



CHEROKEE FEMALE SEMINARY

*From an engraving in the library of the American Board of
Commissioners for Foreign Missions, of Boston, Massachusetts.*

A Cherokee Daughter of Mount Holyoke

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Cherokee

Cherokee Room

A Cherokee Daughter of Mount Holyoke

The history of the higher education of women, like the annals of the poor, is short. It was only a little more than a century ago that female intelligence began to be considered worth the investment of any capital for its development; and this investment was first made, not in England or on the continent where higher education for men was already many centuries old, but in the United States, a young democracy where almost any strange thing might come to pass.

Mount Holyoke, celebrating her one hundredth anniversary on May seventh and eighth, 1937, is the hoary elder among women's colleges. Other female seminaries, antedating this one, had not her plan "to gain perpetuity by endowments for an institution which should secure as high intellectual training for the daughters as for the sons of the family;"¹ and their equipment was seldom more than what Mark Hopkins later spoke of as "pianos and

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guitars and music-books,"² set up in some temporary and unsuitable location such as the home of a minister or the basement of a church.

On February tenth, 1836, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was incorporated. On November eighth, 1837, its founder Mary Lyon opened the side door of the new institution (Deacon Porter was helping the carpenters lay the front threshold) at South Hadley to receive the young women who had been carefully selected to begin the first venture in female collegiate education. Miss Lyon had, through the prospectus which she circulated in 1835 after having it "printed to save the labor of transcribing,"³ made an effort to reject those who might "in after life dishonor the institution or become simply harmless cumberers of the ground;" and she had announced that the atmosphere of the school would be "uncongenial to those who are wrapped up in self, preparing simply to please, and to be pleased, whose highest ambition is, to be qualified to amuse a friend in a vacant hour."⁴

Such a standard of selection had never before been put into practice in the education of young ladies. In general, those concerned with female education had had, as Miss Lyon wrote to her former colleague Miss Zilpah Grant, "no idea of doing it except by shares, with the expectation of an income. They look at schools generally just as they would at mercantile business."⁵ That great quartet of pioneers in the cause of education for women, Miss Lyon herself, Miss Zilpah Grant, Miss Caroline Beecher, and Mrs. Emma Willard, had all served their apprenticeship in schools of this frankly mercantile character. An earlier pioneer in female education, the Reverend Mr. Joseph Emerson, had been a teacher of both Mary Lyon

and Zilpah Grant; there is no room to doubt that they both owed something of their educational vision to the influence of a mind that could declare, "I am extremely dissatisfied with almost every thing I read upon education," and "We know not—we little conjecture—what wonders are yet to be produced in all the departments of education."⁶ But even this Mr. Emerson's seminary, when he opened it at Byfield, had been operated primarily for profit; he had organized it as a means of supporting his family when his failure in health had forced him to give up the more strenuous duties of preaching, and he had had no idea of a permanent establishment, "founded, endowed and sustained,"⁷ or of a student body selected with some discrimination as to age, previous preparation, and native ability.

It is small wonder, then, that Miss Lyon met with surprise and opposition, when she began her efforts to found a female seminary with "a seminary building free of rent," managed by a board of trustees who should appoint an agent for the management of its finances, and with a plain but gracious standard of living that allowed each student the use of a room "exclusively her own."⁸ (A room of one's own, then, is an idea a hundred years old and not a demand of the past decade.) Deacon Daniel Safford, opening his home in Boston for a meeting to gain support and contributions for the proposed institution, defied custom to the extent of admitting three women to hear what was said: his own wife, Miss Lyon, and her associate Miss Eunice Caldwell; but Miss Lyon, wanting such substantial backing as that of the Saffords when she rode stage coaches alone or appeared unexpectedly on doorsteps with her green money-bag on her arm, was more

often than not severely criticized for want of good taste and womanly decorum.

But New England, swallowing its indignation, swallowed it whole. During the second year of the operation of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, four hundred applicants were refused admission because, whatever their qualifications for entrance, there was no more room for them. Some young women waited two or even three years to gain admission. Soon communities where, a few years earlier, a man who was ignorant and boorish would have been preferred as a teacher to any woman even of the highest abilities, applied to Miss Lyon to send them one of her young ladies to teach their school. And beyond New England the school became a legend and a pattern. In Illinois, Monticello Seminary was reorganized in 1839 on the plan Miss Lyon had evolved; and the trustees of what was to become Rockford College wrote in 1846 for advice in founding their proposed school for young ladies. In Wisconsin, the trustees of the proposed coeducational college that was to be called Beloit sought guidance from Mount Holyoke. East and west, daughter colleges gave proof of the approval that the institution of Miss Lyon's founding had won for itself on its own undoubted merits.

Perhaps of them all the most amazing daughter was not of New England or even of American origin; rather, it was more primitively American than anything New England soil or people could produce. This was the Cherokee Female Seminary, of Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation. It had its inception among leaders of the Cherokees in 1846, was instituted by an act of the Cherokee National Council in 1847, and was opened on May 7, 1851. This school was not, as people unaware of the history of the

Cherokees might suppose, a brief and superficial attempt to imitate a popular achievement of the white man; it was part of an elaborate and carefully studied plan of education evolved by the leading men of the tribe. It lasted, indeed, until 1907, when the admission of Oklahoma to statehood automatically ended its existence as a tribal school. Its atmosphere, particularly during the period before the disturbed conditions incident to the Civil War led to its suspension for several years, was as like that of the mother school as teachers from Mount Holyoke and a plan of domestic arrangements and a course of study laid out by that institution could make it; it embodied Miss Lyons' own ideas as precisely—and as incongruously in its Indian surroundings—as if she herself had made the long journey to Park Hill to persuade the Cherokees, as she had persuaded the people of New England, to accept her vision of an education that was to train young women for useful and disciplined living, rather than to "finish" them. In some respects, it out-lyonized Miss Lyon.

No other tribe among the North American Indians lent itself to rapid incorporation of the white man's ways and ideas as did the Cherokees. They had received missionaries from the Moravian and Presbyterian churches before the beginning of the nineteenth century, and had welcomed the establishment of Brainerd Mission by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions among them in 1817. In Georgia, they had built homes and cultivated farms after the manner of their slave-owning white neighbors; they had begun to print a weekly newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, as early as 1828; they had sent their most promising sons to the Foreign Mission school at Cornwall and to Princeton and Dartmouth.

Even a long series of treaties with the United States government and the embittering circumstances of their enforced removal to lands west of the Mississippi had not turned the survivors of that removal away from their course of achieving the white man's civilization. With new homes to build after their arrival in 1838, an unknown environment on the prairies to conquer, and their lost fortunes and lost courage to renew by whatever means they might devise, they went steadily forward in their efforts to adopt the ways of the people who had defeated them. Their theory of survival had become one of homeopathy: to take such doses as they might absorb of the culture that threatened to exterminate them.

Education, the Cherokees believed, was the shortest and surest road to the new civilization. Their missionaries, mostly New England men to whom education was an essential, if unacknowledged, part of the plan of salvation, had taught them this. Some of these missionaries, men of the stripe of Samuel Austin Worcester and Dr. Elizur Butler, had seen their well established churches and schools among the Cherokees brought to defeat by the confusion and destruction of the removal, and had come west to continue their efforts to teach and save the Indians. White men, from President Andrew Jackson down to the most transient trader in sugar and calico, had deceived the Cherokees, but some of their missionaries had shared their worst misfortunes. If they had reason for faith in anything at all, it was for faith in what these missionaries advocated.

In 1841, the Cherokee National Council created the office of Superintendent of Education and provided for eleven public schools in which the teachers' salaries were

to be thirty dollars per month. This was a liberal plan for public education in those times, and the payment was as liberal as the plan; Miss Lyon herself, only a few years earlier, had been offered six dollars a week and board as an inducement to remain for her fifth year at Londonderry, New Hampshire. But still the plan was inadequate. Those Cherokees who wanted more than an elementary education must go outside their own nation for it; often they followed the example of the sons and daughters of their missionaries and went to the best schools the east afforded. In the 1840's Dr. Butler's daughter Cornelia was in Boston studying music under Mr. Lowell Mason; Jacob Hitchcock's son Dwight was at Amherst and later at Bowdoin studying medicine; and the Reverend Mr. Worcester's older daughters were each in turn in New England, Ann Eliza at St. Johnsbury Academy in Vermont and Sarah at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. There was a particular satisfaction to a Worcester in enrolling at Mount Holyoke, for Ann Orr Worcester before she began her years of hardship as the wife of a missionary had been a classmate of Mary Lyon at Byfield, where the two young women's minds had kindled under the stimulation of Joseph Emerson's teaching. Through their missionaries, and their own children, the Cherokees were not so remote from New England in the 1840's as the long and tedious journey there would indicate.

Still they were too far to find the educational situation altogether satisfactory. They must bring colleges within their own national boundary. The report of the Cherokee Agent to the Bureau of Indian affairs for 1847 indicates that they solved the difficulty by the direct method of founding two schools of seminary, or collegiate, rank. "In

addition to the eight public schools in the nation and the missionary establishments," the Agent wrote, "the authorities of the nation have resolved on building two seminaries, near Tah-le-quah, the council ground—one for the education of males, and the other for females. This laudable undertaking has been embarked in with commendable energy; and since the commencement of the manual labor, has given daily employment to about seventy-five hands, including mechanics and ordinary laborers. The buildings are of brick, and will be large and commodious. The probable cost is estimated at about \$35,000.

When the work is finished, it is contemplated to employ reputable and competent teachers, male and female, to take charge of those institutions, where the higher branches of education will be taught, and thereby the inconvenience and expense of sending the youths of the nation to distant schools to complete their education, will be superseded."

Just as Miss Lyon, at South Hadley, had met with almost unsurmountable difficulties in the opening of Mount Holyoke, so did the Cherokees in bringing their seminaries into operation. Neither building materials nor laborers were easily obtained. A news item printed in a Tahlequah publication in the summer of 1855 indicates something of the isolation that made building difficult: "Times are very dull in the town of Tahlequah. The stocks of merchants have all become low; goods cannot be had on account of low water."⁹ For a time, in 1847, there was reason to expect speedy progress, when three Mormons appeared, built a brick kiln, and began the erection of three brick buildings in the town of Tahlequah. But the doctrines they preached in the half-built court-house on

which they were at work proved to be less acceptable than the bricks they made, and their work in the capital of the Cherokees came to a quick end. From then on, it was to be hoped, better progress would be made on the seminary buildings. "The Carpenter and Joiner's work for these buildings," the *Cherokee Advocate* for December 9, 1847, asserted, "was given last week to Messrs. Brown and McCoy. The work will now be carried on, we doubt not, without delay till the buildings shall be completed." These buildings were an achievement in themselves, when they were finished. They were practically identical, although several miles apart in their separate locations near Tahlequah and Park Hill; each was 100 by 160 feet in dimensions, two stories above a basement and with a two-story portico composed of Greek columns built around three sides. The architecture was no more native than were the seminaries it was to serve; but of its kind it was excellent. On May 6, 1851, the Male Seminary near Tahlequah was opened; on the next day, the Female Seminary at Park Hill began its long history.

It must be said of the Cherokees that they did nothing by halves; having set out to found a female seminary, they went straight to the best one of which they could learn, for their model. Two of their leading men, David Vann and William P. Ross, the latter a nephew of the Principal Chief John Ross, were sent to South Hadley to learn the workings of the institution there and to engage teachers. After their study they wrote to the acting principal, Miss Mary W. Chapin, for further information; their letter, in the hand of David Vann but with the signatures of both men, may still be seen in Mount Holyoke's collection of historical manuscripts.

"Washington D. C. June 19th 1850.

Miss Chapin

Mt. Holyoke Female Institute,

We have to ask you to engage for us the teachers we were looking for on the occasion of our late visit to your place. Should you think Miss Worcester and Miss Whitmore suitable, we are willing to take them, it being agreeable to themselves, unless you have met with some one, whose age and experience, would better qualify her for the post of Principal Teacher.

The law requires teachers 'capable of all the branches of literature and science commonly taught in the academies of the United States,' and one of whom must also be able to teach vocal music.

The terms of admission to the school are 'a good examination in reading and spelling the English language, in Arithmetic, Grammar and Geography. And a sum, not exceeding eight hundred dollars (\$800), is allowed for the purchase of the books, stationery and school apparatus (*sic*) requisite to put the School into operation with twenty five (25) pupils for the first year. Not knowing what books &c will be needed we have, respectfully, to request that you will do us the favor to make out a course of studies for the four years, and let us know what will be necessary for the first year.

We regret to impose so much on your valuable time and labors, but we have not known to whom else to apply but to yourself & associates, for the information and assistance we desire.

Hoping therefore, that you will excuse the liberty we have taken,

We remain yours with high regard,

David Vann

Will. P. Ross

Our regards to Misses Worcester & Butler."¹⁰

All that this letter asked had been fulfilled, when the seminary at Park Hill opened. Miss Ellen Whitmore came out as principal, and as her assistant Sarah Worcester returned to the Cherokees among whom, as a missionary's

daughter, she had been born and reared. Sarah's younger sister, Hannah Worcester Hitchcock, has left an account of her memories of the opening of this Cherokee replica of Mount Holyoke. "Wm. P. Ross went North in behalf of the Nation, engaged the young ladies and accompanied them on the journey out, which was a far greater undertaking at that time than it would be now. The school opened with twenty-five young ladies, the flower of the Cherokee Nation, as pupils. Ever after, the seventh of May was celebrated in commemoration of that happy day. On one anniversary which I particularly remember, the large hall and parlor were beautifully decorated, and fragrant with perfume from great bunches of the lovely wild pink azalea or bush honeysuckle. The military band from Fort Gibson was on hand that day, through the courtesy of General Belknap, Post Commander at that time. The exercises of the day included a most entertaining performance, the crowning of a May Queen. . . It was a beautiful ceremony; distant music was heard, and as the sounds came near, a troop of young ladies appeared, all in lovely light dresses, escorting their Queen, singing as they marched and gathered round the throne (a bower of vines and flowers) and the Maid of Honor placed the crown (of lovely roses) on her head. In the afternoon when the exercises in the house were over, the band stationed themselves out in the blackjack woods back of the building, and the company, gentlemen and ladies in pairs, promenaded round and round to the music of the band, to their hearts' content. The Seventh of May celebrations were taken up again when the country began to recover from the ravages of the Civil War."¹¹

Miss Whitmore's stay in the Cherokee Nation was short.

But before she left she wrote such a whole-hearted plea to Miss Chapin for an able successor that Miss Paulina Avery, one of the members of the teaching staff at Mount Holyoke, came out as principal. Her letter, too, is a part of the collection belonging to Mount Holyoke College.

"Park Hill C.N. March 16, 1852.

My dear Miss Chapin

Before this reaches you, Miss Johnson will, I presume, have received a letter from me, relative to procuring a teacher to supply my place. In that I stated that the next mail would probably bear an official application.

The Board of Directors met yesterday; and authorized Hon. John Ross, Principal Chief, to employ a suitable person to take charge of the Female Seminary by the first of June, at which time I wish to be released. They also authorized him to solicit your aid in obtaining such a person. By him, I am commissioned to write to you this morning, and request you to select from your large number of candidates, one, whom you think well qualified for the situation. I would not advise one to come who has had little or no experience or one who is very young, for it is a responsible situation, and one of course by no means free from trials.

You are already acquainted with the character of the institution. It will contain about fifty scholars this year, as the second class of twenty-five are admitted this term. The branches attended to this year will be; Latin, Algebra, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Botany and Vocal Music.

The situation is, I think a desirable one in every respect. The salary is large, being eight hundred dollars a year—the school is pleasant—the country delightful—the society of the neighborhood of a superior order, and the religious privileges good.

It is very desirable that whoever comes, should come with the expectation of remaining three or four years at least. The Directors do not wish her to *engage* for any particular length of

time, but hope that it will not be *necessary* to change again for some years. Certain I am, that she will not wish to leave if her health is good, and she is as happy here as I have been. I can truly say, it is the pleasantest field in which I have ever been called to labor. Though far from home and friends, I have found warm friends here whose unremitting kindness I can never repay.

The above, I have just shown to Mr. Ross, and as it meets his approbation I will add a few lines and close. Mr. Ross is my constant friend and support—I can go to him at any time and feel sure of his sympathy and aid. He is very anxious with regard to my successor. He desires that this should become as much like Holyoke as possible, and hopes that you will send just the right one. Does my dear Miss Chapin think that I ask great things? I know that I do—but I trust I am not selfish in doing so. I feel the importance of the influence exerted by this Seminary, and it makes me *anxious*. It is not that it would be such a difficult matter to find one as well—yea better qualified to fill the place than I am—but I would have no reference to myself at all—but I desire that some one should come who is a decided active Christian—who, is energetic, patient & persevering—who is lovely & pleasing in her manners, some one, in short, like your own dear self; would that *you* could come, or *Miss Johnson*. A lovely devoted Christian lady standing by me says, 'tell Miss Chapin to send us one of the best of her ranks—and I know she will be rewarded for the sacrifice.'

I endeavor to commit this beloved school with all its interests to my Heavenly Father. I know that He will order all things for His own glory. I commit the case to you & Miss Johnson praying that God will guide you in your decision.

Tomorrow we commence the new term. I am spending today at Mr. Ross (*sic*) away from the care & confusion—shall return to the seminary this eve—or tomorrow morn. Sarah is well & would send love if she knew I was writing. Please remember me affectionately to all my friends at Holyoke.

I shall wait anxiously for a reply. If it is possible for you to find a teacher for us—who can be here as early as the first of June—tell me when we may expect her. I *was* disappointed

that Miss Johnson could not recommend one, when she wrote, but doubtless 'tis all for the *best*. I think the journey can be accomplished in three weeks at that season—expense probably not far from sixty dollars—though the expense of my journey was *double* that amount, because at such an unfavorable season. I would strongly recommend coming by St. Louis, because to that point one can almost always find good company—and from there to Fayetteville there is a regular stage route. I think Mr. N. Slow (?) was but two weeks in going from here to Cincinnati (*sic*) by that route. No very extensive preparations for wardrobe need be made for they have very good stores here—and it is desirable to have just as little baggage as possible in travelling.

This letter will reach you I presume during the first week in Apr. That will leave time sufficient I should think for one to come in season. But I would say again—if you cannot find a suitable one to come—and can do better by waiting a few weeks later—I would rather make any sacrifice—than to have one come in whom you have not perfect confidence.

But I *must* close—With much love—

Yr troublesome but aff. friend—Ellen R. W.¹²

Something dynamic about Miss Lyons' teaching, combined perhaps with her astuteness in selecting those whom she was to teach, gave her pupils an almost certain guarantee of success. Miss Avery fitted herself into her new environment, or rather fitted the daughters of the Cherokees into their new environment at the Seminary, as aptly as her predecessor had done. Her report to Mr. George Butler, Agent for the Cherokees, indicates that the young women of the tribe were rapidly being made to fit the American pattern in 1854; the fact that Miss Eliza Jane Ross, niece of the Principal Chief, was now an assistant at the Seminary meant, no doubt, a further emphasis of this pattern, rather than a departure from it.

"Female Seminary, September 8, 1854.

Sir:

We learned through Miss Ross, a few days since, that a report relating to the female seminary (Cherokee) was desired by you. As no particulars were given, we are not aware how definite it is necessary that it should be, but will mention a few of the most prominent facts.

The seminary is at present in a flourishing condition, numbering more than at any previous time. The pupils are permitted to enter at the age of fourteen, if they have reached the required standard; and are expected to remain through a four years' course.

During the last session there were sixty pupils in attendance, under the supervision of three teachers.

The studies pursued were as follows: by the third and fourth classes, arithmetic, mental and written, geography, botany, and Latin. By the second class, algebra, philosophy, Watts on Improvement of the Mind, and Latin. By the first class, geometry, history of Greece, Paley's Natural Theology, and Intellectual Philosophy.

If any further particulars are requisite, we shall be happy to give them, upon being informed.

Pauline Avery, Principal

Charlotte E. Raymond

E. Jane Ross —Assistants¹³

One of the common features of all educational institutions of that day was the public examination, when classes recited in their best fashion in the presence of commencement visitors. Since the first "Anniversary Day" at Mount Holyoke, these examinations had been part of the commencement plan. George Butler, in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1854, mentions the fact that he "attended the last examination of both the male and female seminaries (the two higher schools), and was

much gratified with the proficiency exhibited by the students; creditable alike to themselves and to their worthy teachers." The program for the next year's public examination is still extant, in a hand-writing that is probably Miss Avery's and a form that may have been tentative.

"Order of Exercises for Examination Day Aug 1, 1855 Devotions 7¼ - 7½			
	h	m	h m
Geography	7	30	7 50
Latin	7	50	8 15¼
Arithmetic	8	15	9 00
Rhetoric	9	00	9 30½
Geometry—Star of Twilight	9½	10¼	Abou Ben Adem (sic)
Physiology	10	11¼	
		Recess	11.5
Algebra	11	12.20	
Intellectual Philosophy	12	20	1
		Dinner	1½
Nat. Theology	1½	2¼	"Merry Goes the Time"
Evidences of Christianity	2¼	3	Music
		We plough the fertile meadow	
		Paper—& Marks	3¾
		Singing—I'm going home"	14

At some time during Miss Avery's principalship, the Cherokee Female Seminary began publication of its magazine, *Cherokee Rose Buds*, "devoted to the Good, the Beautiful and the True." The second number, dated August 2, 1854, preceded by a year the publication of a similar

magazine at the Male Seminary, *The Sequoyah Memorial*; but the young men outdid the ladies in their aim at "Truth, Justice, Freedom of Speech and Cherokee Improvement."

A copy of the *Memorial* reached the office of *Godey's Lady's Book*, which had opened a department headed "Places of Education for Young Women." The issue for January, 1857, gives an account of Mystic Hall Seminary, in Massachusetts, before it proceeds to a discussion of the "Cherokee Girls' Seminary." "It is even so. We pass, as by telegraph, from the 'land of the pilgrims' to the 'nation of red men,' from Mystic Hall to Tahlequah, where a seminary—an edifice that, in the well-executed engraving before us, looks quite imposing—is established for the young women of the Cherokees. We have no report of its progress, but a newspaper, issued by the 'Young Men's Seminary of the Nation,' has an article headed 'The Schools,' which we give as a specimen of the thoughts and style of the young Cherokees.

"There are twenty-one public schools that are supported by the Nation, besides several mission schools and private schools; then there are two seminaries supported at the public expense. So every young Cherokee, if he has a mind to, may obtain a good common school education with but very little expense. Many of them are reaping the advantages thus held out to them. The brightest prospects of an educated and generous people are the result. The bow and arrow have been laid aside—the day of bowie-knives and pistols is fast passing away. The wilderness is becoming the situation for cultivated farms. This reformation is fast completing: and, should our country remain on the stage of nations until her sons and daughters shall be competent to manage the future destinies of our nation, we may yet reach the summit of civilization and refinement, when knowledge shall be

diffused throughout our country; then, and not until then, will our people be a happy and contented people—their motto “progress and freedom”—then will our nation be one of the brightest class among the Indians of North America.’”

But change was in store for the Cherokees. It was to be a more immediate change than that of the gradual civilization of the Indian, and more disturbing than that of the introduction of the telegraph by which the editor of *Godey's Lady's Book* proposed to pass from Massachusetts to the country of the Cherokees. The Civil War was to divide the sympathies of the Cherokees as bitterly as it divided those of their white neighbors, and perhaps bring more bewilderment and confusion. They were extensive slave-owners, but they greatly desired peace because the memory of the dissension and suffering of their removal was still fresh in their minds. Even before the outbreak of the war, agitation over slave-owning had interrupted their progress; financially and politically they were beset with uncertainty. In his annual report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs for 1858, the Cherokee Agent George Butler wrote, “I regret to say that the seminaries, or higher schools, are still closed, and are likely to remain so for want of necessary means to keep them in operation.”

During the 1860's, confusion and poverty and hunger were the lot of the Cherokees. Not until the 70's did they recover themselves sufficiently to re-open their schools, and even then the enrollment was very small. In 1873, Miss Ella M. Noyes of the Mount Holyoke class of the preceding year came out as principal to re-open the Female Seminary. But her stay was short and her work hindered by the crippling effects of the war. It was more than two years before the school could operate according to

the standards first set for it, and it was 1879 before another class was ready for graduation. Now, as in the beginning, the Cherokee Female Seminary looked to Mount Holyoke for guidance and teachers. Miss A. Florence Wilson came out from South Hadley in 1875 to serve as principal, remaining in that office for twenty-six years. Again the anniversary days were celebrated on the seventh of May, with music and roses and crisp new frocks; again there were public examinations when Cherokee visitors listened to recitations dealing with Latin translations and Natural Theology. Even the fire of Easter Sunday, April tenth, 1887, was but a minor interruption; the school went on again, under Miss Wilson's guidance, in a new building on the outskirts of Tahlequah.

But the rapid civilization of the Cherokees meant their tribal end. They elected their last chief, settled their tribal business, accepted lands in severalty, and became in the end citizens of the state of Oklahoma. The building that had once housed Mount Holyoke's Cherokee daughter then became the property of one of the normal colleges of the state.

Today the native customs of the Cherokees are well-nigh lost; their music and their dances can scarcely be recovered by the most diligent anthropologists; and their great and complicated language, which Samuel Worcester was probably the only white person ever to master, is known correctly by only a few of the older members of the tribe. And Joseph Emerson's prophecy of more than a hundred years ago has come true in a way that Mary Lyon and Ann Orr Worcester, sitting in his classroom, could never have understood: “We know not—we little conjecture—what wonders are yet to be produced in all

the departments of education." For now that we have educated most of the North American Indians out of their tribal ways, we begin to believe that some of the elements of their civilization were worth saving and cultivating. But however our evaluation of Indian culture may fluctuate, it is to the lasting credit of Mount Holyoke's earliest leaders that they gave of their best, in teachers and in counsel, to an untried venture in female education among the Cherokees.

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