

# “The Hopi Followers”: Chief Tawaquaptewa and Hopi Student Advancement at Sherman Institute, 1906-1909

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In November 1906, just weeks after a major Hopi division in the village of Oraibi, Arizona, 71 Hopi pupils left their families and homes to attend Sherman Institute, an off-reservation Indian boarding school in Riverside, California. Accompanied by their Kikmongwi (Village Chief), Tawaquaptewa and other Hopi leaders, the Hopis embarked on an adventure that forever changed their lives. For the majority of Hopi students, the adventure to the “land of oranges” lasted no more than three years. Between 1906 and 1909, Hopis excelled at the school in academics, vocational training, music, art and various other programs the federal government used to assimilate Hopis into mainstream “white” society. This paper tells the story of Hopis at Sherman, who in spite of cultural tensions, made remarkable advancements by using and practicing their culture at a school that government officials initially created to destroy Hopi and other Indian cultures.

## Methodology

The methodology used for this study consisted of: 1) library search of secondary literature on boarding schools, Hopi culture and perspectives of education, and Sherman Institute; 2) oral interviews with Hopis from Oraibi who had family members that attended Sherman between 1906 to 1909, as well as various discussions with Hopi elders; 3) archival research at the Sherman Indian Museum and the National Archives, Laguna Niguel, California. These methods are consistent with those used by historians and ethnohistorians in similar studies. This examination is indebted to the research methodology used by Peter M. Whiteley in his work *Rethinking Hopi Ethnography* (1998). Whiteley’s inclusion of secondary sources, primary documents, and the involvement of the Hopi Tribe in both research and interpretation provided the methodological framework by which this study was conducted.

In addition to Whiteley, K. Tsianina Lomawaima's assessment of the Indian boarding school experience in *They Called It Prairie Light* (1994) and Brenda J. Child's *Boarding School Seasons* (2000) provided an insightful approach of ways to include Native perspectives in a study involving the Indian boarding school experience. Through an extended analysis of the products of these methods, a theoretical model was derived. This model was utilized to evaluate Hopi resistance and adaptation, which made it possible for the students to survive removal to the boarding school, a formal and informal curriculum created by non-Indians, and to succeed at the boarding school in order to better prepare themselves to serve their communities and people.

### Introduction

In November 1906, the Office of Indian Affairs sent 71 Hopis from the village of Oraibi, Arizona, to Sherman Institute, an off-reservation Indian boarding school in Riverside, California. Wearing tattered clothes, "cheap shoes...homemade flour sack shirts" and worn out pants, the "wild-looking band from the mesas" reflected an image of people the federal government intended to change (Qoyawayma, 1964, p. 56). And change they did. Under the umbrella and protection of Indian education, the young Hopis from Oraibi entered a school that forever altered the way they saw themselves, their people and the world in which they lived.

By indoctrinating Hopi pupils with new ideas and practices based on "white" convictions and values, education at Sherman Institute both incorporated and ran contrary to Hopi culture. However, in spite of cultural tensions, Hopis made considerable advancements and contributions in both school and community. In academics, sports, agricultural, art, music, and domestic training, Hopis excelled and quickly adapted to a new and foreign environment that little resembled their own. But unlike the first Hopis who arrived at Sherman Institute in 1902, the students of 1906 did not endure the academic and cultural challenges alone. Accompanied by their Kikmongwi (Village Chief), Tawaquaptewa, and other Hopi leaders, the young pupils found stability, encouragement, and influence needed for their survival and success.

In the early 20th century, the federal government routinely forced Indian people across the United States to attend government day schools and on and off-reservation boarding schools. While some Indian communities demonstrated little opposition to Congress' attempt to make Indian education mandatory in 1892 (Clemmer, 1995), others adamantly opposed government schools and wanted nothing to do with the white man's form of education. On the Hopi Reservation in northeastern Arizona, the issue of government-run Indian education divided several Hopi villages, most notably the ancient village of Oraibi on the southern tip of Third Mesa. Although never against educating their people, Hopis throughout the reservation believed that the methods used and the lessons given at government schools went against traditional Hopi values and convictions.

A year after Congress required that all Hopi children receive a "proper" education, the government constructed the Oraibi Day School in March 1893

(James, 1994), a small one classroom school designed to assimilate and prepare Hopi pupils for future attendance at off-reservation boarding schools (Leupp, 1914). Although, Loolomai, Kikmongwi of Oraibi, initially opposed the idea of sending Oraibi children to boarding schools (Talayesva, 1970), he eventually acknowledged the potential benefits of Hopi attendance at the Oraibi Day School and Keams Canyon Boarding School. Many Hopis at Oraibi did not agree with Loolomai and refused to send their children to either government institution. When Loolomai died in 1904, his successor, Tawaquaptewa, "knowingly inherited the quarrel" and followed Loolomai's example by encouraging Hopi school attendance (Qoyawayma, 1964, p. 39). For the next two years, tensions increased between the two opposing factions whom government officials imposed the names, "Friendlies" or "Friendly" toward the government and "Hostiles." Although such titles are far too simplistic to describe the complexities of the situation, these are the titles non-Indians applied to the two major Hopi groups.

On September 8, 1906, the two factions settled their long dispute by a bloodless pushing battle near Oraibi. Under the leadership of Youkeoma, the "Hostiles" lost the battle and Tawaquaptewa immediately forced the group to leave the village (Clemmer, 1995). The division resulted in what historians and anthropologists commonly refer to as the Oraibi Split, a significant event in Hopi history and turning point in Hopis attending off-reservation boarding schools. The Hopi division is a marker in American history, which signaled divisions of this kind brought upon by American Indians through the imposition of Indian policies. Non-Indians formulated the policies, but such acts had significant consequences in Native communities of the past and present. The Oraibi Split brought about rapid change among all Hopi people, particularly children brought up in the drama, who ended up attending Sherman Institute and other off-reservation boarding schools.

Shortly after the Oraibi Split, the federal government concluded that Tawaquaptewa acted in an un-American fashion when he forced Youkeoma and the so-called "Hostiles" out of Oraibi (Hafford, 1991). According to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E. Leupp, and other government officials, Tawaquaptewa broke federal law when he demanded that the "Hostiles" leave the village. Frustrated with both leaders of the two Oraibi groups, Leupp sent government soldiers to Oraibi and arrested Youkeoma and imprisoned him at Fort Wingate, Arizona (Hafford, 1991). Government officials then turned on Tawaquaptewa, stripped him of his chieftainship, and threatened to send him to prison if he did not willfully attend an off-reservation boarding school. When government officials forced him to choose between Phoenix Indian School and Sherman Institute, Tawaquaptewa chose Sherman since officials sent many children of the "Hostile" families to the Phoenix school (H. Hall, personal communication, December 24, 1906).<sup>1</sup>

With a total of 500 Indian students in attendance at Sherman Institute in 1906, the Hopi pupils accounted for the second largest tribal representation at the school, second only to the so-called "California Mission Indians" (*The Sherman*

*Bulletin [TSB]*, January 13 1909, p. 1). For many of the Hopi students, Sherman became synonymous with the "land of oranges," a term used by Hopi pupils to describe the abundance of orange groves in Southern California. Stories circulated among the Hopis on the reservation about the exotic fruit which "existed by the wagon load" (*TSB*, November 27, 1907, p. 4). Polingaysi Qoyawayma, a Hopi student from Oraibi, recalled that teachers at the Oraibi Day School showed a group of Hopi youth pictures of orange trees "heavy with fruit." Teachers told the children that oranges in Riverside looked like "peaches on the Hopi peach trees, only much larger" (Qoyawayma, 1964, p. 51).

With an estimated 1000 people residing in Oraibi in 1906, hardships on families and the community resulted when the pupils left for school. Primarily an agricultural based society, the Oraibi people depended on corn, beans, various types of squash, and wheat for their survival. Families on the reservation needed every available hand for planting and harvesting the crops. In Hopi culture, boys worked alongside their fathers in the fields, and once they left for school, fathers no longer had their seasonal help. Hopi mothers also lost their daughters to the school's "Outing Program," a program designed to "civilize" Indian pupils by hiring them out to work, clean, and cook for white families in the greater Riverside area. Apart from the physical hardships that resulted in the children's absence, parents prophesied and worried that their children would be lost to the white man's culture and eventually want nothing to do with the Hopi way of life. For some, this worry became a reality, but most Hopi students eventually returned home to contribute to their tribe and family.

### **Educating the Hopi:**

In 1906, the focus of Indian education in the United States centered heavily on industrial training. Influenced by policies drafted by Superintendent of Indian Schools, Estelle Reel, the Department of the Interior urged school superintendents and teachers to "eliminate from the curriculum everything of an unpractical nature" and modify "instruction to local conditions and immediate and practical needs of the pupils" (Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1906, p. 407). Indian boarding schools did not exist to create Indian scholars, medical doctors, professors, lawyers, or future business leaders. Instead government policy directed Indian education toward practical means, emphasizing skills that would be useful for Indian students who returned to the reservation (Lomawaima, 1994). For Hopi students at Sherman Institute, "practical education" involved various industrial programs. School officials instructed Hopi pupils in agriculture, leather and metal work, and reinforced the importance of work and the value of earning and saving money.

Along with industrial training, the government educated Indians "along natural lines," which stood in contrast to the "complete transformation" approach so commonly found in Indian education during the 1880s and 1890s. Taking from Indian culture only that which encouraged the learning of white civilization, the Indian Office expected teachers to have a basic knowledge of Indian ways and

develop lessons accordingly, bearing in mind that the “value of education to any child” was “measured by its usefulness to him in later life” (Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1906, p. 407). However, this change in methodology did not come quickly to Sherman Institute as “[s]everal of the teachers” at the school failed to “realize the importance of adapting the instruction to meet the needs of their pupils” (p. 411). The amount of Hopi culture incorporated in the curriculum largely depended on the initiative of each individual teacher. Although school officials allowed Hopi culture in the classroom, it never became a major element at Sherman Institute. Instead, school officials required that classroom instruction be centered on academic subjects that would encourage and further the goal of Hopi assimilation.

In order to “Americanize” the Hopi people, school officials insisted that students learn the English language. While many of the Hopi pupils had prior instruction at various Hopi day schools, including the Oraibi Day School, Toreva Day School, and the Keams Canyon Boarding School, the ability to speak and read English became a critical hurdle for Hopi students to overcome (Reyhner & Eder, 2004). Closely connected with the government’s ultimate desire that Hopi students would eventually become American citizens, Sherman Institute’s Harwood Hall, Superintendent of the school, expressed hope that “Indians as a distinctive people” would “finally be lost” and that “future generation[s]” would not be “known as Indians, but all classified as American citizens” (Report of Riverside and Perris Schools, 1902, p. 450). The report clearly revealed the mentality of school officials and reflected the further reason behind the school’s existence. In June 1907, Commissioner Leupp in a conversation regarding the Indians of the West commented that the “attitude of the government toward the American Indian” was no “longer one of paternalism.” Instead, the new approach sought to “place the Indian in a position where he” would become a “citizen” and useful “worker” (Riverside Daily Enterprise, 1907). According to the government, educating Hopi pupils had one primary goal: to make useful, independent, and eventual American citizens of the Hopi people. In accordance with American Indian policies, Hopis could not become American citizens unless they could read, write, and speak English. In this way, Hopi students at Sherman shared a common bond with Indian students throughout the United States.

At most, Tawaquaptewa had a basic understanding of English prior to his arrival at Sherman Institute (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1906). Although he conversed with government agents and missionaries on the reservation prior to attending Sherman, he typically did so with the help of an interpreter. But regardless of his inability to read and speak fluent English, Tawaquaptewa was well aware of the power of language and knew that Hopi success depended on their ability to communicate with the encroaching power of the federal government. What Tawaquaptewa lacked in English grammatical skills, he quickly made up for during his three year stay at Sherman Institute. With a capacity to learn English “in less than five months,” Tawaquaptewa’s example

motivated his Hopi followers at the school. In response, the Hopi students made “marked improvements in their language lessons,” and out paced other pupils in language acquisition (*TSB*, November 11, 1908, p. 2). Said to be the “result of a mature mind and determination to master” the English language, Oraibi’s Kikmongwi “expressed a strong desire that all the Hopi pupils” follow his example in each of their academic endeavors (*TSB*, 1907, March 27, p. 2). Tawaquaptewa’s presence had a tremendous impact on Hopi advancement at the school and provides a clear example for today’s educators of the need for tribal leadership involvement in the educational process of American Indian students.

Unlike the younger Hopi pupils who attended classrooms according to age, Tawaquaptewa belonged to a class specifically designed to teach adult students. Still considered “primary pupils,” adult students at Sherman Institute followed the “same lines in spelling as the regular primary” classes, but in math, they incorporated “number work,” and used “familiar objects and materials for exercises” (*TSB*, 1907, March 13, p. 4). By using objects and materials familiar to the Hopi adult students, teachers related lessons in math with real life situations on the Hopi Reservation. For some of the students, knowledge of basic math was valuable for agricultural purposes, especially when Hopi farmers sold crops and purchased seed on the reservation.

Five months after arriving in Riverside, *The Sherman Bulletin*, a student-written school newspaper, reported that “Chief Tawaquaptewa,” a member of Mrs. Harvey’s adult class, made “remarkable progress” in light of the enormous amount of academic material yet to “overcome” (p. 4). In a letter to Commissioner Leupp, dated February 4, 1907, Superintendent Hall also commented on Tawaquaptewa’s progress and stated that the “Chief has impressed everyone here as being a mighty good character — so anxious to do what is right” (H. Hall, personal communication, February 4, 1907).<sup>2</sup> Hall made it a point to frequently correspond with Leupp regarding Tawaquaptewa’s “progress.” Leupp insisted that Hall keep the commissioner well informed as to how Oraibi’s Kikmongwi performed, both academically and in overall attitude, realizing early on that Hopi pupil cooperation at the school largely depended on Tawaquaptewa’s positive leadership. However, regardless of the government’s agenda for Tawaquaptewa, Oraibi’s Kikmongwi applied his chieftainship to each Hopi student at the school. In April 1907, *The Sherman Bulletin* reported that Tawaquaptewa frequently called his “Hopi followers together” in order to give them “good advice” (*TSB*, April 24, 1907, p. 3). He told the Hopi “boys and girls to enter into everything heartily in connection with the school,” in order to “secure the best that Sherman [had] to give.” In consequence, the Hopi pupils did not “hang back,” but pushed “rapidly ahead.” With “great respect for their Chief and confidence in his counsel,” the Hopi followers listened to Tawaquaptewa in the same manner as they had done at Oraibi (p. 3).

### Hopi Music

The Hopi pupils at the school also followed Tawaquaptewa’s leadership in the area of music. Song and dance has long been regarded by the Hopi people to be

an important and vital part of Hopi society. At Sherman Institute, music typically centered on American and European selections ranging from Bach, Mozart and American patriotic compositions. Along with using music to assimilate and further demonstrate the superiority of “civilized” American culture, school officials regularly incorporated music for entertainment purposes, which often included the Hopi pupils. In March 1907, Tawaquaptewa and “eight of his followers” performed a traditional Hopi song in the school’s auditorium. As an impressed audience looked on, the program began as a Hopi boy kept a steady beat of a drum. With a school banner in hand, Tawaquaptewa led the small procession of Hopi singers into the auditorium, singing and dancing with “signal ease and excellent time.” Those who witnessed the event noted that Tawaquaptewa was “fascinating in the animation, grace and agility in which he kept time to the perfect rhythm of the music” (*TSB*, March 6, 1907, p. 1).

Two months after entertaining the audience in the school’s auditorium, Tawaquaptewa and his followers performed the well known Eagle Dance, a dance commonly performed by several pueblo Indians of the southwest. The program began as Tawaquaptewa “took his place at the drum” and “ten singers carrying rattles” aligned themselves on each side of him. “After a few weird strains to the beat of the drum, two small boys as heralds entered” the auditorium and positioned themselves on each side of the stage. The boys then whirled a “stick attached to a string,” in order “to imitate the disturbance of the elements.” Shortly thereafter, four boys dressed to “represent eagles entered and took up the dance.” Fellow students commented that the Hopi boys performed the dance with fascinating rhythm, “grace” and “agility.” At the request of Tawaquaptewa, each costume used in the Eagle Dance came from the village of Oraibi (*The Sherman Bulletin*, 1907, May 16, p. 2), and consisted of complete and fully authentic pieces including:

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| 4 woven scarfs,                          | 4 red horse hair Kachinas,                                       |
| 4 narrow woven belts,                    | 8 little round rattles for knees,                                |
| 6 skirts for dancers,                    |  |
| 4 skins to wear on back,                 | Hopi Names, —  |
| 8 beads for wrists (white)               | 4 garsh gnu nah (horns)  |
| 8 eagles’ wings for arms,                | 1 ah tay he (blanket)  |
| Enough eagles’ for four dancers,         | 8 hrun qua   |
| Short feathers for around neck and back, | 8 (Ankles) non ho gas me   |
| 10 gourds or rattles,                    | (H. Hall, personal communication, February 4, 1907) <sup>3</sup> |

In addition to the traditional Hopi outfits, Tawaquaptewa requested that his brother, Talasquaptewa, send his “silver belt, ear rings, shoes and beads,” and asked his wife’s sister, Nevahmoieunih, to send “red, yellow, and blue piki” (H. Hall, personal communication, February 4, 1907).<sup>4</sup>

Tawaquaptewa’s willingness to allow Hopi music at Sherman Institute may have resulted from the influence of Natalie Curtis, who worked with Tawaquaptewa personally at the school to preserve traditional Hopi songs. Hopi

historian Harry C. James remarked that Curtis “possessed an amazing faculty for gaining the respect and cooperation of the Indians with whom she worked. This was certainly true of the Hopi who always spoke of her affectionately as ‘The Song Woman.’” (James, 1994, p. 173). In 1908, Curtis visited Oraibi’s Kikmongwi at Sherman Institute and noted that, “Of all the Hopi poets, none sings a gladder song than Tawakwaptiwa...He is one in whom the gift of song wells up like living waters, a Hopi untouched by foreign influence, the child of natural environment, spontaneous, alert, full of life and laughter” (Curtis, 1968, p. 480).

However, Curtis’ work with the Hopi people did not begin with Tawaquaptewa, but with Loolomai. Curtis urged him to preserve the songs of his people. Curtis told Loolomai that the “Hopi children are going to school; they are learning new ways and are singing new songs — American songs instead of Hopi. Some of the children are very young. These little ones will never sing the songs of their fathers. They will not sing of the corn, the bean blossoms, and the butterflies. They will only know American songs” (p. 475). While “American songs” existed in abundance at Sherman Institute, Hopi pupils proudly sang songs of their own, and unbeknownst to them at the time would set precedence for Hopi music at the school for years to come.

In 2005, Hopi students continue to sing and dance their traditional songs at Sherman Indian High School. The trend determined by Tawaquaptewa continues today, and it reflects a trend that emerged at most of the off-reservation boarding schools at some point in time. For Sherman Institute, that time emerged in 1906, only four years after the government offered its first classes there. The government had established the boarding schools to assimilate Indian students, but those very students used the boarding school as a site to preserve and protect their cultural ways. While Tawaquaptewa and other Hopi students learned English, American songs, and played instruments to the music of European masters, they also instructed each other in Hopi words, songs, and stories. Tawaquaptewa taught the Hopi children to perform the Eagle Dance, and he encouraged the youth by action and example. He helped preserve the Hopi way through an institution designed to destroy it. Tawaquaptewa exerted great agency and succeeded.

Superintendent Harwood Hall’s acceptance and presentation of the Hopi culture on the Sherman campus may appear to be an anomaly. The United States had instructed Hall to destroy American Indian culture through the boarding school, but the superintendent outwardly encouraged Tawaquaptewa and the students to converse, sing, and dance in the Hopi way. Hall allowed the Hopi to share their traditional culture through song and dance to promote Sherman Institute as a progressive, talented, and enlightened institution. Hall hoped to advance Sherman as an institution and himself as a visionary administrator who saw the value in traditional Native culture. In addition, Hall hoped that patrons watching the Hopi dancers might contribute money and resources to the institution or hire Indian students to work in their businesses, schools, or homes.

In essence, Hall used Hopi songs and dance to advertise Sherman Institute and further the larger educational aims of the institution. Some administrators may have felt that the use of Hopi songs and dances might prove dangerous to government objectives, but Hall felt completely in control and that his objectives overruled the objections of others.

In the following months, Hopi pupils had additional opportunities to demonstrate their culture to the school and local community. Superintendent Hall routinely called upon the Hopi Singers to provide entertainment at formal occasions, including the annual conference for the Indian department of the National Education Association (NEA) held in Los Angeles in July 1907. Performing the Eagle Dance before thousands of leading educators of the United States, Tawaquaptewa led the Hopi dancers and singers in traditional Hopi songs that characterized "tribal ceremonials [and] complete native costumes" (*TSB*, June 26, 1907, p. 3). Prior to the NEA Convention, Superintendent Hall wrote Estelle Reel and told how the "singing and dancing" to be performed by the Hopis at the Convention, was "something better than anything" he had "witnessed or heard among any Indians" (H. Hall, personal communication, May 11, 1907).<sup>5</sup>

The Hopi Singers brought attention to more than just Sherman Institute and Superintendent Hall. Each performance provided both school and community a glimpse into the complexities and beauty of Hopi culture. While the surrounding community may have looked at the Hopis as "savage Indians," Hopi songs, dances, instruments and the colorful outfits worn by the Singers aroused the curiosity of Indians and non-Indians alike. When word of the Hopi Singers spread beyond the greater Riverside area, reporters and photographers from various Los Angeles newspapers "besieged" Hall for permission to "take photographs of the Hopi eagle dancers." Publicity in the print media would have been good for the school and Superintendent Hall, but for reasons unknown, Hall refused to "give his consent" (*TSB*, May 16, 1907, p. 2). It can, perhaps, be assumed that legal and/or school policy issues influenced his decision. Furthermore, the inconsistency that Hall would showcase the Hopi Singers throughout Southern California and not allow reporters and photographers access to them, does not fit with his desire to present the school or himself in a positive light. Fearful of exploiting the Hopis, or unwilling that daily school activity be disturbed by anxious reporters, Hall's exact motives remain unclear. However, Tawaquaptewa may have weighed in on the issue and asked Hall to prevent reporters from taking photographs of the dances and dancers, including himself. No documents have emerged to enlighten us on this point, but many Hopis objected to photographers using film to document their ceremonies in Arizona. Tawaquaptewa may have expressed his opposition to Hall who then acted on Tawaquaptewa's oral request.

Although the Hopi Singers consisted entirely of Hopi pupils, other musical groups at the school reflected a variety of tribal identities. Receiving less community attention than the Hopi Singers, The Mandolin Club incorporated both Hopi and non-Hopi students and remained one of the largest musical ensembles

at the school. Composed of 37 “bright, charming girls,” the Mandolin Club demonstrated their talents before “many noted people” and also performed alongside the Hopi Singers at the NEA Convention in 1907. Under the direction of music teacher Charles Weyland, the girls excelled in their abilities to play both mandolins and guitars to entertain students, staff, and school visitors (*TSB*, May 29, 1907, p. 4). Mattie Coochiesnema, a Hopi pupil from Oraibi, was one of the 37 girls in the Mandolin Club. Mattie came to Sherman Institute in 1906, and in March 1909, the school’s newspaper reported that Mattie was “doing fine in the mandolin club,” and wished “she could stay at Sherman all the time” (*TSB*, March 3, 1909, p. 2). Mattie’s desire to remain demonstrated how Hopi pupils eventually adjusted to the school. Time, along with friendships and shared experiences in groups such as the Mandolin Club, helped students to accept and think differently about their temporary California home.

Hopi students had several opportunities to be involved musically at Sherman Institute. Dennis Talashoenewa, Archie Mashawistewa, Victor Sakiestewa and Homer Homewyewa, all played in the school band (H. Hall, personal communication, October 9, 1908).<sup>6</sup> Hopis who participated in The Sherman Band performed at various school events including games and at formal concerts. In a typical week, the band practiced “every evening from 6:30 to 7:30” (H. Hall, personal communication, October 9, 1908).<sup>7</sup> Students met individually with the band’s director, Charles Waylend, for music lessons. Hopi pupils learned to play a number of different instruments while students at Sherman Institute. Pierce Hopi became quite proficient with the snare drum and Archie Talawaltewa rapidly learned to play the clarinet (*TSB*, February 19, 1908, p. 3). Many of the Hopi students went on to perform with other musical groups once they returned to the reservation. In December 1913, one Hopi graduate asked the school’s superintendent if he could return to the school in order to play with the band at the World’s Fair held in San Francisco in 1915 (V. Sakiestewa, personal communication, December 24, 1913).<sup>8</sup> Although he never played again for Sherman Institute after he left in 1912, the Hopi graduate performed for many years with the Tuba City Band and used his music experience at Sherman to serve his tribe and community.

### **Sport and Recreation**

Since the founding of Sherman Institute in 1902, school officials encouraged students to be involved in outdoor sports and recreation. Viewed by Superintendent Hall and his successor, Frank Conser, to be essential for good health, recreation provided two necessities for Indian students: Physical exercise and fresh air. At a time when tuberculosis threatened the student body, and ravaged Indian people everywhere, medical officials believed that fresh air would keep students healthy and strong, both mentally and physically (Keller, 2002). Teachers encouraged students to participate in outside recreation, including basketball, football, baseball, and polo (*TSB*, February 19, 1908), as sports strengthened muscles and fostered team mindsets among Indian students. Along

with physical benefits, organized sports provided an opportunity for Hopi students to engage competitively with other Indian students.

Although Hopi pupils participated in various sports at Sherman Institute, they preserved and did not forget traditional Hopi games and eagerly shared them with other Indian pupils at the school. In November 1907, the Hopi boys introduced a spinning top game called riyànpì to their peers at Sherman Institute. Instead of using a string, the Hopi boys lashed at the spinning top with a cloth whip attached to a stick. Students at Sherman reported that "all of the smaller" boys enjoyed the new game, and acknowledged that the game required "no little skill" (*TSB*, November 6, 1907, p. 2). Like other Hopi games, riyànpì improved and strengthened one physically, mentally and spiritually. Hopi boys played riyànpì in order to improve self esteem and to demonstrate respect for others (Gilbert, 1986). In traditional Hopi culture, girls did not play riyànpì, which explains why the Hopi boys, not girls, played the game and taught the other boys at the school.

The cultural purpose and reason for playing Hopi games on occasion conflicted with values reinforced at Sherman Institute. School officials told students that the "determination to win" was the "epitome of American sport." People in American society played games to win, not to show respect for the opposite team. School officials viewed sports as a means to "fight for a principle, animated by an ideal." On the reservation, the principles and ideals of playing games came from the culture and traditions of the Hopi people. This new philosophy encouraged Hopi students to abandon lessons taught by elders and replace them with values esteemed by white society. No longer in an environment or among a people who viewed games according to the Hopi way, the students learned that the "principle" worth fighting for was loyalty to the school, and the "ideal" that each should strive to gain was "success" (*TSB*, November 27, 1907, p. 3).

As Hopi sport involvement increased at Sherman Institute, so did the risk of injury. Serious sport-related accidents involving Hopi pupils at the school seldom occurred. The one account recorded in the school's newspaper happened shortly after Thanksgiving Day 1907. In the school's recreation yard, John Pablo, a Pima Indian boy and two small Hopi boys enjoyed a game of football. As one of the Hopi boys ran with the ball, John tackled him to the ground. Unable to move, John lay paralyzed while his Hopi schoolmates attempted to help. When asked by his peers if he was in pain, John replied that he was not. Unknown to the boys at the time, John had severely injured his own neck, and after his fall, John "lapsed into unconsciousness and was removed to the [school's] hospital" (*TSB*, December 4, 1907, p. 3). While school officials administered "restoratives and everything possible" to revive him, John died shortly thereafter. No blame was given for John's death. It was simply an accident that occurred among a "crowd of young, inexperienced boys attempting to play" a game that both sides had only recently learned. Unsurprisingly, the school was in shock to hear of John's death and the circumstances that surrounded it. Superintendent Hall

addressed the issue in the next Sunday chapel service, and reminded the pupils that the uncertainty of life hung on a "mere chance," for in a "moment's time," a similar accident could likewise happen to any one of them (p. 3).

### **Industrial Training**

Life for Hopi students at the school included more than games and leisurely sport activities. When Hopi pupils were not involved with sport, religious or musical endeavors, many Hopi students participated in the industrial program at the school. The industrial program at Sherman Institute included instruction in farming, "blacksmithing, wagonmaking, carpentering, harnessmaking [sic], shoemaking, tailoring, engineering, and all activities pertaining to work of boys" (H. Hall, personal communication, August 18, 1907).<sup>9</sup> Four miles from the school campus along the south end side of Magnolia Avenue, the Sherman Ranch existed in part to compensate for the inadequacies of similar programs found at reservation day schools. One of the grievances expressed by Herman Kampmeier, a teacher at Oraibi Day School, was the insufficient school facilities available for training Hopi boys in industrial education. Kampmeier complained that the "one great irremediable drawback" to the Oraibi Day School was that it had become "impossible" to give the boys the "industrial training," which in Kampmeier's opinion was "paramount to everything else in an Indian school" (Report of Teacher of Polacca, 1902, p. 155). While the Oraibi Day School provided the needed foundation, it did not train Hopi pupils in industrial education to the same degree as off-reservation boarding schools, especially one such as Sherman Institute. Since a large percentage of "industrial education" involved farming, the small and limited resources (land, seed, and machinery) available to the Hopi day schools posed a serious problem. However, school officials were more than willing to compensate for the level of training found among reservation day schools, and Hall eagerly placed as many Hopi pupils at the Ranch as possible.

Viewed by school officials as a "little training school in itself," the Ranch incorporated academics and manual labor to advance the government's policy of "useful" education. Hopi boys at the Ranch learned to be good farmers, and teachers gave Hopi girls the skills needed to become good farm wives (The Sherman Institute Booklet, 1908, p. 5). Covering approximately 100 acres, Hall described the Ranch as "one of the finest bodies of land in California," located "under the most ample and largest irrigating system in southern California" (Report of Riverside and Perris Schools, August 15, p. 450). The boys at the Ranch "were responsible for tending the live stock, preparing the soil for planting and planting the necessary grains and vegetables. The girls' duties were those deemed necessary to running a farm household. They were taught to make butter, milk a few cows, care for some poultry, and raise vegetables necessary for the farm meals" (p. 451).

Ranch related activities extended well beyond the school boundaries. At various times of the year, local ranchers hired Hopi pupils to work the fields in Fontana, Redlands, the Imperial Valley and the greater San Bernardino area. With

skills first developed on the reservation, the Hopi students excelled at planting/harvesting and quickly familiarized themselves with the new farming techniques used in Southern California. Tawaquaptewa also worked alongside the Hopi pupils in the grain fields (*TSB*, May 23, 1907, p. 3). At the San Jacinto Ranch, Tawaquaptewa and a "number of his Hopi followers" worked for Edgar Hazell, a retired barrister from London. Known as one of the most "successful ranchers in Riverside County," Hazell remarked to a *Riverside Press* reporter that the Hopi boys he employed from the school made thorough, "trustworthy and efficient help" (*TSB*, June 26, 1907, p. 3).

Hopis excelled at the Ranch because they came to school highly skilled in agriculture. This reality separated the Hopis from many other Indian pupils who arrived at Sherman with little or no knowledge of farming. Considered the master dry farmers of the world, Hopis brought skills to the school that Hopi fathers, uncles and grandfathers had passed down to each generation for thousands of years. Young Hopi children who lived on the Hopi Reservation during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century cleared fields, planted, hoed weeds, and harvested crops. For the Hopi students, farming was part of the Hopi way, an important and necessary element in Hopi society.

Don Talayseva, a former Hopi student at Sherman Institute (1906-1909), provides an excellent example of agricultural training on the Hopi Reservation. He recollected his childhood in reference to work and play: "Learning to work was like play. We children tagged around with our elders and copied what they did. We followed our fathers to the fields and helped plant and weed. The old men took us for walks and taught us the use of plants and how to collect them" (Talayseva, 1970, p. 51). For Don and other Hopi boys at the school, lessons taught by parents and elders on the reservation unquestionably contributed to their success in the school's overall industrial program.

While the boys labored in the fields, the Ranch girls received instruction in domestic training. In a Report to the Department of the Interior in 1906, Hall described female involvement at the Ranch by explaining a number of different Ranch components: "the girls have a kitchen [and] garden, in which they raise vegetables for the farm table. They also milk a few cows, care for a limited number of chickens, turkeys and ducks," and look "after the feeding of a few pigs." Hall further reported that the girls "do all the domestic work of the household," which included "canning the fruit, caring for milk, making the butter, and all work usually performed by the farmer's wife" (Report of the Superintendent of Riverside School, 1906, p. 208). The Hopi girls who worked at the Ranch included Louisa Tawamana who on one occasion "demonstrated butter making" to an auditorium full of staff and students. Impressed with the "manner in which she handled the churn," Louisa's schoolmates called her an "expert," though complained her soft spoken voice made it difficult for the audience to hear (*TSB*, March 6, 1907, p. 4). Other Hopis received praise for their abilities to cook and bake. Effie Sachowengsia received school-wide attention for her peach pie and Iolo Sewensie made quite an impression at the school with

her cinnamon rolls (p. 4). Hopi boys also cooked and baked at the school. Herbert Homehongewa worked at the Sherman kitchen (*TSB*, April 16, 1909, p. 3), and Keller Seedkoema excelled at the school's bakery (*TSB*, January 22, 1908, p. 2). In traditional Hopi culture, women cooked and prepared the food, while men planted and hunted. At Sherman Institute, Hopi boys experienced roles reserved only for Hopi women.

### Encouraging the Hopis

Hopi advancement did not happen without the encouragement and influence of additional Hopi leaders. When the Hopi pupils left for school in 1906, government officials sent Frank and Susie Seumtewa (along with their two children Ethel and Lilly) to Sherman Institute in order for them to become familiar with American ways and to learn the English language. With Ethel and Lilly under the age of four, Susie spent a considerable amount of time tending to the needs of her children. Frank, on the other hand, worked as a grounds keeper, and likely had more personal contact with the Hopi pupils, especially the boys (*TSB*, November 20, 1907, p. 2). It should not, however, be assumed that Susie Seumtewa had little influence on the students. Using her ability to weave baskets and Hopi plaques, a skill learned by Hopi girls at a very young age, Susie's talent in basketry was well known throughout the school and became an example for the Hopi and non-Hopi girls in the Needle Art Department whose beautiful display of Hopi plaques adorned the classroom walls (*The Sherman Institute Booklet*, p. 16).

Basket making also provided a source of revenue for the Hopi girls. Superintendent Hall in a letter to field matron Keith noted that "two [Hopi] women" were "anxious to commence" basket making, and requested from Keith that she send "a lot of material" by railway express to be paid for by Hall's school account (H. Hall, personal communication, November 27, 1906).<sup>10</sup> Among the "paraphernalia necessary for the making of baskets," Hall requested that "green, red, blue, yellow, black" and mostly white yucca plant material be sent to the school along with "sticks for the center strands." Hall further commented to Keith that the Hopi women would "make considerable money out of their baskets," for they would "have no trouble to find plenty of buyers" (H. Hall, personal communication, November 27, 1906).<sup>11</sup> On the reservation, mothers instructed their daughters in the art and cultural significance of basket making at an early age. In the early twentieth century, Oraibi women traded their baskets for food and western items such as pots and pans. Hopis at Sherman sold Hopi plaques to white tourist who frequently visited the school throughout the year. Non-Indian visitors at the school purchased authentic Hopi art and crafts without stepping one foot on Hopi land. Susie's influence in basket making had a profound impact with the girls at the school, and one can only imagine what could have been accomplished had she remained for the entire three years.

Unfortunately for the Hopi students, Susie's stay at Sherman Institute lasted no more than four months. In March 1907, Susie became ill and left "with her

two little girls” back to Oraibi. Her husband remained until he completed his three year incarceration in June 1909 (*TSB*, March 6, 1907, p. 2). Three months after returning to Oraibi, Susie sent a letter to Hall with a message for the Hopi students. Inquiring how “all the Hopi children [were] getting along?,” Susie told the pupils how surprised the people of Oraibi, including parents, were after hearing news of the Hopi accomplishments at the school (*TSB*, June 12, 1907, p. 3). In August 1907, Susie attempted to return to the school, but Hall refused her readmittance stating, “the Doctor reports that one of her lungs is considerably affected [with tuberculosis]...that under such conditions it would be only a question of a short time before she would have to be sent home again” (H. Hall, personal communication, August 2, 1907).<sup>12</sup> Fearing that tuberculosis would spread to other pupils at the school, the uncertainty of Susie’s health was a risk Hall was unwilling to take.

While Hopi pupils occasionally received letters from home, they frequently wrote letters to family on the reservation. On the last school day of each month, school officials required that each student write a letter to their parents or other family members. School administrators had Indian pupils write letters in order to improve grammar skills and to facilitate familiarity with the English language. Letters also kept families informed of the student’s health and individual’s school life (*TSB*, October 28, 1908, p. 1). Students had freedom in what they wrote, as long as letters were “decent and respectable.” The requirement to write home once a month was the bare minimum, for students could write as often as they wished. Administrators required students to provide substance in their letters, and they told students that short pointless letters would surely disappoint their families.

The few examples of letters written by Hopi students between 1906 and 1909 are recorded in *The Sherman Bulletin* in April 1907 and February 1908. The excerpts provide a positive, but not fully realistic picture of Hopi-student attitudes toward the school. Students rarely wrote critically of the school or school officials, and even if Hopis had negative things to say, administrators would not have published such comments in the school newspaper. The examples, however, appear to reflect the overall Hopi experience at Sherman Institute in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Teachers also screened each letter for grammatical errors and content, which may further explain their positive tone.

At Sherman Institute, school officials required that Hopi students write letters to their families in English. However, the vast majority of Hopi parents could not read or understand spoken English. Since only a small number of government officials spoke Hopi in 1907, the burden fell on Christian missionaries on the reservation to translate letters sent by Hopi students at Sherman Institute and other off-reservation boarding schools. Letters written by Hopi pupils to parents on the reservation varied in subject matter. Some of the students remarked that Hopi pupils at the school worked and studied “hard.” Other Hopis commented about the beautiful “grounds and buildings,” calling Sherman the “finest” school they had ever seen. Additional Hopi letters reported that “every Hopi girl and boy” was “doing well” and in good health (*TSB*, April

10, 1907, p. 3). After several days of rain in February 1908, Tawaquaptewa wrote to family on the reservation and stated that he was "very glad for the white people that the rain had come again" (*TSB*, February 5, 1908, p. 4). The "heavy rainfall and abundant supply of water" in Southern California, was a "novelty" for the Hopi students who had never experienced that amount of rain on their dry and arid reservation (p. 4).

In December 1907, Field Matron Miltona Stauffer, formerly Miltona Keith, of Oraibi along with her husband, Peter, visited the Hopi pupils at Sherman as part of an "annual leave of absence" to Southern California. Hopis at Oraibi knew the Stauffers because their work on the reservation. While Miltona labored among the Hopi as a field matron, Peter worked as a government mechanic (Whiteley, 1988, p. 116). Both spoke Hopi and earned the respect and admiration of many Hopi people. When the Stauffer's arrived at the school, the Hopi students received them "most joyfully" and Tawaquaptewa "threw his arms about Mr. Stauffer and embraced him, being so glad to see his old friend" (*TSB*, December 11, 1907, p. 4).

When the Stauffers arrived at Sherman, they were "much pleased at the happy, healthy appearance of the 80 Hopi children" (p. 4). Although Hopi health at the school was generally good, Hopis, like other Indian students, suffered from illness. In November 1906, health officials diagnosed Jennie Tuvayyumtewa with "tuberculosis in the upper part of her left lung," and Victor Sakiestewa suffered from bronchitis. While Victor's illness did not appear to be serious enough to "interfere with his school work" and school nurses closely monitored his condition, Superintendent Hall promised Victor that if his health worsened, the Superintendent would send the boy home (H. Hall, personal communication, November 26, 1906).<sup>13</sup> Severely ill pupils remained at the school's hospital until their recovery or eventual death. In November 1908, Hopi pupil Adam Nakhaha, died of "heart failure caused by pneumonia" and was buried in the school's cemetery. As school officials kept the people at Oraibi "notified and...advised" of Adam's daily condition, Superintendent Hall doubted his "recovery...from the first" (H. Hall, personal communication, November 20, 1906).<sup>14</sup>

In a school health inspection conducted on April 20, 1909, health officials reported that Tawaquaptewa was "well developed" and in "good health" (Tawaquaptewa, April 20, 1909).<sup>15</sup> Although Tawaquaptewa never became seriously ill at the school, health officials diagnosed his daughter, Mina, with whooping cough in May 1907. As Mina's condition worsened, Tawaquaptewa quickly sent Mina and his wife, Nasumgoens, on a train to Winslow, Arizona, where family members met and took them to Oraibi (Tawaquaptewa, personal communication, May 27, 1907).<sup>16</sup> When Mina and Tawaquaptewa's wife arrived at Oraibi, government officials detained both of them at their home in order to prevent the spread of whooping cough to others in the community. Shortly after they arrived at home, Superintendent Hall allowed Tawaquaptewa a short visit to Oraibi as part of a ploy by the federal government to increase Hopi enrollment.

At Oraibi, "trouble" had developed as many Hopis in Oraibi blamed Hall for the "detention" of Tawaquaptewa's "wife and child on account of whooping cough" (H. Hall, personal communication, July 30 1907).<sup>17</sup> Upon hearing of the controversy taking place in Oraibi, Superintendent Hall immediately wrote Tawaquaptewa and stated that he had nothing to do with the detaining of his wife and daughter, and explained that it was "done by the order of the Physician," who "did not want the whooping cough to spread among the little children of Oraibi" (H. Hall, personal communication, July 30 1907).<sup>18</sup> While blame for the detention of Tawaquaptewa's wife and daughter is questionable, the tension that resulted had a long and lasting effect on Hopi-government relations. Hopis at Oraibi may have intentionally spread rumors against Superintendent Hall in order to entice Tawaquaptewa and the Hopi people toward anger and non-compliance. Government officials had previously demonstrated to Hopis how easily they detained Tawaquaptewa and his family at Sherman Institute, and it is possible those in Oraibi thought that the government would use its power to detain the family once they returned to the reservation. Whether or not Tawaquaptewa accepted Hall's explanation is unknown. We do know that Tawaquaptewa continued to cooperate with school officials, which in turn preserved Hopi pupil cooperation at the school.

### **Allotment Controversy**

As school officials at Sherman Institute gave Hopi pupils instruction about becoming "good citizens," the government made similar attempts to Americanize their families on the reservation. In 1891, the government surveyed Hopi land for the purpose of distributing individual allotments, a direct consequence of the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 (Spicer, 1976). Many Hopi people who lived on the reservation rejected the idea of allotment, and as author Frank Waters once observed, "News that the government was going to give [the Hopi] land which they already owned seemed at once too ridiculous, insulting, and tragic to believe" (Waters 1977, p. 361).

In a letter dated June 7, 1909, Commissioner Leupp wrote Superintendent Conser regarding his concern over a "little trouble brewing at Oraibi owing to Tawaquaptewa's attitude toward allotment." Leupp stated that Tawaquaptewa had demonstrated the "ignorant Indian in him," and while such ignorance came as no surprise to Leupp, it nevertheless annoyed the Commissioner and needed to be addressed. It was "generally understood through the pueblo," that Tawaquaptewa had "been instigating" his brother, Talasquaptewa, to advise the Hopis on the reservation "not to accept allotment" (F. Leupp, personal communication, June 7, 1909).<sup>19</sup> Leupp could "hardly conceive" that Tawaquaptewa was a "big enough fool to set himself up in opposition to the Government." However, in spite of his attendance at Sherman Institute and having "seen a little of the world," Leupp did not "count on his having learned" any "wisdom." Upon receiving Leupp's letter, Conser "immediately called" Tawaquaptewa into his office and "presented" the letter before him. Conser

“advised” Tawaquaptewa that he had received a letter from Commissioner Leupp which stated that Leupp was “disappointed because of the stories” that had come to the Commissioner’s attention regarding his “attitude” (F. Conser, personal communication, June 15, 1909).<sup>20</sup> After Conser “read the letter” and “explained” the letter in great “detail,” Tawaquaptewa admitted that he had indeed “advised his brother against taking allotment,” but assured Conser that he would begin to encourage his brother in the opposite direction (F. Conser, personal communication, June 15, 1909).<sup>21</sup>

Although Tawaquaptewa “talked quite favorably” of allotment after Conser read and explained Leupp’s letter, Conser admitted that it was impossible to tell “just what position” Tawaquaptewa would take when he returned to the reservation (F. Conser, personal communication, June 15, 1909).<sup>22</sup> It is doubtful that Tawaquaptewa would have demonstrated an attitude of non-compliance with government officials two weeks before he expected to return to Oraibi. He may have been concerned that Leupp, at the suggestion of Conser, would attempt to keep him at the school longer than originally agreed upon. Nevertheless, the “ignorant Indian” was more intelligent than Leupp or Conser ever anticipated. The attempt to assimilate Oraibi’s Kikmongwi had failed, and by June 1909, Leupp was left to contemplate the unforeseen future consequences.

After Tawaquaptewa briefly became a “government policeman” when he returned to the reservation, his compliant attitude with government officials eventually ceased altogether (*TSB*, December 14, 1909, p. 3). Having returned to a socially and ceremonially shattered village, Tawaquaptewa never again held the position of Kikmongwi to the same degree as he did prior to the Oraibi Split (Sekaquaptewa 1991). Up until his death in 1960, Tawaquaptewa claimed that Superintendent Hall tricked him into signing a statement that encouraged Hopi cooperation with the federal government. Tawaquaptewa believed that Leupp and Hall took advantage of his inability to read and speak fluent English while a student at Sherman Institute. Even though tensions existed between Tawaquaptewa and government/school officials, Tawaquaptewa refused to allow the problems to hinder his involvement with the Hopi pupils under his care. Always concerned about his “Hopi followers,” Tawaquaptewa faithfully fulfilled his obligation to provide the encouragement and leadership needed for Hopi success at one of the government’s largest off-reservation Indian boarding schools.

### Conclusions

For many of the Hopi students, the “great adventure” came to a close in June 1909. Of the initial 71 Hopi students who arrived in November 1906, 55 returned to Oraibi. Most of them were boys. While several of the pupils eagerly returned home (*TSB*, January 13, 1909, p. 3), 20 “of the Hopi children requested permission to remain at the school another year.” However, “every Hopi parent absolutely declined to consent to their children remaining” any longer (H. Hall, personal communication, June 15, 1907).<sup>23</sup> Before he returned to the reservation,

one Hopi student told fellow schoolmates: "We Hopis are about to leave Sherman. I will not forget my teachers, for they have been kind to me, and I will try to come back here next year" (*TSB*, June 16, 1909, p. 4). Non-Hopi pupils also desired the return of their Hopi friends, wishing that "all" of the Hopis would return "in the fall" (*TSB*, June 2, 1909, p. 2).

Despite the fact that the federal government established Indian boarding schools to assimilate Indian people and ultimately destroy Indian cultures (Adams, 1995), Hopi culture remained intact and flourished at the school. In essence, the Hopi pupils took a potentially disastrous time in Hopi history and turned it around for the betterment of the Hopi people. The very institution which the government designed to "civilize" the Hopi, became a powerful tool that Hopis used to preserve their culture. Hopi students refused to view themselves as victims held against their wills by the mighty hand of the federal government. Instead, they followed the advice of their Kikmongwi and acted as true Hopis while others wanted them to become white Americans.

In the same fashion as when they arrived, the Hopi pupils left Sherman Institute on the Santa Fe train to Winslow, Arizona, where parents met and took the pupils by wagon to their village of Oraibi. Throughout their three year stay, Hopi pupils grew to adore their school, and later spoke of the "purple and gold" in endearing terms. Many who returned to Oraibi readapted to life on the reservation. Others, however, became restless, and found it extremely difficult to live as they once had. A year following his return, Victor Sakiestewa wrote Superintendent Conser and stated that he no longer wanted to be in Oraibi anymore and asked permission to return to the school for another term. Willing even to pay his transportation costs, Victor represented a number of Hopi pupils, who, once they had experienced life beyond the Hopi Reservation, saw potential opportunities elsewhere that they would not have known existed prior to attending the school (V. Sakiestewa, personal communication, November 15, 1910).<sup>24</sup>

Between 1906 and 1909, the federal government invested a significant amount of time and money, approximately \$60,000, educating Hopi students at Sherman Institute (*TSB*, January 29, 1908, p. 1). Fearful of losing their Hopi investment and the progress believed to have been made with the Hopi people, school and government officials labored to keep Hopi enrollment from ceasing. In an effort to secure future Hopi attendance, Conser frequently wrote Hopi pupils on the reservation. The young Hopis enthusiastically received Conser's letters and felt privileged and honored to have had the superintendent's personal attention. Although Conser's correspondence proved fruitful in the years to come, no one motivated Hopi attendance more than Hopis themselves (D. Haskee, personal communication, October 2, 1913).<sup>25</sup> Over the next 100 years, Hopi pupils continued to attend and advance at Sherman Institute. What began in the early 1900s with a yearly enrollment of 80 Hopi students, essentially laid the foundation for thousands of Hopi pupils who followed in their parent's, grandparent's and great-grandparent's footsteps.

The Indian boarding school experience consisted of many layers of meaning for Hopi pupils. For some Hopi students, the off-reservation Indian boarding school provided an escape from poverty and disease that had long existed on the reservation. Others saw the government schools as prisons, where school officials told the students how to behave, talk, work and think. Although no one perspective on Indian boarding schools can adequately speak on behalf of all Native people, we can conclude that the boarding school experience was neither completely positive nor entirely negative for Indian students. For Hopis, the education they received at Sherman never fully assimilated them into white American culture. Like other Indian students who attended off-reservation boarding schools such as Carlisle, Phoenix, or Albuquerque, the Hopis did not abandon the education they initially received from their parents and elders for a Euro-American form of education. Instead of allowing their boarding school education to destroy the Hopi way of life, Hopi graduates of Sherman went on to preserve their culture by using the skills they learned at school for the betterment of the Hopi Tribe. Like the Navajo, Ojibwe, and many other Indians who attended off-reservation boarding schools, the Hopi's ability to adapt within the educational system of the white man, demonstrated resilience and advancement for generations of Hopis to come.

#### Acknowledgement

The Hopi Tribe possesses no greater historical source than its people. Therefore, a study that examines the Hopi people ought also to seek the involvement and cooperation of the Hopi Tribe. The protection of intellectual property has long been a concern for Native people throughout North America, and in response to years of misrepresentations of Hopi culture by non-Hopis, the Hopi Tribe established the Hopi Culture Preservation Office (HCPO) in Kykotsmovi, Arizona. In essence, since its founding in the 1980s, the HCPO has acted as a guardian of Hopi intellectual property and has determined rules and regulations for those who wish to perform research on the Hopi Reservation. Although historians and anthropologists are often tempted to bypass tribal involvement and permission when conducting research, I made certain that the Hopi Tribe had a vital role in a study that involved the Hopi people. In order to accomplish this, I sought the assistance of Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, Director of the HCPO, and Stewart Koyiyumptewa, Archivist for the Hopi Tribe, both of whom made valuable comments and suggestions for "The Hopi Followers" manuscript. In addition to the involvement of the Hopi Tribe I am greatly indebted to my graduate advisor and mentor, Dr. Clifford E. Trafzer, for his constant guidance and encouragement.

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## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Francis E. Leupp, December 24, 1906, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, (SIIRG), vol. 2: 1905, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>2</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Francis E. Leupp, February 4, 1907, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, (SIIRG), vol. 3: 1906, The Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA, compiled by Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>3</sup>Hall to Leupp, February 4, 1907.
- <sup>4</sup>Hall to Leupp, February 4, 1907.
- <sup>5</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Estelle Reel, May 11, 1907, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, Sherman Indian Institute Research Guide (SIIRG), vol. 4: 1907, Sherman Indian Museum, Riverside, CA, compiled by Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>6</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Francis E. Leupp, October 9, 1908, Box 43, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters and Telegrams from the Commissioner, June 1903-December-1904, SIIRG, vol. 5: 1908, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>7</sup>Hall to Leupp, October 9, 1908.
- <sup>8</sup>Letter from Sakiestewa, Victor to Frank. M. Conser. "Sakiestewa, Victor" (1913). December 24, Box 315, RG-75, BIA, SSCF, NARA, Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).
- <sup>9</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Peter P. Hilliard, August 18, 1907, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 4: 1907, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>10</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Miltona M. Keith, November 27, 1906, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 3: 1906, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>11</sup>Hall to Keith, November 27, 1906.
- <sup>12</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Horton H. Miller, p. 129, August 2, 1907, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 4: 1907, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>13</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Miltona M. Keith, November 26, 1906, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 3: 1906, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>14</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Horton H. Miller, November 20, 1906, Box 59, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 5: 1908, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>15</sup>[Author unknown] one-page archived document, "Tewaquaptewa," April 20, 1909, Box 355, RG-75, BIA, SSCF, NARA, Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).
- <sup>16</sup>Letter from Tawaquaptewa to Mootuma, May 27, 1907, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 4: 1907, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>17</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Tewaquaptewa, July 30, 1907, Box 58, RG-75: Records of the BIA, Sherman Institute, Records of the Superintendent, Letters Sent, 1902-1948, SIIRG, vol. 4: 1907, Leleua Loupe.
- <sup>18</sup>Hall to Tewaquaptewa, July 30, 1907.
- <sup>19</sup>Letter from Leupp, Francis E. to Frank Conser, "Tewaquaptewa," June 7, 1909, Box 355, RG-75, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), SSCF, NARA, Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).
- <sup>20</sup>Letter from Conser, Frank to Francis E. Leupp, "Tewaquaptewa," June 15, 1909, Box 355, RG-75, BIA, Sherman Indian High School Student Case Files (SSCF), National

Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).

<sup>21</sup>Conser to Leupp, June 15, 1909.

<sup>22</sup>Conser to Leupp, June 15, 1909.

<sup>23</sup>Letter from Hall, Harwood to Francis E. Leupp, "Tewaquaptewa," June 15, 1907, RG-75, BIA, Sherman Indian High School Student Case Files, NARA, Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).

<sup>24</sup>Letter from Sakiestewa, Victor to Superintendent Conser, "Sakiestewa, Victor," November 15, 1910, Box 315, RG-75, BIA, Sherman Indian High School Student Case Files, NARA, Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).

<sup>25</sup>Letter from Haskee, David to Frank Conser. Haskee, David (1913). October 2, Box 142, RG-75, BIA,SSCF, NARA, Laguna Niguel, California (Pacific Branch).

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