

CHURCH SCHOOL EDUCATION
IN THE CREEK NATION, 1898 TO 1907

By Joe C. Jackson*

An important part of the history of education in Eastern Oklahoma is found in church schools. For example, educational opportunities for both whites and Indians in the Creek Nation from 1898 to 1907, were provided in the denominational schools of the region. In fact, for many years these church schools were the main centers of learning in the Creek Nation. Although they were originally just for the Indians, the same schools sought to do their part in alleviating the stringent educational problem by readily opening their doors to white children.¹ Except for the subscription schools and public schools in the incorporated towns, "many of the white residents of Indian Territory," including the Creek Nation, had no schools except those mentioned above.² When the Creek Nation took over the mission schools and made boarding schools of them, the churches established other institutions, such as Spaulding Institute and Bacone College—tuition schools that were open to Indians and whites alike.

It is not feasible to attempt a detailed account of all the church and private schools in the Nation. A fair idea as to the part they played can be obtained by representative sampling. For instance, in 1881 the Methodists opened a school in Muskogee, and called it Harrell Institute. It was designed as a boarding school for girls and held its first meetings in the First Meth-

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Indian Inspector, 1900, p. 75. These schools left their imprint indelibly stamped on the character of their students. As in other Nations nearly all Indians wanted the Bible read in their schools and church and Sunday school conducted in their buildings. Under the Curtis Act, John D. Benedict had been appointed in 1896, as the first United States Superintendent of Schools of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Indian Territory.

¹Luther B. Hill, *History of Oklahoma*, I (Chicago, 1909), p. 387.

odist Church until a permanent building was erected in 1884. Reverend Theodore F. Brewer was president of the school until 1896. In that year he was succeeded by Reverend W. R. Thornton, who held the place for two years.³

Fire destroyed the building in 1899, but steps were immediately taken to rebuild it. Through the generosity of H. B. Spaulding, a wealthy layman of the church, an eleven-acre tract of land was secured in the residential section of Muskogee as the campus for a new and larger building.⁴

The new school grew rapidly. Old students returned and new students were found. It seemed as though Spaulding Institute was designed to become one of the leading colleges of the area. However, in 1906, grave financial difficulties arose. Apparently the Methodists had established too many schools. Reverend D. B. Staples, the president of the institution, made a strong appeal to the conference, but secured only \$900 for its operation. The school struggled on in a poverty stricken condition until Christmas week of 1906. When classes were dismissed for the holidays, that year, the doors of the institution were closed.⁵

Another school for young ladies in Muskogee was the Minerva Home for Girls, founded by the Presbyterian Mission Board about two years after the Methodists had established Harrell Institute. The school, despite a number of things in its favor, was never very successful.⁶

Consequently, in 1894 the Minerva School joined forces with the Timothy Hill School, also in Muskogee, and formed Henry Kendall College.⁷ The new institution was at first operated as

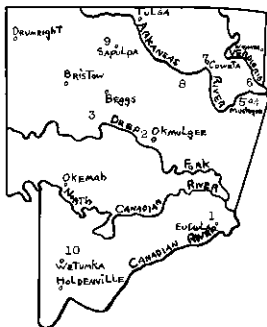
³Henry Sidney Babcock and John Y. Bruce, *The History of Methodism in Oklahoma*, I (n. p. 1935), p. 312.

⁴*Ibid.* As is generally the case in matters of this kind, the name of the school was changed to that of its donor, the name "Spaulding Institute" having been given before the fire.

⁵About a year before it closed, the name of the school had been changed to Oklahoma College for Women. Apparently this was an effort to obtain statewide support for the endeavor.

⁶John D. Benedict to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, July 14, 1903, in Dawes Commission Files, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society (Hereinafter referred to as DCF). Miss Alice Robertson was the director of the school in 1886. From available reports, the enrollment of the school never exceeded thirty-eight.

⁷John D. Benedict, *A History of Muskogee and Northeast Oklahoma*, I (Chicago, 1922), p. 452.



MAP

SCHOOLS IN THE CREEK NATION, 1905

— Legend —

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Eufaula High School | 6. Tullahassee Boarding School |
| 2. Creek Orphan Home | 7. Coweta Boarding School |
| 3. Sayaka Mission | 8. Wonalak Boarding School |
| 4. Colored Orphan Home | 9. Eucbee Mission |
| 5. Pecan Creek Boarding School | 10. Wetunika Boarding School |

a girls' boarding school, admitting both whites and Indians. Boys were subsequently admitted as day students and in a few years the institution was completely coeducational.

In 1907, a number of business men of the city of Tulsa decided that the town needed a college. Funds were raised, a campus was provided, and Henry Kendall College was moved to Tulsa where it subsequently became Tulsa University.⁸

Bacone College had its beginnings at Tablequah as Indian University in 1880. It was founded by the Baptists with Reverend Almon C. Bacone as the organizer and principal teacher. Four years later the Creek Council donated to the church the present site of the school and the following year, 1885, the institution was moved to Muskogee.⁹

Wealthy Indians contributed liberally to the support of the school. This made it possible for the Creek Council to devote most of the funds provided by the tribal government to buildings and equipment. Thus, by the combined efforts of private individuals and the Creek government the school grew rapidly and its success was assured. By 1891 more than 600 Indians and several hundred whites had been students in the institution.¹⁰

Bacone continued to hold its place after 1900, entering to both Indians and whites, with the government paying the expenses of the Indians while the whites were charged tuition. In 1902, the school had an enrollment of 145, ninety-seven of whom were white, forty-eight being Indians. By 1907, the year of statehood, the enrollment had climbed to 158, ninety-two being whites and sixty-three being Indians.¹¹

Nazareth College, the forerunner of St. Joseph's in Muskogee, was founded by the Vicar Apostolic of the Catholic Church for Indian Territory in 1903. The teaching congregation of Catholic men assumed charge and has owned and directed the school ever since.¹²

A number of other small church and private schools were organized at various times in the Creek Nation. Sango Baptist College and Industrial School, for instance, reported that it had an enrollment of sixty-eight students in 1905, sixty-two of whom

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 450.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Indian Inspector*, 1902, p. 82; 1907, p. 23. Bacone continued after statehood and is today one of the better Indian schools in the state.

¹²Benedict to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 10, 1906, in *DCF*. As the years went by, an extensive campus was provided, new buildings were added, the curriculum was broadened and the same requirements pertaining to public schools were met.

were Creek citizens.¹³ Another such institution was the *Session Industrial School* near Choska. It lasted only a few years, being forced to close in 1902.¹⁴ At least, eight or nine other small private schools, some with church support, were organized and operated during the years from 1900 to 1907. Most of these schools lasted only a short time and enjoyed varying degrees of success.¹⁵

In common with the other Nations, the Creeks regarded their boarding schools as expressing the best of their educational attainment. Consequently, by 1900, they were maintaining nine boarding schools and helping the Presbyterian Church support Nuyaka, as a tenth institution.¹⁶ Most of these schools had started as mission enterprises and as long as the boards were in charge, they had enjoyed steady growth and progress.¹⁷

When the Federal government entered the field in 1899, John D. Benedict reported that he found the boarding schools and orphans' asylum in a "deplorable condition." School officials were woefully incompetent, "funds were being wasted and favoritism reigned in the selection of teachers and students." He further charged that real scholarship was lacking, that poor teaching was the order of the day and that "almost stupid business practices" prevailed.¹⁸

As stated elsewhere, Benedict may have been harsh in his criticism. However, when the records are impartially surveyed,

¹³Quarterly Report of Seago Baptist College, March 31, 1905, to DCF. This school, designed for Negroes, was located near the center of the city of Muskogee. In 1907, the president of the school stated that they were the educational hope of eight-tenths of the Negroes in the area, that the city of Muskogee was crowding them out and that they would be required to close unless help was forthcoming.

¹⁴Forman Transcripts, 38812-A, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. At the time the *Session Industrial School* closed, it had about thirty-five pupils, both Indian and Negro, and properties valued at about one thousand dollars.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶*Indian Inspector*, 1899, p. 19. When the tribal government took over the schools, efficiency gave way to Indian politics.

¹⁷See *Appendix A* for list of private and denominational schools in the Creek Nation, 1901-03.

¹⁸*House Document*, No. 5, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 107. In one case, a school official had his sister, two sisters-in-law, his uncle, his niece, and six cousins on the payroll, Calvin Ballard, the first Federal superintendent for the Creek Nation, blamed the boarding school superintendents for this situation. He roundly condemned them, bringing charges of drunkenness and incompetency, and forcing a number of them out of office.

In spite of attempts to make the boarding schools real institutions of higher learning, favoritism and politics kept them at the common school level. Primary pupils always outnumbered the advanced pupils.

For a review of the life of John D. Benedict as Superintendent of Schools of the Five Civilized Tribes see Muriel H. Wright, article on "John D. Benedict . . ." in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, pp. 472-508.

It appears that the general superintendent was reasonably sure of his grounds. For instance, in support of his argument of poor business management, the superintendent could not understand why livestock, poultry and vegetables were not more extensively produced on the school farms as a source of food for their tables. In fact, farming and the production of livestock were largely neglected by the nine boarding schools.¹⁹ Such meant more school money had to be expended for food and that the students did not get "the practical experience that agricultural pursuits would have given them."²⁰

In common with the other Nations, the Creeks let their boarding schools out on a contract basis. Their laws were very lenient as to who could contract for a school, setting up no requirements other than that of citizenship. Since it was not required that the leaders of the boarding schools be educators and since contracts were given by the political branch of the tribal government, most of the contractors were politicians — men who were looked upon with favor by the Creek legislators or by the principal chieftain.

The contractors were voted lump sums by the Creek Council for the purpose of boarding, lodging, clothing, instructing, and the giving of medical care for a certain specified number of pupils. In evaluating this method of control, Mrs. John Robe observed:²¹

The contractors got their positions politically. Then they are allowed so much to run the school, about ten dollars per head per month. . . . All that can be saved constitutes the salary of the superintendent. I know one school where there are one hundred students. The superintendent is putting in his pocket from five to six dollars per month for each student. I need not tell you how the students fare in such a place.

In this same connection, O. H. Lipe, former superintendent of the Indian School at Carlisle, wrote: "When I took charge of the contract boarding schools in the Five Civilized Tribes, I found conditions shocking . . . in many cases, pupils were sleeping in beds packed like sardines in a can. This condition was speedily rectified and the contract system was abolished . . .

¹⁹In criticizing the schools, an exception was ordinarily made of Nuyaka as it was still controlled by the Presbyterian Church and was considered, by far, the best of the institutions. The Creek Council re-established Nuyaka in 1882, nine miles west of Okmulgee.

²⁰House Document, No. 8, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 204. The Creek Supplemental Agreement of 1901, reserved forty acres of land from allotment for each of the ten boarding schools, including the orphans' homes—land that in most cases, was rented and worked by white tenants.

²¹Mrs. John M. Robe to the Ladies Presbyterian Society, Jan. 1907. In DCP. Mrs. Robe was the wife of the superintendent at Nuyaka. Her letter aroused a storm of protests from the other schools. It seemed as though she was getting too close to the truth.

The superintendents are now bonded officers under direct supervision of the Indian office."²¹

In each of the boarding schools there was a principal teacher who acted as executive officer for the superintendent. He was in charge of the school properties, in charge of discipline of both students and employees, and in charge of setting up and assigning duties to the school personnel. It was the principal's job to inspect all departments daily, to keep up good attendance, to keep thorough school records, arrange the daily schedule of the school, and implement the curriculum as determined by the contractor, Federal supervisor and the Creek officials.²²

Alice Robertson, in her general report for 1904, goes into great detail in describing and locating the boarding schools.²³ The following is an excerpt coupled with the appropriations the Creek Council made for each school:²⁴

Eufaula High School

Brick building, three stories, nineteen rooms, located in Eufaula, valued at \$15,000, appropriation — \$9,000.

Wetumka Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, fourteen rooms, located four miles north of Wetumka, valued at \$8,000, appropriation — \$9,000.

Tulahassee Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, twenty rooms, located north of Muskogee, valued at \$8,000, appropriation — \$9,000.

Euches Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, ten rooms, located in Sapulpa, valued at \$12,000, appropriation — \$7,200.

²¹Warren K. Moorhead, *The American Indian in the United States* (Aurora, Ill., 1914). The contract system was not abolished, however, until sometime after the tribal governments went out of existence with the coming of statehood.

²²Foreman Transcripts, 36814, loc. cit.

²³*Indian Inspector*, 1905, p. 49. Each school was open ten or more months and carried an industrial staff of four to ten employees. See Appendix B for statistics for each of the Creek Boarding schools for 1905.

Directly under the control of the principal of each school were two or three teachers, a matron, a seamstress, a laundress, a cook, a barber and, sometimes, a laborer. Appointment, and removal of all such personnel was left up to the contractor.

²⁴Foreman Transcripts, 37304-B, 36814-D, loc. cit. In each case, Miss Robertson lists only the main buildings. Each school had a number of smaller buildings and some of them had sizeable tracts of land figured in the evaluation. Tullahassee and Toccoa Creek were maintained for the Negro citizens of the tribe.

Creek Orphan Home

Brick building, two stories, sixteen rooms, located about a mile from Okmulgee, valued at \$10,000, appropriation — \$6,666.

Nayaka Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, located near Beggs, valued at \$8,000, appropriation — \$5,600.

Wealaka Boarding School

Wood frame building, two stories, located at Wealaka, valued at \$8,000, appropriation — \$4,500.

Coweta Boarding School

Wood frame building, located at Coweta, valued \$8,000, appropriation — \$4,500.

Pecan Creek Boarding School

Wood frame building, located near Muskogee, valued at \$10,000, appropriation — \$4,500.

Colored Orphan Home

Stone building, two stories, ten rooms, located near Muskogee, valued at \$5,000, appropriation — \$3,033.

From 1896 until the Federal government took complete control of the Creek schools just before statehood, the boarding institutions were subject to the financial control and the supervisory authority of the Indian office.²⁴ In 1900, Calvin Ballard stated that he had visited all the boarding schools and "many times took charge of classes" and made suggestions to teachers as to how they might improve their procedure.²⁵

That some of the schools did not always appreciate this "intrusion" goes without saying. Many times the contractor felt the supervisor was just trying to exercise her authority. For instance, in one of her reports, Alice Robertson states that the officials at Eufaula seemed to feel they were not under her control. She reported they refused to cooperate and would not follow her suggestions. Benedict was asked to intervene and "straighten them out."²⁶

It was not long until the boarding schools realized the Federal government was in a position to force the issue. By the

²⁴As already mentioned, all accounts of the boarding schools had to be approved by the supervisor and the general superintendent before the Creek chieftain could write warrants covering them. Such warrants were taken up and made cashable about six months after issue.

²⁵Indian Inspector, 1900, p. 80. See Appendix C.

²⁶Foreman Transcripts, 30420-A, loc. cit. Miss Robertson complained that the girls were not being properly supervised and that there were several irregularities there. She also objected to the principal not attending summer terminals.

simple expedient of refusing to approve their accounts until the supervisor's suggestions had been met, the schools were forced to cooperate.

In checking the records of the boarding schools, one is struck by the unusually poor attendance for schools of this type. Ordinarily, schools where children live on the campus and are under direct control of the authorities are blessed with almost perfect attendance. However, such was not the case with the Creek schools. It was the supervisor's contention that this was due partially to poor roads. She pointed out that when children would go home for the holidays, they often would find it impossible to return for weeks at a time, Coweta being the principal sufferer in this respect.¹⁰

Two of the main concerns of Benedict with reference to the boarding schools was to raise the standards of the superintendents and to introduce the practical arts in the curriculum. By using the "club of financial control" he was able, in a measure, to achieve both objectives. Supervisor Falwell reported in 1907 that "Manual training has been added to Wealaka, Eufaula and Euchee. We hope to place it in all of the schools next year . . . In all of the boarding schools we are stressing domestic science and giving more and more attention to agriculture."¹¹

However, with respect to raising the standards of boarding school superintendents, Benedict was not so successful. Because of low pay it was difficult to get competent citizens to take such jobs. For example, Alice Robertson reported in 1905 that: "Henry M. Harjo recently resigned at Wealaka and Johnson E. Tigg resigned at the Creek Orphans' Home. In both cases it was because of poor remuneration. We promoted the principal teacher in each case, but I doubt if we can keep them."¹²

One of the general charges that Benedict leveled at all of the Creek schools was that of poor instruction. To eliminate this evil and to set up adequate teacher standards and methods of certification, he called upon the supervisors to institute programs of summer normals in each of the Nations and asked Congress to appropriate funds to help defray the expenses of such institutes.¹³

In some sections of Indian Territory, the idea of summer training for teachers was a new endeavor. However, such was not the case in the Creek Nation. Here the Indians, since 1894, had been holding what they called teachers' institutes, in which the

¹⁰Robertson Collection, Letter 1123, in University of Tulsa. Tulsa.

¹¹Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1907, in DCF.

¹²Robertson Collection, Letter 1123, loc. cit.

¹³Indian Inspector, 1899, p. 79. To his plea for funds, Congress turned a deaf ear.

teachers of the Nation would come together during the summer for a week or two and study their mutual problems. Ordinarily certain leaders from their own number were chosen and charged with the responsibility of directing the discussion.¹¹

Realizing that the idea of summer normals was thus not new among the Creeks, Benedict determined to build on that which was already established. Accordingly, he called on the supervisor to broaden the base of the tribal institutes, secure competent faculties and make them the agency for the certification of teachers in the Nation.¹²

Accordingly, the First Creek Normal under Federal supervision was held at Eufaula High School in June of 1900. Calvin Ballard, the Creek supervisor, was in charge and reported a "very successful meeting with sixty white and Indian teachers in attendance."¹³ After conferring with tribal officials, it was decided that the institutes should be held each year during the month of June for four weeks and that each teacher attending should pay the Normal instructors and purchase the necessary supplies.

The next year, 1901, the white and Indian teachers again met at Eufaula while the Negro teachers met at Muskogee. Miss Alice Robertson was in charge of the normals and reported seventy-five "white teachers" and forty-five Negro teachers in attendance. She highly praised the programs of the institutes and intimated that as soon as more teachers learned of the good work being done that far more would attend. She went on to state that of the teachers at Eufaula, twenty-two were natives of Indian Territory while the remainder were natives of no less than thirteen states — a situation with which the supervisor was highly pleased.¹⁴

At the end of each normal, examinations were given for the purpose of granting teaching certificates. By 1900, it was the policy of the supervisor to grant places only to those teachers who had attended the summer institute and had been properly certified. As to this policy, Miss Robertson reported:

"The requirement that teachers attend summer normals and take examinations for certificates, is extremely distasteful to a large number of teachers. Generally, we have tried to appoint to the best places those who make the highest grades, but

¹¹Frank A. Ralston, "Education in Indian Territory," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Education, Stanford University, 1927), p. 186 (Typewritten). Such institutes were being held annually among the Creeks when Benedict came to Muskogee in 1899. Attendance, however, was on a voluntary basis.

¹²Indian Inspector, 1900, p. 79. See Appendix D.

¹³Indian Inspector, 1900, p. 83.

some teachers have been appointed by the Creek superintendent without taking examinations. I feel my position should be clarified."¹⁴

However, in spite of political interference, the supervisor continued her policy of antifavoritism. It soon was broadly realized that high grades in the normals, other things being equal, meant desirable teaching posts in the neighborhood schools and that faithful service in those schools constituted an "open door" to places in the boarding schools — facts that greatly stimulated the *esprit de corps* of the Creek teachers.¹⁵

By 1902, the Creek Normals had hit their stride. However, fewer teachers put in their appearance than the year before. This fact was explained by the supervisor as indicating the institutes were maintaining high standards and thus weeding out the incompetent. The records indicate that fewer and fewer Creek citizens were passing the examinations and that many who held high places in the boarding schools were unable to obtain even third grade certificates — a fact accepted by most of the Creeks as indicating the need for the normal and better trained teachers.¹⁶

In the 1902 normal, primary methods were taught for the first time. A liberal money gift from Mrs. William Thaw of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, have enabled the directors of the institute to receive the services of Mr. and Mrs. Carter, who gave "inspiring lectures on method" and demonstrated procedure by using a class made up of full blood children.¹⁷ This innovation, coupled with the fact textbooks in pedagogy had been secured

¹⁴House Document, No. 5, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 310. One of the most important needs of those attending the institutes was for an adequate knowledge of the academic subjects. Thus, the first normals were given over exclusively to this type of training. Review of such subjects as arithmetic, grammar, composition, geography, history, reading, and spelling constituted the daily program. Methods and principles of teaching were not stressed until deficiencies in the academic subjects had been cared for.

Along with the meetings of white and Indian teachers the Negro teachers would meet at the Colored Orphans' Home. Ordinarily, about twenty would be present.

¹⁵Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1902, p. 260. However, in spite of the leadership of Benedict and the Creek supervisor, preference was still given to those teachers who had strong political ties. In fact, rumors continued for some time that teachers had to refund part of their salaries in order to obtain and hold certain choice teaching posts in the Nation.

¹⁶House Document, No. 5, 57th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 253. One of the members of the Creek Council, whose daughter, educated in the national schools, utterly failed on the examination, stated that such teachers as his daughter had should be in the penitentiary.

from the American Book Company, gave new life to the normal and lifted it to a higher plane.⁴⁰

In 1903, the supervisor reported that the customary summer normals had been held at Bufaula and Muskogee and that they had been well attended. According to the report, better work was done than in former years. Lectures on pedagogical subjects were combined with instruction in the academic areas. As to the general results of the normal, Miss Robertson stated:⁴¹ "Large numbers passed the examination . . . The Creek superintendent was there and aided with the work. Benedict put in his appearance . . . All appointments were made on the records of the normal . . . the desirable positions going to those with the highest grades . . . Pressure on the supervisor to secure good appointments has ceased. Now everybody knows that opportunity and advancement comes on merit."

Further detail pertaining to the Creek normals would add little to this study. However, it is well to note that by 1907 composition and music had been added to the requirements for certification and that a number of teachers were attending the summer sessions of the University of Oklahoma and the Teachers' College at Pittsburg, Kans.⁴²

One of the provisions of the Curtis Act of 1898 provided that all Indian governments were to cease on March 4, 1906. Benedict informed supervisor Falwell that no part of the governmental appropriations would be available after that date and

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Bill from the American Book Co., May 23, 1902, in DCF. The bill was for sixty copies of White, *The Art of Teaching*, to be used in the normal at Bufaula and fifty copies to be used at the colored normal. This normal was also unusual in a number of other respects. Attention, for the first time, was given to the teaching of reading and a series of evening entertainments were given to relieve the pressure of the institute. Benedict and supervisor Beck of the Chickasaws came and aided with the instruction.

⁴²Robertson Collection, Letter 1133, loc. cit. By 1906, uniform examinations were being given throughout Indian Territory. As a result of such examinations, certificates were granted by the supervisors and general superintendent that were good in the schools of all the Nations. Such raised requirements and eliminated a vast number of incompetent teachers.

⁴³Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1907, in DCF. The total amount collected for both normals, white and Negro, was \$1,174.20. The cost of both normals was \$1,142.40, leaving on hand a balance of thirty-one dollars and eighty cents. The instructors in the normal were paid as follows: G. W. Horton, \$125; J. W. Mitchell, \$125; C. W. Erlen, \$125; C. L. Garber, \$125; Walter Van Allen, \$125; and Walter Falwell, \$125. The instructors at the colored normal were paid \$100 each.

that unless Congress took appropriate actions, all the Creek schools would be forced to close.⁴³

Consequently by the latter part of 1905, uncertainty and general apathy prevailed throughout the Creek school circles. Attendance dropped, teachers lost interest, and boarding schools prepared to close.

Falwell informed the general superintendent: "I have instructed Supt. John M. Robe of Nuyaka Boarding School that there will be nothing for him to do but close on March 4 . . . There will be no way he can arrange for funds in order to continue."⁴⁴

However, shortly before the deadline approached, Congress acted in a dramatic fashion and continued the existence of the tribal governments until "all properties of such tribes . . . shall be distributed among the individual members unless hereafter provided by law," thus quieting the apprehension that prevailed throughout the Muskogee Nation.⁴⁵

On April 25, of the same year, Congress broadened the authority of the Secretary of the Interior and directed him to "assume control of the tribal schools and to conduct them under rules and regulations that he might prescribe." All tribal educational officers were to be retained, subject to the Secretary's dismissal, and the present school system was to continue in force until it should be taken over by a territorial or state government. The act further provided that the Secretary was empowered to set aside a sufficient amount of money from tribal funds to defray all necessary expenses of such schools, provided the amount did not "exceed that expended in the scholastic year ending June 30, 1905."⁴⁶

With the Federal government, at last, in complete control of the Creek schools, one might have expected some rather sweeping changes in the educational picture. However, such did not prove to be the case. The only change of note was in the method used in the disbursement of funds. All function, in this respect, was completely removed from the tribal officials. No longer was the principal chieftain allowed to issue warrants against tribal funds — warrants that were to be later collected

⁴³Benedict to Falwell, Aug. 3, 1905, in *DCF*. Obviously, it was supposed that by 1906, the Creek Nation would be served by either a territorial or state system of schools.

⁴⁴Falwell to Benedict, Feb. 15, 1906, in *DCF*. The Presbyterians felt they could not carry the burden of the school alone.

⁴⁵*Indian Inspector*, 1908, p. 38. (Creek law books give the spelling of the name *Muscogee Nation*.)

⁴⁶Charles J. Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. III, p. 172.

and cashed by the Indian office. All claims were now paid directly, out of Indian funds, by the Federal government. A situation that prevailed even after statehood.⁴⁷

Thus, when statehood was proclaimed in November of 1907, and Creek, Okfuskee, McIntosh, Muskogee, Okmulgee and most of Wagoner, Tulsa, and Hughes Counties were surveyed from the old Creek Nation, the county superintendents found a broad educational base on which to build. As was the case in the Cherokee Nation, they inherited a system of rural and village education already in existence — a system that was taken over and modified to meet the new conditions. While in the incorporated towns, the state school authorities found a program in operation that required little or no modification. In fact, the superintendents of independent school districts such as Okmulgee or Wagoner, would not necessarily be in a foreign situation were the years suddenly rolled back to the days immediately preceding statehood when the superintendents were free to conduct their affairs, unmolested by state laws and inspectors.

⁴⁷The Federal government abolished the contract system in the boarding schools and made the superintendents of such institutions regular bonded officers of the Indian Department.

APPENDIX A

PRIVATE AND DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS REPORTED IN
THE CREEK NATION, 1901-1909⁴⁸

Year and School	Location	Enrollment		
		White	Indian	Total
1901				
Nazareth Institute	Muskogee	—	—	—
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	—	—	—
Spaulding Institute	Muskogee	—	—	—
1902				
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	144	47	191
Nazareth Institute	Muskogee	95	30	144
Spaulding Institute	Muskogee	167	85	252
Indian University	Bacone	87	48	145
1903				
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	129	69	198
Indian University	Bacone	116	60	166
Nazareth Institute	Muskogee	143	40	183
Spaulding Institute	Muskogee	186	131	317
Blato Springs	Burney	47	—	47
1904				
Nazareth College	Muskogee	15	35	50
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	225	45	270
Spaulding Female Institute	Muskogee	209	80	270
Bacone Indian University	Muskogee	126	52	177
1905				
Bacone Indian University	Muskogee	87	74	161
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	125	39	164
1906				
Bacone Indian University	Muskogee	61	29	90
Henry Kendall College	Muskogee	104	35	140
1907				
Indian University	Bacone	92	63	155
Spaulding College	Muskogee	162	—	162

⁴⁸Indian Inspector, 1901, p. 82; 1902, p. 68; 1903, p. 71; 1904, p. 87; 1905, p. 50; 1906, p. 53; 1907, p. 38.

APPENDIX B

ENROLLMENT, AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, ANNUAL APPROPRIATION AND AVERAGE COST OF THE BOARDING SCHOOLS OF THE CREEK NATION, 1905-09

School	Enrollment	Average Attendance	Appropriation	Average Cost
Bufala High School	98	66	\$7,548.39	\$110.16
Waiwaka Boarding School	127	71	7,934.34	111.76
Sachee Boarding School	119	65	6,745.91	108.78
Coweta Boarding School	58	24	3,338.38	164.09
Waiwaka Boarding School	59	39	4,092.21	104.93
Tulimasssee Boarding School	110	82	7,143.30	82.87
Fremont Creek Boarding School	60	47	3,396.99	72.79
Noyaka Boarding School	117	74	5,600.00	75.88
Creek Orphan Home	62	54	5,468.15	119.76
Colored Orphan Home	53	37	2,088.85	59.97

APPENDIX C

ENROLLMENT AND ANNUAL COST OF THE BOARDING SCHOOLS IN THE CREEK NATION, 1898-1907

Year	Number of Schools	Enrollment	Annual Cost
1899	10	797	\$73,099
1900	9	640	65,057
1901	9	591	60,470
1902	10	632	68,393
1903	10	616	61,988
1904	10	974	64,003
1905	10	800	49,394
1906	10	724	65,472
1907	10	754	62,043

¹Indian Inspector, 1899, p. 19; 1900, p. 82; 1901, p. 75; 1902, p. 51; 1903, p. 38; 1904, p. 84; 1905, p. 48; 1906, p. 50; 1907, p. 31. Noyaka was not reported in 1900 and 1901.

APPENDIX D

SUMMER NORMALS IN THE CREEK NATION,
1900-1907⁵⁰

Year and Place	Attendance		Faculty
	White	Colored	
1900			
Eufaula	80	—	—
Colored Orphan ⁵¹	—	20	—
Home			
1901			
Eufaula	75	—	—
Muskogee	—	45	—
1902			
Eufaula	61	—	—
Muskogee	—	41	—
1903			
Eufaula	55	—	—
Muskogee	—	40	—
1904			
Eufaula	52	—	Professor Gillan
1905			
Eufaula	130	—	D. Frank Heald, G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell, Bruce McKinley, Maud Gunn, Joseph Carter
1906			
Hacone	200	—	G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell, C. W. Priles, G. L. Garber
Muskogee	—	122	C. B. Bryant, B. J. Hawkins
1907			
Checotah	197	—	G. W. Horton, J. G. Mitchell, C. W. Priles, Walter Van Allen
Muskogee	—	197	C. B. Bryant, G. W. Carr

⁵⁰ *Indian Inspector*, 1900, p. 70; 1901, p. 102; 1902, p. 97; 1903, p. 74; 1904, p. 69; 1905, p. 64; 1906, p. 64; 1907, p. 35. Although some items in this table are missing, it is as complete as available materials will permit. Each normal was directed by the Federal supervisor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS, SCHOOLS IN EASTERN INDIAN
TERRITORY — 1868-1915

- Miss M. Robertson Collection*, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma. This collection consists of letters, newspaper clippings, reports and photographs owned by the Robertson and Worcester families. The 2520 letters, written during the years from 1815 to 1932, have been duplicated and filed chronologically by the library staff of the University.
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- Master*. Bruce Gilbert, "A History of Seminole County" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1932).
- Cherokee Documents*, Cherokee File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
- | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|------|
| 3001 | 2697 | 2701 | 2705 | 191 |
| 2712 | 2696 | 2708 | 2710 | 3104 |
- This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to the orphan's home, the semingies, the colored high school, and the neighborhood schools. It is arranged by school and district. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.
- Chickasaw Documents*, Chickasaw File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|
| 10490 | 10504 | 10020 | 10030 | 9723 | 8814 |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|------|
- This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents, pertaining to the Chickasaw academies and neighborhood schools. It is arranged by school and district. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.
- Choctaw Documents*, Choctaw File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 22178 | 20228 | 19768 | 20050 | 20083 | 11080 |
| 20167 | 20227 | 10702 | 22178 | 19793 | 19703 |
- This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to the Choctaw academies, neighborhood and small boarding schools. It is arranged by school, district and county. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.
- Creek Documents*, Creek File, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 37370.
- This material consists of letters, reports and assorted documents pertaining to the Creek boarding and neighborhood schools. It is arranged by school and district. Each group of documents is in a numbered folder and placed in a steel file.
- Sevier Commission Files*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. This material consists of letters, re-

ports, directives, regulations, claims, contracts, cancelled checks, clippings, bulletins, and a wide variety of other documents bearing on Indian and white education. Many of the reports and letters are in longhand, some being written in pencil. The materials are mixed with documents bearing on other subjects but they are all arranged by years and filed in four large four-drawer steel files.

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2217-B	1136-A	38810-F	38816-D	3031-B-1	36620-A
11232-A	18824-A	38790-A	38790-B	38814-E	22217-J
11299-B	11328-A	3030-A	38812-A	37304-B	16692-A
11134-A	38814-	34814-B	22229-A	38814-D	38820-A

This collection is made up of typewritten documents that have to do with the history of the Five Civilized Tribes. A number of the items pertain to schools during the period, 1828-1907. The material is divided by subject matter and each copied document is numbered.

Frank Phillips Collection. University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. Along with government reports and books on western and Indian history, this collection consists of letters, reports, acts of the tribal councils and assorted documents bearing on education in Indian Territory.

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38511

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This material consists of letters, reports, and various other documents pertaining to the Seminole day schools and academies. The documents are in numbered folders and arranged in a steel file.

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