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Being Cosmopolitan: The 'Unexpected' Educational Journeys of Three American Indian Women During the 1930s

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
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by

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Acknowledgments

"The current was strong and the tide was great but this is what she was made for."[1]

Like many academic projects, this work began with a series of questions. They started during my first quarter as a graduate student at the Graduate School of Education (GSOE) at the University of California, Riverside (UCR). In a History of Education course, we discussed several thought-provoking texts, but I wondered where the Native voices were, and more importantly, where the American Indian women were. Branching out a bit, I found little mention of American Indian experiences within the larger narrative of the history of education, and even less that included Native women's voices. The course instructor, Margaret Nash, encouraged me to pursue my questions. So that I could delve deeper into the historiography of American Indian education within the scope of my coursework, I began to incorporate themes of Indigenous women's education in every class possible. As I progressed through the program, although I still had a vision of another dissertation topic in mind, I found myself spending more time searching for Indian women's narratives than I did on my proposed topic. After almost two years of encouragement from Margaret to pursue my inquiries and not finding sufficient answers to my questions, I changed the focus of my work. I committed myself to locating Native women's narratives and expanding the historiography of American Indian education. I also asked Margaret if she would become my Advisor, and, thankfully, she agreed and has guided me in my journey ever since.

1. Seth, "Untitled," Print from Original Drawing, www.theartofseth.com.

It was a caption of a picture in Lisa K. Neuman's *Indian Play* that eventually brought me to Evelyn Warren, Cleo Caudell, and Ruth Murphy.[2] The picture is of the Indian Club at the University of Redlands (UR) in 1936 (see figure A.1). When I came across the photograph, my heart jumped for several reasons. The university is located approximately ten miles from my home, and there was visual evidence of a Native woman attending the school during the 1930s. As her focus is on Bacone College, Neuman only briefly mentions UR within the text of her book and does not discuss Caudell more than providing her name in the photo's caption. With all my research, how had I not heard of Indian students at the college before? Why was there no other mention of Native students going to UR in any texts that I had read? How many Indian women went to UR? I became intent on answering these questions and finding out more about Caudell and how she got there. Tracing Caudell's path led me to Bacone College and Frances Donelson.

2. Lisa K. Neuman, *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 114.



Figure A.1. Indian Club, University of Redlands, 1936.
Caudell is in the front row, first from the right.
Courtesy University Archives, University of Redlands.

There is no doubt in my mind that this project would not have been possible if it were not for Frances. She was my conduit to Bacone and provided me with an enormous amount of information. On her own time, she would forward me anything she thought would help me in my research. She combed through the lists of UR student names that I compiled with the help of Michele Nielsen, UR archivist, looking for matches with Bacone students. Frances confirmed that Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were all Bacone graduates. Throughout my program, Frances has been incredible. During my research, I traveled to Bacone and had the honor to meet and thank her in person. Frances, thanking you is an inadequate gesture in comparison to all you have done for me. Bacone lost a

tremendous intellectual and historical resource when you left. I do hope you or someone captures your knowledge and memories of Bacone before they are lost forever.

Discovering that three different Native women with diverse upbringings attended the same two colleges and that all three went to work for the federal government during the same time period was thrilling and daunting at the same time. In learning of the gap in the literature, telling their stories became crucial to me. Uncovering the similarities and differences across their histories reinforced the need to share these narratives. As I began learning about Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's pasts, I questioned whether I was the proper person to be telling their stories. After much self-examination and discussions with Native mentors, I considered Sheila Rowbotham's 1966 work, *Hidden From History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It*.[3] Although the book was written in the late 1960s and is about women in Britain from the time of the Puritan revolution through the 1930s and the theme of 'being hidden' had resonated throughout my research. Native women have been hidden in the historical record, and I had information that could help change that. I approached my work, acknowledging my positionality as a non-Native, white woman, and with respect towards Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and their histories. I chose to give voices, faces, and names to these three women to avoid replicating the colonial agenda of assimilation and erasure of Native individuals. I also pursued this project to illuminate that real Native women attended college during the 1930s and led interesting and informative lives so that Indigenous women of today can have visible historical records to reflect on.

3. Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden From History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It* (London: Pluto Press, 1977).

I will be forever indebted to so many people that made this work possible. First, I would like to acknowledge Margaret for all her support, encouragement, and feedback throughout the creation of this dissertation and other projects I took on along the way. If it were not for Margaret's belief in me and her ongoing reassurance of the importance of this work, I do not know if it would have come to fruition. She pushes me to be a better writer and scholar. Having the opportunity to discuss portions of this work in *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*, edited by Margaret A. Nash (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), is a distinction that I much appreciate. Even when I am not sure if I can do it (or want to), Margaret finds a way to break through my barriers, and I have improved significantly under her tutelage. Although a thank you is truly insufficient to say how much I appreciate you, Margaret, it will have to do for now.

I would also like to say that I am much obliged to my committee for their time and effort in developing this work. Thank you, Begoña Echeverria and Monte Kugel. Your tough questions prompted me to think about things differently. In addition to providing thoughtful feedback, Monte supported me academically, emotionally, and psychologically in ways that truly saved my sanity. I cannot adequately express how truly grateful I am for having you, Monte, as a mentor. Meeting you was life-changing. Your support and reassurance in my projects and me have given me the hope and confidence to overcome issues I have encountered during the lowest times in this process. Connecting with you always raised my spirits and reaffirmed to me that I could do this, and so much

more. I am forever one of your biggest fans and hope that you will remain a part of my life for the years ahead.

Besides the support of my committee, my work was also made possible through several funding opportunities that came my way, beginning with a Dean's Distinguished Fellowship Award. Three Graduate Division Fellowship Awards, a Graduate Fellowship from the Humanities Graduate Student Research Grant at the Center for Ideas and Society, and a Graduate Research Mentorship Fellowship (GRMP) followed. I was also privileged to receive a Graduate Dean's Dissertation Research Grant, a Dissertation Year Program (DYP) Fellowship, and a Robert C. Calfee and Nel Little Calfee Endowed Doctoral Student Fellowship, in addition to numerous travel grants. The travel grants provided by the Graduate Student Association and GSOE allowed me the opportunity to share my work at various conferences across the country and connect with other scholars who have impacted my efforts, both directly and indirectly.

Individuals who have influenced me and I have had the pleasure to present with on a conference panel include; David Wallace Adams, Margaret Connell Szasz, Linda Eisenmann, Farina King, Adrea Lawrence, Abigail Markwyn, Derek Taira, Kevin Whalen, and Rebecca Wellington. Your scholarship has not only helped increase my knowledge, but it has also fueled my intent to expand the field. I hope to have the pleasure of working with all of you again.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge and thank those folks that have supported me, both organizationally and emotionally, throughout this process. Although not a comprehensive list of everyone at UCR that assisted me over my time there as a graduate

student, these individuals went above and beyond to make sure I found a Teaching Assistant position, that the proper paperwork was filed, or any other number of ways that helped me to get through the program. Starting as an undergrad, Christopher Schmitt as been a constant source of encouragement to me, and I am eternally grateful to you, Christopher, for the opportunity to learn from you, work with you, and to be able to emulate you in my teaching. I did not know the gift I received when I was assigned to work with you as a Teaching Assistant for Amalia Cabezas in Media and Cultural Studies. She has become a mentor and merely knowing her elevates me. I cannot thank her enough for her help. Her willingness to write letters of support has given me opportunities that I would not have had if it were not for her. Amalia, you are amazing.

Others that have made my existence as a graduate student possible (and bearable) include Anna Wire and GSOE staff: Janet Harshman, Samantha Jobelius-Morrison, Heather Killeen, and Deanna Wheeler. You all went above and beyond your job requirements to champion me and ensure that I could be successful; you listened to me when I fussed or proposed new ways of doing things and showed me compassion when I really needed it. GSOE is lucky to have (or had, in your case Janet) you working with them. Lastly, I would like to thank Trina Elerts for everything she has done for me over the years at UCR. Trina, you have been a lifesaver on more than one occasion. I am fortunate to have met you and am thrilled to be able to call you, friend.

Dedication

I've waited for this
I'm ready for it
I've waited for this
I'm ready for it
I've been waiting so long[1]

I wish to dedicate this work to all the friends and family who have supported and encouraged me through the development of this, and during many other times in my life. As each person below was instrumental in helping me, there is no perfect place to start, so I will begin with those literally closest to me. To my husband Eric, who gave me the idea to go back to school when I needed a change in my life, and had no inkling what he started, I want to express my appreciation. You planted a seed that grew into something so much bigger than I ever imagined. Thank you for believing in me and supporting this process. I could not have done it without you. To my son Sean, having the opportunity to watch and learn from you has been remarkable. I consider myself fortunate to be able to have rich, meaningful conversations about my work and life in general with you. Your feedback has been valuable, and your help with seemingly little things like getting me coffee or running an errand for me enabled me to keep going. Although not technically my daughter, as my LaD (like a daughter), Brooke Sumners was a thoughtful, caring companion when I required a break. Brooke, you are smart and considerate, and I greatly enjoy our time together. Thank you for letting me play mom to you; it is an honor.

1. Nothing But Thieves, "Sorry," track three on *Broken Machine*, RCA, 2017, digital download.

To my son Anthony and his wife Mikaija, thank you for cheering me on and understanding when my schedule would go haywire. It is truly a joy to be able to be so close to both of you and to be such a big part of each other's lives. You both are so important to me, and I am so proud of you. Also, thank you for letting me spoil my three grandchildren Destiney, Leon, and Nova. I could not have imagined how much I would adore them or how big a place in my heart they would fill. It is because of them that I could not conceive of abandoning this project, even when I was at my lowest. I want them to be proud of their Gommy and know that they are capable of doing all kinds of wondrous things.

I also want to dedicate this to someone who greatly influenced me. Katherine Kiefer-Newman, you started as my instructor and grew into a mentor and a friend. I knew I liked you from your first post in the course, but I held off reaching out on a personal level until the class ended, as I did not want you to think I was disingenuous. It is almost unfathomable to believe that it was over ten years ago that we met, and you encouraged me to transfer to UCR. It was that little push that set me on this path, so how can a thank you suffice? You are a role model and a remarkable person, and I am lucky to have you in my life.

I would also like to recognize Kel Weinhold and her "Unstuck" writing program. It changed my life. Her holistic approach to writing gave me the tools to move forward when I was stuck and to believe I could accomplish what I set out to do. Kel, your program made me consider aspects of my beliefs that impacted not just my writing but provided an understanding of how I navigated my daily life as well. You taught me how I

could let go of some thoughts and habits that were detrimental and to consider my agency when I felt that I did not have any. I am eternally grateful for you and "Unstuck," I have grown emotionally in ways that I could not have comprehended, and I will never be the same. This program also connected me with three amazing women who have been a source of inspiration since we united.

Elva Efaby, Cordelia Frewen, and Magda Zapędowska, you all have been lifesavers. Having the accountability and support you have provided was instrumental in me completing this. I look forward to our weekly conversations and hope that I can give you at least a portion of what you all have given me. I look forward to growing as a scholar alongside you and seeing your future work.

Others that have been important to my journey include some close friends. Arlene and Michael Collins and Brenda and Rick Garcia, you all have known me for many years and have been a part of most of this long process. We have watched our children grow and have children of their own, and life has taken us to some unexpected places, but I treasure what we have had. Many times, it was thinking about the fun we had over the years or anticipating the fun we would have again that kept me looking forward when I wanted to stop. I do not think you all know how much you mean to me. Thank you for being such wonderful people and allowing me to be a part of yours and your families' lives.

To my Bestie, I want to say I will be forever grateful to you for everything you have done for me over the years. Calista Maloney, you have been a confidant and cheerleader when I needed it most. Our friendship has been one of the most valuable gifts

I have ever received. I aspire to be more like you. You are gracious and patient. You are kind and considerate. You are smart and funny. You are so many things I wish to be. I am better for having you as a friend, and I know that I could not have fared through many of the storms without you. Thank you for being you. I look forward to growing old with you, friend, and running away to Canada with you should the need arise.

Lastly, I wish to express my undying love and admiration for my Sisser, Angelina (Talerico) Easterling. How do I sufficiently thank someone who has been my greatest supporter their whole life, someone who has unwaveringly loved me and saw possibilities for me when I could not? How do I amply express the love and admiration I have for you, Angel? I do not believe I can do it justice, but I will try. From when we were young, you have been the one constant in my life. I knew no matter how bad things seemed, I could turn to you, and you would lift me up. Wanting to impress you motivated me to do better, to be better. Your thoughts, opinions, and ear were integral to both my mental health and to the development of this project. Your views are comprehensive and thoughtful. You provide insight and suggestions that help me consider alternate interpretations. My work has benefitted from your curiosity and willingness to let me talk ideas over with you. Our bond is one of the most valuable items I have in my life, and I treasure it. I hope I can be as good of a person as you believe me to be, and be as impactful in your life as you have been in mine.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Being Cosmopolitan: The 'Unexpected' Educational Journeys of
Three American Indian Women During the 1930s

by

Jennifer F. Brown

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Education
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Dr. Margaret A. Nash, Chairperson

During the early twentieth century, Evelyn Warren (Ojibwe), Cleo Caudell (Choctaw), and Ruth Murphy (Cherokee) navigated a window of opportunity to do the unexpected. They individually attended Bacone (Indian) College in Oklahoma before going on to study at the University of Redlands in California. After each completed their degrees, they separately obtained jobs with the Office of Indian Affairs. Opportunities opened for the women because of a convergence of a pipeline between Bacone to Redlands; a mainstream interest in Indian culture, one that the Indian New Deal supported; and recruitment efforts of the Office of Indian Affairs. Paradoxically, the general population's fascination with Indian culture drew upon stereotypes of Native women, demonstrations in which the women participated.

Using their life stories, I have constructed a narrative that gives insight into the everyday and unexpected ways that these women traversed their lives. From their early schooling to their college attendance, they push back against prevailing Indian boarding school narratives and give new insight into the varied educational experiences that existed for Natives in the early twentieth century. Their histories also reveal how Warren, Caudell, and Murphy challenged white expectations in some ways while upholding them in others. As educated, cosmopolitan women they successfully adapted to different cultures, but doing so called for reinforcing visions of Indian women as people from another time. In strategically using these images though, the women gained access to schools and careers that they might not otherwise have and used their agency within the confines of these structures to challenge the very images they portrayed.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introducing New Narratives: Taking Advantage of a Moment of Opportunity and Paradox

"It might be remembered that Native peoples have *never* not been cosmopolitan."[1]

Although Evelyn Warren (Ojibwe), Cleo Caudell (Choctaw), and Ruth Murphy (Cherokee), came from diverse cultural and geographic backgrounds, they each attended Bacone Indian College in Oklahoma before going on to study at the University of Redlands in California during the 1930s.[2] This study examines how, during a time of limited options, these three American Indian women took advantage of a moment of both opportunity and paradox.[3] The opportunities occurred because of a convergence of factors: a pipeline from Bacone to Redlands; a mainstream interest in Indian culture, one that the Indian New Deal supported; and the recruitment efforts of the Office of Indian Affairs. Paradoxically, the interest in Indian culture that led to funding and networking opportunities also perpetuated the very stereotypes that these women countered in their daily lives. Through their life stories, this dissertation shows how Warren, Caudell, and Murphy navigated this terrain and defied white expectations in their pursuit of multiple college degrees while also reinforcing them through various school and job-related activities.[4]



Figure 1.1. Evelyn Warren, *The Senior Record,* Haddon Heights High School, 1930. Photo courtesy of Haddon Heights Public Library.



Figure 1.2. Cleo Caudell, *The Indian Leader*, Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, 1930. Courtesy of Bacone College.



Figure 1.3. Ruth Murphy, *The Gusher*, Drumright High School, Drumright, OK, 1928. Ancestry.com. U.S., School Yearbooks, 1900-1999. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were born in 1913, 1912, and 1911, respectively, and represent varied backgrounds. Warren (Ojibwe) was born in Pennsylvania and raised in an urban setting in New Jersey. Caudell (Choctaw) was born on Choctaw lands but spent her childhood at Haskell Indian boarding school in Kansas. Murphy (Cherokee) was born in an area of Oklahoma where her Cherokee ancestors had resettled before her birth, but she grew up in several different communities surrounded by other Natives. The types of schools they attended also contrasted. Warren and Murphy both went to public schools, but in extremely dissimilar types of communities, while Caudell lived at an Indian boarding school for her school career up to college. The cultures in these locations were also distinct. They range from large cities with few documented Natives to rural towns with a mixed Native population to a school with students from multiple Native tribes.

The women also had several notable qualities in common. Each of the three women was a cosmopolite, someone who was not limited to a "provincial scope," thus giving them the aptitude to successfully work in multiple cultural contexts.[5] This skill helped them to take advantage of limited opportunities that opened during their lifetimes, which resulted in Warren, Caudell, and Murphy attending the same two colleges and ultimately all working for the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA).[6] Those opportunities drew upon stereotypes of Native women though, which eventually helped to foster the closure of other doors.

Although their early schooling differed, the three women attended primary and secondary schools during a critical juncture in Indian education and went to college when

few American Indians could. An Indian Services report from 1948 indicated, "For many years, only one or two out of every one-hundred [Indian] children entering the first grade have remained in school to enter college," translating to less than two percent of Native school age children even eligible to pursue college.[7] According to the Education Branch of Indian Services, in 1935 only "about one out of fifty Indian high school graduates found his way to college."[8] A report by the OIA in 1932 indicated that, as of that year, only 385 Native students enrolled in college, and by 1935 that number had risen to 515.[9] In contrast, the general United States population saw over one million students graduating high school the 1935-36 academic year, and while the number of high-school graduates entering college immediately after graduation had been on the decline since 1900, "nearly thirteen percent of [eighteen to twenty-one year olds] were enrolled in [college] in 1936."[10] According to these figures, approximately thirteen of every hundred of the general population's high-school graduates compared to two of every hundred Native high-school graduates enrolled in college. With few Indian students completing high school and of those, even fewer going on to college, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were in a small minority.

The first direct connection the women had to each other was college. During the 1930s, they independently attended Bacone College in Oklahoma, an Indian-only Baptist junior college at the time. Warren was the first of the three to go to the school in 1931. Caudell began her tenure there the fall after Warren graduated. Murphy started Bacone during Caudell's second semester. Bacone was relatively small with an average graduating class during the years of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's attendance of

twenty-seven, and approximately a third were women.[11] In 1933, after her graduation from Bacone, Warren transferred to the University of Redlands (UR), a four-year private Baptist university in California. Caudell started at UR in 1935, with Murphy one year behind her. Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were the only women to participate in a Bacone to UR pipeline that saw approximately thirty Bacone students transfer to UR from 1929-40. Ataloa (Chickasaw), an instructor at Bacone and UR alumna, and Dr. Benjamin Weeks, president of Bacone at the time and an occasional guest preacher in Redlands created this pipeline. Taking advantage of this opportunity, all three women earned both Associate's and Bachelor's Degrees, with Caudell also completing a year's worth of research in Hawaii towards a Master's Degree. Considering the historic lack of educational rigor in most native schooling, the widely held belief that native students lacked the capacity to learn academic subjects, and the small number of Indians attending college, the significance of these women's shared academic journeys becomes apparent.

The ability of the three women to attend Bacone and Redlands was also due in part to the popularity of Indian culture. During the early twentieth century, Indian arts, performances, and cultures became objects of interest within United States popular culture. Tapping into this fascination for both exposure and monetary gain, Ataloa and Weeks created several venues to market their students' Indianness. Led by Ataloa and supported by Weeks, the moneymaking and advertising potential of performances by Bacone students became a reality through glee club performances, participation in state fairs, and the marketing of student art. These ventures brought significant revenue to the school during a time that many colleges were in the midst of a financial crisis.[12] Having

financial security meant that Bacone could offer scholarships and work opportunities to potential students that would cover the cost of their tuition and living expenses while at Bacone and could also provide scholarships to several students who transferred to Redlands. The financial gains from these fundraising endeavors came at a cost though. The exhibitions of Indianness demanded white approval, and this often called for specific representations of Indians within the confines of accepted stereotypes. These included a pan-Indian style of costumes and a pattern of speech that included "native broken dialect."[13] During their time at Bacone, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy participated in several of the moneymaking programs. The women also partook in similar activities that called for demonstrations of Indianness that met white expectations during their time at Redlands. Thus while the public's interest in Native cultures provided opportunities for the women, it also perpetuated stereotypes of them. These stereotypes would ultimately consign Native women in the eyes of the general public to historical figures rooted in the past, helping to keep them from achieving equity.

In addition to the other constraints they encountered, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy attended college amid the Great Depression (1929-39). While numerous families struggled financially during the Depression, many still esteemed higher education, and colleges thrived, with few schools closing during this period. Although many colleges were "plagued by the constant fear of impending financial disaster," attendance increased, only dipping slightly in 1932 and 1934.[14] The 1937-38 Biannual Survey of Higher Education reported that, while "less than one-third of one percent of the total population were enrolled in college" in 1900, "more than one percent were enrolled

in 1938." It also reported an increase in college enrollments from 1900 to 1938 was 468 percent.[15] Although more men were attending college, women's attendance also grew considerably with the ratio of approximately three men for every two women.[16] Attempting to attract and retain students that were having financial issues, a small number of schools offered scholarships.[17] As the financial burdens continued to grow for colleges, a program was developed to "maintain the supply of trained persons necessary for economic and social progress." This work-study program was a product of the newly created Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and was intended to provide assistance nationwide.[18] While the student body became more heterogeneous with more first-generation and working-class students, paradoxically, the "apex of American higher education continued to be limited for the most part to the children of privilege."[19]

Contradictions abounded during the period of the Depression for many women. Although more women entered the workforce in jobs not previously open to them, they also were pressed to leave work if they married, and laws were created to keep spouses from working for the same employer.[20] Women tended to work in fields that were less impacted by the financial slump, so while they had higher employment rates than men they were also seen as "potential wives and mothers" and caretakers of citizenship ideals for their communities.[21] For Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, some of their experiences aligned with their white peers, while others did not.

At UR, Warren and Caudell majored in sociology and Murphy majored in education, and the three women's college majors represent one example of an experience that fell within the expected models of women's choices. They were scientifically trained

to address social problems so hypothetically they could have pursued a variety of professions including a social worker, professor, or journalist but the pathways that were mapped out for them during their schooling did not include these. During the time when Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were in school, Indian schools such as Bacone set up direct pathways for work in the OIA. Although their initial career dreams are unknown, eventually all three women fulfilled the Indian school imperatives by attaining careers with the OIA and serving Native communities.

Indian Education

Over time, who took on the responsibility for educating Native children shifted from the tribes themselves to various missionary groups, then to missionary groups under the federal government's purview before the OIA assumed full control and management of Indian schooling. Initially, Native tribes educated their members as they saw fit. In the early 1800s, concentrated efforts by various missionary groups to create schools within Native tribes developed. By the mid-nineteenth century, the federal government took responsibility for Indian education and utilized several religious groups to deliver this function. Between 1894 and 1900, direct federal funding of religious schools was eliminated and the federal government developed its own schooling systems. Although many missionary schools closed after this time, religious groups still maintained control of many institutions long after that date.[22] By 1877, there were 102 operating federal Indian day schools in tribes throughout the country.[23]

Before federal schools were opened, Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples developed working school systems either alongside or in spite of various missionary groups that were charged with managing their education. With the passage of the General Allotment Act (Dawes Severalty Act) in 1887, the federal government took complete control of Native education for most reservation-based tribes, including Ojibwe peoples. The 1898 Curtis Act extended federal authority over Choctaw and Cherokee schools as well.

Anglo-American forms of schooling for Native children were often laden with problems, and the shift in management from missionary groups to the federal administration brought new difficulties. Although missionary groups typically sought Native assimilation and religious conversion, many worked within the tribes to obtain acceptance and participation in their schools.[24] Contrarily, federal management typically involved no input from tribes and forced attendance at locations away from home. Over time the government attempted several types of formal Indian schooling efforts, but the result was most often disruptive for communities and negatively impacted multiple generations of Native families. These types of schools included on and off-reservation day and boarding schools, as well as public schooling. From the United States government's first involvement in Native schooling until well into the mid-twentieth century, many only offered an elementary school-level education regardless of students' age.[25]

Irrespective of the form schooling took; the overarching goal throughout federal schooling efforts was to solve the "Indian Problem."[26] In the late 1800s, boarding schools

were the preferred form of federal education for Natives. This mode of schooling was difficult for many students, and numerous reports of troubling conditions were recorded.[27] By 1916, with ongoing concerns about poor student treatment and the rising costs of boarding schools, the OIA began a push to send Indian students to their local public schools.[28] As attendance shifted away from other types of schools to public schools, new issues arose. Indian students in public schools often faced various forms of discrimination. Native students felt the impact of the lack of cultural support or understanding from teachers and other non-Native students, which contributed to poor attendance numbers. Racism was also often an issue for Indian students in public institutions and also affected attendance. Some teachers and other administrators openly espoused racist views and perpetuated myths about Native students' limited capabilities, creating a hostile environment that prompted numbers of Indian students to stop attending classes.[29]

During the early twentieth century, Indian education often did not provide any college preparation and most educational reforms focused on improving primary and secondary education were not enacted until Warren, Caudell, and Murphy had already graduated high school. According to the 1928 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior "no complete high-school courses were taught" in Indian schools "until 1921," and even then, they were only available at a single school. The report also stated that by the end of the 1928 fiscal year, there were "only six institutions maintained by the Federal government where Indians [could] receive a high-school education." It went on to state that enrollment in public high schools was "approximately one to every six pupils

of school age" at the time, but for Indian students the rate was "one to every twenty" and that the "aggregate number of Indians in institutions of higher learning or who [were] pursuing extension courses [was] negligible."[30] For those students that did complete secondary level classes, few were offered any form of college preparation. The only career training option accessible to a majority of Native students were vocational.[31] Although too late to benefit Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, Native education improved in several areas as a result of various reform movements in the late 1920s. Indian schools started to receive more funding, the standards for teachers increased, and improvements in the materials and textbooks made. Efforts to provide more funding and support to public schools for Indian children were also authorized.[32]

Even with minor advances in federal education, many Native students continued to combat concepts of their limited abilities and savageness. As late as 1927, Baptist historian Henry C. Vedder argued that American Indians were "becoming civilized with increasing rapidity," with only five tribes regarded as "entitled to be called 'civilized.'"[33] Vedder contended that even with this distinction, "much remains to be done" as only a small proportion could read and write English or effectively communicate with whites.[34] In the early twentieth century, not unlike previous eras, civility was predicated on one's abilities to interact with and conform to white ideals.[35] What differed from earlier efforts of conversion, though, were the popular notions of the "inherent nobility of the red man" and the belief that the "Indians will ultimately be absorbed into the population of the United States and cease to be a separate people."[36] So while there had been movements to

increase the type and level of education taught to Indians, it was still often imbued with racist themes and motivated by the desire for assimilationist outcomes.[37]

It was not until the 1930s that the OIA began to develop programs for higher education formally. Student loans and scholarships were made available to Native students seeking higher education. However, the leadership in the OIA at that time doubted the ability of most Native students to achieve a high level of academics and focused much of the new funding towards vocational training.[38] Many of those that did attain a college-level degree were guided to working for the OIA as the OIA leadership argued that the Native students would not have the acumen to work outside of this venue and it was their best opportunity at achieving anything close to a professional position.

Career Tracks and the Office of Indian Affairs

Finding wage labor in fields that they trained for during the early twentieth century could be difficult for college-educated American Indians, and historians of Indian schooling have argued that Indian education prepared students primarily for work in the Indian Service. The messages imbued throughout the era of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's education included civility, assimilation, and citizenship, and concepts around wage labor emphasized service work. Nursing, teaching, or clerical work that was in the service of Native groups fit this design, but if their training went beyond this scope, Native students would have difficulty in finding a placement.

Many scholars of formal Indian education in the United States assert "employment within the Indian Service was perhaps the most viable career option for

graduates of federal Indian boarding schools."[39] American Indian scholar Tsianina Lomawaima suggests "despite federal rhetoric, which claimed to train young Indian people unencumbered by tribal loyalties for a place in white mainstream society, schools prepared Indian students for employment…in Indian schools."[40] Social historian Cathleen D. Cahill argues that for the small group of educated Indians, the private sector may have been less desirable than government work as prejudice was rampant during the time. She also states that even if there were not racial impediments for Native professionals, there was not a large enough Native middle-class population to act as clientele to support a widespread Native labor market.[41] These conditions left many educated Indians with questions such as: Was it better to work in a position with the federal government that, while sanctioned for Indians, also had its limitations, or was it even possible to find a position in the private sector that provided for their financial needs and where they were not openly discriminated against?

Cahill also argues that there is "substantial evidence" that a large number of former boarding-school students attained "white-collar and professional positions" at Indian Services.[42] Schools such as Haskell, where Caudell went, had developed teacher-training departments to prepare students to teach in Indian schools and students often went directly into the Indian Service after graduating. By the early twentieth century, the federal government also began active recruiting measures to find trained personnel. The Civil Service Commission advertised in publications providing suggestions as to which position offered applicants the best chance of employment.[43] The OIA also worked with private Indian schools to create employment opportunities. Thus, it would seem to

students a natural transition to move from an Indian school to working with Indian Services.

In 1932, the OIA reached out to Bacone College to offer funding support for a dormitory if Bacone agreed to train Indian teachers for the Indian Service, for rural areas in particular. Although training Indians to teach other Indians had been a goal at Bacone since it opened, the federal government was specifically looking to Bacone to boost a program of rural development that they were implementing. In the 1930s, as part of the push for Indians to attend public schools, the federal government began opening large numbers of rural schools in eastern Oklahoma among Choctaw and Cherokee peoples who did not have access to good public education. Bacone was an attractive partner to the Indian Office as Bacone had trained Indian students to become teachers in Indian schools since its opening. For Bacone, this arrangement would promote their teaching program and potentially support the claims that Bacone was a leader in Indian education at that time.[44]

Recruiting by OIA would also take the form of networking. The nature of Indian schooling often fostered student connections. Boarding school students frequently bonded through their shared living and schooling experiences and having an Indian identity in a majority white society also seems to create unique bonds. Regular contact and correspondence fostered these attachments and would be detailed in school newspapers. Alumni accounts in school newspapers such as Haskell's *Indian Leader* and the *Bacone Indian* often reflected on where the school's alumni were living and working, as well as whom they came to see when they visited the school. These types of connections created

informal job networks, as visiting alumni working for OIA would talk of their work and share their experiences. With few professional jobs open to Natives, and the high likelihood of obtaining work with the OIA, it makes sense that a large number of Bacone graduates would seek employment there.[45]

The implementation of a formal OIA loan and scholarship program would also have ramifications for later OIA employment. While the federal government had offered some Indian scholarships and loans for college education before 1933, it was on a case-by-case basis.[46] As part of the Wheeler-Howard Act in 1934, $250,000 a year was to be allocated for American Indians attending trade and vocational schools, colleges, and universities. A majority of the funding went to students attending vocational or trade programs, however, with only $50,000 set-aside for students attending colleges and universities for academic degrees.[47] John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Willard Beatty, Director of Indian Education, both saw the scholarship and loan program as a means to "prepare the most qualified graduates" for careers in the OIA. Beatty argued that Native students were not intelligent enough to have careers beyond those available in the OIA, further asserting that unless Native students had a job lined up in Indian Services, college courses would be a waste of time and money.[48] With messages this explicit, students seeking financial support from the OIA would have undoubtedly been pointed to Indian Services as their only career option. Considering the amount and magnitude of pressure placed on Indian school students during this time, it is remarkable that any sought careers anywhere outside the OIA.

Expectations and the Everyday

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's stories counter white expectations from the early twentieth century, which depicted Native women as uneducated, one-dimensional beings, frozen in the past. While there is no paradigm that forms a unilateral set of expectancies for anyone during any period of time, through examining key discourses and events we can have a sense of what would be considered the collective ideas and generalized themes of expectedness for the period under inquiry. In the case of Native women during the early twentieth century, white expectations would have been greatly influenced by the federal government, scholars, and other experts, as well as various forms of media and print. In addition to explicit indications, the choice of language and imagery used in regards to Native populations by these influential parties is a central indicator of how Indians were viewed.

In contrast, Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples had longstanding expectations of education for members of their communities. As Philip Deloria argues, the writing of American Indian history has "long conformed to a single paradox," one that contends that the "most effective frame for making general sense of the diverse experiences" of "tribal peoples has been that of federal government policy." In doing this, we center Indian history not on Indian people but on the federal government. Offering some historical tribal perspectives, though, fulfills the "obligation of scholars to make their work meaningful to Indian communities" and "effectively render inert the generalizing framework built around federal policy."[49] While providing some commonalities, I acknowledge that wide variation exists within the multitude of histories

contained by a single tribal community while also recognizing that generalized patterns do emerge. For example, all three tribes developed successful schooling systems prior to federal imposition and advocated for learning throughout their histories. They also found ways to navigate external forces seeking to eliminate their cultures. From involuntary relocations, the taking of rights and property, to the forced management of their affairs, many in the Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee communities found forms of agency in which they could assert some control. Education was one outlet. They did this first by developing their own systems, and then when the federal government took over, they often sought continued involvement with schooling. Agency was manifested through the engagement of administration, fighting to send or keep their children from attending certain schools, and through the retainment of cultural ties when most institutions sought to eradicate them. The repeated use of individual agency by the parents and the students themselves over time supports the belief that Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples (among others) valued and expected to attain education, even if they had to fight for it.

Federal reports and other correspondence of the period by government representatives often exhibited themes that shaped Indians as wards needing protection and training for placement in wage labor suited to their perceived limited abilities. For example, in a 1923 letter by Joseph E. Otis, an appointee to the Indian Affairs Advisory Council, to Hubert Work, the Secretary of the Interior, Otis advises that while education is the key to "weaning the Indians from their protectorate," the emphasis should be on "industrial education." Girls were taught cooking and housekeeping because this type of training would result in more job placements, whether students graduated or not.[50] Otis

also argued, "generally speaking, the Indian is not qualified to take care of himself if left unprotected."[51] The language throughout the letter and its supporting documents frame Natives as dependents and the school system as one whose objective should be to provide the Native women proficiencies to obtain low skill, low pay wage work, as they were not expected to graduate. In a 1930 report, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs argued, "If in work lies the salvation of the Indian race, the effort to awake his ambition, to enlist his interest, to form his habits must commence at an early age."[52] Throughout their reports and correspondences, federal agencies and their representatives restated their objectives to prepare and develop the "individual as will fit him to become a self-dependent and worthy citizen," one that met Anglo-American norms of individuality and was not reliant on the government for support, thereby earning their citizenship.[53] In this structure, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy would be viewed as wards, in need of white protection and guidance to obtain the skills for low wage-paying jobs. Understandably, people holding such views of Native attributes would consider Native women's graduation from high school and subsequent enrollment in college to be quite unexpected.

Federal reports also often referred to Native populations as people from another time and foreign Others. The 1923 Otis letter discussed the "often asked" question of whether the "Indian [was] a vanishing race."[54] It also noted that, while the "Indian Problem" was "an old one," it could be addressed through a focused consideration of "white people who are sincerely interested in Indians and their welfare."[55] In an example of discourse that framed Indians as Others, in the foreword of the 1930 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the language that discussed Native concepts of land

ownership clearly delineated American Indians as separated from whites. "*His* [Indians] conception of property and ownership is not the same as *ours* [whites]," the report read.[56] In structuring "him" versus "us" language, the federal government reinforced ideas of separateness and the Otherness of Natives.

Contributing to white expectations that Native women would likely not attend college during the early twentieth century was the lack of academic rigor in Indian schooling and beliefs in the inability of Native students to achieve a high level of academics. Numerous scholarly works have discussed the low level of academic attainment for many Native students, how the OIA specifically structured its curriculum around vocational schooling during this time, and how prevailing attitudes presumed the abilities of Indians to be lesser than whites.[57] The low expectations of academic achievement by the OIA for Native students became manifested through inadequately qualified instructors, limited attention and resources towards academic instruction, and outdated materials. As part of the assimilationist agenda, federal schooling efforts sought to create workers for low wage occupations. In addition to the vocational emphasis and the low level of academics provided to most Indian students, some educators at the time justified these conditions through ideologies that supported the inferiority of Native populations, often entrenched within the Office of Indian Affairs-Education (OIE) division itself. Estelle Reel, the Superintendent of Indian schools from 1898-1910 argued that Indian children were inferior to white children in both physical and mental abilities.[58] Even the "longtime Indian reformer," John Collier, who was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933 supported educational policies that argued Native students were

unable to use college for anything but entry into work at the OIA.[59] Several intelligence tests prior to 1935 also seemed to confirm opinions of lower abilities of Native students compared to whites.[60] With historically low levels of academic achievement and deep-rooted ideologies of Indian inability to reach higher levels of education, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's advancement to two different colleges would likely have been unexpected by the public at large.

Another vehicle that constructed white expectations of Indians during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was media. As American Indians represented such a small percentage of the population, visions of who Indians were would often be fashioned from representations found in film, magazines, and performances.[61] In *Indians in Unexpected Places*, Philip J. Deloria analyzes depictions of Natives in media and argues that various forms of Indian representation in films, sports, music, and Wild West shows created shared expectations by whites for Natives as "primitive" people working their way up the evolutionary ladder.[62] Performances most often represented Native people in costume and dealt with historical themes or concepts from a white perspective. These images became widespread and the general public eagerly consumed them. These representations, although popular in the early twentieth century, would ultimately reinforce the "people from another time" mentality though. With little to no representation of Natives in contemporary settings, it was easy for white society to confine Indians to the past. Warren, Caudell, and Murphy also played into this paradox. By performing in Native style garb they tapped into the public interest in their Indianness and benefitted from it, but these representations would also reinforce the stereotypes and

uninformed ideas many had about Native women and constrict them ideologically within the public's eye.

In constructing white expectations for Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, we must also consider the structure of the everyday and modernity. By "everyday," I turn to anthropologist Thomas Biolsi's discussion in "Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation." Biolsi defines everyday to include the "mundane, habituated, and taken-for-granted daily routines that compose" many Native experiences. While these experiences are not active movements of "critical consciousness," they are still laden with power and politics.[63] I turn to Deloria for his description of modernity as reflecting "several transformations: new aesthetic practices (which some might name modernism), which sought to represent and experience the 'newness' and fluidity of the societies created by industrial capitalism, urbanization, and mass consumption." He goes on to argue that modernity "aims towards liberation, freedom, autonomy, enlightenment, and reason" and "offers spaces and rationales for the making of new identities and practices."[64]

As Native people, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's everyday involved a "complexity" that was infused with "density."[65] Métis scholar Chris Anderson further describes "density" as "constituted through the numerous subject positions which [Nativeness] occupies in its modernity."[66] It goes beyond concepts of intersectionality to include the lived-in experiences of Natives as working "within and against oppression."[67] Through embracing the density in the everyday world, Native ways of being can be brought to light. The normative framework of expectation argued that Native people were

required to work through consecutive stages of the developmental hierarchy of social evolution before they could become modernized. Assimilationists used this mode of thinking and maintained that signs of modernity in Native populations were signs of progress.[68] They perceived the replacement of the old with the new. Biolsi argues that this is not the case as traditions are not "automatically or necessarily 'replaced' by their uptake of American popular culture, any more than learning a second language means forgetting the first."[69] Deloria finds that Natives used white "expectations to gain entrée into positions in which they were able to participate in shaping the particular form of the modern."[70] So while Warren, Caudell, and Murphy represented Indianness in ways that supported stereotypes, they also navigated the everyday in ways that involved power and pushed back against white expectations to help shape their forms of modernity.

Several high profile Native women in that era used white expectations to gain access to various venues. They include Ataloa (Chickasaw), Mourning Dove (Interior Salish), Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee), Te Ata (Chickasaw), and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Yankton Dakota Sioux), to name a few.[71] These women used demonstrations of Indianness to garner audiences and in turn, used their platforms to publicize and promote Native causes. They worked within white expectations by dressing in pan-Indian styles and at times, offering generalized Native songs and dances. In turn, they would repudiate white expectations through articulate speeches, discussions of their educational attainment, and the reproduction of classic art. These women opened the pathways for Warren, Caudell, and Murphy to present themselves in ways that reinforced stereotypes while demonstrating that participating in the expected also created opportunities. These

women also represented a Native cosmopolitanism and modernity that Warren, Caudell, and Murphy could aspire to.

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories reveal that they did not operate in a state of perpetual display of a white-constructed form of Nativeness and were truly cosmopolitan in their daily lives. The women adapted and reacted creatively to multiple environments. That they successfully navigated the world in ways that defied and reinforced white expectations of Native women prompts us to consider the power dynamics in such acts. In *Who Belongs? Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South,* historian Mikaëla M. Adams examines concepts of belonging, tribal citizenship, and identity. She argues that if Indians made decisions that did not "conform to American expectations of 'Indianness,' they risk[ed] losing recognition of their sovereignty." She found that tribes used various methods to reflect a political identity of "Indian" to "bolster their tribal sovereignty."[72] She goes on to argue that "turn-of-the-century white Americans widely believed that Indians were a 'vanishing race' doomed to extinction" and that Native populations were in such a state of decline that there would soon be "no 'real' Indians left."[73] This then shaped Indianness as a form of property that "endowed its holders with certain rights and benefits" but only held its value as long as the "outsiders" recognized it as worthy.[74] Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's complex everyday experiences involved decisions to participate in school and work activities in ways that both challenged and met the cultural expectations of Indianness. The women did not conform to cultural expectancies in attending a four-year, mostly white Baptist college, but by performing in pan-Indian style costumes, they did. With the popularity of

Indian arts, performances, and cultures there were calls for demonstrations of their Nativeness within the domain of the larger predominately white culture. While perhaps not functioning in modes of "critical consciousness," the women used their political identities of Indian to take advantage of opportunities that opened for them because of it. Viewing the expectations of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy in light of the power relations that existed between Native people and the United States during the early twentieth century uncovers what was truly anomalous and what was everyday in their lives.

Reframing Two-Worlds

The most important form of discourse in American Indian history that Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories push back against is the "two-worlds" trope. In their 2014 edited volume, *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, historians James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa advise that although some recent scholars have eschewed this terminology, it continues to persevere in American society. They explain that in both academic scholarship and popular culture Native people are frequently portrayed as being "trapped between worlds," required to "walk between worlds" to survive, or merely existing "in two worlds."[75] Vine Deloria Jr., a leading American Indian intellectual of the twentieth century, refers to this use of language for Native people as "nonsensical scholarly dribble."[76] Buss and Genetin-Pilawa argue that this creates a "bifurcated language of settler colonialism" through the creation of "paradoxes and paradigms" that are not easily deconstructed. They go on to state that this lexicon has penetrated beyond the scope of

colonialist language and has been internalized by Native people. As a result, this has created a world "fraught with expectations" that Native people must then navigate.[77] It also reinforces a way of operating that works on the "recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences."[78] These expectations reflect a world of binaries, for example, then and now, traditional versus modern, or White versus Other, which obscure a reality where both can and do coexist. In the cases of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, dismantling the "two-worlds" trope demonstrates how they navigated their everyday. They did this not by occupying separate states of being but as parts of their individual wholes. Warren, Caudell, and Murphy did not become distinctly separate beings when they went to Indian institutions or performed in Indian garb and transform into other separate beings when participating in non-Native activities. Rather, they lived singularly modern Native lives.

Native Women's History Matters

As historian Margaret A. Nash posits, "Too few histories of education say much about the education of any women – and even less about the education of women of color or other marginalized groups."[79] This omission has real-world implications. It sends the message that contemporary girls' lives are not meaningful and that women's history, whether viewed as exceptional or mundane, is not valuable. Native women's histories, in particular, are missing from the public record. Despite the dearth of references that have existed, some women actively pursued education, and it is these stories that scholars have yet to explore.

While the history of women's education continues to remain under-researched, the educational experiences of Native women, in particular, have been "hidden from history."[80] Historian Theda Purdue argues that a "major challenge" in the study of Native American women has been the "role of the individual." Sources have been primarily silent on Native women, and when they do appear in documentary records, they are "usually nameless" and condemned to "anonymity." In the cases of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, we can "ferret out enough information to present outlines and interpretations of their lives."[81] This analysis reveals the common threads that link their histories while also providing a sample of the diversity that existed across Native American societies. Purdue also states that it is through the details of individual lives that Native people become humanized for an "audience that too often regards Indians as homogeneous, one-dimensional relicts of the past."[82] The specific histories of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy also serve to "personalize and feminize" the history of Native America and help close the informational gaps in Native and women's history that have been in existence for far too long.[83]

Historians Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy suggest that there is a "general need to rewrite early American history to center Native experiences and perspectives, and a similar need for the revision of Native history to include women." They also urge researchers to "study the lives of urban Native women" and to seek out "previously invisible Indians."[84] In their discussion of Native women's history, Kugel and Murphy emphasize that we must assume that "what women did was important." They encourage scholars to "shift [their] gaze" from "violence, speeches, and gallantry" to

"social history" emphasizing the lives of ordinary people. In changing the focus to the social, we can more readily locate the women. Whether they are evident in the record or not, women were present in most societies. If they are "invisible," Kugel and Eldersveld advise "we can look for clues to their existence." We are to "find out and mention women's names" whenever possible.[85]

While Perdue reminds us that more work is necessary to identify Native women, Kugel and Eldersveld are explicit that "Names are important." Identities are intertwined with names. "Recovering" and revealing the names of Native women in histories can be a "necessary correction to the tendency of Anglo-American writers to erase identities of all Native people."[86] Illuminating Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's individual and personal narratives contribute to this corrective measure and also allows for an understanding of the different and mutual threads that connect Native histories. It is for these reasons that I have elected to use the real names of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and their families versus pseudonyms. I do this to bring light to distinct Native women and their specific contributions to American Indian history. I also wish to avoid the reproduction of colonial agendas that seek to eliminate Native voices from the historical narrative and give attention to the individual Native women in the historical record.

Roadmap

To fully explore how Evelyn Warren (Ojibwe), Cleo Caudell (Choctaw), and Ruth Murphy (Cherokee), took advantage of a moment of both opportunity and paradox this dissertation is broken down into seven sections. Chapter One serves as an

introduction to the women and the topics of discussion. It also lays the foundations for the chapters to come. Chapter Two provides foundational support through a discussion of the historiography of American Indian education. It also discusses the conceptual framework and methodologies used to analyze historical context and lived experiences of the women.

Chapter Three discusses Native expectations and the opening of pathways to college for Native students in the 1930s. Through brief histories of Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples, tribal values and expectations are demonstrated for Native women. By applying these to Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, along with consideration for their personal experiences, understandings of what was expected of them by themselves, their families, and other Natives can be seen and contrasted with what was expected of them by whites.

Chapter Four looks at the early lives of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and illustrates how they represent unique educational and cultural experiences. It also shows how they grew up during a time of significant transition and change in Indian education. We also examine their families' backgrounds and gain insight into how and where Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were situated both physically and culturally during their early years. By uncovering both the everyday and the unexpected histories of the women's primary and secondary education, we are positioned to understand their college experiences and view the opportunities opening up for them.

Chapter Five examines college life for the women at two separate institutions and discusses how options became available for them that many others did not have. All three

women attended Bacone (Indian) College and the University of Redlands, but their times there were different. Their goals and achievements, as well as how they displayed Indianness while at the schools, also differed. However, messages regarding options remained consistent across the three women. Educated Native women were directed towards specific fields of work, and pathways were created to transport them there. Most often, the career tracks laid out for Indian women lead them directly to the OIA.

Chapter Six discusses the post-college careers of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and how they navigated their time with the Office of Indian Affairs. While the women operated in a society that promoted individualism, it continued to see them only as part of a group of foreign Others. Despite the external constraints that formed their lived experiences, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy used the skills, knowledge, and enterprise developed over their lifetimes to successfully maneuver the limited opportunities that opened up to them to ultimately create impactful lives.

Chapter Seven closes the dissertation with a brief discussion of how the narratives of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and their families reveal new insight into three Native educational experiences in the 1930s. The women's unique and shared experiences, and how college shaped their career choices are reviewed. Their career paths are highlighted, and once again, common and diverging threads discussed. The section closes with a summary of the work and a reminder of the importance of research on Native American women's history and recommendations for areas of future study.

Using the life stories Evelyn Warren (Ojibwe), Cleo Caudell (Choctaw), and Ruth Murphy (Cherokee), I have constructed a narrative that gives insight into the ways that three Native women navigated a time of paradox and opportunity. As cosmopolitan women, they were able to adapt and adjust to different situations and cultures. They were also capable of taking advantage of education in ways that many Native women before and after them could not. Warren, Caudell, and Murphy upheld public expectancies through performances of their Indianness but also resisted white expectations through their academic accomplishments. Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's stories illuminate how three American Indian women navigated a limited window of opportunity and encourage further examination of the experiences of Native women before, after, and during this time to expand our understandings of what was truly expected and what was extraordinary.

Notes

1. Thomas Biolsi, "Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 81 (emphasis in original).

2. As Anthropologist Frances Densmore noted, "Chippewa" is a comparatively modern term but it is the only name by which the United States government used in treaties and other interactions with the tribe. Warren, the schools, and other agencies she dealt with during her lifetime referred to her tribal association as "Chippewa." This term was never widely adopted by members with "Ojibwe" being a preferred nomenclature. Many tribal members also refer to themselves as "Anishinaabeg." Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, vol 86, (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 2009). For more, see Rebecca Kugel, *To be the Main Leaders of our People: A History of Minnesota Ojibwe Politics, 1825-1898* (East Lansing: MSU Press, 2012); Harold Hickerson, *The Chippewa and Their Neighbors: A Study in Ethnohistory* (New York: Ardent Media, 1985); William Whipple Warren, *History of the Ojibway People* (Canada: Minnesota Historical Society, 2009).

3. For the purposes of this paper, I use the terms *American Indian, Indian, Indigenous American, Native Americas*, and *Native* interchangeably throughout to refer to the indigenous people of what is now the United States. When possible, I use specific tribal names. The terms *woman* and *girl* are used synonymously, not an indicator of age or status, but to indicate a person who identifies as or is identified by others as female.

4. The text of this dissertation, in part or in full, is a reprint of the material as it appears in Jennifer Talerico-Brown's, "From Haskell to Hawaii: One American Indian Woman's Educational Journey," in *Women's Higher Education in the United States: New Historical Perspectives*, ed. Margaret A. Nash (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 185-210.

5. "Cosmopolitan," Merriam-Webster, Aug. 19, 2019, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/cosmopolitan.

6. The Secretary of War John C. Calhoun administratively established the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) on March 11, 1824, to oversee and carry out the Federal government's trade and treaty relations with Native tribes. In 1947, the name "Bureau of Indian Affairs" (BIA) was formally adopted. Both before and after this date, it was variously referred to as the Indian Office, the Indian Bureau, the Indian Department, Indian Affairs, and Indian Services. Indian Education fell under the purview of the Office of Indian Affairs and was also known as the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE).

7. Willard Beatty, U.S. Indian Service, Education Branch, *Indian Education 164*, April 15, 1948 (Washington, DC), 2-3.

8. Willard Beatty, U.S. Indian Service, Education Branch, *Indian Education 211*, Sept. 15, 1951 (Washington, DC), 7.

9. Bobby Wright and William G. Tierney, "American Indians in Higher Education: A History of Cultural Conflict," *Change* 23, no. 2 (1991): 17.

10. Henry G. Badger, Frederick J. Kelly, and Walter J. Greenleaf, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Education, *Statistics of Higher Education, 1935-36*, IV vol. II, bulletin, 1937, no. 2 (Washington, DC): 4.

11. *Bacone College Bulletin: Annual Catalog, 1932-33, 35-36*, Bacone College (Bacone, OK: 1933, 36).

12. By 1937, Bacone owned $500,000 in property and had $300,000 in finding. Regular sponsors that provided money, books, and financial scholarships at that time included the National Confederated Council of Women's Clubs, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Grand Council Fire of the American Indians, the American Indian League, and the State Federation of Women's Clubs. Lisa K. Neuman*, Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 92-93.

13. Neuman*, Indian Play*, 81.

14. David Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration, 1915-1940* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 185-86.

15. U.S. Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, Statistics of Higher Education 1937-1938, Bulletin 1940, No. 2, Chapter IV, 8.

16. U.S. Office of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 13.

17. Levine, *The American College and the Culture of Aspiration,* 188.

18. Levine, 195-96.

19. Levine, 202.

20. Margaret A. Nash and Lisa S. Romero, "'Citizenship for the College Girl:' Challenges and Opportunities in Higher Education for Women in the United States in the

1930s," *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 2 (2012): 7. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 27.

21. Nash and Romero, "Citizenship for the College Girl," 26.

22. Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 128-29.

23. David Wallace Adams. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 28-29. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1909* (Washington, DC), 89.

24. Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

25. For more on federal Indian education, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Cary Michael Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Lisa K. Neuman, *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014); Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).

26. The use of the descriptive "Indian Problem" became popular in the late 19th century in response to Anglo-American frustrations with Native resistance to assimilation. The term became commonplace and frequently tied to anti-Indian measures during the late 18th and early 20th centuries. For more discussion on the "Indian Problem," see Susan Scheckel, *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Rennard Strickland, "Indian Law and Policy: The Historian's Viewpoint," *Wash. L. Rev.* 54 (1978): 475-478. For an interesting look at how the New York Times editorial discussed the "Indian Problem," see Robert G. Hays, *A Race at Bay: New York Times Editorials on the Indian Problem, 1860-1900* (Carbondale: SIU Press, 1997).

27. For more on the troubling conditions at many boarding schools, see Adams, *Education for Extinction*; Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000); Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity Since 1892* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); Child, *Boarding School* Seasons; Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Pipestone: My*

Life in an Indian Boarding School (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Sally McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983); Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc, eds. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History,* eds. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, (New York: Routledge, 1990): 224-37; Robert A. Trennert Jr,, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

28. Jon Allan Reyhner, and Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 107.

29. Szasz, *Education and the American* Indian, 101-104. For more on racism in public schools, see Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993); Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted* Eagle (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Joseph Edward Otis, *Report on Indian Affairs,* 1923; Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*.

30. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1928* (Washington, DC), 13.

31. Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*; George S. McClellan, Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, and Shelly C. Lowe, "Where we Have Been: A History of Native American Higher Education," *New Directions for Student Services* 109, no. 7 (2005): 7-15; Neuman, *Indian Play*; Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*.

32. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Fiscal Year 1930 (*Washington, DC), 11-12.

33. Henry C. Vedder, *A Short History of Baptist Missions* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1927): 452-3. The Five Tribes were the Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole Nations.

34. Vedder, *A Short History of Baptist Missions*, 452.

35. Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

36. Vedder, 454-5.

37. Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*; Coleman, *American Indian Children at School;* Otis, *Report on Indian Affairs;* Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*.

38. Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 144.

39. Whalen, *Native Students at Work,* 53. For further discussion, see Wibert Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service," *Ethnohistory* 44 (Spring 1997): 263–304; Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers*; Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*; Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898– 1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); Anne Ruggles-Gere, "Indian Heart/White Man's Head: Native American Teachers in the Indian Schools, 1880– 1930," in *History of Education Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (Summer 2005): 38– 65.

40. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 18-19.

41. Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); 114.

42. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers,* 111.

43. Cahill, 222.

44. Neuman, 115.

45. Neuman*,* 115-6.

46. Whalen, *Native Students at Work,* 142.

47. Whalen, 190.

48. Whalen, 144.

49. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 11.

50. Otis, *Report on Indian Affairs,* 6-7.

51. Otis, 13.

52 Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Fiscal Year 1930,* 13.

53. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Fiscal Year 1929 (*Washington, DC), 5.

54. Otis, 24.

55. Otis, 1 and 3.

56. Department of the Interior, 1930, 1. (emphasis added).

57. For work that discusses these issues, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas,1995); Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000; Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*; Carey Michael Carney, *Native American Education in the United States* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1999); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930;* David H. DeJong, *Promises of the Past: A History of Indian Education in the United States* (Golden: North American Press, 1993); Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Pipestone: My Life in an Indian Boarding School* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, eds. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016); Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Neuman*, Indian Play*. Reyhner, Allan, and Eder, *American Indian Education;* Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*; Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008); Whalen, *Native Students at Work*.

58. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian schools, 1898–1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996): 5-31.

59. Whalen, 125 and 144.

60. Robert J. Havighurst, "Education among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311, no. 1 (1957): 110.

61. According to the 1930 census, less than .3 percent of the total United States population was identified as Native. "The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska," Fifteenth Census of the United States, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 5.

62. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 15.

63. Thomas Biolsi, "Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 77.

64. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places,* 285-86.

65. Biolsi, "Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation," 77.

66. Chris Andersen, "Critical Indigenous Studies: From Difference to Density," *Cultural Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (2009): 92.

67. Biolsi, 77.

68. Deloria, 13-14.

69. Biolsi, 81.

70. Deloria, 14.

71. For work on other notable Native women, see Gretchen M. Bataille and Laurie Lisa, eds., *Native American Women: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Routledge, 2003); John M. Rhea, *A Field of Their Own: Women and American Indian History, 1830–1941* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); Susan Ware, *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary Completing the Twentieth Century*. Vol. 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

72. Mikaëla M. Adams, *Who Belongs?: Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 4-5.

73. Adams, *Who Belongs,* 12.

74. Adams, 13.

75. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, eds. *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014), 1-2.

76. Vine Deloria, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

77. Buss and Genetin-Pilawa, *Beyond Two Worlds,* 4.

78. Homi K. Bhabha, "The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," *Literature Politics & Theory*, pp. 168-192. Routledge, 2013, 23. Bhabha goes on to explain that the strategic function of this apparatus is the "creation of a space for a 'subject peoples' through the production of knowledges in terms of which surveillance is exercised and a complex form of pleasure/unpleasure is incited. It seeks authorisation for its strategies by the production of knowledges of coloniser and colonized which are stereotypical but antithetically evaluated."

79. "Nash on Why Women's History Matters," #SocSciMatters: Championing Original and Authoritative Research, Palgrave Macmillan, accessed January 6, 2019, https://www.palgrave.com/la/social-science-matters/nash-on-why-women-s-history-matters.

80. Sheila Rowbotham, *Hidden From History: 300 Years of Women's Oppression and the Fight Against It* (London: Pluto Press, 1977).

81. Theda Purdue, preface to *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives,* ed. Theda Purdue (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), v.

82. Purdue, *Sifters*, 5.

83. Purdue, v.

84. These include Natives living "on the margins in eastern North America." Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, eds. *Native Women's History in Eastern North*

America Before 1900: A Guide To Research and Writing (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xxvii.

85. Kugel and Murphy, *Native Women's History in Eastern North America Before 1900,* xxvi.

86. Kugel and Murphy, xxviii.

Chapter 2: Historiography, Conceptual Framework, and Methodologies

Increasing Awareness: Changing the Historical Narrative Around American Indian Women

The "strategic use of multiple forms of knowledge generates power that is situated, dynamic, and historically influenced."[1]

This study builds on the existing historiography on American Indian education to examine three Native women's experiences in higher education during a time of paradox and opportunity. To understand the women's narratives, I use this historical canon in tandem with various conceptual frameworks and methodologies in the analysis of both primary and secondary sources. Using these tools, the lives and experiences of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy take on depth and importance, and their place in the historiography of American Indian education is made evident.

Historiography

To craft a full picture of Native schooling experiences, I used the broader scope of American Indian education as the center of my inquiry. Although the field is growing, historical literature primarily examines boarding schools and educational policies for the primary and secondary levels. As the effects of boarding schools have been devastating and far-reaching for many Native people, they are crucial to understanding the history of American Indian education and have dominated much of the discussion. Within many of the works on boarding schools and other forms of Indian education are discussions of gendered education. A primary mission of federally run schools was to assimilate Native

children into white society, so Anglo-American norms around gender were an essential element of their programs. From classroom structures to course offerings, Native girls learned that it was in their best interest to fulfill specific roles in households and communities. For this work, boarding school narratives and gendered education within federal schooling provide an understanding of the view of Indian education for Native women, and in Caudell's case, in particular, they provide insight into her early schooling experiences at an Indian boarding school.

This historiography also includes works that discuss female Indian seminaries. They provide glimpses into the unique experiences at these institutions and prompt us to consider how this type of schooling may have shaped ideas around education for Native women in ways that were similar to and different from federal schools. These works offer views and experiences that go beyond the boarding school narratives and also speak to Indian women's agency and their abilities to influence their communities. This area is especially relevant for Murphy as several of her family members attended Indian seminaries so, their ideologies and expectations may have played a role in Murphy's schooling.

Works that address Indian education broadly or are indirectly related to the topic of Native education are also useful in understanding Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories. While Native higher education has received some attention through discussions of the topic widely, there are a few works that discuss higher education specifically. These narratives help provide context and framework for viewing Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's time at college in general and Bacone particularly. Several of the texts that

review American Indian education broadly buoys awareness of the different forms of higher education made available for Native students over time.

Tangentially, there have also been some notable works done on the history of Native wage labor and Indians working for the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA). These contribute to the field of American Indian educational history and specifically in viewing the career trajectories of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. Lastly, there has been growing attention given to discourses on Native agency, identity, and power in a historical context. These types of analyses are essential to viewing Warren, Caudell, and Murphy as actors with forms of agency and power in determining their education and careers during a unique time in history.

Searching for women in the historiography on American Indian education exposes several recurring topics that cut across many of the works. Much of the material includes ideas of acculturation, assimilation, and tribal identity. Gendered education at various institutions is also often discussed, typically framed under the ideology of the "cult of true womanhood," which feminist scholarship has challenged. Scholars such as Anne Douglas contest the notion that women enthusiastically pursued an ideal of "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity."[2] Frances B. Cogan argues that, while some women may have adhered to the "stereotype of the fragile maiden," many others "advocated a pattern by which 'real women'" could "guide their lives." Cogan explains that there was a "popular ideal" that women used to "cope with the world around them." This ideal "advocated intelligence, physical fitness and health, self-sufficiency, economic self-reliance, and careful marriage," what Cogan describes as a "survival ethic."[3] Fasih ur

Rehmen and Yasir Hussain argue that the "pseudo-exaltation of Victorian woman to the status of True Womanhood served the Victorian man's purpose efficiently." They go on to state, "it appears that the whole idea of the True Womanhood was merely propaganda. The propaganda campaign was launched to materialize the hegemonic designs of Victorian patriarchy."[4] While Indian schools may indeed have taught the concepts of piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity, it is clear that not all Native women, including Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, followed the "dictates of passive, sheltered, and fragile True Womanhood very convincingly."[5]

Accounts of Indian women's seminaries provide an emphasis on women's experiences but are limited in number and depth, as are specific discussions of Native higher education and access. Work on Native labor and forms of agency buttress this body of scholarly material but are not the primary focus. As this historiography shows, the scholarship in the field of the history of American Indian education is growing. It has provided some critical work on the topic, but few touches upon women in any detail, and none centers on women's specific experiences at non-Indian universities. I use these works as foundations, though, to help inform and guide me in developing a historical narrative of three American Indian women that expands the current historiography in new and exciting ways.

Boarding schools

To date, studies of federal boarding schools have been the prevailing narratives in the historiography of American Indian education.[6] From seminal studies such as David

Wallace Adams's *Education for Extinction* to more contemporary works like Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose's *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*, they have provided frameworks for understanding boarding school experiences for many Native students and their families.[7] While the subject is essential to the field of American Indian education, the preponderance of work on boarding schools has created a narrow view of Indian education. It has become an almost singular lens from which Native education in United States history survey textbooks is viewed.

Through examining this body of work, context for how the federal government constructed Native education, and the entrenched views that did not necessarily disappear after reforms that began in the late 1920s are made apparent. This body also provides context for Caudell's early education as she attended Haskell Institute, a federally managed Indian boarding school, and was therefore immersed in federal ideologies of Indian education during her youth. It also gives some insight into Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences at Bacone College as the school worked directly with the federal government in the preparation of Indian teachers at rural Indian schools and aligned itself with some of the federal Indian education goals.

Whether located on or off reservations, boarding schools were the primary mode of transmitting formal education to American Indians from the mid-nineteenth century well into the twentieth. Instructors were often white, with their students representing differing American Indian tribes. These schools typically reflected military-like configurations and anti-Indian cultures. Attendance requirements varied from voluntary

to mandatory, depending on the location and period of time. Although many students did not share a language, they were prohibited from speaking their native tongue while in attendance at these schools. By removing a majority of the American Indian children from their homes and families and placing them in boarding schools both physically and culturally distant from the students' own, the federal government sought to indoctrinate Indians into the concepts of what it meant to be a civilized American. From its inception, the boarding school movement became the norm for federally run American Indian formal education, and not surprisingly, the historiography follows suit.

Seminal works on formal education for American Indians include David Wallace Adams's *Education for Extinction*. Adams discusses how government-financed Indian boarding schools from 1875 to 1928 were used as tools for the assimilation process of American Indian children into 'American' ways of being.[8] Another, K. Tsianina Lomawaima's *They Called it Prairie Light* explores the theme of the boarding school as a source of cultural transmission and assimilation tactics but also addresses the agency of the students at the Chilocco Indian school from 1920 to 1940.[9] Another important book in the field of American Indian education is Brenda J. Child's *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*. She, like her two predecessors, focuses her attention on boarding schools but emphasizes the emotional toll the schools had on both the students and their families.[10]

Considered a seminal study of the boarding school experience, Adams looks at how education was considered the central feature of developing federal Indian policies intent on eliminating cultures viewed as Native. As recipients of "proper education,"

Indian children were to be the instruments by which concepts of civilized behavior were to be transmitted to other Indian people. Adams shows how the endeavor failed to meet its objectives through both the lack of financial support from the United States Congress and through the resistance of the students to abandon all vestiges of their cultural traditions. Adams also discusses the experiences of the students, their responses to assimilation efforts, and what occurred after they returned to their homes.

Other works in the field of American Indian education support Adams's assertions and provide additional views. *They Called it Prairie Light* is similar to Adams' book. The primary focus of the narrative is boarding school experiences; however, Lomawaima concentrates on a single site, the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma, rather than illustrating commonalities across multiple locations as Adams did. Again like Adams, the theme of the boarding school as a source of cultural transmission and assimilation tactics is explored, but Lomawaima is primarily concerned with the agency of the Indian students of the Chilocco Indian school from 1920 through 1940. She argues that the school "strengthened rather than dissolved tribal identity" and the "school society envisioned in federal policy often bore little resemblance to reality."[11]

Another significant book in the field of American Indian education is Child's *Boarding School Seasons*. She also focuses her attention on boarding schools. Using letters from parents, children, and school officials, Child examines how a boarding school in Kansas, another in South Dakota, and a third in Minnesota affected families of its students. Child emphasizes the emotional toll the schools had on both the boarding school students and their families, finding that students at boarding schools were "frequently

rebellious."[12] The profound changes to Native families as a result of their involvement with a boarding school are of primary concern to Child. Common boarding school themes such as forms of control, assimilation practices, and inadequate facilities run throughout the book. However, her work also brings to light the emotional impacts on the families. While each boarding school text has a slightly different center of focus, collectively, they speak to the methods of acculturation and assimilation used in the boarding schools and how they impacted identity for the students and their families for multiple generations.

Some of the more recent texts examine other facets of boarding schools, including positive experiences, identity, and personal narratives, but the larger picture of Native schooling "remains bleak."[13] Several of the newer monographs include: Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc's edited volume *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences;* Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose's collection of essays and poems in *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*; and Myriam Vučković's *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928.*[14] *Boarding School Blues* provides a collection of essays that continue to expand the boarding school narratives to include both positive and negative experiences. As David Wallace Adams argues in his essay "Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," the "picture historians have painted of Indian boarding schools has generally been a bleak one," but there is a "less dismal side of the boarding school story."[15] Adams sought out how and why some students looked back upon their boarding school experiences as "rewarding and even joyful."[16] While a variance on the boarding school archetype,

discussions that emphasize positive aspects of Indian schooling experiences continue to remain the minority.

Carlisle Indian Industrial School provides alternatives to existing boarding school themes through the use of essays, songs, and poems. The voices of students' families, scholars, poets, and activists reflect Carlisle's continuing impact on Native people connected to the institution. The book developed from a symposium on Carlisle held October 2012 to provide new and greater understandings of the industrial school, its students, and the generations of people impacted by the school, and to offer hope for healing for generations to come. Although *Carlisle Indian Industrial School* is an important addition to the historiography on Indian education, it ultimately strengthens boarding school's dominance in the narratives of what constituted Native education.

Like Child, Vučković's *Voices from Haskell* uses written resources from the students themselves to explore their experiences and provide an intimate view of the Haskell Institute from 1884-1928 and is particularly relevant to my work as Cleo Caudell was in attendance at Haskell during a portion of this time period. According to Vučković, students' entry at Haskell meant that they were "entering a world that had very little in common" with their home lives.[17] Vučković argues that the "philosophy and purpose of Haskell Institute had remained constant" over the time period of examination, to "destroy indigenous cultures and to elevate Indian children from the 'savagery' of their people's past to a brighter future of American citizenship and civilization."[18] Vučković explains that despite this intent, by the early twentieth-century, student and parent interest in Haskell's program was growing. Like other boarding school narratives, many students at

Haskell endured troubling events, but so many students applied from 1900-1920 that the school had to turn away students. Whether it was an economic consideration for students and their families facing poverty, lack of a local school, racism, a result of Haskell's promotional efforts, or the belief that formal education would position students to succeed, the school continued to grow and expand their offerings during the beginning of the twentieth century.

For Caudell, attendance at Haskell was a voluntary proposition. As Vučković describes, though, "no matter what their background or initial motivation was, once the children left home, they embarked on an unknown and oftentimes frightening journey into a new world."[19] According to Vučković, Caudell was exposed to an ideology of transformation. Through various systems of management such as militaristic student hierarchies and a demerit system, students would police themselves and one another. As a willing participant, Caudell seems to have absorbed the messages Haskell endorsed. These included the Anglo-American concepts of obedience, patriotism, the Protestant work ethic, and the "crusade for civilization" based on English proficiency.[20]

Haskell also provided what Vučković refers to as an "environment more 'Indian' than anything they [mixed-blood and those who had not grown up in a reservation] had previously experienced."[21] As Caudell's father was white and the Caudell family lived on his farm surrounded by his relatives, this would most likely have been her experience. It exposed Caudell to a "multitude of tribal cultures" and would have expanded her Native networks. Her increased "ethnic awareness" would go on to assist in her transition to Bacone and later to working with the OIA.[22]

While the emphasis for women students continued to be centered on domestic work, by the time of Caudell's attendance, Haskell's curriculum had diversified from earlier iterations to include nursing and business school offerings for qualified students. Caudell participated in domestic education programs, as all women students were required to, but went on to attend the commercial program after graduating high school. This program prepared students to take the United States Civil Service exam for positions such as "typists, stenographers, and clerks" with "practically all of" the graduates entering the "service of Uncle Sam."[23] As Vučković highlights, working for the OIA would have been an expected transition for Haskell graduates, including Caudell. Rather than applying to government service after graduating the program, though, Caudell did the unexpected and continued her education at Bacone College.

Boarding school narratives are essential to the historiography of American Indian education as they speak to many Native students' life-changing experiences through means of separation, isolation, monitoring, and loss of culture. They also explain how those experiences shaped multiple generations through the loss of Native ways of being, the loss of languages and connections to their communities, and the skills needed to survive in Native homes. Using these narratives to examine the broader socio and political climate of American Indian education just before and during the time period of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's education also provides context for understanding the ideologies of Native education at the time the women were in school. Nuanced, student-centered histories are crucial to having a fully formed understanding of Indian schooling

experiences. However, the prevalence of the boarding school narratives results in the reduction of the "Native experience to its worst common denominators." In doing so, they repeat the "Vanishing Indian" or "two-worlds" tropes that consign "Native people to misery and disappearance."[24]

Building upon boarding school narratives to view Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences illuminate their agency within educational systems that enabled them to take advantage of a limited window of opportunity. Rather than furthering the forced or damaging Indian school narratives, their histories represent alternative forms of education experienced by the women and their voluntary participation within them. Their narratives also push back against the "vanishing Indian" or "two-worlds" tropes often found in boarding school histories to consider how Native women navigated multiple schools, geographic locations, and cultures to attend and graduate from a multiplicity of institutions.

Gendered education

Some Native women's experiences exist within the historiography on American Indian education; however, the focus has been on gendered education within boarding schools.[25] The seminal works by Adams, Lomawaima, and Child discuss gender within the framework of the classrooms and coursework designed to separate and delineate school activities. Adams explains how boys were taught the "use of hammers and saws," while girls spent their time "learning to cook, clean, sew and care for poultry."[26] He also describes how off-reservation boarding schools offered a more extensive vocational

curriculum for the boys than on reservation schools, as the institutions were encouraged to be self-sustaining, and the tasks involved were predominantly boy-centered. Larger workloads of domestic tasks rather than a wider variety of courses were given to the girls at off-reservation boarding schools compared to their peers at on-reservations schools.

Adams also discusses how sexual relations between the boys and girls in the boarding schools were a large area of concern as students were kept under strict observation to prevent any sexual behavior from occurring. Adams elucidates how one primary objective of the boarding schools was to "reconstruct students' attitudes toward gender roles and sexual mores."[27] Using culturally constructed concepts of Indian women as "sq--ws" and subservient "beasts of burden" to their spouses, Adams tells how schools considered their goals to be transforming "Indian girls into bronze embodiments of Victorian womanhood" through the transmission of Anglo-American norms within the classrooms.[28] Adams argues, "As mothers of the next generation of Indian children, they needed to be taught the domestic skills of homemaking as well as their role as moral guardians in a Christian home."[29]

Lomawaima reiterates discussions of the separateness of curriculums but goes further than Adams in her discussion of women through a chapter focusing on the domestic training program developed for girls. She explores Chilocco's goals for female education and its implications for Indian women. She explains the "complete surveillance of and control over female Indian bodies within the schools" that took place and the "battleground of the body to construct the ideal Indian Woman" within it.[30] Lomawaima's work also addresses identity issues and how resistance and regimentation

informed student's identities. She argues that "boarding-school training for Indian girls in the arts of domesticity and rules of proper dress for women students reflect the power relations that permeated Chilocco."[31] Along with Lomawaima, Child also discusses the gendered structure of education, such as how boys received agricultural training while girls received domestic training, which provides support for the understanding of strict gendered norms in Indian schools.[32]

Although the book in its entirety merits inclusion in the historiography on American Indian education, a specific chapter from Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc's edited collection *Boarding School Blues*: *Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences (Indigenous Education)* warrants particular attention. Similar to Adams, Lomawaima, and Child, the book discusses boarding school experiences and students' agency. The specific chapter "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907–1925" by Katrina Paxton discusses how girls "learned gender" through the instructional emphasis of "pious, pure, obedient, selfless, meek, and clean" traits explicitly targeted at girls. [33] Similar to Adams, Lomawaima, and Child, the location of the history is a boarding school, and issues of assimilation and acculturation are explored, but Paxton looks explicitly at women's experiences within the school to examine gender construction at Sherman. Paxton argues, "in addition to the cultural assault on students, officials at Sherman tried to force the Protestant ideal of 'true womanhood' on Indian girls."[34] In her construction of true womanhood, Paxton argues that, under this ideology, good women were defined by their "characteristic traits of purity, obedience, domesticity, selflessness, sacrifice, personal cleanliness, meekness,

reverence of motherhood, and dedication of family."[35] She also indicates "life for girls at Sherman encouraged a transformation, one that did not stick to many Indian girls who came from leadership families or sought greater gender freedom after leaving the institute."[36]

Other more recent notable works such as Diana Meyers Bahr's *Viola Martinez: California Paiute Living in Two Worlds*; Michael C. Coleman's *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930;* Clyde Ellis's *To Change them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920;* and Jacqueline Fear-Segal's *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* all discuss, to a varying degree, gendered education in Native schooling.[37] Bahr's work looks at Viola Martinez (Paiute) and her experiences at Indian schools, including her time at the Sherman Institute, a federally run Indian boarding school. Martinez describes the regimented structure of students' schedules and how girls learned to cook, wash, iron, sew, and clean.[38] *American Indian Children at School* discusses the "half-and-half" schedules found in many federal schools. Coleman explains that these programs provided a half-day academic instruction with the remainder allocated for "physical labor appropriate to 'proper' gender roles" through courses in "'civilized' cooking, dressmaking, and other 'domestic arts'" for Native women.[39] In *To Change them Forever*, Ellis discusses how the Rainy Mountain boarding school "separated students by age and sex in all aspects of life in order to establish control, which was the hallmark of the school experience."[40] Fear-Segal's *White Man's Club* states that the gendered separation at the Santee Normal Training School should have a "familiar ring to anyone

who has read the scholarship or trawled through the archives of Indian schools" as girls "received practical training in housekeeping, while boys were taught how to farm."[41] While the focus and emphasis across these works vary, the familiar story of gendered education in Indian schooling is reaffirmed.

Understanding the gendered structures, language, and modes of Indian schooling provides a framework for viewing the white expectations placed on Warren, Caudell, and Murphy as Native women. The primary purpose of formal education for Native women in the early twentieth century by the federal government was to prepare them for domestic labor. Some opportunities did exist for qualified Native women though to pursue nursing, teaching, or business with emphasis given to working with the government upon completion, but few of these paths included college. Whether they personally experienced the ideologies directly or indirectly, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy deviated from the white constructed norms of Indian womanhood and sought out higher education. They also all circled back to meeting white expectations for their careers by going to work for the OIA.

Indian women's seminaries

Several alternative discussions of Native formal education include works on seminaries. Seminaries were schools generally built on tribal land with varying levels of tribal administration. They were commonly separated by gender with the student body made up of Native children from the local tribes and represented varying levels of academic rigor. In addition to expanding our understanding of American Indian formal

education, discussions of Indian female seminaries provide insight into environments that differ from boarding schools. Formative works include Devon A. Mihesuah's, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909.*[42] Mihesuah explores the creation of the Cherokee female seminary, its history, the curriculum, faculty, administration, and educational philosophies. Mihesuah shows how the various components of the seminary affected the women who attended the school from 1851-1909, with approximately thirty women transferring to Northeastern State Normal School to become teachers and "almost forty women" transferring to "colleges and universities elsewhere, although, only a dozen graduated" from these institutions.[43] According to Mihesuah, many seminary graduates went on to exert considerable influence in their communities through their work with social reform programs.

Mihesuah's work is also a study of acculturation, assimilation, and tribal identity while delving into the differences between progressive and traditional Cherokee peoples and the interactions between them. Mihesuah's work gives insight into how the school affected Cherokee cultural transitions, the shifting roles of women from matriarchal to patriarchal systems, and students' experiences with their tribe. She argues that while the seminary had a "stringent course of study," a typical graduate seeking work became a teacher or "eagerly" pursued careers with the government. She also explains how many middle and upper-class women did not "choose professions, usually because their husbands could support them." She attributes this partly to the fact that "few Cherokees (or white Americans) in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries advocated that

women be outspoken or individualistic."[44] Along with the "Progressive spirit," which encouraged women to join social clubs, Mihesuah argues that these ideologies supported Cherokee women staying in the home and focusing their energies on social reforms.[45] Connecting Mihesuah's philosophies with Murphy's history makes Murphy's choices to pursue teaching, limit her displays of Indianness, and self-identify as white at the OIA more comprehensible.

Amanda Cobb's *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949*, provides a history of the Chickasaw founded academy.[46] Throughout its history, missionaries, the tribe, and the United States government administered the school. Cobb looks at the curriculums created by the different administrations and discusses the identity they wanted to create in the students. Under missionary leadership, the goal was to "Civilize and Christianize" the Chickasaws through formal schooling.[47] Cobb explains that missionaries saw literacy as the "agent of salvation, nationalism, individualism, [and] prosperity – every progressive ideal."[48] The missionaries' goal of creating civilized Chickasaws was through Christian instruction, and stripping the students' Native traditions was integral to this process. By removing students from their Native culture both physically and ideologically, the missionaries sought to instill new identities within the students. In leaving their Native culture behind, being saved, and becoming civilized, the students could then become true Christians.

After the Civil War, the Chickasaws took control of the school. They sought to build literacy skills in its students as a way to "'equalize' and enable the Chickasaws to compete economically with the white settlers populating the region."[49] Although literacy

was again considered the primary tool for members' success, the missionaries' goals of conversion and civilizing were no longer part of the ideology. Instead, literacy was seen as a means to "elevate [the] children to an equal footing" with their "white brethren."[50] The school sought to create identities in its students that incorporated an Anglo sense of culture and refinement as well as the ability to negotiate social and economic exchanges. Native traditions and cultures were not excluded during this period of administration but were not necessarily actively promoted either. The ability to participate as citizens of the Chickasaw Nation while interacting with the white community was the ultimate goal, and this required mixing languages, cultures, and developing new identities within those conceptions. Cobb argues that when the federal government took control in 1906 ideas of Bloomfield as a site to create students that exhibited "true womanhood," changed into schools as locations to solve the "Indian problem."[51]

Cobb argues that when Chickasaws controlled Bloomfield, students were "striving toward True Womanhood, an ideal of the late nineteenth century that placed women on pedestals as pious and pure, domestic and dutiful," but also to be "leaders in their community and in Indian Territory."[52] She states, "literacy instruction through formal schooling was a tradition" in Chickasaw culture, and at Bloomfield it was considered a tool to prepare women for these leadership positions. Cobb argues that, under the federal government, rather than preparing young women to be leaders, literacy was considered a instrument to prepare them for American citizenship. Formal schooling of Chickasaws became the "necessary agent to change patriotic Chickasaw citizens into patriotic U.S. citizens." By 1933, Bloomfield's mission was to "develop an all-around

efficient citizen," one that would be domestically trained to make their homes "better places."[53] By eliminating all traces of their Native culture and conforming to the ideals of the federal government, students could identify as fully realized American citizens.

Mihesuah and Cobb's discussions of seminaries are women-centric and emphasize the unique practices that defined the institutions. The agency of the female students within the schools is also explored. For the voluntary, tribally supported institutions, student accounts of their time at seminaries were often positive. Although not every seminary encouraged maintaining and reinforcing cultural ties, many did. These were in opposition to many of the federally boarding school experiences as Adams, Lomawaima, and Child highlight in their work.

While Mihesuah's work looks at a period before Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's time, both her and Cobb's accounts direct attention to all-women tribally supported institutions and provides critical analysis not available in other resources. They explain how the tribes viewed academic rigor as a tool for progress and implemented it within their programs. Examining these in conjunction with other Native schooling narratives, we see the difference between tribally run institutions and the potential of a high level of academic attainment to federally run institutions with an emphasis on developing low wage labor. Viewing Mihesuah and Cobb's texts for how distinctly Native institutions help shape students' identity and ideas around Native schooling and womanhood is necessary to understanding Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. They speak to how Native ideologies may influence female students' sense of self, their place in society, and the purposes of education.

Indian education

Three critical works that address the history of Native education broadly but only touch upon the area of higher education within a broader framework of discussion include: Margaret Connell Szasz's, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928,* John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder's, *American Indian Education: A History*, and David DeJong's, *Promises of the Past: A History of Indian Education in the United* States.[54] They all provide significant historical context and levels of understanding of the development of and implications for Native higher education. They also both expand the field of the history of American Indian education and inform the analysis of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's college experiences.

Higher education

While the history of American Indian women's education beyond primary and secondary education has not been thoroughly considered in any academic works to date, several seminal authors touched upon the possible transition to higher education for American Indians in their work. For example, Adams's *Education for Extinction* explores how reform in Indian policies ultimately opened new pathways for Native students to attend college.[55] Adams argues that, although there had been little change in federal policies, by the 1920s, there was a "new breed of reformers ferociously" attacking the government and its "ideological underpinnings." With an influx of reform groups, an "ideological wellspring" of pluralism arose.[56] A result of this onslaught of attention to the government was the commissioning of a comprehensive review of Indian policy resulting

in *The Problem of Indian Administration*, otherwise known as the *Meriam Report*.[57] The report challenged the government to not only upgrade the current system but to change their point of view. Aligning the upper grades with public schooling was one of the tenets of change, thereby "encouraging promising scholars to attend college."[58] By opening this academic passageway, students had opportunities to move beyond secondary education in numbers previously unattainable.

Supporting Adams's work, Lomawaima also talks of events that constructed possibilities for higher education for American Indians and provides contextual information for the students' time before college. However, the transition to higher schooling and attendance at colleges is not discussed.[59] These authors address the shifting goals of the federal government for American Indians beginning in the 1920s and the changes made in education that resulted in a more academically challenging program for students, which ultimately provided a level of college readiness not previously available to most students. While not addressing the specific focus of college attainment, these operate to provide foundational support for understanding Indian schooling.

Though higher education is not addressed in many texts on Indian education, there have been several relevant works since the 1990s that do provide some examination of the subject and contribute to our understanding of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's college narratives. Cary Carney's *Native American Higher Education in the United States* provides a useful review of the historical development of higher education for Native students.[60] This work examines Indian higher education broadly and provides a thorough historical overview that discusses the significant eras in which Indian higher education

developed. While the primary attention in this book is on the processes and expansion of Native higher education, it provides scaffolding for micro-level histories for individuals such as Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. Using Carney's examination of higher education, parsing Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences at Bacone and how it may have shaped their ideas and sense of self becomes possible.

Although published in 2005, an article by George S. McClellan, Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, and Shelly C. Lowe is still relevant.[61] They affirm that while "the literature has paid attention to certain aspects of Native American education in the United States, it has largely not addressed Native American higher education." They go on to argue that there has been "little change with respect to the extent to which the literature addresses Native American higher education."[62] The article provides an overview of Indian education through the context of three formative eras in United States history. The authors find that during the time Warren, Caudell, and Murphy went to college, there was a "notable…lack of activity in the area of Native American higher education."[63] Using this in tandem with other work in the historiography of Indian education shows the importance of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's stories and their contribution to the field.

Lisa K. Neuman's *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* makes a significant contribution to understanding Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories.[64] Although not women-centric, *Indian Play* complicates the narrative of Indian students' identities. Neuman departs from the boarding school narrative and provides insight into the two-year Indian college. Through her discussion of how students explored their Indian identities via school activities, Neuman's book provides illumination into Warren,

Caudell, and Murphy's time spent at Bacone. *Indian Play* provides a comprehensive history of the school. It argues that Bacone's students, alumni, and Native faculty used Indian play as ways of negotiating Indian education and residing within the complex social and cultural environment of the school. Neuman describes Indian play as "Native students' creativity in publicly engaging, articulating, and negotiating ideas about their own and others' Indian identities."[65]

According to Neuman, Indianness at Bacone was constructed through several mechanisms. Ideologies of race and blood were markers of distinction as students "differentiated between students who were 'full-bloods' and those who were 'mixed-bloods' with full-bloods representing those who were 'more Indian.'"[66] Phenotypic differences such as "skin color, eye color, hair texture, and facial features" were also ways that students defined someone's Indianness, and in some cases, their tribal identity. Students with darker skin, hair, and eyes were perceived to represent more authentic forms of Indianness than their lighter-skinned peers. Biological Indianness equated to cultural Indianness with a higher demand for those students perceived to be more Indian to participate in activities that emphasized Indianness, such as being a member of the Indian Club or by taking Indian history courses.

Although there were various ways the students classified themselves and each other at Bacone, such as by tribe, region, physical appearance, and perceived degree of Indian blood, students "ultimately shaped pan-Indian identities on campus, as students learned that…they were all 'Indians.'"[67] Neuman argues that Bacone reinforced these ideologies through its promotion of the school and its students using stereotypical images

as propaganda, references to lighter-skinned students as "palefaces" in the student newspaper, and through teachers teasing students that did not "look Indian."[68] All three women of my study attended Bacone and participated in displays of Indianness at the school for fundraising and club activities. References to the women's traits and appearance were also topics of discussion. Neuman's work helps to explain how white expectations of Indianness for the women were constructed and reinforced by the school. *Indian Play* is significant to the historiography on American Indian education. It provides a conduit to understanding how Warren, Caudell, and Murphy navigated college as Native women in the early twentieth century. It speaks to the paradox that existed in the women's performances and helps us to understand how the limited window of opportunity both opened and contracted through the pursuit of the specific form of Indianness fostered at Bacone.

Native wage labor

Although not directly situated within the historiography of Indian education, scholarship on the history of Native wage labor in the United States is beneficial to understanding the work expectations and cultural climate of Native women during the period of my inquiry. Examples from the field include Daniel Usner's *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History* and Carol Williams's *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism.*[69] Usner argues that although many Indians developed different economic strategies over time, they often found themselves misrepresented and exploited. He also discusses how the "ideological use of notions such

as *backwardness, wastefulness, idleness,* and *timelessness* - through writing, illustrating, painting, or photographing - proved to be as damaging as the material impact of unfair or coercive forces."[70] Usner's work informs our understanding of the paradox in Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's displays of Indianness, and while initially beneficial, these representations ultimately harmed Native women. The edited volume, *Indigenous Women and Work,* argues that Indian women workers were often "unregulated, underwaged (or withheld from earnings), undernumerated, and judgmentally scrutinized."[71] Through several essays, experiences of Native women in the United States during the early twentieth century are explored and provide contextual depth to the time in which Warren, Caudell, and Murphy operated.

Work by scholars, Cathleen D. Cahill and Kevin Whalen, provide substantial support for examining the post-college careers of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. Cahill's work examines Indian Services (OIA) in-depth.[72] From its development and hiring practices to experiences of employees within the department, Cahill argues that the policy maker's assumptions "collided" with reality and that as a result of the unintended outcomes, a bureaucracy that was supposed to be temporary became permanent.[73] Whalen's *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945*, provides insight into the networks created by Indian women in the outing program in Los Angeles and argues that "with the drastic downturn in expectations for Native peoples" outing programs functioned as "glorified labor agencies."[74] Both Cahill and Whalen reinforce the limited expectations held by federal agencies for Native women in the early twentieth century and inform how Indian

schooling shaped career pathways for Native women. Using these works to analyze Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's lives, both the unexpectedness of attaining multiple college degrees and the "naturalness" of a career with the OIA are better understood.

Native agency, identity, and power

Several texts within the field of Native agency, identity, and power are instrumental in the analysis of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences. These include: *Who Belongs? Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South* by Mikaëla M. Adams; Thomas Biolsi's "Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation," *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America* edited by James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa; and two works from Philip J. Deloria "American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era" and *Indians in Unexpected Places*.[75] This body of work also discusses the ways "Native people are endlessly denied a place as 'moderns' and are always reconfigured as safely ensconced (and vanishing) in the past."[76]

Adams explains that "'Indian' is not merely an ethnic or racial identity; rather, it is a political status based on an individuals' citizenship in one of several hundred tribal nations" and that the term "'Indian' continues to have racial connotations."[77] She provides historical context to understand how tribes shaped identity and belonging in response to federal imposition, and tribes used various forms of agency to circumvent federal control. Biolsi uses the construction of the racialized other to describe how a

Native person's everyday world is "'structured' by settler colonialism and capitalism in determinate ways, including what we might aptly call 'everyday racism.'" [78] In *Beyond Two Worlds,* the authors were asked to "engage in the larger conversation about the concept of worldedness," which then led to questions about how the "maintenance, consequences, and lived experiences of Native people are shaped by four-plus centuries of two-world language." The scholarship argues that the "binaries underlying the two-worlds trope manifest themselves in real ways for Native people day in and day out." [79] Deloria's works provide "counter-narratives of conquest and of redemptive struggles for citizenship [which] allow Native actors important and autonomous roles."[80]

Viewing Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences through the lenses shaped by these authors, in tandem with the scholarship on Indian education and Native wage labor, provides insight into their agency, Native identity construction, and the power that this provided them. As Native women, they were racialized Others, navigating everyday encounters laden with politics and racism. Having agency and a sense of belonging, though, they were able to represent their Indianness in ways that benefitted them but also helped reinforce the vanishing Indian themes applied to Natives by many in the general population. As these works indicate, Native women were (and often continue to be) seen as people from another time, so many would have viewed their achievements as remarkable and their actions unexpectedly modern.

What Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories bring are voices to the hush that exists within the historiography on American Indian education. Through their narratives,

we gain an understanding of varying pathways to higher education for Native women. These occurred during a unique period in which opportunities for education were available to them. These stories push on the boundaries of what many scholars have offered in the discussion of Native education. Native women-centric narratives are extremely limited in number and scope, and discussions of higher education remain few. There have been several recent works in the specific area of Native higher education and wage labor that bolster the field of American Indian educational history. However, they too are not centered on women's experiences. Searching for texts that are Native women-centric and addresses any of the topics of primary and secondary education, college, and post-college careers exposes a significant gap in the literature. Although the field of American Indian education is growing, the focus continues to be boarding schools and their adverse outcomes, which have flattened the interpretation of Native schooling to a narrow view of possibilities. In tying the threads of these works together, though, a framework for understanding Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences are made.

Conceptual Framework

I conceptualize history as an assemblage of historical awareness, social memory, and the products of academic historians. John Tosh explains that historical awareness is a "universal psychological attribute," and social memory reflects the "rationale of popular knowledge about the past."[81] Tosh sees the more formal approach of examining the past in a way that "characterizes an awareness of *history*" as an exemplification of an

academic historian.[82] I believe that understanding these concepts individually and collectively creates a multidimensional view of history, which allows for a broader comprehension of the people and events of the past. In the case of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, their histories push back against the repeated "vanishing Indian" tropes and boarding school narratives to provide different views of Indian education and Native experiences in the early twentieth century.

I also consider that all people are historians. Tosh states, "as individuals we draw on our experience in all sorts of different ways" as "memories serve as both a data bank and a means of making sense of an unfolding life story."[83] Having some cognizance of a situation's position in an ongoing narrative, and whether it has happened before allows for a level of understanding. While the quantity and quality of historical knowledge across populations vary greatly, "*some* knowledge of the past is almost universal," and without it, social and political debates cease. I maintain that, in order to understand social arrangements, there must be a conception of where that society originates from, and it is in that sense that "all societies possess memory."[84] Applying this concept to this work encourages the inclusion of often-overlooked themes and activities of American Indians within and beyond this text.

Historical awareness is not the equivalent of social memory. Social groupings rely on shared interpretations of understandings that have formed with the group over time. These create a collective identity. The composite picture of past events explains and validates the present. Tosh believes that "all societies look to their collective memories for consolation or inspiration."[85] How well written and visual accounts of the past

conform to a shared identity and contribute to the sense of cohesion the group desires determine their value. While social memories can lead to feelings of unification and inclusion, they can also "sustain a sense of oppression, exclusion or adversity."[86]

According to Tosh, "social movements entering the political arena for the first time are particularly conscious of the absolute requirement of a past."[87] For disadvantaged groups, such as American Indian women, effective organization depends on a consciousness of their shared experiences of the past. Sheila Johansson describes a "lack of consciousness of a collective identity" that minority groups often feel but can ill afford.[88] Without the shared awareness of their past, these social groups "suffer from a kind of collective amnesia, which makes [them] vulnerable to the impositions of dubious stereotypes." Johansson shows how the need for understanding is greater for oppressed groups than for others so they may develop a usable past and use it to bring awareness to their present. Applying this theory to American Indian women in higher education, the lack of shared awareness may sustain feelings of subjugation, marginalization, and difficulty for this social group and perpetuate the "collective amnesia" that prevents the inclusion of American Indian women in the broader discourse of the history of education.[89]

Many tribes spoke different languages and did not regularly interact, if at all, so a collective understanding of a shared past remained nonexistent for many years. Margaret Connell Szasz states that it was not until the early twentieth century that American Indians began to unite for the causes of education and battling the dubious stereotypes that ran rampant in the larger society. After numerous failed attempts to have a

functioning relationship with the United States government and expending significant amounts of time and energy, separate American Indian groups came together to form a united front for education. Having a voice in Indian educational programs opened new paths of "self-determination" for Native leadership, but Szasz finds battles continue to be ongoing such as obtaining local control of schools.[90] Szasz argues that, due to the "vastness and the variety of Indian education," the strength of the group is essential to pursue the needs of the individual tribes.[91] In applying this perspective of historical awareness to my work, I consider how Warren, Caudell, and Murphy are part of a larger whole (e.g., tribe, classifications of woman and student) and how the separateness among and between the different groups may have impacted their sense of collective identity.

Tosh indicates that moving away from individual and social understandings of the past toward a more rigorous scholarship involves an understanding of three primary principles. The first is "recognition of the gulf that separates our own age from all previous ages."[92] I conceptualize this as acknowledging that people may not behave the same today as they did in the past, and part of this work is to discover those differences. Recognizing that the American Indian students of today are not the same as the American Indian students of the past calls for an awareness that social, economic, and political structures are not duplicates of former times and schooling experiences of Native Americans from the 1930s are not replicable today. It also calls for an awareness of the setting that came before and existed during the women's times.

Context is the second principle of the historian's awareness. Tosh indicates that the "underlying principle of all historical work is that the subject…must not be wrenched

from its setting."[93] Understanding context is especially important for any work related to Indigenous populations. In response to the specific needs of the Native American communities, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy developed the theoretical framework of TribalCrit. Developed as an extension of Critical Race Theory (CRT), TribalCrit addresses the unique requirements for analysis of Indigenous communities. As Brayboy explains, the relationship between American Indians and the United States federal government is complex, and we can only begin to make sense of American Indians' ways of being as both "racial and legal/political groups and individuals" if "tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future" are made central to the discussion.[94] He also states that for "many Indigenous people, stories serve as the basis for how our communities work." Native theories are not merely "an abstract thought or idea that explains overarching structures of societies and communities; theories, through stories and other media, are roadmaps for…communities and reminders of … individual responsibilities."[95] To better conceptualize the experiences of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, I utilize the nine tenets of TribalCrit throughout their narratives.

These tenets are:

1) Colonization is endemic to society.
2) U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3) Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.
4) Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.
5) The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.
6) Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.

7) Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.
8) Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.
9) Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change. (429-30)

Conceptualizing the lives of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy through the TribalCrit lens allows for the attainment of three forms of knowledge. TribalCrit defines these as: "cultural knowledge" which is the "understanding of what it means to be a member of a particular tribal nation; this includes particular traditions, issues, and ways of being and knowing that make an individual a member of a community;" conceiving of "how and in what ways change can be accomplished and the ability and willingness to ability to change, adapt, and adjust in order to move forward as an individual and community" is the "knowledge of survival;" and lastly "academic knowledge," information acquired from educational resources.[96] Application of these multiple forms of knowledge can take place through consideration of the; generalized experiences of American Indians, the federal government, and the general population, as well as the individual experiences of the women.

Another instrument in the historian's arsenal is the perception of "historical process – the relationship between events over time which endows them with more significance than if they were viewed in isolation."[97] Applying the last principle allows historians to analyze how present-day events develop from the past. History as discipline then intends to "make the process of recall as accurate as possible so that…knowledge of

the past is not confined to what is immediately relevant" and create a "resource with open-ended application[s]" versus creating a "mirror-image" of the present.[98] As the pursuit of higher education by American Indian women in the early twentieth century is unexplored, it is especially important that the concept of the historical process be fully realized. Illuminating the process makes it available to historians' repertoires, with the eventual goal of transforming the historical awareness and social memory of the general public to one that includes American Indian women in the broader discourse on the history of American education.

In addition to the three principles of a historian's knowledge that Tosh provides, I argue that self-awareness as a researcher is essential. By acknowledging my "participation in knowledge construction and circulation as deeply embedded in power relations, and highlight[ing] how dynamics of power shape" what I produce and what counts as knowledge, I am situating my work centrally in the "nexus of power and knowledge."[99] Roland Sintos Coloma asks researchers to be self-reflexive and "place our empirical, interpretive, and pedagogical practices in question in order to mark and evaluate what we have enabled and foreclosed as well as what the effects of our inclusions and exclusions have been."[100] In acknowledging my own social identity as a member of a privileged group, I seek to "bring into sharp relief the intertwined relationship of subject, power, and knowledge."[101] This self-reflexivity guides me in my attempts to empower American Indian women within my research "beyond their role as research subjects or informants" and to "privilege their voices" over my own.[102] By giving attention to Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and their place within the larger culture

of the U.S. during the early twentieth century, I provide voices that have not previously included in the discourse of American Indian education. Highlighting these voices also suggests how experiences of the past may connect to events of the present.

Methodology

Building on this notion of history as construed from varying levels of awareness, I also view it as a methodology, a tool for understanding the "roots and consequences of policy and practice."[103] Jane Robbins calls this "cognitive history."[104] She defines cognitive history as a "blending of cognitive and institutional theory and methods with a historical approach to studying…[changes to] a process, program, strategy, structure, policy, culture, or any other facet of organizational or social life." Using primary and secondary resources, I answer questions beyond "what" and "when" to consider the "who, how, and why" as I trace the process of reasoning of the structures that played a role in the lives of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy.[105]

Robbins outlines four guidelines for her approach to cognitive history. First, she believes it begins with a "question about a contemporary situation or state, and works backward to locate its source, then forward to document its evolution." Robbins explains how contemporary questions become historical as the answers lie in the thinking behind the processes that are taken for granted. In my case, the question of "Where are the narratives of American Indian women in education?" became historical as I found limited contemporary discussions with the numbers becoming significantly smaller numbers as I

moved back in time. This appraisal revealed that the field of scholarly work in this area had considerable room for growth and advancement.

The second guideline that influences my work and that Robbins uses in her approach is that "cognitive history pays special attention to documents that memorialize thinking and make reasoning explicit." These documents took the form of school newspapers, job applications, and school yearbooks, among others. These types of documents can uncover the incentive for change, the process, and product of change, or the reasons behind resistance to change. Robbins also finds that "archival data is ideal for the study of reasoning" as they allow for "analysis of the direct discourse of prominent figures that were involved."[106] Using direct discourse from archival documents allows me to discuss the educational paths of the women and discover the roles of various structures in that process. Primary documents can also unveil how individual identities were constructed by others and by the persons themselves. In the case of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, personal declarations of race, experiences, and other narrative entries in job-related forms help to understand their sense of place and identity.

Robbins indicates in her third guideline that by using "social science tools" such as discourse analysis, the "evidence contained in a historical narrative focused on thought and communication can be methodically parsed."[107] Probing what schools and employers have said about the women using thematic content analysis identified themes in the discourses around the women and their identities as Indians. The specific discourses within the texts reflect the way the women referred to themselves and how institutions referred to them. These provide unique insights into the various identities constructed by

and for the women. This tool also proved useful in the scrutiny of newspaper articles and other public accounts to show themes in the narratives around what kind of person the students were perceived to be.

For her last guideline, Robbins argues, "when we pursue 'how' and 'why' questions we are implicitly if not explicitly moving into theoretical terrain."[108]Through the nature of how and why questions, historians draw on theory to inform or frame their interpretations of the material. This conceptualization sees theory as serving a double purpose in cognitive history. It is a way to frame the research questions and provide a goal to induce "something generalizable" about the subject.[109]

Social identity theory (SIT) was also useful in understanding student identity in my study of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy at Bacone and UR. SIT argues, "people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories" and "people may be classified in various categories."[110] Blake E. Ashforth and Fred Mael explain, "social identification is a perception of oneness with a group of persons," it "stems from the categorization of individuals [and] the distinctiveness and prestige of the group," and "leads to activities that are congruent with the identity, support for institutions that embody that identity, [and] stereotypical perceptions of self and others."[111] Social classifications enable individuals to define themselves within the social environment. For example, a student may define herself in terms of her group affiliations: "I am a Native American," "I am a woman," and "I am a college student." In perceiving herself as either an actual or symbolic member of a group, she perceives the "fate of the group[s] as her own."[112] As "individuals tend to choose activities congruent with salient aspects of their

identities, and they support the institutions embodying those identities" group associations for the women provide insight into their sense of identity. Looking at the social and academic groupings of the Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, we gain insight into how they self-identified.

Multiple group associations can cause conflicting demands on an individual though. Ashforth and Mael argue that it is not the "identities per se that conflict, but the values, beliefs, norms, and demands inherent in the identities."[113] They indicate that they can be "cognitively resolved by ordering, separating, or buffering the identities" but if "individuals are forced to simultaneously don different hats…their facility for cognitively managing conflict [may] break down.[114] These divergences then may cause the individual to "fail to integrate the values, attitudes, norms, and lessons inherent in the various identities."[115] By applying SIT to Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories, we can infer possibilities of conflict across the identities as they are categorized differently in their various roles as Native women in the different organizations and parse how this conflict may have been expressed.

Lastly, using cultural analysis as a framework of understanding allows for the recognition of both the differences and similarities that existed for Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. It is also is a method for rethinking our relation to history because it makes visible the position of researcher, reader, or student. In *Indians in Unexpected Places,* Philip J. Deloria states cultural analysis allows for "considering Indian-non-Indian relations in broad terms."[116] He explains that Indians in the early twentieth century "were segregated and compartmentalized across a range of locations: temporally, they were

firmly locked in the past, and getting more isolated there with the professionalizing developments in anthropology; spatially, they were invariably thought to be isolated on reservations; ideologically, they were believed to be vanishing, with the end right around the corner."[117] Deloria argues, "All Native people have had to confront…expectations - whether that meant ignoring them, protesting them, working them, or seeking to prove them wrong."[118] It is through this process that a useful contextual frame can be developed to understand the conflicting states of containment, resistance, restriction, and opportunity for Warren, Caudell, and Murphy during their lifetimes. Viewing their histories with cultural analysis provides new ways of understanding how the women operated and navigated their terrains.

Studying American Indian women's education is a challenge on multiple levels. It is a topic for a group within a group, both largely ignored in the historical record. As such, theories of intersectionality are beneficial in this area. Caroline Eick explains that "the intersectional analytic approach examines the ways in which social markers of difference (race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, generation, class, religion, and nationality) intersect to shape situated experiences, and places the historian within her own social position" and "challenges homogeneous constructions of social groups and brings to light the complexity and fluidity of group identities." There is no single social category that Indian women belong to and viewing them with a single lens that ignores the complexity of "cross-group relations."[119] The intricacies of Native American women residing within multiple cultural categories call for a theoretical framework that acknowledges these factors while also addressing the complexity of Native women's lived-in experiences.

As Thomas Biolsi argues, "Even if we recognize that the Native subject is complicated by 'intersectionality,' this does not approach the full complexity of Native density." Pushing beyond the conceptual scaffolds and methodologies of intersectionality, the concept of density incorporates consideration for the everyday world, and is not "reducible to a single subject position." Density acknowledges that the "everyday world is 'structured' by settler colonialism and capitalism in determinate ways," and includes forms of "everyday racism." Density goes further, though, and requires careful attention to the everyday to consider that, while living "within and against oppression," most Native people are not theorizing "settler colonialism or racism," or engaging in "anticolonial or antiracist action in their everyday lives." This theoretical framework provides aid in consideration of complex situations for the three women. Viewing Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's mundane and taken for granted activities using density reveal the power and politics that are infused in their everyday world and "forces us to recognize the 'more serious and infinitely less schematic *livedness'* of Native life."[120]

The value that these theories and methodologies bring to historical research is that they provide "framework[s] of interpretation." They allow me to view the inter-connectedness of the multiple dimensions of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy during the early twentieth century and explore their human experiences. As Tosh indicates, "application of social theory helps to make sense of a past that might otherwise defy analysis."[121] By opening up new avenues for exploration of American Indian women, what we think we know of the past is subject to new interpretation. These pathways

create an endless supply of possibilities for changing what is understood as history and for providing a new understanding of the present. Contextualizing history, methods, and theoretical frameworks in these ways allow for examining who Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were, how they got to where they did, and why. It is with these tools that we change the historical narrative around American Indian women.

Notes

1. Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, "Toward a Tribal Critical Race Theory in Education," *The Urban Review* 37, no. 5 (2005): 434.

2. Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York: Macmillan, 1998. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 152.

3. Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989): 4.

4. Fasih ur Rehman and Yasir Hussain, "Victorian Patriarchal Politics: The Rise and Fall of the Legend of True Womanhood*," Putaj Humanities & Social Sciences* 23, no. 2 (2016): 51-52.

5. Cogan, *All-American Girl,* 9. For discussions that complicate Victorian womanhood and ideal true womanhood ideologies see Cogan, *All-American Girl;* Nancy F. Cott. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (London: Routledge, 2012); Rehman and Hussain, "Victorian Patriarchal Politics," 43-54.

6. Examples of studies of federal boarding schools include David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000); Diana Meyers Bahr, *The Students of Sherman Indian School: Education and Native Identity Since 1892* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Adam Fortunate Eagle, *Pipestone: My Life in an Indian Boarding School* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Sally McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983); Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc, eds. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History,* eds.

Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, (New York: Routledge, 1990): 224-37; Robert A. Trennert Jr,, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

7. Adams, *Education for Extinction*. Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose, eds. *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016).

8. Adams.

9. Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*.

10. Child, *Boarding School Seasons*.

11. Lomawaima, xiii.

12. Child, 95. For example, in a letter to a school superintendent, a student remarked that he was "sorry to say that [he was] not coming back, but that's it, [he was] not coming back." Child, 95.

13. David Wallace Adams, "Beyond Bleakness: The Brighter Side of American Indian Boarding Schools, 1870-1940," in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, eds. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006): 35.

14. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues.* Fear-Segal and Rose, *Carlisle Indian Industrial* School. Vučkovićkovic, *Voices from Haskell.*

15. Adams, "Beyond Bleakness," 35-36.

16. Adams, 36.

17. Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 59-60.

18. Vučković, 29.

19. Vučković, 56.

20. Vučković, 63 and 102.

21. Vučković, 215.

22. Vučković, 216.

23. Vučković, 109.

24. Rebecca Kugel, email message to author, August 25, 2019. Recent work that addresses the "vanishing Indian" ideology include Philip J. Deloria, "American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14, no. 1 (2015): 3-12. Examples of recent scholarship that promote the bifurcated language found within two-world tropes include Myriam Vučković's *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (2008) and Diana Meyers Bahr's *Viola Martinez: California Paiute Living in Two Worlds* (2012). For an in-depth discussion on the "two-worlds" trope, see James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, eds. *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014).

25. For discussions of gendered education in federal Indian schooling, see Adams, *Education for Extinction,* Deirdre A. Almeida, "The Hidden Half: A History of Native American Women's Education," *Harvard Educational Review* 67, no. 4 (1997): 757-772; Ardy Bowker, *Sisters in the Blood: The Education of Women in Native America*. Newton: WEEA Pub. Center, 1993; Child, *Boarding School Seasons*; Carol Devens, "'If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race': Missionary Education of Native American Girls," *Journal of World History* (1992): 219-37; Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History,* eds. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz, 224-37 (New York: Routledge, 1990).

26. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 149.

27. Adams, 175.

28. Native scholar Beth H. Piatote explains how the replacement of letters with a dash in the term "sq—w" draws "attention to the obscenity" and "denaturalizes" its use. The dashes also serve as "markers of violence" as the "term is not free of the physical and sexual violence it directs at indigenous and aboriginal women." Beth H. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), ix. Adams, 174-75.

29. Adams, 175.

30. Lomawaima, 96 and 90.

31. Lomawaima, xiv.

32. Child, 77-79.

33. Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907–1925" in *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*, ed. Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006): 174.

34. Paxton, "Learning Gender," 174.

35. Paxton, 177.

36. Paxton, 174.

37. Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez: California Paiute Living in Two Worlds* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012); Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School, 1850-1930* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008); Clyde Ellis, *To Change them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893-1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

38. Diana Meyers Bahr, *Viola Martinez*, 54.

39. Michael C. Coleman, *American Indian Children at School,* 40.

40. Clyde Ellis, *To Change them Forever*, 103.

41. Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 83.

42. Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

43. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds*, 100.

44. Mihesuah, 99.

45. Mihesuah, 101-2.

46. Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

47. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories*, 45.

48. Cobb, 54.

49. Cobb, 51.

50. Cobb, 56.

51. Cobb, 71-72.

52. Cobb, 59 and 71.

53. Cobb, 71-73.

54. Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999). John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004). David DeJong, *Promises of the Past: A History of Indian Education in the United States* (Golden: Fulcrum, 1993).

55. Adams, *Education for Extinction*.

56. Adams, 328-29.

57. Meriam Lewis and Hubert Work, *The Problem Of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).

58. Adams, 332.

59. Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light*.

60. Cary Michael Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

61. George S. McClellan, Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, and Shelly C. Lowe, "Where we Have Been: A History of Native American Higher Education," *New Directions for Student Services* 109, no. 7 (2005): 7-15.

62. McClellan, Fox, and Lowe, "Where we Have Been," 7.

63. McClellan, Fox, and Lowe, 10.

64. Lisa K. Neuman, *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014).

65. Neuman, *Indian Play*, 20.

66. Neuman, 248.

67. Neuman, 258.

68. Neuman, 249-50.

69. Daniel Usner, *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009). Carol Williams, ed*., Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2012). For more on Native wage labor, see Alice Littlefield and Martha Knack, eds. *Native Americans and Wage Labor: Ethnohistorical Perspectives* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996); Brian C. Hosmer, *American Indians in the Marketplace: Persistence and Innovation among the Menominees and Metlakatlans, 1870-1920* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1999); Colleen O'Neill, *Working the Navajo Way: Labor and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005). For discussions of Indians working for the OIA, see Wilbert Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service," Ethnohistory 44 (Spring 1997): 263–304; Lisa Emmerich, "'Right in the Midst of My Own People': Native American Women and the Field Matron Program," *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Spring 1991): 201–16; Martha C. Knack, "Philene T. Hall, Bureau of Indian Affairs Field Matron: Planned Culture Change of Washakie Shoshone Women." *Prologue* 22 (Summer 1990), 151–67; Steven J. Novak, "The Real Takeover of the BIA: The Preferential Hiring of Indians," *Journal of Economic History* 50 (Fall 1990): 639–54.

70. Usner, *Indian Work*, 142 (emphasis in original).

71. Williams, *Indigenous Women and Work,* 20.

72. Cathleen D. Cahill, "Moving in Multiple Worlds Native Indian Service Employees," in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, eds. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, 209-35 (Albany: SUNY

Press, 2014) and *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869-1933.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

73. Cahill, *Federal Fathers &* Mothers, 12.

74. Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945.* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 28.

75. Mikaëla M. Adams, *Who Belongs?: Race, Resources, and Tribal Citizenship in the Native South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). Thomas Biolsi, "Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 77-110. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, eds. *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014). Philip J. Deloria, "American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era" *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14, no. 1 (2015): 3-12, and *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).

76. Rebecca Kugel, email message to author, August 25, 2019.

77. Adams, *Who Belongs?, 1.*

78. Biolsi, "Racism," 77.

79. Buss and Genetin-Pilawa, *Beyond Two Worlds*, 4-5.

80. Deloria, "American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era," 3.

81. John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (Great Britain: Pearson Education, 2010), 1 and 3.

82. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History,* 1 (emphasis in original).

83. Tosh, 1.

84. Tosh, 2 (emphasis in original).

85. Tosh., 4.

86. Tosh., 5.

87. Tosh, 5.

88. Sheila Ryan Johansson, "'Herstory' as History: A New Field or Another Fad?," *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays,* (1976): 427.

89. Johansson, "'Herstory' as History," 427.

90. Szasz, *Education and the American Indian,* 4. As discussed by Szasz, self-determination is the ability of Native tribes to act independently from the United States government.

91. Szasz, 234.

92. Tosh, 9.

93. Tosh, 11.

94. Brayboy, 427 and 429.

95. Brayboy, 427.

96. Brayboy, 434-35.

97. Tosh, 11.

98. Tosh, 2.

99. Roland Sintos Coloma, "Who's Afraid of Foucault? History, Theory, and Becoming Subjects," *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (2011): 185.

100. Coloma, "Who's Afraid of Foucault," 185.

101. Coloma, 185

102. Abigail Gundlach Graham, "The Power of Boarding Schools: A Historiographical Review," *American Educational History Journal* 39, no. 1/2 (2012): 479.

103. Jane Robbins, "Quantification and Cognitive History: Applying Social Science Theory and Method to Historical Data" in *The History of U.S. Higher Education: Methods for Understanding the Past*, ed. Marybeth Gasman (New York: Routledge, 2010), 102.

104. Robbins, “Quantification and Cognitive History,” 102.

105. Robbins, 108

106. Robbins, 109

107. Robbins, 110.

108. Robbins, 114.

109. Robbins, 116.

110. Blake E. Ashforth and Fred Mael, “Social Identity Theory and the Organization,” *Academy of Management Review* 14, no. 1 (1989): 20.

111. Ashforth and Mael, “Social Identity Theory and the Organization,” 20.

112. Ashforth and Mael, 21.

113. Ashforth and Mael, 29.

114. Ashforth and Mael, 30.

115. Ashforth and Mael, 31.

116. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 12.

117. Deloria, “American Master Narratives and the Problem of Indian Citizenship in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era,” 8.

118. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 12.

119. Caroline Eick, “Oral Histories of Education and the Relevance of Theory,” *History of Education Quarterly* 51, no. 2 (May 2011): 161.

120. Thomas Biolsi, “Racism, Popular Culture, and the Everyday Rosebud Reservation,” *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 6, no. 1 (2019): 77. (Emphasis in original.)

121. Tosh, 214.

Chapter 3: Native Expectations and Opening the Pathways to College

Acquiring Understandings: Becoming Modern Native College Women During the 1930s

"But far from being passive, the creative responses by Indian women to non-Indian expectations and sensibilities could actually be empowering."[1]

The tribal and educational pasts of the Cherokee, Ojibwe, and Choctaw tribes and the development and implementation of federal education policies and reforms shed light on the expectations held for Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. These histories reveal not just the tribal disparities but also the likenesses that connected the women. The histories also give us perspective for viewing the women's representations of Indianness. The accounts also explain that although Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples had developed different relationships to white-sponsored education, they all ultimately fell under the federal government's purview, but did not lose all forms of agency. Many Ojibwe peoples embraced boarding schools rather than face poverty at home, while Choctaw and Cherokee peoples had their own well-developed systems of education that ended with the enactment of the Curtis Act, which ultimately forced them to succumb to the government's efforts at control. Turning over control of schools did not mean that tribes relegated all power and control. Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee leaders would continue to advocate for their communities and encourage education for their people. The histories of these communities reveal accounts of flexibility and resiliency that each woman would go on to characterize. Additionally, the accounts reveal how the women's educational trajectories fell into alignment with the federal government's initiatives on Indian education. Warren, Caudell, and Murphy met and exceeded expectations put forth by

both Native and white communities and characterize what modern Native women of the 1930s looked like.

Shaping Native Expectations

Ojibwe

Like other Native communities, Ojibwe peoples did not consider education as a confined activity but as endeavors to be experienced "freely, (through) exploring and learning individually and in groups."[2] Concentrated conversion efforts by Anglicans, Methodists, Jesuits, Roman Catholics, and others during the early nineteenth century saw the introduction of formal schooling efforts to the various Ojibwe groups. Initial iterations saw schools built within the communities to allow the children to maintain contact with their families and encouraged Ojibwe people to accept Christianity "on their own terms."[3] By 1832 missionary groups understood that complete conversion was not going to take place and sought to establish schools to foster a generation of Indians that would be "English in their language, civilized in their habits, and Christian in their religion."[4] At that time, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), an organization supported by both churches and the federal government took the lead on changing Native schooling. In their frustration with the "civilizing" policies of the federal government, ABCFM sought to build new missions in far-reaching locations, away from incoming white settlers.[5] Preaching the gospel to Ojibwe communities was to be the priority. To avoid detracting from spiritual messages, the missionaries were instructed not to build schools or other establishments that could give

the "the stations an appearance of wealth and ostentation" and make them less approachable.[6]

Ojibwe missionary schools initially focused on instructing boys and men with little attention given to girls or women. By the 1850s, with the growing conviction that mothers were responsible for raising virtuous citizens, missionaries' attention to female students grew.[7] While educating Ojibwe women became more of a priority for the missionaries, there seemed to be little interest from the Ojibwe female population. Female Ojibwe students across ABCFM missions had poor performance, low enrollment, and high rates of dropouts. Explanations for these conditions by missionaries ranged from the fallacy that the girls could not learn to the understanding that the traditional closely bonded Ojibwe mother/daughter relationship made mothers extremely reluctant to "relinquish control of their daughters' upbringing."[8] The different gender roles and expectations between Ojibwe and Anglo-American people most likely also played a role in the lack of interest. Despite these circumstances, though, numerous Ojibwe girls did attend some missionary schooling even if it was for a limited period of time. This form of schooling sought to inculcate Ojibwe girls with the "ideals of Christian womanhood, piety, domesticity, submissiveness, and purity." Although the emphasis was on cooking, sewing, and knitting courses, academic instruction in arithmetic, spelling, and history was available. The curriculums were created to bolster the beliefs that white culture and ideals were superior to Ojibwe cultures, but through education, Ojibwe could be "lifted up."[9]

At the time the missionaries were making efforts to incorporate schooling into Ojibwe culture, the federal government was moving towards shifting Ojibwe education

towards federal control and boarding schools. Ojibwe lands were ceded, and some funding provided for education as part of the 1855 Treaty of Washington. The agreement stipulated that funds for education would be provided under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior for certain bands of Ojibwe, while other bands' monies were to be paid in annuities except "whenever, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, they fail to make proper provision for the above-named purposes, he may retain said amounts, and appropriate them according to his discretion, for their education and improvement."[10]

Unaware of how this treaty and others to come would impact the Ojibwe Nation, a notable number of Ojibwe people were cultivating relations with the Anglo-Americans involved in administering government programs in order to "turn the 'civilization' program into a tool they might wield in their own defense."[11] To address the loss of economic resources that the shifting landscape brought, Ojibwe communities shifted to learning how the new dependence on agriculture could impact them. In viewing the possibility of farming for income, efforts were made to acquire the skills and prepare the spaces in ways that fell into line with white America. By the late 1870s, the Ojibwe "revitalization strategy" became visible. Along with the support of Anglo-American Episcopal allies, some Ojibwe built churches, learned English, and infrastructures that supported subsistence farming constructed.[12] Several influential members within Ojibwe communities also converted to Episcopalianism. Similar to other denominations working with Native communities, Episcopalians endorsed Anglo-American gender roles with their focus initially on the men and crafting their roles as heads of households.[13] Converted Ojibwe women received the message that their role was now as housekeepers

and secondary to men. In adapting to Anglo-American norms, though, some Ojibwe women developed practices that conformed to white society but still reinforced traditional ways that women worked in Ojibwe communities.[14] The eagerness of some Ojibwe women to learn new lifestyles appeased the missionaries, so no concerted efforts were made at this time to strip Ojibwe women from their traditional culture. Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, the federal government was not content with changes made in Native communities, so legislation introduced that had devastating effects on all American Indian tribes. While all tribes in the United States would eventually be impacted, Ojibwes' experiences differed from others, such as the Choctaw and Cherokee tribes.

Rather than the previous tactics of removal, treaty, or war, the federal government focused their attention on breaking up reservations into individual land allotments. As early as 1798, the government had used allotment policies to break up Native lands but without widespread implementation. Provisions in treaties had called for the allocation of parcels to individual members instead of the community, but the use of treaties ceased with the congressional declaration that future business with the Native populations would only be conducted through legislation. The passage of the Dawes Act in 1887 brought the replacing of the communal method of land management used by most Native groups to individual ownership on federally assigned reservations to all tribal communities, excluding those identified as part of the "Five Tribes."[15]

On February 8, 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, also known as the Dawes Severalty Act, after the leading author Sen. Henry L. Dawes. The Dawes Act

"allowed for the President to break up reservation land, which was held in common by the members of a tribe, into small allotments to be parceled out to individuals. Thus, American Indians registering on a tribal 'roll' were granted allotments of reservation land."[16] Proponents of allotment policies argued that many Native communities' communal ways of life were primitive and backward. Advocates also maintained that individual land ownership was fundamental to civilized cultures, and by being responsible for cultivating and caring for their personal property, Indians would move away from tribal cultures and assimilate into white society. Another justification was that if Natives were self-reliant, the government would no longer be responsible for maintaining their welfare. An increased interest in reservation land was also a major contributing factor for the push for allotments. In breaking up reservation lands, new space would be opened up for white settlements, railroads, and industries such as mining and forestry. Finally, by fracturing tribal governments, the United States' federal government could make headway in its attempts to abolish tribal sovereignty and hold tribes to federal and state laws.[17]

For many tribes, including Ojibwe, they saw these actions as a violation of the trust and working relationship that they had tried to build with the government. Ojibwe people in the Upper Midwest were already reeling from the loss of their economic base when they were forced to address the "environmental destruction and dispossession that unfolded in northern Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan after the turn of the century." With the interests of timber companies dominating "the political landscape of the woodlands," land fraud became widespread, and land that was "once-luxuriant pine

trees" had been cleared.[18] The land base also shifted so that Ojibwe people were pushed off their traditional homelands into less viable properties such as those in Wisconsin that was covered by tree stumps, brush, and old-growth that would need clearing before farming could begin. It was during this turbulent time that the boarding school era took hold.

By the early twentieth century, many Ojibwe peoples could not earn sufficient wages to feed their families, so boarding schools were a temporary solution to an immediate problem. It was not uncommon for Ojibwe women, often single mothers, to enroll their children in boarding schools and move to urban centers off the reservations in search of work to support their family.[19] Communities also hoped that, in addition to meeting the basic needs of the children, they would gain an elementary education and learn a trade. During the boarding school era, tuberculosis became the most significant health threat to American Indians, with estimates for Ojibwe people running as high as one in every twenty.[20] Other diseases, including syphilis, gonorrhea, and trachoma, ran rampant in Ojibwe communities at this time, as well. With poverty, starvation, and illnesses proliferating Ojibwe reservations, boarding schools became a safe haven for many Ojibwe children.

From the late nineteenth through the early twentieth century, Ojibwe children were primarily educated in off-reservation boarding schools with large numbers still in attendance well into the 1940s. Ojibwe students attended several different boarding schools, including Flandreau in South Dakota, Wahpeton school in North Dakota, and Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas. "Chippewa" peoples were often the second-largest

enrollees at Haskell.[21] Ojibwe parents and students had hoped that by learning skills to garner a livable wage, they would be able to manage the poor conditions that existed on the reservations at that time. Like many other Native students' experiences, though, boarding schools often had "profound and permanent academic, social, cultural, and political effects on both the students who attended the schools and the generations that have followed them."[22] So while many Native students suffered negative experiences at boarding schools, Ojibwe students, in particular, were caught in an extremely difficult position: face poverty and starvation at home or the loss of culture, language, and identity at school.

During the period of the Great Depression (1929-39), reformers actively pushed for the closure of boarding schools and the use of residential and public schooling for American Indians, but many Ojibwe still turned to the boarding schools. In five years, between 1928 and 1933, twelve boarding schools had been closed, but there were more Native students enrolled than there had been at any other time previously, with a large number of them being Ojibwe.[23] In addition to the basic care the students would receive, having a family member or friend attending a boarding school made attendance seem attractive. The boarding schools also often provided a less threatening environment than a public school for Native students due to the intertribal relationships that developed and to the racism experienced by many American Indians. In her study of families impacted by boarding school historian, Brenda J. Child found that racism was often the "reason they (students and families) chose boarding schools over public schools in Wisconsin and Minnesota."[24] Eventually, though, the push for local schooling began to win out, and

more Ojibwe students began attending public schooling as more boarding schools closed.

By the time of Warren's birth in 1913, Ojibwe people had proven their resiliency and adaptability to repeated attempts to eliminate, control, and convert them. Although many Ojibwe people attempted to work with governments and conform to Anglo-American norms, they were forcibly relocated to undesirable land and stripped of their economic bases. Migration became a primary adaptation strategy with "amalgamation, splintering, intermarriage, and ethnogenesis" occurring as a result.[25] To survive, numerous Ojibwe women moved to urban centers to find wage-earning work. Many Ojibwe families sent their children to boarding schools while others sent their children to public schools. Much to the chagrin of both the United States and Canadian governments, there was no contained space where Ojibwe people lived and survived.

While the roadmaps of Warren's specific ancestry are not known, the pathways her family forged in an urban city and her pursuit of education during the early twentieth century reflect values that Ojibwe people have shown for generations. Warren's achievements fulfilled Ojibwe expectations of adaptability, resourcefulness, and tenacity. Her attendance at college also reflects the Ojibwe strategy of using education to further opportunities. Like Warren, Caudell, too, would have expectations around education and hard work that was shaped by her Native community.

Choctaw

Choctaw history with early missionary groups shows their community's commitment and valuation of education. In 1818, three ABCFM representatives moved

to the Choctaw Nation to begin missionary work. Within ten months of the missionaries' first appearance, seven log houses were erected with a mill, a stable, and a storehouse that was near completion. Under the direction of the missionaries, timber was prepared for a schoolhouse with all the principal labor provided by Choctaw peoples. The group was well-received, and additional white missionaries soon arrived with a school system in operation in the Choctaw Nation by 1821.[26] Choctaw communities' support of the missionaries during this time was due to their "educational and economic" interests rather than out of any religious pursuits, though.[27]

Between the years 1786-1830, as the federal government sought to control increasing amounts of Native land, nine treaties between the Choctaw Nation and the United States were signed. Although the treaties addressed multiple issues, the major impetus for each was the United States' drive for land. During the forty-four year period of these treaties, the Choctaw Nation ceded over twenty-three million acres of land to the United States government. Reflecting the importance the Choctaw Nation placed on education, the treaties often stipulated allowances of land and funds for Choctaw schools. For example, in 1825, Congressman Richard Mentor Johnson founded the (Baptist) Choctaw Academy. This was the first school to provide education at levels higher than elementary for Choctaw boys. Although the geographic area for the Choctaw Nation was decreasing, the number of schools was growing.[28] Unlike many other Native tribes, the Five Tribes viewed "formalized Euroamerican education as a way to interact effectively with white Americans" and considered education a "survival tactic in an ever-changing

world." Both formal and informal education was considered a valuable tool by the Five Tribes in the building of prosperity and later became seen as a bridge to political power.[29]

The largest and most devastating land cession occurred with the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. This resulted in the removal of a majority of the Choctaw people from their ancestral lands to Indian Territory located in what is now Oklahoma. Choctaw were the first of the Five Tribes to be moved to the area. From 1831 to 1833, three significant migrations consisting of over half of the Choctaw Nation occurred. The hardships of this removal became known as the Choctaw Trail of Tears, with many of the travelers dying before they reached Oklahoma.[30]

Article XX of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek stipulated for the construction of churches that also served as schoolhouses as soon as "their people shall be settled."[31] Immediately after the first wave of Choctaw peoples arrived at the designated lands in the west, they sought to establish a new government for their people and schools for their children. Missionaries from Baptist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian groups, among others, also sought to quickly re-establish themselves amongst the group. By 1838, the Choctaw Nation, "whose educational system became the model for schools in the Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole nations," had five mission and twelve tribally funded schools in operation with both day and boarding schools in development.[32] They continued building schools, with both day and boarding institutions available. During the Civil War, all the Choctaw boarding schools were closed. After the war, the boarding school buildings were in dire need of major repairs and were slowly reopened to meet the educational needs of the tribe.

Although the Choctaw Nation had created a functioning school system and were generally receptive to schooling efforts by missionaries, they could not escape the impact of the federal government's plan for control. The year 1893 brought in a period of renewed vigor by the American government to take over any tribes not yet under their control. Though the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations were not bound by the allotment requirements established in the 1887 Dawes Act, they would soon be targeted for devastating allotment policies as well.

In response to the increasing amounts of settlers moving into Oklahoma Territory and the desire to merge Indian Territory lands with Oklahoma Territorial lands to create a new state, President Cleveland created the Dawes Commission in March 1893 to negotiate the Dawes Act with the tribes not included in its first iteration.[33] From 1894 to 1896, the Dawes Commission unsuccessfully attempted to convince tribal authorities to accept the allotment policy. Lack of consent led Congress to pass "the first in a series of acts that increased the commission's powers and changed its character from a diplomatic mission to a judicial tribunal that decided who was eligible for tribal membership and what land they received."[34]

One of the most potent of the acts from the Dawes Commission was the 1898 Curtis Act. Full control by Congress over tribal affairs was made a reality with its passage. Cunningly titled "an Act for the protection of the people of the Indian Territory, and for other purposes," the Curtis Act abolished tribal courts and subjected all persons in the tribal territory to federal law.[35] This eliminated tribal authority over tribal actions, and any proposed tribal legislation had to be authorized by the President of the United States.

Prior to the Curtis Act, the Five Tribes had sole jurisdiction over citizenship requirements. With the Curtis Act, new citizenship rolls were created without the tribes' consent. As the Act's creators intended, the Curtis Act dealt a lethal blow to the governments of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole Nations and opened the door for Oklahoma statehood on November 16, 1907. This Act also had an immense impact on Native schools.

The Curtis Act sanctioned the establishment of public schools for the Five Tribes and gave the Secretary of the Interior control over the expenditure of tribal funds. Also, authority for the direction of tribal schools moved from tribal leaders to agents of the Interior Department. The goal under the government was to "bring the school system…in harmony with the Indian schools in other parts of the country" and to "fill the tribal boarding schools so far as possible with Indian pupils…having three-fourths or more Indian blood."[36] The remaining Native students were encouraged to either attend the public schools of the state or an authorized non-reservation boarding school

With the enactment of the Curtis Act of 1898, the Choctaw tribal council would no longer have complete autonomy to run their schools in the manner they wished. Under Choctaw rule, schools ensured that the learning environment integrated language and culture. Under the federal government, Indian language (and by association, culture) was outlawed. This, in combination with a financial deficit, led many schools to close and poor conditions for those that remained open.[37] By 1911, a majority of the Choctaw people in Oklahoma enrolled in public schools.

When Caudell was born in 1912, like Warren, she lived in a town that would, by all measurements, have been considered modern. Again similar to Warren, her family's history reflects relocation and adaptation as methods of survival. Choctaw people attained a level of financial prosperity and acceptance with the government that differed from Ojibwe, however. As early as the eighteenth century, Choctaw communities had developed a successful transactional market with Europeans. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the Choctaw Nation had adopted European styles of dress and eagerly accepted missionaries within their communities. Seeing education as a tool for power and political strategy, Choctaw people also created their own school systems. While both Ojibwe and Choctaw peoples attempted to conform to Anglo-American norms to minimize and control the damage that governmental interventions brought, the Choctaw approach differed somewhat then the Ojibwe, and whites classified them as a "civilized" tribe. While initially this designation gave them a different space from which to navigate with the government, ultimately, they were forced to comply with edicts that changed the tribal community forever. Caudell's history reflects both this tenacity and adaptability. At least four generations of Caudell's Choctaw family were born in Indian Territory with the previous generation living in ancestral homelands. Even with the turmoil, Caudell's Choctaw family seemed to thrive, and by the time Caudell was born, they had established themselves in their communities. Growing up in a Native society that valued education, Caudell met those expectations by graduating high school and completing post-secondary commercial training. Attending three different universities, one in Hawaii, obtaining two college degrees, and then going on to have a successful career, though, was most

certainly unexpected. In the same vein as both Caudell and Warren, Murphy came from a community that esteemed education so it would not have been a surprise that she too graduated high school, but going to two different colleges, one on the West Coast, would likely have been surprising to many in her Cherokee community at that time.

Cherokee

Cherokee culture was not fixed, nor were people geographically bound to a specific region. With "innovative and adaptive cultural beliefs and structures," power centers were continually changing, and physical movements were occurring as needed.[38] The first recorded encounter was in 1540 with the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto. Jesuits established themselves among the Cherokee in 1736, promoting Christian ideals, and other missionaries soon followed. Through both commerce and marriage with Europeans and other Indigenous tribes, alliances formed, and Cherokee societies and culture adapted to include these relationships.[39] With the attempts at adaptation also came movement. In the late eighteenth century, as settlers started to encroach on Cherokee lands, a "small but steadily increasing number of Cherokees began migrating westward" to modern-day Arkansas as "migration and resettlement" were seen as the best way to avoid "violence and political interference" and a method to retain traditional ways of life.[40] By 1819, over 3,000 Cherokee peoples had resettled to the area and became known as the "western Cherokees" and later the "Old Settlers."[41] Cherokee movement and adaptations during this time also led to the implementation of a dispersed, nation-state framework of leadership.

Through their interactions with other groups, Cherokee leaders had become familiar with the "brand of political modernity and 'civilization'" of the European style of politics. They recognized the importance of political rhetoric in their attempts at diplomacy with British officials. With the increasing demands for land, Cherokee chiefs saw that appropriating forms of "Western political discourse" were necessary if they wanted to protect and retain their lands and livelihood.[42] These tactics would soon become employed in the "series of removal crises" that occurred in 1806, 1809, 1878, 1828, and 1829. In response, in 1827, Cherokee peoples developed their own constitution and used it as evidence of their "civilization." Even with the tools of negotiation and understanding of the political sphere and their assertions of civility, more aggressive removal efforts soon followed. The Indian Removal Act was signed into law on May 28, 1830, after several failed attempts by Cherokee peoples to resist removal by working within the American governmental system. This Act authorized the president to force the land exchange stipulated in the 1817 Treaty of the Cherokee Agency. Factionalism within the forms of the Cherokee government that were developing aided efforts of relocation.

With the movement and relocation of the western Cherokee in the late eighteenth century came the development of new leadership and laws. In 1828, the western Cherokee signed a treaty with the federal government ceding lands, and in 1832 this group moved to the northeastern corner of modern-day Oklahoma, land that later became designated as Indian Territory. Many in this group had moved "specifically to avoid the kind of acculturation that took place in the East."[43] The government had hoped to persuade the entire Cherokee tribe to move with them, but by this time, Cherokee peoples

were facing significant internal dissension resulting in the development of three separate factions by 1838. The groups consisted of those who early on moved west (western Cherokee), those who later followed the western Cherokee and ultimately ceded Cherokee lands through a 1835 treaty (Removal or Treaty party), and with the largest number, those who remained in the east and under the leadership of Chief John Ross (Patriot or Ross party).[44]

Taking advantage of the divisions, the federal government entered into the 1835 Treaty of New Echota with the minority Removal party. This agreement essentially ceded all Cherokee territories in the southeast and authorized the forced removal of thousands of Cherokee peoples, also known as the Cherokee Trail of Tears, to Indian Territory. This caused enormous internal discord and fighting amongst the Cherokee groups with unity not being attained until after the Civil War.[45] The removal process began with the voluntary relocation by those who agreed with the treaty. This group had government support and moved under their own volition. By 1838 only 2,000 of the 16,000 Cherokee peoples had voluntarily relocated. After a grace period had elapsed, the United States Army began to violently move those that remained into internment camps, prompting Chief John Ross to organize the remaining Cherokee people in hopes of minimizing further violence against them. In response, the American government initiated a forced march starting in the summer of 1838 and lasting through the spring of 1839. Moving westward, approximately 4,000 Cherokee peoples perished on the trek. A majority of the surviving Cherokee people settled in the northeast portion of Indian Territory.[46]

Resistance by Cherokee people to the forced taking of their land and the loss of their culture to white settlers came in the form of adaptation and agreements. In their attempt to mitigate the intrusion and promote acceptance within the white culture, many Cherokee peoples adapted their society to include various aspects of Anglo-American culture and policies in several ways, including formal education. To promote education, early Cherokee communities had built schools while some individuals hired personal tutors to come into their homes and teach their children. In 1800, the Cherokee National Council allowed Moravian missionaries to open a mission school with the provision that the students received a secular education.[47] The school was opened in present-day Georgia and contained fullblood, mixed-blood, and white students.[48] Shortly after that, Presbyterian missionaries opened three mission schools in Tennessee. The schools were unsuccessful as the hurdles of culture and language between fullbloods, and the missionaries could not be overcome.

In the *1827 Constitution of the Cherokee Nation,* the importance of education to was made explicit with the inclusion of the declaration that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this Nation."[49] Cherokee leaders were also outspoken advocates for "a literary institution of a higher order" as early as the 1820s.[50] During the tumultuous years before relocation, Cherokee Nation Chief John Ross called for treaty negotiations to include provisions for funds to support national free schools for students who possessed "basic knowledge of English, arithmetic, geography, and history."[51]

By the 1830s, Baptist, Methodist, other Presbyterian, and nondenominational schools operated in the Cherokee Nation, and although "financial difficulties, lack of interest, and general political upheaval forced the closing of many schools" a good number of Cherokee peoples converted to Christianity at this time. The persistence of missionaries in their attempts to convert Cherokee people matched the Cherokee Nation's desire for education. Just before the forced removal, most Cherokee peoples could read and write in their native language, but only a small number, primarily mixed-bloods, could speak and understand English.[52]

During the same time as the forced relocation, 1838, the groundwork was laid for the Cherokee Nation's public school system. In September of that year, an Act passed that proclaimed that a committee of three persons was to be appointed by the principal chief to organize the educational system of the Cherokee Nation. Three years later, the council established that eleven new public schools were to be built within the new Cherokee Nation. By 1843, there were five hundred Cherokee students enrolled in eleven schools with seven more schools authorized for construction. With the success of the burgeoning Cherokee school system in the new Indian Territory, a proposal submitted in October 1846 sought the creation of two seminaries, one for males and the other females to, "carry the mental culture of the youth of our country to the highest practicable point."[53] Under Cherokee leadership, the Cherokee tribe's school system of over 140 elementary and two higher education institutions "rivaled, if not surpassed all other schools in the region," with many white settlers taking advantage of the superior school system, paying tuition to have their children attend Cherokee schools."[54] Progressive

Cherokee peoples sought a school system that would lift up the entire tribe, including "poor fullbloods and some mixed-bloods," which were considered "unenlightened" and "uninformed."[55] Eastern preparatory schools with a rigorous academic program that included white instructors from Yale, Mount Holyoke, and Newton Theological Seminary were the models for the school system. The program also did not include any classes on Cherokee culture.[56]

The Cherokee Nation functioned as a governmental unit similar to and faced many of the same issues as the American government before the forced relocation in 1839 through the late 1890s. Although the Cherokee Nation tried to honor the American government's rules, the toughest issues facing the nation were coming directly from that organization. Ongoing in the trials of the Cherokee people was the attack on their culture. Similar to other tribes, the process to break up the Cherokee Nation began innocuously and grew over time.

Like the Choctaw Nation, Cherokee peoples were initially exempted from the Dawes Act, and its passing 1887 initially warranted little interest in the Cherokee Nation. The language around the Dawes Act became significantly different a mere two months later, however. The July 6, 1887 edition of the *Cherokee Advocate* included lengthy warnings about what the Act entailed.

> When this is accomplished the occupant's fee is inalienable for twenty-five years, and he himself becomes a citizen of the United States, with standing in the Federal courts, but at the cost to him of all the advantages of his tribal relations, including the long series of treaty rights which, under the old policy of the Government, have been acquired by the tribes. In other words, under the Dawes statue, the Interior Department may force the greater part of the Indians to become citizens and land owners in simple fee; and may wage extermination war on the old tribal communism. (1)

Over the next few years, letters to the paper's editor reflected a growing concern by readers for its consequences for all Americans. In a February 1888 edition of the *Cherokee Advocate*, a writer describing himself as a "sensible white man" who spoke in "the interest of both white and red" found the Dawes Act "idiotic." He went on to declare that as the bill passed the Senate, the "senate thus offers a premium on ignorance, on degradation, on barbarism." The author also discussed the "several schools [the male and female seminaries] where the Indian boys and girls (were) educated in the language and knowledge of the white man" and how "the spirit of the Dawes bill would destroy those schools." [57] A subsequent article in the same paper spoke volumes about the expressed sentiments toward the Act. It was titled the "Dawes Obnoxious Bill" and provided the bill's provisions for all Cherokee to read and comprehend.[58]

Addressing concerns of the implications of the Dawes Act on Cherokee education, in his Annual Message delivered at Tahlequah, Oklahoma on November 4, 1890, the Honorable J.B. Mayes, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, stated that "there is no other subject of so much importance to the Cherokee as the education of their children. It must always be foremost when you consider their welfare." Moreover, that "wise legislation to foster this great blessing should be your greatest care." He also

addressed existing dissent across various tribes and suggested that "unity of action would be more effectual in the protection of Indian rights" than individual tribes' attempts to fight the government.[59] Mayes was aware of how fractured Native groups would ultimately make the Cherokee more vulnerable to the government's imposition and increase the likelihood of loss of control.

By December of 1893, the resistance to impending changes from the Dawes commission and the calls for the American government to honor previous agreements were becoming more prominent. [60] As the actions by the American Government grew in intensity, so did the number of articles relating to Cherokee resistance. Many of the rebuttals to the imposition of the federal government discussed Cherokee education. They argued that the schools and colleges were "as superb in their architectural appearance, as costly in construction, as perfectly equipped as there (sic) are in Pennsylvania, Ohio or Illinois." Others offered that "the Indians...spend three times as much per capita for education as is spent in the State of Mississippi" in the hopes that by proving their worth, Cherokee systems could remain untouched.[61] Still fighting for their independence and endorsing the importance of Cherokee schooling, an 1897 editorial declared "now that the schools have opened let everybody encourage them in every possible way" and "it is a great thing to raise and educate a boy or girl, and it is a matter worthy the attention of the most assiduous business or professions man in any community."[62] Despite all the attempts to quell the federal government's attempt at control, the next year would see significant changes come to the Cherokee Nation, and the local newspapers reflected the concerns of a nation under attack.

On February 4, 1898, the *Indian Sentinel* provided the full text of the Curtis Act. Another edition of *Indian Sentinel* reported in their front-page headline "A Strong Remonstrance Against the Passage of the Curtis Bill, by the Cherokee Delegation at Washington." It found that "the Curtis bill, like the Dawes agreements, instead of protecting the poor full-blooded Indian, inadvertently, it is to be presumed protects the townsiters (sic) who are mostly non-citizens." Other headlines in the same edition shared that the "Cherokee Delegation Ask That Some Important Changes (to) be Made in the Measure" and that "Injustice of the Measure (was) Pointed Out."

As they had in the past, the newspapers frequently quoted measures in their entirety without comment or editorializing. The faulty logic used for the government's claims stood in stark contrast to what Cherokee people had undertaken over time. A primary example was the Interior Department's plan for reorganizing schools. With the Curtis Act, Congressman Curtis claimed that "there seems to be a strange apathy in the territory on the subject of education," clearly indicating that he was out of touch with the educational accomplishments of the Cherokee.[63] Cherokee people resisted the Curtis Act by speaking out and following legal channels within the American governmental system. Detailed correspondence between the Department of Interior and the Cherokee National Board of Education published in the July 1, 1899 edition of the *Indian Sentinel* reflects the firm position held by Cherokee at that time. In the letters, the Cherokee Nation argued that the United States government had no authority over Cherokee school funds and their allocation or distribution. There were several responses on both sides claiming the authority to act in the manner they were charged with. The conclusion of the last letter in

this series speaks to the tactics used by Cherokee in their fight. In this, the representative from the Department of the Interior was invited to visit the Cherokee Board of Education. However, it was made clear that "what ever (sic) authority this Board of Education may have in educational matters, that authority was given by the Cherokee Nation Council and we have no right to suspend, change or modify that authority in any manner whatever."[64] Although valiantly resisted by Cherokee persons, the federal government prepared itself to take control of Cherokee education.

The early 1900s were difficult final stages of life for the tribally controlled Cherokee Nation. Discussions of the breadth and depth of the Cherokee educational system were repeatedly used as a tool in the argument against the takeover and to bolster the reputation of the nation. An example is a declaration that "Tahlequah is called the 'Athens' of the Indian Territory because it is the intellectual center."[65] The message of education as a means to freedom seems to have lost its luster by 1900 as the United States government continued to move forward with its plan to eliminate Indian tribal authority. Articles espousing the education programs of Cherokee people and the benefits it garners become noticeably fewer around this time.

Although not wholly acquiescing, a transition from active resistance into a form of resignation can be seen unfolding in 1901. As time progressed, more articles discussing interactions with the United States government appeared as a matter of fact. Intentions to contest claims or bring legal action became scarcer. Employed Cherokee citizens were identified as being good workers with those working with the United States government given special acknowledgments. Speculation surrounded the possible

migration of tribal members who disagreed with the "changes." [66] 1903 saw headlines about the prosperity of Tahlequah and the rush of settlers to Indian Territory. Articles about Indians protesting the sale of their lands refer to the protestors as "agitators[67] Impending statehood garnered a one-paragraph article in the May 19, 1906 edition of the *Tahlequah Arrow*. Congressman E. C. Ellis of Missouri stated: "I cannot conceive of any possible chance that statehood for Oklahoma this year will fail."[68]

"The Cherokee Nation is No More." The title is jarring, and one would expect a full-page editorial, but the article warranted less than two full columns in the November 23, 1907, *Tahlequah Arrow*.[69] The article included a discussion of past chiefs and a micro-history of Cherokee people. This was a far cry from the impassioned statements of earlier years and a sad testament to the resignation by the Cherokee Nation to the loss of self-rule. The quantity and emphasis of the rhetoric about Cherokee schools noticeably changed over time, paralleling the changes in the Cherokee Nation's fight for autonomy. As the modes of education offered to Cherokee students shifted away from tribally run to state-managed public institutions, education became even more aligned with white America.

Like Ojibwe and Choctaw, from the days of first contact, Cherokee peoples created alliances through commerce and marriage with Europeans. They also experienced encroachment by white settlers and voluntary and involuntary movements. Similar to Choctaw, Cherokee people saw the importance of political rhetoric early in their interactions with Anglo-American officials and took measures to make themselves a viable party in negotiations and considered civilized by their white neighbors. By the

1700s, a delegation of Cherokee had visited the royal court in England, causing quite a stir. In the early 1800s, Cherokee developed their syllabary with a Cherokee newspaper soon to follow. Political structures and laws that mimicked the American government also developed. Like Choctaw, Cherokee communities also valued European style education and built school systems that modeled eastern academies. They also made repeated efforts to thwart attacks by the federal government on their land and culture through treaty negotiations only to be overrun and forced to comply in the loss of land and power. Cherokee people had been through many changes with one of the most devastating being forcibly relocated from their homelands to Indian Territory. Although they had adapted to the new space and many found prosperity in their modern community, the Cherokee Nation was forced to relinquish control to the United States government. Once again, Cherokee adjusted and adapted and found new ways to flourish. Historically Cherokee placed a high value on education, and although there had been much that had changed for Cherokee over time, this value had not, and it could be seen reflected in Murphy's family. Both her parents attended school, and her extended family included several teachers. It would have been expected for Murphy to graduate high school and probably even go to a local college. Pushing the boundaries of those expectations and reflecting her ancestor's fortitude, though, she chose to pursue her four-year degree in California rather than at the local Teacher's College.

Opening Doors to Higher Education

Before federal involvement, Native tribes managed their own schooling and had developed forms of higher education. By the 1890s, though, Ojibwe education fell under federal control, and many were forced to attend boarding schools with low academic standards. Before takeover by the United States government in the early 1900s, Choctaw and Cherokee peoples had developed high functioning school systems that, according to historian Angie Debo, had a "higher level of literacy and a higher proportion of college graduates than their white neighbors."[70] Federal involvement in schooling for Choctaw and Cherokee brought an end to tribal education and implementation of federal schooling. This meant a loss of control and quality that Choctaw and Cherokee students used to receive. It was not until the late 1920s and early 1930s that reforms in Indian education applied to all Native schools. These reforms took the shape of improvements to facilities, the quality of their teachers, and an increase in the level of education taught in federal schools. By the time significant changes could be felt in many primary and secondary schools, though, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were entering college.

Native students during the early and mid 1930s found themselves at the end of the Federal Era (Revolutionary War through the 1920s), when the federal government finally eliminated its oppressive anti-Indian policies and in the very early stages of the Self Determination Era (1930s–70s), when federal policies were implemented to increase funding and access to higher education.[71] In 1930, while over seventy-one percent of white five to twenty-year-olds attended school, just over sixty percent Indian and sixty percent of Black five to twenty-year-olds were reported as school attendees.[72] For

twenty-one and over students, 948,429 were white and 71,027 Black.[73] Only 2,050 twenty-one and over Native students were attending school in 1930, and of these, there is no delineation for the type of schooling they were receiving.[74] It was common for Native students to be older than their white peers at that time, as "Many of these young people did not get started in their school work (sic) until they were along in years," and many of these were engaged in outing systems.[75] A report by the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) in 1932 indicated that, as of that year, only 385 Native students enrolled in college, definitive records for only fifty-two Indian graduates located, and only five colleges were offering Indian scholarships.[76] By 1935, 1,208,000 students enrolled in higher education in the United States.[77] The number of reported Native college enrollees totaled 515.[78] For Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, their time in college fell before the women could feel any measurable impact of federal educational reforms or easily tap into federal funding to assist with their college expenses. Despite the lack of support at the federal level, though, they went on to be college graduates from two different colleges.

The Federal Era opened with treaty negotiations between tribal nations and the federal government and continued until the period of the Progressive movement in education and the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.[79] The federal government's almost singular focus on developing "agricultural, mechanical, and domestic skills for the bulk of Indian education[80] While there were several successful ventures in tribal and missionary schooling in this era, the intrusion of the government eliminated any noteworthy progress. Within the specific field of higher education, few opportunities were available for the minority of academically proficient students. As a

result of the federal government's involvement, most Native schools of higher education morphed into colleges that did not include ties to their Indigenous roots.[81] Although the Progressive education movement emphasized vocational training in the early 1930s, manual training had been an almost singular focus for formal Native education for the majority of its existence, leaving a deficit in academic achievement for most Native students. Without the poor academic history to hold them back, new pathways in education for white students were opening, and overall the total number of students seeking a college education rose, but generally, Native pupils had few avenues of advancement available.[82]

The beginning of the Self-Determination Era typically aligns with the passing of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, otherwise known as the Wheeler-Howard Bill, where changes affecting higher education were slow to be realized.[83] This was the cornerstone of what came to be known as the "Indian New Deal." The passing of the Indian Reorganization Act and the Johnson-O'Malley Act were watershed moments for Native rights. The Reorganization Act reinstated tribal sovereignty, ended the allotment policy developed in the General Allotment Act, often referred to as the Dawes Act, and sanctioned tribes to develop their own constitutions. An initiative of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Reorganization Act sought to change the goals of assimilation to ones that supported tribal traditions and cultures.

Importantly for education, it included the first federally designated scholarship fund totaling $250,000 annually for Native higher education. The Johnson-O'Malley Act also authorized funds for education but in the forms of school loans for vocational and

trade schools, as well as providing federal aid to states for education to reduce the "impact of state expenditures on tax-free Indian land."[84] Even with funding available, there would still be limited numbers of Indian students who qualified for academic college programs at that time. Although efforts had been made to improve academic opportunities for Native students, both within and outside of Indian only schools, the pace was slow, and most impacts would not be visible within Native circles for some time.

In addition to making school loans available, changes to the ideas surrounding who Native people were within the larger narrative of being American were also taking place. In 1924 with the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act, all native-born American Indians were American citizens with citizenship "geared to encourage the government's assimilation process." Lawmakers saw it as a "welcoming of sorts into the white culture."[85] There was also a growing interest in Indian culture by reformers and scholars. They championed the "Native American cause for cultural, not just humanitarian, reasons."[86] Movements by religious groups also called for attention to Indian culture with articles encouraging patrons to value the "music, art, ethics, customs, traditions and philosophy of [Indian] life."[87]

By the twentieth century, the vision of the noble savage could be found "most comfortably residing inside American" psyches.[88] Once consigned with negative attributes such as wildness and stubbornness, Indians now reflected the desired qualities of freedom and rootedness. Historian Philip J. Deloria argues that in order to "reaffirm modern identity, Americans needed to experience that which was not modern."[89] As

Native people had been associated with the past or considered outside the contemporary culture throughout the development of the United States, it was not surprising that the construction of Indianness in the early twentieth century involved looking back. What differed this time, though, were the demands for demonstrations of authenticity and the pursuit of Native objects by the general public.

The emerging field of anthropology played an important role in the construction of the visions of Native authenticity. In viewing Indigenous people as "objects of investigation," anthropologists reinforced the imagining of Native people as "always temporally outside of modernity."[90] The popular ideas of evolution strengthened the ideology of stages of development. By placing Indians on a spectrum where they resided in a stage that came before white Americans, Native people could easily be seen as belonging in another time. Therefore any modern Native (one who dressed, lived, or operated in contemporary society) would be expected to demonstrate their Indianness in ways that white America understood. Some anthropologists also promoted Native arts as part of their work, sometimes commissioning pieces and using them as visual tools to represent their fieldwork.[91] This then fed the public's appetite for "authentic" Indian culture within the safe confines of academic inquiries.

Establishing authenticity also included the use of Indian costumes, making and selling Native art for public consumption, and the participation in tourist activities. According to Deloria, it was not until the early twentieth century that women donned Indian costumes on a "regular basis."[92] These costumes used a "universal Indianness to reproduce specific ideals of middle-class womanhood" and promote a pan-Indian identity

that was easily recognized and accepted as authentic Indian.[93] Arts not obtained on reservations were called into question. To meet the white expectations for "real" Indians, items had to be created within federally constructed physical boundaries by people displaying the accepted stereotypes of Indian princess or noble savages. With the growing interest in Indian reservations and Native lives, some communities used tourism to counter programs that sought to destroy their culture and found new avenues of generating income.[94] By welcoming tourists in their communities, though, tribes could benefit financially from the curious public while creating ownership and control of the process.

Romanticized images of Indians also began to proliferate stories. A popular 1884 novel that went on to have a considerable cultural impact in the early twentieth century was Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*.[95] The book tells the doomed love story of the fictional characters, Ramona, Scottish-Native orphan girl who falls for Alessandro, the son of an Indian chief. While Jackson indicated that she intended to call attention to the mistreatment of Native peoples through the book, after Jackson's death in 1885, her "call to aid the Indians was largely lost." Her rich and descriptive tale evoked a romanticized past that was readily embraced by the popular masses, which were not concerned with the author's message.[96] With its "sentimentalized portrayal of a fanciful past," the goal of drawing attention to Indians plight became buried in the prose.[97] With Jackson no longer around to fight for her cause, the book took on a mythological status, and "fact and fiction blurred to become mutually constitutive as a new, Ramona-inspired social memory."[98] This and other tales around that time used the popularized images of the

noble savage and other stereotypical representations of Native people for mass consumption. By reducing Indians to one-dimensional beings that were vanishing, these types of works fed the narratives of the Other and fostered a curiosity about and consumption of the "dying race."

By giving a monetary value to artifacts, images, and performances by American Indians within the confines of accepted stereotypes, accepted Native images became objects to purchase and promote. Popular demand and questions of authenticity shaped how Indianness was portrayed. Tribal specificity was lost, but acceptance in mainstream culture gained by participating in a pan-Indian identity. Strategically using these tropes, Native people "playing Indian" could make Indianness an "even more powerful construct" but also created a "reinforcing catch-22 of meaning that would prove difficult to circumvent" in the future.[99] Bacone College, an Indian school, tapped into the glorification of the idealized Indian image taking shape in the 1920s and 30s and used it to support and promote its programs actively. As students at Bacone, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy participated in these representations and benefitted from the opportunities this school offered.

Despite the issues that existed in Native education, by the early twentieth century, a growing number of American Indians had found ways to use formal education to open pathways to higher education, all while adapting to changing ideologies of who Native people were and their role in the greater American society. Formal education for American Indians, boarding schools, in particular, had historically been traumatizing and

ineffective affairs, so by the 1930s, the legacy of forced assimilation had left an indelible print upon the educational landscape of most Native people. A positive byproduct of glorification of the idealized Indian image, though, was the access to educational opportunities that did not previously exist. With the help of fundraising performances, colleges for Native students began to thrive. Non-Native universities also saw more Indian students attend their campuses. Historian Kevin Patrick Whalen argues, "Indigenous peoples of the early twentieth century did not become completely defined by the rapidly changing economic, social, and political conditions in which they lived and labored."[100] By incorporating formal education and its outcomes into their own worldviews, it allowed American Indian students to navigate the shifting landscapes successfully.

Through the process of illuminating the tribal and educational pasts of the Cherokee, Ojibwe, and Choctaw tribes and the development and implementation of federal education policies and reforms, we begin to understand the lived realities of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. These distinct histories reveal not just the tribal differences but also the similarities of experience that connected the women. The histories also give us perspective for viewing the women's representations of Indianness while attending various forms of schooling. The accounts also offer that while Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee peoples had developed different relationships to white-sponsored education, they all ultimately fell under the federal government's purview. Many Ojibwe embraced boarding schools rather than face poverty at home, while Choctaw and Cherokee communities had their own well-developed systems of education that ended

with the enactment of the Curtis Act, which ultimately forced them to succumb to the government's efforts at control. Turning over control of schools did not mean that tribes lost all agency and a sense of purpose. Ojibwe, Choctaw, and Cherokee leaders would continue to advocate for their communities and encourage education for their people. The narratives of these communities reveal a chronicle of strength and adaptability that each woman would go on to characterize. Additionally, the accounts also allow us to understand how the educational trajectories in which these women operated directly connected to the federal government's initiatives on Indian education. As their college experiences show, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy both met and exceeded expectations put forth by their communities and to represent what a modern Native woman could look like.

Notes

1. Carol Williams, ed*., Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 105.

2. Carol Devens, "'If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race:' Missionary Education of Native American Girls," *Journal of World History* (1992): 219-37.

3**.** Brown and Beierle, "Culture Summary: Ojibwa," https://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/document?id=ng06-000.

4. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (The Board, 1882), xliii.

5. Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23.

6. Instructions of the Prudential Committee to the Rev. Sherman Hull and Rev. William F. Boutwell, missionaries to the Ojibways (1832), ABC 8.1, v.1.

7. Devens, "If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race," 224.

8. Devens, 225-26.

9. Devens, 228.

10. "Treaty with the Chippewa: February 22, 1855," First People, First People of America and First People of Canada: Turtle Island, access date June 12, 2017 https://www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Treaties/TreatyWithTheChippewa1855.html

11. Kugel, 172.

12. Kugel, 173.

13. Kugel, 173.

14. For additional discussion of how Ojibwe women developed practices that conformed to white society but still reinforced traditional ways that women worked in Ojibwe communities, see Kugel, "Leadership within the Women's Community."

15. The label "Five 'Civilized' Tribes" was a used to describe Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole nations in the mid-nineteenth century by whites, as well

as the tribes themselves as they appeared to be readily assimilating into white culture through the adoption of Christianity, literacy, forms of government, and in some cases slavery. Within this paper, the group will be referred to as the Five Tribes unless provided as a quotation. The Dawes Committee was formed in 1893 to negotiate the end of tribal land ownership and begin the allotment process with the Five Tribes.

16. "Transcript of Dawes Act (1887)," Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents, U.S. National Archives & Records Administration, accessed May 15, 2016, http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=50.

17. "History: Land Tenure History," Indian Land Tenure Foundation, accesses May 26, 2016, https://iltf.org/land-issues/history/.

18. Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1998), 9.

19. Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 20.

20. Child, 4.

21. Child, 7.

22. Linda Legrade Grover, "Effects f Boarding School Education on American Indian families: EdD diss, 1999).

23. Child, 14.

24. Child, 22.

25. Melissa L. Meyer, *The White Earth Tragedy: Ethnicity and Dispossession at a Minnesota Anishinaabe Reservation, 1889-1920* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1999), 9.

26. "A Brief History of the Choctaw Nation," Cherokee Nation, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.fivecivilizedtribes.org/FiveTribes/Choctaw/ChoctawHistory.aspx.

27. Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic,* vol. 6. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 45.

28. Ella Wells Drake, "Choctaw Academy: Richard M. Johnson and the Business of Indian Education," *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 91, no. 3 (1993): 260-97.

29. Steven Crum, "The Choctaw Nation: Changing the Appearance of American Higher Education, 1830-1907," *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2007): 50.

30 "Choctaw Indians," Indians.org, accessed April 20, 2016, http://www.indians.org/articles/choctaw-indians.html.

31 "Indian Affairs: Laws And Treaties, Vol. II, Treaties," Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

32 Clyde Ellis, *American Indians and Education*, Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed April 11, 2016, www.okhistory.org.
33. Indian Territory was land set aside by the federal government for the relocation of Native tribes beginning with a treaty in 1803. Allocating an area of land for Indian tribes was a result of policies developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in an attempt at Indian removal.

34. Kent Carter, Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History & Culture, "Dawes Commission," *Oklahoma Historical Society*, copyright 2007, http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/d/da018.html.

35. An Act for the Protection of the People of the Indian Territory, and for other Purposes, Curtis Act, U.S.C. ch. 517, 30 Stat. 495 (1898).

36. "Report of the Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes," 1911, 425.

37. Joe E. Watkins, *The Story of the Choctaw Indians: From the Past to the Present*. ABC-CLIO, 2018, 43.

38. Gregory D. Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 10.

39. Robert J. Conley, *The Cherokee Nation: A History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005) 36; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: U of Nebraska Press, 1998), 8; Rennard Strickland, *Fire and the Spirits: Cherokee Law from Clan to Court*, Vol. 133 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 206. The first known conversion of a Cherokee to Christianity was in 1773, and the first permanent Christian mission established in 1801.

40. Smithers, *The Cherokee Diaspora,* 16.

41. William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokee* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 4. The "Old Settlers Roll" was a list of Cherokee still living in 1851 that were already residing in Oklahoma when the main body

of the Cherokee arrived in the winter of 1839 as a result of the Treaty of New Echota (1835).

42. Smithers, 17.

43. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears,* 5.

44. McLoughlin, 4.

45. McLoughlin, 5.

46. William Anderson, ed. *Cherokee Removal: Before and After* (University of Georgia Press, 1992). "Indian Removal Act," *The Library of Congress,* last modified November 12, 2013, http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Indian.html. After several failed attempts by the Cherokee to resist removal by working within the American governmental system, the Indian Removal Act became law on May 28, 1830. This authorized the president to force the land exchange stipulated in the 1817 Treaty of the Cherokee Agency. By 1838 only 2,000 of the 16,000 Cherokee people had voluntarily relocated. In response, the American government initiated a forced march starting in the summer of 1838 and lasting through the spring of 1839 westward, which became known as the Cherokee Trail of Tears as approximately 4,000 Cherokee perished on the trek. A majority of the surviving Cherokee people settled in the northeast portion of what was to become the state of Oklahoma.

47. Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 15.

48. The terms "fullblood" and "mixed-blood" are considered physiological traits. These terms and the term "Indian" are utilized within the contexts provided by Native American historian Devon A. Mihesuah.

49. "Constitution of the Cherokee Nation," Digital History, accessed June 6, 2018. http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active_learning/explorations/indian_removal/cherokee_constitution.cfm. This passage was taken almost verbatim from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, an Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio. This Act of Congress created the Northwest Territory, the first organized territory of the United States, and was considered one of the most important legislative acts of the Confederate Congress as it established the precedent by which the federal government could expand west with the admission of new states.
50. Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties, "Vol. II Treaties, Treaty with the Cherokee, 1835," Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler, (Washington: Government Printing Office 1904), http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/vol2/treaties/che0439.htm.

51. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds,* 20.

52. Mihesuah, 20.

53. The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation 1839-1851 (Tahlequah: Cherokee Nation, 1852), 147.

54. "Our History," Cherokee Nation, accessed June 6, 2018. http://www.cherokee.org/About-The-Nation/History/Facts/Our-History

55. Mihesuah, 21.

56. Brad Agnew, "Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CH018.

57. Chetopa Statesman, "Dawes – His Bill," C*herokee Advocate,* February 8, 1888, (Tahlequah, Ind. Terr.), 1.

58. "Dawes Obnoxious Bill," C*herokee Advocate,* February 8, 1888, (Tahlequah, Ind. Terr.), 1.

59. J. B. Mayes, Principal Chief, "Fourth Annual Message, of Hon. J. B. Mayes," *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation), Nov. 5, 1890, 1.

60. For example, see *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation), Dec. 20, 1893, 2.

61. "Status of the Indian Nations," *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation), Aug. 22, 1894, 1. "The Indian Territory," *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation), Jan. 9, 1895, 1.

62. "Chieftain," *The Indian Sentinel* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), Sept. 10, 1897, 1.

63. *The Indian Sentinel* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), Jan. 12, 1899, 1.

64. *The Indian Sentinel*, July 1, 1899, 2-3.

65. *The Indian Sentinel*, May 26, 1900, 3.

66. "Indians Were Good Officers," *The Tahlequah Arrow* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), Feb. 15, 1902, 1.

67. “Demonstrations by Citizens,” *The Tahlequah Arrow* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), Aug. 1, 1903, 1.

68. “Statehood Almost Sure,” *The Tahlequah Arrow* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), May 19, 1906, 1.

69. “The Cherokee Nation is no More,” *The Tahlequah Arrow* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), Nov. 23, 1907, 1.

70. Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* vol. 6. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), 242.

71. Mary Jo Tippeconnic Fox, Shelly C. Lowe, and George S. McClellan, “Where we Have Been: A History of Native American Higher Education,” *New Directions for Student Services* 2005, no. 109 (2005): 9-10.

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73. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, “United States Summary: Composition and Characteristics of the Population,” in the *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Census* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 10 and 17.

74. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, “The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska,” in the *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Census* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office), 133.

75. F.M. Conser, letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., February 25, 1926, Sherman Institute Collection, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA. Although Native students would age-out of receiving federal funds at the age of twenty, schools could continue to receive funds on the students’ behalf if they were able to show a need for the students to continue their education. For further discussion of the outing program and student funding see; Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902-1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006). Clifford E. Trafzer and Matt Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Indian School on Magnolia Avenue: Voices and Images from Sherman Institute (*Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2012), Robert A. Trennert, “From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930,” *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 267-291, Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute’s Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), or Myriam. Vučković,

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77. Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993), 76.

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" marked this phase of Native education.

80. Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*, 91.

81. Carney, 93.

82. Carney, 93. Nash and Romero, "Citizenship for the College," 8.

83. Carney, 96.

84. Carney, 102.

85. Carney, 98.

86. Carney, 99.

87. Ataloa, [Mary Stone McLendon], "Can the Indian be 'Saved?'" *The Baptist,* Jan. 1931, 46.

88. Deloria, 104.

89. Deloria, 105.

90. Deloria, 105-6.

91. Lisa K. Neuman, *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 163.

92. Deloria, 8.

93. Deloria, 122.

94. Carol Williams, *Indigenous Women and Work*," 137. For example, the Anishinaabe in northern Wisconsin tapped into the tourism market to provide financial support for their community.

95. Helen Hunt Jackson, *Ramona,* ed. Siobhan Senier (Buffalo: Broadview Press, 2008).

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97. DeLyser, "Ramona Memories," 891.

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99. Deloria, 126.

100. Whalen, 15.

Chapter 4: Early Lives

Coming Together: Separate Roads Leading to the Same Destination

"Reformers and educators expected education to transform Indian women's lives, and they expected young girls to shoulder an incredible responsibility."[1]

Evelyn Warren (Ojibwe), Cleo Caudell (Choctaw), and Ruth Murphy (Cherokee) grew up during a time of significant transition and change in Indian education. They attended primary and secondary schools after federal control of Indian education took place, but before any widespread improvements in Native schooling were implemented.[2] Although the Office of Indian Affairs-Education Division (OIE) had begun an effort to shift Indian students to public schools, this too was problematic for many Native students. Racism and lack of cultural support or understanding from teachers existed for many students resulting in attendance and completion issues.[3] Even with all this, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy completed primary and secondary schools in their entirety before reaching their eighteenth birthdays. They also went on to travel and live in different locales. These place them in a small cohort of Native women who successfully navigated these conditions during the early twentieth century.[4] Although they have many similarities, these three cosmopolitan women also represent a variety of unique educational and cultural experiences.

Warren was born in the third-largest urban area of the United States and attended public schools in densely populated areas. Warren and her family also experienced a multiplicity of racial classifications by the government but lived in primarily white populated areas. Caudell was born in a small town located in what had been designated

Choctaw territory, and she attended an Indian boarding school in Lawrence, Kansas. Subsequently, other Native students surrounded Caudell during her primary and secondary education. Murphy was born in an area established by early Cherokee transplants but moved several times in her youth. She attended the local public schools of towns outside of what had been Cherokee designated lands in the state of Oklahoma but continued to be surrounded by Native communities. Murphy interacted with diverse student bodies in her early education and had strong connections with her extended family on her mother's side. Although the women's lives had some commonalities, looking at them for the exceptional reveal narratives that confront and contest a pan-Indian experience for Native women's schooling in the early twentieth century.[5]

Historian Philip J. Deloria argues that at the turn of the twentieth century, "according to most American narratives, Indian people, [were] corralled on isolated and impoverished reservations, [and] missed out on modernity." He also found that while not all Indians were actively seeking inclusion with or acknowledgment by the larger society, an "important group of Native people embraced a different story about themselves than we are accustomed to hearing." These included athletes, actors, performers, directors, and other Native people who constructed complicated images of themselves and helped to form new ideas of modernity, ones that included Native persons.[6]

Women such as Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Yankton Dakota Sioux), Mourning Dove (Interior Salish), and Te Ata (Chickasaw) appear to have embraced stories about themselves that provided complicated images of Native women in the early twentieth century and helped to provide examples of Native modernity for Warren, Caudell, and

Murphy to emulate. Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, Zitkala-Ša, Red Bird (Yankton Dakota Sioux), was an important figure for Native women in the early twentieth century. She was a "teacher, musical performer, a writer, an employee of the Indian Service," she was also a "public speaker, a major player in the Society of American Indians (SAI), and the president of the National Council of American Indians (NCAI)."[7] At eight years old, she left home to go to White's Manual Labor Institute, a Quaker mission school. Three years later, she returned home to the Yankton Sioux Reservation. In 1895, after earning a scholarship, she attended Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. She stayed for two years and returned home due to poor health. She then studied violin at the New England Conservatory of Music and became known as an oratorical talent. Around 1899 she became a music teacher at Carlisle Industrial School, playing with the band and performing at the 1900 Paris Exposition. She also began writing critiques of Indian boarding schools during this time and was ultimately dismissed from Carlisle, probably because of her criticisms of the teaching methods employed at the school. In 1901 she wrote an anthology of "traditional Lakota Indian life" and became a clerk at the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), paving the way for Warren and Caudell.[8] Bonnin joined the SAI advisory bard in 1914 and quickly became actively involved with the organization. In 1926, Bonnin cofounded the NCAI, the precursor to the later NCAI organization that Caudell and Ruth Muskrat Bronson would participate in, with her husband, Raymond.[9] Bonnin was an advocate for Native civil and political rights, and like other influential Native women of that time, she would give speeches dressed in "traditional costume."[10] As an early influencer, Bonnin's success using stereotypical Native imagery, in

combination with her intelligence, activism, and talents, helped to set the standard for other Native women to aspire to. Standards that influential women such as Ataloa, Mourning Dove, and Te Ata would also seem to embrace and pass along to emerging Native women such as Warren and Caudell.

Mourning Dove, also known as Christine Quintasket, was an author. Her best-known novel, *Cogewea, the Half-Blood: A Depiction of the Great Montana Cattle Range*. The book was one of the first popular novels by an Indian woman to center on a female protagonist. She started the draft for *Cogewea* in 1912, and it took twelve years to get published. At fourteen years old and in the third grade, Dove was attending public school when she expressed a "desire to continue her education." From 1913 to 1915, she went to business school in Calgary, Alberta, "mastering shorthand, typewriting, and bookkeeping." Dove espoused the value of education and briefly was a teacher on the Inkameep Okanagan reservation near Oliver, British Columbia. Although reluctant, Dove took up public speaking and promoted Native arts. She was also actively involved with politics becoming the first woman elected to the Colville reservation council.[11] Another influential Native women during this period was Te Ata.

Mary Frances Thompson Fisher, better known as Te Ata, was also a popular entertainer in the early twentieth century, performing at the White House for President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933.[12] She traveled across the United States and abroad, often providing dramatizations of Native songs to packed audiences. When she was young, she attended the Bloomfield Academy for girls, later going to a high school in Tishomingo, Oklahoma.[13] In 1915, she enrolled in the Oklahoma College for Women (OCW) and

graduated in 1919.[14] Although she performed throughout her schooling, it was during her last year at OCW that she took on the moniker of "Princess Te Ata."[15] Te Ata most likely met Ataloa during her time at OCW, as in 1925, they moved in together in New York City while Ataloa was attending Teacher's College at Columbia.[16] They began performing together, referring to one another as "cousin."[17] When Ataloa went to work for Bacone, Te Ata continued to develop her professional career as a performer, ultimately spending the majority of her life traveling extensively and sharing Native ceremonies and traditions through her presentations. Like other Native women pathmakers of that era, Te Ata fulfilled stereotypes while also contesting them. She dressed in pan-Indian costume and performed pan-Indian demonstrations, but she also sought to provide authenticity and to educate her audiences about Native populations. This small cadre of women set paths for Warren, Caudell, and Murphy to follow.

Looking at Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's early life stories, alongside the influential women that opened doors for them, offers us new and complicated images of Indian women during the early twentieth century. They assert that modernity and cosmopolitanism existed for Native women during this time and encourage further examination of the everyday and unexpected ways that Native women navigated their lives during this under-examined time period. In the mid-1910s, before Warren, Caudell, and Murphy began school, Indian federal schools had just started to use a curriculum similar to the public schools in their area, and a concerted effort to place Native students in public schools had begun. Over the next decade, enrollment in public schools increased. However, Indian schools did not see noticeable changes to their programs and

improvements in the level of education provided until the late 1920s.[18] A 1930 Annual Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report stated that 38,000 Native students were in public schools but did not provide statistics on Native student retention, attendance, or graduation rates for them.[19] Once they entered the public school system, the Department of Indian Affairs no longer seemed to be concerned with reporting on Native students' success or failure.

Problems existed with public schooling, however. The OIE expressed concern over the misuse of funds paid for Indian students at public schools.[20] The attitudes of some public school teachers and administrators were also causing concern as racism and misunderstandings about Native pupils' abilities were still widespread. Another issue was whether public schools could meet the needs of the Native populations. These needs included the seen and unseen. Students lacking meals, transportation, or clothing could easily be recognized, and remedies applied. Problems with adjusting to a new environment, family relationships with the school, or loss of cultural continuity were not as easily identifiable.[21] It was in this conflicted space from which the women maneuvered and positioned themselves for college attendance. As Devon Abbott Mihesuah articulates, by discussing specific women's histories, "we can use each woman's life to understand the uniqueness of her experience and her culture, and we can also blend these lives together to create a richer view of Native America."[22]

Examining the background of the women's families offer insight into how and where Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were situated both physically and culturally. Parsing through their family genealogy illuminates the pathways that were formed for and by the

women. Through the paths that their families forged and their individual efforts, each woman had experiences and opportunities that previous generations did not. Their families' association with formal education ranged from none to deeply involved, and their early education varied accordingly. In learning which ancestors directly experienced pre or post federal education management, boarding schools, tribally run schools, and/or public schooling, the choices made for the women's educational paths can be better understood. As with Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, the families' histories are varied and distinct. They also provide a glimpse of the mundane experiences that are integral to crafting truthful histories. Uncovering both the everyday and the unexpected of the Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's families also create a deeper understanding of Native experiences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy do not fit neatly into the bifurcated language of the "two-worlds" trope.[23] They were cosmopolitan and successfully navigated a variety of circumstances. None of the three had lived on reservations, so they were not reservation bound with no contact with diverse communities. All had moved to different areas in their youth, so they were exposed to different surroundings, communities, and cultures. During their high school years, Warren lived in a city with a population of over 118,000, Murphy's town had approximately 5,000 residents, and there were over 1,000 students enrolled at Haskell.[24] All three participated in school activities with diverse school populations. They each dressed in styles of the day with Caudell and Murphy sporting short haircuts that were in fashion for young women. They operated within modern society to successfully graduate high school and get themselves enrolled in college.

In their early lives, interactions with other American Indians outside of their families ranged on a scale from possibly none to total immersion with other Native students daily. They either attended a public institution or a school explicitly created for Indians, with both types offering unique opportunities for interactions with others. Rather than viewing Warren, Caudell, and Murphy as beings that "walked between two worlds," I argue that it was their educational experiences that were situated in a liminal state, after shifts in education to make improvements in Indian education had begun but before widespread academic rigor was implemented and during a time of open racism and questioning of Indians capabilities to learn. While not benefitting from significant reforms, they maneuvered in primary and secondary schools in ways that allowed them to go to college. Weaving the "secret histories of unexpectedness" found within the individual life stories of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy together creates a vibrant addition to the history of Native America and specifically the history of American Indian women's education.[25]

Evelyn Warren: Finding Her 'Chippewa' Identity[26]

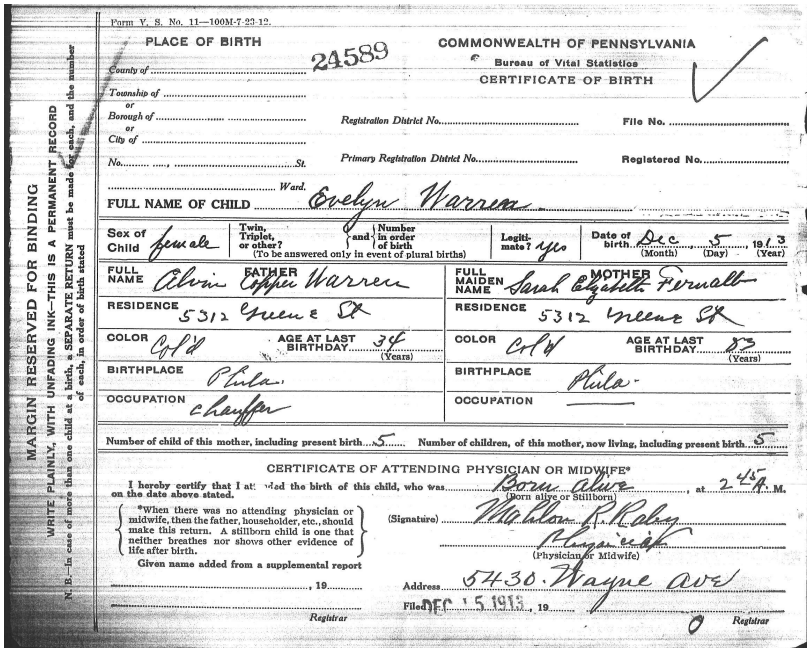
The complicated life story of Evelyn Warren (Ojibwe) defies many expectations of American Indian women that existed during the early twentieth century and tells us something new. Growing up in an urban setting, attending public schools, and going to an Indian college thousands of miles away pushes back against popular reservation histories. Warren also had multiple racial classifications applied to her throughout her life, so she

does not fit neatly into a single racial category.[27] Just these factors alone tell us that Warren has a different story of Native experiences than is often told.

Warren, her parents, and both of her grandmothers were born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. At that time, Philadelphia was considered a metropolitan city, and its major industries included shipbuilding, railroad, and textiles. Although it was referred to as the "City of Firsts" for the "hundreds of achievements" that were born in the city before the early 1900s, according to some, its reputation had gone from enterprising and imaginative to "complacent and unexciting."[28] Some of the shift was attributed to cautious conservatives that stifled reform movements in the city. This conservatism was also blamed for the loss of the "enterprising spirit" and "innovative characteristics" that were once palpable in the area. Another reason for the loss of the "vitality" of the city was due to the "diminishing role in the cultural leadership." Once populated with many of "America's most illustrious writers, artists, and actors," few remained by the early twentieth century.[29]

In contrast to the image of stagnation, immigration to Philadelphia, both foreign and domestic, surged during this time. The Jewish population grew from approximately five thousand in 1881 to one hundred thousand by 1905, the Italian population from around three hundred in 1870 to eighteen thousand in 1900, and over forty thousand African Americans called Philadelphia home. The 1910 Census reported a total population of over one million five hundred thousand in the city, with a total Indian population of eighty-seven. [30] In the thirty-sixth ward where the Warrens lived, the population was 61,379, of which 90 percent were White, 9 percent black, and less than 1

percent Other, which included Indians.[31] The Warren family was not included in the less than 1 percent, however. According to the federal census records, Warren's family was "White."[32] In contrast, on Warren's December 5, 1913 birth certificate, both she and her parents' "Color" was identified as "Col'd" for "colored" (see figure 4.1).[33] In 1918 Warren's nine-year-old sister Laura died from influenza, and on her death certificate, the "School Girl" was identified as "Colored."[34] Over time family members would be ascribed a variety of racial categories, but as many scholars argue, defining and applying racial classifications have been historically problematic.[35] It is also important to consider that early census records takers were left to their own discretion when capturing this value. Often early white American census takers collapsed racial identities into an American racial binary of black and white, as the terms for describing persons of visibly mixed racial heritage were not fixed.



Form Y. S. No. 11—100M-7-23-12.

MARGIN RESERVED FOR BINDING
WRITE PLAINLY, WITH UNFADING INK—THIS IS A PERMANENT RECORD
N.B.—In case of more than one child at a birth, a SEPARATE RETURN must be made for each, and the number of each, in order of birth stated

PLACE OF BIRTH 24589

County of .....
Township of .....
or
Borough of .....
or
City of .....
No..... ....., ... St.
..... Ward.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
Bureau of Vital Statistics
CERTIFICATE OF BIRTH

Registration District No..... File No. .....
Primary Registration District No..... Registered No.....

FULL NAME OF CHILD Evelyn Warren

Sex of Child female | Twin, Triplet, or other? | and Number in order of birth (To be answered only in event of plural births) | Legitimate? yes | Date of birth Dec. 5 (Month) (Day) 1913 (Year)

FATHER	MOTHER
FULL NAME Alvin Coffin Warren	FULL MAIDEN NAME Sarah Elizabeth Fernald
RESIDENCE 5312 Green St	RESIDENCE 5312 Green St
COLOR Colored AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY 38 (Years)	COLOR Colored AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY 33 (Years)
BIRTHPLACE Phila.	BIRTHPLACE Phila.
OCCUPATION chauffer	OCCUPATION —

Number of child of this mother, including present birth 5 Number of children, of this mother, now living, including present birth 5

CERTIFICATE OF ATTENDING PHYSICIAN OR MIDWIFE*

I hereby certify that I attended the birth of this child, who was born alive (born alive or Stillborn), on the date above stated, at 2.45 P. M.

*When there was no attending physician or midwife, then the father, householder, etc., should make this return. A stillborn child is one that neither breathes nor shows other evidence of life after birth.

Given name added from a supplemental report
....., 19.....
Registrar

(Signature) William L. Raley
Physician
(Physician or Midwife)

Address 5430 Wayne Ave

Filed DEC 15 1913, 19..... Registrar

Figure 4.1. Evelyn Warren, Birth Certificate, Dec. 5, 1913.
Courtesy of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
Bureau of Vital Statistics.

Understandings of race have meant different things at different times to different people. Before 1900, few Natives were even counted in the federal census. Beginning with the first federal census in 1790 through 1840, no efforts were made to intentionally count Indians, so the census does not identify any Natives by their race. Natives living in the general population were not included in federal census counts until 1860, and those living on reservations were not enumerated until 1900.[36] In 1900, there were five categories of "Color or Race": White, Black (Negro or Negro descent), Indian, Chinese, or Japanese. An expanded questionnaire was implemented for American Indians living on reservations or in family groups off of reservations.[37] In 1910, "Mulatto" (generally applied to persons who were black and at least one other race) and "Other" were added to the "Color or Race" options. Native persons living with non-Native families outside of

reservations were included on the general schedule with those families.[38] The 1930 census was essentially the same as it had been in 1910 and 1920 except for significant changes to the racial classifications. There were now six defined groups: "W" for White, "Neg" for Black, "Mex" for Mexican, "In" for American Indian, "Ch" for Chinese, "Jp" for Japanese, "Fil" for Filipino, "Hin" for Hindu, and "Kor" for Korean. All other race classifications were to be written out in full, and enumerators given special instructions for interracial persons. No longer would "Mulatto" be used, instead a person who was of White and Black ancestry would be considered Black.

Native persons with mixed ancestry had their own organizational methodologies. A mixed heritage of Black and Indian was to be classified as Black unless the person could be considered "predominately" Indian and accepted within the Indian community as such. White/Indian mixed heritage persons would be identified as White only if the American Indian lineage was perceived as small, and they were accepted as White in the community. The general rule was that any mixed-race was to be cataloged as non-White whenever any other racial lineage was supposed.[39] While these were the official rules outlining racial designations, historian Rebecca Kugel argues that because the Warrens may have had a mixed heritage, it would be the basis for describing them variously as Black, Mulatto, and White. She goes on to explain, "Native peoples of the eastern seaboard had long traditions of incorporating outsiders and as early as the eighteenth century often possessed tri-racial ancestry," and they "did not stop understanding themselves as Native."[40] So while the Warrens may have been "White" for the 1910 census taker, their racial categories would continue to reflect an ongoing discrepancy of

what race meant over the years. The fact that Warren asserted a Native identity rather than trying to pass for white may be strong proof of her self-identification as Native.[41]

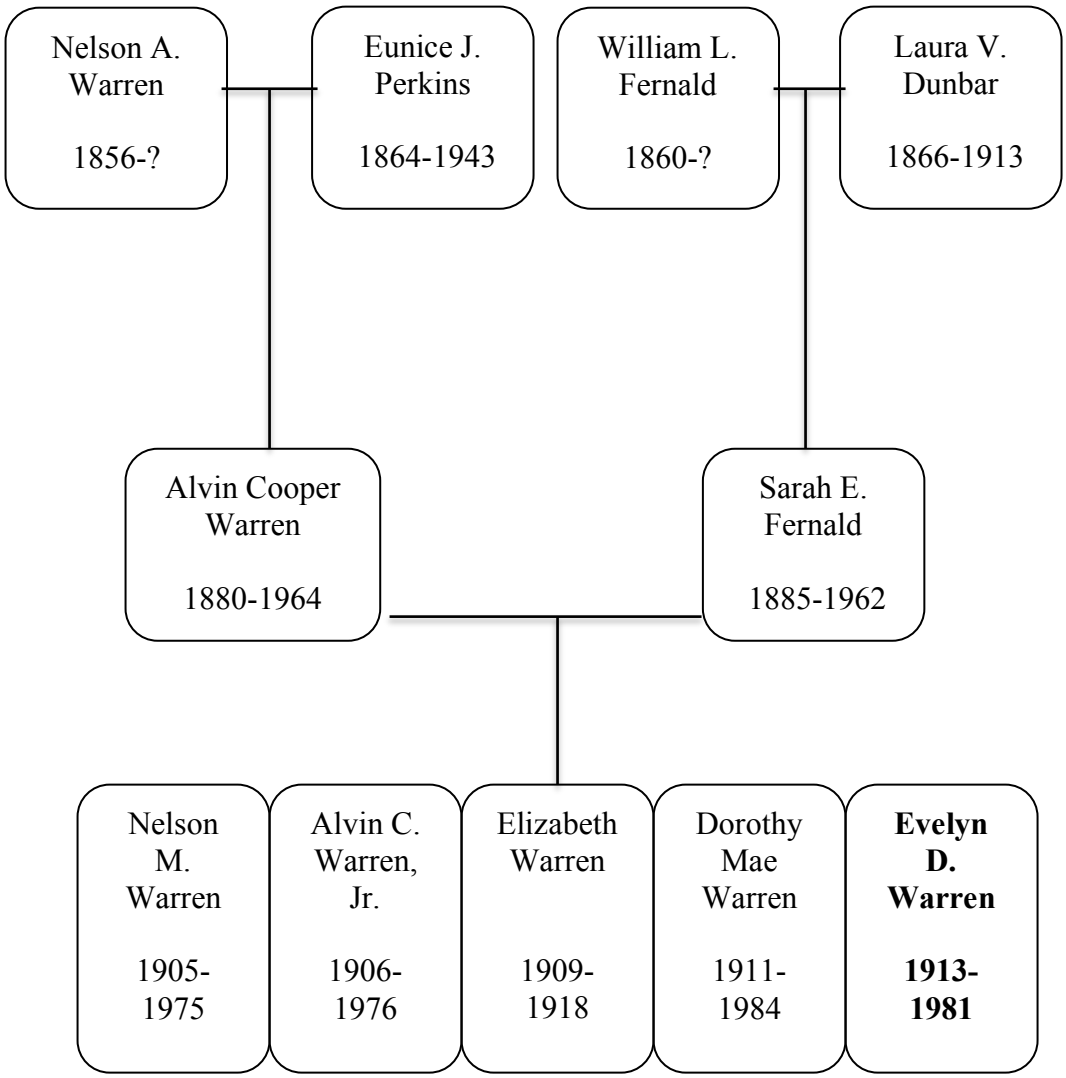


Figure 4.2. Evelyn Warren Family Tree.

Warren was the youngest child of Alvin C. and Sarah E. (Fernald) Warren and sister to Nelson, Alvin Jr., Laura, and Dorothy Mae. Around the time of Warren's birth, her father was a private chauffeur, and her mother did not work outside the home. The Warren family was living along with Sarah's parents, William and Laura, Sarah's three sisters, a brother, and her niece in a rented single-family home on Twenty-third Street in the thirty-sixth ward of the city of Philadelphia. Warren's maternal grandfather was working for the railroad, and her uncle was working at a grocery store. According to the census, all the adults in the home could read and write, and the two school-age children attended school.[42]

By the time Warren was seven, her family had moved and was renting a home in the Magnolia Borough of Camden County, New Jersey. During the 1920s, Camden County had also become industrialized. Major employers such as RCA Victor and New York Shipbuilding provided work to a majority of its inhabitants. Like Philadelphia, Camden in the early twentieth century saw fundamental shifts in its ethnic demographic. At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, British, German, and Irish immigrants made up the majority of the city's population. However, by 1920, Italian and Eastern European immigrants were the majority, with African Americans present from at least the 1830s. Unlike Philadelphia, which saw its Indian population grow from eighty-seven to one hundred and thirty from 1910 to 1920, Camden's reported Indian population shrank from nine to two during the same time period. Again none of the Warren family members were included in these totals. The 1920 census listed the race of all the members of the Warren family (immediate and extended) as "Mulatto."[43]

The move from Philadelphia to Camden brought changes to the household of the Warren family. In 1920, Warren, her brother Alvin Jr. and sister Dorothy lived with their parents while their oldest brother Nelson lived a few doors down White Horse Pike with their paternal grandparents, Nelson and Eunice. The elder Nelson was working as a steward for the government and owned his home "freely," no mortgage was owing on the property. Alvin Sr. was a stock clerk at a garage, and all the Warren children were attending school.[44] The age of compulsory education at that time in New Jersey was seven. Although more students, proportionally, attended schools in rural areas than in urban, over 94 percent of both male and female school-age children in Camden attended school that year. [45]

Although many areas and institutions were segregated during this time, in Camden, only primary public schools were divided and the high schools were not. Warren appears to have attended Washington Street School, an elementary school for African Americans and people with disabilities. As a seven-year-old student at Washington School in New Jersey, Warren's teacher asked the class, "Suppose you had one wish that could be granted to you, what would it be?" Along with several classmates, Warren's response was printed in the local paper. She stated, "I wish to be a young lady. I would want to be eighteen years old and never be any older. There is no other wish in the world that I would want."[46] It is not clear why Warren had such a strong desire to be a "young lady" and what that entailed, but she showed herself to be quite the scholar. She was on the honor roll for sixth through eighth grades. When Warren was twelve, she won second place in her class in a contest for the best essay on Thomas Jefferson. In eighth

grade, she took an active part in track and field and was the class Salutatorian with just under a ninety percent average.

By April of 1930, Warren, her sister Dorothy, and their parents were renting a home on Lapierre Avenue about four miles away from their previous dwelling in the Magnolia Borough of New Jersey. In the 1930 census, the total Indian population count for New Jersey again was two, and again the Warren family was considered "White" for census-taking purposes.[47] Consecutive census records (as well as Warren's death certificate) identified Warren's race as "White."[48] It was not until her enrollment at Bacone College that records reflect that Warren was "Chippewa." Whether it was self-reported or identified by someone else, as far as the official tallies went, Warren was usually considered "White."

In 1930, Alvin Sr. was an automobile salesman, and Dorothy was working as a waitress in a "Tea Room."[49] Warren was attending Haddon Heights High School in New Jersey. She was enrolled at the high school from fall 1926 to spring 1930. Warren participated in the General Course program and was in the Art Club for one year. In her senior yearbook, the *Senior Record*, Warren's appearance seemed to be of utmost importance. Rather than promoting her academic skills, Warren (also known as "Ev") was described as "one of that exclusive clique whose members can boast of flowing curls" and "as an earnest student [who] glows in her classes."[50] Academics must have held some importance for Warren as she was on the honor roll for at least her senior year. With a seemingly strong academic record and the fact that she was perceived to be white,

Warren could most likely have attended any number of colleges closer to home, so it is particularly noteworthy that she chose Bacone College in Oklahoma.

Warren's life provides an unexpected view of American Indian women in the early twentieth century. She lived in urban settings and attended public schools. She self-identified as Chippewa but appears not to have been anchored to a tribal community outside of her brother, who also claimed Chippewa heritage. While her assigned race varied throughout her early years, the classification of Indian only seems to become crucial for Warren's time post-high school. Most of her family members attended formal schools, but none are known to have attended an Indian boarding school. At least two of the children, including Warren, were baptized Presbyterian in the Lombard Central Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia.[51] There was not a significant documented Native community in any of the locations in which they lived and no known Native students at her schools. It is quite possible that it was not until 1931 when Warren followed her brother Alvin Jr. to Bacone College that her Native history played a significant role in her life. However, from that point forward, it is crucial to her college and career placement.



MIRIAM WALL—"MIMI"

"Petite" is the only word that describes Mimi. Her talent in dramatics is one of the reasons that she is always so busy; and the other is—well, just ask Johnny!
General Course: Junior Play; Senior Record, 4; Assembly Committee, 4; Senior Play.

Undecided

WILBUR WALLACE—"WILLIE"

If Willie's qualities develop to the same extent as his tranquillity and timidity, the electrical world will have a genius. Never mind, Willie, they're an asset.
Classical Course: Dramatics Club, 4; Forestry Club, 1; Athletic Association, 1-4.

Undecided

EVELYN DOLORES WARREN—"EV"

Evelyn is one of that exclusive clique whose members can boast of flowing curls. As an earnest student she glows in her classes.
General Course: Art Club, 1.

MARSHALL WARRINGTON—"MARSH"

Every class has its "baby" and Marsh is our juvenile member. Although he is the youngest boy in our midst he is by no means infantile when it comes to using the old gray matter.
Technical Course: Forestry Club, 1; Athletic Association, 1, 2, 3, 4; Nature Club, 2, 3; Assistant Baseball Manager, 2; Home Room President, 3; Stamp Club, 4; Monitor, 4.

Undecided

RICHARD WARRINGTON—"DICK"

Up to this year Dick appeared to be one of our bashful boys, but recently he has developed a sweet tooth, and he may usually be discovered near a certain member of the Candy Committee.
Technical Course: Football, 2-4; Track, 4; Debating, 2; Operetta, 4; Senior Play.

Undecided

IRVING WATERS—"IRV"

"Irv" is an energetic student who, besides taking his lessons seriously, does well in athletics, having earned letters in two sports in the High School.
Technical Course: Athletic Association, 1, 2, 3, 4; Baseball, 2, 3, 4; Monitor, 3, 4; Gym Club; Senior Play; Football, 3, 4.

Undecided

30

Figure 4.3. Evelyn Warren, *The Senior Record,* Haddon Heights High School, 1930. Photo courtesy of Haddon Heights Public Library, 30.

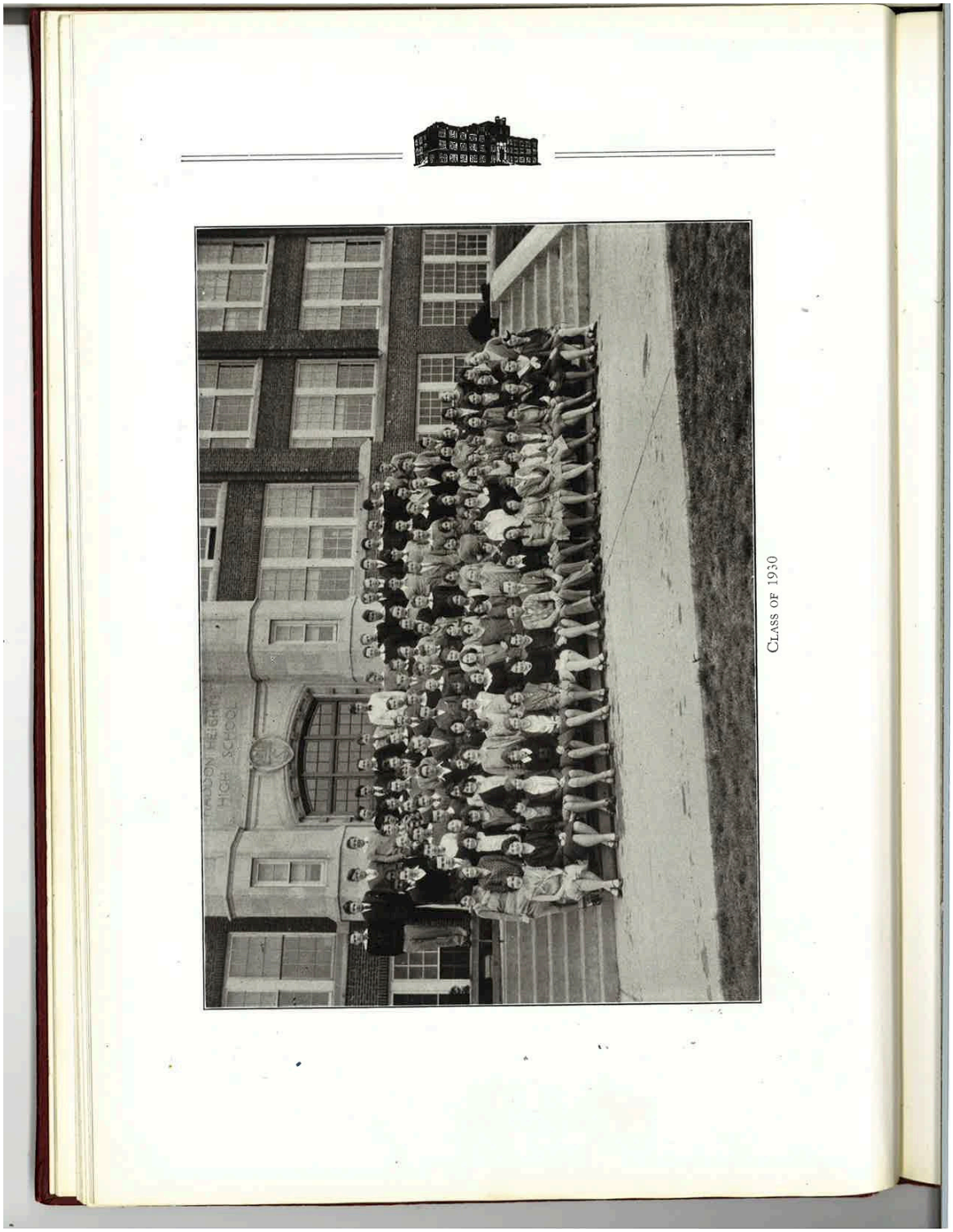


Figure 4.4. 1930 Senior Class, *The Senior Record,* Haddon Heights High School, New Jersey, 1930. Photo courtesy of Haddon Heights Public Library.

Cleo Caudell: Beginning her Journey

Like Warren, Cleo Caudell (Choctaw) challenges familiar narratives about American Indians, but her early life experiences differed greatly from Warren's. She lived in a rural area of Oklahoma that was once Indian Territory. While Oklahoma had just received statehood five years before her birth, the white to Native resident ratio for the county was considerable by 1912. Countywide there were far more whites than Indians, 25,995 compared to 1,351. How the Native population was specifically disbursed across the area was not captured in the census, though.[52] Caudell's maternal family registered on the Dawes rolls as Choctaw, and her father's family was white. Although the family did not live on a reservation, Caudell also went to an Indian boarding school. This meant that she was immersed in Native cultures during her school years there. Caudell does not conform to the poor reservation child that received inadequate care narrative and was not caught up in old-ways or the past. She participated in modern activities and dress and pushed beyond what was expected for Native women at that time.

Cleo Caudell was born on October 18, 1912, in Talihina, Oklahoma, and was the oldest child of Thomas B., White, and Lela M. (Whistler), Choctaw, Caudell. Talihina's name originates from the Choctaw words "tully" and "hena," which translates to Iron Road. It was established in 1886-87 when the St. Louis and San Francisco Railway (Frisco) laid railroad tracks through the Choctaw Nation, opening the surrounding area to eastern markets of cattle, timber, and cotton and located in the southeastern section of modern-day Oklahoma. The population was 400 when the town incorporated in 1905,

two years before statehood. The number grew to 491 by 1910, by which time electric and telephone services were available to residents. There were two sawmills, seven general stores, two banks, and three churches in operation by 1918.[53] Between 1915 and 1921, two major hospitals, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tuberculosis Sanatorium and the Eastern Oklahoma State Tuberculosis Sanatorium, were built just northwest of the town, and one would end up playing an important role for Caudell's family.

Noting a large increase in the instances of tuberculosis amongst Choctaw peoples, the Choctaw Council passed an act on December 14, 1911, appropriating $50,000 for a tuberculosis sanitarium. Six years later, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Tuberculosis Sanatorium located near Talihina was completed. Initially, no special provision for the care of tubercular patients was made, so only general hospital care was provided. In response, a recommendation was made in an annual report of the board of Indian commissioners to devote, "particularly if not exclusively" to the care of tuberculosis patients. Due to its physical location in "the home country of the Indians" patients could be "induced to reside there" and they would be provided with "religious services, and open-air classes [that] can be carried on for children so that they may not grow up in ignorance." Officials felt that by retaining the "most attractive features of Indian life" that were not at "variance with hygienic requirements" the patients would be enticed to "remain indefinitely."[54] Caudell's mother would eventually live and work at this hospital for a time.

Thomas Caudell was the ninth of twelve children of George W. Caudell and Sarah J. Arnold, both White.[55] Thomas's father was born in Georgia, but his family moved to

Arkansas before he turned three. In the mid-1800s, he went to California in search of gold but returned after a short time and purchased a farm in Johnson County, Arkansas.[56] During the Civil War, George enlisted in the Second Infantry Regiment of Company A in Arkansas for the Confederate Army. His father also enlisted in the Confederate Army but in the Seventh Cavalry Regiment of Company B in Arkansas and would ultimately become a Prisoner of War at Camp Chase in Ohio before returning to his family in Arkansas.[57] Sarah was born in Arkansas, and records vary as to whether she could read and write English. George and Sarah married in Johnson, Arkansas, in 1867 and began caring for their own farm soon after. They had twelve children with ten living beyond their early childhood years. Sometime around the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887, the Caudell family moved to the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory and began a farm there. Thomas, the ninth child, was born in 1890 and the first in his family to be born in Indian Territory. When Thomas was fourteen, his father passed away, and his mother took over the family farm. When he was nineteen, 1909, he married Lela Whistler, eighteen, and they moved to land next to his family's farm.

Like Thomas, Lela Whistler was born in the Choctaw Nation, Indian Territory in 1890, but unlike Thomas's family, the Whistlers were "Full Choctaw." Lela was the second of four children. She was six in 1896 when the family applied for membership in the "the Five Civilized Tribes" of the Dawes Rolls in the county of Sugar Loaf.[58] The application was approved, and in 1903 Lela's father applied for allotted land for each family member in Atoka, Indian Territory. A 1904 entitlement certificate showed that each family member's allotted site was valued at around $1,040.00.[59] Lela started school

around the age of seven, and all her family could read, and the children, who all attended school, could also write. Lela's father died in 1904 when she was fourteen. In April of 1909, she married Thomas and moved to Wister, Oklahoma. In July of that year, she petitioned and was approved to sell some of her allotted land. The following year Thomas and Lela bought a farm in the neighboring town of Howe, Oklahoma.[60] Two years later, Caudell was born about forty miles from the family home. When she was three, her younger brother was born, followed by another brother three years after that. In 1920 the Caudell family, including her paternal grandmother, Sarah, fifty-eight, lived together on the farm. In the 1920 census, because one of the parents was Indian, the children were also considered Indian. Of the children, only Caudell was noted as having "attended school any time since September 1, 1919." [61]

Ten years later, Caudell's mother was living at the Choctaw-Chickasaw Hospital in Talihina and working as a dining room attendant. In that year's census, she was recorded as a widow, although other records indicate that Caudell's father did not pass away until 1983.[62] For all persons at the hospital with the "Color or Race" of "Indian," the amount of Indian blood and their tribe's name, rather than the birthplace of mother or father, is provided.[63] Caudell's mother's designation was a "Full Blood" and "Choctaw." None of the children were living with her.[64] Later references show that at that time, Caudell was attending the Haskell Institute, a federally operated Indian boarding school.[65]

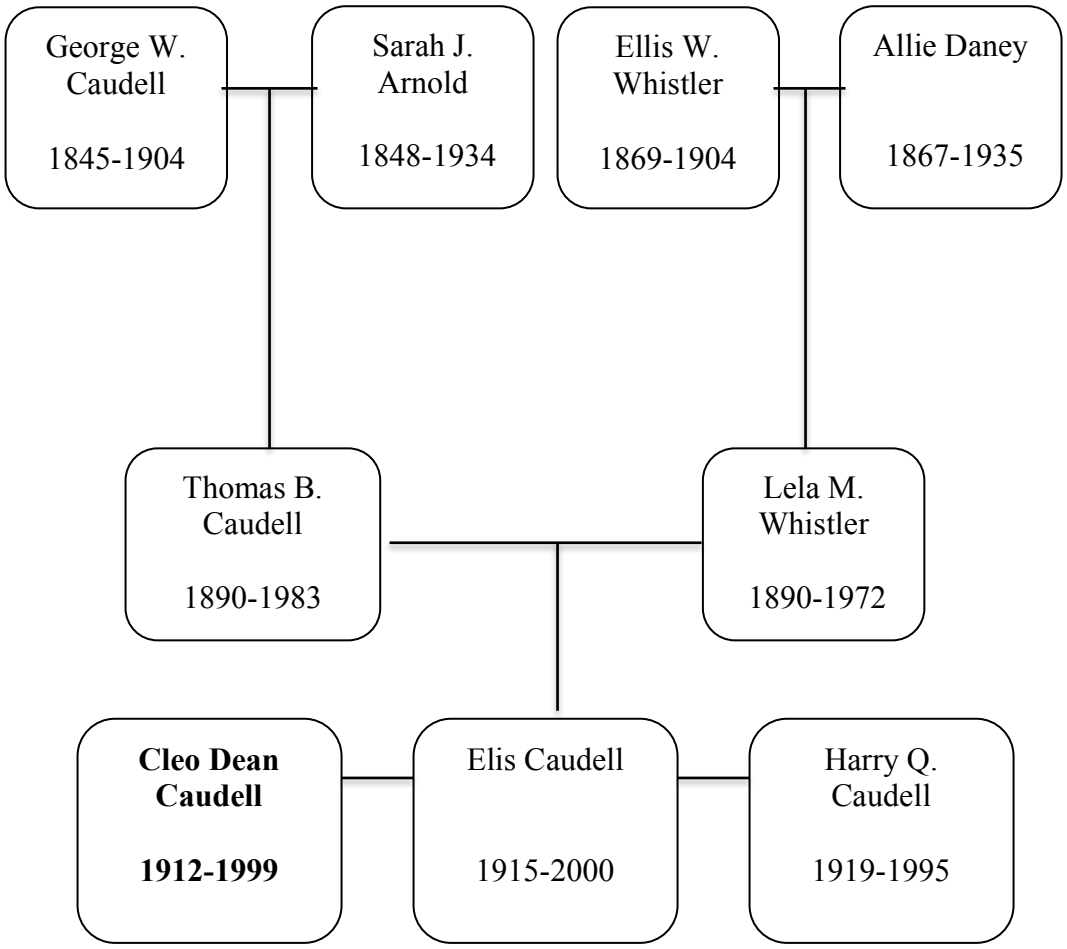


Figure 4.5. Cleo Caudell Family Tree.

Not yet fourteen years of age in 1926, Caudell was in the ninth grade at the Haskell Institute. The Haskell Institute, located in Lawrence, Kansas, opened in 1884 as the United States Indian Industrial Training School, focusing on agricultural education for the first through fifth grades. Three years later, the name changed to the Haskell Institute. Ten years after opening, the school added grades beyond the elementary level.[66] Haskell's early years were marked by military-like systems and complaints of harsh treatment by the administration towards the students.[67] One year after Caudell enrolled, programs incorporating Indian culture had been implemented, the state of Kansas accredited their high school classes, and Haskell began offering post-high school courses in a variety of areas.[68] The historical development of boarding schools as sites whose purpose was to remove young Natives from the "tribalizing influence of the reservation and immerse them in a totally civilized environment" however created generations of wards of the state, a legacy that was not easily overcome.[69]

When Caudell was attending Haskell, students and parents "showed a growing interest in Haskell's programs," and enrollment exceeded its capacity.[70] Interest was so high that Caudell would have been required to be vetted for entry. In the early twentieth century, with some Native communities facing poverty conditions, boarding schools such as Haskell became sites where some Native families could ensure children would be fed and housed.[71] The Caudell's financial situation is unknown. However, it was around this time that her mother went to work at the hospital, and her father's whereabouts were not listed, so it is possible that the security a boarding school provided was a reason. Caudell's mother's experience with formal education may also have been an influencing

factor as she and all her siblings attended schools. Historically Choctaw placed a high value on education. Treaties with the government often stipulated allowances of land and funds for Choctaw schools. Unlike many other Native tribes, Choctaw viewed "formalized Euroamerican (*sic*) education as a way to interact effectively with white Americans" and considered education a "survival tactic in an ever-changing world." Both formal and informal education was considered valuable in the building of prosperity and later became seen as a bridge to political power.[72] With programs that included business, normal, and engineering classes, Haskell was drawing students from across the country.[73]

During her tenure at Haskell, Caudell involved herself in a number of extracurricular activities, including the "Glee club, the choir, the Business Woman's club, and Girls Trio, and the Y.W.C.A."[74] The Young Women's Association (YWCA) was a sister group to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and played a pivotal role in campus life for many female students. The YWCA often acted as ambassadors to new students at institutions that partnered with the group. One of the YWCA clubs that Caudell participated in was the Girl Reserves. This group sought to foster patriotism and was a key avenue for the YWCA to "meet the needs of women and girls of color." As students found sponsors among the women of their churches or schools, networks were fostered.[75]

Caudell continued her education at Haskell after graduating from high school as she entered their commercial training program. Again, the program was so popular that students had to apply, with many being rejected for admission. Established in 1908, this course of study included classes in business arithmetic, penmanship, bookkeeping,

typewriting, business English, and shorthand. Initially, "practically all the graduates" from this program went to work for the government. By 1918, with failing graduation rates and the "high level of difficulty" of the Civil Service exams, more students faced struggles in job placements.[76] Caudell was in the program from September 1930 through June of 1932, and it is unknown whether Caudell applied for work immediately after or not, but some of the skills taught to her during this time would become valuable later.

While at Haskell, Caudell was immersed in an ideology of transformation. The school was "designed to change the children completely" through modifications to their appearance, language, habits, ways of thinking, and demeanor. Through various systems of management such as uniforms, militaristic regimentation, and peer policing, students would also regulate themselves and one another.[77] The academic curriculum emphasized patriotism and "education for citizenship."[78] Using history courses, Haskell teachers were instructed to "create a spirit of love and brotherhood in the minds of children toward white people."[79] The school also emphasized a gendered curriculum with the expectation that most female students would become "mothers, housewives, seamstresses, or domestic servants working for white families." Unlike other federal schools, though, Haskell offered business, nursing, and normal programs for post-secondary students. Seeing the value of educated women for their ability to act as "cultural brokers," the academic curriculum and the "social and religious activities of the" YWCA with which Caudell was involved "all worked together to achieve this goal."[80] Whether she was transformed during her time at Haskell or not, as a student, Caudell would have been

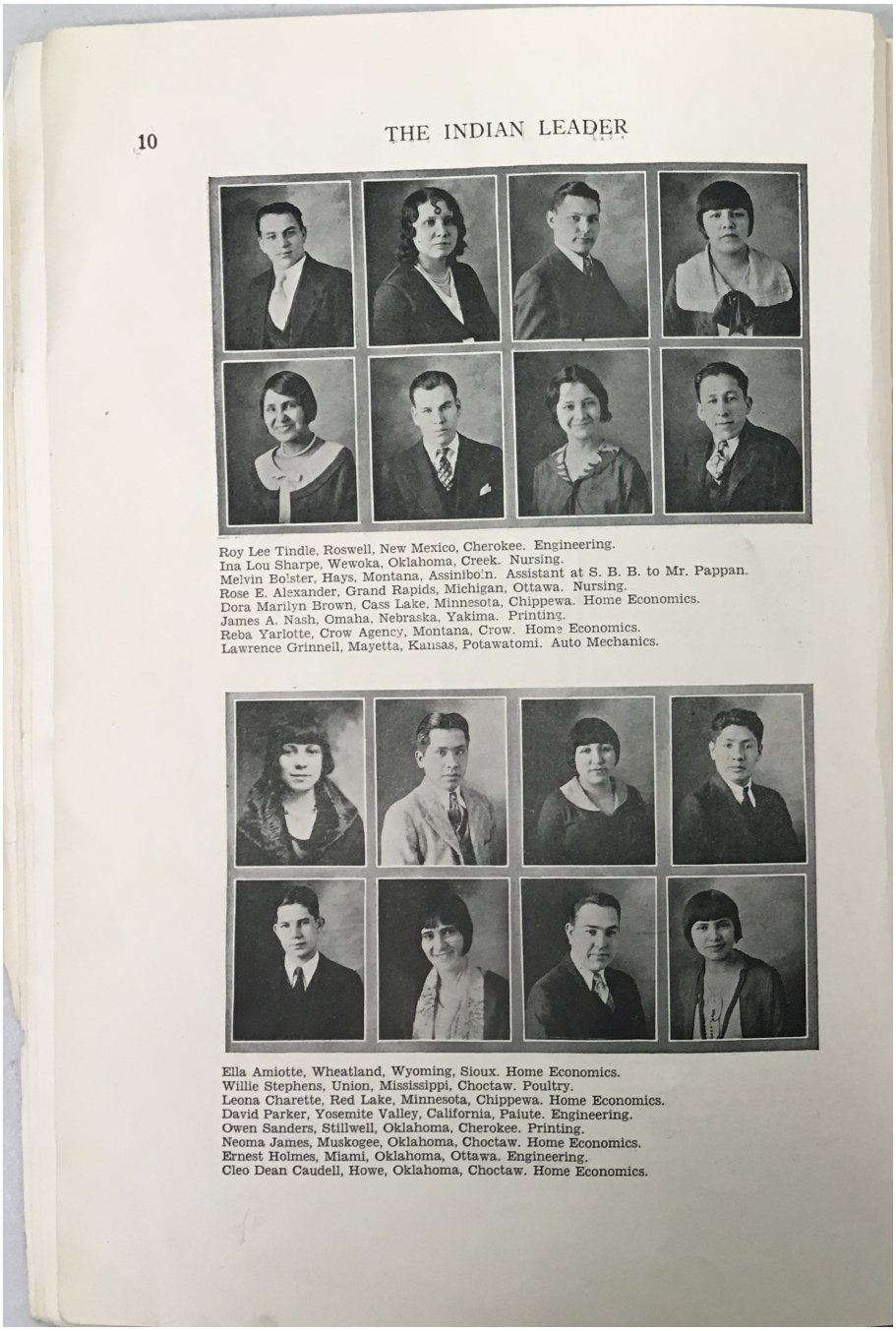
immersed in the ideologies surrounding Anglo-American norms and values and most likely heavily influenced by them.

Caudell was exposed to a diverse body of people at Haskell and formed new networks. It was during her time there that Caudell was exposed to Bacone College outreach efforts and most likely met Mary "Ataloa" (Stone) McLendon (Chickasaw), who went by the names "Ataloa" or "Princess Ataloa." Ataloa attended the Oklahoma College for Women and graduated from the University of Redlands in 1925 and continued her education at Teachers College, Columbia University, earning a master's degree in religious education.[81] It was during this period that she began to perform Native songs and give speeches on the American Indian, performing at venues such as New York City's Metropolitan Opera House and Carnegie Hall.[82] In 1927, Ataloa was hired to teach at Bacone College. Traveling around the country fundraising, Ataloa would also perform outreach activities for Bacone. One school she visited during her trips was the Haskell Institute. Caudell probably met Ataloa for the first time while a student at Haskell. Ataloa was teaching at Bacone when all three women were students, and her direct influence can be seen in the performances of the girl's glee club while at Bacone and for Caudell, in particular, activities later at the University of Redlands and the University of Hawaii. The Bacone to Redlands pipeline is also partially attributed to Ataloa. She left Bacone in 1935 but continued performing throughout that time. In part due to her popularity, Ataloa received a doctoral fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1937. She continued to be involved in numerous fundraising and

organizational activities for Native causes, and her effects on Caudell's life was considerable and lasting.[83]

Another influential Native woman in Caudell's life was Ruth Muskrat Bronson. Bronson (Cherokee) was an English instructor and head of the college placement bureau at Haskell during Caudell's tenure. After graduating from the Oklahoma Institute of Technology (high school), Bronson attended the Henry Kendall Academy in Tulsa and Northeastern State Teachers College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, for teachers training. She spent some time teaching in rural Indian schools before attending the University of Oklahoma, followed by a stint at the University of Kansas. She transferred to Mount Holyoke College in 1923 and graduated in 1925 with her BA. Soon after, she went to work for Haskell. In 1931, while Caudell was participating in the commercial program, Bronson went to work for the OIA as the first Guidance and Placement Officer and began recruiting Native students for the federal higher education loan program.[84]

On Wednesday, September 19, 1934, the *Paris News* from Paris, Texas, published an article about Talihina, Oklahoma students that were "attending higher schools of learning."[85] Caudell's younger brother was heading to the Chilocco Agricultural School, a federally run secondary boarding school, and her youngest brother enrolled at Hartshorne, otherwise known as the Jones Academy, a primary/secondary boarding school. Although many students continued to find themselves unable to continue their education or fully integrate either into their home or white cultures after leaving boarding schools, four years after her high-school graduation and a year after two years of commercial training at Haskell, Caudell was on her way to Bacone College.



10 THE INDIAN LEADER

Roy Lee Tindle, Roswell, New Mexico, Cherokee. Engineering.
Ina Lou Sharpe, Wewoka, Oklahoma, Creek. Nursing.
Melvin Bolster, Hays, Montana, Assiniboin. Assistant at S. B. B. to Mr. Pappan.
Rose E. Alexander, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Ottawa. Nursing.
Dora Marilyn Brown, Cass Lake, Minnesota, Chippewa. Home Economics.
James A. Nash, Omaha, Nebraska, Yakima. Printing.
Reba Yarlotte, Crow Agency, Montana, Crow. Home Economics.
Lawrence Grinnell, Mayetta, Kansas, Potawatomi. Auto Mechanics.

Ella Amiotte, Wheatland, Wyoming, Sioux. Home Economics.
Willie Stephens, Union, Mississippi, Choctaw. Poultry.
Leona Charette, Red Lake, Minnesota, Chippewa. Home Economics.
David Parker, Yosemite Valley, California, Paiute. Engineering.
Owen Sanders, Stillwell, Oklahoma, Cherokee. Printing.
Neoma James, Muskogee, Oklahoma, Choctaw. Home Economics.
Ernest Holmes, Miami, Oklahoma, Ottawa. Engineering.
Cleo Dean Caudell, Howe, Oklahoma, Choctaw. Home Economics.

Figure 4.6. Cleo Caudell, *The Indian Leader*, Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, 1930. Courtesy of Bacone College.

Ruth Murphy: Rooted in Success

Ruth Murphy, Cherokee, had early experiences that were both similar yet distinct from those of Warren and Caudell. She was born on Cherokee land in a town that was approximately three and a half times larger than Caudell's, but much smaller than where Warren was born. Resembling Caudell, Murphy was born and surrounded by other Natives, but Murphy did not attend an Indian boarding school. Rather, like Warren, she went to public schools, but in Murphy's case, they were in areas populated with white and Native students. In some respects, Murphy's story fits normative Cherokee history, but in other ways, it does not.

Murphy's family is formally documented in government Cherokee rolls, and her extended family attended Cherokee run institutions. Murphy's family would likely have been considered middle-class. Although Cherokee had built a thriving economy that could support professional Cherokee women, few middle and upper-class Cherokee advocated for women to work outside the home. While many Cherokee women were "given the educational background to succeed in college and to pursue careers," many Cherokee alumnae had "no goal other than being a wife and mother." Many middle and upper-class Cherokee women did not pursue professions except teaching because their husbands earned sufficient means to support them. Mihesuah argues that they "followed the Progressive spirit, as did white women in the rest of the country" and took up social causes.[86] Rather than an Indian school like Caudell, Murphy attended public school. Perhaps this was due to a feeling of belonging with Cherokee elite ideals. Many educated mixed-blood Cherokee both looked and ascribed to "white" culture and "believed the

traditional Cherokee culture was antiquated and were impatient with the uneducated Cherokees around them." As public schools generally had better levels of education at the time, it would make sense for education-minded parents to send their daughter to public school over a government-run Indian institution. In a shift towards Native education, though, Murphy went to an Indian only college before leaving her home state to attend a private college in California, even though her aunt enrolled in a notable local teacher's college. Murphy, along with Warren and Caudell, challenged what some federal agencies, media, and other indicators expected of Native women. Through viewing both her everyday and unexpected experiences, the narrative that is her history becomes unhidden.

Ruth Cordelia Murphy was born on September 21, 1911, in Row, Oklahoma, located in the northeastern corner of the state. In the early 1830s, some of the Cherokee Old Settlers established themselves in the area.[87] More Cherokee arrived later as a result of various removal programs. However, most were transplanted explicitly as a result of the Cherokee Trail of Tears, which occurred during the latter part of the 1830s.[88] In the late nineteenth century, the westward expansion movement was burgeoning, and in response, Row opened to settlers in 1890, eventually becoming absorbed into the city of Colcord. A large number of whites moved to this region during this time and intermarried with Cherokee people. There were numerous changes to the place and its people during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Murphy's personal story is intimately intertwined with both.

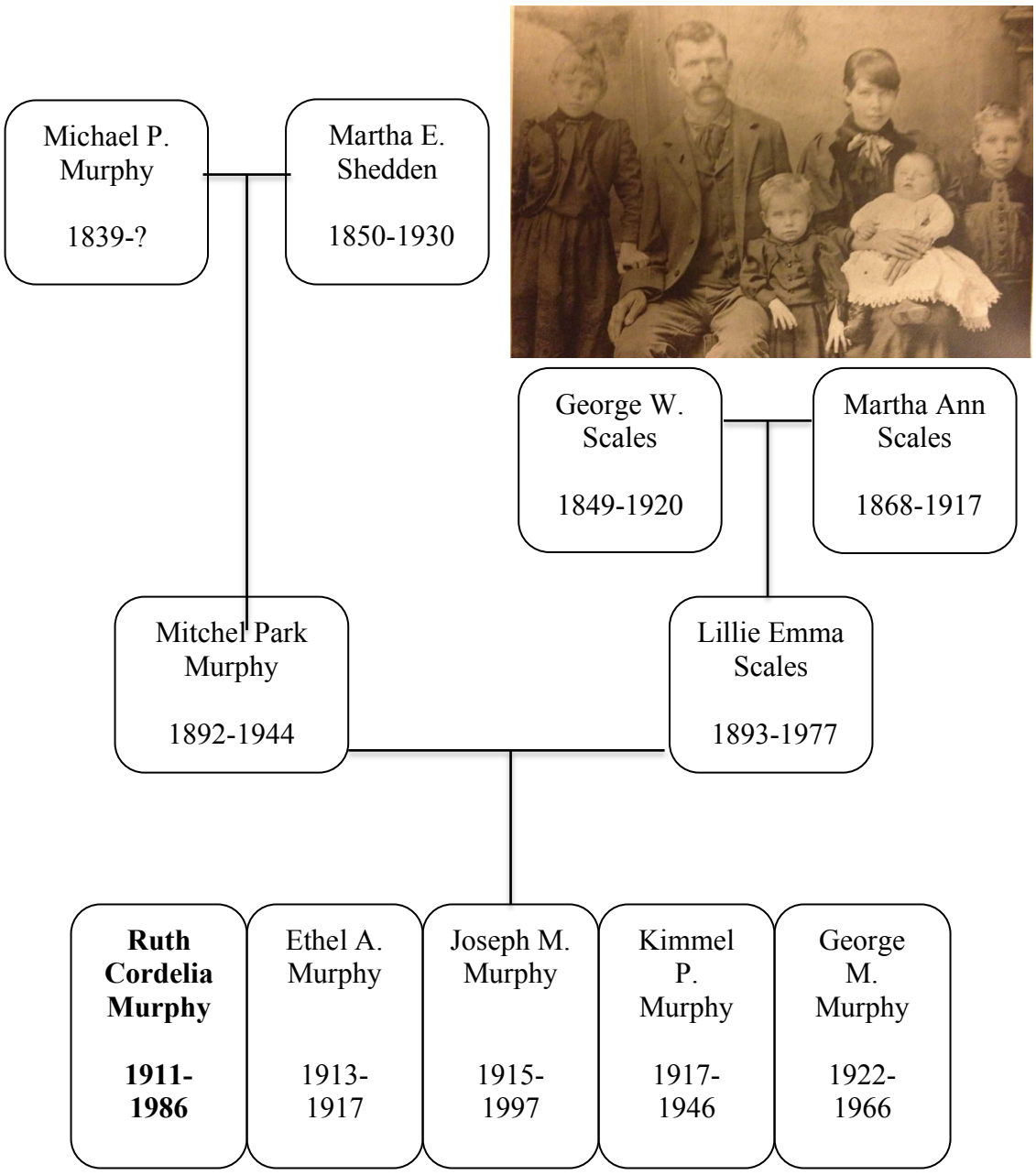


Figure 4.7. Ruth Murphy Family Tree.

Figure 4.8. George and Martha Scales with children, from left: Ethel, Joseph, Martha is holding Lillie, and John, circa 1893-94). Photo courtesy of Ancestry, (Provo: UT), Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

Murphy was the oldest of five children of Mitchel "Park" Parker Murphy, White, and Lillie Emma (Scales) Murphy, Cherokee. Murphy's father, Park, was born in 1892 in the Row area of the Cherokee Nation. They had relocated to the Row area from Blount, Tennessee, with Park's four older siblings some time between 1890 and 1892, the peak of the white settler period for this area. Park's father came from a farming family, but prior to moving to Indian Territory, he took up carpentry as an occupation.[89] Both of Park's parents were White, born in Tennessee, and could read and write. Park's mother came from a farming family, and while she did not attend formal schools, her children did. In June of 1910, Park was seventeen, not working outside the home, and living with his parents and older sister.[90] Just two months later, he would be a married man.

One year younger than Park, Lillie, Cherokee, was also born in the Row area of the Cherokee Nation. Lillie's father was White, born in Alabama and the son of a dentist. His family was primarily from the South, and he lived in Georgia and Arkansas before moving to the Flint Creek area, just south of Row, in Indian Territory between 1880 and 1885. He married Lillie's mother in Flint Creek in 1885. Lillie's mother was born in the Going Snake District of the Cherokee Nation. This area included Flint Creek within its borders. Her family was part of the Cherokee "Old Settler" group originating from what later became the state of Georgia.[91] Lillie's mother's family can be traced back to the early 1700s Cherokee Deer Clan and is on various Cherokee rolls showing the family's historical ties to the Cherokee tribe and its changing lands.

Lillie was the fourth of thirteen children. Most members of her immediate family attended formal schooling, with several siblings attending Cherokee run seminaries

before their closures. The Cherokee Female and Male Seminaries originally opened in 1851 and were patterned after Eastern higher education institutions of the day with curriculums that included Greek, Latin, Geography, and Advanced Arithmetic. Both seminaries were created to provide Cherokee students with the skills necessary to continue their education past the primary grades. The male seminary sought to "prepare the boys for a university education" so they could become Cherokee Nation political leaders and businessmen. Students from the female seminary were expected to become educators of the "unenlightened" Cherokee and "dutiful wives to their prominent Cherokee husbands" following the value system in place in the antebellum South at the time.[92] Both seminaries had two-day entrance exams. This process privileged Cherokee students from wealthier families as they had generally previously attended schools or tutored in subjects that provided them with the knowledge needed to pass the exam. The more elite group was primarily "mixed-bloods" from affluent Cherokee families, resulting in a majority mixed-blood student population.[93] Neither seminary offered instruction in the Cherokee language, culture, or history in their programs at any point in the schools' existence. Historian Devon A. Mihesuah argues that "many Cherokee believed that intermarriage with whites would change their culture and race for the better," so the emphasis was placed on learning and promoting "white culture."[94] Although all tribes were forced to make accommodations when the federal government took over their schooling, the cultural adaptations were the least intrusive for Cherokee. When tribes such as Ojibwe and Choctaw shifted from tribally run education to federally managed schooling, they lost a primary method of transmission of their traditional

culture. In contrast, Cherokee schools were embedded in a system that had esteemed white culture and did not promote its own.

Lillie's oldest sister, Ethel, attended the Cherokee Female Seminary graduating in 1905. John "Grover," the second oldest, attended the Cherokee Male Seminary and after graduation, became Second Assistant at the school. The next in line, Joseph also attended the Cherokee Male Seminary but found the school to be so "dull that he wanted to go home" after school leaders removed an "ungoverned rude set" of students.[95] Even though Lillie was of age to be in primary school when Ethel was a senior, either her stint at the Female Seminary was extremely brief, or she did not attend the school before its closure in 1909 as no student records were found for her. The reason is uncertain, but by the time Lillie was of age to attend the female seminary, many current and former students were "disenchanted" with the dictates of leadership that supported limited roles for women. In addition to the pushback against the confining expectations for its female students, the seminary was facing other issues at that time.[96]

In 1900, the Cherokee National Council passed an ordinance limiting the number of staff the seminary could hire, thereby increasing the workload for the teachers.[97] While the council had some control over its schools, under the General Allotment Act (also known as the Dawes Severalty Act) of 1887, the secretary of the interior had final say over Cherokee schools, school property, and their funds. This allowed United States President William McKinley to veto a well-known and respected principal's proposed tenure. Although the reason is not certain, Mihesuah argues that the denial may have been due to the realization that the Cherokee Nation was losing its self-government, and it

would not be appropriate to endorse a permanent appointment in a school system that would no longer be controlled by the Cherokee but by the state.[98] There was also a smallpox epidemic that spread throughout the Cherokee nation, and the seminary was not immune.[99] The year 1902 was also a difficult time for the school. There was a boon in the harvest crops, so students were working in the fields rather than attending classes. An author stated in an article in the *Tahlequah Arrow* on February 27, 1904, that a report had been circulating that fifty students in the seminary were ill and that the school closed as a result. Disputing this take on events, the article's author argued, "nothing is further from the truth and beyond a few cases of measles the health of the school is good. Incidentally, the school is still going on."[100] Where or why the rumor originated is not clear, but it became significant enough for the school to address it publicly. Although protested, the closures of the Cherokee seminaries were imminent, and public schooling would become the primary method of schooling for many Cherokee.

It is unclear when Lillie and Park specifically met, but having grown up in the same physical area, they most likely crossed paths several times during their early lives. In August of 1910, when Park was not quite eighteen, and Lillie was a couple of months shy of her seventeenth birthday, the couple married in Benton County, Arkansas.[101] Benton County was approximately thirty miles from home, so it was a bit of a trek to get there. Park and Lillie soon settled into a rented home in Salina, west of Row.[102] After Murphy was born, her father ran a barbershop, and her mother did not work outside the home. By the age of eight, Murphy was attending school. With both Park and Lillie having attended formal schools and Lillie's family's strong connection with education, it

is not surprising that schooling seemed to be an important element to the Murphy family.[103]

Sometime between 1920 and 1922, the Murphy family of five moved approximately one hundred-seventeen miles west of Salina to Drumright, Oklahoma. Drumright was established almost overnight in December of 1912 when oil was found, drawing a stream of speculators, oilfield workers, and merchants into the area.[104] By the time of the Murphy family's arrival, the population had grown to almost 6,500. During this surge in population, Park opened a new barbershop, and the family seemed to thrive.

In 1925, at the age of fourteen, Murphy began attending Drumright High School. Like the town, the high school grew exponentially during its first few years. The school started with two small country schoolhouses two miles south and three miles north of Drumright in 1912. By fall of the next year, the schoolhouses merged into one in Drumright with six hundred students and nine teachers. The following year saw its student population double with each year bringing in new students. From its inception the school was a public, coeducational institution and, due to the leaders' "liberal ideas and their conscientious effort to give the people of Drumright the best," a variety of programs including three foreign languages, Agriculture, Domestic Science, Commercial, Music, Art, and Manual Training were available.[105]

During Murphy's four years at Drumright, she participated in the Glee Club and theater in her sophomore year and was a "Peppy Coyote" for her junior and senior years. Murphy's senior class contained seventy-two students representing a variety of cultural backgrounds. The school had a variety of extracurricular and sports activities available to

students, as these activities were seen as a way to integrate students with different backgrounds. The 1929 senior class motto was "Ad Astra Per Aspera*,"* which translates to "Through hardship to the stars."[106]

Murphy was seventeen years old at the time of her graduation, and rather than starting college right away, she began working as a "saleslady" and later promoted to cashier at McLellan Stores Company.[107] She worked there for several years before moving to Detroit, Michigan, to live with an aunt. She lived there for eight months before returning to Drumright as her "plans for attending a beauty school did not materialize."[108] Although this was the beginning of the Great Depression (1929-39) in the United States, In 1930, Murphy's family seemed to be doing quite well. Park owned the family home valued at $1,000. In comparison, the neighbors were renting with monthly rates at ten and twenty dollars, respectively and other nearby homes valued at one hundred dollars.[109] By 1935 though, while they did not appear to be in crises, the Murphy family had moved to another area of town and was again renting a house. Murphy stayed at Bacone and there are no indications that she was required to work to pay for her tuition. In the 1940 census, Park reported working sixty hours a week as a barber and Murphy's brother Kimmel was seeking work, but neither Lillie or Murphy's youngest brother were actively working or seeking employment. Park also reported that he had another source of income, but no other details are provided as to its source. Although the family's circumstances changed during the period of the Great Depression, they do not seem to have suffered as some families had. Park continued to work and Murphy continued her college attendance.[110]

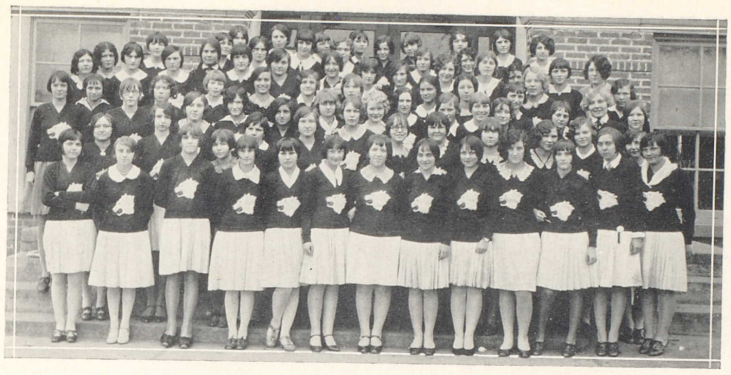
Over four years passed between Murphy graduating from high school and enrolling in college. Perhaps it was due to the upper and middle-class Cherokee social customs. At that time, the norms of Cherokee elite supported limited expectations for women working outside of the home, except in pursuit of social causes. As Cherokee Principal Chief Bushyead stated, the expected role of women was their "influence on the [Cherokee] Nation's destiny."[111] As Devon A. Mihesuah argues, as a middle or upper-class Cherokee woman, it would be expected for Murphy to complete secondary education, but it was not necessarily expected for her to go to college or obtain a career. Under this ideology, it was more pressing for Murphy to find a husband.[112] As few Cherokees "advocated that women be outspoken and individualistic," many Cherokee women were perplexed by the "mixed messages" that their education provided them. It showed that they had the ability to do more than "just successfully organize their homes" but were not actively encouraged to do so.[113] Could this have played into Murphy's delay of college entry? Could she have been searching for a husband during this time? Maybe, or maybe she was just enjoying living at home and spending time with family and friends.

During the interim between high school and college, Murphy had an active social life with some of her activities detailed in the "Community" section of the *Miami News-Record* based in Miami, Oklahoma. Murphy's goings-on was most notable when she was in the company of her aunt, Grace Scales, or her uncle, John Grover Scales. Grace was Lillie's youngest sister and only four months older than Murphy, so they spent much time together. The happenings of the Scales siblings seem to have held particular interest for

the columnists, as they were frequent topics of discussion in local papers. This may have been due to the family's social status as John was an important figure in the community.

Grace Scales graduated Drumright High School with Murphy in 1929, and she attended Northeastern State Teacher's College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, before renting a room with a family in Salina and teaching at the Olympus School in Long Prairie. Grover Scales had both attended and worked at the Cherokee Male Seminary before it burned down in 1909.[114] He then went on to teach in public schools, become a Delaware County School superintendent, attend the American School of Law in Chicago, and by the age of thirty-one, was a county judge. In 1930 he was a full-time Baptist minister. Murphy continued to regularly spend time with her extended family before enrolling in Bacone College in Muskogee, Oklahoma. She was twenty-two and began classes during the second semester of the 1933-34 academic year.[115]

Murphy's family history most certainly played a role in Murphy's involvement in education and, ultimately, the role it played in her life. From her more distant relatives to her closest kin, many were formally educated, with several becoming instructors. Their understandings were shaped by their experiences, which in turn helped to shape Murphy's own. Coming from a perspective that esteemed education but also white culture and norms, Murphy did not begin college immediately following high school. Not marrying at an early age and needing a form of financial support, Murphy eventually used formal education as a tool of survival and success. In viewing her choices in this light, they are both strategic and expected.



Peppy Coyotes

The Peppy Coyotes have probably made more progress this year than any year since their organization in 1925.

This year they wore beautiful red sweaters specially designed, to all athletic contests.

A grade of B—was required to wear the coyote head, official insignia of this order.

The Peppy Coyotes have demonstrated that their support is invaluable in all athletics.

OFFICERS

Hazel Bartley ..... *President*
Lella Underwood ..... *Vice-President*
Agnes Ford ..... *Treasurer*
Lena Bell Ferguson ..... *Secretary*
Mary Morley ..... *Yell Leader*
Eva Jo Wickhorst ..... *Faculty Advisor*

Figure 4.9. Peppy Coyotes, *The Gusher*, Drumright High School, Drumright, OK, 1928. Ancestry.com. *U.S., School Yearbooks, 1900-1999*, (Provo: UT), Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

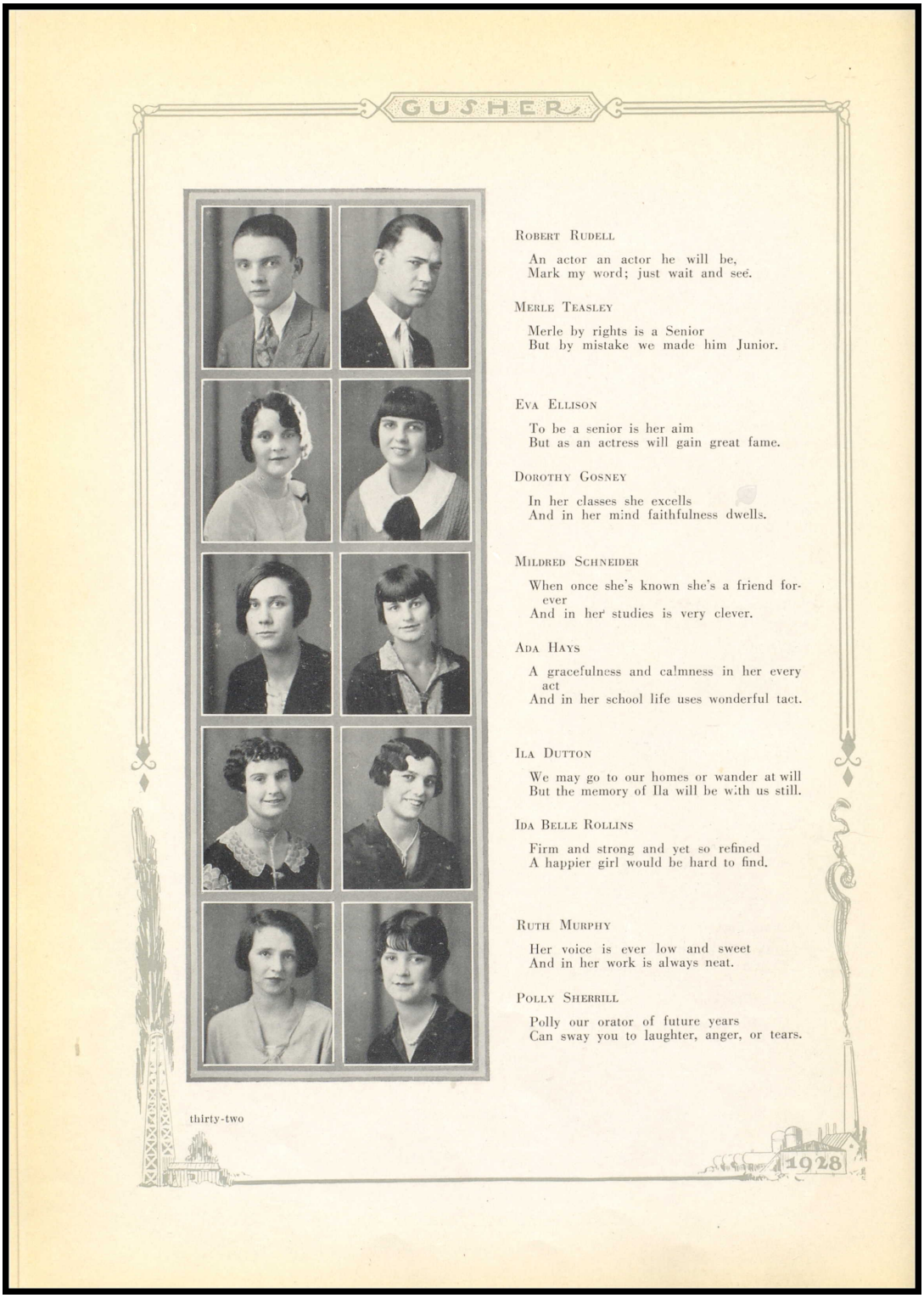


Figure 4.10. Ruth Murphy, *The Gusher*, Drumright High School, Drumright, OK, 1928. Ancestry.com. *U.S., School Yearbooks, 1900-1999*, (Provo: UT), Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010.

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's early lives both fulfilled and resisted expectations for Indigenous women during the early twentieth century. They attended school before widespread improvements in Indian education were implemented. However, through the pathways that their families forged and their efforts, each woman had experiences and opportunities that previous generations did not. Their extended families' association with formal education ranged from none to deeply involved, and their own early educational experiences varied accordingly. Warren and Murphy attended public schools while Caudell attended an Indian boarding school. Murphy and Caudell were both actively involved in school and extra-curricular activities while Warren looks to have focused her energies on academics. Murphy and Caudell were surrounded by Native communities with varying levels of connections to their cultures. Warren, on the other hand, lived in and near major industrial cities with possibly little to no contact with other Native people. Family influences are readily seen in both Murphy and Caudell's lives through their social ties, schooling choices, and activities outside of school. Warren's activities reflect a more solitary endeavor while her social and extracurricular activities remain a mystery. Although there are similarities across the women's stories, the uniqueness of their individual experiences can be blended to enrich the view of American Indian women.

Uncovering the histories of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's early lives reveal how diverse Native women navigated in the early twentieth century in ways that were unexpected for Natives by the white community. Their living cosmopolitan Native lives also challenge the standard tropes of American Indians as walking between two-worlds. Through exploring these previously hidden narratives, we can begin to understand how

different experiences can result in a shared situation. Even though Warren, Caudell, and Murphy each came from a unique place with distinct ways of being, they came together to become college graduates at two of the same college institutions. It is to these stories that we go to next.

Notes

1. Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 78.

2. For example, in the 1927 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, it was reported: "The Indian Service has not kept pace with the progress elsewhere along, health, educational, industrial, and social lines." It goes on to detail budgeting constraints and that it was "futile to expect eligibles [teachers] to qualify at the salaries offered," so it was not feasible to provide adequate high-school instruction. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1927* (Washington, DC), 1 and 4.

3. Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 101-104.

4. Although the specific number of Native women high school graduates for the late 1920s and early 1930s cannot be identified, the claim of low numbers can be attributed to several factors. In 1930 Indians only made up .3 percent of the total population. Although there were 286 Indian schools with a total of 35,674 students enrolled in the 1929-30 year, of these schools, only ten offered courses through the twelfth grade. The total number of students enrolled in tenth through twelve grades was 1,966 (the previous year reported that of the 1,617 senior high school students, only 319 of these were in the twelve grade). For the 1929-30 school year in the general population, approximately 29percent of seventeen-year-olds were high school graduates, and of these, 55percent of them were women. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 – Population Schedule, Volume III, Part I," Population-United States Summary, 28. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Fiscal Year 1930 (*Washington, DC), 10 and 56-61. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Fiscal Year 1929 (*Washington, DC), 7. Thomas D. Snyder, ed., *120 years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, 55.

5. For more on the impact of federal schooling on Native American women, see: Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History,* eds. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), 224-37; Ruey-Lin Lin, "A Profile of Reservation Indian High School Girls," *Journal of American Indian Education* 26 (1987): 18-28; Beatrice Medicine, "The Interaction of Culture and Sex Roles in the Schools," in *Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of American Indian Women 1976,* ed. Shirley M. Hufstedler, et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of

Education, 1980), 141-58; Agnes F. Williams, "Transition from the Reservation to an Urban Setting and the Changing Roles of American Indian Women," in *Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of American Indian Women 1976,* ed. Shirley M. Hufstedler, et al., (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Education, 1980), 251-84.

6. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, 6-7, 13.

7. P. Jane Hafen, "'Help Indians Help Themselves': Gertrude Bonnin, the SAI, and the NCAI," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 25, no. 2 (2013): 199.

8. Helen Rappaport, *Encyclopedia of Women Social Reformers*, Vol. 1 (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001), 100-01.

9. Hafen, "Help Indians Help Themselves," 200 and 205.

10 Rappaport, *Encyclopedia of Women Social Reformers,* 101.

11. Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), xvii, xxi, and xxv-xxvi. For more on Mourning Dove, see Mourning Dove, *Mourning Dove*; Janet L. Finn, "Ella Cara Deloria and Mourning Dove: Writing for Cultures, Writing Against the Grain," *Critique of Anthropology* 13, no. 4 (1993): 335-349; Margaret A. Lukens, "Mourning Dove and Mixed Blood: Cultural and Historical Pressures on Aesthetic Choice and Authorial Identity," *American Indian Quarterly* 21 (1997): 409-422.
12. Richard Green, *Te Ata: Chickasaw Storyteller, American Treasure* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), xi.

13. Green, *Te Ata,* 22 and 32.

14. Tamara M. Elder, *Little Song: The Life of Ataloa Stone McLendon* (Edmond: Medicine Wheel Press, 2015), 38. Green, 37.

15. Green, 39.

16. Elder, *Little Song*, 40.

17. Green, 87.

18. The 1930 Indian Affairs report stated that increased funding had "begun to yield results" but a large part of this was material (such as feeding, clothing, building repairs) and the "fundamental needs of teaching personnel, content, and methods of education [were] beginning to receive more nearly adequate attention." Acknowledging the

troubled history of federal Indian education, the report also reminded readers, "It should be understood that this necessary raising of standards can not be retroactive." Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Fiscal Year 1930 (*Washington, DC), 7-8.

19. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1927* (Washington, DC), 1930, 11.

20. Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 92.

21. Szasz, *Education and the American Indian*, 101-04.

22. Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 12.

23. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, eds. *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014).

24. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 – Population Schedule," State: New Jersey, County: Camden. Linda D. Wilson, "Drumright," The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed April 20, 2018, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=DR008. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Fiscal Year 1930 (*Washington, DC), 57.

25. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 14.

26. Although Warren and other forms of primary documents refer to her as Chippewa, Ojibwe is a preferred nomenclature.

27. Neither she nor her family was considered Indian in any federal census or other obtained documents, but she self-identified as Chippewa.

28. R.F. Weigley, *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982), 535. Some of the "firsts" include banks, insurance companies, turnpike, public library, trade show, hospital, protest against slavery, America's first automobile, and professional schools for women. For a thorough listing, see Michael Zuckerman, "City of Firsts," The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia, 2019, https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/city-of-firsts/.

29. Weigley, Philadelphia, 535. Writers of prominence that had lived in Philadelphia before the early 20th century included Henry C. Lea, Horace Howard Furness, Owen Wister, and Richard Harding Davis.

30. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910-Statistics for Pennsylvania," Washington: Government Printing Office, 630.

31. "Population-Pennsylvania," Thirteenth Census Of The United States: 1910, v3, 608.

32. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor Bureau of the Census, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910-Population," State: Pennsylvania, County: Philadelphia, Incorporated Place: Philadelphia City, Ward of City: 36th (Division 32nd), Sheet 11B.

33. Evelyn Warren, Certificate of Birth, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Dec. 5, 1913.

34. Laura Elizabeth Warren, Certificate of Death, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, County of Philadelphia, City of Philadelphia, No. 5210 Pulaski Ave, 22 Ward.

35. For more discussion on race, see: Martin Bulmer and John Solomos, eds. *Researching Race and Racism* (New York: Psychology Press), 2004; Yasmin Gunaratnam, *Researching 'Race' and Ethnicity: Methods, Knowledge and Power* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003); Anoop Nayak, "After Race: Ethnography, Race and Post-Race Theory," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006): 411-430; Ann Phoenix, *Practising Feminist Research: The Intersection of Gender and 'Race' in the Research Process* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); France Winddance Twine, Jonathan W. Warren, and Jonathan Warren, eds., *Racing Research, Researching Race: Methodological Dilemmas in Critical Race Studies* (New York, New York University Press, 2000).

36. "Censuses of American Indians-History-U.S. Census Bureau," Censuses of American Indians-History-U.S. Census Bureau, accessed Mar. 02, 2018, https://www.census.gov/history/www/genealogy/decennial_census_records/censuses_of_american_indians.html. This is not to say that there were not Native people classified as other races in the census. Although not included in the federal census, New Mexico Territory enumerated Pueblo Indians in their 1850-70 censuses, and in 1857 Shawnee were included in the Kansas Territory census as part of a treaty. A Special Census of Indians in 1880 provided a list of tribes. The purpose of this report was to identify all Indians that were not taxed, which meant those on reservations or in unsettled areas. Enumerations were performed in Washington Territory, Dakota Territory, and California.

The 1890 Census Report included a *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (except Alaska*). The report provided descriptions arranged by state. It usually included the number of people on the reservation, the location of the reservation, as well as a description of the schools, sources of income, health problems, and religion.

37. "1900-History-U.S. Census Bureau," 1900-History, U.S. Census Bureau. July 18, 2017, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1900_1.html. The form contained thirty-eight questions with the first twenty-eight being nearly identical to the general population census except the occupation column was used to identify those that were exclusively dependent on government aid as a "Ration Indian" and as "R" if partially dependent on aid.

38. "1910-History-U.S. Census Bureau," 1910-History, U.S. Census Bureau. July 18, 2017, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1910_1.html. "American Indians in the Federal Decennial Census, 1790-1930," National Archives and Records Administration, accessed June 26, 2017. https://www.archives.gov/research/census/native-americans/1790-1930.html. At the request of Congress, a question concerning a person's "mother tongue" was answered in the "Nativity" column.

39. "American Indians in the Federal Decennial Census, 1790-1930," United States Census Bureau, National Archives and Records Administration, accessed June 26, 2017. https://www.archives.gov/research/census/native-americans/1790-1930.html. For the first and only time, "Mexican" was listed as a race. Enumerators were to record all persons who had been born in Mexico or whose parents had been born in Mexico and who did not fall into another racial category as "Mexican."

40. Rebecca Kugel, email message to author, August 25, 2019.

41. Kugel, email.

42. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910-Population," State: Pennsylvania, County: Philadelphia, Incorporated Place: Philadelphia City, Ward of City: 36th (Division 32nd), Sheet 11B.

43. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920-Population," State: New Jersey, County: Camden, Name of Incorporated Place: Magnolia Borough, Ward of City: x, Sheet 12B. Definitions varied from census to census, but this term generally meant someone who was black and at least one other race.

44. U.S. Department of Commerce, "Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920-Population," New Jersey.

45. "Population1920: General Report and Analytical Tables," Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), 1042.

46. "What Some Local Children Wish for Most of All," *The Central New Jersey Home News: Sunday Times* (New Brunswick, NJ), Dec. 19, 1920, 22.

47. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 – Population Schedule," State: New Jersey, County: Camden, Incorporated Place: Magnolia Borough, Sheet 3B.

48. Evelyn Warren Adams, Death Certificate, Department of Health-Bureau of Vital Records and Health Statistics-Richmond, Commonwealth of Virginia, Registration Area Number: 106, Certificate Number: 161, State File Number: 81-005548.

49. U.S. Department of Commerce, "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 – Population Schedule," State: New Jersey.

50. Haddon Heights High School, *The Senior Record*, (Haddon Heights, NJ: 1929-30), 30.

51. "Presbyterian Church Records, 1701-1970," Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Church Registers; Accession Number: VAULT BX 9211 .P49104 L62 v.2.

52. "Population 1910: General Report and Analytical Tables," Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910), Oklahoma, 464, 472.

53. Michael S. Cox, "Talihina," The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed Feb. 01, 2016, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=TA004.

54. *The Daily Oklahoman*, (Oklahoma City, OK), Dec. 22, 1917, 4.

55. Thomas's siblings' names ran from the formal such as Franklin and Abraham to the unusual "Coot" and "Goob." Oklahoma, County Marriage Records, 1890-1995, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016, Lehi, UT. The National Archives at College Park; College Park, Maryland; Record Group Title: Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 1774-1985; Record Group Number: 92; Roll or Box Number: 614B.

56. Abel C. Caudell (1819–7 Jul 1885), Find A Grave, Memorial no. 62055287, Maintained by Bill Hunt (contributor 47339335), accessed Feb. 2, 2016, https://www.findagrave.com.

57. Civil War Prisoner of War Records, 1861-1865, Ancestry.com, Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007, Provo, UT, USA.

58. Oklahoma and Indian Territory, Dawes Census Cards for Five Civilized Tribes, 1898-1914, Ancestry.com, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014, Provo, UT, USA.

59. Oklahoma and Indian Territory, Land Allotment Jackets for Five Civilized Tribes, 1884-1934, Ancestry.com, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014, Provo, UT, USA.

60. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910-Population," State: Oklahoma, County: Le Flore, Sheet 4.

61. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920-Population," State: Oklahoma, County: Le Flore, Sheet 19.

62. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930-Population," State: Oklahoma, County: Latimer, Choctaw-Chickasaw Hospital, Sheet 11. "Thomas B. Caudell," Find a Grave, accessed February 01, 2016, http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=57879109&ref=acom.

63. Acts of Fifty-Third Congress- Session 11 Ch. 290. 1894. Circe Dawn Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race, Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002). To expedite assimilation and secure land for white settlers, the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) broke down tribal community units. It created an individual allotment system for land ownership on reservations. The designation of blood quantum became essential to the allotment process as persons who were "whole or in part of Indian blood or descent" were entitled to an allocation. By 1908, the blood quantum measure became a tool for the federal government to determine competency. For example, if the designation was one-half Indian or greater, the person was considered incapable of understanding the complexity of land ownership, and their allotment would be held in trust by the federal government. The quantum method of designation also served to delineate the Indian population from one another and reinforce ideas of racial purity.

64. Department of Commerce, "Fifteenth Census," State: Oklahoma, County: Latimer, Choctaw-Chickasaw Hospital.

65. “Baldwin News,” *Lawrence Daily Journal World* (Lawrence, KS), Nov. 28, 1930, 9.

66. “School History,” Haskell Indian Nations University, accessed February 01, 2016, http://www.haskell.edu/about/history.php.

67. For more on the history of the Haskell Institute see, David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Esther Burnett Horne and Sally McBeth, *Essie’s Story: The Life and Legacy of a Shoshone Teacher* (Lincoln: Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Donald F. Nelson, *To the Stars over Rough Roads: The Life of Andrew Atchison, Teacher and Missionary* (Cambridge: TidePool Press, 2008); Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian students between two worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).

68. “Haskell: School History,” Haskell.edu, accessed November 01, 2016, http://www.haskell.edu/about/history/.

69. Adams, *Education for Extinction,* 53. In his development of Indian boarding schools, Pratt endeavored for “rapid and absolute assimilation.” He argued that schooling on or near reservations only allowed for presenting civilization as a theory, not a practice. It was only through a total separation of students and their families and an immersion in the new environment that true civilization would be experienced. One of the results of this mode of schooling was the disconnection from community and a forming of a caretaker/dependent relationship. When students were sent home, many did not have the skills or opportunities necessary to support themselves, so they were forced to return to their dependent status and seek out assistance from the government.

70. Myriam Vučković, *Voices from Haskell: Indian Students Between Two Worlds, 1884-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008), 30. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1926-30* (Washington, DC).

71. Vučković, *Voices from Haskell*, 31.

72. Steven Crum, “The Choctaw Nation: Changing the Appearance of American Higher Education, 1830-1907,” *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2007): 50.

73. Vučković, 30.

74. “Finds People Same,” *Lawrence Journal World*, November 13, 1937, 3.

75. “Programs: Girl Reserves & Clubs,” Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000, accessed February 01, 2016, http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/portywca/programs/reserves.htm.

76. Vučković, 109-10.

77. Vučković, 60-61.

78. Vučković, 100.

79. United States Superintendent Of Indian Schools, Issuing Body, and Estelle Reel Meyer, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 143.

80. Vučković, 115.

81. Lisa K. Neuman, *Indian Play: Indigenous Identities at Bacone College* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 72.

82. Tamara M. Elder, *Little Song: The Life of Ataloa Stone McLendon* (Edmond: Medicine Wheel Press, 2015), 46.

83. For more on Ataloa, Elder, *Little Song;* Neuman, *Indian Play*; Garnet Wind and S. Matthew DeSpain, “‘As Tall in Her Moccasins as These Sequoias Will Grow on Mother Earth:’ The Life of Ataloa,” *The Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture* 11, no. 2 (2008): 14.

84. Susan Ware, *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary Completing the Twentieth Century* Vol. 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 81. For more on Ruth Muskrat Bronson, see Ella Cara Deloria, *Speaking of Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Wilma Mankiller, “Cherokee Trans/National Stateswomanship in the Nonfiction Writings of Ruth Muskrat Bronson,” *Stoking the Fire: Nationhood in Cherokee Writing, 1907–1970,* Norman: University of Oklahoma: 2019; Diane-Michele Prindeville and Teresa Braley Gomez, “American Indian Women Leaders, Public Policy, and the Importance of Gender And Ethnic Identity,” *Women & Politics* 20, no. 2 (1999): 17-32.

85. “Talihina Students off to Colleges,” *Paris News*, September 19, 1934*,* 8.

86. Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 102.

87. Donna Beals Clark, "Colcord," The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed June 05, 2018, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=CO019. This land later became designated as Indian Territory. After Oklahoma obtained statehood in 1907, it was renamed to Colcord, Delaware County, Oklahoma. The Old Settlers Roll is a listing of Cherokee still living in 1851 who were already residing in Oklahoma when the main body of the Cherokee arrived in the winter of 1839, as a result of the Treaty of New Echota (1835).

88. William Anderson, ed. *Cherokee Removal: Before and After* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992). "Indian Removal Act," The Library of Congress, last modified November 12, 2013, http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/Indian.html. After several failed attempts by the Cherokee to resist removal by working within the American governmental system, the Indian Removal Act was signed into law on May 28, 1830. This act authorized the president to force the land exchange stipulated in the 1817 Treaty of the Cherokee Agency. By 1838 only 2,000 of the 16,000 Cherokees had voluntarily relocated. In response, the American government initiated a forced march starting in the summer of 1838 and lasting through the spring of 1839 westward, which became known as the Cherokee Trail of Tears as approximately 4,000 Cherokee perished on the trek. A majority of the surviving Cherokee people settled in the northeast portion of what was to become the state of Oklahoma.

89. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Ninth Census of the United States: 1870-Population," State: Tennessee, County: Blount, Page 4. Park's grandparents on both sides were also farmers from Tennessee.

90. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910-Population," State: Oklahoma, County: Delaware, Sheet 3.

91. Records Relating to Enrollment of Eastern Cherokee by Guion Miller, 1908-1910. M685, microfilm, 12 rolls. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793-1999, Record Group 75. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

92. Devon Mihesuah, "Out of the 'Graves of the Polluted Debauches': The Boys of the Cherokee Male Seminary," *American Indian Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (1991): 503. Cherokee that were uneducated, not Christian, and/or those that preferred traditional ways of life were considered unenlightened by the upper social strata within the Cherokee community.

93. Mihesuah, “Out of the ‘Graves of the Polluted Debauches’,” 506.

94. Mihesuah, 508.

95. Mihesuah, 507.

96. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds,* 99.

97. Mihesuah, 66.

98. Mihesuah, 67.

99. Mihesuah, “Out of the ‘Graves of the Polluted Debauches’,” 513.

100. “The Report has been Circulated,” *The Tahlequah Arrow* (Tahlequah, Indian Territory), Feb. 27, 1904, 1.

101. Arkansas, County Marriages Index, 1837-1957, Ancestry.com, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., Provo, UT, 2011. The marriage certificate lists Park’s age as eighteen and Lillie’s as seventeen.

102. “History of Salina,” Salina, OK, accessed July 8, 2018. http://salinachamber.publishpath.com/historical-salina. Salina was established in 1796 and is the Oldest Permanent White (European-American) Settlement in Oklahoma.

103. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, “Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920-Population,” State: Oklahoma, County: Mayes, Sheet: 4. Murphy’s closest sibling passed away at the age of four in 1917. Two of the three surviving Murphy children ultimately attended college for at least two years.

104. Wilson, “Drumright”. Bobby D. Weaver, “Oil-field Culture,” The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed April 20, 2018, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=OI003. Northeastern Oklahoma experienced three major oil discoveries between 1901 and 1905, with many to follow. There were no experienced oil-field workers in the region, so thousands flocked there from the oil-producing areas of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. With the influx of a large population in a short period of time, oil boomtowns typically created social havoc.

105. Drumright High School, *Gusher*, (Drumright, OK: 1915-16), 9.

106. Drumright High School, *Gusher*, 49. The Peppy Coyotes were a "pep organization" supporting the school in its activities, athletics in particular.

107. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930-Population," State: Oklahoma, County: Creek, Incorporated place: Drumright City, 13A. The records vary. In one document, Murphy lists the time period as Oct. 1929 - Jan. 1933, and in another, it is Oct. 1929 - Feb. 1932.

108. Ruth M. Jones, Application for Employment, U.S. Department of the Interior, July 12, 1940. No notes indicate why the schooling did not work out.

109. Department of Commerce, "Fifteenth Census of the United States," Oklahoma.

110. Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940-Population," State: Oklahoma, County: Creek, Incorporated place: Drumright City, 6A.

111. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds*, 99. "Special Message of Honorable D. W. Bushyhead, Principal Chief, May 9, 1879," box 4, file 470, D. W. Bushyhead Collection, Special Collections, Northeastern State University.

112. Mihesuah, 99-103.

113. Mihesuah, 99.

114. Mihesuah, 69. The Cherokee Male Seminary opened on May 6, 1851, under the direction of the Cherokee Nation. The curriculum was modeled after White east coast schools with no instruction for Cherokee history or culture.

Chapter 5: Higher Education

Being Cosmopolitan: Higher Education and Forms of Indianness

"For Native people, modernity and cultural identity did not play out as an either/or affair."[1]

Throughout the 1930s, many United States citizens faced extreme circumstances. The Great Depression began with the stock market crash of 1929, which brought on unemployment and poverty conditions and created an economic downturn that lasted a decade.[2] Although overall unemployment was high, women had higher employment rates than men during that time, though, as they tended to work in fields such as domestic help that were less impacted by the financial slump.[3] Drought conditions and damaging farming methods then contributed to the Dust Bowl, a series of dust storms in 1934, 1936, and again in 1939, that began in the Great Plains and traveled as far as the east coast. The impacts were devastating to many families, and they were forced to abandon their homes and farms and migrate west.[4] For Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, though, the 1930s would bring opportunity and change. Funding prospects with Bacone College opened up, giving Warren and Caudell a chance to work for room and board. A pipeline with the University of Redlands developed, allowing all three women to transfer there with support systems in place. Linkages to post-college employment were also created for the women during this time period. So while many people in the country were facing distress, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were facing favorable circumstances that not many others at that time could.

The decade of the 1930s was also a critical juncture in Native history. While they could have been seen as examples of federal progress, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's accomplishments were not due to any federal Native programs or systemic improvements. They graduated high school before reforms in Indian education were widespread. They were already in college and had established funding methods for their education when the Office of Indian Affairs, Education Division (OIE) began formalized programs of funding and support for Indian higher education. They also found themselves growing up during a time of notable cultural changes for many Native populations in the United States, changes that called for specific displays of Indianness to validate their heritage. In addition, while career options were opening for many women during the 1930s, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's education pointed them directly at Indian Services. Despite any obstacles they may have encountered, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy persevered in their educational pursuits and became college graduates twice over before taking on careers that enabled them to work with Native communities.

During this time, Indian education's agenda for post-schooling work placement was almost singular in its direction toward Indian Services. The agency was actively recruiting from Indian schools and communities. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Director of Indian Education both saw post-secondary Native students as perfect candidates for careers at the OIA, and programs to track students for positions at the OIA were created. Bacone College was just one institution that was sought out by the office to create a pool of Indian Service employees.

Bacone College

Baptist Reverend Almon C. Bacone was an instructor at the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1879 when he decided that the nonsectarian school was not meeting the literary or theological needs of the students, so he sought support from the Cherokee Baptist Association to open a new school.[5] Bacone felt that a Baptist university was required to promote and expand on the successes of the evangelical work that had been taking place with Native populations from the early 1800s. Reflecting the missionary ideology of American Baptists, also known as the Northern Baptists, Bacone saw education as a tool for the creation of a body of Native pastorate and missionaries who would then bring back the Christian messages to their tribes.[6] In the late nineteenth century, American Baptists were searching for methods to most effectively convert Native people living in Indian Territory to Christianity. In order to achieve this goal, Baptist missionaries argued that Baptist run schools would need to be created. As the Five Tribes had already implemented a schooling system modeled after Eastern schools, starting from within these established schools seemed the most logical point from which to begin. To ingratiate themselves within the existing school system, several American Baptists took on teaching positions at a number of tribally run schools in Indian territories with the goal to eventually create a separate Baptist school system.

Bacone reached out to the Cherokee Baptist Association and they readily offered their support. Although the school was to be built on Cherokee land, the association wanted it to be a multi-tribal institution that would be inclusive of all of the Delaware and Five Tribes as they were "more cosmopolitan than most of their Anglo-American

neighbors in the surrounding states…because of their strong cultural heritage, their contact with Christian churches, their sophisticated struggle to retain their homelands, and their cross-cultural understanding."[7] In viewing these tribes as able to adapt to, and work within Anglo-American cultures, the Baptist Association regarded the school as a viable channel for continuing the Baptist education agenda. With the students and communities already familiar with formal education and conforming to white expectations, the school would not face strong cultural resistance or the low levels of education students endured elsewhere. The cosmopolitanism of the Delaware and Five Tribes, as the Baptist Association saw it, ensured acceptance and support for the new school.

The Baptist Indian University, also known as the Indian University, opened in 1880 with three former Cherokee Seminary students.[8] The school sought to "prepare preachers and teachers for effective Christian and educational work, and others for professional and business pursuits, and to furnish the highest educational advantages, attended with the best Christian influences, at the least possible expense."[9] By the end of the first term, the student body had grown to twelve: one Choctaw, seven Cherokee, and four white students. At the end of its first year, there were a total of fifty-six registered students.[10]

The American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) governed the school and provided a good measure of financial support.[11] During its first year, classes were held in a first-floor room of an ABHMS building. The second floor contained the living quarters for the students and faculty, which consisted of three teachers, including Bacone, and one

matron.[12] The school was housed next to the Cherokee Male Seminary and across from the Cherokee Female Seminary within the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation.[13] The curriculum modeled eastern elite white schools for primary through collegiate levels. The college-level curriculum consisted of courses in French, German, Greek, Latin, ancient history, astronomy, chemistry, and zoology, among others.[14] The Indian University's first bachelor's level degrees were awarded in 1883.[15] While the original vision for the school did include the intention of having a "farm for industrial pursuits," no courses in manual training or domestic science were initially offered, unlike Indian schools under federal control.[16]

From its inception, the school was co-educational with an emphasis on training both men and women for the ministry. While both men and women were expected to take back the religious teachings to their communities, women's roles were primarily seen as helpmates to the male missionaries. Baptist teachings stated that male missionaries needed wives and those wives were to assist in teaching other women and to produce new Baptist offspring. If no spouse was available, single female missionaries could also work in the field or with missionary societies to promote the Baptist messages.[17] Although both Indian and white students were admitted, the school would soon become a draw for white children in the region seeking higher education, causing the white enrollment to quickly exceed Native.[18]

Within a year of founding the school, Bacone was actively searching for a more accessible location for the institution. He had envisioned the school having ready access to the new railroad system that was in development and having sufficient land for the

students to farm. In October of 1881, Bacone petitioned ABHMS to relocate the university to near the city of Muskogee within the Muscogee-Creek Nation. He felt that Muskogee was the most appropriate site as it had recently gained access to all major rail lines, and the administration for the government affairs for the Five Tribes, the Union Agency, was also located there.[19] ABHMS supported the plan, so Bacone went before the Muscogee-Creek government, the House of Warriors, to ask for a land grant to build a new Indian University near Muskogee. Supporting the move, Principal Chief of the Creek Nation, Samuel Checote, emphasized to the community that relocating would mean that the Creeks could educate their sons and daughters closer to home and save the costs of sending them to an eastern college.[20] After prodding by both Checote and Bacone, the House of Warriors granted the request with the stipulation that the school must be open to students from all Indian nations. The land, 160 acres, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Creek Nation while ABHMS had responsibility for the construction, funding, curriculum, and student recruitment. With the establishment of the new Indian University in Muskogee, the first land-grant institution of higher learning with an Indian Nation was formed.[21]

Appeals for donations were made in Baptist church periodicals such as J. S. Murrow's *Indian Missionary* and the Indian University's annual catalogs to fund the construction.[22] Donations came in from a variety of sources, including Creek tribal leaders as well as Muskogee business people. John D. Rockefeller, a generous donor to the Baptist church, was persuaded by his wife Laura to contribute $10,000 to the cause.[23] By 1884, sufficient funds had been obtained to begin construction at the new site. The

first school building, Rockefeller Hall, was completed in June of 1885, and the Indian University's faculty and its older students moved to their new home quickly afterward. The graduating class of 1885 held their commencement ceremonies in front of the newly constructed building.[24]

Moving the university to Muskogee was not just a new start for the school but the next step in the creation of a Baptist Indian University system.[25] Recently built Indian Baptist schools and modified existing schools acted as feeder institutes to the Indian University. The building vacated by the Indian University's move to Muskogee became the Cherokee Academy, a Baptist run school focusing on primary grade level schooling. Opening in 1887, the Atoka Academy located in Indian Territory was under the purview of the ABHMS.[26] In 1894, the Seminole Female Academy was placed under the charge of the ABHMS. The Waco Baptist Academy, a day school for the Wichita people in Anadarko and the (Baptist) Lone Wolf Mission located among the Kiowa people in Indian Territory, were also opened during the 1880s. Each was viewed as part of the Indian University system and structured to create student bodies that would eventually go to the Indian University to complete their education.

In 1896, Bacone became ill and died. The acting president of the university at the time, Marion L. Brown, took over and found himself leading during a time of controversy.[27] There had been criticism of the directions the school had taken by both the Board of Trustees and the Board of Directors of the Indian Education Commission (under the ABHMS).[28] To combat the reproaches, Brown instituted several major changes during his one-year tenure as school president. These included abolishing the primary

grades on the main campus and directing that English would no longer be taught by bilingual instructors assigned to other courses but by special instruction only. Brown also added the first manual training classes to the school and increased the number of science courses.

In addition to the issues with the Baptist groups, the Indian University was affected by the fallout of major turmoil many Native communities were experiencing during the late nineteenth century. From 1830 and the Indian Removal Act to 1898 and the Curtis Act, Native tribes were stripped of their sovereignty and forcibly relocated, in some instances several times, to parts of the country that were foreign to them. These actions would result in the breaking up of families, the death of thousands, and lasting trauma that continued through subsequent generations. Another event that had a significant impact on Native communities and impacted Bacone during this time was the Dawes Act of 1887. In the push towards breaking apart and assimilating Native populations, the Dawes Act and subsequent laws were created to parcel government assigned land to individuals rather than to tribal communities.[29]

In addition to the immeasurable effect the community land ownership policies had on Native students and their families, the programs would directly impact the Indian University in several ways. Property that had been given to the university was re-allocated to a white settler through a federal act seeking to regulate the amount of land allocated to Indian schools. After a lengthy court battle, the school was eventually able to retain the land.[30] The shift away from a classical curriculum towards vocational education at the Indian University can also be attributed to land allotments as this program created

new bodies of land-owning students that had educational needs that differed from their predecessors.[31]

The system of feeding students to the Indian University from other Baptist primary schools and academies would also no longer be an option. To compensate, Indian University president, John Hart Scott, brought back primary level education and offered college courses at rigorous enough levels that several students were qualified to transfer to Yale during his eight-year tenure.[32] Whether the students were white or Native is unknown, but at the time, Yale only accepted men, so if women sought to further their education, they had to look elsewhere. Some enrolled in elite women's colleges such as Vassar. For both men and women, though, "most of the early students returned home to work among Indian communities in Indian Territory or Oklahoma Territory."[33] Unfortunately, the school continued to face issues and would not become stable for several decades. In the midst of this particular period of major change, President Scott resigned, and the university saw three different individuals, over a three-year period, take on the position.

During this same time, the Indian University was also the only school offering higher education in the region and was drawing a higher number of white students than Natives. In 1907, George Sale, the superintendent of education for ABHMS, spent a week at the university. He noted with dismay that it appeared to be "a school for whites to which Indians are admitted" rather than a school for Indians.[34] This was problematic for ABHMS as there were great concerns that Indians would "go back to the blanket" if

schooling was not provided.[35] Sale's visit prompted the Baptist administration to prioritize making the Indian University into an "*Indian* institution."[36]

From 1908 through 1916, various tactics were used to deal with low enrollment numbers and varying levels of student proficiency. In 1908, increases in the school's Native student population were created through the merging of the Cherokee Baptist Academy in Tahlequah with the Indian University. By the following year, though, enrollment at the university fell significantly. In 1910 there was only one student listed above the high school level. For the following term, junior and senior levels of schooling were dropped with the caveat that they would be reinstated if sufficient demand were made. For the next few years, enrollment overall remained low, with no students attending above the high school level until 1916. The school's farmland also began to be employed for vocational schooling efforts and cultivating fresh food for the enrollees and increased attendance. Various scholarships were created in attempts to encourage higher levels of high school proficiency. Between 1910 and 1916, Ottawa University in Ottawa Kansas, Denison University in Granville, Ohio, and Des Moines College in Iowa offered tuition awards to the Indian University's students that showed academic promise.[37]

Although the official name of the institution was the Baptist Indian University, after Bacone's death, it was often referred to as Bacone College. In 1910, the name was officially changed.[38] That same year, the Murrow Indian Orphan's Home was relocated from Unchuka, Oklahoma, to Bacone. While it maintained a separate identity, by moving the home under the control of the ABHMS and physically relocating to the site of Bacone College, Murrow could ensure that orphans' affairs would be adequately managed,

administrative costs would be reduced, and the children would be able to take advantage of the educational opportunities available at the school. With these and other changes, Bacone saw an increase in the number of faculty members, in particular, the number of primary teachers.

In 1910, J. Harvey Randall became Bacone's president and faced unprecedented administrative duties on top of the financial concerns that repeatedly plagued the institution. In the period after Oklahoma obtained statehood, from 1911-16, no students were taking courses beyond the high school level. With the push by the government to make all Natives farmers and the school's outreach efforts, more Plains Indians were enrolling in Bacone. Many of these students did not speak English and were not considered as cosmopolitan as their peers as they did not conform to Anglo-American ideals. This created tension and the first notable signs of classism within the student body. Many of Bacone's students at this time were also simultaneously property owners and wards of various Indian agencies.[39]

In an inexplicable juxtaposition, the federal allotment policies that created individual land ownership also deigned much of the Native population incapable of managing their own affairs. Claiming to protect Natives against those would trick them out of their land, laws were created that restricted the sale of allotment lands and the payments of large sums of money. While generally paternalistic and controlling in all Native matters, the government was particularly concerned about "full-blood" Indians and their perceived lack of ability to manage their own affairs. Section nineteen of Public Law 129 states, "no full-blood Indian of the…[Five Tribes] shall have power to alienate,

sell, dispose of, or encumber in any manner any of the lands allotted to him for a period of twenty-five years from and after the passage and approval of this Act." A guardian, who tended to be white and a local businessman or lawyer, was assigned to each full-blood allottee. If the full-blooded allottee wished to donate to charitable or educational organizations, the gift also had to be approved by the Superintendent of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Secretary of the Interior.[40] Due to the controls placed on their land and funds, these Indians were referred to as the "restricted" Indians.[41]

With new land came new requirements for farming. Bacone sought to remedy the lack of farming skills a large swath of their students had by using the school's farmlands for vocational training. As the students or their families often had no experience or direction in how to manage their monetary affairs, President Randall encouraged the parties to send money directly to him, and he would distribute as needed. Other presidents would later use this policy and various claims of mismanagement and theft were later attributed to it.[42]

The year 1917 saw considerable changes at Bacone. A 1917 Oklahoma state law gave church colleges the ability to certify teachers. Bacone proudly announced that its program met the state's requirements, thereby its graduates would be prepared to teach in any public primary or secondary school in Oklahoma.[43] This allowed Bacone to expand its program and promote a career track specifically for potential teachers. At this time, Native students from western Oklahoma also began to arrive at the school in substantial numbers. Alumni from Bacone had been working in the field to encourage Arapaho,

Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Pawnee parents to send their children to Bacone. These new populations contributed to the diversity at the school and also increased the school's coffers. That year also saw the arrival of Reverend Benjamin D. Weeks at Bacone. Weeks was appointed vice president to assist the president whose health was failing. By the next year, Weeks was made the president of Bacone College, superintendent of the Murrow Home, and minister of Bacone Chapel. His tenure at Bacone would bring significant changes as well as new controversies to the college.

In a dramatic departure from previous leadership, Weeks actively pushed to limit enrollment to Indian students only. Weeks also actively sought to hire Native teachers in contrast to previous presidents who had let the practice lapse. College courses were modeled after a European Liberal Arts model with emphasis given to the students' individual tribal backgrounds.[44] Quickly after Weeks's installment as President, enrollment increases created a need for new construction at the school. In addition to outreach efforts by alumni, Weeks personally sought out enrollment from beyond the Five Tribes. He would travel to different Native communities, beginning with the Plains tribes to the west of Bacone, then moving beyond Oklahoma's borders, persuading young people to attend the school. Students that lacked the necessary funds for tuition and boarding at Bacone often had sponsors, worked on campus to pay their expenses, or received other student aid. Weeks quickly learned that the government's contribution would not provide enough financial support to meet the expenses of the school, so he began to actively fundraise.

Obtaining funding was an ongoing endeavor for Bacone with some of the most successful fundraising in Bacone's history spearheaded by Weeks. With the installation of Weeks, the school actively promoted itself as a true *Indian* institution using the "authentic" images of the students as proof of its Indianness and as an income-generating tool. Tapping into pan-Indian images, usually an amalgamation of traditional dress from multiple tribes, students from various tribal backgrounds would wear costumes that often did not necessarily represent their heritage. The chosen dress typically reinforced the stereotypical images of Indians, such as a fringe dress with beads for women and headdresses for men. The missionary press was invited to tour Bacone and write articles promoting the genuineness of its Native students. Although Bacone students typically dressed in the European inspired fashions popular for the period in their day-to-day lives, photos of students in Native costumes were published with quotes from Weeks along the vein of advising students to refrain from using their tomahawks so that guests would not be alarmed.[45]

Another method of promoting the image of Indianness while pursuing funds was through the creation and promotion of traveling performance groups. This tactic was extremely successful and won the school both national attention and capital from a sympathetic public above and beyond the Baptist community. The Bacone College Men's Glee Club, also referred to as the Red Men's Glee Club, and later the Singing Redmen, was comprised of male students from various tribes. Initially, they wore traditional attire from their respective tribes, but by the mid-1930s, all members wore the same Navajo inspired costumes specifically made for the group to create a recognizable style that was

popular with the general public.[46] Although they did not travel as extensively as the men's group, the Girls' Glee Club performed both classical songs and hymns in Native languages. The women frequently appeared in Native costume wrapped in Navajo style blankets, regardless of their own tribal affiliations.

Natives were not the only group at the time to be performing in publicly accepted ways to support their higher education goals. Although markedly different from Indian higher education, Black higher education shared a few similarities. Performing for fundraising purposes was one of them. Like Bacone, one of the funding methods included performances by students. The Fisk Jubilee Singers notably used performance as a source of funding. The a cappella singing group was originally formed in 1871 to tour and raise monies for Fisk University, a historically Black college in Nashville, Tennessee. The group became popular and traveled across the country and into Europe. They garnered significant attention and donations for the school and helped change perceptions of the artistic ability of Black persons.[47] Although they pushed the boundaries of expectations for Black Americans, like Native performers, they could do so only within specific parameters. While the Fisk singers dressed in the styles of the day, Native performers were expected to dress in "traditional" garb. By meeting these expectations, the public could consume the performances and not feel threatened by either group.

The carefully constructed images of Indians sought to soothe any possible concerns held by the general public that Natives were savages, and also to tap into the appeal of the foreign Other. By publicizing the students in ways that fed the public's appetite for Indian culture that was non-threatening, Bacone was able to drum up

significant interest and funds for the school. The success of these types of fundraising events was so great that it allowed the school to expand during a time when many Indian schools were facing extreme shortfalls. It also was cause for concern within some of the Baptist community. The new acceptance of Indianness brought Native dances to plays, ceremonies, and fundraising performances. This was problematic as American Baptists often prohibited dancing, and many Indian churches required their Native members to pledge to give up dancing. At a 1926 conference of Indian missionaries held in Wichita, Kansas, eleven missionaries, including several Bacone graduates, vehemently objected to allowing Bacone students to participate in Indian dances. They argued that "dance - Indian or any other, [was] an appeal to the lower ways of living."[48] Theoretical debates arose in the Baptist community about whether allowing students to perform in Native gear was exploitive and if dancing was akin to "heathen worship."[49] This debate did not impact Bacone or Weeks's attempts at fundraising, though, as it did not stop Baptist groups from requesting performances, and the general public's interest went above and beyond concerned Baptist circles. While dancing would continue to be debated, the push to accentuate the Indianness of the students only gained traction and became a standard well into the 1950s.

Weeks' success at fundraising was unprecedented, but with the increased funds also came claims of financial impropriety. At the beginning of the 1926-27 school year, the college was in debt, and there were claims that Weeks mishandled funds. Weeks submitted a letter of resignation purportedly to work for a foundation to channel funds in Indian education, but his letter was not accepted. Instead, he was placed on an unpaid

leave of absence, and an interim president was appointed. Rumors of the mismanagement of donated funds and personal issues with his wife, Grace, surrounded his sudden disappearance. During this time, Weeks went to Redlands, California, where he had been a frequent guest preacher and established the Clara Burton Sequoyah Foundation dedicated to the "funding of Indian education."[50]

ABHMS investigated Weeks, but no formal charges were filed. The scandal severely impacted the financial status of the school, though, as numerous donations from white sponsors were returned to ease the donors' concerns with potential misappropriation. To complicate matters further, much of the local Native community had built a rapport with Weeks that did not exist with the interim president. They were concerned by his sudden absence, and donations from these groups slowed to a trickle. American Baptists were also concerned that if the school did not have strong leadership, the growing Southern Baptist or Catholic groups would swoop in and take over the school. Although a resolution had not been reached with the concern of financial impropriety, with the loss of support weighing heavily on the organization, in June of 1927, ABHMS reinstated Weeks as Bacone's president.

Various income sources returned with Weeks, but during the same period, a major potential funding avenue was cut off. During the early twentieth century, Bacone was in part being supported by "wealthy Creek Indians whose allotment lands were rich in mineral and oil deposits."[51] Although ultimately fruitful, this funding source was problematic. With the allotment system, many Creek Indians had received land that, unknown to the government at the time, was extremely valuable. In order to combat

excessive abuses by whites fraudulently taking lands from Natives, Congress passed laws requiring guardians to manage Indian land allotments, thereby preventing the school from receiving a number of promised endowments from Natives that white guardians declared to be improper. Court cases regarding the legality of several of the endowments to Bacone were filed. There were also cases of governmental intervention, which resulted in promised donations being retracted. A significant case involving a large donation by a Creek landowner set a precedent whereby the Indian Commissioner would not approve gifts of land title by Indians to Bacone, thereby cutting off large potential sources of income for the school.[52]

Even with the financial issues plaguing the university, it was during the 1927-28 school year when an Indian-only junior college was firmly established at Bacone. Building upon its ongoing elementary and secondary curriculums, which were later phased out; Bacone offered a two-year junior college program that has run continuously since 1927.[53] Multiple avenues of entrance to the junior college for students were created. Potential students could be graduates of an accredited high school, have fifteen approved units of high school work, and a written recommendation from an official at the school. If they graduated from a non-accredited high school but met all the requirements listed for non-graduates, they would be admitted but placed on probation for the first semester. Sixty-two semester hours were required for graduation. Courses of study ranged from Agriculture and Latin to American Indian History and Indian Legends, Music, and Drama. For those students wanting to further their education, they would be pointed

toward one of several other operating Baptist colleges such as Linfield College in Oregon, Kalamazoo College in Michigan, or the University of Redlands in California.[54]

During the summer of 1927, in an attempt to increase Bacone's emphasis on Native education and to boost fundraising, Weeks brought in a dynamic force for Indian education and Indian women's education, in particular, Mary "Ataloa" (Stone) McLendon. Ataloa attended the Oklahoma College for Women before graduating from the University of Redlands with an A.B. in Philosophy in 1925. She then went on to Teachers College at Columbia University, earning a Master of Arts degree in Religious Education. She was proficient in both singing and delivering lectures on topics related to Indian issues and started actively performing while she was at Columbia.[55]

Using the romanticized image of an Indian Princess, Ataloa began to regularly perform in Native dress around the country. Playing into the expectations of the audience, Ataloa wore garments that had become epitomized with female Indianness, such as a beaded buckskin dress with long fringe, her hair in braids, and a headband with a feather. In reality, garb for Chickasaw women after European contact often mimicked white culture. [56] Rather than buckskin and beads, ceremonial dresses were brightly colored in a petticoat style and adorned with ruffles and ribbons. Tapping into the popular visions of Indianness allowed Ataloa to market herself as an authentic Chickasaw Indian without disturbing the public's preconceived notions. With her growing popularity as a performer and her scholastic background, she was a good fit for the school.

By 1927, there had been a ten-year gap in which college-level courses were not available at Bacone, so new faculty members were needed. Additionally, someone to

assist with fundraising was also essential. With her education and experience as a performer, Ataloa was amply qualified for both roles. She undertook many projects to further art and education programs for Indians after her arrival. She also spearheaded fundraising projects, including numerous performances with students in Native costumes, reinforcing the public's perception of the school as an Indian institution. A significant priority for Ataloa was establishing a fine arts center for Native work at Bacone, as she felt the principal purpose of her outreach was to encourage the public's interest in Indian art.[57] Ataloa also sought to create scholarships for Indian women, with one fundraising stop alone raising enough money for "100 scholarships."[58]

President Weeks was an outspoken advocate of Indian education but within the constructs of Baptist and federalist ideas of Indigeneity. He argued that education offered the opportunity for Native students to be qualified to meet the "problems of the Indians" and that "any one who tries to make an average white man of an Indian fails and spoils a good Indian." According to Weeks, educated Christian Indians were in the position to "make their own contributions to civilization" through a variety of Indian related service activities such missionary work, working for the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), or largely through teaching.[59] To ensure that every student would be prepared to teach, Bacone students were required to instruct at least one class day each school year. Weeks felt that this would ensure that prospective teachers were "trained in an Indian situation."[60]

In 1931, Weeks declared that he had no intention for Bacone to become a four-year institution as he felt the first two years of college for Indians required special

attention that only an Indian institution could provide. Once they became upper-classmen, Weeks felt that the students could adequately address the "diversity of a university."[61] According to Weeks' son, Roger, his father's "driving force was to produce students who could compete in the 'White Man's' world." Roger claims that "literally hundreds of Baconians" went on to graduate from schools such as A & M, Bucknell, Brown, Dartmouth, Keuka, Northeastern, Ottawa University, Redlands, Sarah Lawrence, and the University of Oklahoma since his father's tenure as president.[62]

Another considerable motivation for Bacone to create teachers in the 1930s concerned a federal program for the development of schools in rural Indian communities. This program "involved establishing a large number of small rural schoolhouses, particularly among the Cherokees and Choctaws, who had little access to good public education."[63] The OIA specifically recruited Bacone graduates to teach in these schools.[64] In 1935 Bacone created a joint teacher-training program with Northeastern Teachers College in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, to allow seniors at Northeastern to live at Bacone and teach elementary classes. Bacone graduates were highly encouraged to complete their degrees at Northeastern and were given preferential placement in the Bacone training program.



Figure 5.1. Bacone College, 1931 postcard.
Courtesy American Baptist Historical Society.

Another school actively seeking Bacone students in the 1930s was the University of Redlands (UR). With Ataloa's and Weeks's connections to the college and its local Baptist community, the UR became a sister school to Bacone, and a significant number of Bacone students transferred there, including Warren, Caudell, and Murphy. The Bacone to UR pipeline saw approximately thirty students transfer from Bacone to Redlands in the late 1920s and 1930s. The demise of the pipeline was most likely due to two major factors, the departure of Ataloa from Bacone's staff in the mid-1930s and the resignation of Weeks from another financial scandal in 1941.

According to a September 1941 statement drafted by the school's dean, Winthrop Dolan, "Dr. Week's resignation was requested by the Home Mission Society, upon discovery of proof that he had mishandled and misappropriated funds belonging to the college, in considerable amounts and over a long period." According to Dolan, Weeks

admitted to committing the improprieties. The Society allowed Weeks to submit a statement with the reasons for his resignation, and he indicated that it was due to poor health, and while it may have been a factor, it was not the primary cause. Dolan stated that while it was "wise and necessary" to "tell the true facts to people on the outside," and the staff was not being asked to "keep the secret," they were asked to "be discreet about it." Dolan also cautioned although the Society was "very generous to Dr. Weeks in avoiding publicity or prosecution, in the hope and expectation that he would cooperate in the future work of the college," Weeks had not "seen fit to do" so. He went on to explain that Weeks had written to faculty members and "outside friends" asking that they "be loyal to him rather than to Bacone." Dolan ended the statement imploring staff to let him know if they could not give the school and its incoming administration their loyalty.[65] After resigning, Weeks relocated to New Mexico with his family. He lived there until his death in 1950. By that time, the scandal was no longer a concern, and Weeks' body was returned to Bacone and buried there.[66]

From its inception in 1880 through the 1930s, Bacone had experienced numerous changes in its leadership, direction for the school, and its student body composition, but it had come full circle by the time of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's attendance. The school began as a way to expediently teach and Christianize Indian students. The Christian and assimilationist messages shifted from the overt calls to civilize, convert, and Christianize and became buried in narratives of self-sufficiency, growth, and independence. While the pursuit of Christianization and assimilation was present throughout the school's existence, the focus on academic education for Indians waivered

over time. The rigor and levels of schooling changed in response to lack of funding, interest, or both. With its location central to the largest population of Native peoples and its seminary-style of education in the tradition of many of the tribes of eastern Oklahoma, especially the Five Tribes, Bacone was attractive to numbers of Native students. By the time of Warren's entry in 1931, the school had a robust student body and offered a college-level education to Native students only, except for the children of white employees. It was at the beginning of a particularly dynamic period for Bacone that the women entered college there, and Bacone's impact seen in each of their post-Bacone school and career choices.

"A hard year for everybody:" Evelyn Warren begins college[67]

The 1931 Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners reported that it "was a year of hard going for the whole country" and "there was acute distress in some sections, notably eastern Oklahoma, among the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians" due to droughts and crop losses.[68] In regards to education, the Commissioners understood that the debate of whether vocational training for Native students should be of the utmost priority was ongoing but stated that "thoughtful consideration" should be given to comments of a group of vocational educators that emphasized the importance of such training.[69] Reflecting the ongoing challenges many Indigenous students had with college preparation this group argued that "graduation [should] be dependent upon the attainment of a level of skill required for satisfactory employment in the vocation or trade" rather than academic attainment, and that the "standards essential to effective vocational

training can not be attained in a program that must at the same time fit into a traditional college preparatory curriculum of four years."[70] Attending public school and most likely not identified as Indian, Warren found herself in a position that differed from many American Indians. It is unknown whether she was caught up in the post-high school debate and what her ideas about vocational training and four-year colleges were. What we do know is that, although 1931 was a difficult year for many, for Warren, it was life changing in a positive way. She moved over a thousand miles away from home to attend college, and it was the first time the seventeen-year-old woman would be attending an Indian only school.

Warren followed her brother's footsteps to pursue college at Bacone. He attended Bacone during the 1929-1930 academic year. In 1927 Alvin petitioned for an appointment as a teacher for the Department of Interior, Indian Services. [71] During this time, the OIA-Education Division, recruited teachers from across the country. With a substantial need for instructors, a job with the Indian Service may have been easier for Alvin to obtain than other teaching positions at that time. Although not an Indian only position, there are no records of Alvin's initial application to indicate if he claimed Indian heritage at that time, but there is a note that the request was referred to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Later records reflect that Alvin entered his race as Indian and his tribe as Chippewa.[72] Upon receiving approval for a post from the Secretary of the Interior, Alvin was assigned to the Carson (Stewart Indian) School in Nevada. On July 1, 1929, he was assigned to the Fort Apache Indian School in Arizona. Conceivably Alvin learned of Bacone and its offerings to Native students during his teaching appointments at the

federal Indian schools. He resigned from his teaching post to go to Bacone in 1929.[73] Besides offering a college education, Bacone had various financial programs to assist with the cost of schooling, making it an attractive college for Alvin, and later his sister, to attend. After completing his year of study at Bacone, he was reinstated to his position as a teacher at the Santa Fe Boarding School.[74] Warren enrolled at Bacone in the fall of 1931 as a Chippewa woman. While no verification of her Indian heritage seemed to be asked for entry into Bacone, later during her employment with the OIA, it was requested on multiple occasions. For her enrollment and throughout her time at Bacone, Warren gave her home address as Santa Fe, New Mexico, Alvin's permanent address at the time.



Figure 5.2. Evelyn Warren (far right) with Alvin Warren,
The Watchman Examiner, Aug. 1, 1935, 884.
Photo courtesy of Bacone College.

When Warren arrived for her first term at Bacone, there were three hundred and five students, including elementary, high school, and junior college pupils enrolled at the

school.[75] Six of the students were white, with the remaining 296 American Indians representing forty-five different tribes. By March of 1932, 318 students were enrolled with 118 in college.[76] All classes were co-ed, and all students were expected to participate in some form of recreation during their time at Bacone. Students could not have firearms on campus and were prohibited from smoking and the drinking of "intoxicating liquors."[77] During Warren's time at Bacone, the school emphasized its Baptist roots. Promoting the motto "Our whole school for Christ," the school had multiple religious activities included as part of the attendance requirements. Although Warren was baptized Presbyterian when she was seven, she was also baptized at Bacone during her second year there.[78] Tuition was $307 for junior college students and included room and board, laundry, campus activities, registration, medical fees, and house dues.[79] According to an article in *Harlow's Weekly*, a "nonpartisan journal that offered coverage of current events and of the state's progress," of the total enrollment "only eighty-five [students] are paying their way in full, while only fifteen or twenty others are paying part of their expense" and "all the others are supported entirely by the institution."[80] Echoing the majority of students' dependence on the school for their financial backing, for her tenure there, Warren worked as an aide to the secretary of the school's president and later as an aide to Ataloa for her room and board.

During her time at Bacone, Warren was an active and engaged student. She seems to have had no issues either being accepted at the school or moving through the Bacone program. She proved herself to be an "earnest" student passing the various phases of "sorting out" that happens to college students where they leave either by their own

volition or by request.[81] She was in the Class Play and was both the Secretary and Treasurer of the Dramatic Club and her Class Secretary during her second year.[82] Warren also participated in the Spanish club as an "advanced" speaker in her second semester.[83] She was a member of the World Wide Guild, an American Baptist organization at Bacone formed to "train, inspire, and empower girls for Christian ministry and leadership."[84] As a member of the Guild she gave a talk as "Farmer Wong's Wife" on the "unusual subject" of "Silkworms, Rice and Religion" and participated in various plays such as the missionary drama "Two Masters" about a "wealthy and socially prominent Christian woman who tries to serve two masters."[85]

Warren was also a member of the Glee Club, the Choir, and the Dramatic Club for both her years of attendance. As part of these clubs, Warren would find herself wrapped in the pan-Indian style of costume that Ataloa encouraged for performances and reflect the approved images that the school was promoting. She would also have likely dressed in costume for other events or performances hosted by Ataloa either at the school or within the local community.



Figure 5.3. Evelyn Warren, third from right, Bacone College, circa 1931-32. Photo courtesy of Bacone College.

Early in her college attendance, Warren's academic prowess was reflected. At the "Nine Week Examinations," Warren was listed in fourth place for the total number of "honor points" achieved by that time.[86] For her second semester examination, Warren again placed in the top five with an average of an "A."[87] Warren was at the top of her class again in her second year.[88] Three weeks into her first semester, Warren was teaching reading to Bacone's fourth-grade class. The school was dealing with a teacher shortage and utilized over twenty-five college students as "Practice Teachers" with their instruction supervised by a teacher from Bacone's College Educational Department and the principal of the Elementary School.[89] While Warren did not participate in the program during the second semester, she did go on to receive her Oklahoma State Teaching Credential in June of 1933.[90]

In addition to the singing groups, one of Ataloa's efforts for educational opportunities and outreach involved the founding of the school newspaper, the *Bacone Indian*, in 1928. It replaced the previous iteration the *Bacone Chief*. Students were given responsibility for the *Bacone Indian's* writing, editing, and illustrations. The paper's reach went beyond students and faculty to alumni, the larger Indian community, and possible donors. For both years of her attendance, Warren worked with the school newspaper. In her second year, she was a News Editor, and she was responsible for typing the paper's copy.[91] She also wrote editorials such as the piece about "Our Great Leaders," including the "emancipator" Abraham Lincoln and the "father of our country" George Washington. Using the presidents as examples, she prompted the readers to

consider if they were going to be "followers…satisfied to drift along with the crowd" or "leaders who are eager to help and be of service."[92]

The Bacone College class of 1933 had thirty-four graduating students. Showing her sense of humor, for the college "Sophomore Will," Warren bequeathed her "beautiful curls" to another student as she "really need[ed] them."[93] Warren finished her time at Bacone with academic honors, and along with two male graduates, she headed to the University of Redlands in Redlands, California, in pursuit of a Bachelor's degree. While UR was not an Indian institution, its ties with Bacone during the 1930s would be formidable.

Warren had her first experience being surrounded by a large number of American Indians when she entered Bacone College in 1931. Until that time, she had attended public schools in urban areas with low Indian populations. While the country was experiencing the Great Depression (1929-39), Warren was able to obtain funding and a job to pay for schooling. She was also an active and engaged student and excelled academically. She participated in performances in pan-Indian costumes to raise money and awareness for Bacone. She worked on the school newspaper and parlayed her academic success into a transfer to a four-year university. Although Warren was not the only Native women at that time to graduate Bacone or go on to a four-year school, she was exceptional in that she was one of the few women who could achieve this at that time and even more remarkably, college seems to be her first open acknowledgment of her Native heritage. Attesting to this heritage would also become important in her future development.



Figure 5.4. Bacone College Graduating Class 1933,
Evelyn Warren (front row, third from right), 1933.
Photo courtesy of Bacone College.

Doing a "work [in] which every girl should be glad:" Cleo Caudell begins Bacone[94]

In the fall of 1933, following Warren's departure, Caudell began her first year at Bacone. Bacone may have been appealing to Caudell for multiple reasons. As a graduate of the Haskell Institute, Caudell was well versed in the seminary-style of education offered at the school. She would be physically situated much closer to her mother in Talihina, Oklahoma than she was while at Haskell or other colleges, including Northeastern College in Tahlequah. Probably the most influential factor was her relationship with Ataloa. Caudell met Ataloa when she was a student at the Haskell Institute as Ataloa had performed there.[95]

It was the school's fifty-second year, and although the country was still in the midst of an economic depression, college tuition was the same as when Warren enrolled, $307. A difference between these years was the emphasis placed on work as detailed in the school's 1933-34 Annual Catalogue. According to the catalog, work was "part of education," and students "unable to meet all school expenses" were assigned "given amounts of work according to financial necessity, worthiness, and order of application."[96] Although work-study programs had existed in 1931, they were not described within the catalog. By 1933 though, detailed descriptions of the value of work, the minimum number of hours (fifteen), and work requirements were provided.[97] Reflecting the women's dress code at that time and intending to create a sense of professionalism, women were "expected to wear low-heeled shoes when on duty." Bacone also began to offer a "Work Certificate" to students that would be "permanently attached" to their school record. In addition to their work competencies, students were graded on:

"Promptness and fidelity in keeping appointments," "Neatness in work and in handling records," "Cheerfulness in carrying out instructions," and "Good moral conduct" amongst other things. According to the school, students would find that the certificate was a "recommendation and a useful testimonial."[98]

Exhibiting the work ethic of the times and the financial dependence of many students, Caudell was the secretary to the Dean, earning room and board while being involved in numerous Bacone endeavors. Like Warren, Caudell was a member of the Women's Glee Club. She also served as "hostess" for the Art "Lodge," a site created by Ataloa as a "workshop for Indian crafts" and quickly became a social hub at the school. So much so that the school's president implemented visiting hours to reduce disruptions in students' classwork.[99] Both activities would involve dressing in Native costume and elements of performance for the public's consumption that were shaped by Ataloa.

Cultivating her relationship with Ataloa, in her freshman year at Bacone, Caudell was the Associate Editor of the *Bacone Indian*.[100] In addition to editing the paper, Caudell often wrote editorials or had articles written about her activities. During her second week at the school, she wrote an article providing her first impressions. Caudell found an "unusually friendly spirit" amongst the faculty and students and the atmosphere of "cooperation and loyalty" to be evident. She also indicated that she "already [had] a sense of loyalty and deep appreciation for Bacone" and considered it a "privilege and a great opportunity to be a student" there.[101]

The 1934-35 school term seems to have been a particularly busy one for Caudell. She began the school year in September with an editorial about "making a good start"

and how Bacone had "unlimitable [*sic*] opportunities to offer its students."[102] She was elected President of the Oklahoma Junior College Press Association and became one of the first students enrolled in a "headline writing class" created to give students "enough knowledge so that they make practical use of it by writing headlines for the *Bacone Indian*."[103] The month of October saw Caudell calling a two-day annual convention of the Oklahoma College Press to order and becoming the Editor of the *Bacone Indian.*[104] Later in the semester, continuing her membership in the World Wide Guild from her youth, Caudell used the paper to implore the Guild's other members to "wake up and be alive" and to give their support to the organization.[105] Caudell's vigor and enthusiasm for various Indian causes are visible in other editorials she wrote for the paper.[106]

Caudell and Ataloa's relationship deepened during Caudell's tenure at the school and they traveled together on multiple occasions. Ataloa had been appointed to the Oklahoma State Welfare Committee, and in early 1935 was making surveys of the vocational work being done at state institutions. In February, Ataloa and Caudell went on a trip to the tuberculosis hospital in Talihina, Oklahoma, Caudell's hometown, and where her mother was working at the time. Also as part of the Welfare Committee's work, Ataloa, Caudell, and two other students visited the State Industrial School for Girls in Tecumseh followed by the Negro Boys' Training School in Boley, Oklahoma. In April 1935, Caudell accompanied Ataloa, Ataloa's mother, and another student, on a personal trip to Tulsa.[107]

For the 1935 "Sophomore Will," Caudell bequeathed her job to another student and provided a hint that leaving a window open was a pet peeve of the Dean's.[108] The

spring of that year saw the lives of Ataloa, Caudell, and President Weeks's intersecting in Redlands, California. Ataloa had taken a year's leave of absence from Bacone beginning in May to "do some research work and writing" but did not end up returning to teach at Bacone.[109] Ataloa anticipated attending the Northern Baptist Convention in Colorado Springs in June of that year, then staying in Redlands, California, with her mother for the summer. Around the same time, President Weeks was also in Redlands preaching to the students at the University of Redlands and visiting with his son, Roger, and other former Bacone students. In May, Caudell graduated from Bacone College with an Associate of Arts degree and charted her own course for Redlands. [110]

Caudell's entry into Bacone was a very different experience than Warren's had been. Caudell had lived at an Indian boarding school. She was used to being surrounded by other Native students and to the culture of federal Indian schooling. She would have been familiar with the expectations placed on and for Indian students. Like Warren though, she obtained funding support and a wage-earning position on campus to pay her expenses. She, too, performed in Native costumes for the school's behalf, and she also traveled to other locations for extracurricular activities. Caudell worked on the school paper and made connections with someone who would become an important mentor to her. She developed a relationship with the instructor and performer Ataloa, and ultimately this relationship would result in a significant scholarship for Caudell. Like Warren, Caudell participated in both everyday and exceptional acts. Her academic and extracurricular successes at Bacone set the stage for Caudell to eventually reach an

academic level few women of any group during that time would and allow her to ultimately pursue a graduate level education.



Figure 5.5. Bacone College Graduating Class 1935,
Cleo Caudell (front row, fourth from right), 1935.
Photo courtesy of Bacone College.

"She's an all-around girl:" Ruth Murphy, a most dependable student

> "When we think of all-round students among the girls, we immediately think of Ruth Murphy. Ruth is a Cherokee from Drumright, Okla…One might easily think that a student who is so outstanding in academic work and so active in school activities would be too busy to have fun….[but she] is full of pep and enthusiasm…[and] is one of the most capable, most dependable, and best-liked students on the Bacone campus."[111]

Four and a half years passed between Murphy graduating from high school and enrolling in Bacone College. During the interim period, Murphy worked and had an active social life, with a number of her activities detailed in the "Community" section of the *Miami News-Record* based in Miami, Oklahoma. Murphy's activities were most notable when she was in the company of her mother's siblings, John Grover Scales, or Grace Scales, Lillie's youngest sister, who was only four months older than Murphy herself. Inferring a high social status for the Scales family, they were frequent topics of discussion in local papers. Grover Scales had both attended and worked at the Cherokee Male Seminary before it burned down in 1909.[112] He then went on to teach in public schools, become a Delaware County School superintendent, attend the American School of Law in Chicago, and by the age of thirty-one, was a county judge. By 1930 he was a full-time Baptist minister. Grace Scales graduated Drumright High School with Murphy in 1929 and attended Northeastern State Teacher's College (which had originally been the Cherokee Female Seminary in Tahlequah, Oklahoma) before renting a room with a family in Salina and teaching at the Olympus School in Long Prairie, Oklahoma. As

Murphy spent considerable time with her aunt and uncle, they may have influenced her decision to go to college and become an instructor.

Murphy was twenty-two and began her first classes at Bacone during the second semester of the 1933-34 academic year (the same academic year as Caudell). She was classified as a freshman for the 33-34 and 34-35 academic years, indicating that she did not have enough credits for status as a senior until the fall of 1935. Murphy, also known as Pat, was involved in several school activities and seemed to be well liked on campus. She was an academically strong student and was regularly on the honor roll during her tenure.[113] Following in the footsteps of Caudell, Murphy was also chosen to play hostess at the school's Lodge. Also like Warren and Caudell, Murphy was a member of the World Wide Guild, becoming president in her second year. For a Guild meeting on the topic of "Old China," Murphy raised the question, "Does the relationship between family and state life imply a closed aristocracy by birth in public office?"[114] The article does not provide Murphy's stance or give any other details about the presentation but considering the topic and Murphy's background, it is probable that she argued against a closed aristocratic system. Similar to her time between schooling, Murphy's whereabouts would occasionally be reported in the school paper with trips home and with friends garnering several lines in the "Tribal Talk" section of the paper.[115]

Murphy's extra-curricular activities often involved music and performing. She performed in plays as part of the Masquers' Dramatic Club. One of her performances included singing Japanese songs, and in another, she played "Miss Jones" in a one-act dramatic play entitled "Two Crooks and a Lady" about an elderly woman who was

"robbed by her maid and an accomplice."[116] In the fall of 1935, Murphy wrote and performed an original play for a recruiting effort of the Guild.[117] Like her peers Warren and Caudell, Warren was also a member of the Girls Glee Club. Murphy also likely performed in the carefully constructed outfits created by Ataloa, but by Murphy's sophomore year, the Girl's Glee Club had shifted away from "traditional" costumes and was often seen in contemporary styles. This was probably because Ataloa had taken a leave of absence, and the school had placed its focus on the men's singing group for its donations.[118]



Sophomore Play May 18

THE BACONE INDIAN

Commencement May 25-27

REPRESENTING PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN INDIAN YOUTH

VOL. VII—NO. 14 | BACONE, OKLAHOMA, WEDNESDAY, MAY 15, 1935. | PRICE TEN CENTS

"BACONE INDIAN" PLACES THIRD AS ALL-ROUND PAPER

Features and Sports Win First Place While Others Are Second or Third

HIGHEST SCORE IN POINTS

In the student publications contest, sponsored by the Oklahoma Junior College Press Association, the *Bacone Indian* scored higher by private points than any other publication represented.

As an all-round newspaper the *Indian* rated third, the *Maverick* publication taking first. For the past several years the *Maverick* has retained first place as an all-round newspaper.

The entries in the contest which is held each year are in five divisions: all-round newspaper, news stories, editorials, sports stories, and features. Each college publication that is a member of the Oklahoma Junior College Press Association enters articles in each of these divisions. The association headquarters are located at Oklahoma A. and M. College at Stillwater. The association is sponsored by Clement E. Trout, head of the publications department.

COMBINED GLEE CLUBS

Upper group, left to right: Alvin Frost, Roy Gourd, Kelly Moore, Andy Hornbuckle, Santiago Sanchez, John Reyna, Sammie Terrell, Raymond Sammaripa, Joe Crowe, Rudy Aguilar, and Woodrow Tiger. *Third row*: Ella Joshua, Leah Hicks, Doris Oakes, Juanita Hopkins Jack Kilpatrick, Judson Tonemah, Carroll Jeanne Finley, Charlotte Hollister, Susan McCombs, Ethel Snell, and Verlon Low. *Fourth row*: Nannie Wade, Sallie Beaver, Susie Wesley, Jane Riley, Oswald Fredericks, Martin Napa, Ruth Murphy, Emma Simms, Margaret Dinsmore, Viola Toolate, and Bobbie Sue Clarke. *Bottom row*: Wilson McLemore, Jack Foster, Theodore Lonelodge, and Donald Eagleman.

SOPHOMORE CLASS TO GIVE THREE-ACT PLAY

Jane Riley Plays Lead in Comedy Which Will Be Given

TROOP 21 TAKES PART IN CITY SCOUT CIRCUS

Troop 21, consisting entirely of boys from the Murrow Indian Orphanage, took an active part in the Scout Circus held in Muskogee both Friday

GLEE CLUBS PRESENT ANNUAL HOME CONCERT

Andy Hornbuckle Gives Oration Which Placed Second

COMMENCEMEMT EXERCISES WILL BE HELD MAY 27

Fifty-Five Students Will Graduate from Various Departments

GRADE EXERCISES MAY 25

Commencement exercises for the college sophomore graduates will be held May 27 in the college chapel. Dr. J. M. Warner, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Alton, Illinois, will preach the baccalaureate sermon at 10:30 o'clock Sunday morning, May 26.

College sophomores who are to graduate are: Jack Kilpatrick, Raymond Melot, Donald Eagleman, Earl Riley, Victor Stewart, Martin Seneca, Frank Belvin, Sammie Terrell, Buck Simms, Woodrow Tiger, Tommy Hampton, Andy Hornbuckle, Adolph Bitanny, Raymond Tudor, Nellie Riley, Doris Oakes, Jane Riley, Cleo Caudell, Carroll Jeanne Finley, Wilson Lewis, Louise Howe, Margaret Foster, Martin Napa, Lewis Curtis, Arsenio Sanchez, Walter Turnbull and Bert Williams.

Saturday, May 25, fourteen elementary students will receive their eighth grade certificates. Eight of these students are Creek Indians, one is a

Figure 5.6. "Combined Glee Club," *Bacone Indian,* Bacone College, Muskogee, OK, May 15, 1935, 1. Photo courtesy of Bacone College.

Although she was not yet ready to graduate, in the 1935 "Sophomore Will" Murphy left her "blues voice and her ability to sing 'Am I Blue?'" to another student with the "sincere desire that she also learn [the song] 'Deep Henderson.'"[119] At the beginning of Murphy's final year as a student at Bacone College, there were a total of 259 total students, fifty-eight less than when Warren began in 1931. Of those, seventy-nine were college students, down from the 105 registered in the 1931-32 academic year.[120] Murphy maintained her high academic standing and remained particularly active with the Guild in her last year traveling to Wichita, Kansas for a rally lasting several days.[121] In one of the last articles of the academic year, an anonymous author reported the prophecies of the sophomore class. Murphy was described as "always rather matronly," and her future was predicted to involve "conducting a residential hotel for retired librarians."[122] Murphy ultimately spent two and a half years as a student at Bacone, graduating with her A.A. in 1936. To continue her education, Murphy followed Warren and Caudell's lead and moved to California to attend the University of Redlands.

While Murphy had a four and a half-year gap between finishing high school and starting Bacone, she seemed to make the transition particularly well. She appears to have ingratiated herself with the student body and made friends quickly. With a large proportion of college students coming from one of the Five Tribes, she would most likely have been amongst like-minded peers. Having grown up with Anglo-American ideas in education, either through federal or their local public schools, most students came with a similar understanding of education and its goals and Murphy was in this cohort.

Although she spent more time at Bacone then Warren and Caudell did, she was not as actively involved in school activities as they were. She focused her energies on singing and working with the World Wide Guild, a Baptist organization at Bacone. She did participate in fundraising events for the school, so she probably wore the popular Indian costumes at some point, but the emphasis was moving away from performances of Indianness so it was less common during her tenure. Murphy's experiences show both her capacity to adapt to changing circumstances and her desire to pursue higher education.



Figure 5.7. Bacone College Graduating Class 1936,
Ruth Murphy (front row, first from left), 1936.
Photo courtesy of Bacone College.

University of Redlands

The American Baptist Convention founded the University of Redlands in 1906. After a major earthquake in San Francisco resulted in the loss of financial stability of an existing Baptist college, California College in Oakland, the Baptist Convention turned its sights to Southern California for a new place to build. Reverend Jasper Newton Field, a Baptist pastor in Redlands, California, located sixty miles east of Los Angeles eagerly, took up the cause. He persuaded his parishioners and the Redlands Board of Trade to donate funds and land to build the college. With funding and property quickly secured, the school was chartered on November 25, 1907. Construction began in 1909, and the school opened in the fall of that year.[123]

Field was appointed as the first president. He declared that "while it is a Baptist institution … let it be a school where children of other denominations can come … without having their denominational preferences interfered with in the least."[124] Although Redlands fostered diversity in the student population from its earliest days, initially, it was as a mission of cultural expansion and duty to educate, rather than as a sense of multi-culturalism, that non-white students were welcomed.[125] As it had in the past, American Baptists continued to view "education as a tool for bringing Christian civilization to those they viewed as the unenlightened, both at home and abroad" and Redlands was seen as another instrument in this ongoing mission.[126]

There were nine faculty members and fifty-nine students in Redlands' inaugural semester in the fall of 1909. As there were no buildings completed, classes were held in the Redlands Baptist Church until January of 1910 when the administration building

opened. The first graduating class in 1910 had three students. The first women's literary society at the school, Pi Kappa Chi, was founded in the following school year, beginning a "long tradition of student-founded activities and organizations."[127] Reflecting the diverse interests of the students, the school created German and Spanish clubs and published *The Spectrum*, a student-produced magazine, shortly after opening. The annual Zanja Fiesta started in June of 1910 and continues today. The Zanja Fiesta was an original theatrical production that often emphasized different cultures, including Native American. The Young Women's Christian Association's (YWCA) college branch was established in 1911. As it had at other institutions, the YWCA played a significant role in the introduction and integration of women into the student body at Redlands, and Warren would become heavily involved with the group.

Through its early years, Redlands faced a variety of financial setbacks. The Northern Baptist Convention did not provide consistent support to the school, forcing the President to aggressively seek outside funding in the form of endowments and other financial aid. The Great Depression (1929-39) brought soaring enrollments but with "two-thirds of the students on scholarship and endowment income returns down," faculty was asked to postpone sabbatical leaves and summer studies and ultimately take pay cuts.[128] Towards the end of the 1930s, by increasing enrollment and shifting a larger portion of the financial responsibility to the students, the financial difficulties of Redlands were easing.

Although the nondenominational mission waxed and waned over the years, Baptist student enrollment at Redlands remained generally steady until the 1930s when a

change in leadership encouraged the development of students as "educated, cultured, spiritual men and women" in a secular sense versus an emphasis on specific Baptist tenets. This resulted in Redlands experiencing a significant decrease of the Baptist student body.[129] This decline raised concerns with ultra-conservative Baptist groups and school trustees. In an effort to assuage these concerns, increased efforts to recruit Baptist students were implemented. As a result, outreach efforts with Bacone College were galvanized. With Ataloa, a Redlands alumna, situated at Bacone as a faculty member and President Weeks, a frequent guest at the university and its local church, efforts to create a Bacone to Redlands pipeline began in earnest, and for a time Redlands offered scholarships to two Bacone graduates a year.[130] In establishing a direct conduit from Bacone to the Redlands, the university could fulfill both its Baptist and missionary education initiatives, and Bacone could further its mission of training Natives for Indian related service activities such as missionary work and teaching.



Figure 5.8. Administration Building, University of Redlands, circa 1930.
Courtesy of the University of Redlands.

Evelyn Warren: A Native foreigner

Although Warren was neither the first nor the last Baconian to attend Redlands during the late 1920s and 30s, she was the first of the three women in a group that totaled almost thirty Bacone alumni to continue their higher education there during this time. Warren seemed to adjust to the new school and ingratiate into the student body quickly through participation in several organizations. Not long after the semester began, she joined the Junior Class Party Program Committee and assisted in preparations for its annual event that brought the class of 1935 together for the "one big social affair of the semester."[131] She also became president of the Pan Hellenic Council, the governing body of social sororities on campus. As part of her role as president, she was a member of the university's Women's Federation, a group consisting of the presidents of all the women's organizations on the campus, and performed in a skit at their annual tea for the "men and faculty" of the university.[132]

She was a member of Delta Alpha, an honorary scholarship fraternity, and in her second semester, she pledged to the Kappa Pi Zeta sorority, a group that emphasized a "zeal for the future." Later she became the sorority's president, and during her last semester, she was chosen as part of a trio tasked to represent the sorority in a singing competition.[133] Warren also reconnected with the YWCA and represented the school as a delegate at the state conference held in Monterey from December 26, 1933, to January 2, 1934.[134]

In her work with the various organizations, Warren would often incorporate Native themes or activities. For the YWCA, she took a leadership role in a series of

projects with a group of eighth-grade girls in the Girl Reserves. The "motif" for the projects was the "American Indian," and a sequence of Indian focused activities planned. Warren taught the Girl Reserves how to make "woven Indian belts" and scheduled a hike featuring the "study of Indian lore."[135] In early 1934, Warren took responsibility for coaching two American Indian dances and assuming a lead role in the Corn Dance for a dance recital held at the UR.[136]

Although at Bacone Warren was baptized as a Baptist, she still held to somewhat to her Presbyterian roots during her time at Redlands. She combined her involvement with the church and American Indian customs at the Missionary Society of the Redlands Presbyterian Church through speeches and performances on "The American Indian."[137] Although Warren was giving talks on the American Indian, her status was still that of foreign Other. This Otherness would be pronounced through a particular university organization. A significant club for many Bacone students was the Cosmopolitan Club. Most alumni participated in the Cosmopolitan Club to some degree during their time at Redlands.

Cosmopolitan Club. The cosmopolitan club movement began with two unrelated gatherings. In 1903, at the University of Wisconsin (UW), a Japanese student hosted a meeting of foreign-born students in his dorm room. Later that year, unbeknownst to the group at UW, an Argentinian student at Cornell University called his own meeting of foreign-born students. The groups called themselves "cosmopolitans," and the clubs quickly became popular. Within two years, the Universities of Chicago, Illinois,

Michigan, Purdue, and Ohio State and Louisiana State had their own cosmopolitan clubs. In 1907, the UW and Cornell groups joined together to form a national association, the Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs (ACC). By 1909, membership of the ACC had reached two thousand members representing sixty nations, "all enthusiastically proclaiming, 'Above all nations is humanity.'"[138] From the beginning, the groups sought the "active creation of a network of cosmopolitans that would serve as the foundation of global public."[139] According to historian Allen J. Mikaelian, the clubs "maintained focus on local conditions and identities even as they sought a common humanity."[140] Mikaelian argues "In the midst of their ongoing argument for common humanity, they steadily injected reminders of stark difference." While the members strove for genuine dialog and mutual understanding, they also made efforts to accentuate dissimilarities. According to Mikaelian, this was done "not to reinforce difference for its own sake, but to keep the universal unsettled, and to keep a promising conversation going."[141] By emphasizing differences, the clubs considered themselves a space to further the conversation with "acknowledgment and respect for otherness."[142]

In the early stages of the club's movement, most international students were male, so focus on building the ties between brotherhoods seemed logical. As a result of the male-dominated associations, some members found themselves "hesitant and clumsy in addressing women." While many groups, particularly those in the western United States, welcomed women from the start, not all clubs opened their early membership to women. As women started to join the clubs, though, they "shifted the focus of the cosmopolitan project to the personal." Women members argued that "One did not have to be an

internationalist, or forever working on a global stage, to be a cosmopolitan," and that there were "foreigners" close to home.[143] Native students at the UR would later come to represent some close foreigners.

Performances were a typical event for the clubs. They were not seen as "one-way deliveries and presentations," though. Members performed to both "transform themselves and inform their own cultural understandings." For members, exhibiting and sharing their culture was a method of making contact with common humanity. However, they also emphasized difference and "otherness." In their performances, "the cosmopolitans sought to underscore how different they were from each other, and also how different they were, as a group."[144] This would become observable in events held during Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's attendance.

Between the years 1904 and 1914, the cosmopolitan clubs had grown from small, unofficial campus meetings to formal highly attended affairs. They also shifted from "somewhat vague statements of 'brotherhood' to a more fully-formed cosmopolitan philosophy and program."[145] The end of World War I (1914-18) brought division within the ranks debating whether the clubs should be spatially contained as a place to rub shoulders with other cosmopolites or whether cosmopolitanism was an "attitude of human mind" and did not require access to universities or other organizations to manifest itself.[146] With immigration restrictions and rising nativism looking suspiciously upon groups such as the cosmopolitan club, by the 1920s, the clubs continued but were not thriving. In the 1920s and 1930s, international houses began to replace some cosmopolitan clubs. These houses were places where international students could live

with "Americans."[147] Bucking the trend, it was during this time that the UR began its own cosmopolitan club. The UR club started in the spring of 1924 "in order to spread a feeling of brotherhood among the American and foreign students of the university." In the 1933-34 school year, the club sent its first representative to the conference of Cosmopolitan Clubs of Southern California Colleges and Universities.[148]

Warren joined the Cosmopolitan Club in her first year and remained a member throughout her time at Redlands. In the 1934 and 1935 photos of the club, members were all dressed in the fashions of the day. Warren and the other American Indian students' foreignness would be addressed in other ways nonetheless. Continuing the early Baptist ideas of American Indians as foreign Others, the Cosmopolitan Club viewed Native students in this vein throughout the 1930s. The club's members were described as "American *and* foreign students," with Indians falling outside of the American descriptor.[149] The placement of Natives within the scope of "foreigners" ideologically consigned them to being Others.

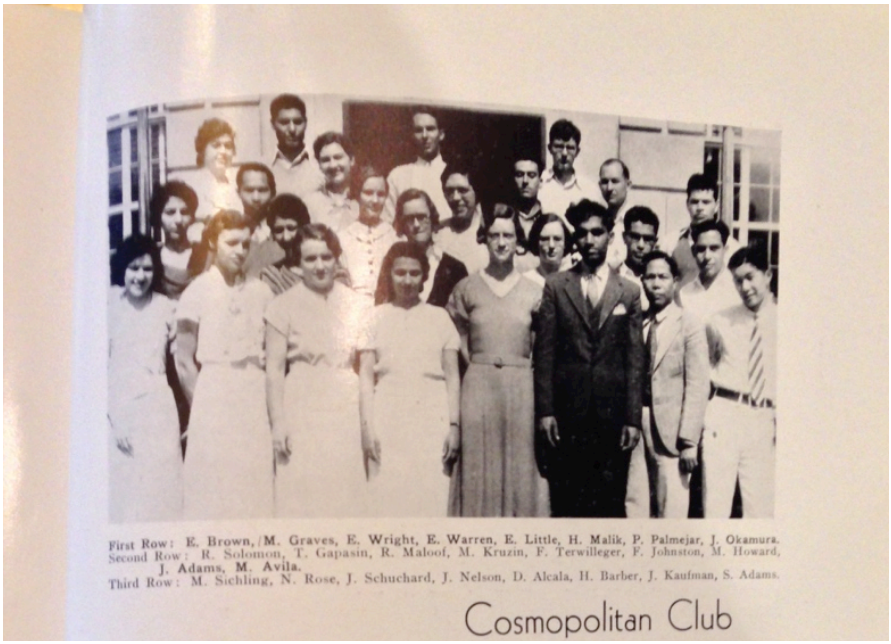


Figure 5.9. Cosmopolitan Club, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1934, Evelyn Warren (front row fourth from left).
Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

Although the Cosmopolitan Club's creed claimed inclusivity and fostering camaraderie, Warren's status as an outsider was reflected in several events involving the club. In an article in the local paper in January of 1934, the Women's Christian Temperance Union was entertaining "foreign students" of the Cosmopolitan Club. Warren and a few other club members were identified as the "foreign students."[150] All but Warren was from outside the continental United States. A month earlier, the Club had entertained the Temperance Union with a "program featuring world peace." Warren, dressed in an "American Indian costume," spoke about her "native race and sang some of its songs."[151] In another spin on the foreign Native notion, the Cosmopolitan Club created a program for the Women's Missionary Society of the Congregational church of Redlands, and passports were made for attendees to take a trip around the world to see

the "foreign" activities. One was a presentation of folklore and poetry from the country of Latvia. Another was a "muezzin call of prayer" representing India. For an American Indian experience, the passport took participants to Bacone College to hear about the Wichita tribe."[152] These types of activities reinforced the foreignness of an Indigenous identity.

In her senior year, Warren's brother Alvin joined her as a student at Redlands and became involved in a number of activities, including a social gathering at the "Unity Center."[153] In his brief stint at UR, he joined a fraternity, Alpha Gamma Nu, a social group, and he also got involved with the Cosmopolitan Club. Both Warren and her brother graduated from the University of Redlands in 1935, Warren with an A.B. in Sociology and Alvin with A.B. in Social Sciences. After graduation, Alvin returned to working for Indian Services, moving to Wisconsin, to be the principal and a teacher at the Lac du Flambeau Indian School. In March of 1935, before the term had even ended, Warren was looking ahead to her future and completed her own application for employment with the Department of the Interior, Indian Services.

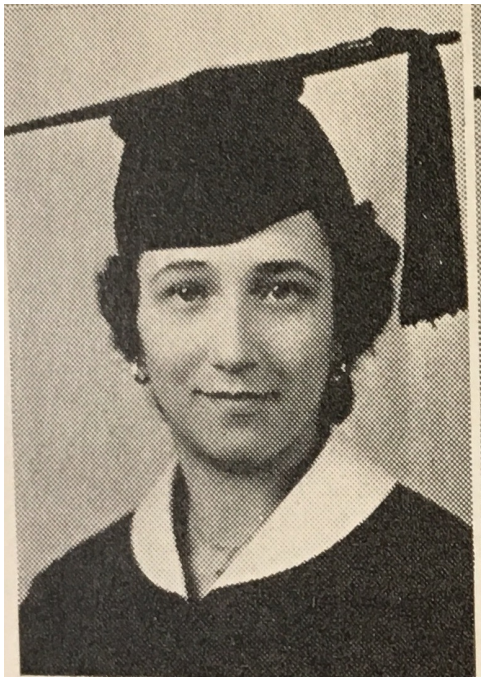


Figure 5.10. Evelyn Warren, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1935. Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

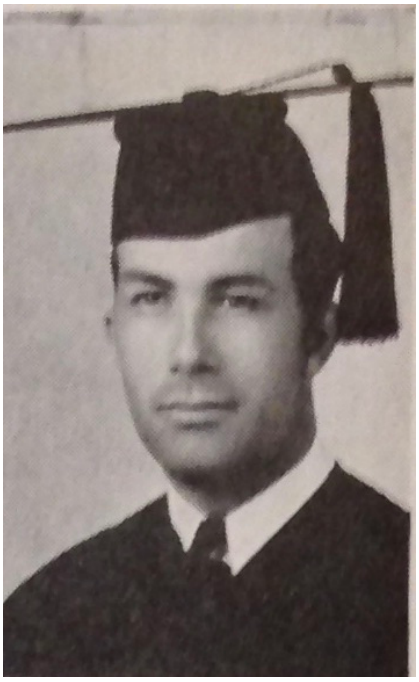


Figure 5.11. Alvin Warren, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1935. Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

Cleo Caudell: To Redlands and other exotic locales

Although Caudell may have been the only American Indian woman in attendance at the University of Redlands in the fall of 1935, she had the mentorship of Ataloa and the experiences of Warren to draw on. She also had the company of three male classmates and the Bacone Alumni already situated at the school to lean on should she need it. Not seeming to be fazed by the significant change, though, Caudell resumed her practice of active student engagement quickly after her arrival at the university. She moved into a women's dormitory, Bekins Hall, located on campus, where she promptly became Dormitory President. Caudell also became an active member of the Tawasi Club, a social club for non-sorority women students, and went on to become its historian.[154] In her senior year, she was the secretary of La Rueda, the managing organization for the Tawasi Club, and two other women's social clubs at the university.[155] Furthering her practice of social engagement, Caudell attended the formal rush for the Alpha Sigma Pi sorority in November of 1936.[156] The sorority, founded in 1914, sought to "honor uniqueness while fostering strong bonds between members…promote academic excellence, community involvement, leadership and personal growth."[157] Caudell remained involved with the group even after her graduation, attending a reunion in Santa Monica during the summer of 1937.[158]

Like Warren and many of the Native students before her, Caudell joined the Cosmopolitan Club. Buttressing the Bacone-to-Redlands pipeline that was created by Ataloa and Weeks, Bacone students seemed to have claimed space within the Cosmopolitan Club as their own. Whether they actively participated in club activities or

not, almost all Bacone alumni were members. This fostered cohesion amongst the alumni and reinforced ties to and with Bacone. It would also make Redlands attractive to other potential incoming Native students as it provided a place for its Indigenous students.

The 1936 yearbook described the Cosmopolitan Club as being made up of members who were "foreign students, foreign-born Americans, Americans who have lived in foreign countries, and Americans who are very much interested in the club."[159] The club's description and purpose expanded from just spreading feelings of brotherhood and fellowship to include promoting peace and goodwill. This was likely a result of the rising tensions in Europe. While the group expanded their goals to achieve harmony, the separating of Natives as Others continued.

Caudell visually represented her foreignness in ways that Warren, and other Baconians, had not. Along with two other members, Caudell dressed in costume for the Cosmopolitan Club's yearbook photo. Continuing the exemplification of Indianness used at Bacone in the Girls' Glee Club, Caudell was wrapped in a blanket and was wearing a beaded headband, similar to the Navajo styles that were popular at the time and marking her easily recognizable to whites as an Indian. So while Caudell would dress in contemporary styles for other Redlands related yearbook photos, her foreignness would be displayed in the Cosmopolitan Club's venues and as part of performances by an Indian Club at the school.



Figure 5.12. Cosmopolitan Club, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1936, Cleo Caudell (front row, standing, first from right, wrapped in Navajo style blanket). Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

During Caudell's attendance at UR, Bacone actively promoted its connection with the university. In the *Bacone Indian's* Alumni news, Caudell's (and other Bacone alumni's) status on the Redlands campus would proudly be discussed. In April of 1936, the paper boasted, "Seven Former Bacone Students Attend Redlands," and they made "good records in sports and other activities on [the] California campus."[160] A photo of the Indian Club in which the participants were dressed in Native costumes accompanied it. This group contained Bacone alumni and other members of the Cosmopolitan Club and appears to be from a performance at the university. The article explained, "for a number of years, Bacone has sent graduates to complete their college training at this school, but never before has so large a group attended at once."[161]

Emphasis was given to the "leader," an "outstanding personality from Bacone." This unofficial member of the Indian community and the "most noble redskin of them all" was not "technically an Indian," but Roger Weeks, the white son of Bacone President Benjamin Weeks. Weeks started first grade at Bacone, and for his seventeen years there, he was a popular figure at the school and a frequent topic in the school papers.[162] According to anthropologist Lisa K. Neuman, Bacone "students constructed their Indian identities in reference to whiteness." She states that white Bacone students were often referred to as "Sycamores" because of the tree's "white trunk and limbs" and were considered one of the "many 'tribes' represented at Bacone." She indicates that "some white alumni fondly remembered" this distinction. Neuman also argues that Bacone's Native students "enjoyed teasing their white classmates," and it "served to downplay the distinctions between Indian and white students." [163] As a youth, Weeks would play "cowboys and Indians" with his classmates who "insisted on being the 'cowboys' while making Roger the 'Indian.'" According to Weeks, playmates seemed to take great pleasure when his skin would be stained red from the pokeberries used to make him look "Indian."[164]

Reflecting on the prominence he held in the Bacone community and possibly seeking to legitimatize Redlands as a credible institution, the 1936 *Bacone Indian* article highlighted Roger Weeks' academic, social, and athletic accomplishments with Native students' secondary. As the son of the president and one of the few white students at the time, Weeks garnered attention and the spotlight. It was only after extolling Weeks's virtues and other male Bacone alumni's sports records that Caudell's achievements such

as “last year’s editor of the Bacone Indian” and president of Bekins Hall were detailed.[165] So while the accomplishments of its Native students were print-worthy, the white son of the school’s president was the primary focus of the article’s attention, followed by other male students, and ending with Caudell signifying her importance to the author, and possibly the readership.

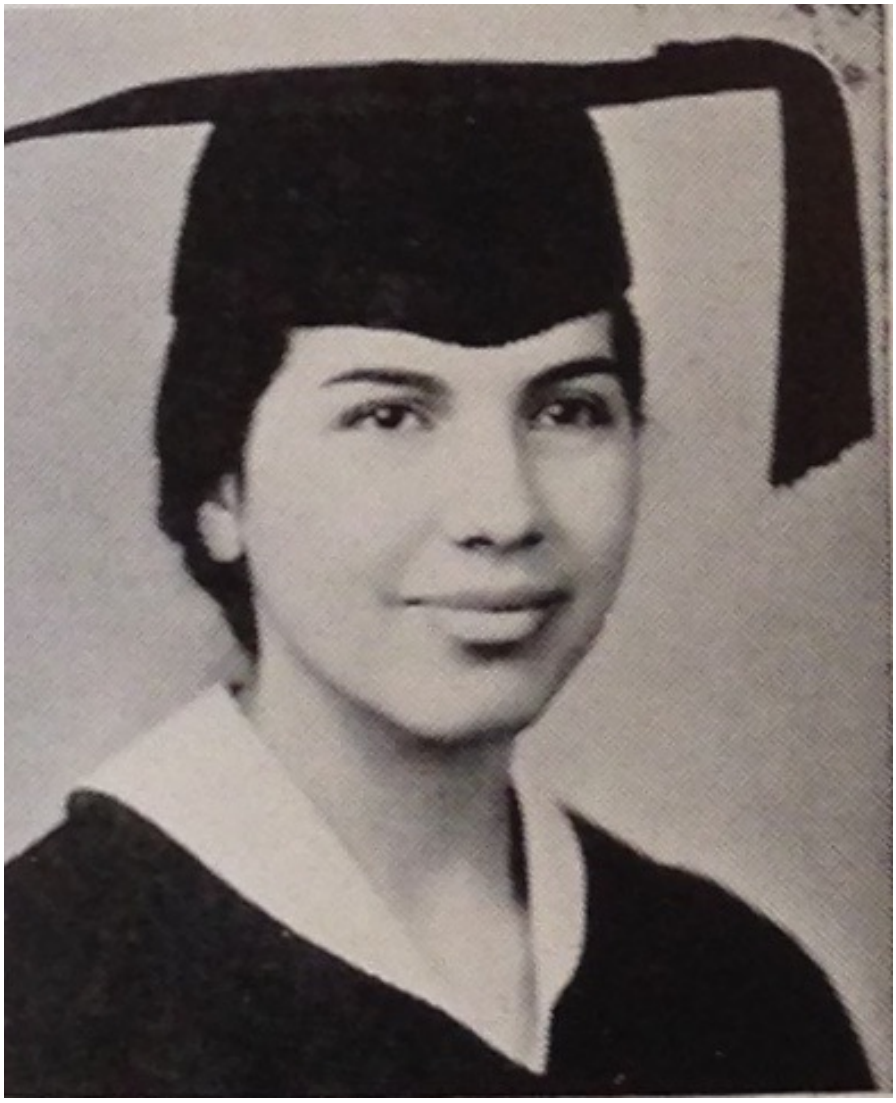


Figure 5.13. Cleo Caudell, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1937. Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

In 1937, Caudell graduated from Redlands with her Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology, but her higher educational schooling experiences were not to end there.[166] Soon she was preparing to travel even further west in her pursuit of graduate-level studies. When Caudell was attending Redlands, Ataloa had been busy traveling the continental United States, giving performances, and making speeches in order to bring attention and funds to Indian causes. In the summer of 1935, Ataloa was a representative of the Indian Bureau at an international conference on education in Honolulu, Hawaii. While there, Ataloa established a scholarship to assist an "Indian girl at the University of Hawaii and a Hawaiian girl in a university in the states" in the field of graduate study.[167] The first recipient of this scholarship was Caudell. Seeking her Master's Degree in Sociology, Caudell would be living in Honolulu for the next year, giving speeches and garnering attention for her Indianness. She wanted to study the "Hawaiians and to compare them with her people."[168] On September 14, 1937, Ataloa was in Redlands, "arranging for the departure of Cleo Caudell, Choctaw Indian graduate of the University of Redlands, who will spend a year of post-graduate study at the University of Hawaii."[169] Caudell was scheduled to board the S.S. Lurline in Los Angeles four days later.

The foreignness of Caudell's Native identity seemed to hold particular interest to Hawaiian newspaper reporters in several articles printed in Hawaiian papers. Shortly after arriving in Hawaii, Caudell was interviewed for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Descriptions supporting the ideas of the exotic otherness of Indians were laden throughout. Meeting white expectations of American Indians in her physical appearance, Caudell was

described as “tall, graceful” with “the black hair and eyes and olive complexion of her Indian ancestry.” Referencing the title of the piece, though, “Indian Girl Is No Flapper,” it was noted that although her hair was long at the time, it had previously been “bobbed.” Caudell expressed that she did not believe “Indian girls look[ed] natural with permanent waves.” Although the discussion around Caudell’s hair may have seemed purely aesthetic, the use of the term “flapper” implies something deeper. Flappers were more than a style, as scholar Kenneth A. Yellis elaborates, they were “ideal types and as such they were emulated to greater or lesser degrees by many women.”[170] A flapper’s dress, behavior, and modernity stood in contrast to “traditional morality and femininity,” which caused concern among some conservatives.[171] With the modern styling of a flapper came a “struggle between modernism and traditionalism” ideologies, which included concepts around morality, inferring that flappers were immoral.[172] By reasserting that Caudell was not a flapper, she could more easily be contained to the past and presented as pure.

Caudell was also described as speaking “flawless English in a cultured voice” and that she “ponder[ed] carefully each question before she answer[ed] it.” By drawing attention to Caudell’s “cultured” ways of talking and presenting herself, the author affirms that expectations for Caudell were contrary to what was provided. Although it does not appear to be a question directed to her, in response to the perception of a pan-Indian identity, Caudell shared that she felt it was “dangerous to speak in generalities about the Indians, because conditions [were] so different in different places.” Establishing herself as modern and within the upper tier of the perceived hierarchy of Native tribes, though, she explained that Choctaw was one of the “five civilized nations”

and had not "followed tribal customs for many years." She also felt it necessary to indicate that she had "never lived on a reservation." She stressed that Choctaw people "live in the cities and follow many lines of work, just like people of other races, and they have intermarried a great deal with the whites." When asked if she thought that, "they have lost something by becoming 'civilized,'" Caudell responded that "indeed" she did and that there was a "great deal of beauty in…arts and customs that should be preserved," inferring that Native cultures, arts, and customs were lost through the process of "civilization."[173]

Caudell also discussed her schooling. She indicated that although Indians could attend "regular schools" if they desired, many preferred to attend the Indian government schools at that time. Considering the overpopulation at Haskell during her time there, she went on to state that the government schools were so popular that it was "almost impossible to get into them unless you [were] an orphan." Supporting the Indian Services educational ideologies, she touted the government schools' vocational programs as providing the skills Indians needed to get a position and hold onto it. Conceding that there were issues with the OIA's management of Native education, though, she indicated that while the Indian Bureau had "always been motivated by good intentions," it had not "always been wise in its actions."[174]

While a student with the University of Hawaii, Caudell worked as a typist for the Hawaii Equal Rights Commission to help support herself and to assist in understanding the similarities of Hawaiians and American Indians.[175] Caudell continued her group involvement at the university, speaking about the "interesting customs of Indian life" at

the Associated Women's Convocation, where she was "appropriately dressed in her native costume."[176] Caudell the "winsome bright-eyed" Choctaw became known for performing songs with "melodious Indian lyrics" that contained "romantic Choctaw legends" for "fascinated Honolulu listeners" while dressed in Native costume, like Ataloa before her. The costume that the "half Indian and half white girl" wore was "made of Hawaiian raw silk and modeled along beautiful Indian patterns." The silk was originally imported to Hawaii from Japan, and it had been sent to Ataloa in Montana while she was working with Crowe Indians in 1936. During a trip to Hawaii the previous year, Ataloa found the resemblance of the material to buckskin to be "striking," so she ordered ten bolts to be sent to her. Ataloa fashioned the material into "typical buckskin costumes with all the native beads and fringes." They sold like "hot cakes" and became a fad for "Indians and tourists alike." Seeing their popularity, Ataloa ordered one made especially for Caudell.[177]

Two months after arriving in Hawaii, the "Former Haskell Girl" gave a speech on Indian customs before the student body at the University of Hawaii. Her speech was reported in papers in Hawaii, California, and Kansas. She proclaimed, "Indians nowadays dress and act much the same as other folks do" and addressed the ideas of foreignness that many white Americans had about Native people in general.[178] Although she found Hawaiian practices to "differ somewhat," Caudell thought "that people are much the same everywhere she [went]." Caudell also stated that "Here [Hawaii] the Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiians, and so on, act very much alike."[179] Caudell herself reinforced the sense of Otherness by grouping Indian, Hawaiian, Chinese, and Japanese peoples

together, separate from whites. Caudell also discussed the lack of public awareness about native cultures, as she compared expectations of her appearing in a war bonnet to "many people on the mainland thinking that Hawaiians still live in grass shacks" but argued, "Underneath we're all much the same."[180] Although she often dressed in Native costume for her speeches and performances, Caudell anticipated disappointment that her image did not conform to the audience's expectations of an Indian as she did not wear feathered headdresses. Caudell explained that she would not wear a "war bonnet" as it was not the current custom. She shared that even then, "only men who were chiefs wore such feathered headgear." Finding similarities in Hawaiian customs and her own, Caudell shared that she found the Hawaiian feather capes "interesting" as "her people wore them 'way, way back.'"[181] It is interesting to note that Caudell would wear pan-Indian costumes but not a war bonnet. This indicates that she clearly had ideas of acceptable dress for public consumption, which would have been formed through her life experiences at Haskell and Bacone.

Caudell spent the entire academic year in Hawaii before returning to California in August of 1938.[182] Throughout Caudell's college experiences, her time at Haskell, as well as Ataloa's influence, was reflected through her choice of activities, performances, and use of Native costumes. While it is unclear to what degree Ataloa directly influenced Caudell's career path, it is highly likely that both Ataloa and Warren played a part in Caudell's decision to work for the OIA after her graduate studies came to an end.



Schuman Serenaders sweetly singing. . . Hail to thee blithe spirit. Bird thou never wert. . .Cleo Claudell and Chief Yowlache dressed out to scare Barlow's Hawaiian cowboys. . .The Don tried to bribe us but the integrity of the press was maintained and the hat stayed in the picture.

Figure 5.14. University of Hawaii*, Ka Palapala*, The Associated Students of the University of Hawaii, 1938. ScholarSpace, University of Hawaii at Manoa.



Indian Girl Is No Flapper

She Thinks Civilization Is Not Unmixed Blessing

MISS CLEO CAUDELL

INDIAN GIRL LIKES WAYS OF HER PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 1)

eralities about the Indians, because conditions are so different in different places," she insists.

"My own tribe was one of the 'five civilized nations' of Oklahoma. It has not followed tribal customs for many years, and I have never lived on a reservation.

"Its members live in the cities and follow many lines of work, just like people of other races, and they have intermarried a great deal with the whites."

And does she think they have lost something by becoming "civilized"?

"Indeed, I do," she says. "There is a great deal of beauty in our arts and customs that should be preserved."

Miss Caudell attended Indian government schools, and had two years of business college and two years of junior college work at Bacone college, Muskogee, Okla., the only Indian institute of collegiate standing for women.

Graduated Last June

Ataloa has been a faculty member at Bacone. Then Miss Caudell attended the University of Redlands, from which she was graduated in June.

"Indians may attend the regular schools if they wish, but many prefer to attend the Indian government schools," she said.

"In fact, the government schools are so popular that it is almost impossible to get into them unless you are an orphan.

"They have an excellent vocational program, and when an Indian is graduated, he is capable of getting a position and holding it."

Indians have been exploited in the past—"and we're not dumb; we know it," she says.

The Indian bureau, however, has always been motivated by good intentions, although it has not always been wise in its actions, she thinks.

She will work at the University of Hawaii towards her master's degree in sociology. She would like to prepare herself for a position doing social work in the education division of the Indian bureau.

Figure 5.15. "Indian Girl Is No Flapper," and "Indian Girl Likes Ways of Her People," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* Sept. 25, 1937, 1 and 3.



Indians Forsake Traditional Garb For Hawaii Fad

At right Cleo Caudell, half-Choctaw coed at the University of Hawaii, in native costume made of raw silk. (Advertiser Photo)

Railroads Ask Boost In Rate

15 Per Cent Rise Would Bring In Half A Billion New Annual Revenue

(United Press by Radio)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5—The Association of Railroads today requested a 15 per cent horizontal increase in freight rates, with exception of rates for coal, lumber, sugar, fruits and vegetables.

An increase of one-half cent to two and one-half cents a mile was asked for the eastern passenger rate.

It was estimated that the increases would bring new revenue aggregating more than a half billion dollars annually and "relieve the highly critical" financial condition of the roads.

The association said that since 1932 materials costs have increased 40 per cent, wages 18 per cent and taxes 25 per cent.

Germans Release Polish Prisoners

(United Press by Radio)

BERLIN, Nov. 5—It was announced tonight that following three months negotiations agreement has been reached regarding a reciprocal policy of treatment for the Nazi minority in Poland and Poles living in Germany.

With the announcement, Polish minority leaders in prison for illicit political activities in Germany were released.

2 British Soldiers Killed In Palestine

(United Press by Radio)

JERUSALEM, Nov. 5—Two British soldiers, believed members of the Black Watch, were shot and killed by terrorists tonight at foot of Mt. Zion.

Resemblance to Buckskin Popularizes Cloth With Redskins

By ELLA CHUN

Japanese material that Waikiki popularizes in native styles—material from which Hawaii creates malihini shirts, modernistic holokuk, hand blocked house curtains or brief swimming suits—is revolutionizing the fashions of the Crowe Indians in Montana.

The costume that winsome bright-eyed Cleo Caudell wears when she hums melodious Indian lyrics and sings of romantic Choctaw legends to fascinated Honolulu listeners is made of raw silk imported from Hawaii and sewed in Montana by a Crowe seamstress.

CHOCTAW GIRL HERE

Charming Cleo, a descendant of the Choctaw tribesmen of Oklahoma who is working for her master's degree in sociology at the University of Hawaii, tells of the story of how 10 bolts of raw silk were hurriedly sent from Hawaii.

When Ataloa, the Indian contralto of the Chickasaw tribe, visited here in 1936, she took back to the Mainland some raw silk cloth because of its striking resemblance in color to buckskin. Traveling to the homes of the Indians in all parts of the United States, Canada and Alaska to collect information about Indian arts and crafts for the book she intends to write, Ataloa arrived in Montana and showed the raw silk to the Crowe Indians.

SILK MAKES HIT

The material was so similar in shade to the genuine deerskin, which is usually used by the northern plains Indians as clothing, that an order for 10 bolts was immediately sent to Honolulu. The final result was that dresses were made in designs used for typical buckskin costumes with all the native beads and fringes. "And they were so popular as to have sold like 'hot cakes'" Cleo said. The fad hit the Indians and tourists alike.

Now you may be puzzled as to how attractive Cleo, whose home is in Oklahoma, finally received a dress in California from Montana. It all goes back to the early

(Continued on Page 3 Col 4)

Poll Nations, Is GOP Plan

Hamilton Offers Canvass As Compromise On Hoover Convention

By PHIL NEWSOM

(United Press Staff Correspondent)

CHICAGO, Nov. 5—The Republican national committee today indefinitely sidetracked Herbert Hoover's proposal for a 1938 "off year" national convention.

At the same time the committeemen avoided a serious party split by voting favorably upon a compromise suggestion, leaving the door open for future action.

Chairman John D. M. Hamilton, mentioning neither Hoover nor Alf M. Landon, proposed as a compromise resolution that a program committee of at least 100 canvass the nation and formulate a declaration of party principles and report findings.

The national committee then would decide upon advisability of a convention. The resolution specified that the program committee "ascertain various views of the party's rank and file."

(United Press by Radio)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5—Representative Hamilton Fish, R., N. Y., today vigorously counterattacked Chairman John M. D. Hamilton of the Republican National committee.

Hamilton was quoted Thursday as saying:

"The millennium will have come when Senator William E. Borah says anything in the affirmative for the Republican party."

"The party does not pay Hamilton $25,000 a year to insult Borah, or to read Northwestern states and Progressives out of the party," thundered Fish.

"This wisecrack by Hamilton only proves my contention that he is not fitted . . . to head the Republican party."

U. S. Indians Adopt Japanese Raw Silk

(Continued from Page 1)

friendship between Cleo and Ataloa. A student at Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, Cleo met the singer on one of her visiting trips. Later when the Indian girl enrolled at Bacone college in Muskogee, Oklahoma, the contralto was a faculty member of the school. During her final college years at the University of Redlands in California, from which she was graduated, Ataloa who was attracted by the ready-made raw silk costumes ordered one for her friend.

WEARS IT ON STAGE

At programs, the costume you see this half Indian and half white girl wearing is made of Hawaiian raw silk stamped in oil paints of varied colors and modeled along beautiful Indian patterns.

The Indian student who is here on an exchange plan sponsored by Ataloa and the Hawaiian Civic association says, "I feel when I wear this dress that I have a bit of Hawaiian and Indian cultures mixed. It represents Hawaii to me," she said.

Figure 5.16. "Indians Forsake Traditional Garb for Hawaii Fad," and "U.S. Indians Adopt Japanese Raw Silk," *Honolulu Advertiser*, Nov 6, 1937, 1 and 3.

Ruth Murphy: Presiding at the urns[183]

Murphy's involvement as a student during her time at Redlands was markedly different from Warren or Caudell's. Murphy participated in several school-related groups, but they were far fewer in number, and no Indian related activities were noted. When Murphy began her first semester in 1936, Caudell was in her senior year at the school. This meant that Murphy had a resource available that neither Warren nor Caudell did when they began, another American Indian woman from Bacone on campus to guide them. Although no joint projects between Caudell and Murphy were found, it is most likely that Caudell served as a resource for Murphy as three of the four major ventures Murphy was involved with were in organizations that Caudell belonged to first.



Figure 5.17. Dormitory Council, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1937, Ruth Murphy (back row, second from left).
Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

Like Caudell, Murphy moved into Bekins Hall. According to the 1936 yearbook description, Bekins was the "home of over two score 'beautiful babes'" where Caudell was president at the time.[184] Murphy served as Secretary and Treasurer in her first semester and became president of the dormitory in her second.[185] She also participated in the Dormitory Council, first as a member, then as secretary. The council created and enforced dormitory rules and regulations and was "supported and run entirely by…women" with representatives elected by their dormitory.[186] Again following in Caudell's footsteps, Murphy was also actively involved with Alpha Sigma Pi. Murphy became president of the organization and participated in several newsworthy events for the group. In March of 1937, Caudell and Murphy were at an alumnae gathering for a "pie social" and at the engagement announcement of another member.[187] The next year, Murphy received the "grand prize," a lamp, at a St. Patrick's Day Party, and to be placed in a new sorority room at Bekins Hall.[188] Another Alpha Sigma Pi sanctioned event Murphy attended was a fashion show and tea.[189] Unlike her predecessors, Murphy was not identified as Indian in any of the events, nor was it noted that she sang Native songs, wore an Indian costume, or spoke on themes of the American Indian.

Similar to most of the students that came from Bacone, though, Murphy was a member of the Cosmopolitan Club. By her senior year, the club's primary goal seemed to be more social than it had in the past, as it was to "foster international goodwill through personal friendship," by providing "social activities during the year for students of foreign birth or descent, and interested native-born students." For the 1937-38 yearbook, only a few members wore "costumes representing [their] homeland or native dress."[190]

Murphy was dressed in the style of the day while a male Bacone alumni standing next to her was wearing full Indian garb, including a feathered war-bonnet and beaded necklace and holding a Native style blanket.



Figure 5.18. Cosmopolitan Club, *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1938, Ruth Murphy (standing, seventh from left).
Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

After two academic years at Redlands, Murphy graduated in 1938 with an A.B. in Education. Murphy's time at Redlands contributed towards her future development, but she found it a more transitory experience compared to the bond she had with Bacone, which she found to be lasting and significant.[191] Murphy's membership in the Cosmopolitan Club and her connections with the Bacone alumni seem to have been the

only public associations with her Native culture Murphy had while at Redlands. Although she did not hide her Cherokee roots, she also did not display her Indianness in ways that would call attention to her status as Warren and Caudell did. Perhaps this was due to growing up immersed in a culture that did not seek to separate itself from white culture but instead saw itself as an extension of it. Perhaps it was related to her previous experiences, and the reduced use of Native costumes, or perhaps Murphy's sense of her Native identity was not found in outward demonstrations such as clothing or speeches. Interestingly, even though Murphy did not display the outward forms of Indianness that were popular in that time the way Warren or Caudell did, she was the most connected to Bacone and quickly returned there after her graduation.



Figure 5.19. Ruth Murphy**,** *La Letra,* University of Redlands, 1938.
Photo courtesy Archives, A.K. Smiley Public Library.

While Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were temporally situated in the middle of major shifts in Indian education, which prevented many Native students from pursuing college, they were able to attain academic achievement at multiple colleges using unique pathways. With her brother as a conduit, Warren moved across the country and settled in at her first Indian institution, Bacone College. She quickly immersed herself in the culture of the school and became involved in several activities that would seek to promote her Indianness to further the school's financial and social campaigns. Warren then went on to be the first woman in a group of approximately thirty Bacone Alumni during the decade of the 1930s to attend the University of Redlands, where she again exhibited external demonstrations of Indianness, this time to promote her academic and ultimately her professional career. Although she was still considered a foreign Other, Warren navigated a space where she could reflect her Nativeness but not conform to stereotypes. After her graduation from Redlands though, Warren would find herself in a career that that repeatedly required proof of her Indianness

Caudell's path to higher education differed from both Warren and Murphy's in that she had lived at an Indian boarding school before attending Bacone College, so she was familiar with being surrounded by other Native students and participating in programs that promoted Indianness in ways that would not threaten the white population. Caudell also had a mentor that played a direct role in her educational journey. Ataloa worked with Caudell at Bacone and almost certainly assisted in her transfer to Redlands. She was also responsible for Caudell's receipt of a graduate study scholarship to Hawaii. Ataloa's influence could also be seen in Caudell's many Indian related activities and use

of Native dress in these programs. Of the three, Caudell appeared in Native costume most frequently but was also the most vocal about these demonstrations. As a student of other Native women who spoke out about representations of Indianness while fulfilling stereotypes such as Ataloa and Ruth Muskrat Bronson, these seemingly contradictory actions would be viewed not just as appropriate, but also as providing an avenue for outreach that might not otherwise be accessible. Caudell tapped into her Nativeness to take advantage of opportunities at Bacone, Redlands, the University of Hawaii, and later to obtain work with Indian Services.

Out of the three women, Murphy's pathway into higher education was the most understandable. With a strong family record of attendance and having several teachers in her close circles, Murphy's attendance at Bacone seems almost predictable. She likely fought her family's expectations, though, by going to Redlands rather than Northeastern as her aunt had. Murphy also did not participate in external demonstrations of her Native heritage the way Warren and Caudell did. Murphy was strong academically but did not partake in the sheer number of extra-curricular activities and did not seek out programs that promoted Indianness in ways that the other two did. Conversely, though, Murphy's ties with Native communities would ultimately become more immersive and direct. After graduating Redlands, Murphy quickly returned to Bacone to become a teacher and an active member of the Bacone Alumni association.

Although Warren, Caudell, and Murphy obtained degrees in an Indian college and at a multi-cultural private college, there were few occupational spaces made available to them. While new professional fields for women were beginning to open up in the 1930s,

it was primarily for white middle-class women and in ways that "preserved existing racial and gender boundaries."[192] Perhaps unbeknownst to them, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy had been groomed to travel towards specific employment destinations that included teaching at Indian schools, working with the OIA, or missionary work. Fulfilling these molds, Murphy became a teacher, and Warren and Caudell went to work for the OIA.

Notes

1. Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 15.

2. Robert S. McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America, 1929-1941* (New York, Broadway Books, 1993).

3. Margaret A. Nash and Lisa S. Romero, "'Citizenship for the College Girl:' Challenges and Opportunities in Higher Education for Women in the United States in the 1930s," *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 2 (2012): 7. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 27.

4. Robert A. McLeman, et al., "What We Learned from the Dust Bowl: Lessons In Science, Policy, and Adaptation," *Population and Environment* 35, no. 4 (2014): 417.

5. Neuman, *Indian Play,* 39-40. The Cherokee Nation opened the seminary in Tahlequah 1851 to provide Cherokee youth with a liberal arts education modeled on European American seminaries in the East. The Cherokee Baptist Association began in 1869, with eight churches located throughout Northeast Oklahoma.

6. Neuman, 29. It was during this time that American Baptists were making a concentrated effort to work with 'foreign' populations. Foreign groups encompassed American Indians, freed Black Americans, and immigrants to the United States. In 1865, Indian work under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABFMS) transferred to the American Baptist Home Mission Society.

7. John Williams and Howard L. Meredith, *Bacone Indian University: A History* (Oklahoma City: Western Heritage Books, 1980), 6.

8. The school was also often referred to as BIU and IU.

9. *Baconian* (Bacone, OK), May 1908, 6.

10. Neuman, 40.

11. In 1865, Indian work under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABFM) transferred to the American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS).

12. In what was to become an established practice, an upper-class student was the primary school teacher. The custom of hiring current students or alumni as instructors sought to reinforce loyalty and trust in the institution.

13. The first Cherokee Female Seminary was established in Tahlequah, Oklahoma in 1843, and was "connected with the Baptist mission." Not to be confused with the later Cherokee Female Seminary which opened in 1851 and was tribally run. Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 21.

14. Neuman, 46.

15. Williams and Meredith, *Bacone Indian University*, 15.

16. Coeryne Bode, "The Origin and Development of Bacone College," PhD dissertation, (University of Tulsa, 1957), 20.

17. Neuman, 34.

18. This would become problematic for IU off and on throughout the years.

19. Neuman, 42.

20. Bode, "The Origin and Development of Bacone College," 23. Although several boys were sent to eastern schools each year for higher education, few families could afford to send their daughters.

21. Williams and Meredith, 12.

22. The Indian University was still in operation during the fundraising period.

23. Neuman, 39. Almon Bacone became friends with Laura Spelman (Mrs. Rockefeller) while they both were teachers in the Cleveland public.

24. Neuman, 42. Primary students stayed in Tahlequah.

25. Williams and Meredith, 17.

26. Eventually, it was absorbed into the Murrow Indian Orphan's home. The orphanage had been opened in 1902 by J. S. Murrow, a white Baptist, to address a large number of orphans facing unscrupulous guardianship by non-Indians seeking to profit from land allotments. During the time of land allotments, there were multiple occurrences of white

guardians assuming the management of Indian land under the guise of caring for Native orphan children only to neglect them to the point of death.

27. Although the Northern and Southern Baptist conventions had been working cooperatively in Indian Territory by the late 1890s, the Southern Convention had gained influence, which was unsettling for some Northern Baptists. In 1900 the ABHMS proposed that the conventions unite the mission outreach programs under the Southern Convention with the ABHMS retaining control of the Indian University and mission work among Natives in the southwestern portion of pre-statehood Oklahoma.

28. Williams and Meredith, 27.

29. Other Acts with major repercussions to the allotment movement include the Curtis Act of 1898, which amended the Dawes Act to break up the Five Tribes governments and lands, and the Burke Act of 1906, which required the government to assess the competency of Natives before giving them patents to their property.

30. Williams and Meredith, 38. After a nine-year court battle, the school was able to retain its original landholdings of 160 acres.

31. Williams and Meredith, 50. This included land management, farming, and teaching the value of money.

32. *Baconian* (Bacone, OK), Nov. 1901, 11.

33. Neuman, 47.

34. Neuman, 45.

35. Neuman, 51.

36. Neuman, 46 (emphasis in original).

37. Verification of enrollment for scholarship recipients not found. Bode, 54.

38. Williams and Meredith, 45.

39. Williams and Meredith, 45-48. Neuman, 54.

40. U.S. Congress, Senate, Public Law 129, *An Act to Provide for the Final Disposition of the Affairs of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory*, 1906, 144-45.

41. Neuman, 59-60.

42. Williams and Meredith, 48-52.

43. *Bacone College Bulletin: Annual Catalog, 1918-19*, Bacone College (Bacone, OK: 1919), 5.

44. Williams and Meredith, 60.

45. C.L. Laws, "A Little Journey to the Indians," *The Watchman-Examiner*, Feb. 21, 1924, 233.

46. Neuman, 86.

47. For more information on the Jubilee Singers, see Celia M. Azevedo, "Dark Midnight When I Rise: The Story of the Jubilee Singers Who Introduced the World to the Music of Black America," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 2 (2001): 666; J. B. T. Marsh, *The Story of the Jubilee Singers with their Songs* (London: Hodder and Staughton, 1875); Doug Seroff, "The Original Fisk Jubilee Singers and the Spiritual Tradition, Pt. 1.," *Keskidee* 2 (1990): 4-9.

48. Wichita Baptist Mission, "Finding of Conference of Indian Missionaries of ABHMS," ABHMS, Nov. 30, 1926, 1-2.

49. Neuman, 66.

50. Neuman, 67.

51. Neuman, 112.

52. Neuman, 68-9.

53. Primary and secondary classes were removed in the 1950s.

54. *Bacone College Bulletin: Annual Catalog, 1926-27* Bacone College (Bacone, OK: 1927).

55. Marion E. Gridley, ed. *Indians of Today* (Crawfordsville, IN: The Lakeside Press, 1936), 13. Richard Green, *Te Ata: Chickasaw Storyteller, American Treasure* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 87.

56. Prior to contact, women's clothing was primarily constructed from woven bark or deerskin with shells used as ornamentation.

57. Russell M. Lawson, *Marking the Jesus Road: Bacone College Through the Years* (Muskogee, OK: Indian University Press, 2015), 131-32.

58. "Lecture Work Raises Scholarships for 100 American Indians at Bacone College," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, (San Bernardino, CA), June 27, 1930, 17.

59. Lawson, *Marking the Jesus Road,* 117.

60. Lawson, 117.

61. Lawson, 117.

62. Roger Weeks, letter to Lisa Neuman (part one), 1995, 5, quoted in Neuman, *Indian Play,* 112. Verifying the claims of the number of graduates and their institutions of transfer are beyond the scope of this project.

63. Neuman, 116.

64. "Bureau of Indian Affairs," U.S. Department of the Interior: Indian Affairs, accessed July 8, 2018, https://www.bia.gov/bia.

65. Dean Dolan, "Statement to be read to Bacone Faculty," (September, 1941), Bacone College Muskogee, OK.

66. Williams and Meredith, 84.

67. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1931* (Washington, DC), 5.

68. *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 1931, 5.

69. *Annual Report*, 12.

70. *Annual Report*, 12.

71. U.S. Civil Service Commission, Memo to the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Re: Regarding July 25, 1927 request of Alvin C. Warren, Aug. 8, 1927.

72. Alvin Warren, C., Personal History Statement, Dept. of Interior, Sept. 8, 1930.

73. Chief, Division of Appointments, Mails and Files, Memo to Mr. Alvin C. Warren, of Nevada, Regarding resignation, Sept. 25, 1929.

74. "Request for Reinstatement," Department of the Interior, August 22, 1930, Alvin C. Warren.

75. *Bacone College Bulletin: Annual Catalog, 1932-1933*, Bacone College (Bacone, OK: 1933), 16.

76. Victor E. Harlow, "Pat Hurley's College," *Harlow's Weekly* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma), March 5, 1932, 9.

77. *Bacone College Bulletin*, *1932-33,* 16.

78. "Students Will Be Baptized Sunday," *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Feb. 15, 1933, 1.

79. "Students Will Be Baptized Sunday," *Bacone Indian*, 1.

80. Tally D. Fugate, "*Harlow's Weekly*," The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed Feb. 01, 2016, https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=HA025.

81. Scroggins, Ernest, "College Standards," *Bacon Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Sept. 30, 1931, 2.

82. "Sophomore Class 1933," *Bacone Indian*, (Muskogee, OK), May 19, 1933, 1.

83. "New Club Organized," *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Jan 27, 1932, 1.

84. "About Us: History," American Baptist Women's Ministries, accessed February 01, 2016, http://www.abwministries.org/page.aspx/contentId/29/History/.

85. "Silkworms, Rice, Religion, Topic for Guild Sunday," and "World Wide Guild to Give Three-Act Drama," *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Feb. 9, 1932, 1.

86. "Girls' Average Higher in Nine Week's Exams," *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Nov. 25, 1931, 1. Honor points allocated as follows: 1 for 'C,' 2 for 'B,' and 3 for 'A.'

87. "College Students Make Improvement in Semester Grades," *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Feb. 9, 1932, 1.

88. “College Grades Show that the Average is ‘C,’“ *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Feb. 1, 1933.

89. *Bacon Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Sept. 30, 1931, 1.

90. “Twenty-Five Practice Teachers Take Course,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Jan 27, 1932, 1. Warren, Evelyn, “Application for Employment,” U.S. Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Form 5-453, Mar. 27, 1935, 3.

91. “Faculty Chooses Bacone ‘Indian’ Staff for Year,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Oct. 19, 1932, 1.

92. Warren, Evelyn, “Our Great Leaders,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Feb. 15, 1933.

93. “Sophomore Will,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), May 19, 1933.

94. “Are We Girls to Fail?,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Nov. 14, 1934, 2.

95. Chun, Ella, “Indians Forsake Traditional Garb For Hawaii Fad,” *The Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, HI), Nov. 6, 1937, 3.

96. *Bacone College Bulletin: Annual Catalog, 1933-34*, Bacone College (Bacone, OK: 1934), 19.

97. An example of the work requirements indicates that students could not take more than two weekends off in a quarter unless they received prior approval.

98. *Bacone College Bulletin, 1933-34,* 20-21.

99. “Lodge to be Center of Bacone Social Life,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Sept. 27, 1933, 3.

100. “Editor Attends Annual Meeting at Stillwater,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Nov. 22, 1933, 1.

101. Caudell, Cleo, “A Freshman’s First Impression of Bacone,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Sept. 27, 1933.

102. Caudell, Cleo, “How Do We Start?,” *Bacone Indian,* (Muskogee, OK), Sept. 26, 1934, 2.

103. “Editor Attends Annual Meeting at Stillwater,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Nov. 22, 1933, 1. “Class is Organized,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Nov. 14, 1934, 1.

104. “Staff Members Are Announced by Miss Owen,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Oct. 31, 1934, 1. “Stillwater, Oct. 12,” *Ada Evening News* (Ada, OK), Oct. 12, 1934, 1.

105. “About Us: History,” American Baptist Women’s Ministries, accessed February 01, 2016, http://www.abwministries.org/page.aspx/contentId/29/History/. Cleo Caudell, “Are We Girls to Fail?,” *Bacone Indian*, Nov. 14, 1934, 2.

106. For example, see Cleo Caudell, “Indifference,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Jan. 16, 1934, 2.

107. “B.Y.P.U. Notes,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Apr. 10, 1935, 3.

108. “Sophomore Will,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), May. 15, 1935, 3.

109. “Ataloa Plans Year’s Leave of Absence,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), May 15, 1935, 2. Neuman, *Indian Play*, 107.

110. “Commencement Exercises will be held May 27,” and “Meetings at Redlands,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), May 15, 1935, 1-2.

111. “Around the Campfire,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Dec. 12, 1934, 7.

112. The Cherokee Male Seminary opened on May 6, 1851, under the direction of the Cherokee Nation. For both the male and female seminaries, the curriculum was modeled after white east coast schools with no instruction for Cherokee history or culture. Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds*, 2.

113. “Students Average “C” at End of Six Weeks,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Oct. 31, 1934, 2.

114. “Grace Weeks Chapter Meets at Art Lodge,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Nov. 14, 1934, 2.

115. “Tribal Talk,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Oct. 31, 1934, 2.

116. “Masquers Will Give Three One-Act Plays,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Oct. 31, 1934, 2.

117. “W.W.G. Meeting is Held,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* Oct. 2, 1935, 1. “Around the Campfire,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* Dec. 12, 1934, 7.

118. Neuman, 81.

119. “Sophomore Will,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* May. 15, 1935, 3.

120. “Bacone Starts Fifty-Fifth Year,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* Oct. 2, 1935, 1.

121. “Guild Members Attend Rally Held in Wichita,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* Nov. 1, 1935, 1.

122. “Sophomore Class Hears Prophecy,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* May 27, 1936, 4.

123. Larry E. Burgess, *With Unbounded Confidence: A History of the University of Redlands* (Redlands, CA: University of Redlands, 2006”Past Presidents,” University of Redlands, accessed May 15, 2019, https://www.redlands.edu/meet-redlands/office-of-the-president/past-presidents/. “Our Founding,” University of Redlands, accessed May 15, 2019, https://www.redlands.edu/meet-redlands/history-traditions/our-founding/.

124. “History,” University of Redlands, accessed February 01, 2016, www.redlands.edu.

125. Burgess, *With Unbounded Confidence,* 62.

126. Neuman, 29.

127. Burgess, 28.

128. Burgess, 71 and 75.

129. Burgess, 77.

130. Records of scholarships were found for two men, Emmett Oliver, who transferred to Redlands in 1934, and Jack Montgomery, who transferred in 1936. Susanna A. Hayes, “Emmett Oliver’s Story: Psycho-Social Development of an Extraordinary Native American,” *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* 3, no. 1 (2011): 14. “Tanap Nanaiya Kia Althaiyaha: ‘Ready in Peace or War,’” *Twin Territories* 6, no. 4 (1998), 5.

131. “University Junior Class Holds Annual Party Last Evening,” *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Nov. 18, 1933, 13.

132. White, Ruth, "University's Women Entertain Men Folk*," San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Nov. 23, 1933, 14.

133. "Sorority Trios Are Trying for Trophy," *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), May 1, 1935, 13.

134. "Asilomar Gathering Attracting Students," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Dec .13, 1933, 11.

135. "Girl Reserves are Launching Program," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA) Jan. 23, 1934, 12.

136. "Dancing Students Will Give Recital Thursday Evening, *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Apr. 22, 1934, 13.

137. "Miss Ruth Harris Entertains Society," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, (San Bernardino, CA), Apr. 12, 1934, 15.

138. Allen J. Mikaelian, "'The Call of the Human': The Cosmopolitan Club Movement and Early Twentieth-Century Internationalism," PhD dissertation, (American University, 2017), 2.

139. Mikaelian, "The Call of the Human," 82.

140. Mikaelian, ii.

141. Mikaelian, 104-05.

142. Mikaelian, 123.

143. Mikaelian, 128-29.

144. Mikaelian, 116.

145. Mikaelian, 251-52.

146. Mikaelian, 329.

147. Mikaelian, 337.

148. University of Redlands, *La Letra 1934* (Redlands: 1934), 131. Note: It is as part of this club that the first photos of Warren in Native costume are found.

149. University of Redlands, *La Letra 1934* (Redlands: 1934), 131. (Emphasis mine.)

150. "W.C.T.U. Entertains Cosmopolitan Club," *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Jan. 7, 1934, 13.

151. "Cosmopolitan Club Puts On Program of W.C.T.U.," *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, California), Dec 8, 1933, 17.

152. "Passports Used by Group as Programs," *San Bernardino Daily Sun*, (San Bernardino, CA), May 20, 1934, 15.

153. "Happy Social Gathering at Unity Center," *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Oct. 16, 1934, 8.

154. "Officers Named by Clubs of La Rueda," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Oct. 21, 1936, 15.

155. "Beth Stenger Chosen La Rueda President," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Oct. 13, 1936, 13.

156. "Sorority Entertains At Good Luck Party," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Nov. 14, 1936, 13.

157. "Student Life: Alpha Sigma Pi," University of Redlands, accessed February 01, 2016, http://www.redlands.edu/student-life/19907.aspx.

158. "Sorority Reunion At Santa Monica," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Aug. 21, 1937, 13.

159. University of Redlands, *La Letra 1936* (Redlands: 1936), 109.

160. "Seven Former Bacone Students Attend Redlands," *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Apr.17, 1936, 1.

161. Seven Former Bacone Students Attend Redlands," *Bacone Indian*, 1.

162. Williams and Meredith, 55.

163. Neuman, 251-52.

164. Roger Weeks, letter to Lisa Neuman (part one), 1995, quoted in Neuman, *Indian Play*, 251.

165. "Seven Former Bacone Students Attend Redlands," *Bacone Indian*, 1.

166. "Sorority Reunion at Santa Monica," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Aug. 21, 1937, 13.

167. "Indian Tribal Arts will be Investigated," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Oct 4, 1936, 15.

168. Gwenfread Allen, "Indian Girl Is No Flapper," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, HI), Sept. 25, 1937,1.

169. "Indian Tribal Art Expert is Home to Visit," *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Sept. 15, 1937, 13.

170. Kenneth A. Yellis, "Prosperity's Child: Some Thoughts on the Flapper," *American Quarterly* 21, no. 1 (1969): 44.

171 Yellis, "Prosperity's Child," 45.

172 Yellis, 46.

173. Gwenfread, "Indian Girl Is No Flapper," 1 and 3.

174. Gwenfread, 1 and 3.

175. "Indian Student Ends Sojourn in Honolulu," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, HI), Aug 30, 1938, 7.

176. "First AWS Convocation Set for 9:30 Tomorrow," *Ka Leo o Hawaii* (University of Hawaii: Honolulu, HI), Oct. 27, 1937, 1. "Wahines Hold First Big Convocation," *Ka Leo o Hawaii (*University of Hawaii: Honolulu, HI), Oct. 30, 1937, 1.

177. Ella Chun, "Indians Forsake Traditional Garb For Hawaii Fad," *The Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, HI), Nov. 6, 1937, 1 and 3.

178. "Finds People Same," *Lawrence Journal World*, (Lawrence, KS), Nov. 13, 1937, 3.

179. “Indian Student in Hawaii Finds Peoples Similar,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Nov. 14, 1937, 14.

180. “Indian Student in Hawaii Finds Peoples Similar,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun,* 14.

181. “Indian Student in Hawaii Finds Peoples Similar,” 14. Traditionally, the Choctaw wore headdresses adorned with feathers for various special occasions and ceremonies. By the early nineteenth century, the Choctaw had adopted a primarily European style of dress with little traditional elements remaining after their removal to Indian Territory.

182. List or Manifest of Outward-Bound Passengers (Aliens and Citizens) for Immigration Officials at Port of Departure, *S.S. Lurline, Passengers Sailing from Honolulu, Hawaii* (August 26, 1938) Bound for Port of: Los Angeles Harbor, California. “Diplomas For 10 Are Given At University,” *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, California), Feb 17, 1938, 15.

183. “William F. Nances to Entertain Today at Housewarming Tea,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), May 1, 1938, 15. At a housewarming tea attended by Alpha Sigma Pi sorority members, Murphy was invited to “preside at the urns” for the first hour of the event, which was held at UR.

184. University of Redlands, “Bekins Hall,” *La Letra 1938* (Redlands: 1938), 78.

185. University of Redlands, “Bekins Hall,” *La Letra 1937* (Redlands: 1937), 34.

186. University of Redlands, “Dormitory Council,” *La Letra 1937* (Redlands: 1937), 37.

187. “Miss Helen Ary Is Bride Elect,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Mar. 31, 1937, 15.

188. “Sorority Alumnae Entertain Actives,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), Mar. 16, 1938, 15.

189. “Sorority Entertains Campus Women With Fashion Show, Tea,” *San Bernardino Daily Sun* (San Bernardino, CA), May 8, 1938, 15.

190. University of Redlands, “Cosmopolitan Club,” *La Letra 1938* (Redlands: 1938), 49.

191. “Smoke Signals,” *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK)*,* Issue 33, 1978, 8.

192. Nash and Romero, 4.

Chapter 6: Occupations and Opportunities

Finding Careers: Working Within Indian Parameters

"When people of Indigenous or mixed heritage take part in the colonial apparatus, they are often derided as collaborators or mimics or lauded as cultural brokers, but rarely portrayed as complex individuals building their lives out of the constraints of circumstance."[1]

When Warren, Caudell, and Murphy graduated college in the 1930s, the United States was in the midst of the Great Depression.[2] Beginning in 1929 and lasting into the early 1940s, this period saw droughts, high unemployment, and bank failures touch the lives of millions of Americans. For many women, this time was filled with contradictions. More women were entering the workforce and in occupations not previously open to them.[3] Women also found that division in the labor force that had limited them in previous decades sheltered them during the Depression.[4] As they often worked in less impacted fields such as domestic, clerical, and teaching, women experienced higher employment rates than men during this time. In spite of these gains, a majority of the American public indicated disapproval for married women working outside the home for reasons such as "it took jobs" from men, that the "woman's place was in the home," and the belief that families' home lives were "happier if women did not work."[5]

During World War I, although "the Federal Civil Service had opened new categories of jobs to women, they continued to pay them less than men."[6] While the 1920s brought more women, both college-educated and not, into the workforce and into a wider variety of positions than there had been in the past, the social expectations that

women would stop working when they got married became even more pronounced in the 1930s than it had in the previous decade. With the marriage rate declining, more women were self-supporting, but expectations remained that women would eventually marry and be responsible for caring for the home and children, thereby leaving wage work behind. It was generally supposed that any position a woman took on would be temporary until she could find a spouse to financially support her and the sure to be born, children. Even so, many married and single women were working during this time.[7]

Having the entrenched ideas of women's roles as the stabilizing force of the family unit led to the creation of Section 213 of the National Economy Act of 1932. This Act prohibited married couples from working for the federal government at the same time and thereby forced some federal workers out of their positions. As women's jobs were typically lower in status and pay than their husbands, it most often resulted in women losing their federal position. Although the bill was clearly discriminatory towards women, it was not until the Celler Bill, which prohibited discrimination based on marital status, was passed in July 1937 that the Act was repealed.

In contrast to the reduction of the total number of working adults in the United States during the Depression, more women were entering the workforce in a trend that started in the 1920s. Although teaching and nursing continued to be the top two jobs for women, this time also saw an expansion in the flexibility of college programs and in the types of college courses made available, which helped to push the boundaries for types of jobs women could enter. Many women took up studies in "science, economics, political science, and journalism" and although not all were new, the number of courses had

expanded due to the sheer amounts of students interested in them, with a large number of them women.[8] The prevailing belief was that college students would become "scientifically trained" and women in particular, equipped to "serve and improve the greater community."[9]

According the 1930 census, of the total number of people working, twenty-two percent of them were women. The top three fields include domestic and personal service fields, with approximately thirty percent of the working women, nineteen percent worked in clerical occupations, and eighteen were in mechanical and manufacturing industries. Of the gainfully employed women, white women represented eighty-two percent, and Black women seventeen percent of the total. Native women were only .2 percent of the total number of gainfully employed women for that year.[10] For all employed women, only fourteen percent were in a professional service.[11] Professional service included such positions as actor, lawyer, teacher, nurse, librarian, and social or welfare worker. Ninety-five percent of the working professional women were white, just over four percent were Black and .05 percent Native women.[12] For professional service positions, representing fifty-six percent of the total, school teachers were, by far, the job with the most number of women. The occupation of a nurse was second, with musicians and teachers of music coming in third.[13] Clerical positions included stenographers and typists, office appliance operators, and accountants, among others. Of the clerical positions, most women were stenographers and typists, followed by clerks, then bookkeeper, and cashiers.

Of the working Native women, more were semi-skilled workers in manufacturing, followed by unskilled workers such as agricultural labor and domestic service, then

farmers either as owner or tenant, bucking the occupational trend for women in general. In the clerical field, most were salespeople followed by stenographers and typists. Of the professional occupations, sixty-two percent were teachers, and sixteen percent were nurses.[14] Statistically, Native women fell behind their peers in the workforce. Just over fifteen percent of Native women aged ten and older were gainfully employed, in comparison to thirty-nine percent of both white and Black women, and of these, approximately one-half of a percent were in professional or clerical fields.[15]

During the 1930s, dialogues about what citizenship meant and how to prepare the country's youth for the mantel of proper citizenhood proliferated academic and popular writings. Within this paradigm, women had more access to higher education with a wider variety of disciplines to pursue within it and new occupational opportunities, but it was "only under the veil of a particular ideal of womanhood." In this view, women were expected to structure their lives as "potential wives and mothers" whether or not they intended to marry or have children. Their careers were to be centered on their roles as caretakers of citizenship ideals and to pass them along to their communities.[16]

Where did Warren, Caudell, and Murphy fit into these larger narratives taking place for educated women in the 1930s in the United States? In some aspects, they fit neatly within norms, but in most respects, they did not. Although the country was still in a depressed state in 1935, the year Warren graduated from the University of Redlands (UR), the economy was improving, and unemployment was down. By 1938 though, when Caudell returned from Hawaii and Murphy graduated UR, the country experienced a recession, and the economy took a sharp downturn. For all three women, their choices of

majors fell within models of the times. Warren and Caudell obtained their Sociology degrees while Murphy majored in Education. As "scientifically trained" to study social problems, Warren and Caudell could hypothetically have worked in a variety of jobs that tapped into their skills of analysis for political or social programs. With a degree in Education, Murphy was poised to join the legions of women teachers. As college-educated women, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were part of a group that had lower unemployment rates and a broader career path to choose from than their less-educated peers so it would be expected that they would have had a variety of professions or types of classrooms to choose from when entering the workforce. As Native women, however, their career opportunities had been structured on a much narrower framework from which to explore than their non-Native colleagues. What Warren, Caudell, and Murphy experienced in college, if not before, was a steering towards a specific employer. Although the positions varied, they were pointed directly towards working for the Office of Indian Affairs.

Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, established the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) on March 11, 1824, to oversee and carry out the Federal government's trade and treaty relations with Native tribes. From 1775 through 1789, the Continental Congress managed Indian Affairs. Benjamin Franklin was one of the first to be appointed commissioner to negotiate with Native tribes.[17] In 1789, the functions related to Indian affairs moved under the newly formed War Department. In 1806 the Office of Indian Trade had been created. This served to control and maintain the fur trade. With the loss of the fur trading system in 1822, Calhoun created the OIA within his department and appointed Thomas

L. McKenney to its head. The position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs began in 1832, and in 1849 the OIA was transferred to the newly created United States Department of the Interior. The name Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was formally adopted in 1947. Both before and after this date, it was variously referred to as the Indian Office, the Indian Bureau, the Indian Department, Indian Affairs, and Indian Services. [18]

From Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's earliest education, the message of Natives' role in society was a replaying of the tapes from years past. Although the tune was different and the volume varied, the song was basically the same. One of the purposes of federal education for American Indians was to create "civilized" individuals. Native students were to assimilate into white society and bring the fruits of their education back to their communities. Various levels of Christianity were often imbued in schooling with the goal of spreading it in Native populations. New notes of fulfilling the obligations of American citizenship and the importance of being self-sufficient were added to the song, beginning in the early twentieth century. How Warren, Caudell, Murphy, and other educated Native women's futures were set up to fulfill all these obligations though generally came down to a finite selection of options within the framework of the OIA.

Although the initial emphasis for Indian Affairs had been to negotiate treaties, the office's function and scope changed over time. Attempts to control trade rose and fell, but educating, civilizing, and assimilating Indians were consistently on the agenda. Despite having the responsibility of creating and implementing federal policies that were often detrimental to Native people, by the early twentieth century, "thousands of Native people took jobs in the Indian Service." The office as a whole saw major increases in its

personnel growing from approximately 500 employees in 1869 to 6,000 in 1912, with a "large number of the new employees [that] were women." [19] According to Cathleen D. Cahill, the intent of having Native female employees was to have them "serve as 'federal mothers'" acting in roles such as teachers, to provide "maternal guidance and nurturance to the government's wards." In bringing in women to the federal workforce and local teaching positions, agencies were reacting to policies brought about by women-led Indian reform groups. The momentum was to create mothers for the "nation's wards."[20]

Within the maternalistic paradigm, women would also be expected to act as cultural brokers. Historian Brian Hosmer argues that, although cultural brokers are often viewed as congruent with the concept of being "between two worlds," a more nuanced application of the term gives consideration to individuals' "lived experiences." Viewing federal Native women employees through this lens reveals their capacity to "operate across dissimilar social and cultural settings" with forms of agency.[21] Native women were hired "in the hopes that they would help further the cultural and political destruction of Native nations."[22] As multifaceted individuals often with membership in multiple communities, though, women did not identify themselves or act in accordance merely based on their racial classification. Many federal employees were of "mixed heritage and valued both their Indigenous and European ancestry," but had also experienced the "disassociation of colonialism" either directly or by the "slow peeling away over generations."[23] Having come from mixed ancestry and varied backgrounds, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy would have drawn upon their lived experiences to help shape their brokerage responsibilities.

To fill lower rank positions within the OIA, administrators sought out potential employees from the federal Indian schools. In hiring Indian school-educated Natives, the OIA hoped to provide "living examples" of the possibilities that "civilization" could offer to those Indians not yet convinced of its value.[24] For many Indian employees, it was the only available wage work they could locate. As many policymakers felt that Indians could not attain gainful employment outside the OIA, by the time that Warren, Caudell, and Murphy entered secondary school, the OIA had developed concentrated recruiting methods within several federal Indian schools, such as Haskell, as well as private Indian schools such as Bacone.[25] With school leadership supporting OIA visions, students would be hard-pressed to see other job opportunities and most likely perceived the OIA as the only destination for their careers.

Well into the twentieth century (and beyond) narratives about what type of work Native women could aspire to often include direct references to occupying "spheres of influence" as graduates were expected to eventually "return to their respective tribes."[26] Although earlier iterations of discussions involving Native wage work contained the messages of returning to their communities, in her work on employees at the U.S Indian Service, Cahill argues that they were also centered on temporary, low wage, low skill positions. For example, in 1912, Indian Services had six times the number of temporary positions as it did regular appointments.[27] Cahill also found that low pay contributed to low morale and retention rates.[28]

By the 1930s, Haskell and other boarding schools heavily emphasized nursing, teaching, and clerical work as options for educated Native women. With nurse, librarian,

and social worker leading the professional occupations filled by women in 1920 and increasing in the 1930s, numerous public schools must have encouraged their female students to pursue these jobs.[29] For Native students, the messages were filled with caveats, however. Any wage work for educated Native women was to have a direct connection to working with Native communities. Nursing was a desirable career but only to work within tribes or tribal hospitals to help heal Natives. A librarian would be an acceptable position within an Indian school. The position of Social Worker for Indian Services, in theory, may have been suggested, but in reality, Native women were most often assistants to social workers, even when they had the credentials to meet the job qualifications.[30] In an arguing for more and better positions in Indian Service for Native employees, Luther Standing Bear, Oglala Lakota, a respected author, educator, philosopher, and actor reinforced the "Natives work only in the service of other Natives" philosophy when he said, "I say again that Indians should teach Indians; that Indians should serve Indians, especially on reservations where the older people remain."[31] Although the intention was that Natives understood and could best care for other Natives, this message became fodder for the containment ideals of Indigenous wage work.

Another factor in the limited career scope offered to Native women was racism. Even if Indian women were trained as doctors, lawyers, and supervisors, opportunities for success were few. Cahill argues that "the private sector may have been less welcoming than government work because prejudice against Indians ran high in this period" and "the off-reservation population of middle-class Native people who could have made up such a clientele for Indian professionals was virtually nonexistent."[32] With the onset of the

Depression, more people were facing financial hardships, and nonwhites were often blamed for the poor living conditions and lack of jobs.[33] In addition, lingering ideas of Natives as "lazy, shiftless, untidy, and disorderly," compounded with arguments about the lack of inherent ability for Natives to reach the same level as whites was still prevalent in many places.[34]

When Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were in school, Indian schools such as Haskell set up direct pathways for work in the Indian Service.[35] The Civil Service Commission also published calls for open jobs and provided instructions on how to apply in numerous publications. How the OIA Affairs recruited Native employees had changed significantly over the years, though. Initially, hiring for the OIA had begun as a "patronage system" where potential employees had to know someone to get hired. It then moved to the civil service exam process, which required access and ability to pass exams, thereby excluding many potential Native employees, followed by non-competitive exams and active recruiting where personnel sought out desired candidates using a variety of methods, including placing ads in papers and creating Indian school pipelines such as the one at Haskell.[36]

When Warren, Caudell, and Murphy attended Bacone, they found the "stay within Native boundaries" messages they received in primary and secondary schooling strengthened and reinforced. The prevailing ideology that Native students were to better themselves so they could better "their own people" was ubiquitous from the structure of coursework to the language used throughout the school and about its students. Catalogs advertised a number of courses of study to choose from, such as engineering, pre-med,

and pre-law, but the focus was on their "two special departments…Bible and Religious Education [and] Public School Education." These were intended to help Bacone become a "training center for Indian young men and women" that wanted to become a teacher or "dedicate their lives to religious service among their own people."[37] Special attention was often given in the school paper to alumni who were attending four-year colleges, those that were teaching, or were working for the government in Indian Services.[38]

While still constrictive, the messages at the University of Redlands were in a different vein than those at Bacone. Bacone was a Baptist Indian institution, so the discourse was Native centered and specific. Redlands was a primarily white, co-educational Baptist institution, so the language and presentation of ideologies would be slightly different. At Redlands, though, while promoting itself as progressive, non-whites were still perceived as separate groups requiring special attention to bring them into the fold. At the Annual Southern California Baptist Convention in 1934, the University of Redlands was described as having "adopted a modern program of education which…will put the college in a distinct position of educational leadership."[39] Special mention is made about missionary activities with groups including the "Japanese," "Negroes," and "Indians," among others. Statistics of the work done with these groups provided information such as the number of missionaries, conversions, and average attendance in Sunday school. By separating out these groups, Native people continued as Others. The Baptist World Congress held later that year in Berlin explicitly addressed racial differences. It explained that it was a "world-wide fellowship" with members living in "very diverse conditions," and in order to "discover what is wrong in the racial

relationships," Baptist members "must recognize" the "Inescapable Fact of Race Differences." The congress argued that the "biological facts of race are not evil," and they were "ordained by God" for the "actual benefit of the peoples." Indicating that there was dissension among leaders regarding the "mingling of races," Congress advised that whether they agreed or not, what "must be declared constantly" is that there was no justification for "exploitation or selfish racial domination." Members were reminded, however, that while the "biological difference of race being in themselves good," a "colour or racial bar to the worship and fellowship of the Christian Church is a monstrous denial of the Lord."[40] So although Redlands accepted Native, Japanese, and other non-white students, they were still considered foreign Others that required special handling. As active members in clubs and activities that reinforced their foreignness, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy would not have been able to escape the ideologies prevalent at their school during their time there and would likely have leaned into their early understandings of Indianness, womanhood, and limited career options to solidify their occupational choices.

Strengthening the limited career discourse, teaching and working for Indian Services became even more desirable and accessible during the time Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were preparing to begin their careers. These fields were not as impacted by the Depression as others were, and the pathway to obtaining a job with Indian Services was made more straightforward than it had been in the past. Although preferential hiring rules existed in Indian Affairs, by 1934, there had been an eleven percent decrease from the 1892 staffing levels of Indian personnel.[41] Novak attributes this to the "three

countervailing trends" of "stratification, civil service, and misgivings." He argues that by the 1930s, OIA positions were "increasingly stratified by skill."[42] Although most OIA positions had originally been semiskilled in nature, by the early twentieth-century demand for skilled positions opened up, but as it was difficult for Indians to qualify, there were fewer eligible people to fill the posts.[43] After 1891, qualifying became even more difficult as the civil service exam was implemented, forcing competition with whites and discouraging some who were deterred by the testing process. This encouraged the belief by OIA officials that preferential hiring was not working. The goal had been for Native employees to work temporarily for the OIA and use the position as an "avenue to self-employment or private sector work," but many saw the position as permanent. This led Indian Service Commissioners to actively promote the outing system and employee placement services, which were not successful.[44]

The Indian Reorganization (aka Wheeler-Howard Act) passed in 1934, changed the hiring trajectory. This act bypassed civil service rules for Indian applicants so that they would have preferential appointments rather than be subjected to a competitive exam. It also included funding for students of at least one-fourth Native blood to prepare them for jobs with the OIA.[45] As one of the originators of the act, the new Commissioner, John Collier, recognized that education and training were needed to increase the skillsets of more Native students so they could obtain paid employment. He saw this as part of a larger plan for Indians to eventually return to their reservations and be self-supporting. While this process was unfolding, a means to employ more Indians with the OIA was necessary. What was not foreseen, though, was that by creating a simpler hiring process,

Indian Services became "essential" to many Natives, so the numbers of Native OIA employees rose significantly.[46]

Despite OIA's early aims of eliminating Indian culture or later on as a path to keep Indians from returning to their traditional ways, Natives came to see preferential hiring as an opportunity for self-determination and a way to preserve their culture.[47] For Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, working for Indian Services were economic survival strategies and opportunities to stay connected to Native communities. The benefits of these positions included regular pay, vacations, job security, and eventually retirement pensions, which were particularly valuable at the time as they were not available to many, white or Native, during the Depression. As first-generation Native college students and white-collar workers, the shared experience with their peers helped to create a "unifying context for understanding the careers of Native individuals" who "despite being presented as exceptional" represented a "much larger cohort" than the Indian Service would have had you believe.[48]

Since Native women were crucial in the implementation of maternalistic federal policies, numerous inter-tribal marriages across Indian Service positions developed. These marriages allowed Indians to reconnect with other Natives and in some cases, restore or replace ties that had been severed by the "colonial process."[49] Although policies often forbade married women from working during this time, the nuclear family units were used as models in the government's goals of assimilation, so the Indian Service often retained married couples within their ranks. With the goal of making Indians "productive citizens" through individualistic working modes and replacing tribal

communities with individual family units, Native men and women employees were representations of what modern Natives could be. For the federal government, modernity equated with an assimilated, nuclear family unit.[50] What modernity looked like to many Natives at the time was different than what the federal government had intended, though. Working for the OIA did not necessarily mean leaving all family and traditions behind. For Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, employment with Indian Services seemed like a natural progression. They had lived and worked with diverse groups of people and had traveled to far distances without their families but still stayed connected. Moving away for the women did not necessarily mean leaving all of their past behind.

Working in Indian Services both fortified and challenged the stratifications that often separated ideas of modernity and Native identities. Although participating in the federal bureaucracy, Indigenous and mixed heritage Natives found ways to move beyond the constricting characterizations and have agency. In their federal employment, Natives both observed and were a party to the oppression of other Natives and, contrary to what the government had envisioned, shared ideas of Indianhood were formed. Being surrounded by other Native people created feelings of solidarity and shared identities across tribal communities. Building on this shared identity allowed for both individual agency and group support systems to develop. Many Native workers saw themselves as advocates, not just for themselves but also for their families and other Native communities.[51] They also saw themselves as part of a larger cohort of professional civil servants. They were professionals creating new forms of Indianness and modernity that gave space for both to thrive.

In forming hiring policies calling for "Indian only" positions and creating systems of racial requirements, Indian Services produced biracial discourses around race, discourses that precluded merging the concepts of Indianness and modernity. Employees were placed in a distinct racial category of "Indian" or "White," irrespective of any multi-cultural backgrounds that existed, creating dichotomous racial categorizations. These groupings then determined eligibility for specific jobs within the OIA, so the identification of "Indian" became important to Native workers. As much as the OIA touted assimilation and pushed for Indians to become Americanized, by demarcating all Native employees as Indians, the OIA continued working within a separatist system.

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy successfully navigated a landscape filled with many contradictions. Starting careers during the Depression was difficult for many, but as educated women, they had more options available to them than many others at that time. As Native women, though, their career options were limited. Their schooling reinforced ideologies of Native women as the caretakers of citizenship ideals, and the associated responsibility of passing them along to their communities. Other college experiences supported philosophies of racial differences and foreignness for Indians, which blocked full access to the doors that were opening for white-womanhood. At the same time, Indian education created direct pathways to Indian Service jobs with little to no room for pursuits of other employment possibilities. With rampant prejudice and lack of a large Native population to support Native professionals, there were few places outside the OIA or teaching in Indian schools that Native women could work. As women, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were also seen as potential wives and mothers with working to be a

temporary venture unless it supported and promoted the nuclear family model considered so valuable to Indian policymakers. As female OIA employees, they also would have been expected to act as brokers for assimilationist policies to Native communities. Within these constrictions, though, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy had forms of agency, permanency, and personal options not available to many others and used these to shape their modern Native identities in ways that were both everyday and unexpected.

Evelyn Warren: Showing Her "Exceptional Ability"

Evelyn Warren must have been considering what she would do after graduation long before the date came. Three months before commencement, and following her brother's Alvin's footsteps again, Warren submitted an application for employment with the United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs (OIA).[52] She graduated in June 1935 and had an appointment with the OIA by July of that year. For Warren and others, working in Indian Service was an "economic survival strategy" and an opportunity that was "eagerly embraced and often fought hard" to be kept.[53] Working for the OIA meant Warren could be self-supporting, possibly work in a field related to her schooling, and be around other Indians. Although she would not obtain a social worker position, Warren regularly received pay increases and was promoted several times during her tenure. She ultimately remained with the department over thirty-three years before retiring in January of 1969.

Considering her brother's influence and the pathways laid out by Bacone, as well as the recruiting efforts by the Indian Office at the time, it is highly likely that Warren did

not consider applying anywhere besides Indian Service. Warren and other skilled Native workers were not "blind to the limitations and impediments of service work for themselves and their communities," though.[54] They understood that pay and promotions were usually stifled for Natives and that few positions were open or encouraged for Indians.[55] They also considered that racism was high for non-white persons at this time, and private industry was generally less welcoming to Native people than the government. They also found that while working for an agency that once sought to suppress their communities, they had some agency within the bureaucratic structure to influence change.

Although Alvin's path was slightly different from his sister's, he clearly played a pivotal role in hers. She stayed with him in New Mexico during her summers, followed him to Bacone, and shared her last year at Redlands with him. She also provided him as a reference in her OIA application and, like Alvin, put Kennebunk, Maine, as her place of birth, although records indicate both were born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.[56] Perhaps this was an effort to assert their tribal identity and press the Indian Office to live up to its policy of hiring Natives.[57] When Alvin was twenty, he applied to become a teacher with the Indian Service. He self-identified as Chippewa and passed a non-competitive examination for a teaching position in the Indian field.[58] Although no request to provide proof of Indianness was located in his personnel file, by classifying himself as an Indian, Alvin received a hiring preference.[59] He accepted a position at Carson Indian School in Nevada and started on October 1, 1927. In July of 1929, he moved to the Fort Apache Indian School in Arizona. In September of that year, he left teaching to attend Bacone

College, most likely learning about the college during his time at Indian schools, as Bacone's president was actively recruiting students for Bacone at this time.[60] After graduating Bacone, Alvin returned to the OIA requesting reinstatement and was appointed as a teacher at the Santa Fe Boarding School in New Mexico. In 1934 he took another year off of teaching this time to attend the University of Redlands. He graduated with his sister and obtained his BA degree in Social Sciences.[61] He returned to work for Indian Schools after graduation and stayed with the federal government in Indian Schools until his retirement in 1969.[62]

When Evelyn Warren submitted her application for the OIA in 1935, John Collier was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Wheeler-Howard Act had recently passed. These watershed occurrences would have significant impacts on Native communities and directly affect Indian employment within the Indian Office. Collier was a social worker when he became interested in Native causes. In 1923 he founded the American Indian Defense Association to protect religious freedom and property rights of American Indians. Despite being an outspoken critic of federal Indian policies, Collier was appointed the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by the newly elected President Franklin D. Roosevelt.[63] Although his term was not without controversy and questionable changes to policies, Collier "ended many of the culturally destructive policies of assimilation" and enacted "major changes to federal Indian policy by introducing an emphasis on cultural relativism and a willingness to celebrate 'traditional' Native ways of life."[64] Collier was particularly interested in promoting Native arts, so the OIA "began emphasizing the production of curios for sale."[65] As a result, new OIA applicants and

current employees found that there was a new interest in and value placed on their experience and skills related to Native Arts.

Warren's 1935 application with the OIA contains several entries that would appear to be an attempt to shore up her Indianness in some respects but deflect it in others. The most obvious indicator of her Native identity is her entry for race: "Indian." To elaborate on this distinction, she denoted that she could speak, understand, and read English and Chippewa. According to Cahill, "Many Native applicants for jobs in the Indian Service cited their tribal identities or their ability to speak the language of their tribe as making them more qualified for the positions."[66] Conversely, though, the section for applicants that "claim[ed] to be of Indian blood" was left blank. Questions such as "degree of blood," "tribe," "name on any Indian roll," and "if not enrolled, on what do you base your claim to be of Indian blood" did not have answers.[67] Was it due to the consideration that "administrators preferred to have Indian employees unmoored from their tribal identities so that they could avoid having a group of educated tribal bureaucrats who might challenge superiors," or could it have been that she found the questions unimportant to the process?[68] Warren was also required to list any relatives currently working for the United States Government and gave information for "Alvin (Kewaygeshik) Warren" as her "half-brother."[69]

Warren seemed to be aware that place mattered in identity identification. Although she was born in Philadelphia, she put her place of birth as Maine and her permanent address as the United States Indian School in Santa Fe, New Mexico, where her brother worked before attending Redlands in 1934-35. She also indicated she had a

"bona fide residence" in New Mexico though she only stayed with her brother during her college time summers. Under types of work she did between the ages of twelve to twenty-one, she typed "Care of home, clerical, [and] Art." Her work history detailed her clerical experiences at Bacone but did not reference her domestic (housework, cooking, and childcare) work at Redlands, undoubtedly to avoid any possibility of being placed in a domestic position.[70] For musical ability, she indicated "vocal." Her favorite recreations or hobbies were "Indian Arts and Crafts, club work, [and] athletics." For books that she had read in the previous six months, the list included " Our Early Ancestors" and "Indian Tribes of the Southwest." Reinforcing her Indian specific artistic abilities once again, Warren explained her activities with the Girl Reserves, such as "teaching beading, weaving, ceremonials, songs, etc."[71]

When asked about what kind of work she felt was "best fitted" for Warren answered "Teaching or Social Service." Both of which align with the messages of acceptable (and available) positions for educated Native women that had been played up during her time in college. Although Warren had obtained a teaching certificate at Bacone, she majored in Sociology at Redlands, thus expanding the possibilities of employment with the OIA. It appears that she would have preferred a social service type position, though, as in the narrative section of the application, she highlighted her ability as a qualified social worker and that she could "aid along social welfare lines in addition to [her] teaching."[72]

Warren's parents were still living in Camden, New Jersey, at the time of the application, but she did not specifically seek employment near her family or where she

grew up. She noted that she was willing to accept a position anywhere in the United States and selected the Southwest as her preferred location. Conceivably Warren had heard that the "Indian Service did not station Native people with their own tribes."[73] She could have been trying to be closer to her brother, or it might have been a strategic move to increase her chances of placement as the OIA had shown much interest in working with tribes in the Southwest during Collier's reign, or possibly a combination of these. Regardless of her intent, Warren's application is populated with responses that aligned with the OIA's mission during that time. Even if she was given insight into the OIA's hiring practices, it was Warren's race, followed by her education, that most qualified her to be an OIA employee.

On July 29, 1935, Warren began her career with the OIA as an assistant at the Los Angeles branch of the Indian Service with a salary of $1,200 per annum paid from the "Obtaining Employment for Indians" fund.[74] In the early twentieth century, Native employees often "held positions labeled as assistantships to white employees," so although Warren had her BA in Sociology, she started in an entry-level clerical position.[75] Beginning in September of 1935, Warren took free night classes in courses such as Sociology, Social Casework, Office Procedures, and Shorthand during "Indian Service Summer Sessions" at USC to increase her skill set and likelihood for promotion.[76] It is unknown how these courses considered, but throughout her career, Warren was evaluated for pay or position increases. The evaluation criteria were usually broken down into categories such as "Quality of Performance," "Productiveness," and "Qualifications Shown on Job."[77] Particular items supervisors were to examine included

general dependability, interest and energy to duties, industry, ability to learn and profit by experience, common sense, cooperativeness, and attitude toward Indians. Warren was consistently rated as excellent or very good with her supervisors offering comments such as, "I find her very cooperative and responsive," and "I am gratified to find she had made decisions and carried through in a manner that shows that she is resourceful."[78] By focusing on elements of cooperation and resourcefulness, the agency was hoping to give Native employees "an increased sense of themselves as a larger cohort of professional civil servants" but yet still be individuals.[79] Warren also received regular promotions either in pay or in title throughout her career.

Beginning in 1935 as an assistant, she rose up through the ranks to an assistant clerk, then senior clerk, followed by a chief in the placement unit. In 1947 she was promoted to placement assistant. In 1950 her title changed to placement officer. The title changed again in 1962 to placement specialist, and the position reclassified in 1964 as a personnel staffing specialist. Warren was also recognized for her contributions to the department. In 1959 and again in 1960, Warren received awards for her outstanding performance ratings. The first was in the "broad field of employment and placement" as she had "performed an outstanding job in developing, coordinating and issuing procedures to implement and carry out Bureau personnel policies."[80] Returning to the rhetoric of cooperation, her second award noted that Warren's "cooperative and understanding attitude" in her contacts with various officials "contributed outstandingly to the branch achievements."[81] While the agency saw cooperative employees as

supporting their mission to keep Indians from returning to their traditions, Warren used it to her advantage to acquire pay and position increases.[82]

After garnering employment in July 1935, Warren's mother Sarah joined her in California. Warren was assigned to work with Kathryn Von Hinzmann, a social worker who was previously responsible for managing participants in the Outing program at the Beverly Boulevard office. By this time, the program had been closed, and a "detached, professionalized" employment assistance office for Indians was firmly in place.[83] Although the economy was struggling, a "significant section…in Los Angeles remained relatively healthy," and Native women were in demand for domestic work in the "city's affluent west side," ensuring Warren would not run out of tasks in placing other Native women in these positions.[84] Warren and Sarah moved to Normandie Avenue, less than a quarter mile from the OIA and up the street from the cottage where Outing Matron Frances Hall lived from 1926-33. The cottage had served as an office and temporary clearinghouse for numerous Native women in the outing system. It was a refuge if they needed a place to stay or get something to eat it and was also a place for Native women to gather with their community. The cottage was an important hub for Native women, so it is likely that OIA employees and members of the community familiar with the outing program were still in the area when Warren and her mother went to live there in 1935.

In 1937, Von Hinzmann completed a "Field Service-Regular Rolls Report," detailing Warren's duties. The majority of Warren's work was clerical, which consisted of typing correspondence, reports, case records on Individual Indians, and notices for Indian group meetings and civil service examinations." Secondary, she interviewed

Indian men, women, and employers, placed Indians in households and similar employment, and made and received phone calls relative to placement and follow up. She was also responsible for "inculcat[ing] among Indians and non-Indians an understanding of the employment policy of Indian Service and educational opportunities," arranging with social agencies for the "care and supervision of individual Indians," and organizing "social and recreational activities for groups of Indians living and working in the Los Angeles area."[85] In her position, Warren was exposed to different tribal cultures and could act as a cultural broker to other Indian populations allowing inter-tribal identities to become strengthened.

Most likely a result of the field report, two years after starting with the OIA, verification of Warren's tribal relationship was requested. Although no records of requests for substantiation were found in Alvin's personnel records, it was brought up for Warren. Feasibly this was due to several factors including that the position of a teacher was not explicitly allocated to Indians and was often held by whites. As there were more females than male teachers, there was no incentive for the Indian Service to continue to question Alvin's race. Also, various Indian programs funded Warren's positions, so they were specifically designated for Indian employees. As Cahill notes, "Policy makers developed complex theories in which the presence of particular kinds of employees was an essential component of the transformation of Indigenous people."[86] If Alvin was the particular kind of employee that the agency needed, there was no cause to question his legitimacy. Throughout her career, though, Warren's Indianness would be questioned and answered in her personnel records.

In a memorandum dated September 30, 1937, the placement section advised S. W. Crosthwait, Assistant to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of the following.

> While there is nothing in Miss Warren's file to indicate her tribal relationship, she has apparently been accepted for many years as being about one-half Chippewa Indian. The story is that her mother, claiming to be a member of one of the small groups of Chippewa living in Northern Michigan, left her people and traveled East as a guide and settled at or near Kennebunk, Maine, where she met and married a French Canadian. This couple later moved back into Michigan. Apparently no member of Miss Warren's family is enrolled on any official tribal roll.
>
> Miss Warren attended Bacone College for Indians, where she finished her first two years of college work, going from there to Redlands University, finishing her college work there. Through these schools she has always ben recognized as an Indian. Upon her entrance at Redlands she made application for an educational loan, which was granted, but later returned it when it was found that the assistance not needed. This would indicate, generally, that she has already been recognized by the Office as being at least one-fourth degree Indian blood.
>
> Miss Warren's half-brother, Alvin, was allowed to enter the Indian Service through a noncompetitive civil service examination, and is now in the Service as teacher. Both of these people have apparently made excellent employees, and both have the interest of the Service at heart, and are accepted throughout the Service as being of Indian blood.

A handwritten note on the memo dated October 14, 1937, by S.W.C. (Crosthwait) indicated that he "would be willing to certify that she [Warren] is more than ¼ Indian blood."[87] Crosthwait followed this up with a formal memorandum dated November 2, 1937, stating that, "The records on file in the Office of Indian Affairs indicate that Miss Evelyn Warren is at least one-fourth degree Indian blood born on December 5, 1913, in Kennebunk, Maine."[88]

Proof of Indian blood was required for Warren again when a promotion to an assistant clerk was proposed two months later in November 1937.[89] The funding source would be the same as the assistant position, but Warren would receive a raise and be

entitled to retirement benefits. The position also necessitated passing a con-competitive general clerical exam and filling out a new Application for Employment and Personal History statement. Again she denoted that her place of birth was Kennebunk, Maine, but for race, she wrote "American Indian-French Canadian."[90] Unlike her first application, in this questionnaire, she answered several of the Indian blood questions. For the degree of blood, she wrote "½" and that her tribe was Chippewa, for the question, "Is your name on any Indian roll?" Warren answered, "no, am not claiming preference as Indian." In this iteration, Warren listed "Indian" and "French" as languages she could understand, speak, and read. What precipitated the change in language from "Chippewa" to "Indian?" Did Warren have specific areas in mind to transfer to where speaking French would be an asset? With the growth in the inter-tribal movement, perhaps Warren viewed using the general term "Indian" rather than the specific "Chippewa" as being more desirable. If locale was not a factor in the inclusion of French, possibly it was the cache that speaking a foreign language could bring to Warren in the growing field of a middle-class Native workforce. So, while Warren emphasized her Indianness in some ways such as race, her association with her Indian brother, and her language skillset, she also made the direct claim that she was not seeking preference as an Indian.

In June of 1940, internal personnel documents reflect that once again, Warren's Indianness was integral to her career. Several months prior, Roosevelt had signed Executive Order 8383, which authorized the "Civil Service Commission to confer a classified civil service status upon certain employees of the Office of Indian Affairs."[91] As such, Warren was recommended for a re-classification. This would make her a

permanent employee and lose the at-will status she held at that time. The officer in Charge Kathryn Mahn, a social worker, who had indirect ties with the outing system, completed the review.[92] The form asked if the "employee [was] one-fourth or more Indian blood" and what the degree was. As in previous forms, Warren was said to have been one-half degree and not enrolled. Her agency was listed as "non-enrolled Michigan group of Chippewa Indians." When asked if the "employee's services [had] been satisfactory" and if they would "recommend that *he* be given a classified status," the supervisor entered yes.[93]

In addition to the race inquiries, another difference found in the siblings' files is an affidavit of marital status that Warren completed in November of 1937. Although this was four months after the Celler Bill, which prohibited discrimination based on marital status, was passed the "Affidavit as to Marital Status of Applicant" referenced "Section 213 of the so-called Economy Act of June 30, 1932." It stipulated, "In the appointment of persons in the classified civil service, preference shall be given to persons other than married persons living with husband of wife, such husband or wife being in the service of the United States."[94] By this time, Alvin had married, and his wife was also a teacher for Indian schools, but no such affidavit or anything similar was found in Alvin's personnel records. Warren was required to identify whether she was married, and if so, if/where her spouse was employed and whether they were living together or apart. She was also required to identify any members of her family or relatives (either blood or by marriage) in the Government Service. As Warren was not married, she provided information on Alvin. Working for the federal government, why wouldn't Alvin have had the same

inquiries into his marital status? Was it due to Warren's position with the OIA? Was it her gender? Was the affidavit a method for the government to release workers that they otherwise could not easily displace, women in particular? Was it something else? What would have happened to Warren if she was married to another federal worker at the time is unknown, but for Warren, it was just another hoop to jump through to hold onto her job.

As part of working for the federal government, employees were also required to sign various oaths, including an "Oath of Office" and "Personnel Affidavit[s]." Beginning with her appointment to Assistant Clerk, Warren had to swear that she would "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic," which is quite ironic as Native populations were viewed as the enemy of the government for an extended period of time.[95] In 1939 just prior to World War II, Section 9A of Public 252, or the Hatch Act, provided that anyone employed by any agency of the federal government whose pay is from funds "authorized or appropriated by any Act of Congress" could not have "membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow" of the United States government. In October of 1941, Warren was just one of the thousands of employees who "solemnly" swore not to advocate overthrowing the government or to participate with any political party or organization that did.[96] In July of 1946, concerns about strikes against the government warranted another affidavit from employees. All employees of the Department of the Interior were sent a memo advising them of "Section 7 of the Appropriation Act of 1947." This legislation stipulated that employees swear that they were not currently engaged in, did

not intend to, or advocate for or belong to an organization that advocated for a strike against the government. Employees were advised that if they did not sign and return an affidavit in a timely manner, their pay could be "held up" and if they needed additional time to "think the question over" they would be granted a leave without pay. If they chose not to sign, they were to be relieved from duty.[97] Reflecting her due diligence, Warren executed her affidavit less than two weeks after the memo was released and again the following year.[98]

Warren and her mother Sarah lived together in Los Angeles for about five years before Sarah moved back East.[99] In June of 1941, Warren put in for a transfer. As Warren had proved her value as an employee and discussing familial ties were no longer off-limits in Indian Services, she included the purpose of her request.[100] She indicated that while she was willing to accept employment "anywhere in the United States," she preferred Washington, D.C., to be nearer to her mother.[101] She stated that it was because her mother was paralyzed, and she wanted to be closer so that she could reach her if there were an emergency.[102] A "Transfer and Change in Status" justified Warren's request explaining that the "1942 budget made provisions for extensive research in connection with employment and training of Indians, and this position is needed." It also noted that Warren was "particularly well qualified to perform the duties" of the position.[103] She was granted the transfer and initially was not authorized travel expenses. A later "Change in Status" noted the "transfer was suggested by persons who had observed her work," signifying that Warren had an ally in the office advocating on her behalf.[104] Most likely, it was Mahn, her supervisor at the time of the request. In submitting the modification,

Warren would receive funds that would otherwise have been unavailable to her, including "transportation an subsistence expenses," moving expenses, and an "allowance of special per diem," which could have added up to a substantial sum. As the careers of Native people were often "heavily influenced by the attitudes and dispositions of their superiors and their ability to mobilize allies on their behalf," at least on this occasion, Warren seems to have been able to tap into these resources and use them for her benefit.[105]

On March 12, 1942, eleven days before beginning her job in Washington D.C. at the OIA, Warren married Teddy Tahsuda, Comanche**.** Tahsuda had been in Warren's freshman class at Bacone College but left before completing the program. It is unclear if Tahsuda and Warren reconnected after she left Bacone or if they had been in touch since their time together there. Inter-tribal marriages were common at both Bacone and Indian Affairs. Living and working in close quarters fostered relationships across tribal communities, and both institutions seemed to encourage (or at least not discourage) the unions. Warren never seems to have returned to her family's home, but that does not mean that she was "an Indian without a tribe."[106] In Warren's case, the inter-tribal marriage could have connected her to Comanche communities after her ties to her own community were disrupted.

Tahsuda had already been married and divorced when, on May 3, 1941, he enlisted in United States Army in Oklahoma City. At the time of his enlistment, he entered his occupation as a construction quartermaster and that he was living in Walters, Oklahoma. Seven months after Tahsuda enlisted, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, and the United States officially entered the war. Earl Riley, a Baptist Reverend and schoolmate

from Bacone and the University of Redlands married Warren and Tahsuda. The ceremony was performed at a residence just over a mile from Warren's apartment, and two of Warren's roommates were the witnesses. Considering that Warren only had eleven days after getting married to move from California to Washington D.C. and Tahsuda was on military leave at the time, if they had a honeymoon, it would have been extremely short.

The move to Washington D.C. in March of 1942 was also the first of several occasions where Warren and Caudell worked at the same location, if not the same department. There are no known records that suggest that Warren and Caudell corresponded during or after their college tenures, but it was likely that each would have some knowledge of the other through their community ties and alumni updates, particularly from Bacone. For four months in 1942, Warren and Caudell worked at the same building in Washington D.C., Warren as an assistant clerk in Personnel and Caudell as a senior stenographer in the Irrigation department.[107] Working in such close proximity makes it highly likely that they connected during their shared time there.

Effective in August of that year, both Warren and Caudell were re-assigned to the Chicago, Illinois office. Neither of their personnel files indicated a reason for the moves, though. Immediately following the move, Warren stayed with Personnel as a senior clerk, and Caudell worked as a clerk for the Roads department.[108] Sharing the same building for five years, they nearly crossed paths in the Personnel department when Caudell was promoted to placement clerk within that section just after Warren left to return to Washington D.C., this time as a placement assistant.

Warren was living in Chicago when Tahsuda tragically died in a hotel fire less than a year after he and Warren were married. On February 2, 1943, Tahsuda was at a hotel outside the Hobbs Army Air Base in Hobbs, New Mexico, when it caught fire. He was one of two persons that perished. Tahsuda had been assigned to a Twin Engine Training Squadron and was on a three-day pass at the time.[109] Tahsuda was buried in the place of his birth, Walters, Oklahoma. There are no records to show if Warren and Tahsuda saw each other again after their wedding. After Tahsuda's passing, Warren remained in Illinois.

After spending five years in Chicago, Warren returned to Washington D.C. in August 1947. Caudell followed her two months later. This time they both worked in the same department, Personnel. When they first began working together, Warren was a placement assistant making over $4,100 annually, and Caudell was a placement clerk earning under $3,000 annually. Both positions were classified as clerical, but Warren was placed in a higher pay grade, and although she was not in a supervisory position, she most likely had some direction and say in Caudell's work. They worked together for approximately a year and a half during their second stints in Washington D.C. before Caudell left in March 1949. Working with other Indians, particularly those who attended the same schools, reinforced cultural bonds across the workforce, and fostered inter-tribal identities. Although Warren and Caudell are noteworthy for their active participation in realms of bureaucracy and Indigeneity, a considerable proportion of Indians found "work of one kind or another in the Indian Service," albeit temporary, during this time.[110]

Warren most likely met her future husband, Francis Adams, Sisseton Sioux, while at the Washington office. Adams was working for Indian Services in Washington when they wed in 1948. Like Tahsuda, Adams had enlisted in the Army. Adams began his service on April 10, 1942, and was wounded in Italy during World War II. Forging a new inter-tribal union, allowed Warren to expand her Native connections even further. These marriages gave couples opportunities to learn "the ways of both sides of their families" and perhaps create a new "shared identity."[111] In October 1969, Adams passed away. They had been married over twenty years at the time, and he was buried in the Culpeper National Cemetery in Virginia. Warren retired in January 1969, was fifty-six at the time, and had spent thirty-three and a half years working for Indian Service. Her employment with the Indian Service took her from Los Angeles to Washington D.C., Chicago, and back to Washington before moving to Virginia, where she passed away at the age of sixty-seven from an illness.

Warren appears to have been savvy and ambitious about her career. In her initial application with OIA, she drew attention to her Indianness through her associations, listing a place of birth that was not her own, and her skill sets. Although she had excellent credentials at the time, she initially was placed in an entry-level assistant position, which was the norm for most Indian employees. She was regularly promoted but, unlike her brother, Caudell, or Murphy, she was required to prove her Indian heritage on multiple occasions. Warren moved to several different locations as part of her job and married twice during her lifetime. Her first spouse was a Bacone College alumni who attended during her freshman year, and her second was also an employee of the OIA. Both

represented different tribal backgrounds than Warren's. During her career, Warren also utilized assistance from white allies. With their help, she was able to garner desired transfers and reimbursement for expenses that she might not otherwise have received. Through her various positions, Warren acted as a cultural broker by interacting with Native communities to support them in their needs but did so within the scope of her abilities as a federal employee. Although her path to the OIA was laid out for her, Warren's acts of agency are shown throughout her employee documents and career choices. Her use of language, pursuit of promotions, and her ability to maximize her skillset within the boundaries set by the federal government reflect a modern Native woman who lived both an ordinary and an exceptional life.

Cleo Caudell: Dedicating Herself to her Work

Cleo Caudell spent the 1937-38 academic year in Hawaii for graduate-level coursework and returned to the states via the S.S. Lurline in August. Although she had not completed the requirements for her Master's degree, Caudell must have been aware that she was leaving college, so finding employment was on her mind before the academic term ended. Like Warren, Caudell was actively pursuing possibilities in the months before her departure. Did she consider multiple employers? Was she presented with any options other than the federal government? Having taken a path similar to Warren's, the narrative around Caudell's career trajectory would most likely have been the same. Educated Native women were funneled into several categories, and working for the OIA was one of them.[112] The positives of working for the federal government were

real. They included a possible lifetime career path, vacations, and in some cases, pensions, so it was not without its benefits, but acquiring a position for which they had been academically trained would not be likely. With this in mind, Caudell began the application process.

In May, her University of Hawaii (UH) transcripts were sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, followed by a supplementary transcript record indicating Caudell's honorable dismissal from the university as of July.[113] While she was still in Hawaii, Caudell started the process to become a federal employee and completed her "Application for Employment" with the OIA.[114] In the three years since Warren had applied with the OIA, the application form had changed slightly. In the 1938 version, just after the name and address section, applicants were warned that "Failure to furnish with application proof of, or proper evidence proving, degree of Indian blood" could result in a delay or nullification of their "opportunity for appointment."[115] When Warren had applied in 1935 there was no such warning just an "Important" information section indicating that, if applicants were Indian then the information they provided "may be considered in judging [their] qualifications for a position either in the Government or in private employment."[116] Interestingly the race question had been removed from the 1938 application suggesting that the dichotomous racial groupings of White and Indian were so firmly established by that time that applicants need not explicitly identify their race, as any response in the section for those claiming Indian blood would be their Indian marker. In doing this, and in other forms where race prompts still existed, the available option of "I" or "Indian" shows that inter-tribal identities continued to be ignored. Another notable

change was the notice to applicants advising them of the "Methods of Establishing Degree of Indian Blood" at the top of the second page. By 1938, the vetting process had intensified so that Native employees had to provide an approved form of documentation of their Indianness even to have the application considered, and only certain types of documentation would be acceptable. These included a certificate by the Superintendent of the Agency where the person was enrolled, an "affidavit by trustworthy persons familiar with the facts" that specified the "blood relationship to one or more persons whose Indian blood status" was captured in an official record, or "attested by competent anthropological, historical, or genealogical authority."[117] With the sociological background of John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the time, it is not surprising that credence was given to academic authorities. Being a former researcher and advocate of reversing policies of cultural assimilation of American Indians, Collier valued the opinions of academics that supported these goals. For her verification, Caudell had included a sworn and notarized statement that her mother was enrolled under the name and title of "Lillie M. Whistler, Choctaw 6752, full blood."[118] Additionally, the Assistant Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes also followed up with verification of Caudell's mother's enrolment as a full-blood Choctaw.[119]

Contrasting Warren's initial application, Caudell completed all questions in the section for those claiming Indian blood. Caudell indicated her degree of blood, as one-half, her tribe was Choctaw, and her agency or reservation was Muskogee. Caudell was not sure if her name was on any Indian rolls but did report that her mother was listed on

the Muskogee, Oklahoma agency rolls while her father was not. Caudell also indicated that she had not held any "official tribal positions."[120]

Perhaps because Caudell's Indianness had probably never been in question, in concert with the newfound acceptance by the federal government that Natives could be competent employees and still have ties to their communities, Caudell's application does not seem to reflect the same identity struggle that Warren's did. Caudell listed her permanent address as "C.C. Hospital in Talihina, Oklahoma," where her mother was working at the time.[121] Neither calling attention to nor trying to distract from her Native connections, Caudell listed Ataloa as a reference, giving Ataloa's occupation as "engaged in research work at present." During this time, Ataloa was also traveling for lectures and performances, so Caudell could have easily emphasized these Native markers to make her application stand out should she have wished. While Caudell was one-half Choctaw, she did not claim to be able to understand, speak, read, or write any language other than English. For her musical ability, she listed "play piano a little, glee club, [and] choir." Unlike Warren, no Indian specific activities she undertook during any of her schooling or any skills suggestive of Native arts that may have buoyed her Indianness in the eyes of others were included. Caudell could easily have brought attention to her many public speeches regarding Indians or even her association with Ataloa as a popular Native performer to strengthen her Native identity should she have desired, but clearly, it was not a concern for her.

In her application, Caudell detailed her academic career beginning with her attendance at Haskell Institute beginning in 1918, at age five, until the year 1932 at age

nineteen when she completed its commercial program. She listed her terms at Bacone, 1933-35, the University of Redlands (UR), 1935-37, and her time at the University of Hawaii (UH), 1937-38, for her master's level work. While the field was left blank for Bacone, Sociology was listed as her primary subject at UR and UH. She also reiterated this in a subsequent question that asked for any special course of study applicants may have had. Feasibly, Caudell understood that although academically trained as a sociologist, she would most likely be assigned an entry-level position, and did not seek a civil service exam-related position. So while touting her academic credentials in sociology, Caudell indicated that she was interested in either a "stenographic or clerical" position. She also highlighted her stenographic skills when describing her jobs as a student employee at UR. Buttressing her identity as a non-professional worker, Caudell entered the lowest entrance salary that she would be willing to accept was $1,200 yearly, which was just under the $1,260 minimum pay scale for federal clerical workers at that time, while professional workers earned a minimum of $2,000 annually.[122] Perhaps to increase her likelihood of placement, Caudell also checked that she was willing to accept a position anywhere in the United States, including a temporary one as long as it was not less than six months in length.

Less than a month after her application date and while still in Hawaii at the time, OIA officially designated Caudell as one-half degree Choctaw Indian blood, and she received the appointment of the position of assistant in the Washington D.C. Office of Indian Affairs. She was not eligible for retirement benefits in this position and was not given a specific date to report for duty.[123] She was to be employed with the Organization

Division and would be paid through the "Expenses of Organizing Indian Corporations: Salaries, District of Columbia, 1939" fund.[124]

On Friday, August 26, 1938, Caudell boarded the S.S. Lurline in Honolulu, Hawaii, bound for Los Angeles Harbor in California. After seven days on board, Caudell arrived in Los Angeles.[125] On September 8, 1938, less than a week after debarking in California, Caudell was in Washington, D.C., completing the paperwork necessary to begin her new job with the OIA. Possibly to boost her ability to be promoted, Caudell reiterated that she had earned her Bachelor of Arts in Sociology and provided that she had done some "volunteer work in connection with the Commissioner of Public Welfare in Honolulu" in the "special qualifications" section of the "Personal History Statement."[126] Dissimilar to Warren, Caudell's marital status did not seem to have much importance. While it was an inquiry on several standardized forms, no special notation was necessary.

Like Warren, Caudell also completed the first of several "Oath of Office" declarations necessary as part of the position of a federal employee.[127] Her first personnel affidavit swearing not have a membership in any political party or organization that advocated for the overthrow of the United States government came in July of 1941, approximately three months before Warren signed hers.[128] Another affidavit was required in July of 1946 and again in July 1947 in response to the Department of the Interior Appropriation Act of 1947. Employees were required to swear that they were not (and would not be) engaged in a strike against the United States[129] Caudell's personnel file contains several differences in verifying her loyalty to the United States Perhaps it was

because she held a different position than Warren did or because of her extra-curricular activities that in the early stages of the Cold War, a "Report on Loyalty" for Caudell was requested from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on December 22, 1947. With no negative information located, it was stamped with "No Disloyal Data, FBI Files, Mar. 6, 1948."[130] In 1949 Caudell would be required to complete an "Appointment Affidavit" swearing to support and defend the constitution, that she was not a communist or fascist, she would not strike against the government, and that she did not bribe anyone for her appointment.[131] As Caudell was involved with Native groups outside of her work, could the in-depth inquiries have reflected a concern on behalf of her employer? With Caudell's family forcibly relocated and her experiences with federal Indian education, one cannot help but wonder if Caudell had any misgivings about pledging alliance and loyalty to a country that had only recently considered her a member.

Caudell's degree of Indian blood initially had a heavy focus in her early personnel file, but by a year, it dropped off as a topic requiring attention. The first application in July 1938 required details of tribal affiliations and official recognition of Caudell's Indianness. Following this, several forms had notes either requesting or acknowledging official Native status, but beyond that, only minor references to race were made. Either sufficient evidence was noted, or it was no longer an issue because, after this time, no other requests were made regarding degree of blood, and no other forms required this information.[132] References to race were simply "Indian" or "I" in later documents, and a "Notification of Personnel Action" in 1952 provides the last reference to race ("I") made in the personnel file.[133] This differs from Warren's experience and could be attributed to

Caudell's mother being on a established Indian roll while Warren did not have something similar, a change in procedures from the time that Warren began until Caudell did, or possibly that Caudell's position was such that it did not come into question after the initial processing was complete.

Throughout her career, like Warren, Caudell had allies that would act on her behalf and would have a positive impact on her career path with the OIA. In less than a year at her job, Caudell was recommended for a transfer to another non-retirement eligible position. She had obviously impressed her supervisor as the justification for the transfer to junior stenographer included both details of her educational background and job prowess. The narrative section of the change request makes note that although Caudell "did not take the non-competitive junior stenographic examination," she was performing the duties of a stenographer and showed "herself to be well qualified."[134] She received the transfer, without taking an exam, effective November 1, 1939. A promotion to senior stenographer followed in February 1941.[135] She moved from the Organizing Indian Corporations area to the Construction, Irrigation Systems, Indian Reservations group without a change in pay or retirement status effective June of that year.[136]

It was not until February 1942 that Caudell began accruing retirement. Under the provisions of the Ramspeck Retirement Act, Caudell would begin to contribute to retirement and could file for service credit for her prior years' work.[137] Although it would take years, Caudell was on her way to a position few Native employees attained at OIA, a supervisory one. Interestingly, although Warren did not achieve a formal supervisory title, Caudell's rate of pay would never catch up to Warren's. They would hold similar

titles at various times but never held the same position. While Caudell had one more year of formal education and many promotions throughout her profession, her career track was such that even with eleven more years of service, there was a four thousand dollar difference between the two in the annual amounts they received when they separated from service with the federal government in 1969 and 1972 respectively.

In August of 1942, Caudell moved to Illinois and began working in the now named Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Chicago office, Roads division. No notes indicate why the move occurred, but the Department of the Interior must have approved it, as there does not seem to be any break in service for Caudell. She continued to receive promotions at her new location, this time to clerk-stenographer effective December 1, 1942. The justification for the promotion indicated that Caudell "demonstrated [the] ability and interest in the type of work required in the Roads Division."[138] Just how did Caudell reflect her interest in this type of work, though? Was being proficient in transcribing dictation considered a signifier? Was it because she was a modern Native woman who could effectively maneuver in the perceived separate realms of Indigeneity and whiteness? Regardless of how interest was gauged, Caudell continued to impress management and was promoted to a clerk in the Education department in 1944.[139]

Caudell's position with Education provided her opportunities to tap into her analytical and maternalistic skills to provide feedback for other Natives' employment. Beginning with this job, Caudell would also have a much more complex role in Native communities, and she would be interacting at a level she had not previously been able to in her career. Her job description denoted that she worked under the "immediate

supervision of [the] Assistant Director of Education," and she was responsible for "making selections" of eligible "teachers, principals, and dairymen." She was also involved with the "establishments and abolishments of regular positions of Assistant Indians in Indian Schools of [the] United States and Alaska." She was privy to records of "all education personnel" and in addition to her regular duties, would participate in applicant interviews.[140] By representing both the needs of her Native clients as well as the department, Caudell could act as a cultural broker and promote Native concerns.[141]

It was in early 1944 when Caudell, concerned about Native issues, joined others at the OIA in lunchtime meetings to discuss Indian problems and concerns.[142] Both the Indian New Deal and the experiences of wartime brought an awareness of the need to organize to many American Indians, so activists within the OIA reached out to co-workers and Native communities seeking cohesion.[143] The office meetings grew into a "working committee on national Indian organization" convening in May of 1944 at a Chicago YMCA. Twenty-two "prominent Indians," including Caudell, Ruth Muskrat Bronson, and Bacone and UR alumni Roy Gourd, came together and formed a revived National Congress of American Indians (NCAI).

Over three days, the NCAI hashed out its statement of purpose and constitution. The goal of the organization was to secure the "rights and benefits to which" Natives were entitled and to "enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Indian race, to preserve Indian cultural values, [and] to seek an equitable adjustment of tribal affairs…and otherwise promote the common welfare of the American Indians."[144] While hoping to speak for the American Indian, the NCAI acknowledged "its authority and

powers could consist only of what [was] granted it by its membership." Membership would be limited to Indians with the determination of who was an Indian left to individual tribes. With a new generation of Indian men and women who were serving in the war effort and who had multi-tribal interactions in schooling, the call for unity resounded with many younger Natives. In fostering an inter-tribalism, the NCAI sought "both an intertribal identity, which emphasized Indians as a single ethnic group, and a tribal identity, which emphasized the citizenship of Indians in separate nations."[145] On November 15, 1944, at the *Cosmopolitan* Hotel in Denver, Colorado, eighty delegates from fifty tribes and associations in twenty-seven states gathered to solidify the organization.[146] The preamble drafted in Chicago was approved, and the group took off. By the next year, membership had reached 300 with members from almost every tribe in the United States at the time.[147]

One of the founding members, D'Arcy McNickle, Cree, was an administrative assistant to the Commissioner, John Collier, and was tasked with garnering Collier's endorsement. After what must have been multiple attempts, McNickle reported that the "Commissioner has finally come around" and agreed that the group would be "worthwhile, and valuable if it truly represented Indian leadership."[148] Lunchtime meetings grew in size, and after a particularly "lively session" of twenty-four interested persons, a petition was submitted to Collier to continue the meetings to discuss the "many problems with which Indians and the Indian Service" confronted daily.[149] Although the group seemed to have Collier's backing, other members held Collier and Indians employed with the Indian Service with suspicion.[150] Although not always in agreement,

NCAI seems to have had a working relationship with Collier, and later, Collier's replacement in 1945, William A. Brophy. NCAI did not endorse Brophy but was able to work around what they saw of deficiencies. Nineteen-fifty was the beginning of a string of troubled relationships between NCAI on the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, however. While it began as a small group of American Indians in 1944 seeking improvements for Natives' lives, the NCAI went on to become a political force for change for Native rights and is still in operation in 2019. The depth and breadth of Caudell's involvement after the initial formation of NCAI is unknown, but she was a part of its creation and supported the goals of the organization during its initial development.

Caudell began to actively seek out on-the-job training in 1945. In May of that year, she completed job instruction training.[151] Two years later, Caudell sought out a promotion to a clerk, pay grade five. Although it was not a title change, the position would involve a pay increase and no longer be an excepted appointment, so a new Application for Federal Employment was necessary. By this time Caudell had proven her value to the department and was no longer willing to accept temporary employment or to be moved just anywhere in the United States Caudell identified the ten locations she would accept an appointment in including Illinois, Oklahoma, Oregon, Idaho, Washington, California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and Washington D.C. She was prepared to travel both occasionally and frequently, but not continually. This time there were no questions about race or Indianness, but there were questions whether applicants ever had nervous breakdowns or physical defects indicating that hiring healthy employees was of concern for the federal government.[152] She met the requirements

regarding "efficiency, conduct and health" but did not receive the pay grade promotion. Instead, she was shifted to a non-excepted appointment that made her subject to a one-year probationary period. Before she could settle into the new classification, Caudell was sought out to be a placement clerk with the Personnel division of the OIA. There would be no difference in pay or benefits, but her job duties would change so that she would now be "securing employment for qualified Indians."[153] The Personnel Officer, C.E. Lamson, noted that the change was necessary due to the "reorganization plans and the recentralization of the Indian Office to Washington, D.C." Caudell would be replacing an employee who did not want to relocate. Caudell was considered "well-qualified to perform the full range of duties in the capability of Placement Clerk."[154] She was approved for the position and moved back to Washington in October of 1947. Three months later, her title of clerk was reinstated, and she began working with the personnel actions of Indian Service employees.

While working in Washington D.C., Caudell moved into Nebraska Hall at Arlington Farms. Arlington Farms was a housing complex for female civil service employees. Built in 1943 to provide temporary housing for female service servants and civil employees during World War II, the complex consisted of ten dormitories, an infirmary, and a recreation hall and encompassed approximately twenty-eight acres on a 108-acre site. Women lived in barracks-like conditions in double-occupancy rooms with shared laundry and kitchen spaces until 1950 when the land transferred to the military. Although the housing units shared common outdoor spaces, the dormitories were segregated by race, so Black military and civil service workers would not be living in a

building with other non-Black women at the facility. As an Indian, Caudell would have been housed with white women. Staying here allowed Caudell regular interaction with other women who worked for different government departments, and she would have exposure to women from all different backgrounds. [155] Living and intermingling with numerous non-Native women, Caudell again challenged Indigenous stereotypes. She was not cloistered in a Native community. She was college-educated, well-traveled, and actively involved with political causes. Caudell engaged in the world as a Native woman, not in spite of it. Within her position at Indian Services, Caudell showed that Native women could not only be modern but also retain ties to Native communities.

Caudell continued working in Washington D.C., receiving pay increases and authorization as a member of the Board of United States Civil Service Examiners until 1949, when an inter-agency transfer to the Enrollment Office of the OIA California Agency in Sacramento was requested on her behalf. The transfer was marked as not for the "convenience of employee."[156] Whether she made the request or not, having her supervisor make this notation would result in Caudell receiving travel and moving expenses to cover the costs of the relocation.

On March 14, 1949, Caudell began her job in Sacramento. In her new capacity of clerk in the enrollment office, Caudell would interview California Indians who applied for enrollment and give guidance as well as gather evidence of eligibility. Although she was not paid more, in this job, she was also responsible for three clerk-typists who reported to her. She worked in that capacity for just under three years before being promoted to an enrollment assistant attending training on fair employment practices and

Indian affairs manual use before being promoted again only ten months later to an administrative assistant.

On July 3, 1954, at the age of forty-one, Caudell married Walter J. Wood, white, from Des Moines, Iowa. A World War II veteran, Wood was working in the same building as Caudell as an appraiser in Indian Services. It is unclear when or how they first met, but their shared employer likely played a large role in their union.[157] Many marriages were formed through shared experiences at Indian Services with unions between white men and Native women not seeming to "cause any particular concern among officials" at the time.[158] Cahill argues that while marriages between Native men and white women were still often seen as problematic, the difference in the official reaction to Native women/white men coupling was likely due to the fact that notions of power and race were not disrupted. In popular Anglo-American notions at the time, women's status was below their husbands, and other races were considered beneath whites, so a white male and an Indian female would not be pushing back on these ideas. In addition, like Caudell, many of the women in these pairings were well educated, and for some men, it was a way to gain class status without disrupting the power balance.[159]

Caudell retained the title of administrative assistant until January 1956 when she was reassigned to an assistant enrolling officer in the Program division of the department. In this position, Caudell received a "Superior Performance Award" for her roll in creating a comprehensive roll of California Indians.[160] A pay increase came with the promotion to program officer, a supervisory position, in August 1958. As Caudell's responsibilities increased, so did the training requirements. Supervisory training began in October 1958

with three classes and continued throughout 1959 with a series of ten classes covering topics such as the "Case of Troubled Tom," to "Compensation for Injury," and "the "Case of Frank's Future."[161] In July of 1962, Caudell began a yearlong supervisory training program. The years 1964, 1965, and 1966 brought more required supervisor training. Caudell continued to receive training throughout 1969, 1970, and 1971 with courses including "People Don't Resist Change," "How to Live with Yourself," "'Bitter Wind' - Indian Alcoholism," and "Adverse Actions."[162]

Due to organizational changes within the branch, her title changed in January 1965 to enrollment officer.[163] Reflecting on her ability to speak and interact with the public, in 1968, Caudell provided a presentation on a new enrollment law affecting California Indians. With a recent judgment of $29.1 million won by California Indians against the United States Government, there was significant interest in the new enrollment rules. The settlement was a result of a lawsuit between several California tribes, who argued that they had not been compensated for land that had been taken by the United States government. As the 1964 settlement did not have payout provisions, the Distribution Act was passed in 1968, requiring a roll of all eligible Indians to be created. All Indians in the Humboldt and Del Norte counties were strongly encouraged to attend the event held at Humboldt State College where Caudell explained what must be done to register for the California Indian roll and provided a question and answer session for attendees.[164]

Increasing both her pay and work status, Caudell was promoted to tribal enrollment officer in January 1969. In March of 1970, Caudell was called on again by the

department to speak about the judgment. Indian Affairs was actively working on identifying persons eligible for a portion of the monetary award, and Caudell had played a significant role in that task. She advised a *Los Angeles Times* writer that for some people, proving a relationship to "any early day California Indian" would be "extremely difficult," while for others, it was "relatively simple." Having a direct family member on early rolls made verification a straightforward process, but Caudell cautioned that "having Indians for relatives [did not] mean" that they were an Indian. Caudell explained in the interview that children of a non-Indian and an Indian were not considered Indians, so they were not qualified to enroll.[165]

In June of 1972, a recommendation for a monetary award was submitted and approved for Caudell's "superior degree of performance for her participation in the California Indian enrollment," and her past claims work in developing a "coding system for the first computerized roll." The area tribal officer also called attention to how Caudell "had not only contributed but dedicated herself to her work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs."[166] Earlier that month, Caudell had submitted her retirement request indicating that she was seeking retirement as her position was being abolished.[167] A few months before her sixtieth birthday and after more than thirty-three years in Indian Services, Caudell was retiring. Caudell and Wood had had no children and lived in Sacramento for the rest of their lives. Wood passed away in 1988, and Caudell died eleven years later, in 1999. Both were buried in Caudell's birthplace, Talihina, Oklahoma.

Caudell was able to attain a level in her educational and career trajectory that was not an option for many American Indian women before the early twentieth century. The pathways that enabled Caudell to attend college in the 1930s were laden with hardships, though. Perhaps not directly endured by Caudell herself, but they were undoubtedly borne by many who attended Indian schools before and alongside her. Considering Indian education's problematic history, Caudell's accomplishments at Bacone, the University of Redlands, and the University of Hawaii are truly remarkable. With such an emphasis to work for OIA placed upon Caudell from her early schooling onward, the question remains if whether she chose to work for the OIA or whether the choice was made for her during her time in Indian schooling. Within the OIA structure, though, Caudell showed agency and was actively involved with Native causes in ways that would probably not have been available to her outside its doors.

Ruth Murphy: Teaching the Bacone Way

Ruth Murphy's career track differed from Warren and Caudell's. For Murphy, beginning her career did not entail moving to a location where she did not have family or friends or working in an office where she might know only a few individuals. After graduating from the University of Redlands (UR) in 1938, Murphy headed back to Muskogee, Oklahoma, and became an elementary school teacher at Bacone for several years. Far from being a solitary experience, Murphy was at a place she was comfortable with, surrounded by people she knew including Bacone teachers, Roy Gourd, and Roger Weeks, both Bacone and UR alumni, as well as Reinold Peterson and Maribelle McCrea,

UR alumni.[168] Although her family remained in Drumright, it was only a couple hours away and accessible for trips home should she desire.

In her first year teaching at Bacone, there were 102 students enrolled in the elementary (first through eighth grades) program, another sixty-nine were in high school, and eighty-five in college. A total of forty-three different tribes were represented in the student body. Her second year had a similar student body make-up with 108 elementary students and a total student body of 265 representing forty-one different tribes, numbers closely matching enrollment during Murphy's time as a student. While inter-tribal identities on a large scale were just beginning to emerge in the OIA when Warren and Caudell began their jobs, it had been an entrenched concept at Bacone since its beginning. Although students' tribal affiliations were regularly provided in catalogs and the school paper, Bacone sought out to create a community of *Indians*. Pleas were made for funding Indian education, and the school newspaper carried the tagline "Representing Progressive American Indian Youth."[169] Students were not broken down by their tribes but intermingled in class and their dorms. Through such close conditions, life long friendships and marriages developed. For Bacone students, like OIA employees, the communal atmosphere offered them opportunities to reclaim or strengthen links with their own history and create new ties to other Native communities. For Murphy, inter-tribal relations were not a new idea, and she would remark in her later years how meaningful her associations at Bacone had been to her.

During Murphy's tenure as a teacher, Bacone advertised that, while the state adopted course of study was followed, "deviations" in instruction would be made where

needed. Following the Progressive teaching tenets of the times, the proclaimed goal was to "adjust the course of study to satisfy the needs of the child." No examples of what such deviation might entail were provided, though. The regular course of study included Reading, English, Math, and Social Science. Bible study, music, and art also had their "regular places in the schedule of classes."[170]

Bacone was continuing to serve as a teacher's training site for the Northeastern State Teachers College students seeking the specialized training of "Indian teachers for Indian Schools" or teachers at schools where "Indian pupils predominate." This program fostered a change to the elementary classrooms so that several of the grades were grouped together. The seventh and eighth-grade students were kept separate so that teachers would "learn the art of conducting a recitation with one class, and at the same time supervise the study of the other class." This meant that Murphy, among other elementary school teachers, would be instructing classes of varying ages and abilities. Bacone specified that this was "absolutely essential to understand the regime of the ordinary schoolroom."[171] Murphy also attended Northeastern during the summer of 1939 to renew her teaching certificate in elementary and junior high-level instruction.

Over the two years that Murphy taught at Bacone, the school's financial status slipped into a precarious position. Enrollment stayed steady, but Bacone's president would soon be embroiled in a financial scandal that resulted in a significant loss of funds for the school. With Bacone dependent upon donations, this was a huge blow. It was also when the OIA was actively pushing for public schooling for Native students and the use of day schools when public schooling was insufficient. In addition, during this time,

Bacone actively encouraged its male students to join Company I of the 180th Infantry Division of the Oklahoma National Guard. All members of this division were Bacone students or faculty. The catalog stated that it gave young men an opportunity to earn money and receive the "benefit of military training." It also detailed that the "College administration" was in "perfect sympathy with the purpose and work of the Guard," and it urged students to join. [172] This became problematic in the fall semester of 1940 as Bacone lost a significant number of its male students and teachers when the unit was called into action for World War II.[173]

During her second year teaching at Bacone, Murphy lived in the campus "teacherage" with another Bacone alumna, Louise Massey, Choctaw.[174] In addition to continuing to be surrounded by friends and family, Murphy's second year teaching saw a fellow Bacone classmate's return from Northeastern State Teachers College. Oscar Jones, Choctaw, was a freshman when Murphy was a sophomore. It was less than a year after Jones had returned to teach Bacone before he and Murphy wed. A detailed write up in the October 7, 1940 edition of the *Bacone Indian* described the event. The wedding, held on June 2, 1940, was performed by President Weeks in the newly remodeled Bacone Chapel. It was described as "beautiful and impressive," with Murphy being escorted down the aisle by her father while wearing a "dress was of peach silk and lace over taffeta" and carrying "an arm bouquet of Johanna Hill roses, baby breath, and lavender sweet peas." Her aunt, Grace Scales, was her maid of honor. Murphy's roommate Massey and President's Weeks' son Roger, sang while Mrs. Weeks played the piano. Mr. and Mrs. Weeks provided a reception immediately following the wedding for the bridal party and

guests. It was reported that the new Mr. and Mrs. Jones "left immediately after the reception for a wedding trip," and by the time of the article, they were "now at home near Stonewall, Oklahoma" just over 128 miles south of Bacone.[175]

In July 1940, a month after her wedding, Murphy applied for a job with the OIA. Jones also submitted an application with the OIA around the same time. It is likely that Weeks's resignation and the scandal surrounding his departure from Bacone, as well as the changing emphasis in Native education by the OIA Division of Education, played a role in their decision. Both Jones and Murphy were offered positions with the Education Division. While Jones was appointed to a teaching assignment at the Hickory Hill Day School, Murphy was given a temporary assignment as a housekeeper at the school.

As a married man, Jones's application would have taken priority over Murphy's, and the OIA would have presumed that his wife would fill the supporting role of assistant/housekeeper. Although Murphy's application detailed her academic and teaching credentials, due to her subordinate status, they were inconsequential to her appointment. As a woman married to another teacher in an Indian school, the OIA would see her first as a helpmate and assistant rather than in a primary role of instructor.[176] Perhaps in deference to her husband or because she was aware of OIA's polices, when Murphy completed her application she indicated that she was applying for an "Assistant to Indian Day School Teachers" position.[177]

Hickory Hill was an Indian Day School operating near Stonewall, Oklahoma, in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The area was within the Five Tribes jurisdiction. Special day schools had been created as part of the public school system in Oklahoma for "full-

blood Indian communities in which children did not previously have adequate school facilities." They were primarily maintained by the federal government and were managed by the county superintendent. White children also attended these schools, and teachers were to be of "one-quarter or more degree Indian blood" and were selected "jointly by the Federal Government and the local district and employed by the local district.[178] By the 1940s, the official Oklahoma Board of Education stance on Indian boarding schools was that they were "primarily for orphans, children from broken homes, and children who are not within reasonable reach of public schools."[179] There were twelve boarding schools and sixteen day schools operating in Oklahoma in 1940. The day schools were seen as community centers with resources for students and surrounding communities. Fifteen of the day schools were within the Five Tribes jurisdiction. Some had modern buildings while others were more rustic and had farm animals, but all included land for school and community gardens. Many also had barns where Indian craftwork could be created and spaces where adults could participate in learning activities such as cooking and farming.[180]

Most day schools only had two employees, a teacher, and a housekeeper. For Hickory Hill, this would be Jones and Murphy. Jones would be responsible for lessons while Murphy kept the facility clean, made the students' lunches, and demonstrated homemaking skills. Jones and Murphy represented the OIA's ideal household. They were a single-family unit with Jones holding the more prestigious position and Murphy being responsible for the more mundane acts needed at the school. In addition to teaching elementary school, Jones and Murphy were responsible for setting examples of a

civilized home and for acting as parents to the children. Murphy would also act as a cultural broker to the community. By this time, the OIA advocated a community-centered education with parents often taking classes after the regular school day had ended. In addition to teaching new skills, these classes served to instruct community members on how to make a civilized home through emulating Jones and Murphy.[181]

Murphy's housekeeper position was initially authorized as "temporary employment for emergency work in the field" for sixty days.[182] This was a provisional measure done to ensure that Murphy had a paying position while a permanent assignment could be generated. A month later, Murphy's position was changed to permanent. Her pay was $600 per annum, and she was now eligible for retirement benefits. In contrast, at that time, Warren was earning $1620 per annum as an assistant clerk, and Caudell made $1440 yearly as a junior stenographer. Warren had been employed with the OIA for five years by then and had been eligible for retirement benefits within months of her first job at OIA. While she had only been at the OIA for approximately two years in August 1940, Caudell's earnings were higher than Warren's, but she was not eligible for retirement benefits. With a much lower salary than Warren or Caudell, Murphy's housekeeper position did enable her to start accruing retirement benefits immediately upon permanent appointment. Retirement eligibility for housekeepers may have been a result of the Ramspeck Retirement Act as it had just been passed, but perhaps also it was due to the OIA's desire to bring on and retain married couples in teaching and housekeeping positions in their day schools.

Like Warren and Caudell before her, Murphy was required to complete an application for employment with each possible position change within the OIA. Beginning with the initial application in June 1940, these documents provide insight into Murphy's academic and employment experience as well as how she saw her teaching skills and her race. Murphy detailed her schooling at Bacone, UR, and Northeastern. Although she was applying for an assistant position, she provided information on her teaching credentials in two separate places on the form and marked that she could read French. Also, although Bacone had married teachers on their staff, Murphy indicated that the reason she left Bacone was that she had gotten married.[183] In future applications, she detailed how her previous job and schooling experiences had developed specific skill sets. For example, as a store clerk, she learned how to "meet people and mix with them." At UR, she took practice teaching courses where the "assignment was in the poorer section of the Mexican district, and it gave me some valuable experience in working with the underprivileged." She also stated that while at Bacone, she was able to "work with Indian children with whom I hope to work now as an assistant in the Day School.[184]

Although race was not a question in the June 1940 application, in claiming Indian blood, Murphy would be required to answer specific questions regarding her Indian heritage. She entered her degree of Indian blood as "1/16," her tribe "Cherokee," and indicated that she was not on any Indian roll. Murphy provided her parents' names and indicated that her mother's "agency or reservation" was the "Five Tribes" and that she was on an Indian roll. No other indications of her Native ties were provided. Unlike Warren, Murphy did not list any special skills that might have boosted her perceived

Nativeness. Though Murphy's Cherokee ties were listed on her application, her race was entered as White for her appointment as a housekeeper at Hickory Hill.

While several subsequent applications did ask Murphy's race, how she answered the question varied over time. In a July 1940 application, Murphy indicated she was "White & Indian, 1/16 Cherokee."[185] In September of that year, Murphy put her race as White.[186] Murphy's race is not addressed again in her personnel file until 1954 when Murphy applied for a teaching position with the Education Division of the now Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). An Enrollment Certificate was obtained, verifying enrollment on the Cherokee rolls for Murphy's mother and maternal grandmother.[187] So, while she self-identified and was categorized as White by the government for a housekeeping position, her Indianness became important in her role as Teacher for Indian Services. After the teaching position with the BIA was obtained, no other inquiries or references were made regarding her Indianness.

Murphy was a housekeeper at Hickory Hill from August 1940 through February 1943, when Jones accepted a teaching position at Cave Springs Day School in Muskogee, Oklahoma. Again, Murphy would be Jones's assistant, but her official job title was a housekeeper. In detailing her duties as an assistant, Murphy explained that she "assisted [her] husband in all his work in the two day schools. [She] taught primary classes and cooking and sewing in the upper grades. [Murphy and Jones] also canned food for the hot lunch program, supervised club for the women of the community. [Murphy and Jones] endeavored to carry out a health program and to take part in all the religious activities of the community." She turned in her resignation for this position just four months later

after having had a child with succeeding documents indicating that Murphy felt she "could not do justice to the work-I couldn't be of assistance because of tiny baby."[188]

Murphy attempted to return to work in September of 1944 as an elementary teacher for Washington Elementary School in Drumright, Oklahoma, but was forced to resign two months into the job because there was "no one to care for [her] small daughter." She remained unemployed for five years until 1949 when she became a substitute teacher in Drumright. From 1949 to 1954, Murphy taught "all grades one through eight and in all subjects." Murphy seemed to enjoy working, as she also became a part-time librarian for the city of Drumright while she was a substitute. In July 1954, she resigned both jobs to move to Utah with her family.[189]

In the summer of 1954, Murphy and her family moved to the Intermountain School in Brigham City, Utah, presumably for another teaching post for Jones. They were already living at the school when she submitted her application to be a teacher there. This time Indian Affairs was interested in her for this job. In order to qualify, in what seemed to be standard procedures for teachers at Indian schools, Murphy had to submit to a medical exam to check for syphilis and provide information for school transcripts. Although Murphy met the requirements for a civil service teacher, there was concern noted that she "lack[ed] recency of experience of education" as she did not have a full year of teaching within the past five years.[190] To bring her on board and provide the opportunity to meet the year requirement, Murphy was offered a temporary elementary teaching position to be effective August 11, 1954.

Eager to obtain a permanent position, Murphy submitted an application in May 1955. Reflecting her interest and urgency, Murphy provided detailed explanations of her teaching experiences. With addendums, the application was thirteen pages, while previous job applications were often no more than four pages in length. Providing her job experiences, Murphy detailed how she had no plans to leave Intermountain school. She explained that during her temporary assignment at the school, she was a teacher of "Thirty Navajo boys and girls" whose ages ranged from ten to thirteen and their grade levels from "beginners to second." Murphy also described how she sought to "help each child to develop a feeling of security and belonging in [the] new environment, so utterly different from his own." In alignment with the educational objectives of the Indian Affairs office, she stressed that she aimed to teach students to "become aware of and practice new social customs, and to want to become a *better* citizen of his home community."[191] Murphy also "kept [a] close watch on attitudes and aptitudes" and tried to "help all the people of the [day school] community to better themselves in every way."[192]

Murphy's alliance with Indian schooling agendas and her role as a maternal figure were also found in an explanation of her techniques for successful teaching that she included with her application. Demonstrating her understanding of one of the goals of Indian education, Murphy specified how her "most successful unit of work" was in the unit on good manners. She provided examples of good manners, including saying good morning, opening doors for "older folks," keeping room clean, and playing the games that a hostess wants you to play. In a section on community problems and interests, Murphy declared that she had tried in "every way" to keep aware of problems within the

community. Reinforcing the maternalistic schema, she explained that while not intending to "train a bunch of tattlers," the teachers were "trying to impress upon each child that it [was] his duty to report anything contrary to school rules or policies." She also referenced her work as a housemother at Bacone while she was teaching there.[193]

Although Murphy was Indian, she saw herself as different from her current Native students (Navajo). She detailed that her first time working with "non-English speaking groups" was at the Intermountain School. She explained that although she had "worked with Indians before," she had never been around those who spoke little or no English. She found working with the children in acquiring English provided her a "most satisfying year."[194] For Murphy, the language differences seem to be an important point. This would harken back to Cherokee understandings of what it meant to be civilized. Having the ability to speak and interact with Anglo-Americans was paramount. This, in combination with Murphy's identification as White, would suggest that Murphy may not have seen herself as being Indian in a way that would connect her to her Navajo students.

Murphy received the permanent post and went on to obtain commendations for her performance in her job. Representing what the BIA considered as valuable attributes, the first was in June 1957. Murphy was described as "friendly and congenial" and helped to "maintain a feeling of rapport and harmony." Her ability to work "untiringly and willingly" was also expounded upon.[195] In December of that year, Murphy was recommended for a $200 award for her "sustained superior performance." High-performance ratings, work as chairman of the Assembly Committee, and her work as an officer in the Employees' Association were the support for the recommendation. In

addition to various measurable tasks, Murphy's "willingness to do things for the students, staff, and school" and her "cheerful" and tireless work ethic were considered exceptionally strong points that deserved recognition.[196] In March 1959, the bus driver of the Boys' Guidance Department at Intermountain wrote a note of commendation on behalf of Murphy. He indicated that the letter was written in the "hopes that it [would] help to further [her] career as a teacher for the BIA." He felt that Murphy's skill in maintaining "complete control" over her class reflected her "tremendous teaching ability."[197] So while efficiency and the quality of work may have been important to Indian Services, a perceived positive attitude, willingness to help, and having the ability to control a classroom seems to have been more highly valued.

Effective June 1960, Murphy was transferred to the Coyote Canyon Boarding School in New Mexico. It is unclear whether the move was predicated on a requested job change from Jones or if he was re-assigned, but it is clear that Murphy did not request the change. As the transfer was not for the convenience of Murphy, the government would pay travel and transportation expenses for the immediate family.[198] Less then a year later, Murphy submitted her letter of resignation. Jones had accepted a position in Window Rock, Arizona, with the Navajo Agency. This school was not under the BIA, and there were no federal schools in the area. Her resignation was effective on June 2, 1961. Murphy eventually went on to teach in the Arizona Public School District, retiring from there in 1973. She and Jones returned to Oklahoma, eventually settling in Tahlequah, the Cherokee Nation's capital, before Murphy passed away on October 13, 1986, at the age of seventy-five.

Murphy's time as a student at Bacone had a direct and lasting impact on her. So while Murphy's connection with UR played a role in her career development, it was minimal and transitory. Sometime after leaving her teaching job at Bacone, Murphy and her husband volunteered with the Bacone Alumni Association, giving many hours of their time to help the organization. In 1978, Murphy reflected on her time at the school and stated that she felt that "Bacone played a very important part in my life, not only for the two years of schooling I received there, but for the inspiration I received from the dedicated workers and teachers who exerted a great influence on my life. I'm sure that without the help I was given there, I would not have been a teacher."[199] Murphy entered Bacone with strong ties to formal education, and teaching as a career fell into alignment with Bacone's objectives, so no cajoling or redirection would be needed. As a result, Murphy would not experience resistance or a shutting down of her goals and could operate in a supportive atmosphere. In reinforcing the teaching message and providing her with the encouragement she needed to walk this path, Bacone's role in her career was positive.

Without examining the broader context of Murphy's formal education, teaching would appear simply to be a reasonable career choice for her. Murphy was an educated woman with a number of family members who were teachers, a maternal uncle who went on to become a judge and a Baptist minister, a cousin who was a public school teacher, and a maternal aunt who, only four months older than Murphy and with whom Murphy spent much of her time, was also a teacher. Her college experiences, particularly those at Bacone, also clearly played an integral role in her decision, and she credits her time

explicitly there with giving her skills and support she needed to become a teacher. Murphy's experiences complemented both the purposes of education for Native women and the rhetoric of the time. In pursuing teaching, Murphy could help civilize Native communities and lead them towards a new form of citizenship and opportunities. In walking the path so neatly laid out before her, and supporting the agendas of Indian Services, Murphy fulfilled objectives fashioned for all educated Native women. How she worked within the paradigm of the OIA and navigated her career reflects both her agency and initiative. From her pursuit of college in a state far from home to her unwillingness to remain her husband's assistant, Murphy sought out opportunities to expand her work experience and garner a full-time teaching job. Using her education and abilities, Murphy not only earned her teaching title but was recognized for her teaching capabilities.

In the 1930s, while more women, in general, were entering the workforce and in occupations not previously open to them, Native women found themselves with limited options. Most Indian women were relegated primarily to domestic work while college-educated Native women were directed to working in clerical positions with the federal government, or in nursing or teaching in Indian communities. For white women during this time, education was seen as a tool to become scientifically trained to equip them best to "serve and improve the greater community."[200] For Native women, formal education was also inextricably linked to racial uplift. For Indian educators, the rhetoric surrounding concepts of women as transmitters of citizenship fit nicely with their notions of the appropriate racially uplifting careers. In limiting their endorsements to teaching, nursing, or working at Indian Service, both schools and the federal government could be

seen as supporting the Progressive ideals of the day while not upsetting white middle-class norms. While hirable within Indian Services as clerks or schoolteachers, most Native women would work at levels and salaries below their white peers, regardless of their level of education. The OIA had historically addressed "underfunded programs by paying Native workers at an 'Indian rate'" and by placing Native workers in lower-paying positions.[201] Within the OIA, a majority of the Indian employees also worked in temporary positions that were not eligible for pensions. In 1905, only seven in a group of fifty-five Native women regular employees eventually received retirement benefits.[202] Although for many Indian people, working for the OIA did provide income and stability. What was not being said, though, was that there were few other career opportunities for Native women to pursue.

Even though numerous Natives had embraced white middle-class ideals, they continued to be excluded from many workplaces and were still seen as foreign Others and people from another time. Also, racism was widespread, so few communities could provide enough clientele to support Native professionals. To create career pathways for Native women, schools developed and endorsed relationships with the OIA. Academic programs promoted to Native women were focused on the narrow field of options ensuring a high level of success. Catalogs and school newspapers touted the value that service in these institutions brought. Falling in line with these ideals, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy both reinforced and contested the ideas of Native womanhood during a critical period in Indian history. While supporting certain notions of Nativeness through expected dress and activities on some occasions, they also pushed back against common

beliefs of having reservation lives and of being unable to move beyond entry-level occupations.

Warren, Caudell, and Murphy exemplified modern cosmopolitan Native women while maneuvering through the contradictions that pervaded their lives. Their career paths differed, but their lives contained many similarities. In a society that promoted individualism yet continued to see them only as part of a group of foreign Others, they found ways to navigate and exceed white expectations. Each successfully developed economic survival strategies that allowed them to earn living wages while staying connected with Native communities. They earned college degrees and found lasting careers during the Great Depression when many were struggling to feed their families. They continued to work after marriage, while many women were expected to leave their jobs. In their personal relationships, they formed inter-tribal connections but did not lose their own identities. In their own ways, they advocated and supported Native causes while reflecting a nuclear family model considered so valuable to Indian policymakers. They worked with school alumni and had non-Native allies that helped them gain and advance during their careers. Within the scope of their professions, they made decisions impacting the lives of numerous other Natives. They formed national committees to pursue Native causes and took active roles in shaping an inter-tribal identity that spanned across the multitude of Indian nations. Despite the external constraints that formed their lived experiences, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy used the skills, knowledge, and enterprise developed over their lifetimes to operate within the modern world and ultimately created fulfilling and effective lives.

Notes

1. Cathleen D. Cahill, "Moving in Multiple Worlds Native Indian Service Employees," in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, eds. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014), 210. A colonial apparatus is a complex structure where colonizers seek to "'tame' a variety of wildernesses, end up establishing independent nations, effectively repress, co-opt, and extinguish indigenous alterities, and productively manage ethnic diversity." The system works to erase the "the distinction between colony and metropole." Lorenzo Veracini, "Introducing: Settler Colonial Studies," *Settler Colonial Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011), 3.

2. In order to accurately reflect the work history of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy and to provide as much detail on their experiences, personnel records were requested and received from the National Personnel Records Center, Civilian Personnel Records division. This was possible as all women are deceased and were previously employed by the federal government. Due to confidentiality requirements, the personnel files may have had some records withheld. For more information on obtaining federal personnel records, see https://www.archives.gov/personnel-records-center.

3. Margaret A. Nash and Lisa S. Romero, ""Citizenship for the College Girl:" Challenges and Opportunities in Higher Education for Women in the United States in the 1930s," *Teachers College Record* 114, no. 2 (2012): 7.

4. Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 249.

5. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 27.

6. Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work,* 219.

7. Nash and Romero, "Citizenship for the College Girl," 8.

8. Nash and Romero, 20 and 22.

9. Nash and Romero, 24.

10. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Chapter 3: Color and Nativity of Gainful Workers, " in the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Census, vol. 5, General Report on Occupations, 74. For simplicity, the percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.

11. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Chapter 2: Sex and Occupation of Gainful Workers," in the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Census, vol. 5, General Report on Occupations, 39.

12. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "Chapter 3," 74. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Chapter 10: Occupations," in the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930 Census, vol. 5, General Report on Occupations, 202.

13. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "Chapter 2," 47-48.

14. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States, "The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska," (Washington: US Government Printing Office), 1937.

15. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, "Chapter 3," 74. Dept. of Commerce, "Chapter 10: Occupations," 202.

16. Nash and Romero, 26.

17. Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); 7.

18. "Bureau of Indian Affairs," U.S. Department of the Interior: Indian Affairs, accessed July 8, 2018, https://www.bia.gov/bia. C.L. Henson, "From War to Self-Determination: A History of the Bureau of Indian Affairs," American Resources on the Net, accessed May 6, 2016, http://www.americansc.org.uk/Online/indians.htm.

19. Cahill, 2.

20. Cahill argues that the Indian Office "brought thousands of women into federal employment with the intent of having them serve as "federal mothers." Administrators imagined these women offering maternal guidance and nurturance to the government's wards." Cahill, 6.

21. Brian Hosmer, "Working and Between-ness," in *Beyond Two Worlds: Critical Conversations on Language and Power in Native North America*, eds. James Joseph Buss and C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014), 244.

22. Cahill, "Moving in Multiple Worlds Native Indian Service Employees," 210.

23. Cahill, 210.

24. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers,* 6-7.

25. Steven J. Novak, "The Real Takeover of the BIA: The Preferential Hiring of Indians," *Journal of Economic History* 50 (Fall 1990): 645.

26. *Bacone College*, The American Baptist Home Mission Society (New York: Board of Missionary Cooperation of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1932), 11.

27. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1912* (Washington, DC), 160-64.

28. Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1920* (Washington, DC), 5-6. For an in-depth discussion of pay difference Indian Services employees, see Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*.

29. Susan Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 69.

30. Cahill*,* 52.

31. Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted* Eagle (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 252.

32. Cahill, 114.

33. Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 20.

34. Cahill*,* 47.

35. Historians of Native education have argued that the schools prepared students primarily for work in the Indian Service. For more discussion, see Cathleen D. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers*; Vine Deloria, and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Steven J. Novak, "The Real Takeover of the BIA;" Daniel H. Usner, *Indian Work: Language and Livelihood in Native American History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

36. Cahill, 222.

37. “Bacone Announces a return to Junior College Standing,” *Indian Progress* (Bacone, OK), May 1927, 1-2.

38. For example, the November 6, 1935 edition of the *Bacone Indian* lists nineteen alumni in the “Alumni News” column. Eleven were attending other schools, six were teaching, and two, including Warren, were working for the Indian Service.

39. *Proceedings of the Southern California Baptist Convention,* (Los Angeles: J.F. Elwell Publishing, 1934), 78-9.

40. J.H. Rushbrooke, ed., *Fifth Baptist World Congress: Official Report* (London: Baptist World Alliance, 1934), 39-40.

41. Preferential appointments were positions that did not require a competitive exam.

42. Novak, “The Real Takeover of the BIA,” 646-48.

43 Novak, 647.

44. The outing program was created to manage Native students that “lived and worked within white-owned households and businesses.” Whalen, *Native Students at Work,* 5.

45. Vine Deloria, and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 145.

46. Novak, 650. Novak argues that Indian Services became a “self-perpetuating bureaucracy.” Many Natives became dependent on government systems due to federal policies, which led to more Natives seeking assistance from the federal government. With employment pathways easier to navigate and few other alternatives for Indian workers, more Indians were applying for OIA and other federal jobs.

47. Novak, 642 and 652.

48. Cahill*,* 260.

49. Cahill, 153.

50. Cahill, “Moving in Multiple Worlds Native Indian Service Employees,” 211.

51. Cahill, 210.

52. This was Warren's second employment application with the Office of Indian Affairs. She had completed an "Educational Loan Application" in fall 1933, and completing an "Application for Employment" was part of the requirements. She was authorized for a student loan but had returned the funds as she indicated that they were not needed, and that application was not retained.

53. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers,* 260.

54. Cahill, 260.

55. According to the Meriam Report, Indian Services offered "low salaries and low appropriations." Meriam Lewis and Hubert Work, *The Problem Of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to him, February 21, 1928* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 27. For further discussion of pay and promotional disparity for Native employees at Indian Services, see Wilbert Ahern, "An Experiment Aborted: Returned Indian Students in the Indian School Service" in Ethnohistory 44 (Spring 1997): 270-71; Cathleen D. Cahill, "'An Old and Faithful Employee': Obligation, Social Provision, and Federal Retirement Pensions in the US Indian Service," *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 14, no. 4 (2015): 531-40; Cahill, Federal Fathers & Mothers; Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Fiscal Year 1881* (Washington, DC), XII; Steven J. Novak, "The Real Takeover of the BIA."

56. Alvin's place of birth was reported in Census records as Philadelphia (where his family was living around the date of his birth) while he self-reported Kennebunk, Maine. Evelyn Warren's official birth certificate shows she was born in Philadelphia, PA.

57. Cahill, 120.

58. John T. Doyle to The Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Aug. 26, 1927, Personnel File for Alvin Warren.

59. Novak argues that the preferential hiring of Natives was first implemented in 1834. For more information see, Novak, "The Real Takeover of the BIA;" Bruce Barnett, Ed., *United States Statutes Annotated*, 7, (Chicago, 1916) 95. Per Section 2069, "Preferences to Indians for interpreters: In all cases of the appointments of interpreters or other persons employed for the benefit of the Indians, a preference shall be given to persons of Indian descent, if such can be found, who are properly qualified for the execution of the duties." This section is from Sec. 9, Act of June 30, 1834, 4 Statutes at large, Chapter 162, 737.

60. John Williams and Howard L. Meredith, *Bacone Indian University: A History* (Oklahoma City: Western Heritage Books, 1980), 56.

61. Although he had been teaching and would return to the occupation post graduation, it is interesting to note that Alvin obtained a degree in Social Sciences versus Education Was it due to the feminization of teaching? Possibly the emphasis on 'science' played a role. He ultimately became a school supervisor, so perhaps he had the long-term goal in mind and felt that Social Sciences would better align with administrative positions.

62. Personnel Officer, "Notification of Personnel Action: Warren, Alvin C., Effective Date: 02-28-69," United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., July 14, 1968.

63. Although he claimed that he had initially had no intention of seeking the post, after learning that Edgar B. Meritt, a former Commissioner, whom Collier regarded as "symbolic of all that was evil in Federal Indian policy" was set to be appointed, Collier began a campaign to garner the position for himself. According to Lawrence C. Kelly, Collier actively wooed influential politicians for their support and recommendations to Roosevelt. For more information on the behind the scenes tactics employed by Collier, see Lawrence C. Kelly, "Choosing The New Deal Indian Commissioner: Ickes vs. Collier," *New Mexico Historical Review* 49, no. 4 (Oct 01, 1974): 269-288.

64. Cahill, 257.

65. Whalen, 137.

66. Cahill, 120.

67. Evelyn Warren, "Application for Employment," United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., Mar. 27, 1935.

68. Cahill, 121.

69. There are inconsistencies in records for Alvin's middle name and his status as Evelyn's brother. According to several government records, Alvin was a Jr., and his full name was Alvin Cooper Warren. All personnel records obtained for Alvin that reference a middle initial has "C," including forms with his signature. The half-brother designation is also unconfirmed. Alvin reported his mother's name as "Sadie Warren." Official records list Sarah (aka Sadie) Elizabeth (Fernald) Warren as the birth mother and Alvin C. Warren, Sr. as the father for both Alvin and Evelyn. Both Alvin Sr., and Sarah are listed on the birth certificates for older and younger siblings of the Warren family.

70. Evelyn Warren, “Application for Employment,” United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., Mar. 8, 1938.

71. Evelyn Warren, “Application for Employment,” United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., Mar. 27, 1935.

72. Evelyn Warren, “Application for Employment,” Mar. 27, 1935.

73. Cahill, 121.

74. At the time of her appointment, Warren received the base pay for this position for working 7 hours a day and 39 hours a week and was not entitled to retirement benefits at that time.

75. Cahill, 52.

76. Evelyn Warren, “Application for Employment,” March 8, 1938, and “Qualification Record,” June 23, 1941.

77. “Efficiency Report,” United States Department of the Interior-Office of Indian Affairs.

78. Kathryn Von Hinzmann, “Efficiency Report,” United States Department of the Interior-Office of Indian Affairs, Sept. 20, 1938.

79. Cahill, “Moving in Multiple Worlds Native Indian Service Employees,” 217.

80. Fred H. Massey, Assistant Commissioner, Letter to Evelyn W. Adams, Oct. 30, 1959.

81. Fred H. Massey, Assistant Commissioner, Letter to Evelyn W. Adams, Nov. 10, 1960.

82. Cahill, 212.

83. Whalen, 127. The Los Angeles outing center was closed in 1933 by order of Collier. Collier advocated for closing the center to dissuade Native women in particular from looking for employment outside their reservations through the removal of resources and outing matrons to guide them. In *Federal Fathers & Mothers*, Cahill argues that the shift toward more professional bureaucracy is reflected in the recruiting of Indian Service employees. She delineated the ways in which prospective employees learned about positions into “three rough stages: first, the patronage system, which required having connections; second, the civil service system, which demanded access to information

about and proximity to the exams; and third, active recruiting, in which the Indian Office sought out certain kinds of skilled personnel." In searching for a specific type of employee, Indian Services could create the desired bureaucratic environment. Cahill, 222.

84. Whalen, 123.

85. "Field Service-Regular Rolls," United States Department of the Interior, Sept. 21, 1937.

86. Cahill, *Federal Fathers & Mothers,* 259.

87. "Memorandum to Mr. Crosthwait," Sept. 30, 1937, Personnel File for Evelyn Warren.

88. S.W. Crosthwait, "Memorandum," Nov. 2, 1937, Personnel File for Evelyn Warren.

89. "Memorandum for the Secretary," United States Department of the Interior, Nov. 22, 1937, Personnel File for Evelyn Warren.

90. Evelyn Warren, "Personal History Statement," Dept. of Interior-Indian Field Service, Mar. 8, 1937, Personnel File for Evelyn Warren.

91. "Executive Orders Disposition Tables," National Archives, Aug. 15, 2016, https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/executive-orders/1940.html#page-header.

92. Kathryn Mahn replaced Frances Hall, one of the last Outing Matrons in Los Angeles, after Hall retired. Mahn began her duties after the outing system had ceased, and a formal/detached style of assistance provided. For more information, see Whalen's, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

93. Kathryn Mahn, "Special Data Sheet," June 12, 1940 (emphasis mine). Although OIA forms often referred to a genderless "employee," this form reveals the gendered assumption that the employee is male.

94. Evelyn Warren, "Affidavit as to Marital Status of Applicant and Members of Family in the Government Service of the United States," Nov. 16, 1937.

95. Evelyn Warren, "Oath of Office," March 8, 1938.

96. Evelyn Warren, "Personnel Affidavit, Dept. of the Interior, U.S. Indian Service Placement Office, Oct. 16, 1941.

97. Oscar L. Chapman, Acting Secretary of the Interior, "Affidavit Regarding Strikes Against the U.S. Government," The Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D.C., July 1, 1946.

98. Evelyn Tahsuda, "Affidavit of Non-Affiliation," United States Department of the Interior, July 12, 1946, and July 22, 1947.

99. Warren's parents remained married during this time, but it is unknown whether they lived together after Sarah returned from Los Angeles.

100. Whalen, 128. At the time of Warren's request, significant changes in Indian Services had been taking place. Collier was an advocate for Indian cultures but had argued that in order to retain them, Natives should be "tied to their homelands." He felt that Indians should remain within reservations as a method to avoid being corrupted by the negative impacts of industrial capitalism. So by emphasizing her family ties, Warren was reinforcing the connections to her community.

101. Warren did not specify where her mother was located in her transfer request, though.

102. Evelyn Warren, "Qualification Record," United States Department of the Interior-Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, June 23, 1941.

103. "Transfer and Change in Status," United States Department of the Interior-Division of Personnel Supervision and Management, Washington, D.C., Oct. 27, 1941.

104. "Modification of Transfer and Change in Status," United States Department of the Interior-Division of Personnel Supervision and Management, Washington, D.C., Feb. 14, 1942.

105. Cahill, 131.

106. Cahill, 153.

107. The Personnel department supported OIA and was responsible for hiring, paying, and managing employee records. The Irrigation department's staff provided oversight and technical support to the irrigation projects and irrigation systems.

108. The roads department later became the Department of Transportation. They provided management and oversight of road maintenance and construction programs for the OIA.

109. “Army Man Believed Second Victim of Fire,” *Hobbs Daily News-Sun* (Hobbs, NM), Feb. 3, 1943, 1. “Army Identifies Second Fire Victim as Sgt. Tahsuda,” *Hobbs Daily News-Sun* (Hobbs, NM), Feb. 16, 1943, 1.

110. Cahill, 260-61.

111. Cahill, 7 and 152.

112. Reaffirming the role of the federal government as primary employer for educated Indians, both of Caudell’s brothers began working for the OIA at some point in their careers. In 1968 Caudell reported that Ellis was an Indian Services employee at the Gallup New Mexico Area Office in the Communications branch, and in 1974 Harry retired as a credit officer after ten years of service with Indian Services.

113. H.B. MacNeil, Registrar, University of Hawaii, Letter to John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 8, 1938.

114. (Miss) Cleo Dean Caudell, “Application for Employment,” United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1938.

115. This particular notification was underlined by hand on Caudell’s application, drawing attention to this section. The author providing emphasis is unknown.

116. Evelyn Warren, “Application for Employment,” United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., Mar. 27, 1935.

117. (Miss) Cleo Dean Caudell, “Application for Employment,” United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1938, 2.

118. Cleo Dean Caudell, Sworn Oath, July 16, 1938.

119. A.G. McMillan, *Choctaw Roll, Citizens by Blood*, Dept. of Interior, U.S. Indian Service Office of Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes, Muskogee, OK, July 27, 1937.

120. (Miss) Cleo Dean Caudell, “Application for Employment,” United States Department of the Interior: Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., July 16, 1938.

121. In response to growing numbers of tuberculosis cases in the Choctaw Nation, in 1911, funds were appropriated for the building of a sanitarium. The Choctaw-Chickasaw Tuberculosis Sanatorium opened the following year.

122. Wage Chronology: Federal Employees Under the General Schedule Pay System, July 1924-October 1974: Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 1870, 24.

123. E.J. Skidmore, Acting Assistant to the Commissioner, Memorandum, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, Aug. 8, 1938. Guy W. Numbers, Chief Division of Appointments, Letter to Miss Cleo D. Caudell, United States Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, Washington, Aug. 11, 1938.

124. E.J. Skidmore, Acting Assistant to the Commissioner, Memorandum for the Secretary, Re: Cleo D. Caudell (Indian), U.S. Dept. of Interior, Aug. 9, 1938. This department was responsible for managing Indian chartered corporations or other tribal organizations.

125. The Lurline was half way from Honolulu to San Francisco on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. It was converted into a troop transport and was handed over to the U.S. Maritime Commission on December 11. Matson Navigation Company, Fleet History, World War II, modified Feb. 22, 2014. https://www.matson.com/bos/history_sec0401.shtml. List or Manifest of Outward-Bound Passengers (Aliens and Citizens) for Immigration Officials at Port of Departure, *S.S. Lurline, Passengers Sailing from Honolulu, Hawaii* (August 26, 1938) Bound for Port of Los Angeles Harbor, California. List or Manifest of In-Bound Passengers (Citizens) for Immigration Officials at Port of Arrival, S.S. Lurline, Passengers Sailing from Honolulu, HI, August 26, 1938, Bound for Port of Los Angeles, Harbor, CA.

126. Cleo D. Caudell, "Personal History Statement," Sept. 8, 1938.

127. Cleo D. Caudell, "Oath of Office," Interior, Indian Affairs, Sept. 8, 1938.

128. Cleo D. Caudell, "Personnel Affidavit," Department of the Interim: Indian – Irrigation Div., July 14, 1941.

129. Cleo D. Caudell, "Affidavit of Non-Affiliation," Indian Bureau, Chicago, Illinois, July 12, 1946.

130. "Request for Report on Loyalty: Caudell, Cleo Dean," U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington 25, D.C., Dec. 22, 1947.

131. "Appointment Affidavits," Interior Department, Indian Affairs, Sacramento, CA, Mar. 14, 1949.

132. “Data Sheet – Indian Employees,” U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, Mar. 22, 1939. Memorandum for Div. of Appts., Cleo D. Caudell (Indian), Transfer, Aug. 2, 1939.

133. Notification of Personnel Action, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Miss Cleo D. Caudell, Oct. 28, 1949.

134. “Memorandum for Div. of Appts.,” Transfer, Aug. 2, 1939.

135. “Report of Entrance on Duty,” Cleo D. Caudell, Date of Order: Jan. 29, 1941.

136. “Report of Entrance on Duty,” Cleo D. Caudell, Senior Stenographer, CAF-3, Date of Order: May 31, 1941.

137. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Notice: Caudell, Cleo, Feb. 15, 1942. The Ramspeck Retirement Act. The Ramspeck Act of 1940 (5 U.S.C. 3304(c)) authorized noncompetitive appointments based on service in the legislative and judicial branches for anyone had served at least 3 years as a congressional employee or 4 years as a secretary or law clerk in the judicial branch, who was separated involuntarily and without prejudice, who was appointed within one year from the date of separation, and who met the applicable qualification requirements for the career position.

138. “Change in Status,” Miss Cleo D. Caudell thru Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10-26-42.

139. “Reassignment,” Miss Cleo D. Caudell thru Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 10-25-44.

140. “Personal History and Experience Record,” Caudell, Cleo D., 6-13-46.

141. Cahill, 148.

142. It is unknown if Warren participated in these meetings or showed interest in the causes.

143. Thomas W. Cowger, *The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001).

144. John Fahey, *Saving the Reservation: Joe Garry and the Battle to be Indian* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 15.

145. Cowger, “*The National Congress of American Indians*,” 11.

146. Emphasis mine.

147. "Mission & History," National Congress of American Indians, accessed February 01, 2016, http://www.ncai.org/about-ncai/mission-history.The NCAI continues today to be the "to be the unified voice of tribal nations."

148. McNickle to Phinney (June 11, 1943), Archie Phinney Papers, Pacific Alaska Region, National Archives, box 10.

149. Fahey, *Saving the Reservation,* 12-13. Phinney to McNickle (Nov. 15, 1943), Archie Phinney Papers, Pacific Alaska Region, National Archives, box 10.

150. Fahey, 15.

151. Certification of Completion, Cleo D. Caudell, Job Instruction Training, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, May 2, 1945.

152. Questions regarding health were added to applications in response to the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, giving federal employment preference to "certain classes of persons because of military service." Guy W. Numbers, Acting Director of Personnel, MEMORANDUM for all Employees of the Interior Department, U.S. Dept. of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Sept. 22, 1944.

153. Experience and Qualifications Sheet (Supplementary), C.D. Caudell, Dec. 6, 1950.

154. "Reassignment," Miss Cleo D. Caudell, Aug. 22, 1947.

155. E. V. A. Avery, "The Arlington Experimental Farm of the United States Department of Agriculture: A Handbook of Information for Visitors," (United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 1928. Carl M. Brauer, *The Man Who Built Washington: A Life of John McShain* (Wilmington, Hagley, 1996). Zula Dietrich, *Zula Remembers: South Arlington in Earlier Times* (Fort Valley: Loft Press, Inc., 2005).

156. Notification of Personnel Action, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Miss Cleo D. Caudell, Mar. 3, 1949.

157. "Wood, Walter J. (Cleo D.)," *Sacramento City Directory*, 1961.

158. Cahill, 153.

159. Cahill, 154.

160. “Personal Qualifications Statement,” Cleo D. Wood, Nov. 24, 1968.

161. Employee Record, Wood, Cleo D., Program Officer, Supervisory Training Program, Bureau of Indian Affairs.

162. Group II, Supervisory Training Sessions, Sacramento Are Office, FY-1970. Group II and III Supervisory Training – FY 1971.

163. Notification of Personnel Action, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Wood, Cleo D., Mrs., 1-3-65.

164. “Meeting for Indians of 2 Counties,” *Eureka Times-Standard (Eureka, CA),* Nov. 8, 1968, 10.

165. Charles Hillinger, “Ancestry Checked: 72,772 Apply for Stake in Indian Claim,” *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), Mar 16, 1970, 34-5.

166. Recommendation for Monetary Award, U.S. Department of the Interior, Wood, Cleo D., June 14, 1972.

167. Notification of Personnel Action, Wood, Cleo D. Mrs., Retirement, June 1, 1972.

168. Gourd would go on to work with Caudell in 1944 as one of the twenty-two “prominent Indians” that formed the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI).

169. *Bacone Indian* (Muskogee, OK), Oct. 4, 1929, 1.

170. “Announcements 1939-1940,” *Bacone College Bulletin*: *Annual Catalogue*, *1938-1940*, (Bacone, OK: 1940), 49.

171. *Bacone College Bulletin,* 49.

172. *Bacone College Bulletin*, 16.

173. Williams and Meredith, *Bacone Indian University*, 84.

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Chapter 7: Conclusion

Answering Questions: Finding Native Women in History

"The word 'Indian' means nothing, and is one the most important words in North American history."[1]

During the 1930s, popular views saw women as "potential wives and mothers" and caretakers of citizenship ideals for their communities.[2] Within this framework, supporters of women in academia saw an opportunity to encourage women to attend higher education. With notions of citizenship, a popular and recurring theme of the times, and a desire to keep women from competing with men for jobs during the financial downturn, higher education was a viable avenue for young women. Although federal aid programs existed and numerous schools sought to provide funding, white men were most often the recipients.[3] Regardless of the financial hardship it brought on to many, though, a large number of women sought out higher education.

At this time, the curriculum at many higher education institutions changed to address what they considered the individual needs of the students. Programs expanded with fields such as economics, political science, and journalism becoming popular with women. Vocational fields also grew but were frequently "gender segregated." This curricular expansion "promised new opportunities" for women. Structured under the terms of "responsible citizenship and contributions to society," the attainment of a college degree was more than a stepping stone to future employment, it was a catalyst to the development of women as caretakers.[4] The roles of custodians and bearers of citizenship for their communities, for many Native women, were embedded in their

schooling for years, but access to higher education was something new. As Brenda J. Child argues, "Reformers and educators expected education to transform Indian women's lives, and they expected young girls to shoulder an incredible responsibility." The responsibility was to educate and uplift the Indian "race."[5] While the concepts were not new, by the early twentieth century, higher education for Native women became a possible conduit of transmission for these attributes.

By the 1930s, the number of women in the labor force had "more than doubled since their first mass entry in the 1890s."[6] Scholar Laura Hapke argues that women faced the "dangers of deskilling [and] incursions by jobless male professionals," while receiving less pay for the same work. According to historian T.H. Watkins, more than a quarter of the National Recovery Administration's wage codes set lower wages for women.[7] Hapke found that "Black [and other disenfranchised] laboring women were reduced to the worst of the bad jobs traditionally assigned them."[8] According to a comparative study of 1930 and 1940 occupations, "For many decades, the number of women gainfully occupied between the ages of twenty and sixty-five years has been increasing." The report attributed this rise to "reduced homemaking responsibilities," the "declining birth rate," and an "increase in apartment dwelling," along with the "greater availability of household conveniences."[9] While this is an oversimplification of why more women were working and does not address personal and financial motivations, it does provide insight into some of the perceived conceptions of the reasons women were working during this time.

While more women overall were reported as working, census and other occupational reports for the period failed to delineate counts of Native women. As a report on the economic development of Native Americans stated, there continued to be an "absence of adequate statistical information on the American Indian."[10] The report goes on to lament the millions of dollars spent working in the field of Indian affairs. Nevertheless, it was "literally impossible to obtain *up-to-date* and *accurate* information on such basic questions as employment and unemployment," and "average educational attainment."[11] While accurate numbers are not available, we can safely assume that with the increase in educational achievement by Native women during this time, the number of Native women working also increased in the period of the 1930s, and their reasons likely mirrored white women's. These included financial need, increased independence, lower marriage and birth rates, and an interest in new fields opening in education and the workforce.[12] For some Native women, academic ability to attend higher education was also a contributor.

With rising fascism in Europe, widespread poverty, and environmental destruction occurring countrywide, entertainment was an important distraction for numerous people in the United States at that time. Women readers "flocked to historical escape tales and to the romantic thralldom novel." Perhaps because they "offered versions of the women and work controversy" that "provided timely accounts of shared fears, values, and fantasies."[13] Radio was also a popular media source that included "diverse groups [such] as middle-class whites, blacks, and working-class ethnics" sharing for the first time a "devotion to a set of nationally broadcast radio programs and

advertisements."[14] Soap operas in radio format also emerged in the 1930s. Marilyn Lavin argues that, while the popular programs were avenues for the promotion of merchandise, and they "sold products contributing to social change, they also reinforced traditional expectations about the roles of women as housewives and mothers."[15] As modern women, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy undoubtedly were exposed to, and likely partook in, these forms of entertainment. The values, standards, and goals infused in these mediums, though, were typically targeted to and generally upheld the norms for, white middle-class women. This left Native women to seek out other forms of media if they wished to find representations like themselves.

Movies also served as a medium of escapism for many in the early twentieth century. By the 1930s, film narratives involving Indians shifted from the singular vision of an imagined Wild West of the previous eras to include films that "pondered the possibilities of relationships between Indian men and white women."[16] Although the films evoked the "possibilities of cross-race romance," they "usually reasserted expectations and propriety."[17] For many white audience members, representations of Native men and white women pairings upset the "'natural' dominance of white people over Indians," and were, therefore, less popular.[18] Whereas the white male and Native female, "pairings did not disrupt white notions of power and race," so they were more readily accepted.[19] Films that challenged white expectations, though, were "bypassed by audiences who were not interested in" being confronted with ideas that varied from their own.[20] For Warren, Caudell, and Murphy, these "cross-race" romances were part of their

identities, so these films would be one of the few places they might find representation that, at least in name, looked like them.

Native arts and crafts, and singing and speaking performances provided another form of acceptable entertainment. With cultivated, benign representations of "authentic" Native art made available publicly, consumers could partake without feeling threatened or called into question. As both participants and consumers in various forms of entertainment in the early twentieth century, this created a "struggle waged on the cultural front" for many Indians as these "performances could not be wholly disentangled from the social and political struggles of Indian people."[21] While it is unknown if Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were viewers of popular movies, they did actively participate in Indian performances. Performances that shaped perceptions and perpetuated stereotypes but also opened avenues of access and opportunities. Pathways that notable Native women before them had identified and operated in and utilized to reach larger audiences.

Several prominent Native women used their images and performances as tools of change before Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's time. These women include Ataloa (Chickasaw), Mourning Dove (Interior Salish), Ruth Muskrat Bronson (Cherokee), Te Ata (Chickasaw), and Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Yankton Dakota Sioux).[22] All of these women represented themselves not as simple beings, who could only provide entertainment, but as educated and eloquent speakers, writers, musicians, or performers who could challenge white expectations and in explicitly female ways. As women, they were likely viewed as less intimidating then Native men and would have more access to female-dominated spheres, such as some church organizations and social clubs.

Presenting themselves with an air of sophistication and cosmopolitanism while dressed in pan-Indian costumes allowed the women to undermine common assumptions by white consumers while entertaining them in a non-threatening way. Tapping into Native femininity, these notable Native women opened new paths and created new understandings of options available for Native women to operate in modern society. Through the paths opened by these Native women, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy had a vision of female Nativeness, power, and agency to draw upon and shape their futures from.[23]

Noteworthy Narratives

In 1838, George Washington Trahern (Choctaw), a student at the Choctaw Academy, argued that Indians were "moderns." Historian Christina Synder describes the mid-1800s as a "pivotal era of US imperialism when American attitudes and policies regarding Indians were in flux," and the "federal government's civilization policy sought to pacify Indians through assimilation."[24] She argues that Trahern challenged the victim narrative often cast upon Native peoples during that time. As students, "Native Americans combined knowledge of their tribal histories with what they learned at school—knowledge gleaned from teachers, peers, and expanded access to print media—a powerful alchemy that positioned them to participate in critical debates about colonialism, nationhood, and even the nature of history." Snyder goes on to state, "many Indians positioned themselves as modern." Finding this "far from a straightforward story of alienation," she contends that through engagement with their coursework, Native

students took part in "transatlantic and transhistorical conversations to articulate a more empowering narrative of both American and global history."[25] As Snyder elucidates, early Native students still provide lessons for today. They "encourage us to look beyond the colonial constructions that sought to erase the intellectual histories of indigenous communities, revealing a truer story of plural modernity, interconnected lives, and enduring indigeneity."[26] Looking beyond "colonial constructions," Warren, Caudell, and Murphy represent modern Native women of the early twentieth century. Even if primarily constrained within white expectations, Natives were finally a part of popular culture.[27] Warren, Caudell, and Murphy sought enlightenment and reason in their educational pursuits, they had freedom and autonomy at both Bacone and Redlands, and they formed new identities and practices through their experiences.[28]

In addition to being modern Native women, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy lived noteworthy lives. When they were attending primary and secondary schools, measurable improvements in Native education had not yet been realized. While the education standards and school facilities of the mid to late 1920s were not at the deficient level that previous generations endured, they had not yet risen to the standards of what they would be a decade later. During their formative years, the women operated in a society that openly questioned Natives' ability to learn and reinforced ideas of Indians as foreign Others. They came from dissimilar living environments, and their schooling varied from a public school in an urban area with little to no Native students to an Indian boarding school, and finally, a public school in a rural area with a mix of white and Native students. They each seemed to excel academically during their primary and secondary

years. During the Great Depression, they individually left their communities to attend Bacone College, an Indian only Baptist school in Oklahoma, before transferring to the University of Redlands, a four-year private Baptist university in California. As cosmopolites, they "moved in multiple worlds and their racial identity (those they chose and those that others projected onto them) articulated with other categories in complex ways. They thought of themselves as members of extended families and communities of faith, as coworkers who shared frustrations or friends who celebrated joys and sorrows."[29]

Warren had been living with her family in New Jersey before she moved across the country to attend Bacone in 1931. In 1933, after spending a large portion of her life at Haskell Boarding School in Lawrence, Kansas, Caudell chose to continue her education at Bacone. By the end of 1933, Murphy, who previously attempted to go to a beauty school in Chicago, was a registered student at Bacone. Bacone may have been enticing to Warren and Caudell as securing funding for their schooling may have been easier at that time there than it was at other institutions. The growing interest in Native art and history could have also contributed to the choices made by all three women. According to media studies scholar, Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, "evolutionary theories and racially based notions [also] emerged at the turn of the twentieth century." These "reflected concepts of racial purity and cultural authenticity," both framing and defining Native people making an Indian identity attractive.[30] As an Indian institution that prided itself on its Indianness, Bacone could have been appealing to the women. In this space, they might have found "value" and felt "included in American culture" as Indians.[31]

During this window of time, there were freedoms and opportunities for Indian people that were not there for other historically marginalized groups. Natives had access to the public sphere because they were seen as "assimilate-able." Assimilation, by its definition, is to become part of something, to be included. As a whole, the rhetoric around American Indians most often contained elements of inclusion, even though it was from a colonialist perspective. While many still believed Indians to be "inferior," they argued that through "mingl[ing] their blood," Indians could "make their way up the evolutionary ladder into whiteness." According to Deloria, other groups such as Black Americans, Latino, and Asian people did not have the historical base of inclusionary thought and operated from a different political place. The populations of these groups also were "far more individualized" and did not have the opportunities to work within tribal social structures that connected "land, identity, legal rights, and government visibility." This time also brought ideas of "antimodern romantic primitivism," an interest in the primitive cultures and art forms in twentieth-century popular culture. This interest in perceived authentic displays of Indianness and Native arts made space for Indians to display and acknowledge ancestry in new ways.[32]

With a pipeline and support systems in place, the three women separately transferred from Bacone to the University of Redlands. Warren attended Redlands from 1933-35. From 1935-38, Caudell completed her undergraduate and a year of graduate studies. Murphy completed her two-year stint in 1938. Although they shared some interests, they spent their time at the colleges differently. Warren seemed focused on academics, whereas Caudell was heavily involved with the student newspaper at Bacone

and extracurricular activities that involved demonstrations of her Indianness while at Bacone and Redlands. Murphy's love of music and singing were easily discernible in her activities at both institutions.

The women's diverse experiences also held many commonalities. One, in particular, was their participation in fundraising performances for Bacone, which required them to wear pan-Indian style costumes that did not reflect their specific tribal heritage. Although they otherwise wore the styles of the day, these costumes were used to draw attention to and raise money for the school. Another common thread for the women was their participation in the Cosmopolitan Club at the University of Redlands. Although Bacone alumni may have carved out their own space within the club, it continued the early Baptist ideas of American Indians as foreign Others. By performing and speaking on the ways of the American Indian as part of this organization, the women would ultimately reinforce differences across groups. While meeting and even exceeding expectations for white women in their own lives, these displays often served to reinforce their Otherness. Hence, while they attained academic credentials on par with their white peers, they were most often publicly acknowledged for their Nativeness. Their Native identities also played a significant role in their careers.

All three graduated with Associate's and Bachelor's Degrees and ultimately went to work for Indian Affairs. Perhaps they were not aware of it, but a career with the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) had been mapped out for them within their educational journeys. Indian schools, including Haskell and Bacone, were explicit in their messages regarding the OIA. In the early twentieth century, OIA officers were interacting directly with Indian

schools to create pathways for graduates to work for them, and the OIA also began to actively advertise its positions for Indians in urban areas to recruit those that were not attending federal Indian schools. Implicit messages about what careers Native students could attain also often pointed to Indian Services.

When Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were in college, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Director of Indian Education both saw post-secondary Native students as perfect candidates for careers at the OIA. They openly stated that besides vocational training, they had doubts that most Native students could even complete higher education. For those Native students that did finish higher education, the view was that a job in OIA would provide them with the best chance for success. Seeing the potential of a conduit with Indian schools, programs were created to track students for positions at the OIA. Bacone even worked with Indian Office on a new federal program producing teachers for new schools built in rural Indian communities. Following the trajectories laid before them, both Warren and Caudell submitted applications and hired with the OIA before finishing their college tenures. Murphy returned to Bacone to teach for two years before marrying. The day after her wedding ceremony, Murphy applied to Indian Services to work with her husband at an Indian Day School.

Although scientifically trained for professional levels positions, initially, Warren and Caudell were relegated to assistant level jobs. While Murphy had a four-year degree in education, a teaching certificate, and teaching experience, she was hired as a housekeeper to support her husband, the school's primary teacher. Through their

individual efforts, though, all three were eventually promoted and attained higher status jobs.

In their careers, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy each held different positions, but all were expected to act in maternal ways and as cultural brokers with Native communities. In their clerical positions, Warren and Caudell would interact with groups to provide information, job placement, and other services related to the OIA. Murphy's role held even higher expectations for motherhood. As her husband's assistant, a significant element of her job was to represent the idealized Anglo-American wife and act as mother to the children and Native community. Evaluations and letters of commendation would reflect the expectancies of this idealized maternal figure. Through documented acts of kindness, generosity, or being able to control a classroom, the women reinforced the OIA's ideas about how Native women should behave.

Despite the limitations that existed for many Native students at the time, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy were able to take advantage of opportunities that opened up for them. According to the typical educational experiences of most Indians during the early twentieth century, their primary and secondary schooling would not have adequately prepared them for college yet, they each applied for and were admitted to Bacone College and later the University of Redlands. Through public interest, funding became available for college, but this interest called for a one-dimensional, stereotypical portrayal of Indianness, one that countered their everyday appearance. During a limited window of opportunity, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy navigated these challenges in ways that both met and defied white expectations for Native women at the time.

In examining Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's histories, we learn in what ways Native women became active participants in higher education in the early twentieth century. These stories also provide a glimpse into how American Indian women could both meet and challenge white expectations for Natives during that time. Lastly, Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's narratives provide evidence of a cohort of college-educated Native women that existed in the 1930s and encourages us to learn more about them and the other Native women who attended higher education in the everyday and exceptional world of the United States in the early twentieth century.

Adding these previously unacknowledged narratives to the historiography on American Indian education, possibilities for future research open up. Through uncovering details about Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's lives, the existing narrative around American Indian women's education becomes more complicated and nuanced, generating new conversations surrounding women's education. There are few works about American Indian women's education, and none has explicitly looked at the relationship between secondary education and university attendance. No in-depth investigation of the specific sites and time frames of this study are locatable, and the field of literature on the diverse female student population of the 1930s remains narrow. The specific site and time frame of this study have not been analyzed, and the field of literature on the diverse female student population of the 1930s remains narrow.

By pushing the existing boundaries of knowledge, more questions arise. Who are some of the other Native women who attended college in the early twentieth century? What types of institutions did they attend? How did they get there? What were their

experiences like? What are the similarities and differences across these women and Warren, Caudell, and Murphy? By bringing forth narratives that were previously left unshared, possibilities open for other scholars to gain a new understanding of; the development of educational processes for American Indian women, how these experiences shaped identities, and how those processes and experiences may continue to impact students today.

Examining the origin and development of formal education for American Indian women also allows for consideration of the ongoing issues for Native populations, including the "highest dropout rates at all educational levels … of the least represented population in higher education."[33] As sociologist Roy Nash explains, "groups are understood to possess bundles of real and symbolic resources and to pursue active strategies to facilitate the intergenerational transmission of physical and symbolic property."[34] Nash goes on to argue that schools have become the "most important agency for the reproduction of almost all social classes."[35] This is particularly relevant for the history of Native schooling as classrooms were the primary site of the forced implementation of white culture and often involved trauma for the students. This damage has been carried forward through generations and reproduced in various ways, including high drop out numbers and low college attendance.

In addition to increasing understanding, forming a shared awareness of the past and the intergenerational harm done to American Indian women through educational venues can foster healing. According to historian Margaret Connell Szasz, with a multitude of tribes spread across the nation that often spoke languages that differed from

one another and who do not regularly interact, if at all, a collective understanding of a shared past remained nonexistent for many years. Szasz states that it was not until the early twentieth century that American Indians began to unite for the causes of education and battling the dubious stereotypes that ran rampant in the larger society.[36] Although Indian educational programs were opened to new paths through acts of "self-determination" by native leadership, Szasz finds that battles are ongoing.[37] Szasz argues that, due to the "vastness and the variety of Indian education," the strength of the group is essential to pursue the needs of the individual tribes.[38] In reflecting on the history of Anglo-American education and American Indians, the intergenerational trauma experienced by Native women become unveiled so communities can heal, and the powers of Native women are made present. There is much to be learned from Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's experiences, but there is considerable work yet to be done and many stories yet to be told.



Figure 7.1. From left: Cleo Caudell, UR, 1937, and Haskell Institute, 1930.
Evelyn Warren, Haddon Heights High School, 1930, and UR, 1935.
Ruth Murphy, Drumright High School, 1928, and UR, 1938.

The ways in which Warren, Caudell, and Murphy retained and celebrated their Native identities are as unique as the three women themselves. Warren, who seems the most disconnected from her tribal cultural origins, created (and possibly reconnected with), a Native identity for herself through her cultural performances and by creating ties to other tribes through friendships and marriages. Caudell, who appears to have had a stronger sense of rootedness in Choctaw society and culture, embarked on the career that most seems to conform to the ideas that shaped non-Native women's careers such as delaying marriage, not having children, putting one's energy into one's career, which in

her case, meant becoming a spokesperson, a public face of the Office of Indian Affairs, the branch of the Federal government that most said "Native!" to Americans of all races and nationalities. Murphy is an interesting comparison to both Warren and Caudell. She was a typical female OIA employee who married a male OIA employee and followed her husband from posting to posting, modeling the Anglo-American gender roles that OIA employees were supposed to be instilling into Native youth. At the same time, she and her husband were Natives themselves, and what complex messages about retaining one's heritage might they have conveyed?[39] The histories of Warren, Caudell, and Murphy bring new narratives and contribute to our understanding of the past. Additionally, they build on the growing historiography on American Indian education and highlight the possibilities for future research. By shedding light on Warren, Caudell, and Murphy's educational experiences, both past and future outcomes for other Native women may become more explicable. As I, and others, build upon this work, more Native women can begin to understand their educational past and possibly re-imagine their future.

Warren post-script

Throughout her life, Warren moved within Native circles in various ways. She worked with Native people in her jobs at the OIA and interacted with various Native communities within the scope of these jobs. Warren met and married Teddy Tahsuda (Comanche), who died less than a year after the wedding. Later she married Francis Adams (Sisseton Sioux), who also worked for Indian Services. It was these personal relations that supported and reaffirmed her identity as Indian. When race was noted,

except at Bacone and the OIA, Warren was categorized as white. In 1940, while working at the OIA, Warren and her mother, who was living in Los Angeles at the time, were again marked as white in the census.[40] Although Warren had been identified as "Indian" for at least her college and Indian Service employment records, on her death certificate, "Caucasian" was given as her race. Her younger sister Dorothy was the informant, but it is unknown where the classification originated. Did Dorothy offer this? It seems unlikely, as Dorothy was the informant for both of their parents when they died, and their race delineated as "Colored" and "Negro."[41] Did the hospital base it on her appearance? If so, what was it about Warren that read as white? If the hospital had a copy of her birth certificate on file, would they have put Black? On the birth certificate, both her parent's race was "Col'd," so it seems unlikely that they had this information.[42]

Throughout her lifetime, Warren navigated expectations for women in unexpected ways. She did not fit neatly into racial or gendered classifications. Official records recorded a multitude of racial categories for her over her lifespan. Although she self-identified as Chippewa, she had been called upon several times to verify her "Indianness." She repeatedly provided information to reinforce her Chippewa identity, had others willing to certify to her status, and she worked in an Indian funded position for the federal government for over thirty-three years. She also seems to have strategically used her Nativeness for promotional opportunities. She professed to speak Chippewa and interacted with other Native communities regularly through her work. She married men from two different Native tribes but did not stop working as many women were expected to do. She made allies within Indian Services and was promoted regularly throughout her

career, retiring at the top of her pay scale. Warren could act, work, and be an Indian in many respects but yet would still be identified as something else on her death. Regardless of her multiple racial classifications, Warren accomplished remarkable things for any woman during the early twentieth century. She was an excellent student, moved across the county by herself at the age of seventeen, graduated from two different colleges, found employment during the Great Depression when jobs were scarce, moved through the ranks of the Office of Indian Services, and ultimately retired after spending half her in the service of Natives. Regardless of the discrepancies about Warren and her race, she lived and excelled as a Native woman, and that is how she will be remembered.

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