

A Legacy of Education:

The History of the Cherokee Seminaries

*By Brad Agnew**

Nestled in the foothills of the Ozarks stands Seminary Hall, a stately old building that dominates the campus of Northeastern State University. Still in use, the historic hall is more than just a landmark or school building—it is a physical link between the past and present, a connecting tissue that binds an educational institution preparing students for the 21st century with the seminary that trained young Cherokee women in the genteel arts of the Victorian era. This legacy of education began almost 150 years ago, nurtured deep in the proud history of the Cherokee Nation.

Despite the dislocation of forced removal from their Southern homelands and the tragedy of the Trail of Tears, the Cherokees who assembled in Tahlequah in 1839 to reestablish tribal government recognized the value of education. The constitution they drafted proclaimed that “schools, and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged in this Nation.”¹ Within four years a system of public schools functioned throughout the Cherokee Nation, and by 1846 the tribal government had authorized the construction of a male and female seminary.² Today, the term seminary usually refers to an institution of religious instruction, but in the 19th century many seminaries offered a four-year high school curriculum.

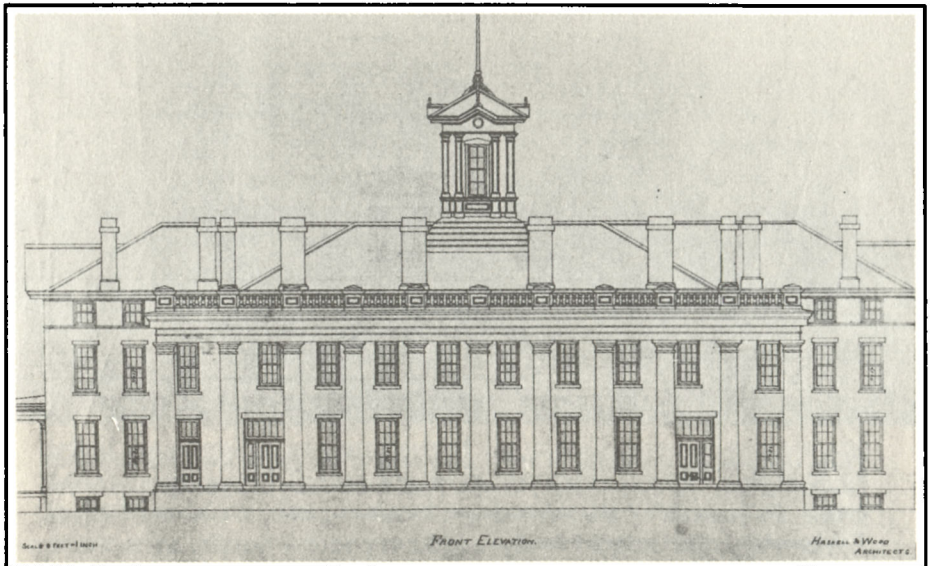


These students, photographed in 1907, were some of the last to wear mortarboards labelled "CNFS," for the Cherokee National Female Seminary (All photographs in this article are courtesy of the Northeastern Oklahoma State University Library, Tahlequah).

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

On June 21, 1847, Cherokee Chief John Ross laid the cornerstone of the Female Seminary at Park Hill. Construction of the school for young men, located a mile and one-half southwest of Tahlequah, began at about the same time. Work proceeded slowly, and it was not until May 7, 1851, that dedication ceremonies marked the opening of the Female Seminary. (That date is still celebrated on the campus of Northeastern State University by the homecoming of Seminary graduates.) The Male Seminary was dedicated a day earlier. The schools, each constructed at a cost of \$60,000, were the first large buildings in Indian Territory. Both were three-story structures, 185-by-109 feet with verandas supported by Doric columns.³

The year before the Female Seminary admitted its first class, Cherokee representatives visited Mount Holyoke in South Hadley, Massachusetts, seeking teachers for their new school. Ellen Whitmore, a 22-year-old native of Massachusetts, was selected as the first principal teacher of the Female Seminary; Sarah Worcester, daughter of the famous missionary to the Cherokees, Samuel A. Worcester, was appointed as her assistant teacher. The young women spent six weeks travelling to Park Hill from Massachusetts. Miss Whitmore's first impression of the new seminary is recorded in her journal: "I can see the building from the piazza of this house. . . . It is a beautiful brick building with pillars on three sides of it and presents a fine appearance from here."⁴





These architect's drawings (opposite page) were used for both of the Cherokee seminaries. When opened in 1851, the Female Seminary's first principal teacher was Ellen R. Whitmore (above), and one of her teachers was Sarah Worcester (right), daughter of Samuel Worcester, a missionary to the Cherokees.

Admission standards for students required proficiency in reading, spelling, English, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. A monthly fee of five dollars for boarding students included lodging and meals as well as textbooks, supplies, and laundry. The tribal council authorized the admission of twenty-five students to the first session at the Female Seminary which began on May 12, 1851.⁵ Neither the Mount Holyoke regimen nor the demanding curriculum could totally suppress the youthful mischievousness of the students. Two young ladies decided to initiate their "greenhorn" principal by dressing up as wild Indians. Miss Whitmore commented that they "succeeded very well in carrying out their farce."⁶ Although the two girls did not realize it, they had established a precedent for pranks that would continue into the 20th century.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA



In 1902 these Male Seminary students posed in front of their building, which looked much as it had been built according to the plans pictured on the previous page.

Unfortunately, no detailed account of the activities of the first year have been found, but a few of Miss Whitmore's letters are in the archives of the Cherokee National Historical Society at Tsa La Gi, located south of Tahlequah. In October, shortly after the beginning of the second term, she wrote: "It is now a week since the new term commenced and as yet there are only half my number here[;] this is very annoying indeed. . . . Two of my loveliest girls are not coming back at all—and one little miss about fifteen thought being at boarding school three months was quite sufficient . . . and is married. She will regret the foolish step one of these days."⁷

A month later she informed a friend in Massachusetts that the school had twenty-five boarding students and four day scholars. That

number would be doubled at the beginning of the next term. "But," she added, "unless the Directors are more active in making arrangements to procure furniture for them—they cannot come—I make no pretensions to any great energy, . . . but I should like to push some of these big lazy men a little."⁸ Apparently Miss Whitmore did obtain the necessary furniture from the directors, for on May 15, 1852, she received instructions to admit twenty-five more boarding students and another day scholar for the next school year.⁹

At the end of her first year as principal, Miss Whitmore resigned her position to marry Warren Goodale, a young man from Massachusetts who would take his new bride to Hawaii, where they would serve as missionaries. Before leaving Park Hill, Miss Whitmore assisted in the selection of her successor. In describing the position she wrote: "The station is, I think a desirable one in every respect. The salary is large, being eight hundred dollars a year—the school is pleasant—the country delightful—the society of the neighborhood of a superior order, and the religious privileges *good*."¹⁰

While the records are scanty, at least two other young women from Mount Holyoke served as principal teacher at the school before the Civil War. The letters and diaries from this period provide few glimpses of the extra-curricular life at the seminary, but the occasional visits of Chief John Ross to attend Sunday services made a lasting impression on the students. Rachel Eaton described the chief's arrival in her biography of Ross: the "bright eyed Indian girls filled every available window and doorway to view . . . the courtly chief . . . conduct the first lady of their land, arrayed in rich silks and real lace, into the seminary chapel."¹¹

Three years after the Female Seminary opened, its teachers reported to George Butler, the Cherokee agent: "The seminary is at present in a flourishing condition. . . . The pupils are permitted to enter at the age of *fourteen*, if they have reached the required standard; and are expected to remain through a four years' course. During the last session there were *sixty* pupils in attendance, under the supervision of *three* teachers."¹²

Fewer accounts remain of the early years of the Male Seminary, but its curriculum stressing ancient and modern language, higher mathematics, and science was more rigorous than its female counterpart. The "Daily Programme" of the pre-Civil War period indicates that the students' time was strictly structured.¹³

At the end of the winter term of 1855, twelve men and twelve women completed the courses of study at the seminaries.¹⁴ They were

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

the first of hundreds who would be graduated over the next half-century. Like their counterparts in schools across the nation, the young scholars scattered after graduation. Within a few years they could be found from the gold fields of California to the universities of New England and beyond. But many would return to their local communities to become the teachers, merchants, professionals, and before long, the leaders of the Cherokee Nation.

One member of the first Male Seminary graduating class was Joel B. Mayes, who would become principal chief of the tribe in 1887. Eliza Bushyhead, better known to her guests in the National Hotel and her friends in Tahlequah as Aunt Eliza, was a member of the second graduating class of the Female Seminary. Perhaps no one exemplifies the high standards set by the seminaries better than this compassionate, generous woman whose life began in 1839 on the Trail of Tears and ended eighty years later in the state of Oklahoma.¹⁵

Bringing knowledge to the frontier was neither easy nor inexpensive. Many of the teachers employed by the Cherokees travelled 2,000 miles to their classrooms. Sending a child away to high school was a financial hardship for most citizens of the tribe; and even getting textbooks proved difficult in 1855 when low water in the Arkansas River delayed a shipment for ten months. But the greatest challenge faced by the tribe was economic. In 1854 drought and poor harvests caused the nation's debt to soar. Within two years the Cherokee school funds were exhausted and neither seminary was able to open for the fall semester of 1856. Chief John Ross urged the national government to look to alternative methods of financing to fund the seminaries.¹⁶

In all probability, the economic problems of the mid-1850s could have been resolved within a few years had not the tribe become embroiled in the sectional controversy that split the United States. The Cherokees suffered in double measure during the 1860s. Not only were they drawn into the white man's Civil War, but they also were plunged into one of their own. These were years of vengeance and destruction when little thought or effort could be spared for education.

During the Civil War the opposing armies found a number of non-educational uses for the seminaries. Rooms housed both military balls and army provisions. The Male Seminary was even used as a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers. The libraries in both buildings were destroyed and the furnishings removed. In 1863, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported that the schools were "a general

A LEGACY OF EDUCATION



Miss Florence Wilson (right) was principal teacher at the Female Seminary for almost a quarter century. Among her wards were these members of the Minervian Society, seen on an outing in 1889.



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

wreck." By the end of the war the floor of the large classroom in the Female Seminary had collapsed from the weight of army stockpiles.¹⁷

The physical and emotional scars of war healed slowly, and it was not until the 1870s that tribal leaders found the resources to reopen the seminaries. Although Cherokee Chief Lewis Downing approved legislation in 1869 which appropriated \$3,200 to restore the seminaries, the schools remained closed. When the dispirited leaders of the tribe were asked why, they replied: "We expect to have our lands taken away; and what's the use of all that, when our doom as a nation is sealed?" Ultimately, however, both schools did reopen; the Female in 1871 and the Male in 1875.¹⁸ Rapid turnover in faculty and principals in this period may have been a reflection of the unsettled economic and political conditions that pervaded the Cherokee Nation.

A measure of stability had been achieved by the time Miss A. Florence Wilson of Arkansas joined the faculty of the Female Seminary in 1875. In her tailored black dress with her hair pulled back severely and secured in a bun, she ruled the Seminary with the discipline of a Prussian drill sergeant. Two of Miss Wilson's former students recalled fifty years later that: "They were a little afraid of her; on second thought . . . they were definitely afraid of her." Only years later when they could view their former teacher and principal from the vantage point of maturity did they realize that her austere facade concealed "a friend and teacher."¹⁹

Despite the passage of twenty years, the curriculum at the reopened seminary was similar to the one established by Miss Whitmore in 1851. Students and teachers resumed the Mount Holyoke regimen as the influence of the Victorian era reached Indian Territory. It is doubtful that the English Queen herself could have imbued Victorian morality any more effectively than did Miss Wilson. Students allowed to walk to a nearby spring were admonished: "Now if you see a man or boy, run home. No breath of scandal must touch her girls." Seminary girls were never permitted to go to town without a chaperon, and at the monthly receptions to which the faculty and students of the Male Seminary were invited, straying into dark corners and strolling on the lawn were strictly prohibited.²⁰

The multitude of rules that governed life at the Female Seminary was enforced by a demerit system. Even one demerit earned in the course of a week would preclude a girl's leaving the seminary grounds on Saturday. Such punishment was severe, for in the words of one former student: "And oh! the Saturdays when it was our turn to join

the happy group going to town. Seated on wooden chairs in the Seminary farm wagon, . . . we did not envy Cinderella and her coach of four. No limousine of today ever brought the exciting joy of that trip to town, where Male Seminary boys were in evidence everywhere."²¹

To this day the former seminarians recall the rigorous enforcement of the school's rules. One seminary student remembered the time two of her classmates sneaked out in the school's pasture to meet some boys. "Somboidy saw them; somebody reported it that night, and they suspended them next morning, by eight o'clock."²²

Even the demerit system and fear of missing a Saturday in Tablequah were insufficient to repress all unauthorized activities. One spring in wild onion season five or six young ladies simply could not resist the mouth-watering temptation of the ultimate Cherokee delicacy, wild onions and eggs. The ever vigilant Miss Wilson literally caught wind of the plot, sniffed out the culprits, and sent them scurrying to their rooms without even a taste of the onions and eggs that had cost them five demerits apiece.²³

Miss Wilson insured that life at the seminary was orderly. One ritual strictly enforced by the principal was the administration of the daily dose of sulphur and molasses to insure the good health of the girls. Another tradition scrupulously observed by Miss Wilson was the walk each afternoon. These outings were mandatory and roll was taken at the destination. Introduced by Ellen Whitmore as part of the Mount Holyoke method, the three-mile walks began at 4:15 in the afternoon with the students lined up in a column of twos. The routes varied, but the girls preferred walking through town where they might get a glimpse of the boys from the Male Seminary.²⁴

On the seminary grounds the girls wore print dresses; but when they left campus, the proper attire was blue serge suit with middy, black tie, and mortar board cap.²⁵ Proper young ladies in Victorian America did not wear trousers, and Miss Wilson saw to it that her students were correctly attired at all times. In plays and skits presented at the seminary it was permissible for girls to appear in male roles, and their costumes could even include a man's coat, hat, and cane. Still, all "men" in these performances wore skirts.²⁶

Although Miss Wilson saw nothing wrong with dancing, provided it was done "under proper supervision," she bowed to the wishes of the ministers of the community and banned dancing at the Female Seminary. She did, however, permit "rhythmic exercises" in which the girls cavorted to popular melodies reciting appropriate educational lyrics. While teaching her students waltz steps to be used in a semi-

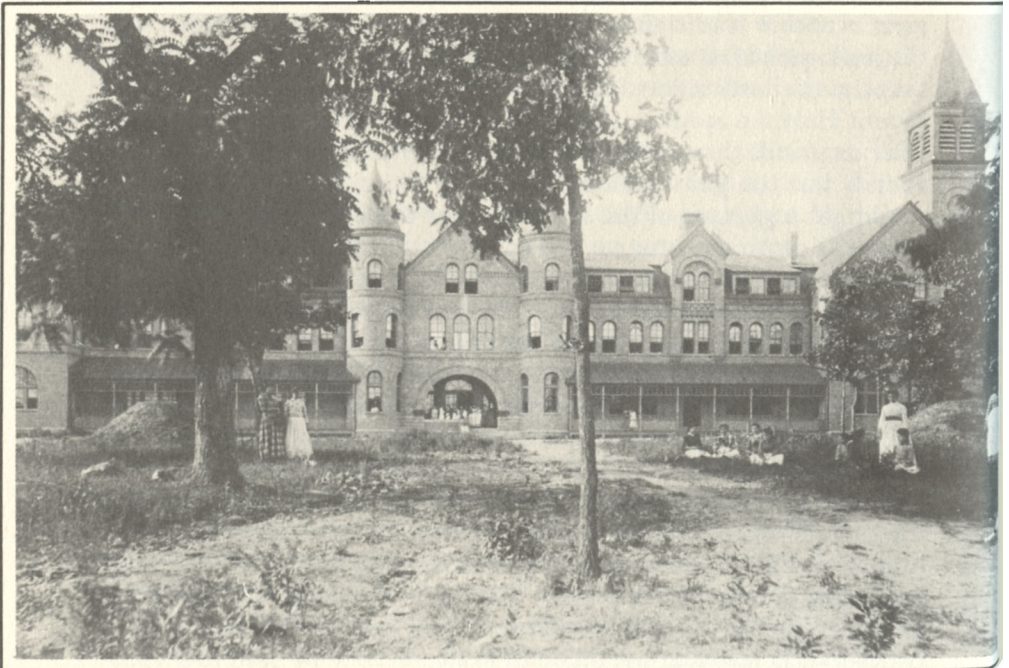
THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

nary program, the physical culture teacher cautioned: "Girls, be sure to tell everyone this is not dancing, just rhythmic 'exercises.'" Apparently the rhythmic exercises did not offend the school board for Miss Wilson was rehired year after year.²⁷

In the mid 1870s, the improving financial condition of the Cherokees enabled school officials to renovate facilities and hire additional teachers for both seminaries. Few neighboring states could equal the quality of the teachers who served at the Cherokee Seminaries. Most had been trained in outstanding Eastern schools. In fact, one Oklahoma historian had asserted that "the Cherokee Nation had a better common school system than either Arkansas or Missouri."²⁸

In these years many of the brightest young people from the Cherokee Nation passed through the halls of the institutions at Park Hill and Tahlequah. Unfortunately, the familiar academic routine that evolved during the 1870s and 1880s came to an abrupt end on Easter Sunday, April 10, 1887, when the students at the Female Academy

The second Cherokee Female Seminary building (below) shortly after its construction in 1889. Members of the class of 1903 pose in front of the main entrance (opposite page).





smelled smoke. By the time Miss Wilson was informed flames were already coming through the foundation. The fire spread so rapidly that there was time to do little more than evacuate the girls.²⁹

Students from the Male Seminary and residents of Tahlequah rushed to Park Hill, but by the time they arrived the building had been consumed by the flames. Most of the girls and teachers lost all of their possessions, but miraculously, no lives had been lost although Miss Wilson risked hers to save the leather-bound record book of the school.³⁰

A special session of the Cherokee National Council appropriated \$60,000 to build a new Female Seminary. The declining importance of Park Hill and its remoteness prompted the citizens of Tahlequah to offer a 40-acre site just north of town for the construction of the new building. The National Council accepted the offer, and work began on November 3, 1887. One of the major considerations in the selection of this site was its proximity to a large spring which would insure an adequate water supply.³¹

Most building materials were obtained locally; bricks were fired on the site, and timber and stone were sawed or quarried nearby. The work proceeded rapidly, and on August 26, 1889, over 200 girls

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

started class in the new building. Lack of accommodations forced the Board of Education to turn away many other applicants.³²

Miss Wilson resumed her duties as principal and insured that the Mount Holyoke tradition was faithfully transferred from Park Hill to Tahlequah. Another generation of Cherokee girls could look forward to rigorous instruction, afternoon walks, and sulphur and molasses.

In recognition of her long years of faithful service to education in the Cherokee Nation, the National Council unanimously passed a resolution in 1900 making Miss Wilson principal teacher for life. The resolution and several other bills submitted by the tribe for approval were rejected by President William McKinley. The veto was not a reflection on the ability of Miss Wilson, but part of federal efforts to reduce tribal authority and pave the way for statehood. The July 13, 1901 edition of the *Tahlequah Arrow* reported: "It is understood that in view of the fact the President refused to approve the bill appointing her for life that at the close of school this year she [Miss Wilson] departed without applying for her same position."³³

With the departure of Miss Wilson and the opening of a new century, the school entered its final decade as the Cherokee Female Seminary. Mrs. Charlotte Mayes Sanders, who enrolled in the sixth grade at the seminary in 1906, arrived in Tahlequah by train from Pryor and was picked up at the depot by the school's wagonette. Seventy-four years later she recalled: "We got to the seminary; it was about one o'clock on Sunday afternoon and [we] went in to eat. They had saved the dinner meal for us, . . . and oh mercy, that was the first thing. It wasn't what I'd been having at home."³⁴

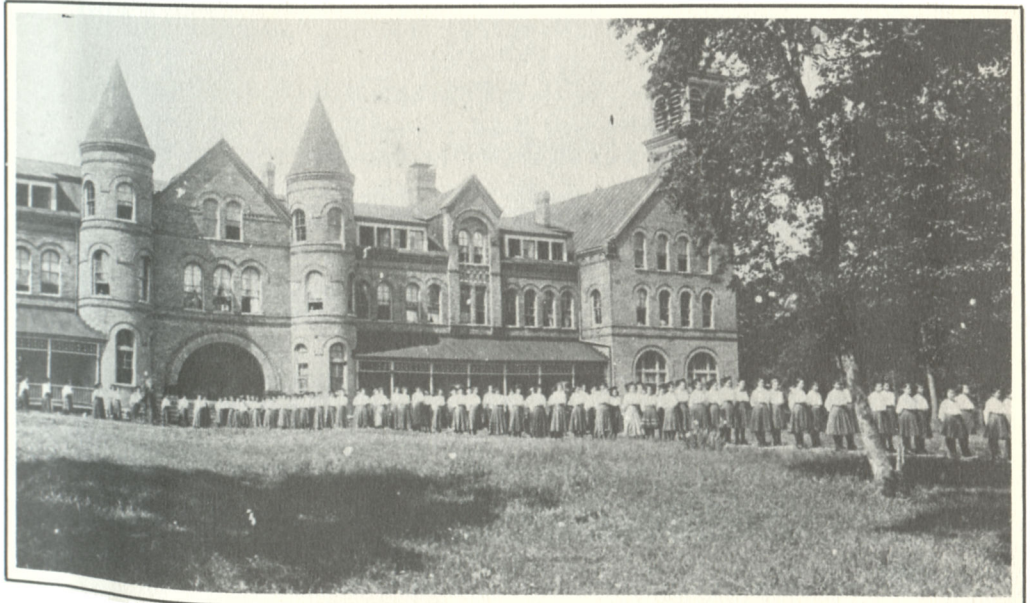
While Mrs. Sanders did prefer home cooking, she quickly adjusted to the routine at the seminary. The day began at 6 a.m. Breakfast was followed by room inspection at 8 o'clock; classes began at 9 a.m.; and each morning there was an assembly in the chapel where the students or teachers would perform or recite. After a break for dinner, classes continued until time for the daily walk. Mrs. Sanders particularly recalled the extracurricular activities at the school: "We gave lots of plays . . . many of them Shakespearean plays, no comic, and we had every Saturday night . . . in the library. The girls danced just among themselves, . . . but every autumn one Saturday the boys would come over and drill for us."³⁵

Mr. Jack Brown of Tahlequah, a student and later a teacher at the Male Seminary, also remembered military training and drilling for the young ladies: "When I went there, . . . the first uniform was Confederate, their colors and all, and the second uniform was West

A LEGACY OF EDUCATION



Activities at the Female Seminary included parades through the streets of Tahlequah (top), dramatic skits on stage (right), and daily walks through the countryside (below).



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA



Citizens of the Cherokee Nation enjoyed one of the most progressive education systems in the country. Seen here are the 1897 Male Seminary football team (above) and students of the Female Seminary in 1908 (opposite page).

Point.” On special occasions the boys were allowed to visit the girls at the Female Seminary, but to their chagrin Miss Wilson’s strict rules of conduct remained in force even though she was gone.³⁶

Both Charlotte Sanders and Jack Brown have vivid recollections of April Fools’ Day activities. Mrs. Sanders could never forget the time the high school girls tied up all the teachers and locked the principal in her room until noon. She also recalled that the girls “really did get paid for it.” The boys were not to be outdone. Brown still chuckles when he thinks back to 1901. “In April . . . they pulled the awfulest prank that was ever made. . . . They tied up the teachers and employees . . . they got the superintendent’s bird dog and ran him up and down the hall. . . . It was April Fools.”³⁷

Although the pranksters did not realize it, only a few more April Fools’ Days would be celebrated at the Cherokee Seminaries, for the proponents of statehood would soon persuade officials in Washington to abolish tribal government and unite the twin territories into the single state of Oklahoma. Charlotte Sanders reflected the attitude of many Indians: “The Cherokees didn’t want that; they didn’t want

A LEGACY OF EDUCATION

statehood; they wanted to keep it like it was. . . . My father was very upset about it.”³⁸

Nonetheless, in 1907 Oklahoma did enter the Union as the 46th state. Both seminaries continued to operate, but with the dissolution of tribal government, it was apparent their days were numbered. The state’s first governor, Charles N. Haskell, had close associations with the Cherokees and urged the legislature to locate a state normal school in the former capital city of the tribe. Following his suggestion, in 1909, the second legislature appropriated \$45,000 for the purchase of the Female Seminary and its 40-acre campus.³⁹

On Thursday, May 27, 1909, the final commencement exercises were conducted at the Female Seminary. It was a melancholy ceremony marking the passage not only of a school but also of a way of life. A few years earlier Mrs. R. L. Fite, a graduate of the class of 1880, expressed the feeling of most of the seminarians. She wrote: “The sun has set forever on the Cherokee National Female Seminary.”⁴⁰

In September the Male Seminary reopened as a coeducational institution, and the young women and men began the final year of education at a Cherokee seminary. The adjustment to coeducation proceeded smoothly, and the students were looking forward to Easter Sunday when disaster struck. Jack Brown recalled: “The building



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA



The last class of the Cherokee Seminary posed in the ruins of the Male Seminary building, which burned on Palm Sunday, 1910.

was set on fire by some of the boys that had demerits and hid up in the attic near the copula where they had been repairing . . . two by fours of lumber and dropped the shavings on the floor, and they were smoking cigarettes up there. That's how it caught afire."⁴¹

Charlotte Sanders was attending church services in Tahlequah Palm Sunday of 1910 when someone yelled that the Male Seminary was on fire. She and most of the congregation raced to the scene, but it was already too late. New dresses and suits hanging in the students' rooms for Easter Sunday burned with the building, but no lives were lost.⁴²

The flames that consumed the Male Seminary ended a remarkable chapter in Cherokee history. The members of the class of 1910 who were graduated in ceremonies conducted at the new Normal School in Tahlequah were the last to receive diplomas from the seminaries.⁴³ But many Cherokees were among the first to earn teaching credentials from Northeastern Normal. The educational legacy of the Cherokees still thrives on the campus of Northeastern State University where students study in classrooms used almost a century ago by the young women of the Cherokee Female Seminary.

ENDNOTES

* Brad Agnew holds the Ph.D. in History from the University of Oklahoma. He currently is a Professor of History at Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah.

¹ *The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation: Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, 1839-51* (Tahlequah, C.N.: Cherokee Nation, 1852), p. 15.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians and Their Legends and Folk Lore* (Oklahoma City: The Warden Company, 1921), p. 226.

³ *Ibid.*, 231; *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), June 22, 1887, p. 2; Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), p. 243.

⁴ Lola Garrett Bowers and Kathleen Garrett, eds. *The Journal of Ellen Whitmore* (Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Northeastern State College, 1953), pp. 7-11, 19; Althea Bass, *A Cherokee Daughter of Mount Holyoke* (Muscatine, Iowa: The Prairie Press, 1937), pp. 13-15.

⁵ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, 231; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, Oklahoma: The Star Printery, Inc. 1948), pp. 79-80.

⁶ Bowers and Garrett, *The Journal of Ellen Whitmore*, p. 20; Ellen [Whitmore] to Mrs. Goodale, October 8, 1851, Ellen Whitmore Letters, Archives, Cherokee National Historical Society, Park Hill, Oklahoma.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Ellen [Whitmore] to Mrs. Goodale, November 21 [1851], *ibid.*

⁹ James M. Payne to E. R. Whitmore, March 15, 1852, *ibid.*

¹⁰ Bowers and Garrett, *The Journal of Ellen Whitmore*, pp. 23, 27-28.

¹¹ C. Foreman, *Park Hill*, p. 94; Elzie Ronald Caywood, "The History of Northeastern State College" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1950), p. 37; Rachel Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menash, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1914), p. 170.

¹² Pauline Avery, Charlotte E. Raymond, and E. Jane Ross to George Butler, September 8, 1854, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1854* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1855), pp. 123-24.

¹³ F. S. Lyon to George Butler, September 5, 1854, *ibid.*, 122-23; Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 232

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

¹⁵ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Aunt Eliza of Tahlequah," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, IX (March 1931), pp. 43-55.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

¹⁶ Caywood, "The History of Northeastern State College," pp. 40–41; H. D. Reese to George Butler, August 10, 1855, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1855* (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1856), pp. 131–32; Message of Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation to the National Committee and Council in General Council Convened, October 5, 1857, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1857* (Washington: William A. Harris, 1858), pp. 219–20; George Butler to Elias Rector, September 8, 1857, *Ibid.*, pp. 211–12.

¹⁷ J. Harlan to Colonel William G. Coffin, September 2, 1863, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1863* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), pp. 179–81; Caywood, "The History of Northeastern State College," pp. 46–47; C. Foreman, *Park Hill*, p. 122.

¹⁸ Caywood, "History of Northeastern State College," pp. 47–48 and 74; Jno. N. Craig to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 30, 1870, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1871), p. 285; *Tahlequah Arrow*, March 24, 1910, p. 1.

¹⁹ Lola Garrett Bowers and Kathleen Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson: Friend and Teacher* (Tahlequah, Oklahoma: Rockett's Printing and Publishers [1951]), pp. 1–4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²² Interview with Charlotte Mayes Sanders, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 26, 1980, Videotape in the Archives, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

²³ Bowers and Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson*, pp. 11–12.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Interview with Charlotte Mayes Sanders, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 26, 1980.

²⁶ Bowers and Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson*, p. 23.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

²⁸ Caywood, "The History of Northeastern State College," p. 49; Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), p. 410; S. W. Marston to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 31, 1876, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), p. 61.

²⁹ Bowers and Garrett, *A. Florence Wilson*, pp. 30–31.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

³¹ R. Halliburton, Jr. "Northeastern's Seminary Hall," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, LI (Winter 1973–74), p. 393; Caywood, "The History of Northeastern State College," p. 53.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 54; Brad Agnew, "Henry Vogel: A White Laborer in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, LIX (Fall 1981), p. 323; *Cherokee Advocate*, August 28, 1889, p. 2.

³³ *Tahlequah Arrow*, July 13, 1901, p. 1.

³⁴ Interview with Charlotte Mayes Sanders, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 26, 1980.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Interview with Jack Brown, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 30, 1980.

³⁷ Interview with Charlotte Mayes Sanders, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 26,

A LEGACY OF EDUCATION

1980; Interview with Jack Brown, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 30, 1980, Videotape in the Archives, John Vaughan Library, Northeastern State University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

³⁸ Interview with Charlotte Mayes Sanders, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 26, 1980.

³⁹ Oscar Priestly Fowler, *The Haskell Regime: The Intimate Life of Charles Nathaniel Haskell* (Oklahoma City: The Boles Printing Co., Inc., 1933), pp. 229–30; *Tahlequah Herald*, March 3, 1909, p. 1.

⁴⁰ *Tahlequah Arrow*, May 28, 1909, p. 4; *An Illustrated Souvenir Catalog of the Cherokee Nation Female Seminary* (Chilocco, Oklahoma: Indian Print Shop, n.d.), n.p.

⁴¹ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 243; Interview with Jack Brown, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 30, 1980.

⁴² Interview with Charlotte Mayes Sanders, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, January 26, 1980; *Tahlequah Arrow*, March 24, 1910, pp. 1–2.

⁴³ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 243.