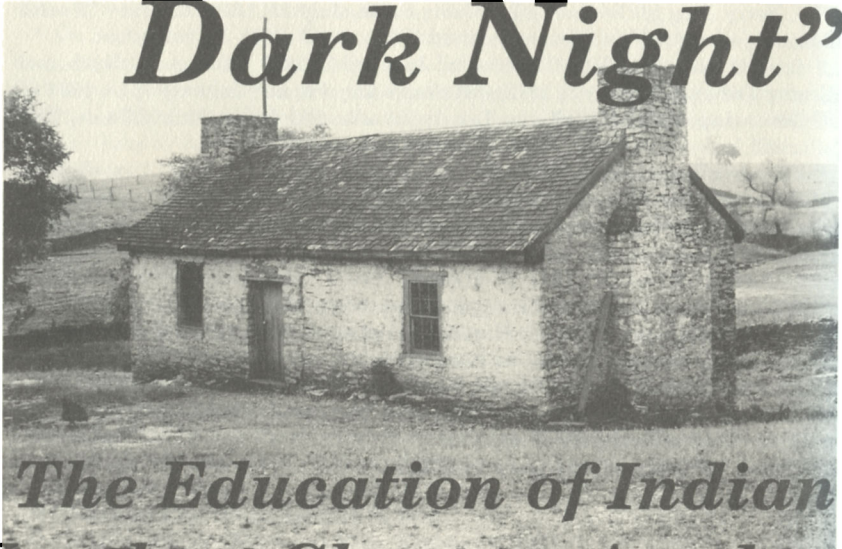


“Stars in a

Dark Night”



***The Education of Indian
Youth at Choctaw Academy***

By Marjorie Hall Young

Richard Mentor “Dick” Johnson entered politics at an early age, achieved some degree of fame in the War of 1812, and served as vice-president of the United States from 1837 to 1841, but he is perhaps best known for the Indian school he established on his plantation at Great Crossings, Kentucky. The Choctaw Academy became a potent force in the acculturation of the Five Civilized Tribes and educated an entire generation of western tribal leaders.¹

Johnson's father, Robert Johnson of Virginia, emigrated with his family to Scott County, Kentucky, near the close of the Revolutionary War. He settled near the Elkhorn River on land purchased from Patrick Henry and there his son Richard was born at Bryant's Station in 1781. Johnson's early education was at home, followed by attendance at a country school in his fifteenth year. Afterwards he attended nearby Transylvania University, where he entered the study of law and completed his studies sufficiently to begin practice as a lawyer at the age of nineteen.²

Elected by acclamation from Scott County to the state legislature at twenty-one, he acquitted himself creditably and was elected a representative to the United States Congress in October, 1807. Relations with Great Britain had steadily deteriorated, and Johnson was among those who voted for the declaration of war in June, 1812. When Congress adjourned, he hastened home to raise three companies of volunteers with whom he actively campaigned for ten months on the northwest frontier under General William Henry Harrison. He returned to Congress in the fall, but assisted in arranging the plan of campaign for the following summer. He then rejoined his regiment with the adjournment of Congress in March. The decisive battle of the war in the Northwest came in October, 1813, at the Thames River. A General Proctor and his British troops and the Indians under Tecumseh paused at the Thames in their retreat into Canada. Johnson's battalion and the Indians engaged and despite severe wounds Johnson succeeded in killing an Indian chief who was the rallying point of the Indians. The chief was later purported to be their leader, Tecumseh. Johnson at first declined to claim responsibility for Tecumseh's death, but in later years he became captive to the myth and used it with telling effect in his political rhetoric.³

Johnson was deeply impressed, as were others living on the edge of the frontier, by the struggle with the Indians. That perhaps influenced his heated defense of General Andrew Jackson's murder of Creek chiefs lured by subterfuge aboard an American vessel flying the British flag during the Seminole War in 1818. Johnson, author of the minority report of the congressional committee designated to investigate Jackson's conduct, refused to equivocate on "either the legal status or the destiny of Indians. . . . [W]e have on the statute book a perpetual declaration of war against [them]. . . . [T]heir color was sufficient evidence [of Jackson's] right of disposing of them as justice required."⁴

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Johnson was at his most eloquent when he reminded Congress of the terror the Indians brought to the settlers on the frontier. "They came," he said, "like a thief in the night to carry death to the unfortunate women, to the aged and infirm men, and the children." His eloquence was no match for that of Henry Clay, however, who presented the majority report. Clay expressed disapproval of Jackson's conduct of the Seminole War, especially the hanging of two British subjects.⁵

Johnson inherited his father's property on the Elkhorn River, as well as a station first called Big Crossings, then Great Crossings. He also received the mulatto slave trained by his mother. Johnson never married, piqued at interference by his mother who had objected to his romance with a young lady of the neighborhood whom she did not consider their social equal. The slave, Julia Chinn, became his mistress and bore him several daughters to whom he was devoted. He saw to their education and, when they reached maturity and married white men, he deeded them property and provided for them and a grandson in his will. His brothers did not respect those arrangements at his death, however, as they told the court he left neither widow nor children and they were his only living survivors. Local society also disapproved of Johnson's domestic arrangements and snubbed his daughters when he attempted to force their acceptance.⁶

In 1816 the association of the Baptist churches in the Great Crossings area influenced the board of directors of the Kentucky Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen to write a circular letter to Indian agents. It suggested that the English language and the habits of civilization be introduced to the Indians, preparatory to spreading the gospel among them. They asked the agents to use their influence to have Indian children sent among the whites to be schooled, with expenses of their education and upkeep met by the society.⁷

Two years later Johnson, whose family was active in the local Baptist Church, presented a petition to Congress from the Baptist Association of Missouri to establish schools among the Indians, and he requested the aid and encouragement of the government. He and his brother James then set up an Indian school at Great Crossings. The first students who were escorted from Missouri to Kentucky by Reverend John Ficklin, a Baptist missionary, were Lewis Rogers, his wife Maria, and their nephew Henry Rogers, Franky Craig, a little girl, W. Thompson Suggett and James Sug-

Richard Mentor Johnson, in a reversal from his earlier position on the "Indian problem," established what became Choctaw Academy to educate the sons of chiefs and other Indian youths (Courtesy Library of Congress).



gett, nineteen and seventeen, and the young sons of Captain Fish of the Shawnees, John Ficklin Fish and Paschal Fish.⁸

A local board headed by James Johnson governed the school; Richard Johnson controlled the finances. Another board member, Reverend Thomas Henderson, pastor of the Great Crossings Baptist Church, became instructor and superintendent. Although the financial returns of the first small school, which was hardly more than a mission, were negligible, the experience and recognition Johnson earned during the six years of its existence paved the way for its successor, the Choctaw Academy.⁹

Johnson had suffered financial difficulty for some time, due to his involvement with his brother in the Yellowstone Expedition to open up trading on the upper Missouri River. They incurred heavy losses when the government allowed only \$229,262 of Johnson's claim of \$266,818.15 for transporting men, arms, and provisions up the Missouri.¹⁰ His pressing financial obligations were unquestionably a prime motivation for Johnson's twenty-year foray into Indian education. During his long residence in Washington he maintained close ties with Indian affairs. He used his strategic position to direct the business affairs of the school to his personal advantage and successfully channeled much needed money into his "yawning coffers."¹¹

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The missionary societies secured financial aid from the government for the schools they sponsored and also were influential in securing annuities for educational purposes in various Indian treaties. The canny Johnson astutely predicted the amounts set aside for schools would only increase. The Treaty of Doak's Stand, revised in Washington in 1825, provided an annuity of \$6,000 for twenty years for the education of Choctaw youths. The Choctaw leaders wished them educated far away from the nation at a school where they would be surrounded by the customs and manners of "civilized" life. The agent to the Choctaws, William Ward, a native of Scott County, immediately thought of the school conducted at Great Crossings by his old friend, Colonel Dick Johnson. In accepting Ward's offer to educate the Choctaw youth, Johnson responded, "Fortune, for the first time in my life, seems to open some advantage to me by the providential friendship and confidence of the Indians."¹²

While the Choctaw annuity determined the name of the school, annuities also came from other tribes. The Potawatomis, "a powerful nation settled along the waters of the Wabash on lakes near the Canada line," allocated \$2,000. In time, the school included young men of the Creek, Seminole, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Quapaw, Prairie du Chien, Chicaga, Miami, Osage, Omaha, Sac and Fox, and Winnebago tribes, as well as the Choctaws.¹³

Johnson, who was known as a plain man of little culture and learning, retained Thomas Henderson as the superintendent of the Choctaw Academy. That proved to be a wise decision. Henderson, a relative by marriage whom Johnson called a "man of uncommon merit," had a "liberal education, advanced ideas, broad sympathies, and much executive ability." The academy's later success was largely due to the tireless efforts of its superintendent.¹⁴

As soon as the government approved the Choctaws' request for the academy, Johnson hastened to make preparations on his farm at Blue Springs. "No man in the United States" was better equipped than he to do it, he averred, "I have a house with three rooms 20 x 30 feet which I shall appropriate exclusively to their accommodation. Another with four rooms twenty feet square which will do for a teacher to live in; and one room for a school room. The whole establishment will be within my fences so that no time will be lost."¹⁵ Johnson immediately put his slaves to work constructing tables, benches, chairs, sheets, and shirts, while Johnson ordered books from Philadelphia and tracts and Bibles from Washington and laid in food stores.¹⁶

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The first Choctaw pupils arrived in late October, 1825, and all twenty-one came from the district of Chief Mingo Mushalatubbee. Peter Pitchlynn escorted them to the school, but not without some opposition from within the tribe. Chief David Folsom wrote Thomas McKinney the following summer that he thought it wrong to send all the students from one district and for Mushalatubbee to have the power to do so.¹⁷

The Choctaw Academy formally opened on November 1, 1825, and appeared very popular with the Indians in its first years of operation. Chief John Ross of the Cherokees later wrote, "Richard Johnson was a popular man among the Southern Indians after he started and opened his Indian School in Kentucky. He had a noble impulse, his heart was big, and he called Indian boys to the paths of peace and learning. Returning to their Indian homes, they were the stars in a dark night."¹⁸

The Choctaw chiefs decided to send thirty-six more boys in 1826, eighteen from each of the two unrepresented districts, bringing the Choctaw enrollment to sixty-three when added to the twenty-seven reported in May. The Creek Nation was similarly impressed with the school and under treaty provisions of 1826 sent thirteen boys, including Chief Opothleyaholo's eight-year-old son. Thirteen more followed in the spring.¹⁹

The Potawatomi chiefs Chebass, Metea, Waubensee, Aubunawbee, Pokagon, Saugana, and Toisa wanted some of their children educated out of their own country and selected the Choctaw Academy. They agreed to send as many boys between the ages of eight and fifteen years as the \$2,000 would provide for, at the rate of \$150 per boy (later raised to \$200), with each boy to remain three to five years at the academy.²⁰

A letter from John Tipton to the commissioner of Indian affairs dated May 5, 1827, noted that five of the boys were at his house. He expected the remaining three within a few more days, and would send them along to Great Crossings.²¹ Eight-year-old John Payne had been accepted the previous year as the first Potawatomi pupil. Chebass's grandson Abram Burnett (Envashina or Kah-he-ga-wati-an-gah), John Burnett, James Blythe, General Jackson (Ignace Nekwoiskuk), Colonel McKinney, Dewey Whitney, James Johnson, John T. Mason, Thomas Jefferson, and John Tipton (Pierre Kionum) followed in May, 1827.²²

Although Johnson's mercenary interest in the school was uppermost, he apparently did not let it interfere with his aim to develop a school of high standards. The curriculum included "reading,

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writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, practical surveying, astronomy, and vocal music." Textbooks used by the school included Emerson's *Readers*, Pike's *Arithmetic*, Kirkham's *Grammar*, the *American Spelling Books*, Olney's *Geography*, Tytler's *History*, Blake's *Philosophy*, Colburn's *Algebra*, and Gibson's *Surveying*. The school had two sets of surveying instruments, as well as paint boxes and brushes for drawing and map making. The music department had flutes, fifes, drums and violins, and its instruction included music by note and by ear.²³ John Tipton wrote in 1827, "[E]verything about the establishment, globes, maps, books, and instruments are suited to the purpose, as well as the dress and treatment of the students. . . . [B]oys who have been there but thirteen months write and draw in a way that would do credit to any institution of white boys in the country."²⁴

The school formed a Napoleon Society to teach polite manners and decorum to the young boys and a Lycergus Court to promote self-government. It consisted of a judge, jury, sheriff, two lawyers, and a clerk. It reviewed all the students' misconduct and meted out appropriate punishment. Some of the boys who participated in the proceedings later studied law.²⁵

With the rapid expansion of enrollment during the first years of the school, it became very difficult to find assistant teachers at \$100 to \$150 per year to help the overburdened superintendent. Johnson hoped to free the harried superintendent of some of his classroom responsibilities as he was endangering his health, which was never robust. Johnson wrote Henderson in January, 1828, that he had visited a Lancasterian School in which advanced pupils taught students below them and was very impressed with the system. The *National Intelligencer* reported in July, 1828, that a Mr. Ould had been sent from England by Lancaster himself to the Choctaw Academy to introduce the method. He found the students well grounded in astronomy, geography, history, and use of the globe. Among the first notable student teachers at the Choctaw Academy were Joseph N. Bourassa, a nephew of the Potawatomi chief Shabbona, and William Trayhern, a Choctaw.²⁶

Henderson had the entire direction and management of the school's business affairs and domestic arrangements, in addition to instructing the class of twenty-five Choctaw youths attending under treaty provisions. The classes of astronomy, bookkeeping, and surveying met in his house for two hours of review each night of the week, excepting alternate Wednesdays during the winter. He also visited the children in their dormitories regularly. Johnson

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admonished Henderson not to withdraw his personal attention, "even for a day, unless ill," as it was "hard to delegate power, and the principal must give his personal and constant attention to his trust in order to give it life and energy and make it operative and successful." Henderson also had the responsibility of the education of Johnson's daughters, Imogene and Adaline. During the first six years of the Choctaw Academy's operation, Henderson performed all of those responsibilities for a salary of \$500 per year.²⁷

Johnson proudly displayed samples of the students' work in Washington, especially their letters and maps. He encouraged them to write home to their parents and provided them free mailing privileges at a post office the government set up at Great Crossings. The academy also held gala celebrations to display the students' work, some with crowds of several thousand in attendance. Johnson's arrival home from Washington was always another occasion for programs and military drills.

Although the day-by-day operations of the school were left to the superintendent, Johnson issued voluminous specific instructions to Henderson by mail from Washington covering every aspect of the program. Johnson was a strict disciplinarian, who wrote Henderson in March, 1830, "I thank you over and over again for your promise to put the hickory on the back of big or little who will not behave themselves in the dining room and inside my yard, or dismiss them in disgrace."²⁸ While that straightforward approach worked very well at first, Johnson later kept the circumstances of dismissals secret from Washington, a decision subsequent events proved was the source of much embarrassment to the academy.

Because of his public position, Johnson was very sensitive to possible criticism of his financial returns from the school. He urged Henderson to use the utmost discretion in referring to those arrangements, "[Y]ou know what a disadvantage it would be to me to have people believe I was making a great deal of money. You will see the propriety of indulging in very little conversation as to terms, prospects, etc."²⁹

Leeway in the government contracts with the school for food and clothing enabled Johnson to use to advantage the facilities of his farm. Much of the food he served the boys was grown on the farm using slave labor. His daughter Adaline directed the preparation of their clothes (with the exception of their coats) and the dormitory linens in the plantation's sewing room. All of that increased the income he derived from the school's operation.

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The methods used in the school were advanced for their day, and Johnson took the students to Kentucky "watering places" for two weeks during the heat of the summer months. He provided well for the health of the boys, with Julia Chinn supplying practical nursing in minor ailments under a local physician, Dr. Samuel Hatch. Arrival of the first group of Choctaw boys in 1825 had been delayed due to an outbreak of dreaded smallpox in the nation, but only six students had died in the first eight years of operation. The first catastrophic illness, cholera, occurred at the academy in the summer of 1833. Both Henderson and his family were stricken, and Johnson lost fourteen of his slaves, including Julia Chinn. Johnson sent to Georgetown for his regimental doctor in the War of 1812. Dr. Ewing was unable to come, but sent his partner Dr. Gano, who reported the deaths of seventeen in one day. Among the large number of students stricken with cholera, six Choctaws, two Seminoles, and one Miami boy died. There were sometimes as many as



These two buildings (above / p. 280 and opposite), seen here in the early 1940s, were two of five Johnson constructed as Choctaw Academy on his farm on the Stamping Ground-Great Crossing Pike. (Courtesy J. Winston Coleman Photographic Collection, Transylvania University Library, Lexington, Kentucky, p. 280, 288, 289).

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twenty new cases in a day. Johnson, to whom the responsibility of ministering to the sick and dying had fallen, was himself down twice from exhaustion. John T. Jones, a Potawatomi boy, assisted the doctor in ministering to the victims and later received a commendation for his heroic efforts.³⁰

Jones wrote to Washington the following year to request an extension of his term of study, because he wished to study law and believed it would take about two more years to complete his studies. In Johnson's endorsement to his request, he stated, "Mr. Jones is a very worthy young man and very promising. . . . I should be very glad if that request could be extended as he wishes and if that cannot be done extend it one year more."³¹ John Tipton, then the senator from Indiana, responded with a recommendation for the purchase of several hundred dollars worth of law books for such students. Two Omaha students at the academy also studied law in 1835.³²

The school's enrollment increased beyond all earlier expectations, and Johnson relocated the school in 1831 from the Blue Springs farm at Great Crossings to White Sulphur Springs several miles away, where firewood was more available. Johnson later



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built a large resort hotel and tavern at the springs near the Georgetown-Frankfort trace, which became as famous as Saratoga Springs. The academy's new location on a beautiful hill surrounded by groves of trees consisted of a frame classroom building fifty feet long and twenty-four feet wide, two stories high, divided into four rooms each with fireplaces. The dormitories sat about 150 yards from the classroom building and 50 yards from the dining room, which could seat the whole school at once.³³

The government encouraged the Southern tribes to use the academy for the education of their young men, and despite some protests at the cost and objections to sending so many young boys to one school so far away, enrollment rapidly increased. Greenwood LeFlore, a Choctaw chief, wrote the secretary of war in 1828, "[A]lthough it is probable that we could get our children Taught something cheaper yet we do not wish to put their Education to the Lowest Bidder."³⁴

The Chickasaws began to send boys to the Choctaw Academy in the spring of 1828 with the son of Levi Colbert. On September 23, 1828, six Creeks and one Uchee joined the thirty Creeks already enrolled. The roster for 1830 included four Quapaws and four Miamis. The Potawatomi Nation sent four more students and the Seminoles eight more. An Osage and a Winnebago also arrived in March of the same year. Enrollment figures for 1832 showed 117 students—65 Choctaws, 16 Potawatomis, 3 Creeks, 8 Seminoles, 10 Miamis, and 4 Quapaws. John Tipton told the commissioner he would need at least \$100 for presents to the parents of four boys he was taking to the academy, "as it is always expected and almost indispensable when a boy is asked from his parents to give them presents."³⁵

An effort to induce the Cherokees to use the school for education under the Treaty of May 6, 1828, at first met with disapproval by the National Council. The Cherokees preferred to educate their children within the four districts of their nation in schools under the direction of George Guess (Sequoyah). Although six Cherokee students were listed in a quarterly report in 1833, the selection of Cherokee boys to attend the academy was the subject of controversy in 1834.³⁶ The issue of removal west of the Mississippi badly divided the Cherokees, and Andrew Ross was persuaded toward removal in 1832. He treated with Washington officials in 1834 and tried to persuade the nation to sell its lands for less than the government's original offer. Communication between the factions

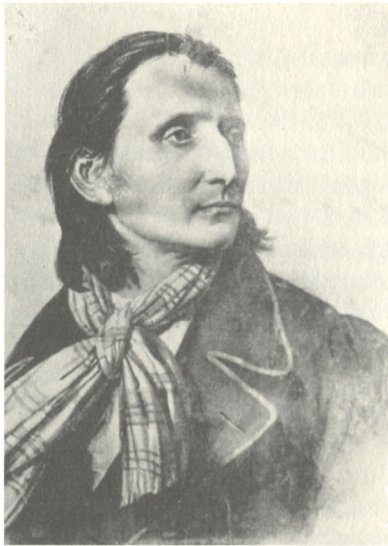
for and against removal virtually ceased, with death threats made against those promoting disunity.³⁷

Andrew Ross's two sons and nephew and others related to members of the Ross party were among the eleven boys Major Davis escorted to the academy in April, 1834. Principal Chief John Ross, who questioned their acceptance by Johnson and the authority of his brother to select the students, complained to President Andrew Jackson. His letter was accompanied by a resolution of the Cherokee National Council dated August 22, 1834, asking the president "to Order the withdrawal of said scholars from the Choctaw Academy, that an opportunity may be thus afforded to the proper authorities of the Cherokee Nation to make an impartial selection of the Scholars . . . to be educated."³⁸

Thirty-five members of the National Council and the National Committee signed the resolution which was approved by John Ross, George Lowrey, and Edward Gunter.³⁹ The controversy continued, however, and the Cherokee agent in November defended his actions to the commissioner, explaining that while Chief Ross and other tribal officials were in Washington he had asked several prominent men of the tribe to select six students to attend the academy. They declined to do so, but persuaded Major Davis, the enrolling and appraising agent, to take their own son and nephew, three orphans in care of Judge Brown, John Walker, Jr., and a Mr. Crutchfield, and the son of *Cherokee Phoenix* editor Elijah Hicks, whose wife was the sister of Chief Ross.⁴⁰

As the removal of the Southern tribes to the Indian Territory increased, interest in educating their children at the Choctaw Academy declined, because they desired to establish their own schools in the west. The years 1832 to 1838 seemed to mark the high tide of the academy's influence and benefit.⁴¹ Choctaw agent William Armstrong informed Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford from Indian Territory on December 5, 1838, "I have been endeavoring to get the Indian boys collected to send on to the school in Kentucky. I find it more difficult to procure them than at any previous time. . . . [T]he Cherokees have refused sending them boys, so have the Quapaws."⁴²

Attendance of Potawatomi boys also gradually declined. The Potawatomis enrolled nineteen in 1833, twenty-four in 1834, eighteen in 1836, but only thirteen in 1838. As enrollment lagged, local Indian agents felt considerable pressure to recruit for the academy. The subagent to the Potawatomis secured his quota of four boys in 1840, but could not meet a quota of eighteen in 1842. That



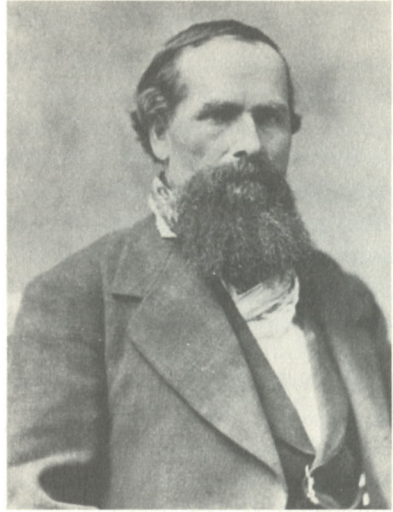
Among many "stars in a dark night" who attended Choctaw Academy, the Choctaw Peter Pitchlynn later served the school as trustee and as superintendent. His protégé at the academy, D.O. Fisher (opposite), became prominent in Choctaw and Chickasaw affairs (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

was despite a \$200-300 bonus Father Verreydt of the Catholic mission school in Kansas claimed the agent had been offered as an inducement for meeting his quota.⁴³

The tribes were not uniformly happy with the way in which the academy was conducted. As early as 1838 Peter Pitchlynn voiced complaints about the school's food, soiled table linens, insolent Negro waiters, students' clothing, and dormitory accommodations.⁴⁴ When he removed his brother Silas from the academy, a dismayed Johnson angrily refuted Pitchlynn's charges and wrote David Folsom of the Choctaws of his astonishment at Pitchlynn's "misrepresentations," because of the "ties which bound us together not only as friends but fellow Masons."⁴⁵

Johnson countered that the food served to the boys was the same as that served on his own table, and since the school's first year their clothing was usually ready made in Philadelphia. He emphasized that his profits hardly equalled the use of his slaves and the rent of his houses; the student's tuition covered only a "plain substantial economy." Henderson also added his voice to the rebuttal in a letter dated September 13, 1828, and signed by six students. He acknowledged that things from time to time may have been in disarray, but he claimed Johnson had always been quick to remedy the situation when it was called to his attention.⁴⁶ Soon

afterwards, Pitchlynn led a group of Choctaws, Creeks, and Chickasaws to the Osage country on the exploring and peace-making expedition of Captain G.H. Kennerly and Isaac McCoy. Returning home, the party of Choctaws continued from Fort Gibson to the Red River valley, where Pitchlynn picked up a bright little boy of "no particular tribe" in a frontier cabin. He took him back to Mississippi and whatever his misgivings may have been regarding conditions at the academy at the time of his complaint in the spring had him educated there. The boy, called David Osborn Fisher, was



in 1870 "one of the most eloquent and faithful preachers to be found in the Choctaw Nation."⁴⁷

The academy never had much difficulty managing the younger boys, as their mischief consisted mainly of breaking windows, pilfering, tearing their clothes, and running away. The older boys, however, presented different problems. In one incident some of them managed to sneak out at night and after securing liquor attempted to procure the company of Johnson's slave women. Johnson had replaced his deceased mistress with a succession of other slave women, but was outraged that the Indian students would attempt to violate the sanctity of his property in his absence. As a result, Henderson sent home in disgrace several Choctaw chiefs' sons, whom he had previously held in high repute. Although Johnson kept the circumstances from officials in Washington, it all came out in the end. One boy who was allowed to remain at the school later complained about the school to the government. His letter contained the forged signatures of twenty students.⁴⁸ Johnson and the trustees indignantly denied the statements it contained, but it aroused doubts and misgivings in the mind of the secretary of war. The agent for the Choctaws wrote in 1839:

[T]hree of the most prominent young men in the nation, Colonel Joe (George) Harkins, Captain Robert Jones, and Pierre Juzan, who were all at the academy, are bitter against it. Peter Folsom, a young man

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naturally well disposed, says he could learn nothing of any importance. I am at loss for an explanation of their attitude.⁴⁹

Harkins and Juzan, along with William Trayhern and Joseph N. Bourassa, were the teachers in the Lancasterian System introduced to the academy in 1828, and Harkins and Juzan also served as dormitory monitors. Johnson had arranged for them to accompany him to Washington in 1828 while the Congress was in session, and the Choctaws sent Harkins, Juzan, and Robert Jones as delegates to Washington in 1837. George W. Clarke of the Choctaw Agency described them at that time as three of the most influential and useful men in their nation.⁵⁰

Another protege who later complained of conditions at the school was Adam Nail. He showed an aptitude for medicine which he studied under the resident physician, Dr. H.T. Benedict, who said, "[H]is attention and acquirements, his assiduity and morality have been of the most praiseworthy kind, and have gained the full confidence of his superiors, and bid fair to make him an ornament to his profession." Henderson reported in 1838:

[W]e have several young men in this institution of considerable promise, who bid fair to be very useful to their respective tribes, when they shall return to their homes, among whom I would mention Adam Nail, a Choctaw youth, who has turned his attention to the study of medicine . . . and has occasionally practiced in this institution, under the regular physician, with great success.⁵¹

Nail acted as the resident physician when government inspectors visited the academy in April, 1839. The following October, Choctaw agent Armstrong received a complaint signed by thirty-three pupils headed by the same "Dr. Adam Nail." They objected to the lack of supervision, shoddy clothing, and a general decline in academic and moral standards at the school. Henderson was away much of the time, as he had returned to his farm some fifty miles away. The students also complained of the sub-superintendent's use of profanity. School inspectors at their January, 1840, meeting summarily dismissed the complaints, which they attributed to "malice and revenge of mortified pride and self importance on the part of its author (Nail) and therefore . . . entitled to no credit whatever."⁵²

An aspect of the school's program that became controversial in time was the manual training. The idea was not a new one; Father Gabriel Richard had introduced it with great success at his Spring Hill Indian School in Detroit a decade earlier. Thomas Henderson

believed there was a place for it at the Choctaw Academy, but his suggestions met with disinterest until his assistant teacher, Joseph Napoleon Bourassa, wrote the secretary of war in February, 1833, "[T]here are some young men were they to live as long as the man of 969 years and study all the time could not get sufficient learning to teach Indians."⁶³ He suggested the school add workshops to the curriculum so boys unable to learn their books could get a trade. The tribes needed skilled workmen, as well as scholars, he said:

... for the savage or wandering tribes cannot support a schoolmaster, but a black-smith would have easy access to many tribes, for some Indians have been known to travel upwards of two hundred miles to get one or two of their hunting utensils repaired. Almost any trade will prove more beneficial than a good education in the first settling of a country; it was not by the pen and book that this country was settled, but by axe and plough. . . . [A]n old Indian would be more pleased to get a knife or a tomahawk from his son than ten well-ordered philosophical lectures "which," he would say, "do not feed me nor clothe my children."⁶⁴

Washington immediately responded to Bourassa's letter, and the school opened a shoe shop, two blacksmith shops, and a wagon shop in September, 1833.⁵⁵ The new program was roundly praised at first, but it was obvious abuses occurred in the use of student labor. The War Department issued new instructions in the spring of 1835 after it received complaints. Johnson warned Henderson on April 29, 1834, "to break up the employment of boys to work for me except in extreme cases, and that on a small scale." He again wrote Henderson two weeks later:

I find they have attacked your mechanics shops. They say they approve of the workshops but they object to paying \$200 for learning the boys to work when they could learn those mechanics professions without paying anything, and if ever the President or the Secretary of War should turn their attention to this business, it could not stand the investigation and if such a point were to get into Congress it would blow up the whole school.⁵⁶

The new regulations said no student could be compelled to labor in any of the shops or to learn a trade, except by his own free choice unless directed to do so by his parents. The schools had to maintain double-entry bookkeeping on the purchases and sales. It then had to divide among the boys performing the labor the net proceeds of the shops after debts were cleared and the superintendent received a 10 percent profit. That provided them money for extra clothing

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and a surplus to carry home to purchase books, tools, and instruments to carry on their trade.⁵⁷ Henderson also introduced agriculture in the program in 1837 with the addition of a garden of fifteen or twenty acres for the boys to raise corn and vegetables.⁵⁸

Upon becoming United States vice-president in 1837, Johnson believed the government would look more favorably upon his school. Indeed, Henderson received new regulations from the commissioner in January, 1838. Attendance, which had been languishing, became compulsory in the shops. Eight boys were to work in each of the four shops daily, and they were required to stay for two years. The report for October, 1838, showed twenty-two of the 152 students learning trades. Eight were in the tailor shop, eight in the shoe and boot shop, four in the blacksmith shop, and two in the wagon shop.⁵⁹ However, Miami Chief Richardville in 1839 indignantly ordered the superintendent to send his grandson home at once, upon learning he had been put in the tailor shop.⁶⁰

Students then began to complain that Johnson's overseer used the Indian students instead of the Negro slaves to work the farm, and that the shops were only a money-making scheme for Johnson.⁶¹ In 1838 Johnson had proposed a store in connection with the shops, with Henderson as an "equal partner." Henderson, who married a second time late in life and had to provide for his much younger wife and their six children, agreed. Henderson involved his older sons, who were merchants in Louisiana and Mississippi, with some success in the sale of articles produced in the shops. The shops declined, however, and in 1839 the wagon shop closed and only six boys were at work in the other shops. By 1840 there were only three.⁶²

As revenue from the institution gradually declined, Johnson frantically tried to counter his more vocal critics and keep the school functioning long enough to clear his debts. Henderson, whose health was faltering, begged to be relieved of the responsibility of the school, but Johnson persuaded him to stay on at least half-time. The secretary of war removed Henderson, however, in March, 1841, and named Peter Pitchlynn his successor. Pitchlynn accepted his appointment as superintendent with the understanding the funds going to the school would support a school in the Choctaw Nation in the near future.⁶³

The Choctaw chiefs notified Agent Armstrong in 1840 they would send no more boys to the academy, but he prevailed upon them to send boys again the next year with the promise to send Pitchlynn to investigate conditions at the school. After fifty days at

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the school, Pitchlynn appointed Daniel Vanderslice, who had been the sub-superintendent under Henderson for several years, as acting superintendent. Pitchlynn remained at the academy until March, 1842, instituting needed reforms and changes in the program. Vanderslice succeeded him as superintendent.⁶⁴

Johnson had been unsuccessful in a bid for the United States presidency and lost the support of many of his party's influential men when President Martin Van Buren received a letter from Amos Kendall criticizing Johnson's tavern at White Sulphur Springs. Kendall remarked to Van Buren:

[T]he example of Cincinnatus laying down his public honors and returning to his plough should no longer be quoted as worthy of imitation, when the Vice President of these United States, with all his civic and military honors clustering around his time honored brow, is, or seems to be so happy in the inglorious pursuit of tavern-keeping—even giving his personal superintendence to the chicken and egg purchasing and watermelon selling department. . . . I shall take care in as prudent a way as I can to wash my hands of any future responsibility for his support.⁶⁵

Johnson never completely cleared his debts before his death in 1850. The \$474,754.61 he reportedly received during the acad-

As superintendent of Choctaw Academy, Reverend Thomas Henderson had far more influence on the Indian boys than the businessman / politician Richard Johnson, who nonetheless provided the site and facilities for the school (Courtesy Filson Club Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky).



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emy's several decades of operation did enable him to maintain his high-level position in government despite his continuing financial embarrassments.⁶⁶

The later years of the school, as it gradually diminished in size, were marked by a shift in enrollment from the Southern tribes, who were building their own schools in Indian Territory, to the Northern tribes. All of the Potawatomis' total expenditure on education in 1844, \$8,875, had gone to the academy. Vanderslice reported on October 1, 1847, that of the fifty-eight youths enrolled, twenty were Potawatomis, fourteen Chicagas (whom he also called Potawatomis), seven Creeks, and fourteen Chickasaws. The Potawatomis, however, in the Treaty of 1846 specified that no more funds were to be spent outside of their own country.⁶⁷

During a tour of the Indian Territory in 1844, Bishop N. Sayer Harris of the Protestant Episcopal Church commented:

[I]t is not a little mortifying that a gentleman of Colonel Johnson's standing and aspiration should have permitted himself for so long a time to stand in the way of the Indian's desire to have their children educated among themselves. . . . [I] could not but blush for him at hearing the remarks of some intelligent Indians upon himself and his institution, and for the government, that could barter the best interests of its unfortunate wards for a mess of political pottage.⁶⁸

The Chickasaws, who were located among the Choctaws in Indian Territory, at first hesitated to build their schools on the lands of another tribe. Their boys remained in Kentucky until June, 1848, when the Chickasaw delegation to Washington secured an order for thirteen of their boys to be turned over to Pitchlynn. They authorized him to find other schools for them. He enrolled eleven Chickasaw boys in Plainfield Academy of Norwich, Connecticut, in 1849. Robert Love brought five more that same year, four of whom had been at the Choctaw Academy. The tribe then chose a site for the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy ten miles northwest of Fort Washita, and work began on the building in January, 1848.⁶⁹

The Creeks also concluded it was a waste of money to send ten or twelve of their youths to the academy. Upon returning after an absence of several years, they relaxed into "idle or dissolute habits and too often became a nuisance and curse to the nation." The Creek Nation began to make efforts to set up their own local schools and they stopped sending boys to the academy. Under the Treaty of 1845, the Creeks established two manual training schools, one on the Arkansas River and another on the Canadian River. The commissioner reported in 1848 they had designated the

whole proceeds of funds from the sale of orphan lands to support their schools.⁷⁰

A teacher in a neighboring school in the Choctaw Nation wrote Agent William Armstrong on August 30, 1842:

[S]ome men educated in the [academy in Kentucky] have done well, improved their privileges, and are ornaments to the nation. . . . [O]thers, returning to the nation have imported the vices of the whites—thus injuring their people more by the vices which they introduced, than improved them by the knowledge they have acquired. . . . [O]thers have returned . . . without acquiring a common education, or any knowledge of agriculture or the mechanic arts, or even upright habits such as would render them respectable members of society in their own nation. Another great evil attending the education of Indians abroad. They are usually sent away when quite young, and kept away from five or ten years. By this time they have forgotten how their people live at home. . . . [T]wo of the young men who returned last from Kentucky have committed suicide, one because he found his relations in extreme poverty, and the other because he found the affections of his father estranged from him, his mother having died in his absence.⁷¹

Armstrong notified the commissioner in 1843 that the forty youths who had been educated at the Choctaw Academy were then divided, ten each, among the principal colleges in the States.⁷² The Choctaws by 1845 had established three academies in their nation, Armstrong, Spencer, and Fort Coffee, and five female seminaries, Wheelock, Norwalk, Koonser, Chu-ah-la, and Iyanobi.⁷³

Congress assigned a committee of the House Indian Affairs Committee to investigate conditions at the Choctaw Academy in 1845 after it continued to receive complaints. It decided that testimony had been too conflicting to censure any individual involved.⁷⁴ Although Commissioner W. Medill reported in 1846 that the Choctaw Academy was “flourishing and highly satisfactory in condition,” the tide in Indian education had turned. His annual report in 1847 concluded:

[T]he practice so long pursued of selecting a few boys from the various tribes, and placing them at our colleges and high schools, has failed to produce the beneficial results anticipated, while the great mass of the tribe at home were suffered to remain in ignorance. It has, therefore, been nearly abandoned, and will be entirely discontinued as soon as existing arrangements will justify a withdrawal of the boys who are now at such institutions, and all the means and resources at the disposal of the Department will be applied to the establishment of manual labor and other schools in the Indian country. The advantages will in this way be extended to both sexes, and be more generally diffused among the great body of the tribe.⁷⁵

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Whatever the shortcomings of the Choctaw Academy, it cannot be disregarded as a potent force due to the critical role it played in the education of promising young men of so many tribes who returned home to assume positions of leadership. Of its hundreds of students, not all were outstanding or even turned out well, but no other school of its time served so many for so long. Most students returned to their people to be "seen in their councils taking the deepest interest in the welfare and prosperity of their people."⁷⁶ Choctaw Academy graduates became lawyers, physicians, ministers, teachers, translators, artisans, and tradesmen, with many filling important positions and by their ability advancing their people.⁷⁷

The trustees of Armstrong Academy in the Choctaw Nation included Peter Pitchlynn, George Harkins, Thompson McKinney, and Robert Jones, all of whom had attended the Choctaw Academy. Robert Jones became the wealthiest Choctaw planter in the southwest, at one time owning 500 slaves, and he was a delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia. Thompson McKinney was appointed teacher of a Choctaw school and became a prominent lawyer. Pierre Juzan, Peter Folsom, Cornelius McCurtain, William J. Bryant, and Alfred Wade served as chiefs or governors of the Choctaw Nation. Peter Folsom was baptized at the Great Crossings Church and became the "father of the Baptist missionary work in the Choctaw nation." Levi Colbert's adopted son Daugherty, who went to the academy in 1828, thirty years later became the second governor of the Chickasaw Nation.⁷⁸

The Potawatomis saw the last of their boys at the academy returned by riverboat to Westport Landing, Missouri, and to their homes in Kansas in July, 1848. Among them were Anthony Navarre, Antoine Bourbonnais, John V. Lazelle, Mitchell LaFramboise, and James Bourassa, all of whom held important positions in the future Citizen Band of Potawatomis.⁷⁹ Abram Burnett served as an interpreter for the Potawatomis and was one of the more prominent members of the tribe in Kansas. John Tipton and Joseph Bourassa taught in the mission school at St. Mary's. Tipton taught Father Maurice Gailland to speak Potawatomi, and he served on the tribe's business committee. Joseph Leib was the tribe's blacksmith, and General Andrew Jackson was influential in tribal affairs. He made the suggestion that resolved a dispute between the Catholic and Baptist factions of the tribe during allotment. John Tecumseh (Tuay) Jones also taught and interpreted, but Baptist missionaries considered his translations unreliable.

Later formally adopted by the Ottawa tribe, he left the Ottawa University more than \$25,000 in real estate to endow a School of Theology at his death in 1872.⁸⁰

The noted Oklahoma historian Carolyn Foreman in her evaluation of the Choctaw Academy concluded:

While it was called Dick Johnson's Indian School, the training and education received was given by the Rev. Mr. Henderson and the morals inculcated in them were the principles of high living of a man of his character rather than that of the politician Johnson. While it may have been a money proposition with Johnson, no such thought entered into the thought[s] of Thomas Henderson.⁸¹

ENDNOTES

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¹ Leland Winfield Meyer, *The Life and Times of Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 18–19, 349; Richard H. Collins, ed., *Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky: History of Kentucky* (2 vols., (Covington, Kentucky: Collins and Company, 1882), 2: 400, 705; Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 6 (December, 1928): 453 (hereafter cited as "Choctaw Academy 1").

² Collins, *Historical Sketches*, 2: 400.

³ *Ibid.*, 2: 400–403; Mrs. Shelley D. Rouse, "Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw Academy: A Forgotten Educational Experiment," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, 35 (1915): 90–91; R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1984), 214–216; John Sugden, *Tecumseh's Last Stand* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 158–165 *passim*.

⁴ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 178–179; Rickey L. Hendricks, "Henry Clay and Jacksonian Indian Policy: A Political Anachronism," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 60 (April, 1986): 221–222.

⁵ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 178–179; Hendricks, "Henry Clay," 222.

⁶ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 310, 317, n. 109.

⁷ Ethel McMillan, "First National Indian School: The Choctaw Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 28 (Spring, 1950): 54; Meyer, *Life and Times*, 348.

⁸ Evelyn Crady Adams, "Kentucky's Choctaw Academy, 1819–1842: A Commercial Enterprise," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 26 (1952): 28–29.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 204.

¹¹ Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 28–29.

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¹² Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 88–90; Meyer, *Life and Times*, 352.

¹³ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 94; Tipton to James Barber, Secretary of War, June 5, 1827, Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs (LROIA), Record Group 75, Microfilm 234, Reel 733, 846–847.

¹⁴ Thomas Henderson was born in Albermarle County, Virginia, in 1781, kinsman to Richard Henderson of the Transylvania Company. He surveyed part of the Territory of Missouri and the city of Cincinnati in his early years, and as a trustee of the estate of John White of Albermarle County purchased 200 acres of land to be colonized by the Negro slaves freed under White's will. He was an ordained Baptist minister before 1807 and preached at the Great Crossings Church from 1812 to 1825. He was the author of *An Easy System of the Geography of the World*, published in Lexington in 1813. Henderson was a businessman and merchant in Scott County when Johnson asked him to head his school, and he managed much of Johnson's business and personal affairs while he served in Washington.

¹⁵ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 90; Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 92–93.

¹⁶ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 93–94.

¹⁷ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 454–455.

¹⁸ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 364.

¹⁹ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 457, 460.

²⁰ Nellie A. Robertson and Dorothy Riker, eds., *The John Tipton Papers* (3 vols., Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1942), 2: 596; "An understanding as to the disposition of the fund set apart by treaty with the Pottawatomie Nation of Indians for the education of their children as per their agreement forwarded by the agent General Tipton to wit: \$2,000 per annum," LROIA, RG75, M234, R733, 562–564.

²¹ Robertson and Riker, *Tipton Papers*, 2: 711.

²² Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 10 (March, 1932): 81 (hereafter cited as "Choctaw Academy 3").

²³ Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 30–31; Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 97.

²⁴ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 97.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 99–100.

²⁶ Otto A. Rothert, "Browsing in Our Archives: Two Letters, 1828, Pertaining to Colonel Richard M. Johnson's Choctaw Indian School in Scott County," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly*, 9 (1935): 246–247; Meyer, *Life and Times*, 369; Sugden, *Tecumseh's Last Stand*, 163.

²⁷ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 93, 98; Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 31–32.

²⁸ Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 30, 31–32.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁰ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 478; Carolyn Foreman, "The Choctaw Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 9 (December, 1931): 394–396 (hereafter cited as "Choctaw Academy 2"); *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1833), 201 (hereafter cited as *ARCIA* with year).

³¹ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 2," 396; C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 3," 77.

³² *ARCIA*, 1835, 282.

³³ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 2," 393.

³⁴ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 461.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 461–462; C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 2," 387, 392; Muriel H. Wright, "Seal of the Seminole Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 34 (Autumn, 1954): 270.

³⁶ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 2," 389–390; Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 111.

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³⁷ Billy M. Jones and Odie B. Faulk, *Cherokees, An Illustrated History* (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Five Civilized Tribes Museum, 1984), 66–67.

³⁸ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 2," 404.

³⁹ George Lowrey, the author's paternal great-great-grandfather was for many years assistant principal chief of the Cherokees. In July, 1839, he served as president of the convention at which Cherokees met to adopt the Act of Union by which the Western and Eastern Cherokees were declared "one body politic, under the title . . . of a Cherokee Nation," and he acted as principal chief in 1846 in negotiating a treaty that secured the Cherokee land in Indian Territory. Married to Sequoyah's half-sister, he owned slaves and his plantation was burned in the Civil War.

⁴⁰ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 2," 403–405.

⁴¹ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Armstrongs of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 30 (Winter, 1952–1953): 422, 428; Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 111.

⁴² C. Foreman, "The Armstrongs," 430.

⁴³ Rev. Joseph Murphy, O.S.B., *Potawatomi of the West: Origins of the Citizen Band* (Shawnee, Oklahoma: Citizen Band Potawatomi Tribe, 1988), 77; Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (3 vols., New York: American Press, 1938), 2: 212, n. 65.

⁴⁴ Peter Pitchlynn was an outstanding Choctaw mixed-blood who had a brilliant and useful career among his people. He was described by Choctaw agent James McDonald as a "young man of excellent cultural endowments, which had been considerably improved by education." He attended Charity Hall, a Cumberland Presbyterian School in Mississippi, and school in Tennessee, which gave him a "higher relish and more ardent thirst" for knowledge. Unable to teach himself without guidance from the considerable library he had acquired, he sought support in 1826 from the Choctaw educational funds to continue his education. Pitchlynn wrote Richard M. Johnson that fall that he wished to attend the university in Lexington and study law with Johnson. It was his desire "to distinguish myself and try and do something for my poor countrymen." Thomas Henderson in April, 1827, described Pitchlynn as of "dignified and gentlemanly conduct, of perfectly sober habits, remarkably studious, and much inclined to piety. His good examples and advice . . . have a most powerful influence on the other young men and smaller boys." Pitchlynn served in the Choctaw National Council and was chief of the Choctaws from 1864 to 1866.

⁴⁵ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 463–468.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 456–467.

⁴⁷ "Necrology, Peter P. Pitchlynn, Chief of Choctaws, 1864–66," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 6 (March, 1928): 217, 220; H.B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaws, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Texas: n.p., 1899), 398, in Grant Foreman Collection, 83-229, Box 4, Folder 2, Archives and Manuscripts Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City; Thomas Henderson to Thomas McKinney, April 30, 1827, LROIA, RG75, M234, R733, 648.

⁴⁸ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 107–108; Meyer, *Life and Times*, 341–342.

⁴⁹ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 111.

⁵⁰ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 462, 464; George Clarke to Hon. R.M. Johnson, October 15, 1837, Wisconsin Historical Society U-W, in Folder 1, Foreman Collection.

⁵¹ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 3," 89, 95–96, 100.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵³ Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 34. Joseph Napoleon Bourassa descended from a prominent Mackinac fur trader, Rene Bourassa. His grandmother was Marguerite

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Bertrand, a Potawatomi, and his mother was Ottawa. William Staughton wrote Thomas McKinney in 1826 that Bourassa was "taken from the woods, unacquainted with the English language, and introduced into Carey Mission School in 1820." He was then eighteen years old. In addition to Ottawa, he was fluent in Potawatomi, French, and English, could read and write "pretty well," and had a "pretty correct knowledge of the rudiments of arithmetic." He did well at Hamilton Institute, and studied law under Richard M. Johnson at Choctaw Academy. Bourassa later served as United States interpreter to the Potawatomis and was a witness or signer of treaties with the tribe in 1832, 1846, 1861, 1866, and 1867. Considered a man of considerable culture, visitors frequently commented on his hospitality and graciously furnished Kansas home. He operated a ferry on the Kaw River, and was the author of "The Life of Wah-bahn-see: The Warrior Chief of the Pottawatomies," which appeared in the Kansas City *Enterprise*, March 14 and 21, 1857. Lewis Henry Morgan, a noted ethnologist, visited Bourassa in June, 1859, and learned of a manuscript he had prepared on the "Customs of the Pottawatamies," which was to have appeared in *Harper's Magazine*, but since has been lost.

⁵⁴ Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 34.

⁵⁵ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 104; Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 34.

⁵⁶ Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 33.

⁵⁷ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 3," 77-78; Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 108.

⁵⁸ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 106.

⁵⁹ *ARCIA*, 1838, 478; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Thomas Henderson, January 5, 1838, Letters Sent, Office of Indian Affairs (LSOIA), RG75, M21, R23, 137-138.

⁶⁰ Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 105.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁶² Adams, "Commercial Enterprise," 34; C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 3," 107.

⁶³ Meyer, *Life and Times*, 375; C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 1," 478.

⁶⁴ Grant Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), 57; Rouse, "Forgotten Experiment," 116.

⁶⁵ Kendall to Van Buren, August 22, 1839, Van Buren Papers, MSS 34, in Meyer, *Life and Times*, 340-341, n. 184, 185.

⁶⁶ *Cherokee Advocate*, December 11, 1848, copied from *Presbyterian Herald*, Folder 2, Foreman Collection.

⁶⁷ Murphy, *Potawatomi of the West*, 79, 93, 112.

⁶⁸ N. Sayer Harris, "Journal of a Tour in the Indian Territory, 1844," ed. Carolyn Foreman, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 10 (March, 1932): 240.

⁶⁹ G. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 115-116; Carolyn Foreman, "Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 23 (Winter, 1945-1946): 339; *ARCIA*, 1846, 342; *ARCIA*, 1849, 1175-1176.

⁷⁰ G. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 177-178; *ARCIA*, 1846, 342; *ARCIA*, 1848, 406-407.

⁷¹ William Wilson to Col. William Armstrong, August 30, 1842, Folder 2, Foreman Collection.

⁷² J.Y. Bryce, "About Some of Our First Schools in the Choctaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 6 (September, 1928): 359; "Recollections of Peter Hudson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 10 (December, 1932): 518-519.

⁷³ *ARCIA*, 1846, 226, 346-350, 356.

⁷⁴ C. Foreman, "Choctaw Academy 3," 108.

⁷⁵ *ARCIA*, 1847, 749.

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⁷⁶ G. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 33.

⁷⁷ McMillan, "First National School," 61; C. Foreman, "The Armstrongs," 428; Arminta Scott Spalding, "From the Natchez Trace to Oklahoma: Christian Choctaw Civilization," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 45 (Spring, 1967): 16.

⁷⁸ Peter James Hudson, "A Story of Choctaw Chiefs," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 17 (March, 1939): 13–14, (June, 1939): 192–193, 200, 206; Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on Old Stage Line from Ft. Smith to the Red River," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 11 (June, 1933): 807; John Bartlett Meserve, "Governor Daugherty (Winchester) Colbert," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 18 (December, 1940): 349; Spalding, "From the Natchez Trace," 21.

⁷⁹ Murphy, *Potawatomi of the West*, 191.

⁸⁰ Deposition of Abraham [sic] Burnett, 23rd and 24th days of March, A.D. 1870, Kansas State Historical Society, in Citizen Band Potawatomi Archives, Shawnee, Oklahoma; Louis Charles Laurent, "Reminiscences by the Son of a French Pioneer," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 13: 370–371; Garraghan, *The Jesuits*, 2: 612, n. 699; Murphy, *Potawatomi of the West*, 87, 237, 242–243; Father Maurice Gaillard, "Diary of the Potawatomie Mission of St. Mary's on the Lake," *HowNiKan*, 12 (September, 1990): 13, n. 14; William Unrah and Craig Miner, *Tribal Dispossession and the Ottawa University Fraud* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 15, 69.

⁸¹ Handwritten undated MSS notes of Carolyn Foreman, Folder 3, Foreman Collection.