Mr. & Mrs. Harley -
Miss Lillie Jones. -
Miss Addie Davis -
Mr. & Mrs. Hinshaw
Miss Lena Evans
Miss Kate Briggs -
Miss Dora Matlock. -
Miss Stella Chisholm. -
Mrs. Libby Hardison -
Miss Libby Bennetta -
Miss Nina Jennings. -
Miss Jenny Porter -
Miss Rose Jones. -
Miss Alice Harrell -
Miss Dosia Kemp -

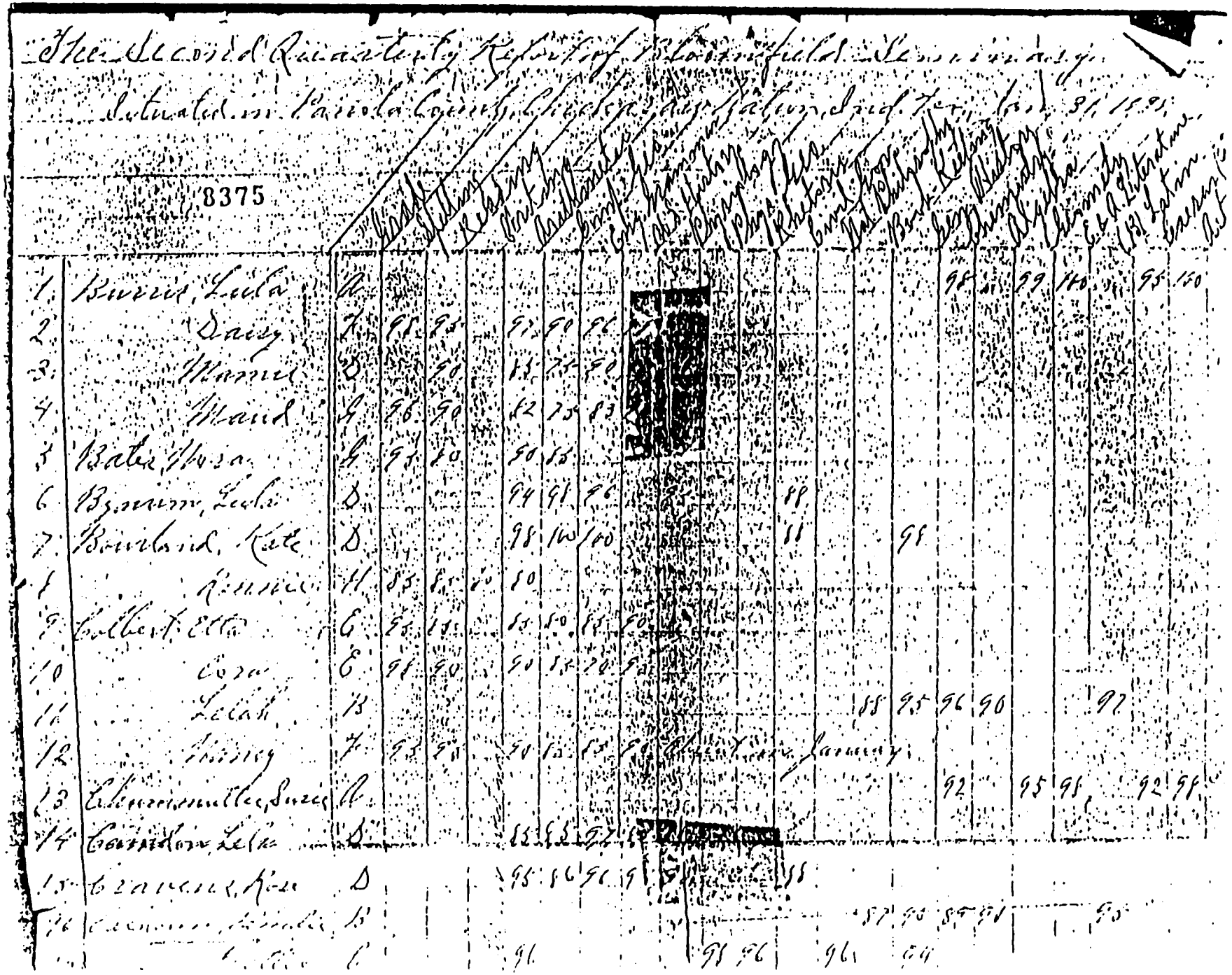
Mr. & Mrs. Allison
Mr. & Mrs. Waldecker.
Alumni
Mr. Baker.
Mr. Oates
Stokes Asbury
Clint Chandler,
Leslie Horton
John Nibler
Mrs. Sarena Short
Mrs. Porter & Children
Mrs. Ella Overton
Mr. & Mrs. Vera Bass
The Dutchmaids
Mr. & Mrs. Sankey Johns
Brothers & Children
Mr. & Mrs. Bennett & Family

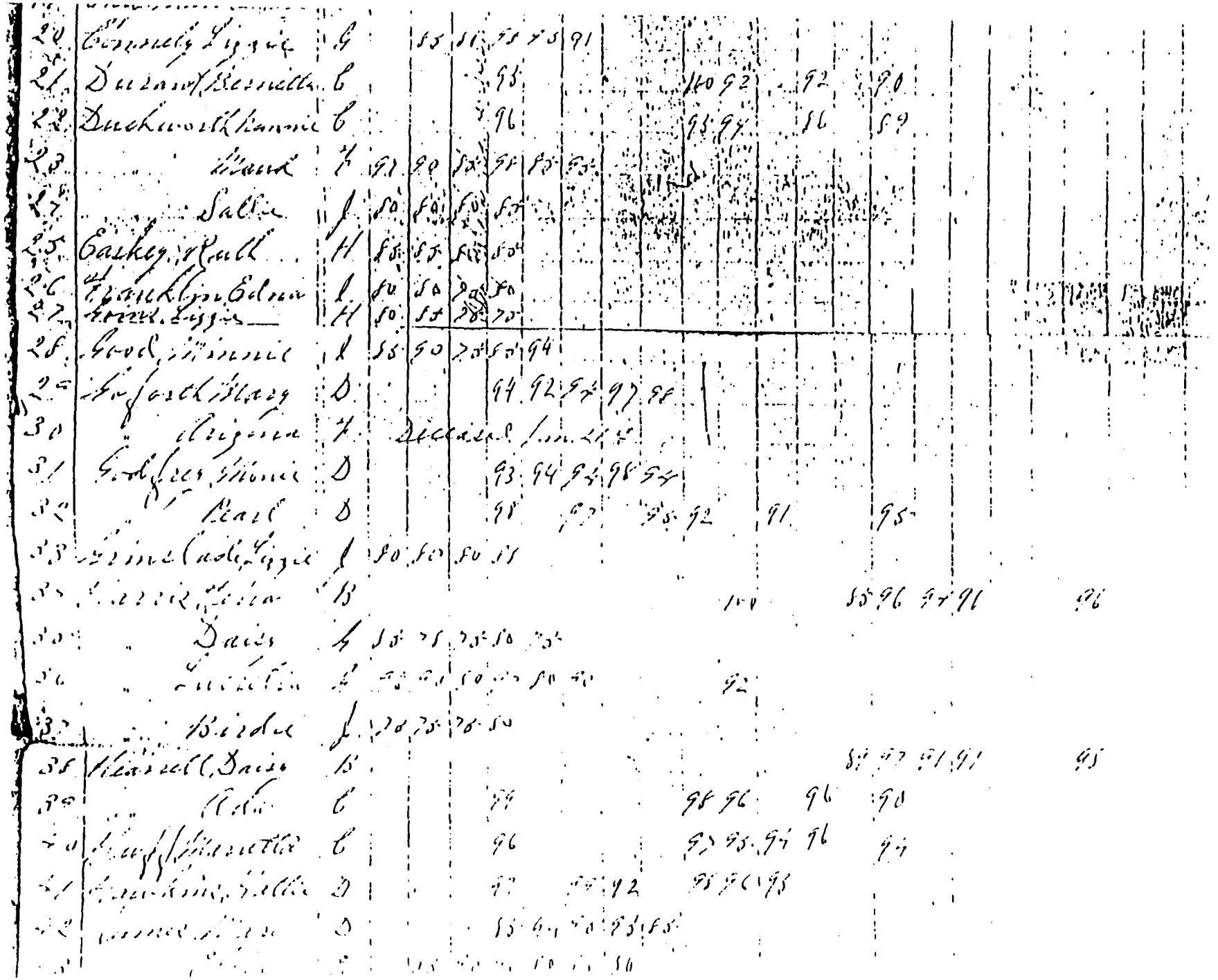
BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY.

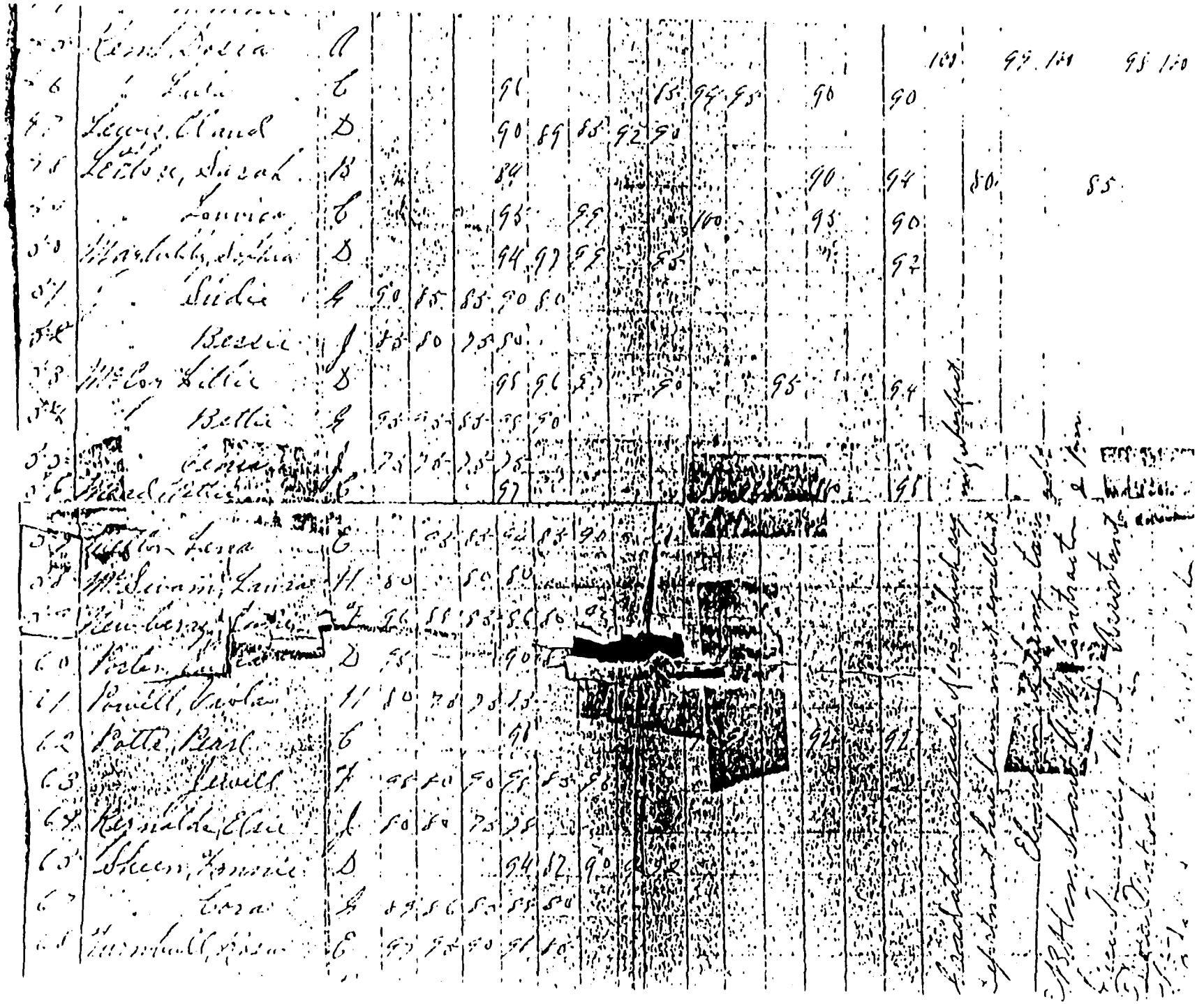
Monthly Report of Scholastic Standing for January, 1885.

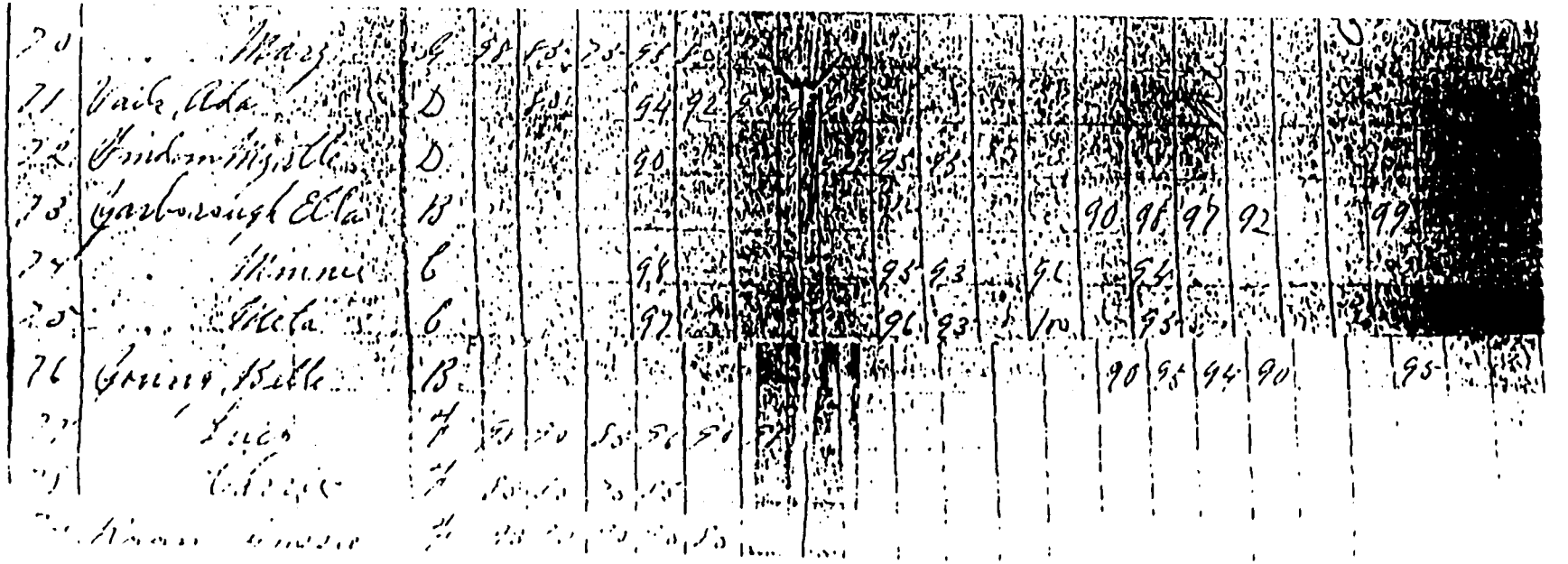
Names of the Students.	Grade.	Spelling.	Reading.	Writing.	Geography.	Grammar.	Arithmetic.	Language Lessons.	U S History	Physiology.	Total Av'ge.	Roll of Distinction.	Department.
Angie Albertson	D	75	80	75	70	..	70	....	..	..	74	....	100
Mattie Bacon	D	80	85	75	75	..	80	....	....	....	79	....	100
Allie Black	D	75	80	65	60	..	65	....	..	..	69	....	100
Louisa Brown	D	75	80	80	65	..	85	....	..	..	75	....	100
Malvina Brown	D	75	70	75	70	..	65	....	..	..	71	....	100
Alice Brown	C	95	90	85	75	..	85	80	..	..	84	....	100
Emily Brown	C	85	80	80	85	..	85	75	..	..	81	....	95
Elsie Calhoun	B	91	95	90	90	..	85	90	..	..	89	90	95
Annie Chummuttee	C	90	92	75	90	..	95	95			89	....	95
Eliza Chummuttee	D	80	75	60	85	..	65	....	..	..	..	93	100
Mary Chisholm	A	95	90	95	99	95	90	90	90	90	..	93	100
Stella Chisholm	C	93	90	70	80	..	85	90	..	..	83	....	90
Georgia Crooket	D	70	65	50	..	..	..	....	..	..	62	....	100
Louie Collins	A	90	85	92	..	89	93	85	85	85	89	....	100
Mittie Collins	C	91	93	80	85	..	85	80	..	..	87	....	100
Lizzie Earl	C	89	92	80	85	..	80	90	..	..	86	....	95
Mary Farmer	D	75	75	70	60	..	70	90	..	..	68	....	100
Nannie Camp	C	90	93	80	90	..	90	90	..	..	88	....	100
Minnie Kingsberry	D	80	95	60	60	..	70	....	..	..	69	....	95
Mary Harkins	A	95	97	..	..	95	95	90	..	90	....	94	100
Lucy Harkins	A	95	95	85	93	92	95	90	90	90	..	92	100
Lula Harris	C	90	80	75	89	..	85	80	..	..	84	....	100
Emma Harris	D	85	75	60	60	..	70	....	..	..	70	....	100
Lillian Layman	D	75	65	50	..	..	60	....	..	..	62	....	100
Henrietta Love	D	65	70	60	..	..	..	....	..	..	65	....	100
Rhoda Lewis	D	70	75	65	..	..	65	....	..	..	70	....	100
Mollie McGhee	D	75	85	70	70	..	65	....	..	..	73	....	100
Lillie Moore	D	80	80	75	70	..	85	....	..	..	78	....	100
Julia McCurtain	C	90	85	85	85		90	80			86		100
Nancy Nelson	D	70	75	80	75		80				76		100
Madeline Perry	B	94	90	90	80		95	80	80	80	88		100
Lizzie Perry	A	95	90	90	95		95	90	90	90		91	100
Ella Reynolds	C	90	90	75	85		90	85			86		100
Maggie Sturtivant	C	80	85	80	75		85	80			89		90
Emily Seely	B	85	80	85	75		80	80		70	80		100
Sophronia Walker	B		95	95	90	80	80	85		80	87		90
Annie Walker	D	70	75	70	75		75		80		73		100
Nellie Westley	C	80	85	80	80		85	80			82		100

Number students of Grade A, 5
" " " " B, 4
" " " " C, 12
" " " " D, 17









Linu B. Hinsnaw, A. M. Superintendent.

National Normal Director,
President Examining Board,
Chickasaw Nation

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

Literary, Music,
Art, Elocution.

A School for the Higher Education of Chickasaw Indian Girls and Young Ladies.

Near COLBERT, IND. TER.,

REPORT.

Third Quartarly Report of Bloomfield Seminary, Panola County, Chickasaw Nation, I.T. ending April 15, 1903.

DEPARTMENTS

Literary, Music, Art, Elocution.

All pupils are in the Literary Department and everyone seems to have made progress. We are pleased with the work done during the quarter.

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A great deal of good work has been done in the Art Department. Successful work has been done in oil, pastel, charcol, China painting etc.

Each pupil has had some training in Elocution and Physical culture.

Our sanitary conditions are all right,-no sickness. Deportment of pupils most excellent. The gradation on this report is on the basis of 100 which means perfect.

Respectfully submitted,

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY
1903

Name	Grade
Burris, Maud	10
Burris, Cecil	8
Bourland, Rennie	9
Burks, Vera	9
Busselle, Lucy	8
Bynum, Remonia	10
Conner, Myrtle	10
unreadable	
Connelly, Lizzie	9
Cravat, Angelina	9
Duckworth, Sallie	8
Durham, Sudie	8
Easkey (Easky), Ruth	9
Frye, Sophia	9
Goforth, Charlotte	10
Goforth, Odelia	8
Good, Minnie	8
Harris, Daisy	9
Harris, Lucretia	9
Harris, Bertie	8
Hume, Lena	8
Johnson, Malissa	8
Kemp, Fannie	8
Lemon, Fannie	8
McCauley, Peachie	9
McGenie (McGeehee), Josie	10
McSwain, Lolla	8
Newberry, Jane	10
Powell, Viola	8
Sacra, Lillie	9
Smith, Bertie (Birdie)	10
Shipp (Ship), Susan	8
Turnbull, Eddie	9
Wolf, Mattie	9
White, Illa	9
Wolfenbarger, Jula	8
Wolf, Ida	8
Young, Lucy	10
Young, Carrie	9
Young, Lorie	8

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

misplaced from other papers

Name	Grade
McCaula, Peachie	3
Welch, Alice	6
MAUDOLIN	
Asbury, Myrtle	2
Conner, Myrtle	9
Frye, Sophia	6
Hume, Lena	4
Lemous, Fannie	6
McGeehee, Josie	7
Wolfenbarger, Zula	7
Wolf, Ida	7
VIOLIN	
Colbert, Rennie	1
Young, Lou	1
Young, Lucy	2

con't

Harris, Daisy	4
Hume, Lena	4
Lemons, Fannie	5
Love, Carrie	3
McGehee, Josie	6
White, Lucy	6
Wolfe, Ida	6
Wolfenbarger, Zula	4
Young, Lou	8

VIOLIN

Smith, Bertie	2
Young, Lucy	3

BANJO

Sacra, Lillie	1

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

misplaced from other papers

Name	Grade
Archerd, Effie	1
Archerd, Maud	1
Berks, Vera	2
Berks, Rowena	2
Berks, Wynona	2
Burrus, Maud	3
Claybrook, Orpha	1
Duckworth, Sallie	2
Durham, Sudie	2
Good, Minnie	2
Grinslade, Lizzie	2
Johnson, Melissa	2
Johnston, Jaunita	1
Love, Cena	1
McCauly, Peachie	2

PRIMARY DEPARTMENT

Zenobia Yarbrough, Teacher

Name	Grade
Asbury, Nellie	1
Asbury, Myrtle	4
Boles, Sylvia	4
Connelly, Emma	2
Connelly, Jennie	2
Fletcher, Katie	3
Franklin, Eulie	2
Fobb, Pearl	3
Goode, Ruth	2
unreadable	
Johnson Nillie	2
Kemp, Myrtle	4
Kemp, Tressa	3
Kelley, Viola	4
Lemon, Maggie	1
Maytubby, Lillie	1
McCauley, Juna	3
McDuffee, Myrtle	2
McLaughlin, Alice	3
Moore, Daisy	3
Murray, Mildred	3
Seeley, Annie	3
Steele, Willie	2
Turnbull, Ora	2
Willie, Agnes	2
Wolfenbarger, Tena	2

INTERMEDIATE DEPARTMENT————Mica Mullius

Name	Grade
Archerd, Effie	6
Archerd, Maud	5
Burks, Rowena	6
Burks, Wenona	5
Bowls, Maud	6
Blackwood, Nora	5
Christian, Maud	6
Chapman, Jennie	6
Colbert, Lula	6
Colbert, Alice	6
Eastman, Linna	5
Fletcher, Virgie	5
Franklin, Edna	6
Godfrey, Edna	5
unreadable	
Johnson Mabell	6
Johnston, Juanita	6
Kemp, Elsie	6
Kemp, Rhoda	5
Love, Carrie	6
Love, Cecil	5
Lelflore, Ada	5
Leflore, Ida	5
Mead, Abbie	6
Meeks, Docia	6
Moore, Nettie	6
Moore, Grace	6
McCauley, Jun Squ?	5
McGlothlin, Manda	6
Perry, Minnie	6
Reynolds, Elsie	6
Shipp, Mary	6
Thompson, Lena	
Vanzandt, Mae	6
Welch, Alice	5
Wolfe, Frances	5
White, Lucy	6
Walker, Minnie	6
Wolfenbarger, Birrie	5

Eunice Yarborough 6

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

1903

ART DEPARTMENT

Nannie L. Scruggs, Teacher

Name	Grade
Archerd, Effie	3
Archerd, Maud	2
Berks, Vera	2
Berks, Winona	2
Bowls, Sylvia	1
Burris, Maud	3
Duckworth, Sallie	2
Durham, Sudie	2
Grinslade, Lizzie	2
Johnson, Melissa	2
Johnston, Jaurita	2
Love, Cena	2
McCauly, Peachie	
Murry, Mildred	
unreadable	
Moore, Grace	2
Moore, Daisey	2
Sacre, Lillie	2
White, Illa	2
White, Lucy	2

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

1903

Music Department

Piano and Stringed Instruments,

Sallie Young, Teacher

Name	Grade
PIANO	
Burris, Maud	4
Burris, Cecil	4
Burks, Rowena	1
Burks, Vera	3
Colbert, Rennie	5
Conner, Myrtle	3
Easkey, Ruth	4
Frye, Sophia	3
Goforth, Charlotte	9
Harris, Daisy	5
Harris, Lucretia	5
McGehee, Josie	3
Sacra, Lilly	4
Smith, Bertie	5
Thompson, Lena	4
White, Illa	5
Wolfe, Mattie	3
Young, Lucy	6
GUITAR	
Colbert, Lucy	6
Duckworth, Sallie	5
Easkey, Ruth	1
Goforth, Charlotte	6
McCauly, Peachy	5
Welch, Alice	6
Young, Carrie	9
MANDOLIN	
Ashubry, Myrtle	1
Burks, Rowena	5
Conner, Myrtle	6
Frye, Sophia	5

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

1903

MUSIC DEPARTMENT

Piano and Voice

Libbie Bennett, Teacher

Name	Grade
Boles, Maud	1
Bourland, Rennie	1
Busselle, Lucy	2
Bynum, Ramonia	2
Connelly, Lizzie	1
Cravat, Angelina	1
Durham, Sudie	1
Eastman, Louna	1
Godfrey, Edna	1
Goode, Minnie	1
Grinslate, Lizzie	1
Hume, Lena	1
Johnson, Mabelle	1
Johnson,Malissie	1
Johnston, Juanita	2
Kemp, Fannie	1
Lemons, Fannie	1
Love, Carrie	1
Maytubby, Bessie	1
Mead, Abbie	2
Moore, Nettie	1
McSwain, Lalla	2
Newberry, Jane	1
Perry, Minnie	1
Reynolds, Elsie	1
Turnbull, Eddie	1
Walker, Minnie	1
Wolfenbarger. Zula	2
Yarborough, Eunice	1

FOURTH QUARTERLY REPORT

1903——1904.

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY, PANOLA COUNTY, CHICKASAW NATION. IND. TER.

The work done in the Literary Department during this quarter has been particularly strong. Much good work has been done in each grade. At the close of the term Promotion cards were awarded to each pupil finishing each text; this was done in the High-School grades, while a card was issued for the grade in the lower departments. The following named pupils finished the prescribed course of work and were awarded diplomas bearing the degree of M. L. - Lucy Young, Jane Newberry, Myrtle Conner, Ramona Bynum, Charlotee Goforth, and Birdie Smith.

Each pupil has been instructed in Elocution, and most of them has had training in Physical Culture. Two Teams gave an exhibition of Basket-Ball playing and two classes gave a drill with Indian Clubs at the close of the term.

More than two thirds of the number of pupils attending were instructed in Instrumental Music. Instruction was given on the Piano, Violin, Mandolin and Guitar.
Cartificates of proficiency on the guitar were issued to Charlotte Goforth, Carrie Young, Alice Welch, and Lula Colbert. On the Mandolin to Myrtle Conner, Fannie Lemen, Ida Wolf, Jocie McGehee, Lou Young, Zula Wolfenbarger, and Sopie Frye. The Orchestra consisted _____ Quartet, and Glee Club were features of this_____

The work in the Art Department was most excellent and strong. The Exhibit at the "World Fair" and at the close of the term were, both, most excellent. Instruction was given in Oil, Pastel Charcoal, and Pen work

The sanatory condition of the school has been good and the health of the pupils most excellent. The actual average attendance was 103, and the enrollment 113, for the year

Elihu B. Hinshaw, A. M. Superintendent.

National Normal Director,
President Examining Board,
Chickasaw Nation

BLOOMFIELD SEMINARY

Literary, Music,
Art, Elocution.

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Near COLBERT, IND. TER.,

REPORT.

Third Quartarly Report of Bloomfield Seminary, Panola County, Chickasaw Nation, I.T. ending April 15, 1903.

DEPARTMENTS

Literary, Music, Art, Elocution.

All pupils are in the Literary Department and everyone seems to have made progress. We are pleased with the work done during the quarter.

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A great deal of good work has been done in the Art Department. Successful work has been done in oil, pastel, charcol, China painting etc.

Each pupil has had some training in Elocution and Physical culture.

Our sanitary conditions are all right,-no sickness. Deportment of pupils most excellent. The gradation on this report is on the basis of 100 which means perfect.

Respectfully submitted,

PRIMARY DEPARTMENT

Zenobia Yarbrough, Teacher

Name	Grade
Asbury, Myrtle	5
Asbury, Nellie	2
Boles, Sylvia	5
Christian, Lottie	3
Cheadle, Almeda	3
Connelly, Emma	4
Connelly, Jennie	4
Franklin, Ulis	3
Fletcher, Katie	4
Goode, Ruth	4
Goforth, Nora	3
Harris, Lucy	5
Holcomb, Mattie	1
Johnson, Willie	4
Kelley, Viola	5
Kemp, Myrtle	4
Kemp, Rhoda	4
Kemp, Tressa	4
Lemon, Maggie	2
Maytubby, Lile	?
Moore, Daisy	4
Murray, Mildred	4
Murray, Lucille	2
McDuffee, Myrtle	3
Sacra, Marie	3
Seeley, Annie	4
Steele, Willie	3
Tompson, Mary	3
Turnbull, Ora	3
Willis, Agnes	3
Wolfenbarger, Tena	3

INTERMEDIATE DEPARTMENT
Mica Mullins, Teacher

Name	Grade
Archerd, Effil	8
Archerd, Maud	6
Burks, Rowena	6
Burks, Winona	6
Colbert, Lula	7
Colbert, Alice	7
Eastman, Lorena	6
Franklin, Edna	7
Fletcher, Virgie	6
Grenslade, Lizzie	7
Godfrey, Edna	6
Holder, Ardie	6
Johnston, Juanita	7
Johnston, Allie	7
Johnston Myrtle	8
Johnston, Mable	8
Kemp, Elsie	8
Love,Cur—?	?
Love, Cena	6
Leflore, Ada	6
Leflore, Ida	6
McCurley,Sue	6
Moore, Nettie	8
Moore, Grace	8
Mead, Abbie	8
Meeks, Dosia	8
Perry, Minnie	8
Reynolds, Elsie	7
Sacra, Stella	7
Thompson, Lena	8
White, Lucy	8
Welch, Alice	7
Walker, Minnie	8
Wolfenburger, Birtie	6

HIGH SCHOOL DEPARTMENT
C.S. Light, Teacher

Name	Grade
Bourland, Rennie	10
Burks, Vera	10
Burris, Cecil	9
Bynum, Ramona	11
----------	—
Conner, Myrtle	7
Cravatt, Angeline	10
Duckworth, Sally	9
Durham, Sudie	9
Easkey, Ruth	10
Frye, Sophia	10
Goforth, Charlotte	11
Goforth, Odelia	9
Good, Minnie	9
Harris, Daisy	10
Harris, Lucretia	10
Hume, Lena	9
Johnson, Malissa	9
Kemp, Fanny	9
Lemon, Fanny	9
McCauley, C--clia	-
McGehee, Josie	10
Maytubby, Bessie	9
Newberry, Jane	11
Sacra, Lilly	10
Smith, Birdie	11
Turnbull, Eddie	10
White, Illa	9
Wolfenbarger, Zila	9
Wolff, Ida	9
Young, Carrie	10
Young Lucy	11
Young, Lue	9

DEPARTMENT OF ART

Ruth T. Ubbard

Name	Grade
Archerd, Effie	2
Archerd, Maud	2
Burks, Rowena	2
Burks, Vera	2
Burks, Winona	2
Boles, Sylvia	1
Connelly Jennie	1
Conner. Myrtle	2
Grinslode,Elizabeth	2
Johnston, Juanita	2
Johnson, Melissa	2
LeFlore, Ada	1
LeFlore, Ida	1
Lemon, Margaret	1
Love, Cena	2
McCauley, Peachie	2
McCauley, Sue	2
Seeley, Anna	2
Sacra, Lily	2
White, Illa	2
White, Lucy	2

MUSIC DEPARTMENT

Piano and Voice

E. Janette Bennett, Teacher

Name	Grade
Boles Maude	2
Bourland, Rennie	2
Burks, Vera	2
Burris, Cecil	2
Bynum, Lucy	1
Bynum, Ramona	2
Colbert, Rennie	6
Conner, Myrtle	4
Cravat, Angelina	2
Easkey, Ruth	4
Franklin, Edna	1
Frye, Sophia	4
Goforth, Charlotte	4
Good, Minnie	2
Harris, Daisy	5
Harris, Lucretia	5
Johnson, Maybelle	2
Kemp, Fannie	2
Lemon, Fannie	2
McGeehee, Josie	2
Maytubby, Bessie	?
Mead, Aobil	3
Newberry, Jane	2
Perry, Minnie	1
Sacra, Lillie	5
Shipp, Susan	1
Smith, Berie	6
Thompson, Lena	3
Walker, Minnie	2
White, Illa	5
Wolfenbarger, Lula	3
Yarborough, Eunice	2
Young, Lucy	7

1903-1904

MUSIC DEPARTMENT

Piano and String Instruments

Mrs. W.J. Slaals, Teacher

Name	Grade
Archerd, Effie	2
Burks, Rowena	2
Connelly, Jennie	1
Durham, Sudie	1
Eastman, Lorena	1
Godfree, Edna	1
Grinslade, Lizzie	1
Johnston, Juanita	2
Johnson, Malissa	1
Love, Carrie	1
Moore, Nettie	1
Murray, Mildred	1
Reynolds, Elsie	1
Turnbull, Eddie	2
White, Lucy	2
Young, Carrie	2
GUITAR	
Boles, Maud	?
Colbert, Lonla	?
Duckworth, Sallie	4
Easky, Ruth	5
Johnson, Myrtle	2
McCauly, Peachie	4
Welch, Alice	7
MANDOLIN	
Asbury, Myrtle	2
Conner, Myrtle	9
Frye, Sophia	9
Hume, Lena	8
Lemon, Fannie	9
McGeehee, Josie	9
Wolfenbarger, Zula	9

cont-
n

cont-
MANDOLIN

Name	Grade
Wolf, Ida	9
Colbert,	
Young, Lou	4
Young, Lucy	6

Gradation, 100%, perfect; 90%, good; below 75% fails to pass.

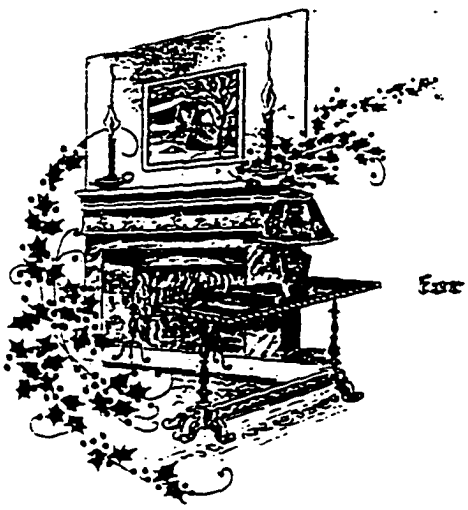
Most respectfully submitted,

Elihu B. Hinshaw

To Hon. M.V. Cheadle, Supt of Pub. Inst. C. N., I. T.

Hon. J.M. Connelly, Trustee of Bloomfield Seminary, C.N., I. T.

Ida Pratt



With very best wishes
for your happiness at Christmas
and the New Year

From your teacher,
Cordelia Reeder

5—247

REMARKS

Promoted to
9th grade

UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE

Phoenix Indian School.
(Name of school.)

Phoenix, Ariz.
(Post-office address.)

May 27, 1926

DEAR FRIEND:

I inclose letter of your Daughter
(Son, daughter, ward.)

Ida Pratt
(Name of pupil.)

with report for the period ending 5/27 192 . Please look these over very carefully and keep the report for future comparison. Unless otherwise reported under "General Remarks," it should be understood that the pupil is in usual health.

Any inquiry you may wish to make in regard to this report or the general welfare of the pupil will be welcomed.

Your friend,

E. B. Allen
Superintendent.

6—6258

ACADEMIC.	Grade or year.	Rating.	INDUSTRIAL.	Year or course.	Rating.
Agriculture	8th	93	Agriculture		
Algebra			Auto-mechanics		
Arithmetic		90	Blacksmithing		
Botany			Carpentry		
Chemistry			Engineering		
Civics		93	Masonry		
Current events		92	Mechanical drawing		
Drawing			Painting and decorating		
English		93	Printing		
General science			Shoe and harness		
Geography			Tailoring		
Literary society			Baking		
Penmanship		85-	Fatigue detail		95-
Physics			Home economics		
Physiology and hygiene			Cooking		85-
Reading		90	Sewing		90
History		93	Laundering		90
Music		90	Mending		
Vocal			Poultry raising		
Instrumental			Home training		
~~Eng. Living~~		93	Nursing		
Eng. and Lit.		90+	Ind. Arts		90+
Effort		95-	Effort		
Deportment		98	Deportment		9:-

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 6—6258

Gen. Sci. 90-