BLACK, WHITE, AND NATIVE: "THE SOUTHERN WORKMAN," COALITION CITIZENSHIP, AND AMERICAN WRITING, 1890-1920

by

SIDONIA SERAFINI

(Under the Direction of Barbara McCaskill)

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is the first longitudinal study and literary history of the *Southern Workman* (1872-1939), a periodical published by the Black industrial school and American Indian boarding school, Hampton Institute in Virginia. It analyzes literary and nonfiction writings about citizenship published in the *Southern Workman* to explore how and why Hampton's central mouthpiece became a rich site of multiethnic American writing between 1890 and 1920. I reconsider the ways in which literary studies have privileged the bound book by examining Black and Native writing in periodicals. Such a reframing not only unsettles assumptions about how we conceive of American literature and writers but also sheds light on how marginalized populations harnessed the periodical press as a tool of resistance and uplift. Across genres, writers in the *Southern Workman* negotiated, and often eschewed, U.S. citizenship by instead placing value on what I call "coalition citizenship." On the one hand, the term refers to the multiracial coalition of intellectuals whose writings were featured in the *Southern Workman*. Yet, this community of writers also contested the idea of a national "coalition." I explore how writers instead cultivate alternative forms of citizenship through the formation and strengthening of social, cultural, racial, and familial coalitions within, but often separate from, the larger U.S. At the crossroads of three contributor bases and audiences—Black, White, and Native—the placement of "White" at the center of my subtitle gestures toward the ways Black and Native voices were mediated through the periodical's White editorship and how writers engaged various forms of rhetoric in navigating such constraints.

INDEX WORDS: African American Literature, Native American Literature, Periodicals, Hampton Institute, Citizenship

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DEDICATION

To my family

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INTRODUCTION

On a September evening in 1887, Elsie Fuller (ca. 1870-unknown), an Omaha student at Hampton Institute in Virginia, refused to move seats on a rowboat traveling across the river to an off-campus Episcopal church that she requested to attend. Fuller and a fellow student were told to sit in wet seats. They refused and were ordered to return to the matron at the Winona Lodge for Indian Girls. But they did not. Instead, the two girls headed back to campus on foot and without an escort. At church services on campus that evening, Fuller and her classmate were instructed to wait to be escorted home by their matron. But they did not. They walked home alone. For her punishment, Fuller was barred from attending school entertainment services that evening. She asked to be transferred to the services. Her request was denied.

Fuller's agency—interpreted by Hampton Institute's administration as insolence—was detailed in a letter from F. C. Briggs, Hampton's Business Agent, to T. S. Childs of Washington, D.C. Childs was sent that same year by the Office of Indian Affairs to investigate complaints of mistreatment of Native American students at Hampton. Childs inquired about Fuller's punishment specifically. Deeming Fuller "a wayward girl," Briggs assured Childs that her punishment was the result of "breaking one of the best known and most strictly enforced rules of the school"—that is, to walk always with a matron chaperone (Briggs 2). Briggs promised Childs, who was seemingly concerned about the denial of students' religious freedoms, "There is not the slightest religious significance to the case" (3). Briggs wanted to make clear that students at Hampton were allowed to exercise their right to choose where to attend church—a hallmark of

the privileges of religious freedom and American citizenship under the Constitution. Fuller was indeed granted permission to attend an off-campus church. But Hampton's rules, Fuller's refusal, and her subsequent punishment point toward larger issues of nominal citizenship.

Just a few months earlier, in the spring of that year, Fuller's poem, "A New Citizen," was published in Hampton's *Talks and Thoughts of Hampton Indian Students* (1886-1907) and then reprinted in the school's central mouthpiece, *The Southern Workman* (1872-1939). The poem was written in the wake of the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, or the General Allotment Act, under which the federal government seized tribal lands, parceled them into individual allotments, and sold supposedly "excess" land to non-Native settlers and railroad developers.[1] Intended to accelerate the assimilation of Native peoples—a national project that was already underway at boarding schools like Hampton Institute and Carlisle Indian School—the Act reconstructed Native lands according to a Euro-American individualized model of property ownership, and those who accepted allotments were granted U.S. citizenship. Fuller responded in verse:

> Now I am a citizen!
> They've given us new laws,
> Just as were made
> By Senator Dawes.
>
> We need not live on rations,
> Why? there is no cause,
> For "Indians are citizens,"
> Said Senator Dawes.
>
> Just give us a chance,
> We will never pause.
> Till we are good citizens.
> Like Senator Dawes.
>
> Now we are citizens,

[1] For more descriptions of the Dawes Act of 1887, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Cristian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (University of Nebraska Press, 2001); and D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

We all give him applause—
So three cheers, my friends,
For Senator Dawes! (56) [2]

Scholars like Robert Dale Parker have acknowledged that Fuller's words might be interpreted in various ways as progressive, assimilationist, authentically grateful, or "dripping with sarcasm" (19). Perhaps Fuller did feel an initial excitement when she penned her poem in the spring of that year. Perhaps the idea of being a "new citizen" endowed her with a newfound sense of autonomy—the freedom to choose where to attend church, to choose where to sit on a rowboat, to choose to walk home with a friend without a chaperone, to choose to contest the administration's orders. After all, why should a citizen not be in control of her own movement? Why, as a citizen, must she be surveilled? As Fuller sat alone in her dorm room that night while the other students gathered for entertainment, perhaps she realized that to be a "good [citizen]"—both as a Native student at Hampton and a Native person in the U.S.—did not mean agency but compliance (Fuller line 11). To be a citizen, in the eyes of Hampton's administration, was to obey, to assimilate, to be a citizen in name only—to conform to what Creek scholar K. Tsianina Lomawaima describes as boarding school educators' objectives of "civilized and obedient souls in civilized and obedient bodies" (*They Called* 99).

Fuller's actions situate citizenship within the context of Black industrial schools and Native American boarding schools like Hampton Institute as a complex, and constant, negotiation. Established in 1868 by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839-93) as an industrial school for newly freed African Americans in the South,[3] Hampton Institute eventually

[2] Fuller's poem has been anthologized in Robert Dale Parker's *Changing is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) and *When the Light of the World Was Subdued, Our Songs Came Through: A Norton Anthology of Native Nations Poetry*, eds. Joy Harjo, LeAnne Howe, and Jennifer Elise Foerster (W. W. Norton, 2020).

[3] James D. Anderson and Robert Francis Engs discuss in detail Armstrong's life and his vision for Hampton Institute. See Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (University of North Carolina Press,

became a Native American boarding school in 1878 when Captain Richard Henry Pratt (1840-1924), whose infamous motto was "Kill the Indian, Save the Man," brought the first Native students—seventeen Kiowa, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Arapaho prisoners of war—to Hampton Institute from Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida (Lindsey 27-30). At Hampton and other industrial and boarding school institutions, the idea of citizenship was the lifeblood of education for Black and Native students. Yet this education was crafted by White administration officials, educators, and reformers who often reinforced Black and Native peoples' nominal positions in the nation. Industrial and boarding schools' model of citizenship for African Americans and Native Americans, as Kim Carry Warren has written, were aimed at "fit[ting] them into the dominant culture's definitions of American citizenship" (2). For African American students, this meant studying a prescribed curriculum of industrial labor, farming, and domestic work. The objective was a gradual, accommodationist vision of racial uplift that promised progress yet signified "subjugat[ion] … to distinct and permanently lower-class positions in society" (Warren 3). Native American students, on the other hand, were to receive an education of assimilation or, as David Wallace Adams more rightly terms it, an "education for extinction." The educational project of Hampton, which inspired Pratt's federal off-reservation boarding school, Carlisle Indian School, and Booker T. Washington's Black industrial school, Tuskegee Institute, was a national object lesson. It projected to the public the ultimate American uplift and conversion narratives of the transformation of allegedly shiftless and ignorant freedpeople into industrious laborers and so-called "savage Indians" into "civilized" men and women.

As did most newspapers and magazines at Black industrial schools and Native American boarding schools—from Spelman College's *The Spelman Messenger* (1885-present) to Carlisle

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1988) and Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

Indian School's host of periodicals, such as *The Morning Star* (1882-87), *The Carlisle Arrow* (1908-18), and *The Red Man* (1888-1900; 1910-17), to name a few—Hampton Institute's central mouthpiece, the *Southern Workman*, acted as an organ of the school's educational progress, a point of communication between administrators, educators, donors, and readers. When Gen. Armstrong established the *Southern Workman* in 1872, just a few years after Hampton opened its doors, the newspaper served by and large as an extension of the institution's accommodationist and assimilationist ethos of education. In essence, it was a White space, edited and vetted by Hampton's administration and featuring the voices of White contributors who articulated solutions to "the Negro problem" and "the Indian problem," envisioning, without input from Black and Native peoples themselves, how and on what terms African Americans and Native Americans might live as citizens in the nation. Fuller's poem, then, which on its surface seemingly celebrates the naturalization of Native Americans through the passage of the Dawes Act, would have been appealing to *Southern Workman* editors. As Susan Scheckel writes in one of the few in-depth examinations of the *Southern Workman*, editors and administrative officials used "popular print culture" to "[position] Hampton's educational experiment in dialogue with … widely publicized debates over American Indian policy" (419).[4] Fuller's poem reified, in the editors' eyes, the proper sentiments of the assimilated Indian. It is to be little expected, then, that the *Southern Workman* would, by the turn into the twentieth century, evolve into a multiracial space—a Black, White, and Native platform—wherein the voices of people of color, who

[4] In addition to Scheckel's analysis of the *Southern Workman*'s interest in Indian policy during the years between 1878 and 1887, Teresa Zackodnik has explored Black and Native students' letters printed in the *Southern Workman* as well as the *Southern Workman*'s engagement with imperialism. See Zackodnik, "Indigenous and Black Geographies in Letters to the Editor." *Common-Place: The Journal of Early American Life*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2015, http://commonplace.online/article/indigenous-black-geographies/, and "Empire and Education in Hampton's Southern Workman: The South Pacific, the Caribbean, and the Reconstruction South," in *South Seas Encounters: Nineteenth-Century Oceania, Britain, and America*, eds. Richard Fulton, Stephen Hancock, Peter Hoffenberg, and Allison Paynter (Routledge, 2018), pp. 156-76.

conceived of their *own* status within the nation as citizens, might blossom rather than fade into a White background.

The evolution of the *Southern Workman* from a White space into a multiracial one wherein a coalition of Black, White, and Native voices deliberated meanings and visions of citizenship between the years 1890 and 1920 coincided with the "nadir" of race relations in America—a time characterized both by the uncertainties of citizenship for Black Americans in the failure of Reconstruction and the upheavals of sovereignty for Native Americans in the assimilation era. For African Americans, citizenship had been clearly outlined in the Constitution but was not faithfully rendered in civic life. Nearly half a century after the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed birthright citizenship for newly freed people and their descendants, African Americans were still imagining and reimagining how that legal guarantee might be realized amid legal and extralegal violence. In 1890s, racial violence escalated nationally. Assault against Black bodies, Black life, and Black family was rampant, prompting the transatlantic anti-lynching tours and publications of Ida B. Wells-Barnett (1862-1931) and Reverend Peter Thomas Stanford (ca. 1860-1909).[5] The dictum of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) had legally sanctioned racial segregation, literacy tests at voting polls disenfranchised Black voters, and Black communities grappled with the re-enslavement of African American men, women, and adolescents through convict lease and chain gang systems.

Denied birthright citizenship by the Fourteenth Amendment, Native Americans, on the other hand, were not considered persons in the eyes of the law until the Supreme Court's ruling

[5] Wells and Stanford not only attempted to eradicate anti-Black violence in their boots-on-the-ground activism but also in their print productions. Wells exposed racial violence in her pamphlets, *Southern Horrors* (1892) and *The Red Record* (1895), and Stanford documented it in three editions of his textbook and race history, *The Tragedy of the Negro in America* (1897, 1898, 1903).

in *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879). While the case deemed that Native peoples had the right to live with or apart from their tribal nation, *Elk v. Wilkins* (1884) ruled that, if a Native person chose to leave their tribe and live among White citizens, they were not considered U.S. citizens themselves. As Lomawaima has explained, "Congress responded to this case, in part, with the General Allotment Act"—the federal order to which Fuller dedicated her poem ("The Mutuality" n. 3, 346). Yet, as Lomawaima explains, these cases "did not settle the question of citizenship" and "did not resolve the ambiguity of wardship versus citizenship" (n. 3, 346).[6] The federal government turned Indigenous sovereignty on its head, too, as Native American children were torn from their families and forced to attend federally-mandated boarding schools, where an atmosphere of cultural erasure attempted to remake tribal peoples into Christianized, compliant citizens in the same way that the Dawes Act of 1887 seized, redistributed, and parceled Native land according to a Euro-American model of property ownership predicated on the goal that "Native people and tribes persist *in controlled forms*" as "incompetent wards and incapable tribes" (339).

Amidst such shifting and tumultuous contours of citizenship, which reached a fever pitch in the 1890s, the *Southern Workman* evolved from a predominantly White space to a multicultural space that reflected the diverse racial and cultural groups who attended and taught at Hampton. Between 1890 and 1920—the years of the *Southern Workman* which this dissertation examines—it exhibited a coalition of voices. At the center of that coalition was the question of citizenship. "Black, White, and Native" tells the story of what I call "coalition citizenship." On one hand, "coalition citizenship" refers to the diverse voices—not only across

[6] See also Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 volumes (University of Nebraska Press, 1995), and David E. Wilkins, *American Indian Sovereignty and the U. S. Supreme Court: The Masking of Justice* (University of Texas Press, 1997).

race but across conceptions of citizenship—that populate the *Southern Workman* between 1890 and 1920. Showcasing a range of perspectives and intellectual thought, "coalition" does not imply consensus but, rather, the opposite. Voices in the *Southern Workman*, which became a platform for debate and deliberation, vocalize different understandings of citizenship for Black and Native peoples—voices both from within and outside of Black and Native communities. On a more granular level, "coalition citizenship" refers to the ways in which writers often contested the idea of a national "coalition" or a nation of "one, out of many." In particular, Black and Native writers in the *Southern Workman* are often more attuned to the limitations, temporary expediencies, impermanence, and even impossibilities of a fully united coalition of American citizens. Across a multiplicity of genres—short stories, poems, speeches, race and traditionary histories, biographical sketches, autobiographical writings, nature study leaflets, and agricultural vignettes—writers negotiated, and often eschewed, U.S. citizenship by instead placing value on "coalition citizenship." From luminary literary figures like Charles W. Chesnutt (1858-1932) to everyday (forgotten) artists such as Akimel O'otham basket maker, Mollie Houston Schurz (ca. 1888-1921), and Black farmers such as S. J. (Stonewall Jackson) Faver (1862-1927), writings in the *Southern Workman* often promote the cultivation of alternative forms of citizenship through the formation and strengthening of social, cultural, racial, and familial coalitions within, but often separate from, the larger U.S. At the crossroads of three contributor bases and audiences—Black, White, and Native—the placement of "White" at the center of my subtitle gestures toward the ways Black and Native voices were mediated through the periodical's White editorship and how writers engaged various forms of rhetoric in navigating such constraints.

Hampton Institute and the Evolution of the *Southern Workman*

The *Southern Workman*'s position, and importance, as a polyvocal, multiracial platform at the end of the nineteenth century coincided with local, regional, and national discussions of citizenship. The *Southern Workman*'s fluidity, and its emergence as a multicultural American literary, cultural, and political landscape, reflected the precarity and mutability of Black and Native peoples' status as citizens in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As both a Black industrial school and a Native American boarding school, Hampton Institute was uniquely situated as a site where, historically, the precarities of citizenship for both Black and Native peoples converged. The *Southern Workman* offers a rich repository for understanding how these conversations unfolded on an institutional, regional, and national stage during a time that is not only considered the "nadir" of race relations in America but is also overlooked as a low-point in African American literary productions, as Barbara McCaskill and Caroline Gebhard examine in *Post-Bellum, Pre-Harlem: African American Literature and Culture, 1877-1919* (2006), as well as in the Native American literary tradition, as Robert Warrior (Osage) explains in *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (2005).

Growing attention to the periodical press as an important and overlooked site of literary production among scholars of African American and Native American literature has expanded our understandings of American literature and writers. For critics of African American literature, Eric Gardner explains in his innovative study of Black periodicals *Unexpected Places: Relocating Nineteenth-Century African American Literature* (2009), that the bound book—the slave narrative, in particular—has often been used as the central "measure of literature" produced by Black writers (7). Gardner turns to the "unexpected places"—both the print spaces of periodicals as well as the geographic locations beyond the North/South axis—wherein early

African American writers published in order to usher in a more comprehensive understanding of early African American literature (4). Contributors to Lara Langer Cohen and Jordan Alexander Stein's edited collection, *Early African American Print Culture* (2012), have further examined not only early African American writers' engagements with the periodical press but other forms of print culture and media as well, from Derrick Spires's examination of Black state conventions proceedings to Susanna Ashton's analysis of William Grimes's receipt of the first U.S. copyright for a Black-authored book (Spires 274-89; Ashton 127-39). Owing to the work of Francis Smith Foster, whose seminal essay, "A Narrative of the Interesting Origins and (Somewhat) Surprising Developments of African-American Print Culture" (2005), called attention to the Afro-Protestant church as a touchstone moment for the emergence of a robust nineteenth-century Black print culture, scholars have dug deeper into the periodical archives of African American religious and educational institutions. Noteworthy research includes Gardner's longitudinal study of the *A.M.E. Christian Recorder* (1852-present) and Sarah Ruffing Robbins's analysis of Spelman College's the *Spelman Messenger* (1885-present).

Scholars of early Native American writing have taken a similar turn toward examining early Native American writers' engagements with print culture. In *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (2010), Phillip Round examines "Native peoples' self-conscious application and adaptation of Anglo-American ideologies of print," from the religious tract to the missionary grammar (16). Rooted in similar book and print history approaches, there is a growing focus on literary and cultural productions produced by Native American boarding schools, both by boarding schools in the U.S. as well as First Nations boarding schools in Canada. Jacqueline Emery's recently published anthology, *Recovering Native American Writings in the Boarding School Press* (2020), for instance, is dedicated solely to periodical writings that

emerged out of such institutions. Additional studies foreground the work of Native students in unbound print productions at boarding schools, such as Osage scholar Robert Warrior's consideration of the editorial and artistic agency that Native students exercised in materially producing leaflets at the Santee Normal Training School of Nebraska, as well as Jessica Enoch's analysis of Carlisle Indian School's the *Red Man and Helper* as a site of "cultural continuity" despite the institution's project of assimilation (Warrior 95-98; Enoch 13). Periodicals, magazines, and pamphlets printed by boarding school presses, as well as student and family letters exchanged while students attended boarding schools, are increasingly acknowledged as important literary and cultural artifacts, even if approached with a critical eye because of White editorial oversight, as Ojibwe historian Brenda Child has cautioned (xvi).

In reconsidering the ways in which literary studies has privileged the bound book, such scholarship unsettles assumptions about how we conceive of American literature and writers and sheds light on how marginalized populations harnessed the periodical press as a tool of resistance and uplift. The unlikeliness that the *Southern Workman* could have produced such a racially inclusive literary and intellectual community at the end of the nineteenth century, and in the South nonetheless, positions Hampton's periodical as a unique print space. Following Jane Griffith, who in her recent book on boarding school newspapers in Canada indicates how institutional newspapers and magazines are often "used as sources but rarely as objects of study in themselves," central to understanding the *Southern Workman* as a platform for "coalition citizenship" is constructing its early print history as a frame of reference for its evolution into a multiracial platform—as an "unexpected place," in the words of Eric Gardner, wherein African Americans and Native Americans inserted their voices into conversations about citizenship (Griffith 5; Gardner 4).

The term "coalition citizenship" is rooted first and foremost in the print history of the *Southern Workman*, which remained Hampton Institute's central mouthpiece for nearly seven decades, from 1872 to 1939. Since its inception in 1872, it was printed first by Hampton Institute's African American students. Six years later, in 1878, Native American students joined the ranks of the press room after Hampton's designated recruiter, Capt. Pratt, began "collecting" Native youth, as an 1878 *Southern Workman* editorial describes of the boarding school enlistment process ("Notes on the Trail" 93). Although materially produced by Black and Native students, the *Southern Workman* began as a racially monolithic space and largely remained so throughout its first twenty-seven years of circulation. Edited by the White administration, its contributors and audience were mainly White administrative officials, teachers, and donors.

Tied to the educational ethos of Hampton, the early *Southern Workman* was deployed in three major ways: as a constructive guide for freedpeople in industrial trades, agriculture, housekeeping, and education; as a publicity and fundraising platform for its northern and southern White donors; and as a pedagogical tool in Hampton's classrooms. It printed material on labor, temperance, education, and Christianity; biographical sketches on notable missionaries and U.S. presidents, including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln; didactic stories for children and adolescents rooted in religious and moral lessons; poetry by canonical American and British poets such as William Cullen Bryant, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Lord Byron, and John Greenleaf Whittier; patriotic music and poetry by writers like Julia Ward Howe; scientific agriculture information; domestic advice geared toward housekeeping and child-rearing practices; and advice to teachers about student learning and classroom management. The *Southern Workman* was regularly used as reading material in classes, and it served as the central text for Hampton's political economy course, for example

("Newspapers in School" 90; Anderson 50). Intended as instructional material for freedpeople and Hampton's African American students, opinion pieces professed carpentry, bricklaying, blacksmithing, and cabinet-making as professions suited for male students, and sewing, dressmaking, and laundering for female students. Such readers could find under the "Agricultural" section, for instance, advice on testing milk, planting seed, and breeding livestock, while a column titled "To the Students of Hampton" served as a kind of serialized conduct guide instructing students on proper social etiquette, health and hygiene, and Christian morals. Such content mirrored and perhaps was read by students in a course that Hampton offered called "Practical Morals" (Anderson 54).

Early issues of the *Southern Workman* catered toward the tastes, and perceived desires, of freedpeople, who accounted for two-thirds of the periodical's initial subscriber base (*Hampton and Its Students* 161). In the first two years of circulation, the *Southern Workman* functioned like many newspapers published by and for African Americans in the South by printing lost family member advertisements. In 1872 and 1873, formerly enslaved people searching for loved ones from whom they had been separated during slavery placed "Information Wanted" ads in the periodical.[7] Editors also sprinkled in the verse of African American poets like Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (1825-1911), albeit her less political poem "Thank God for Little Children."[8]

The *Southern Workman* also promoted what the administration perceived as proper economic opportunities for African Americans. An ad in 1872, for example, titled "Take Notice,

[7] The first "Information Wanted" ad placed in the *Southern Workman* that was associated with families separated during slavery appeared in the December 1872 issue. George Goodwin of Norfolk, Virginia, placed an ad searching for his nephew, Samuel Davis, who was enslaved by George Lawrence and who disappeared in April 1865. "Information Wanted!," *Southern Workman*, vol. 1, no. 12, 1872, p. 4.

[8] Harper's poem was printed in the May 1872 issue of the *Southern Workman*, p. 4. On the same page, the editors published a short note under the title, "Mrs. F. E. W. Harper," noting that she had recently visited the Hampton area and commending her as "a lady of culture and refinement" (4). This short article was a rare acknowledgement of African American literary production by the early *Southern Workman* editors.

Northern Employers and Southern Workers," announced the following: "Advertisements from colored people wishing situations at the North, will be inserted into the 'Southern Workman' free of charge, if accompanied by references from responsible persons. Advertisements from Northern employers for colored servants will be received at our usual charge of ten cents a line" (4). Reminiscent of the amanuensis of slave narratives—what John Sekora calls the "black message" in "a white envelope"— already impoverished African American job seekers would need to foot the bill for ads as well as supply letters of introduction vouching for their character (502). Further, the employment opportunities promoted by the *Southern Workman* were for menial labor positions like porters, domestic workers, and caretakers for children—specified for "colored people"—and harkened back to the labor of enslavement. In addition to scattered lost family member ads and the occasional poem or sermon by a person of African descent, the voices of African Americans first entered the print space of the *Southern Workman* not as central literary and cultural contributors but as beneficiaries. In a section called "Letters from Hampton Graduates," editors printed letters by Hampton graduates, often teachers, who wrote back to their alma mater to update their former teachers on their whereabouts and work after their matriculation. Their correspondence foregrounds their work in the pillars of African American communities—the school and the church—as central to racial uplift. Graduates established primary and Sabbath schools across the South and in western territories like Kansas, often built by their own hands.

Reiterating many times throughout its first years in print that the *Southern Workman* was "not a political paper," Hampton was not interested in political upheaval, civil rights agitation, or progressive action ("Differing" 15). Such an ideologically motivated crafting of the periodical's content is nowhere better explained than by the front page of the *Southern Workman*'s inaugural

issue: “We can offer our readers no more appropriate portrait for the first number of the ‘Southern Workman,’” the editors announce, “than that of our revered martyr President [Abraham Lincoln]. Himself a Southern workman, earning his bread and his education by the sturdy blows of his axe, his early life was a good illustration of the idea of self-help, which is one of the leading features of our Normal School” (“Abraham” 4). Because of Lincoln’s position as a paternal White savior of enslaved Black people and his affiliation with the self-help and hard work narrative of success, the editors would have been drawn to him as a non-threatening model of racial progress for its southern Black subscribers, White donors, and students reading the *Southern Workman* in classrooms. The institution’s dedication to gradual, accommodationist racial uplift through working-class economic opportunities was especially apparent after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. That year, the editors printed one of the first lengthy texts by an African American, a speech by pastor J. P. Weaver, titled “Address to the Colored People of the South, on the Civil Rights Bill.” Weaver urged southern African Americans to accept the new accommodations to public spaces with gratitude but not to push their luck if they find themselves denied at hotel lodgings, transportation, or places of entertainment. To ere on the side of caution was his solution, suggesting that Black southerners frequent establishments “where you will be welcome and treated with care” rather than risk denial (43).

Put plainly in a February 1877 editorial is Hampton’s ethos of hard work and industrial and agricultural training as proper pathways toward gradual racial uplift. The *Southern Workman*, the editors write,

> has sought for common ground on which good men, without regard to party, could work together for the well-being of that portion of our country ravaged by war, and kept prostrate by ignorance, prejudice, corruption and violence … It has preached the gospel

> of salvation by hard work to the enfranchised negro, warned him of the slippery tenure and great temptations of political position, the uncertainty of continued external support, and advocated education—an industrial, practical education, as the panacea for his ills; insisted that character and manhood and not polished scholarship are the true objective points, and that, during the present generation, only a foundation can be laid for a bright future for the negro race;—that all races have advanced slowly, almost imperceptibly. (10)

Cautioning Black Americans to avoid politics and intellectuality exposed the editors' and northern and southern White donors' anxieties about policymaking, leadership, and power in the hands of Black Americans. Slowly but surely, and *invisibly*, was Hampton's model of racial progress, as the editors express. Voting rights and the autonomy of labor had been granted through Emancipation and the Fourteenth Amendment. But securing the full privileges of citizenship as equal participants in nation through the realms of politics and intellectuality was a "slippery" slope because it threatened the nation's deep-seated racial hierarchies (10). To assure its northern White readers, and especially its southern donors and subscribers, of the worthiness of its educational mission for African Americans, the *Southern Workman* lauded freedpeople for their work ethic, peaceful demeanor and compliance, and disinterest in politics. As Hampton's economic backing relied on catering to expectations of such audiences, it positioned Black southerners as non-threatening physically, economically, and politically, and it was invested in portraying a Black work ethic that did not threaten to exceed the economic or political status of White citizens. As one April 1877 editorial stated, "only with the co-operation of the best people of the South could effectual work be done for the negro" (26). Such a statement, while

commending its southern donors, was also a veiled wink to its Black audience not to step out of line, so to speak, lest donations for the school evaporated.

In 1878, Hampton established itself as an off-reservation Indian boarding school when Pratt transported Kiowa, Cheyenne, Comanche, and Arapaho prisoners of war to be educated at Hampton (Lindsey 27-30). These prisoners became part of Pratt and Armstrong's experiment in education as a means of solving the "Indian problem." After the arrival of Hampton's first Native students, the November 1878 issue announced that the *Southern Workman* would begin "publish[ing] information on the Indian Question" and requested contributors to weigh in ("Civilizing" 85). Soliciting donations to build a dormitory for the new study body, the editors appealed to donors' sentiments of a patriotism rooted in colonial violence, writing, "It costs the Government not less than $20,000 to kill an Indian; it costs less than $200 a year apiece to educate his children ("Editorial" 82). "We hope to give in the next issue of the *Workman*," they promised, "an account of Captain Pratt's wanderings and adventures in search of red-skins to join our black skinned youth in their march to manhood and womanhood" (82). The *Southern Workman* positioned Pratt, whose infamous motto was "Kill the Indian, Save the Man," as an American hero, a brave frontiersman who ventured among and conquered violent savages for the progress of the nation. Readers awaited the next issue to find more firsthand reports from Pratt in his letters to Armstrong updating him on his trail.

The *Southern Workman* revised its mission statement to account for its new student body, announcing itself as "devoted to the interests of Negro and Indian civilization" (Mission Statement 3). It began printing letters from missionaries stationed across tribal territories in the U.S. Content aimed toward Americanization and cultural assimilation was a key facet of using the *Southern Workman* as a pedagogical tool both to teach and prepare future teachers who

would undertake this kind of educational work after their matriculation. In October 1878, after the first Native students arrived, it featured the first "Lessons in Grammar" supplement that, as the editors noted, would also be printed in bound book form, presumably for more portable and longitudinal classroom use ("First Lessons" n.p.). In this way, the *Southern Workman* functioned as a kind of missionary grammar that aided the administration's assimilation of Native students.

Donors not only read about Hampton's work in educating African Americans but also about Hampton's civilizing efforts. A new column, incorporated in 1878, "Incidents of Indian Life at Hampton," broadcasted updates on the transformation of Native students—a textual counterpart to the visual proof of "before-and-after" photographs of students upon and after their arrival at boarding schools. The column often put the bodies of Native students on display in the intimacy of their dorms, for instance, giving readers a peep behind the curtain into the privacy of Indian boys as they slept with "the habit of carelessness" by covering their heads with blankets (B. T. W. 7). One article, "Salem Witchcraft among the Seminoles" (1881), assured readers that "we are on the right road," reminding donors that, even after years of education and assimilation, "one may see the old nature of superstition and bloodthirstiness bursting through the crust of civilization" (5). Such accounts played on audience's assumptions about Indian savagery, barbarism, and superstition to reify the need for civilizing institutions like Hampton and Carlisle.

Even as the *Southern Workman* denigrated Native students as uncultured and backward, the editors did not shy away from printing articles and even student contributions that directly addressed the barbarities of colonialism and the theft of tribal lands. One article, "A Recreant People" (1878), berated "the intolerably shameful facts concerning our treatment of the Indians" who, as the writer says, "though seemingly worthless, are still human" (W. N. A. 82). Colonial contact, the contributor goes on, is a stain on American history.

> The outrages committed by us, in the way of violated faith, are of such long standing we seem to have forgotten their character. Our contact only, … imposed upon us serious moral obligations to the Indian. He owned the soil and we did not. We got it from him. If we narrowed his nomadic life, and crowded him out of his fertile valleys, we were bound to bridge him over any disastrous consequences to a condition of existence, in which he should deteriorate, so far as we could help it. Even more than that, we were bound to hold him as the "ward" of the nation; and, under that obligation, to elevate his condition … We cannot deny that the Indian is cruel and savage … What do we do? Infinitely superior to him in every opportunity, backed by centuries of training, and all powerful in resources, we break faith with him, assume to care for him as our 'ward,' and then, year after year, keep worthless scoundrels as our trusted agents to cheat him and plunder him unmercifully. (82-83)

In what might serve as a microcosm for the complex and complicated philosophies of institutions like Hampton and, as an extension, periodicals like the *Southern Workman*, the writer at once denounces the theft of land under colonialism and the exploitation of tribal peoples by Indian agents and White Americans in general while simultaneously reinforcing White supremacy and stereotypes of bloodthirsty, savage Indians. Just as the *Southern Workman* editors located "practical education" as the "panacea" for newly freed people, education is not only the solution of the "Indian problem" but the duty of Americans: "The proper treatment of the Indians is simple enough. Educate the young Indians of both sexes, instruct them in the industrial arts, keep them in groups away from the wild tribes, until the small, growing communities get the habits and routine of civilization" (Feb. 1887 "Editorial" 10; W.N.A. 83).

The editors were also not averse to printing Native student writings that similarly condemned colonial theft. Like the letters from African American graduates, Native Americans first entered the *Southern Workman* in 1878 through letters of thanks for scholarships and testimonials about their education. As Teresa Zackodnik has rightly argued, a careful reading of student writings reveals the *Southern Workman* as more complex than "a Hampton propaganda machine," as "students' letters made its pages a counterspace where the promise of the school's pedagogy was tested" (n.p.). For columns titled "Scholarship Letters" and "From the Indians," students were asked to report their progress. Their letters functioned as visual and rhetorical evidence of their successful assimilation into the English language and, as one unnamed student expressed, "the white people's way" ("From the Indians" 11). A Pawnee student, J. R. M. (Young Eagle), not only lamented the loss of land and the decline of animal life as a result. He also placed Native Americans, and African Americans, alongside White Americans and conceived of a just legal vision that granted Native peoples the full and equal rights of citizenship:

> The whites have nearly all the land now which belonging to the Indians, and have killed all the animals which they use [sic] to live upon, and left them in the darkness, while they return with gladness and then talk bad about them, … Some young men have made their own progress, which I have learned to-day … [a young man] might do something for himself, finds an axe, goes right to work cutting rails or logs for houses … Now see they can do things themselves. They have got good knowledge as the white and the colored people have … And I think it is time that every tribe of the Indians ought to have a new treaty with the government and make it as fair as they can … that they might have their rights as any other nation has, in the United States. (11-12)

Similar sentiments emerge out of the speeches of the Indian Boys Debating Society at Hampton. In Feb. 1884, Sioux student T. W. Tuttle's speech, "Can the Indian Be Civilized?," appeared in the *Southern Workman*. In it, he laments how tribal peoples have been "crushed and degraded" by land theft (19). "The savage has a soul, a mind and a heart, therefore if we belong to humankind we must look at the future and not the past. The bad white said that the Indians will never be civilized. They said this because they need ground … [now] they [are] afraid we will be civilized and hold our ground" (19). Tuttle's speech is just one example among many of how, as Amelia Katanski, Phillip Round, and Hilary Wyss have shown,[9] Native peoples used English, a foremost means of assimilation, as a tool wielded to their own ends. Tuttle uses English and his position in the Debating Society to confront the very logic that colonial powers weaponize—that is, that Indians are incompetent "wards" and savages who do not have the faculties to know what to do with land; therefore, the federal government has the right to take it.

While it positioned itself as a non-political paper, the early era of the *Southern Workman* exhibited a clear political agenda for its Black and Native student body, framed by White administrators, educators, and reformers. Those for whom there was little space for political discussions of citizenship were not White contributors but African Americans and Native Americans. Slowly, however, this began to change.

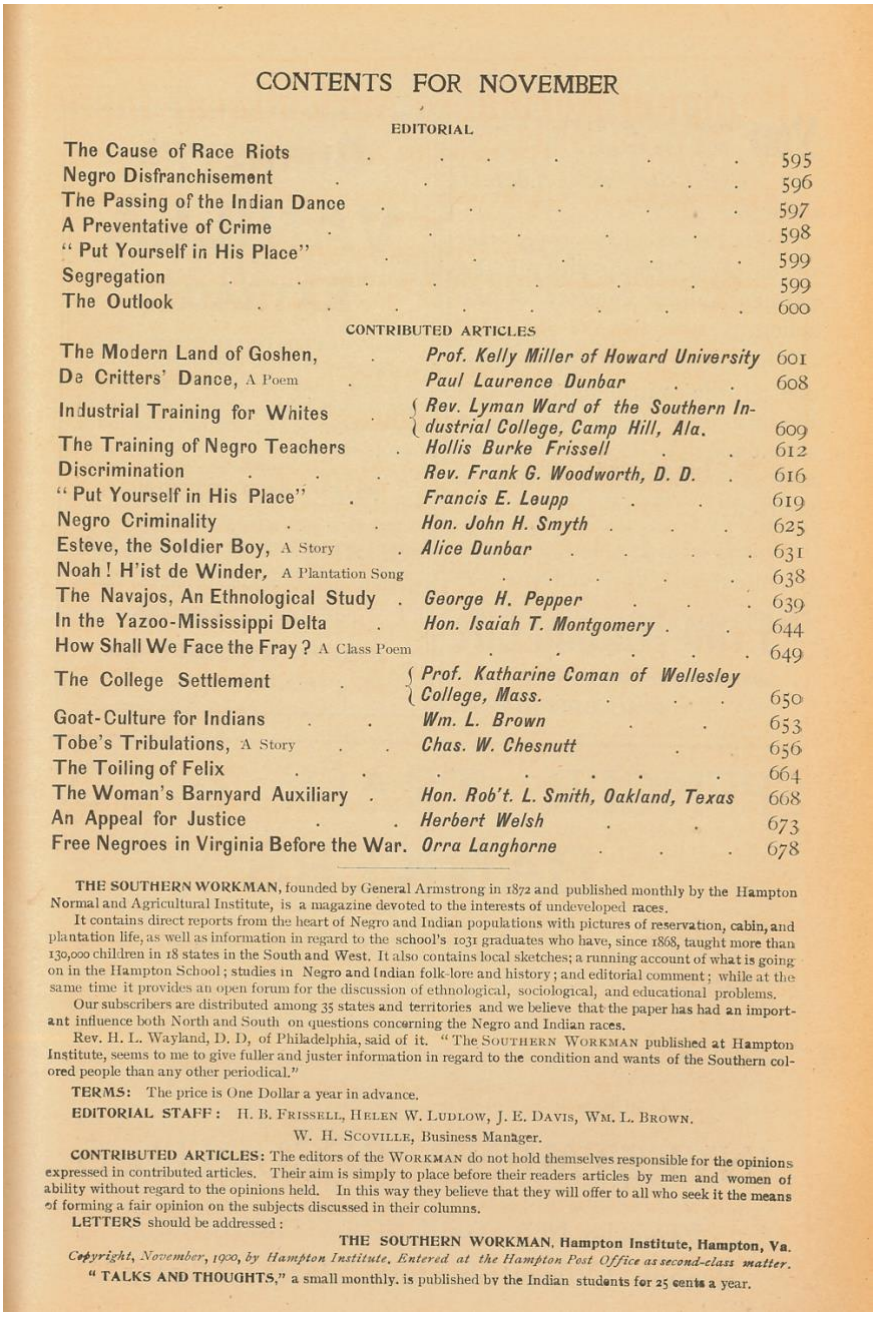
[9] See Amelia Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian": The Boarding-school Experience and American Indian Literature* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); Phillip H. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Hilary E. Wyss, *English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750-1830* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

Turning Point: 1890-1920

By the turn into the twentieth century, what began as a largely White space transformed into a multiracial platform, and a coalition of Black, White, and Native voices had emerged. The periodical underwent radical changes in terms of its visual presentation, form, contributor base, and content. For nearly twenty-six years—from 1872 until the late 1890s—the *Southern Workman*'s masthead broadcasted that the periodical's contents were "devoted to the industrial classes of the South" (Masthead, Fig. 1). The turn-of-the-century *Southern Workman* morphed from a newspaper, complete with columns, into a magazine with a table of contents. The changed front matter cited a bold mission statement that announced a distinctly more diverse readership and contributor base. The statement proclaimed that the periodical was now "devoted to the interests of the undeveloped races" ("Statement" title page). The new *Southern Workman* would contain the following: "pictures of reservation, cabin, and plantation life," "information in regard to the school's . . . graduates," "local sketches," "a running account of what is going on in the Hampton School," "studies in Negro and Indian folk-lore and history," and "editorial comment" (title page, Fig. 2). The magazine's goals announced a much different version than what it had been even five years earlier. Communities of color were no longer solely written about by Whites; rather, the *Southern Workman* came to include "direct reports from the heart of the Negro and Indian populations" (title page). In 1899, the *Southern Workman* updated the periodical's objective: to reach a wide array of people rather than "to confine our pictures of life and descriptions of conditions to any one section of country or to any one race" ("The Workman's" 456). Broadcasting a more inclusive agenda to writers of color who, by 1899, were "giving the Workman from time to time the advantage of their broad culture and varied experience" by contributing articles "on race problems," the editorial indirectly extended an

invitation to a wider range of writers and subjects “wherever they may be found”—whether “they be Dakotahs or Apaches, Thingets or Moquis, the Negroes of the Sea Islands or the masses of the Mississippi bottoms, the forgotten mountain whites or our strange, new subjects in far-off islands” (456).

Figure 1. Masthead of second issue of the *Southern Workman*, February 1872. Digital access courtesy of *Internet Archive*.



CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER

EDITORIAL

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

THE SOUTHERN WORKMAN, founded by General Armstrong in 1872 and published monthly by the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, is a magazine devoted to the interests of undeveloped races.

It contains direct reports from the heart of Negro and Indian populations with pictures of reservation, cabin, and plantation life, as well as information in regard to the school's 1031 graduates who have, since 1868, taught more than 130,000 children in 18 states in the South and West. It also contains local sketches; a running account of what is going on in the Hampton School; studies in Negro and Indian folk-lore and history; and editorial comment; while at the same time it provides an open forum for the discussion of ethnological, sociological, and educational problems.

Our subscribers are distributed among 35 states and territories and we believe that the paper has had an important influence both North and South on questions concerning the Negro and Indian races.

Rev. H. L. Wayland, D. D, of Philadelphia, said of it. "The SOUTHERN WORKMAN published at Hampton Institute, seems to me to give fuller and juster information in regard to the condition and wants of the Southern colored people than any other periodical."

TERMS: The price is One Dollar a year in advance.

EDITORIAL STAFF: H. B. FRISSELL, HELEN W. LUDLOW, J. E. DAVIS, WM. L. BROWN.
W. H. SCOVILLE, Business Manager.

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES: The editors of the WORKMAN do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed in contributed articles. Their aim is simply to place before their readers articles by men and women of ability without regard to the opinions held. In this way they believe that they will offer to all who seek it the means of forming a fair opinion on the subjects discussed in their columns.

LETTERS should be addressed:

THE SOUTHERN WORKMAN, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

"TALKS AND THOUGHTS," a small monthly, is published by the Indian students for 25 cents a year.

Figure 2. *Southern Workman* title page with mission statement, November 1900. Courtesy of University of Georgia, Main Library.

The editorial staff in the 1890s solicited contributions from prominent African Americans, leading race men and women,[10] including W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), William Sanders Scarborough (1852-1926), and Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964). If Hampton saw Black and Native Americans as "undeveloped," then, in the eyes of the administration, it would offer the *Southern Workman* as a space in which Black and Native Americans could vocalize their own visions of progress, often against the grain of Hampton's educational philosophies. A quick glance at a table of contents of any issue in 1900, for instance, presents a range of voices. From the sociological studies of urban Black life by Du Bois to the race histories of Charles Steward (1870-1967), the poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906), and the short stories of Alice Dunbar-Nelson (1875-1935) and Charles W. Chesnutt, the pages of the *Southern Workman* featured some of the most well-known names in African American intellectual and literary circles. Alongside Black writers, the voices of Native American intellectuals figured just as prominently. Francis La Flesche (Omaha, 1857-1932)[11] contributed ethnological writings, Angel De Cora (Winnebago, 1871-1919)[12] and Charles Alexander Eastman (Santee Sioux, 1858-1939)[13] published articles on preserving Indian handicrafts and art, and John Milton Oskison (Cherokee, 1874-1947)[14] placed some of his most popular short stories in the *Southern*

[10] For early examinations of race men and men, see Hazel V. Carby, *Race Men* (Harvard UP, 2009) and Brittney C. Cooper, *Beyond Respectability: The Intellectual Thought of Race Women* (University of Illinois Press, 2017).

[11] La Flesche, "The Past Life of the Plains Indians," *Southern Workman*, Nov. 1905, pp. 587-94; "One Touch of Nature," *Southern Workman*, Aug. 1913, pp. 427-28.

[12] De Cora, "My People," *Southern Workman*, June 1897, pp. 115-16; "Native Indian Art," *Southern Workman*, 1907, pp. 527-28.

[13] "An Indian Collegian's Speech," *Southern Workman*, Dec. 1888, p. 128; "Indian Traits," *Southern Workman*, Apr. 1903, pp. 225-27; "Life and Handicrafts of the Northern Ojibwas," *Southern Workman*, May 1911, 273-78.

[14] Oskison, "The Outlook for the Indian," *Southern Workman*, June 1903, pp. 270-72; "The Problem of Old Harjo," *Southern Workman*, Apr. 1907, pp. 235-41; "Arizona and Forty Thousand Indians," *Southern Workman*, Mar. 1914, pp. 148-56; "The Man Who Interfered," *Southern Workman*, Oct. 1915, pp. 557-63.

Workman, including "The Problem of Old Harjo" (1907) and "The Man Who Interfered" (1915). The content of the *Southern Workman* also extended beyond Native American writers. In the late 1890s, editors reprinted several poems by First Nations writer, E. Pauline Johnson (Mohawk, 1861-1913).[15]

Luminary Black and Native writers and intellectuals account for only part of the multiracial coalition of voices that emerged in the *Southern Workman*. Whereas the *Southern Workman* initially printed letters of praise by students as part of their fundraising efforts, it began publishing letters, autobiographical sketches, folklore, speeches, poems, and classroom compositions by current students and Hampton graduates as well as Black and Native teachers, farmers, and readers across U.S. regions, from farming communities in Alabama to all-Black settlements in Oklahoma and Indian reservations in Arizona. Students and graduates articulated visions of pathways toward citizenship in their graduation and commencement speeches, which were often reprinted in the *Southern Workman*. They, too, became public intellectuals who, as new graduates, would go out into the world and become leaders of their race or tribe.

Even as the *Southern Workman* became a multiracial platform for men and women of color to assert Black and Native intellectuality and literary achievement, it would be inaccurate to categorize it as a completely progressive platform. Incorporated in the late 1890s, a new section of the magazine, titled "Contributed Articles," showcased a mixture of Black, White, and Native voices. Preceding the "Contributed Articles" section was the "Editorials" section. A space reserved for the *Southern Workman*'s White editors, the section remained separate from the "Contributed Articles" throughout the publication's lifetime. Such a distinction seems trivial until we consider the problematic disclaimer that accompanied the racially and culturally diverse

[15] Johnson, "The Birds' Lullaby," *Southern Workman*, May 1899, p. 182; "The Happy Hunting Grounds," *Southern Workman*, Nov. 1901, p. 611. Both poems were reprinted from *The White Wampum* (1895).

"Contributed Articles": "The editors of the Workman do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed in contributed articles. Their aim is simply to place before their readers articles by men and women of ability without regard to the opinions held" (46). This statement becomes a permanent element of the *Southern Workman* beginning in February 1899, added only after Black and Native voices began appearing not merely as benefactors of Hampton's educational experiment but as contributors who weighed in on racial progress and citizenship themselves. White-edited institutional newspapers like the *Southern Workman* were, as Jacqueline Emery notes in her recent anthology of Indian boarding school poetry, "complex sites of negotiation" (18). Like Carlisle's periodicals, the *Southern Workman* was curated through the lens of White editorial oversight, to which the title "Black, White, and Native" nods. As a result, writings that appeared in it necessarily mediated between the philosophies of the school and expressing opinions that pushed back against those philosophies, often in subversive ways.

Coalition Citizenship

While the term "coalition citizenship" refers to the *Southern Workman* as a multiracial Black, White, and Native platform for deliberating citizenship, it refers more specifically to the ways in which writers construct alternative forms of citizenship and belonging by turning away from national U.S. inclusion and turning instead toward coalitions within the nation. Recent innovative studies have reoriented understandings of citizenship beyond its legal meanings. Scholars like Martha S. Jones, Derrick Spires, Beth H. Piatote (Nez Perce), and Carrie Hyde have highlighted the ways in which people in the U.S. cultivated a sense of citizenship and belonging in extralegal ways. Jones examines how African Americans in the antebellum era asserted "birthright citizenship" even before the Fourteenth Amendment officially granted them

that status. By examining Black litigants, church congregants, and sailors, Jones explores how asserting citizenship is rooted in "actions"—how free Black Baltimorians, "by acting like rights-bearing people" and "by comporting themselves like citizens," asserted citizenship (10). Like Jones, Spires understands citizenship as existing through everyday practices. Spires takes his readers outside of the court room and peers into the workings of citizenship in convention meetings, on committees, in voting booths, and in the fleeting interactions between people in public spaces before the Civil War. "Law and custom shape . . . activities [of citizenship] (negatively or positively)," Spires asserts, "but they do not make citizenship or citizens. Practicing citizenship makes citizens" (3-4).

Scholars in Native American literary and historical studies, in parsing the often ambiguous and "layered [concepts of] citizenships and sovereignties," as Lomawaima writes, examine the ways in which Native peoples construct meanings of citizenship that lie beyond the bifurcated categorizations of "Indian 'ward'" verses "U.S. 'citizen'" ("The Mutuality" 333). In *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature* (2013), Nez Perce scholar Beth H. Piatote examines how Native American writers construct an "anticolonial imaginary" that counters the legal status of Native peoples "as domestic subjects [who] by law were legal wards of the nation: living within and under U.S. control but lacking representation and full rights as individuals" (9, 8). In doing so, Piatote shows how writers in the assimilation era look not toward notions of citizenship on a U.S. domestic level but instead foreground a "tribal-national domestic"—"the intimate domestic (the Indian home and family) as the primary site of struggle against the foreign force of U.S. national domestication" (4).

An especially helpful framework for thinking about how writers in the *Southern Workman* harness the written word and the public sphere to imagine and reimagine meanings of

citizenship that lie beyond the legal realm is Carrie Hyde's notion of "the speculative making of citizenship" (7). Grounded in the early national period of the U.S., Hyde looks to literary, political, religious, and cultural genres to demonstrate how writers articulated visions of "[c]ivic longing" during a time when a legal definition of citizenship was not yet conceived (9). Although Hyde's examination of "the speculative making of citizenship" designates how writings that circulated before the Fourteenth Amendment introduced the first legal definition of citizenship, even after the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment—which granted citizenship to persons of African descent born in the U.S. but excluded Native Americans—citizenship was still, for African Americans and Native Americans, largely "speculative." Educational institutions like Hampton, and their print productions like the *Southern Workman,* became sites of what Spires calls "citizenship theorizing"—a place to "[speculate]" how one might live as and enjoy the benefits of full citizenship when they had been deemed second-class citizens or wards of the nation (Spires 3; Hyde 7).

Produced by formal writers as well as everyday artists—from teachers to farmers, students, and community members—writings in the *Southern Workman* envision alternative forms of citizenship and belonging through coalitions. Writers look not always toward the U.S. nation for a sense of citizenship and inclusion but often turn instead to communities or coalitions within, but often separate from, the larger nation. Importantly, implicit in the term "coalition" is an understanding, and appreciation, of the fact that "coalition" does not imply consensus. What citizenship means or how it should look varies across writers, shaped by a myriad of factors, from race, culture, region, gender, and more. Stories of coalition citizenship might emerge as a group of female Akimel O'otham basket makers in Arizona (Chapter One), Black families working together to till their own land purchased through grassroots coalitions like the Calhoun

Land Company of Lowndes County, Alabama (Chapter Two), a Black rural community of teachers, students, and farmers coalescing to build a schoolhouse lacking in proper resources and funding (Chapter Three), or the cultivation of pan-tribal confederations forged to protect Native land against British forces during wartime (Chapter Four). Such a polyvocal intellectual atmosphere locates industrial and boarding school periodicals as more complicated than mere extensions of these institutions' shared ethos of assimilation and acculturation.

In foregrounding "coalition citizenship," Black and Native writers engage with many of the same genres of the early *Southern Workman*: domestic advice manuals, agricultural science guides, nature poems, biographical histories of notable American figures, and patriotic poems and short stories. Yet African American and Native American writers often revise and negotiate the literary, cultural, and historical traditions of earlier issues for the benefit of Black and Native peoples, and sometimes, in ways that run counter to Hampton's ethos of accommodation and assimilation. Formal writers and everyday artists used Hampton's periodical to their owns ends: to combat stereotypes, to create a print record that would ensure the preservation of cultural traditions, and to make visible Black and Native histories that had been overlooked or erased. For example, Native female graduates of boarding school domestic science programs create their own versions of domestic advice, but in ways that preserve rather than reject Indigenous traditions, as Chapter One shows. Writers and farmers, as Chapter Two examines, turned what Hampton's administration understood as circumscribed roles of education—farming and agricultural trades, in particular—as forms of agency and uplift by creating farming cooperatives and partnerships to ensure the mutual uplift of rural Black communities. As I explore in Chapter Four, Black and Native writers ruminate on patriotic endeavors, such as military service, in African American race histories and Native American traditionary histories, reorienting

Hampton's values of pledging allegiance to the U.S. as a nation to instead commemorate the wartime service of Black communities and tribal nations within, but separate from, the larger U.S. Writers endow Hampton's core educational pillars—domestic science instruction, agricultural education, and military training—with more agency than conversations about Black industrial school and Native American boarding schools typically afford those affiliated with such institutions.

Each chapter explores "coalition citizenship" within the context of four major topics of discussion that emerge in the *Southern Workman*: domestic science, farming and land ownership, nature study education, and military service. These subjects are directly tied to Hampton's educational ethos of hard work and industrial education. Chapter One, "Stories of the Past, Handbooks for the Future: Citizenship and Reconstructing Domestic Advice in Native Women's Nonfiction," begins with Native women and their writings about the domestic space and domestic arts, with an emphasis on the familial and communal coalitions of women who strengthened and were strengthened by their relationships in the domestic sphere. I locate writings by Native women students and teachers in the context of Hampton's educational model of domestic science training for female students and reform efforts by White administration officials, reformers, and the federal government to reshape and convert Indigenous home life according to Euro-American models of property ownership, home, and the relationships within them that began with the first contact of settler colonialism and accelerated with the establishment of Indian boarding schools. In particular, I explore the domestic nonfiction writings of boarding school graduates, teachers, and Indian field matrons, Carmen Montion Gurnoe (Yaqui and Isleta Pueblo, 1891-1976) and Mollie Houston Schurz (Akimel O'otham). I place their writings in conversation with the domestic reform movement to show how Native

women use the genre of the domestic advice manual—a form of print culture that at the turn into the twentieth century became intertwined with Native American women's assimilation into White domesticity—to reclaim the Native home, to preserve the history of Indian women's homemaking and handicraft work, and to offer pedagogical guides to sustain those traditions in the future.

Chapter Two, "Up from the Soil: (Agri)cultural Productions, Racial Uplift, and Cultivating Citizenship," turns toward another pillar of Hampton's educational model: agriculture and farming. Through a variety of genres—including the agricultural vignette, the autobiographical sketch, and the short story—I explore how, in writings by and about African American farmers, Black agrarian communities cultivate "coalition citizenship" through engagements with land. From formerly enslaved farmers in the deep South who rose from sharecroppers to landowners, to Black settlers and homesteaders in the West, I examine the agricultural vignettes of John W. Lemon (ca. 1867-ca. 1950), the farming narratives of Black Oklahoman settlers, S. J. Faver (1862-1927) and Logan Morgan (ca. 1865-unknown), and a little-known short story about a partnership between two formerly enslaved Black farmers by Charles W. Chesnutt. In the face of exploitative economic systems of sharecropping and tenant farming, Black communities created land-buying cooperatives and farming partnerships to reclaim the land as a site of agency and source of empowerment. In examining such writings, I demonstrate how writers often resist uniform definitions of culture by rendering Black agrarian communities and settings through the lens of creativity, dignity, and wisdom.

Building from the focus on land and farming in Chapter Two, Chapter Three, "Nature Study, Environmental and Racial Justice, and Citizenship," analyzes nature writings in the *Southern Workman*. I examine student science compositions, nature study leaflets, nature poems,

and speeches within the context of the historically overlooked nature study movement that emerged in the 1890s—a neglected movement that in many ways serves as a precursor to the environmental justice movement that emerged nearly a century later in the 1960s. Beginning by addressing the coalition of multiracial figures who engaged in the discourse of nature study education and writing to establish how these writers shared a similar environmental ethos, I then turn to Black writers who approached nature study from the standpoint of racial and environmental justice. In particular, I center the works of two Hampton graduates: Sara W. Brown's (1868-1948) nature study leaflet and Sarah Collins Fernandis's (1863-1951) nature poems. Locating the environmental justice movement much earlier than what is typically considered the rise of the movement in the 1960s, these writers show early how African Americans equated environmental justice with social and racial justice. Considering the ways in which these writers meditate on the importance of access to nature for education, recreation, and inspiration, I argue that their writings foreground a sense of coalition citizenship that not only centers the strengthening of rural and urban Black communities but also advocates for harmonious relationships between human and nonhuman life.

Finally, Chapter Four, "'Making Bricks Without Straw': Military Service and Coalition Citizenship," examines military histories, tribute poems, and short stories by Black, White, and Native writers Charles Steward and Arthur C. Parker (Seneca, 1881-1955), occasional poetry by Paul Laurence Dunbar, Sarah Collins Fernandis, and Hen-Toh (Wyandot, 1872-1928), and short stories that fictionalize military service by Alice Dunbar-Nelson and William Justin Harsha (1853-1938). As military training was a cornerstone of male students' education at Hampton as part and parcel of assimilation into American culture and the larger U.S. nation (almost all of Hampton's male students were trained as soldiers), I look at how discussions of military service

express hope as well as skepticism that life-threatening service in their country's defense will usher in full citizenship. In particular, I examine how, across genres, writers meditate on the ways in which the military reflected both precarity and opportunity for people of color. I conclude this dissertation with military service because it encompasses the full range of years that I focus on in the *Southern Workman*, from the 1890s with the Spanish American and Philippine American Wars to the end of the 1920s just after World War I. These writings span key moments when the nation implored for the service and participation—a coalition of all peoples across race, culture, and class to unite, whether through unofficial community work through the Red Cross or through enlistment—yet did not recognize the humanity, citizenship, and sovereignty of Black and Native peoples in doing so. In writing about World War I, in particular, Black and Native writers call on history, from the colonial era to the present day, and so military service represents a confluence of historical moments and political issues that relate directly to questions of citizenship.

Finally, I conclude with an Afterword that reflects on the decline of the rich literary and cultural life of the *Southern Workman* after 1920, which I theorize is owing to the more progressive print platforms produced by and for African Americans and Native Americans that emerged in the second decade of the twentieth century, including such periodicals as W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Crisis* (1910-present), the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), as well as the *Quarterly Journal of the American Indian* (1913-15), renamed the *American Indian Magazine* (1916-20), the central periodical of the Society of American Indians (SAI).

Above all else, "Black, White, and Native" is a story about people—many of whose struggles, feats, desires, heartaches, and joys have been forgotten. It offers a kaleidoscopic,

though unfinished, record of individuals whose life, education, work, writings, and understandings of citizenship orbited Hampton Institute and the *Southern Workman*.

CHAPTER 2

STORIES OF THE PAST, HANDBOOKS FOR THE FUTURE: CITIZENSHIP AND RECONSTRUCTING DOMESTIC ADVICE IN NATIVE WOMEN'S NONFICTION

At the 1911 inaugural conference of the Society of American Indians (SAI), Chippewa activist and attorney Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin (1863-1952) delivered a speech, "Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman." The speech, reprinted in the *Southern Workman*, opened with a question: "Reversing the order of the subjects indicated in this title, let us ask, first, what was the Indian woman of the North American continent?" (11). Baldwin's inversion is a methodical rhetorical move. She places the American Indian woman *before* the idea of modern homemaking, reversing the ideology of domestic advisors, reformers, and boarding schools that Native women were inept at homemaking and thus must be taught the "proper" pathway forward. The Native woman came first, Baldwin states, and she created her own design of her home, which she carefully designates as "the first home"—one that predates the model, modern homes championed by schools and reformers (11). Baldwin then recounts the long and rich history of Native women's homemaking.[16] The Indian woman, she celebrates,

[16] Baldwin also commemorated the history of Native women's homemaking in her graduation speech from the Washington College of Law in 1914. She asked her audience, "'Did you ever know that the Indian women were among the first suffragists, and that they exercised the right of recall?'" (9). "'The trouble with the Indian question which I meet again and again,'" she asserted, "'is that it is not the Indian who needs to be educated so constantly up to the white man, but that the white man needs to be educated to the Indian'" (9). She then counters the same stereotypes that she did in "Modern Home-Making and the Indian Woman": "'The popular idea of the Indian woman is that she was a beast of burden, with nothing but work ahead of and behind her. That she ever had a hand in government is almost unknown. But she did, and it was a strong one. It is true that she did most of the work, but merely because it happened to be a more natural arrangement of affairs. The brave was constantly prepared for a war, and if you have any idea that it is an easy thing to go out and get three meals a day from the uncultivated fields and thin air just try it yourself … The Indian woman was indeed the power behind the throne'" (9). See "Indian Women the First Suffragists and Used Recall, Chippewa Avers," *The Washington Times*, Aug. 3, 1914, p. 9.

> remained by the fire to feed and keep it alive to warm her home and offspring, and also to broil the meat and bake the roots and tubers prepared for the food for herself and her family … [she] was the fruit gatherer and the berry picker, the nut and acorn collector, and the harvester of grass reeds and of wild rice, mesquite beans, and every edible members of the surrounding flora; she gathered oysters, clams, and other shell fish … She was also the fisher-woman as well, catching various kinds of fish and eels … She was not only the food gatherer, but she and her daughters were also the water carriers and the guardians of the springs and of the pools of fresh water … she spun, netted, braided, sewed, and embroidered … [She] dress[ed] … skins … [of which] all the tools required … were designed and made by her own hands … [By her] many devices for carrying infants were invented and utilized, as well as those adapted for the carrying of meat, skins, fish, fuel, water, and even clay for pottery … The American Indian woman, with her children, was the agriculturalist of her people … it was she, too, who harvested these crops when they were matured, and stored them for the sustenance of her family. (11-14)

As an adept cook, a skilled educator, an industrious inventor, an artistic craftswoman, and a perceptive agriculturalist and harvester, Baldwin locates Native women as pillars who created, nurtured, and strengthened domestic spaces that did not conform to the homes of and far exceeded the homemaking duties of White middle-class women.

Baldwin was not alone in examining Native women's domestic work in homemaking and handicrafts as a form of citizenship rooted in tribal homes and families, but her voice was one in a conversation dominated by non-Natives. Legitimized by the Dawes Act of 1887, which parceled previously held communal land into individual homesteads for Indian men, women, and children and promised citizenship for allottees, the decades before her speech were marked by

concerted efforts of boarding school domestic science education and outing programs, women's philanthropic and religious organizations, and domestic advisors and scientists to assimilate Native homes and families into a White, middle-class domesticity—what Nez Perce scholar Beth H. Piatote calls "the settler-national domestic," which attempted to destroy "the tribal-national domestic" through "the intimate domestic," or "the Indian home and family" (4). Part and parcel of assimilating the so-called "savage" and "backward" Indian into "civilized" and "modern" life was educating Native women in homemaking—a skill perceived as lacking in the homes of Indigenous peoples. The home, then, became a central tool of assimilation and, as a result, a barometer for U.S. citizenship. As Jane Simonsen has argued, "Assimilation ideals took shape not only in the halls of Congress, Indian school classrooms, and portfolios of professional photographers but in women's writing and the daily processes of housework" (12).

Amid such efforts, Baldwin in composing her speech had to carefully navigate how she framed a celebratory portrait of centuries of Native women's work. Cathleen Cahill has noted that Baldwin was assigned the topic of homemaking by the SAI, an organization that was run by and for Native peoples and which often encouraged assimilation as a pathway toward U.S. citizenship. Listeners in the audience that day also included the non-Native administration of Ohio State University where the conference was held, as well as non-Native city officials and faculty. Baldwin's choice of past tense—what "was" the Indian woman—necessarily appealed to some of the audience by reifying the "vanishing Indian" stereotype. Additionally, Baldwin concludes by pivoting abruptly from an elevation of Native women's industry to a call to adapt traditional work to modern homemaking. While Cahill rightly interprets this shift as "forced," she reads the speech as one that "tried to fit this vision of equality into the non-Native middle-class standards of the day" in favor of assimilation (73). And yet it is important that Baldwin

does not offer advice about what a so-called modern domestic vision for Native women might look like. The use of past tense and the brief, unpassionate call pale in comparison to the bulk of the speech, which celebrates Indian women's work in homemaking and handicrafts, even as it is framed in past tense. The absence of advice foregrounds what already *is* and *has been*—namely, that "Indian women … already have a system of domesticity in place," as Amanda Zink states of Native women's domestic writing (*Fictions* 244).

Baldwin's speech is just one example of the complex rhetorical situations that Native women navigated as writers in the assimilation era. Scholars such as Lomawaima, Simonsen, Piatote, and Zink have explored Native women's domestic writing, from student responses about their position in domestic outing programs at boarding schools to autobiographies and short fiction that engage the assimilation of Indian homes.[17] Native women's rhetorical engagements with the genres of domestic advice and how-to manuals, however, have remained largely unexplored, if examined at all. Yet in a national conversation dominated by non-Native reformers, philanthropists, educators, ethnologists, and anthropologists, Native women inserted their own voices. Students and teachers of domestic science at boarding schools offered their own domestic models and how-to guides, driven not by assimilation but by a pedagogy of preservation motivated by resistance, redress, and reclamation and, like Baldwin's speech, foregrounded in tribal and familial citizenship. Exploring how Native women engaged with the genre of domestic advice, this chapter foregrounds "coalition citizenship" by examining Native women's diverse expressions of domesticity as a form of citizenship. Aligned with White

[17] See K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (University of Nebraska Press, 1995), Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860-1919* (University of North Carolina Press, 2006), Beth H. Piatote, *Domestic Subjects: Gender, Citizenship, and Law in Native American Literature* (Yale UP, 2013), and Amanda J. Zink, *Fictions of Western American Domesticity: Indian, Mexican, and Anglo Women in Print Culture, 1850–1950* (University of New Mexico Press, 2018).

educators' notion of domesticity, some Native women value the domestic space as a means of assimilating into a White middle-class domestic and, in turn, the U.S. as a nation. Others, however, conceive of domesticity differently, and in a twofold manner: they envision domesticity as a means of preserving the history of Indigenous women's homemaking and handicraft work and adapt the genre of domestic advice to offer pedagogical guides to sustain those traditions in the future.

In particular, this chapter examines the nonfiction essays of two Native women who were both students and teachers of domestic science at boarding schools and who also worked as field matrons at reservation day schools: Carmen Montion Gurnoe (1891-1976), a Yaqui and Isleta Pueblo woman from New Mexico who graduated from Hampton Institute, and Mollie Houston Schurz (ca. 1888-1921),[18] a Gila River Akimel O'otham (Pima) woman of Arizona who graduated from the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma. Published in the *Southern Workman*, Montion's[19] brief memoir and commencement speech, "Occupations of a Pueblo Indian Girl" (1915), and Schurz's narrative nonfiction essay, "Indian Basketry" (1916), engage the genre of domestic nonfiction through their emphasis on tribal-specific women's homemaking and handicrafts. While their writings do not conform to the typical domestic advice manual, they nonetheless share the same instructional purpose. However, while traditional domestic advice advocated assimilation into White domesticity, Montion and Schurz's purpose is toward a different end: pedagogy and preservation. From Montion's recollection of the step-by-step

[18] Chilocco Register of Pupils lists Houston as 14 years old when she entered Chilocco in 1902 (99). The U.S. Census for 1910 lists her as 26 years old (Sheet No. 13 B). See "Chilocco School Register of Pupils," Department of the Interior. Office of Indian Affairs. Chilocco Indian School. ca. 1883-9/17/1947, Series: Register of Pupils, 1884-1908, Record Group: 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793-1999, National Archives Identifier: 2745323. See also "Thirteenth Census of the United States," 1910, Indian Population, Census Place: Gila River Indian Reservation, Pinal, Arizona; Roll: T624_42; Page: 13B; Enumeration District: 0113; FHL microfilm: 1374055, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29.

[19] Throughout the chapter, I refer to each woman by her last name at the time of publication—Montion and Schurz.

process of baking bread, to Schurz's process-oriented narrative of basket weaving, both women celebrate the past while simultaneously chart a handbook for the future. Blending the genres of history, short fiction, storytelling, memoir, advice manuals, and how-to guides, they use their writing to position themselves in the role of instructors who, like Baldwin, necessarily had to navigate the tastes of dual audiences. Foregrounding Indigenous knowledge, their writing is emblematic of the centrality of education to Indian nations long before the boarding school era. They make visible Osage scholar Robert Warrior's reminder that "education is something that permeates life and has done so for the length of Native memory" and, further, that "knowledge and traditional ways of learning are alive, a means of responding to new dangers with older strategies" (121, 131). Montion and Schurz harness the genre of nonfiction to do just that. In doing so, they foreground coalition citizenship on a tribal domestic rather than a U.S. national domestic level, defined by a sense of belonging rooted in women's relationships in the home and in tribal communities. While Native students like Montion were not the first students to attend Hampton, as it began first as an African American school, I begin with Indigenous voices as a way of acknowledging, as Baldwin does by asserting the Native home as "the first home," Indigenous peoples as the First Americans, as those who have battled longest on American soil violence against sovereignty and citizenship.

Boarding Schools, the Assimilation Era, and the Culture of "Advice"

Boarding school students were exposed to no shortage of advice literature geared toward assimilation, from language instruction in English to social training in conduct, morality, cleanliness, Christianity, and, for Indian girls in particular, domesticity. Incorporated into Hampton's classrooms as pedagogical reading material, the *Southern Workman* was used as a

vehicle for circulating such advice and conduct writings. In April 1878, the same year that Native students were first brought to Hampton, the *Southern Workman* began printing a recurring two-page supplement, "Lessons in Grammar." Published also in book form, it dissected the English language, grammar, and parts of speech ("Lessons" n.p.). Perhaps uncoincidentally, the choice of words used for "Lessons in Grammar" reflect the objectives of assimilation. The November "Lessons," for example, took for its conjugation lesson a telling verb: "obey." While the *Southern Workman* had already been publishing for a few years an etiquette conduct column titled "To the Students of Hampton" for African American students, in 1878 the editors incorporated another new supplement to accompany its grammar lessons (4). Inspired by the sanitary tracts of the Ladies Sanitary Association of England, *Southern Workman* editors began printing their own series of sanitary tracts called "Hampton Tracts." As the editors describe, the hygiene tracts "are of especial value in all charitable work among ignorant and thoughtless people" ("Prospectus" 67). The culture of advice surrounding boarding schools and print productions like the *Southern Workman* was a culture of assimilation, and this culture took on a specifically domestic form at Hampton's Indian girls' dormitory and in its domestic outing program.

As an extension of advice columns, grammar lessons, and sanitary tracts, teachers and matrons at Hampton found ways to use girls' daily domestic duties for lessons in learning English, keeping a "proper" home, and, by extension, conducting oneself as a "good" citizen. Indian girls were instructed in homemaking from their arrival in 1878. At the Winona Lodge dormitory, Indian girls simultaneously lived and were instructed in housekeeping (Fig. 3). As one Winona matron put it, this is where the girls "carried on their crusade against dust and dirt"

("Indian School" 89). In one report of Apache girls who arrived at Hampton in the summer of 1894, the teacher in charge of Winona wrote the following:

> The girls are to dwell at Winona Lodge this summer … The arts of civilized needlework, washing and ironing are of course new to them, but they are learning well. A teacher gives them daily instructions in setting a table, washing dishes, sweeping, making beds, etc. The two older girls have learned to say quite plainly a number of words and apply the right names to articles when they are held up. ("Apache" 146)[20]

In addition to keeping up a tidy appearance of their rooms and physical person, girls were in charge of cooking and cleaning for fellow students and teachers as well as sewing and mending uniforms for the entire student body (*Annual Reports 1885* 18, 21, 47, 57). Beyond the walls of Hampton transpired the "Outing Program," a system that originated at Carlisle Indian School and was quickly adopted in Indian boarding schools across the U.S. The outing system placed Native girls as homemaking trainees, or domestic workers, in the homes of White northern families as part of their education of assimilation for modest wages. While participation in the outing system at Hampton was not compulsory, as Deirdre Ann Almeida explains, Armstrong made it clear that he "expected the Indian students to engage in some type of work during the summer months" (60). Such an arrangement would ensure that Native students did not return home to tribal life to un-learn, so to speak, their education at Hampton. Students themselves requested to participate in the program, though those who participated in the program in its early years had little say over

[20] The teacher goes on: "Human nature is much the same in all of us. The girls have had their touch of homesickness as their white sisters do when sent to boarding school, and like them have thrown themselves on their beds and cried it out. Not all white girls are as philosophic as Sophie, who came with the petition, 'We want know sewing so as not homesick'" (146). There is a complex intermixture here of students' trauma and homesickness as well as students' gravitation toward domestic education as a means of relieving such trauma.

where and with whom they were placed (Almeida 68).[21] Regarding students' experiences in the outing program, there was a range of responses, as Almeida concludes in her extensive study of firsthand accounts of participants. "Some students experience[d] being treated as a family member," she notes, "while others were not viewed as being equals, but instead were treated as hired farmhands, household domestics, boarders and servants" (76).[22]

[21] As Almeida explains, over the years, when Hampton's outing program became more established, students exercised great input on their preferences for placement (73).

[22] In addition to Almeida's study of the outing program at Hampton, scholars have explored domestic outing programs at other boarding schools. For an examination of the program at Flandreau Indian School (South Dakota) and Haskell Institute (Kansas), see Brenda J. Child (Red Lake Ojibwe), *Boarding Schools Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940*, second edition (University of Nebraska Press, 2012), pp. 82-86; for programs at schools in Arizona, see Victoria K. Haskins, *Matrons and Maids: Regulating Indian Domestic Service in Tucson, 1914-1934* (University of Arizona Press, 2012); for the programs at Sherman Institute in California, see Kevin Whalen, *Native Students at Work: American Indian Labor and Sherman Institute's Outing Program, 1900-1945* (University of Washington Press, 2016); for programs at Haskell Institute and Phoenix Indian School (Arizona) see Alexandria L. Gough, "A Way Out: The History of the Outing Program from the Haskell Institute to the Phoenix Indian School," Master's thesis (University of Arkansas, 2012).

Figure 3. Photographs promoting images of the assimilation of Hampton's Native female students through domesticity. From *Everyday Life at Hampton Institute*, Hampton Institute Press, 1907, pp. 7, 9. Digital access provided by the University of California, HathiTrust.

Domestic reform and education were buttressed by the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887, under which the federal government seized communal tribal lands and parceled single homestead allotments to Native families according to a European-American model of individualized property ownership (Dawes Act). The goals of "[r]eformers, politicians, and domestic scientists … [who] promoted the Euro-American patriarchal, middle-class home as the pinnacle of civilization" worked in tandem with the Act, which promised U.S. citizenship for allottees (Simonsen 2). Spreading "Euro-American domesticity," as Simonsen explains, was characterized by "convincing" Native peoples of the "value of home ownership; encouraging legal, monogamous marriages; and stressing the necessity of adopting Euro-American gender

roles" (2). Domesticity as an assimilation tool used by women's organizations like the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA) was influenced by and echoed in popular domestic advice manuals by writers such as Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, as Simonsen and Lori Jacobsen have discussed (Simonsen 9-10, 35-36; Jacobsen 71). Authors of these manuals, dubbed "domestic advisors," as Sarah Leavitt describes, were mainly White middle-class women whose readers were also White middle-class women (10, 20). Akin to the colonial objectives of English primers and hygiene manuals, domestic home-making initiatives and advice literature shared the aims of assimilation through the regulation of language, conduct, physical appearance, behavior, and, most importantly, family and home life. From domestic scientists and advisors to philanthropic women's organizations, the notion arose that "bad housekeeping" was "a marker of racial inferiority" (Simonsen 3). As assistant principal of Hampton's Indian department Josephine Richards put it in her *Southern Workman* article, "The Training of the Indian Girl as the Uplifter of the Home" (1900), "the 'outward and visible signs' of order and purity" in the "atmosphere" of a home is a reflection of an individual's and a family's "'inward, spiritual grace" (510).

Skirting around the periphery of such print productions were servants and housekeepers—usually immigrants and women of color—who were denigrated by White women's fears of contamination as well as subscriptions to scientific racism (Leavitt 20-21). To be a servant to a White-middle class family was the rightful place of the racial "Other" in the homemaking hierarchy, and this unspoken rule of domestic advice was held in common with the federal government and the administration of Indian boarding schools. Yet while domestic campaigns denigrated Native homemaking and promoted the erasure of Native homes and traditions, they simultaneously accessorized Native women's cultural productions as "exotic"

goods to be purchased for interior decoration. As Leavitt writes, “American Indian cultures were among the most popular ‘foreign’ cultures in domestic-advice manuals” (155). Domestic advisors “wrote about Indian arts as if the artifacts of these cultures could impart some of their simplicity to the complicated American life that had taken over their land,” and they incorporated into their decorating advice a spectrum of Native arts—baskets, rugs, blankets, and more that they saw as “artifacts” of an “ancient,” “simple,” and “romant[ic]”—and so-called vanishing—way of life (Leavitt 156, 157).

By the 1890s, the distinct racial divisions within the culture of domestic advice, which situated White reformers as teachers and Native women as untutored students, began to blend as Native female graduates entered the coalition of domestic reformers. Trained in domestic science and outing programs, female graduates were regarded by reformers, boarding schools, and the Office of Indian Affairs as model proselytes in spreading middle-class domesticity to reservation life. Native women first entered the field matron program in 1895. Alongside White women, they engaged in domestic teaching and field work as teachers at day and off-reservation schools and field matrons on reservations whose daily work often constituted the multiple roles of assistant teacher, housekeeper, seamstress, and cook. Reading across the accounts of a diverse coalition of Indian teachers and field matrons in the *Southern Workman* alone reveals a spectrum of approaches to and meditations on domesticity that adhered to, resisted, and mediated middle-class domesticity as the hallmark of citizenship.

For example, in a 1904 speech printed by the *Southern Workman*, titled “Indian Day Schools” and collaboratively authored by employees of the Pine Ridge Day School No. 7 at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the speakers lean into assimilationist rhetoric. Standing Rock Sioux graduate of Hampton and head teacher Robert P. Higheagle, Yankton Sioux assistant

teacher and housekeeper Maggie G. Keith, and White day school superintendent J. J. Duncan discuss their work at the school and on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Keith writes,

> I have been teaching day schools for twenty years and I have learned how important it is to begin with these people while they are young and constantly drill into them these household ways, so that when they are old they will not depart from them. One of the neighbors who was formerly a pupil in my school, who is now married, is a model of neatness in household matters. This woman was anxious to learn and became proficient in bread making, sewing, etc., and she still retains all she has learned. Her children are always clean, and many a white person could well copy from her. Yet she never attended any other school than mine. (Higheagle, Keith, and Duncan 556)

The reservation day school, Keith then implies, is perhaps the most efficient and sustainable manner of teaching proper domestic values, as the children return home each evening to their families, whom they can in turn teach. In this way, Keith asserts, "the day school has many more pupils than are on its rolls" (555). Duncan reiterates Keith's work as "home object-lessons of cleanliness, industry, and thrift" to "better" the "Indian home" (557).

Hampton graduates Elizabeth Bender (Chippewa) and Anna Dawson Wilde (Arikara) resonated with Keith's emphasis on assimilation. In a speech documenting her work as a teacher and matron on the Blackfeet Reservation of Montana, Bender, while lamenting boarding school children's homesickness, nonetheless urges the Christianization of the tribe, citing the "horrors of the grass dance, sun dance, medicine lodge, and the use of mescal" as detrimental to "the advance of civilization" (111, 112). Summarizing the progress of her field matron duties among her home tribe on the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, Wilde toutes "the good, honest pride in being found in following white people's ways" (381-82). As Simonsen has written of

Wilde's work, her model behavior and model home on the reservation were viewed with success by White reformers, while by tribal members her demeanor and home were regarded as hinderances or failures as a result of the distanced authority of the matron's position, which "reinforced the devaluation of domestic work" among everyday tribal women (180).

Like Baldwin in her speech on Indian women's work, Native teachers and matrons, sometimes working among their own tribal and home communities, faced the complicated task of mediating between cultures. While some reflections on such work err on the side of assimilation, others offer more complex negotiations of domestic education that did not conform to a middle-class domestic vision. In particular, the writing, life, and work of Carmen Montion Gurnoe and Mollie Houston Schurz show that training in and teaching of domestic science at off-reservation and day schools did not result in the shirking of Native traditions and Native home life, as the assimilationist agenda of the Office of Indian Affairs would have desired. Although their nonfiction is not characterized by a blatant disavowal of domestic reform, it nonetheless refuses to relinquish the Indian home and all that it entails, from the daily work of husbandry, cooking, pottery, and basket weaving to the familial and communal relationships that sustain and are sustained by such homemaking traditions. As graduates of domestic science programs at Hampton and Chilocco, Montion and Gurnoe served as educators and matrons at boarding schools and reservation day schools. Their harnessed the genre of narrative nonfiction to foreground Native women's homemaking and handicrafts. In doing so, they situated themselves as educators who instructed dual audiences that comprised, first and foremost, White boarding school administrations, non-Native and Native domestic reformers, and Native students and teachers. Through instructional rhetoric, Montion and Schurz establish how-to blueprints for

sustaining Indian homemaking and handicrafts for the replication and survivance of those traditions in the present and future.

"memories of home": Preservation and Instruction in the Memoir-Manual of Carmen Montion Gurnoe

In 1915, just a few years after Baldwin's speech at the SAI, visitors from the North and nearby southern states gathered at Hampton Institute's annual Anniversary Week—a week-long series of events that displayed in full force the Institute's education and assimilation work. Eager to see the fruits of their financial contributions, donors toured heavily curated, living exhibits of students that staged scenes of the daily work at Hampton, from cabinetry to sewing. The tableaux intended "to show visitors three things," as one *Southern Workman* editor wrote: "something of the life of the student before entering Hampton; an exposition as complete as possible of the work and spirit of the school; and a glimpse of the graduates after they have been out several years teaching and leading their people" ("Hampton's Anniversary, 1915" 356). Visually and aurally, the demonstrations were a mixture of "past" and "progress," the movement from "savage" to "civilized." They appealed to donors' expectations of the civilization of Hampton's dual African American and Native American student body while also playing into entertainment appetites for the romanticization of those cultures. Welcoming visitors to Hampton's grounds, for instance, was an African American student quartet singing "ever-welcome plantation songs"—a demeaning yet non-threatening, sentimental vision of post-Emancipation "progress" (357). At previous Anniversary Weeks, onlookers watched similar scenes on Hampton's lawns, including a tableau that depicted "the midnight arrival in 1878 of Indians who had been prisoners of war at St. Augustine, Fla." ("Hampton's Anniversary, 1912" 262).

Domestic science demonstrations were central attractions that showcased to visitors the "progress" of Indian girls at Hampton, held up as specimens of domestication. The displays were meant to depict "*good* citizens," to borrow a phrase from Elsie Fuller's 1887 poem: industrious, compliant, refined (56). To be a good citizen was to become more like White women, to learn to live a middle-class domestic lifestyle but ultimately to never exceed White women in social or domestic hierarchies, ensuring second-class citizenship in terms of U.S. citizenship (Simonsen 5-6). Onlookers watched as "girls were seen making hats and … working on underwaists," giving "a lesson in rug-weaving," "having a lesson on different ways of cooking eggs," and "learning how to test seeds and how to prepare poultry for market" ("Hampton's Anniversary, 1915" 358). The sole purpose of Anniversary Week was not merely to show donors the successful assimilation of Native girls. A small detail in the same *Southern Workman* editorial reveals a twin purpose that resonated with the genre of domestic advice manuals: to provide a marketplace for the sale of student-made Indian handicrafts. In the rug-weaving room, there were so "many beautiful rugs, portieres, pillow covers, and bags … woven in beautiful shades of vegetable silk dyed by the students" that the visitors were "tempted … to spend and spend" (358). Their position in the displays, then, was not only to perform domesticity, as Simonsen has described of such demonstrations, but also, as Kiara Vigil has explored of public Native intellectuals, to perform Indianness (Simonsen 89; Vigil 19).

Scenes of domestication were not confined to the demonstrations. Anniversary Week also included the testimonies of current and former students in the form of commencement speeches. In 1915, the audience heard speeches from several students, among them two Native female students who stood in front of a diverse audience of administrators, visitors, Native students, and African American students to tell stories of their life before and after Hampton. Carmen

Montion's speech, "Occupations of a Pueblo Indian Girl," was read first, followed by the speech of Chippewa student Elizabeth Bender, "A Hampton Graduate's Experience."[23] The placement of Montion before Bender was strategic. Montion's autobiographical narrative, in which she recounts her pre-boarding school upbringing, was intended to demonstrate "the first chapter of the story" of Hampton—in other words, to show a glimpse into the "before" lives of Indian students prior to their course at Hampton (356).[24] From the perspective of Hampton's administration, these speeches functioned as rhetorical versions of before-and-after photographs that advertised the transformation of Indian students upon and after their arrival at boarding schools. Montion's speech served as the "before," while Bender's, which detailed her work as a teacher on reservation schools, functioned as the "after."

Such intentions on behalf of Hampton's administration are echoed by editors of the *Southern Workman*. Montion's upbringing is framed in a demeaning and sentimental light. She is described as "[a] slender, dainty little Pueblo girl" whose "description of a seven-year-old's work tending sheep and goats, helping her mother card wool for blankets, gather clay for pottery, husk and grind the corn, and make 'paper' bread for the hungry men, was most interesting" (356). Editorial comment on Bender's account of post-boarding school life, on the other hand, is absent of a physical description of her body and of the condescending gaze of the "Other" evident in the editor's final word, "interesting." The editor writes of Bender, "She told of her four years as a teacher on the Blackfeet and Fort Belknap Reservations, where she battled with trachoma, tuberculosis, and other evils due to ignorance and easily corrected by education" (360). Unlike

[23] Both speeches were published in the *Southern Workman*—Montion's in 1915, and Bender's in 1916.

[24] The administration used the same "before-and-after" setup for African American students who gave speeches at Anniversary Week. The speech after Montion's was given by an unnamed African American student, described only as "a tall Negro boy," who shared his life before entering Hampton, a time which the editor denigrates as one blemished by attending school "in a log hut with one door and one window, where the teacher had to defy superstition when it rained and put up her umbrella in the house" ("Hampton's Anniversary, 1915" 356-57).

Montion, Bender is framed as a soldier fighting the good fight of assimilation, "battl[ing]" the "evils" of "ignorance" on disease-ridden reservations with the weapon of "education." It is clear from the editors' descriptions that there is no place in the future for the life and home about which Montion writes and speaks. However, though the administration's intention in asking Montion to speak about her childhood was to place her within the narrative of the "vanishing Indian," Hampton officials unintentionally opened a space that aided the preservation of her Yaqui and Isleta Pueblo culture, tradition, and home life.

Printed in the *Southern Workman*, "Occupations of a Pueblo Indian Girl" recounts Montion's childhood in New Mexico.[25] Used by the administration as a demonstration of a "before" Indian, Montion presents her own domestic demonstration: a pre-boarding school, tribal-specific vision of home that works against the assimilationist domestic science demonstrations performed at Hampton that same day. From shearing wool to baking bread, intertwined with her childhood memories are mini how-to demonstrations that not only preserve Yaqui and Isleta Pueblo traditions but also serve as educational guides for replicating those traditions. In this way, "Occupations of a Pueblo Indian Girl" is both memoir and manual.

"Occupations" incorporates many of the hallmark topics of domestic advice manuals and reform initiatives. As Jessica Enoch explains, domestic manuals "covered topics such as administering home remedies and health care; making candles and soaps; dying fabrics; keeping a vegetable garden; tending to animals; cooking, baking, and butchering; sewing and linen-making; maintaining furniture; caring for children; and educating daughters" (78). Learned from

[25] The Albuquerque Indian School (AIS) told Montion that Sierra Madre was listed as her birthplace in her student case file, but Montion continued to list New Mexico in Census records. My description of her birthplace follows the information she gave for the Census. AIS also noted that Montion's father was Yaqui. It is likely that her mother was Isleta Pueblo, since Montion described her childhood as a Pueblo girl. Because of this, I refer to Montion as Yaqui/Isleta Pueblo.

her mother, Montion recounts from a Native perspective tending animals, carding and dyeing wool, weaving blankets, making pottery, grinding corn, and baking bread. “My earliest memories of home,” Montion begins, “are those days when I was seven years old and tended sheep and goats for my mother” (445). She depicts her morning routine, one quite different than the one she knows at Hampton:

> In the early morning, about sunrise, I got up, ate my breakfast, prepared my lunch, which consisted of *mocasuinie*, or dried meat, and a piece of bread. I took this in my little *tewa*, or skin bag, out to the corral where the sheep and goats were kept. I let down the bars, and the sheep and goats went out to their pasture where I remained with them all day … Toward noon, when the sun was quite high in the heavens, the flock lay down and rested for about an hour. I knew it was noon and I ate my lunch. After this the flock got up to graze again. When the shadows began to lengthen toward the east the sheep and goats would come around me, as a sign it was time to go home. I returned with them, put them back in the corral, and went into the house for my supper, after which I went to bed to rise early and continue the same daily routine. (445)

The scene Montion depicts is at odds with boarding school education in terms of both physical space and in temporal organization. The location of her work in an open pasture counters the confined space of the kitchen, the ultimate symbol of the settler domestic. Further, Montion’s movements are guided not by drills, bells, or White matrons, indicative of the militarization of students’ education, but from the natural world, from the farm animals and the location of the sun. To read the movements of sheep and goats and the sun, Montion suggests, is a form of literacy—importantly, a literacy that is paramount to the sustenance and survival of the Montion family. Furthermore, in this bucolic setting, Montion is alone, save for the presence of the farm

animals—a privilege not afforded to Native students at boarding schools like Hampton, who were, as Elsie Fuller's story evidences, constantly surveilled by matrons and administrators. Aware that many of her listeners, like the editors of the *Southern Workman*, may denigrate her upbringing, she addressed her audience directly: "You might suppose this a very tedious and tiresome day," she acknowledges, "but no, I enjoyed it very much" (445).

In her descriptions, Montion incorporates an important rhetorical technique. She code-switches, using English to her advantage. Montion was not alone in wielding the English language as a tool of resistance and as a means of survivance against colonialism, as many scholars of Native writing have discussed.[26] In "Higher Academic Training for the Indian" (1915), an oft-anthologized prize-winning speech reprinted in the *Southern Workman*, Lucy E. Hunter, a Winnebago graduate of Hampton Institute, ruminates on how Native peoples might utilize English to their benefit to uplift Indian nations. She poses a question to her audience: What, exactly, is education, and what should it mean for Native students coming out of reservation day schools and off-reservation boarding schools? Hunter's answer has less to do with receiving adequate vocational training than with the mastering of one thing: the English language. She introduces her central argument:

> The people of other nations that have a written national language all have a chance to obtain some schooling, however little it may be; but the Indians of North and South America have been unfortunate because they do not have one written language. We are a race of many tribes and many languages, and we have not learned to know each other as

[26] See Amelia Katanski, *Learning to Write "Indian": The Boarding-school Experience and American Indian Literature* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2005); Phillip H. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Hilary E. Wyss, *English Letters and Indian Literacies: Reading, Writing, and New England Missionary Schools, 1750-1830* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

> one people; therefore we have not been able to pull together as a people—a thing that is most important to a race in its onward march toward progress. There are some tribes who have a written language but it does not benefit the whole race. For this reason we need to learn a single language—that of the country in which we live—for that will help to bring us together so that we may learn to know each other as well as other races, and learn to work and pull together for our own benefit as well as for the good of the country we live in. (141)

Such an appeal might initially place Hunter's philosophy in a narrowly assimilationist or acculturist light. Nowhere, however, does Hunter suggest that Indian nations should shirk their native language. The urgency of learning English is not assimilation but autonomy—it is the sovereignty "to look after our rights and interests" (142). Like Hunter, English for Montion becomes a tool of resistance and a means of survivance. It allows Montion to assume the role of translator and educator. By code-switching and translating, she reverses the inculcation of students through the teaching of English to instead teach words from her own native language and translate them into English. Montion instructs not only the White administration and donors but also her fellow students, some perhaps from the Yaqui and Isleta Pueblo tribes who may have lost or be unfamiliar with such words as a result of the official English-only policies of boarding schools. In doing so, she constructs a tribal-specific, Yaqui/Isleta Pueblo domestic space, signaled in particular by the words she chooses to translate here and elsewhere in the narrative—"*mocasuinie*, or dried meat" (445), "*tewa*, or skin bag" (445), "*cal*," or "a white stone" (449), "*metate*, or stone slab" (449), "*tamales*, or bread" (449). Whether a type of food or tool used for cooking, all of these words signify a Yaqui/Isleta Pueblo, rather than a national, middle-class domestic. By incorporating these words in her native tongue, Montion affirms the

power of language as a way of gesturing toward and reclaiming the past. The words, which represent traditional food and household objects, also represent to Montion what she has lost. At Hampton, she and other students were not eating the traditional foods of their childhood. Rather, they were eating a diet high in sugar and fat, which contributed to the declining health of Native students, in particular (Childs 9-10).[27] By writing and speaking about the traditional foods of her childhood, Montion honors that past, reviving it, even if only rhetorically or imaginatively.

As Lomawaima writes, domestication at boarding schools meant "convinc[ing] or forc[ing] Indian girls to renounce the teachings of their own mothers" (*They Called* 87). But, as Montion's memoir-manual attests, renunciation was far from her mind. Instead, she remembered it, wrote it, spoke it. Through the process of writing her memories and delineating her mother's domestic lessons, Montion reconstructed the family and the home that she had lost. Born in Isleta, New Mexico[28] to a Yaqui father and Isleta Pueblo mother, Ruperto Montion and Anita Abeita, Montion was orphaned at a young age after their passing. She was placed in the care of a Scottish tanner and miner, Hugh Mackay of El Paso, Texas, who took her to the Albuquerque Indian School (AIS) in New Mexico in 1902. She matriculated from AIS in 1907 and enrolled at Hampton Institute, where after her graduation she taught domestic science at Carlisle Indian School before moving to Wisconsin with her husband, George P. Gurnoe, a Red Cliff Chippewa graduate of Hampton. Montion's knowledge of her early history was scant. In 1936, while

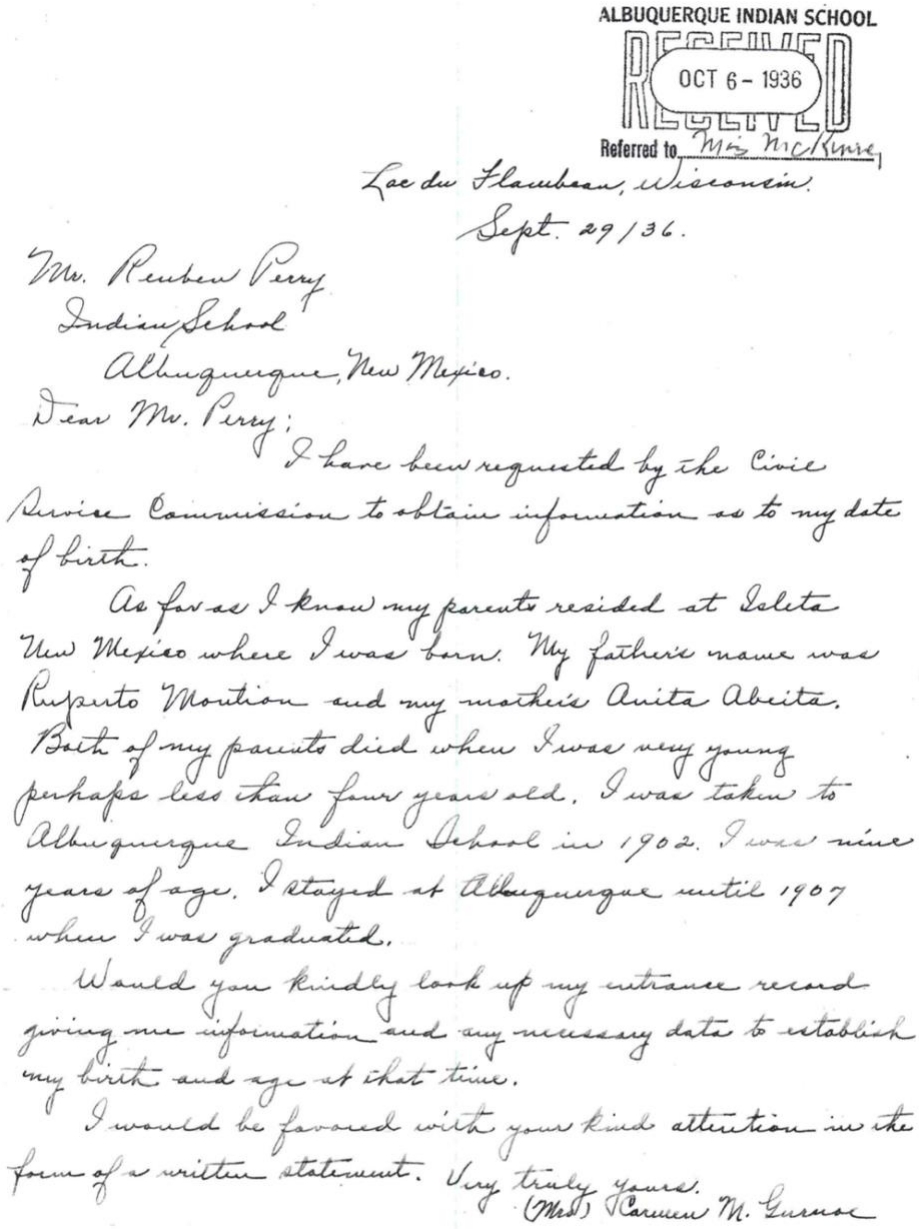
[27] Students' diet was a subject of investigation by F. S. Childs. Through student complaints, he found that Hampton, instead of providing students with the fresh vegetables and meat grown on school grounds, was selling these items to the public and providing students instead with a high-fat, high-carb diet of bacon, pork, bread, and potatoes (Childs 8). The diet had adverse effects on Native students, in particular—so much so that Hampton created a special diet for them, which included boiled or stewed beef (9). Even so, as Childs writes in his report, "I do not think I can too strongly urge a radical change in the dietary systems of the school," recommending a diet higher in "fruits and vegetables" (11, 10).

[28] I use the place of birth that Montion herself listed on Census records, even after she received information from the AIS that her student files noted she was born in Sierra Madre, Mexico.

working for the La Pointe Indian Agency in Wisconsin, she sent a letter to her alma mater, the Albuquerque Indian School, inquiring about her birth date (Fig. 4). Because a fire at the school in 1906 destroyed a vast majority of its records, she waited over a year to receive a response. Even then, the sole information they were able to provide was a mere few sentences:

> Carmin [sic] Montion entered Albuquerque Indian School August 30, 1902, age 14, full blood Yaqui, father, H. Mackay, El, Paso, Texas, 620 Fourth Street. The following note was found opposite your name: 'Father and mother both dead. Girl was born in Sierra Madres in Old Mexico and was given to this man in 1897.'" (Letter from L. McKinney to Montion)[29]

[29] *Buck's Directory of El Paso for 1902* confirms that Hugh Mackay lived at 620 Fourth Street, El Paso, TX, in 1902, the same year that he brought Montion to the Albuquerque Indian School (265). Mackay was a Scottish-born leather and fur tanner and was the head of several tanning and mining companies in Texas, Colorado, and Mexico. In 1897, the same year that AIS reported Carmen was given to Mackay, the *El Paso Herald-Post* reported briefly that he was given charge of four orphan children by an unnamed woman in El Paso and took them to Corralitos with him ("Ins and Outs" 5). Carmen was not the only Indian child he took to boarding schools. In 1904, he took about 20 children on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad with the promise that they would be enrolled in a school in Lawrenceville, Kansas. Mackay was ostensibly an Indian Agent, and he claimed to have had government permission slips to take these children to Kansas ("News of the Courts" 3). One of the adolescents, a fifteen-year-old girl named Lily Peck, filed a lawsuit against the railroad in *Peck v. Atchison* because the children were locked in the railroad car without food or water for days (*Peck v. Atchison, T. & S. F. RY. CO.* 534-35). There is no known record of Mackay in documentation from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He may have been paid to act as a middleman for BIA agents (Email conversation with Channette Romero, Aug. 2, 2021).



ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL
RECEIVED
OCT 6 – 1936
Referred to Miss McClure

Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin.
Sept. 29/36.

Mr. Reuben Perry
Indian School
Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Dear Mr. Perry;

I have been requested by the Civil Service Commission to obtain information as to my date of birth.

As far as I know my parents resided at Isleta New Mexico where I was born. My father's name was Ruperto Montion and my mother's Anita Abeita. Both of my parents died when I was very young perhaps less than four years old. I was taken to Albuquerque Indian School in 1902. I was nine years of age. I stayed at Albuquerque until 1907 when I was graduated.

Would you kindly look up my entrance record giving me information and any necessary data to establish my birth and age at that time.

I would be favored with your kind attention in the form of a written statement. Very truly yours.
(Mrs.) Carmen M. Gurnoe

Figure 4. Letter from Carmen Montion Gurnoe to Reuben Perry, Sept. 29, 1936. Record Group 75: Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1793 – 1999, Series: Student Case Files, 1886 – 1964. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration at Denver, Colorado.

What follows after Montion's pastoral opening is a more granular portrait of her childhood. Central to her recollections is honoring her upbringing, cultural tradition, women's work, and, most importantly, "the partnership women share in the structuring and preserving of

traditions within their societies," a characteristic that Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands have identified as a hallmark of American Indian women's autobiography (9). Montion commemorates the memory of her mother and their mother-daughter relationship, drawn close together and intimately connected through their daily homemaking and handicraft work. The sense of belonging that Montion creates stems from a citizenship that is rooted in the home and in familial relationships. In Montion's case, it is her bond with her mother that first brought forth knowledge, instruction, and belonging.

Part of honoring the memory of her mother and her upbringing involves refuting denigrating stereotypes. As Spokane writer Gloria Bird has explained, autobiography for Indigenous writers is "at its liberating best, a political act" because it allows writers to demolish stereotypes of Native peoples and, further, "the process of the colonization of our minds" (30, 29). The entirety of Montion's speech refutes labels of Indian laziness and ineptitude—in particular, the stereotype of ineffective Indian mothers. As she states in her speech, "It is said that the Pueblo Indians are a lazy people, but that seems strange to me, for I do not remember ever passing an idle day in my home" (446). Montion celebrates her mother, the educator, who passes down knowledge to her daughter, teaching her to tend animals, card and dye wool, weave blankets, and make bread. Montion then safeguards the erasure of such homemaking lessons through assimilation by passing them down through spoken and written word. Even seemingly insignificant details negate such typecasting while capturing their loving mother-daughter relationship. For example, Montion recalls how she would spend "hours at a time carding wool" for her mother to weave for blankets, indicative of her recollection that there never was "an idle day in my home" (446). "Sometimes I became so tired that I feel [sic] asleep," she writes, "but I was not awakened" (446). Though a passing detail, Montion leaves the audience to imagine an

intimate scene: a hard-working young girl falls asleep, the wool still in her hands, while her mother, looking on with a smile of admiration and love and careful not to disturb her sleeping child, takes the wool from her daughter's hands and continues to work.

The most detailed how-to lesson, taught to Montion who now teaches her audience, comes in her step-by-step description of making bread from scratch. Her process-oriented, instructional language blends the genres of cookbooks, how-to guides, and domestic advice manuals. "The first step was husking," she writes,

> The corn was chaffed and washed, then put into hot water in which a powder called *cal* was dissolved. This *cal* is a white stone found in the mountains. It is ground to a powder in order that it may dissolve more quickly when put into the water. The corn was then taken out and washed in several waters to rid it of the *cal* which might cling to it. It was boiled in this *cal* solution so that the tough outside skin might be loosened. It was then ready to be ground. (449)

Now that Montion has given her audience a background on the preparation of the main ingredient, she explicates the process of grinding the corn itself. "I put on it the amount of corn to be ground," she explains, "and with a stone implement, something like a rolling-pin, I worked it up and down the slab" (449). Montion's educational aside, "something like a rolling-pin," offers another form of code-switching. The aside explanation both educates her audience in Native cooking tools as well as appeals to the administration by showing the fruits of her education in modern techniques of homemaking work which is, essentially, the ability to distinguish between a "traditional" and a "modern" baking utensil. Montion's affirmation of the similarity between the rolling tool of her childhood and the rolling-pins symbolic of middle-class domesticity throws into question the notion that traditional and modern homemaking are

incompatible. The difference lies merely in linguistic referent. The preparation complete, she enumerates instructions for baking the bread, accompanied by photographs (Fig. 5):

> After the corn was ground it was ready to be used for tamales, or bread. This paper bread is a favorite food of the Pueblos. I learned to make it when I was about seven years old. I mixed coarse meal with water and a little salt to about the consistency of very thin cream; then I heated a smooth, flat stone almost white hot by the fire underneath, and with a dexterous fling of the hand, I threw a handful of the mixture across the stone so as not to cover it. Immediately I caught it by one corner and peeled from the stone a thin papery layer, laying it to one side. Both movements required great dexterity, or the hand as well as the bread would have been burned. Subsequent layers are made and laid over the first while they are still hot, until the pile is an inch thick. It is then folded up as if it were indeed a bunch of paper, and it is ready to be eaten immediately or to be kept indefinitely. (449)

Montion's process-oriented language—"after," "then," "immediately," "until"—might be lifted straight from a cookbook in its specificity of the step-by-step process. Like a skilled teacher, she provides a frame of reference for would-be novice bread-bakers, advising that the mixture of meal, water, and salt should resemble "the consistency of very thin cream" (449).

INDIAN WOMEN GRINDING CORN

AN INDIAN BAKER

Figure 5. Photographs of Indian women that accompanied Montion's memoir. "Occupations of a Pueblo Indian Girl," p. 448. Digital access courtesy of HathiTrust, digitized by University of Michigan.[30]

[30] The photographs used to illustrate Montion's speech, selected by *Southern Workman* editors, reiterate the driving forces of pedagogy and preservation that underpin her memoir. As Baldwin stated in her 1914 graduation speech from law school, "'The trouble with the Indian question which I meet again and again, is that it is not the Indian who needs to be educated so constantly up to the white man, but that the white man needs to be educated to the Indian'" (9). Several of the photographs, including "An Indian Baker," were first published in a *Southern Workman* article, "Progressive Methods in Indian Schools" (Oct. 1913), by Mary E. Dissette, a White teacher at the Pagnate Indian Day School in New Mexico. Neither photograph of corn-grinding and baking is fully representative of Montion's personal experience or of her tribal affiliation. The hairstyle of the young woman in "Indian Women Grinding

Tellingly, Montion's "chief amusement" was making pottery (447). "The work," she writes, involves "…break[ing] up and work[ing] the clay, mixing with it a small amount of fine sand and an equal proportion of pulverized potsherds, obtained, preferably, from some ruin in the city where bushels of pottery fragments are often found" (447). It is the "antique specimens of pottery obtained from ruins," she writes, that are "the finest specimens of aboriginal pottery" (447). The adaptive reuse of "potsherds," "ruins," "fragments," and "antique specimens" endorsed in Pueblo women's pottery-making is a metaphor for Montion's reconstruction of the past for preservation in the present and future.

Like the abrupt conclusion of Baldwin's speech at the SAI, the close of Montion's speech strikes the reader as out of place after such detailed, fond recollections and directions. "It has been said by people who have visited Pueblo homes," Montion says, "that these Indians are rapidly grasping new methods for better living and better homes. And if these ideas which are being put into practice are developed, we shall in time have the Pueblos as the leaders of the West" (449). Such a conclusion aligns with Hampton's own intentions in placing Montion's speech in the early days of Anniversary Week as symbolic of so-called uncivilized, pre-boarding school life. As Tyra Twomey has argued in her discussion of the ways in which scholars have attempted to categorize American Indian autobiographical writing within or against traditional Western autobiography, "a rhetorical understanding of autobiography can only be gained through an understanding of the situations that prompt a writer to tell the story of his or her life" (23-24). Twomey urges a deeper consideration of Native autobiography, to consider autobiographical

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Corn," for example, is traditional of unmarried Oraibi women, and the outdoor fireplace shown in "An Indian Baker" does not reflect the indoor space that Montion describes of bread-making in her mother's home. Such an amalgamation on the part of *Southern Workman* editors reiterates the disregard of distinct Indian tribes and traditions. Though Montion likely was uninvolved in the selection of illustrations and probably did not encounter them until she read her published speech, the blanket approach to Native culture by the editors is a reminder of amalgamative assumptions that Montion's speech works against.

texts "as an author's active attempt to make—and change—the meaning of the surrounding context" (35). Boarding schools like Hampton, as well as public spectacles curated for events such as Anniversary Week, generated a unique rhetorical context that Native students, graduates, and teachers necessarily had to navigate—a context that expected Native peoples to tell about their lives but also to renounce or adapt their lives. Certainly, Montion's speech might be read within the context of performativity, as the physical space, circumstance, and audience were intertwined with Hampton's expectations and circumscriptions of Native pupils.

But reading Montion's speech within the confines of performing Indianness or assimilation for a White audience disregards the agency she imbued into her words. To first *compose*, and then *speak about* tradition, in a public space, was to preserve it and to insert Native identity, tradition, and intellectualism into a discussion about Native uplift and a Native future in a physical and intellectual space dominated by non-Native voices. If schools and reformers were going to place the intimacy of Montion's home and childhood on public display, then she was going to speak back. Nowhere is this resistance more poignantly embodied than in her statement of refusal regarding her audience's presumptions about her childhood: "You might suppose … but no" (445). Her speech, then, served a purpose outside of the prescribed performance of domestication. As Montion herself did, it is important to think about the various audiences of her texts, who was reading them, and how they likely read them based on their own agendas and desires. A White administrative official at Hampton, for example, would have read Montion's speech differently than a Native student, and the audience that day did not merely include Hampton's White administration and donors but also her fellow classmates, possibly fellow tribal members. Montion pushed back against the structures of the rhetorical context in which

she found herself by educating her audience and by emphasizing Indian women's citizenship and belonging within the home.

Even in her position as an assistant teacher in domestic science at Carlisle Indian School, Montion found ways to mediate between assimilationist domesticity and tribal traditions in unofficial ways outside of the classroom. As the *Carlisle Arrow* reported, "A new beverage, sassafras tea, is being introduced on our grounds. Miss Montion, who is responsible, finds it very delicious, and offers all who care to consult her free instructions for making it" ("General News Notes" Feb. 18, 1916, 6). Montion was known on campus for inventing her own kitchen utensils, handmaking them herself in Carlisle's carpenter shop, and she was favored among the girls of the Model Home Cottage, to whom she told stories "every night" ("The Model" 2; "General News Notes," Feb. 4, 1916, 2). Even if in small ways, she wove into the fabric of her domestic profession Indian traditions.

"the only ones who know": Mollie Houston Schurz, Indigenous Knowledge, and Women's Handicrafts

While Montion painted a portrait of a close familial relationship between mother and daughter, Mollie Houston Schurz's narrative nonfiction essay, "Indian Basketry," depicts a more expansive vision of Indigenous community. Published in the *Southern Workman* in Sept. 1916, one year after Montion's speech, "Indian Basketry" presents a vision of Akimel O'otham (Pima) basket makers, a coalition of women united not merely by tribe but also by trade. As Warrior describes, much of early Native writing can be characterized as "hybrid works that combine various forms of nonfiction writing" (xviii). Multigeneric in nature, "Indian Basketry" blends modes and genres of oral history and stories, short fiction, and advice and how-to literature. In

tandem with Schurz's objectives of preserving cultural tradition and history, her approach is also deeply pedagogical. As a student and teacher of domestic science, Schurz used "Indian Basketry" to teach her audience not merely about the past and present tradition of basket weaving. She also used the piece to chart a manual for interested, would-be basket weavers of the future, perhaps current and former students at Hampton and other schools who would encounter the *Southern Workman* in Hampton's classroom or in another boarding school library. In doing so, she engages the genre of domestic advice manuals and how-to manuals by ethnographers and anthropologists by creating her own manual, written from within the O'otham community and told from the perspective of one of its members.

Born to a family of farmers in Casa Blanca, an O'otham village of the Gila River Indian Community in Arizona, Schurz graduated first from the Sacaton Boarding School on the reservation and then the Domestic Science department at the Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma. When Schurz graduated from Chilocco in 1906, the school held commencement exercises much like those in which Montion would participate at Anniversary Week. The exhibit of domestication was prefaced by a class song, a musical rendition of before-and-after photographs of the young men and women of the graduating class. Part II of the song broadcasted Indian girls' training in White domesticity:

> There also lived an Indian maid
> Her tribe O-winne-paw-ha;
> Her Uncle Sam said, and was obeyed,
> "To school my Minnehaha."
> Left it far behind
> Came to seek an education, to aid her savage
> mind.
> Came to study at Chilocco
> Learned to sew, and bake good bread
> Learned to keep a home in order.
> Hands controlled by head. (46)

During the domestic science demonstration, Schurz assumed her designated place as the main student-instructor. By the editor of the *Indian School Journal*, in which the commencement exercises were described, Montion was portrayed only physically as "an attractive looking Pima girl" who guided the demonstrations as her fellow female students exhibited "making an omelet, preparing, through the various processes, a loaf of bread, washing, starching, blueing and ironing clothes, etc." ("Commencement Papers" 46). Schurz's prefatory speech echoed the tutelage of domestic reform and curricula, stressing the value of domestic science in teaching Native women "how to keep [a house] clean and wholesome," and how to view "house keeping [sic]" so that it "is no longer drudgery" ("Domestic Science" 47). Acknowledging Indian women's competency in traditional homemaking, Schurz addresses how domestic science education has rendered that competency insufficient. "Not many years ago the Indian woman found her knowledge of home making [sic] enough," she told her audience. "Now the Indian mother wants her daughter to learn all the trades and arts of home keeping [sic], but she is not able to teach her for her life is formed in a different time" (47).

Ironically, in the same issue of the *Indian School Journal* that published the recap of the commencement exercises, the opening article was a feature story on the O'otham of Arizona, illustrated with photographs of the Sacaton and Pima Schools that Schurz attended as a child and where she would soon return, as well as a photographs of Pima girls learning the art of basket making in a class at Sacaton. The author, Chilocco superintendent S. M. McCowan, however, denigrated the O'otham, claiming that "[the Pima] bother themselves very little about the past" and "handed down no traditions" (11). Despite the commencement's grand display of cultural renunciation, and assertions like McCowan's, leaving the reservation and Indian traditions behind was far from Schurz's mind. Immediately after graduating she returned to Arizona where,

at various day schools on and around the Gila River Reservation, she worked as a housekeeper, cook, and teacher.[31] When she returned home, she met and married an O'otham farmer, Charles (Charley) Schurz, a graduate from the Tucson Training School and missionary, in 1910 ("Some Returned" 460). She was also appointed head teacher of the Stotonic School in the Vah-ki village on the Gila River reservation in 1920. Her work was cut short by an untimely death in 1921, just one year after the school opened its doors.

In the years before Schurz penned "Indian Basketry," consumer and collector tastes for "exotic" Native handicrafts and artifacts had accelerated with the national Arts and Crafts Movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The movement sought to revive what reformers and educators saw as "vanishing" native handicrafts among marginalized peoples, which included not only American Indian productions but also fireside crafts of poor Whites in Appalachia.[32] Hampton's founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, had been collecting Indian art and crafts since 1881, shortly after Native students were enrolled at Hampton, to be housed in a school museum.[33] The museum collections "encourag[ed] students to look at their pasts with scientific and aesthetic detachment as much as with race pride … only insofar as its

[31] In 1906, she was a housekeeper at Casa Blanca. She then served as a cook on the Gila River reservation in Arizona ("Appointments—Excepted Positions" 50). In 1909, she served as a cook at the Oraibi day school on the Hopi Indian Reservation ("Oraibi Items" 426). She also taught at the Casa Blanca Day School ("Editorial Notes" 85). She was a housekeeper at the Pima School from 1916-17.

[32] The rhetoric of dying traditions and the passing of homemade handicrafts with the rise of commercial industry and modern technologies attributed to the vanishing of Native traditions was used also to describe the traditional fireside industries of Appalachian men and women. Just as Hampton Institute and other boarding schools were working to create a market for Native crafts, schools in Appalachia, including the Berea College in Kentucky, were doing the same for so-called "mountain people." See Frances L. Goodrich, "Old Ways and New in the Carolina Mountains," *Southern Workman*, Apr. 1900, pp. 207-11; Jennie Lester Hill, "Fireside Industries in the Kentucky Mountains," *Southern Workman*, Apr. 1903, pp. 208-13; and "Broader Work for Country People," *The Native American*, Sept. 19, 1908, pp. 288-90.

[33] For a detailed discussion of Hampton's Museum, see Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877-1923* (University of Illinois Press, 1995).

artifacts recorded racially specific progress toward civilization already attained by Euro-Americans" (Simonsen 162-63). The museum commemorated "traditional crafts and industries" not "for their own sake but as part of history—a history that was to be overcome" (163). But anxieties that native handicrafts were disappearing amidst assimilation and industrialization led to educational shifts that attempted to reverse the systemic erasure of Native arts at boarding schools by concerted efforts to incorporate traditional crafts into the curriculum. Hampton held courses labeled "For Indian Girls Only," which offered not only settler-domestic classes such as "Lace Making" but also classes in Native arts such as "Indian Pottery" (*Catalogue* 41).

Attempts at Native handicraft education augmented the commodification of Indian crafts, as evidenced by the purchasing visitor-customers at the domestic science demonstrations at Hampton's Anniversary Week in 1915. The mindset that underpinned training in handicrafts for assimilation and economic benefit is visible in Neltje Blanchan's article for the *Southern Workman*, "Indian Industrial Problems" (1902). Blanchan was a leader in the Indian Industries League and a proponent of Native arts and crafts:

> The Indian problem, in its last solution I take to be the problem of fitting all Indians for self-support at the earliest possible moment and then leaving them alone to work out their salvation. But how to take barbarous, or at least only partially developed, men and instill into them a desire to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; a spirit to resent pauperizing whether through government rations or the sentimentality of philanthropists, as any good New Englander with the proverbial conscience would; how to foster a love of the work that brings economic independence, comfort and plenty to their families, developing thereby their own manhood—this seems to me the Indian problem. Industrial prosperity is the foundation of the Indians' home just as surely as of yours or mine. (98)

Blanchan situates Indian handicrafts as an economic solution to the "Indian problem." Her encouragement is not only devoid of any acknowledgment of the sanctity of cultural tradition but actively disregards Indigenous community in its focus on "independence." The solution is to sell tradition to consumers who essentially view Native culture as an accessory.

The commodification of Native crafts occupied a central place in the home decorating advice of domestic advisors. Such advice coincided with the Arts and Crafts Movement. As Sarah Leavitt explains, "American Indian cultures were among the most popular 'foreign' cultures in domestic-advice manuals. Domestic advisors joined a larger movement called 'Romantic Nationalism' in which a country's identity is expressed through the adaptation of the arts of indigenous cultures" (155). Domestic advisors incorporated into their decorating advice handmade productions of Native arts—baskets, rugs, blankets, and more—that they saw as "artifacts" of an "ancient," "simple," and "romant[ic]"—and so-called vanishing—way of life (157). Moreover, non-Native writers ethnographers and anthropologists seized the moment as an opportunity to produce histories of and manuals for creating Indian handicrafts like basketmaking that were popular not only in domestic reading circles but also among administrative personnel of boarding schools. As Marinella Lentis has meticulously researched in *Colonized through Art: American Indian Schools and Art Education, 1889-1915* (2017), just a few examples of popular education manuals geared toward Indian education in arts and handicrafts included those written by non-Native ethnographers and anthropologists, including George Wharton James's *Indian Basketry* (1903)[34] and Otis Mason's *American Indian Basketry* (1904) (358n43). Texts like these, including specifically Mary White's *How to Make Baskets*

[34] Wharton also published his ethnographic work in the *Southern Workman*. See "The Art of Indian Basketry," *Southern Workman*, Aug. 1901. Wharton is one among many non-Native writers who published ethnographic and anthropological pieces on the history and the characteristics of Native handicrafts.

(1902), were incorporated into Estelle Reel's 1901 boarding school curricula recommendation guide, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States* (Lentis 58).[35]

In "Indian Basketry," Schurz foregrounds Indigenous knowledge and the expertise of O'otham women like herself, rejecting the notion that expertise and preservation of Native traditions reside in the instruction of non-Native voices. Her narrative essay is not written from the perspective of an ethnographic outside observer but from her own vantage point of an insider and member of the tribe about whom she writes. Moreover, Schurz's narrative counters domestic advisors' insistence on situating Indian handicraft traditions as hallmarks of the past—another tell-tale signifier of the so-called "vanishing Indian." It is not a coincidence, then, that Schurz uses only present tense in "Indian Basketry"—a rhetorical choice that reiterates what Gerald Vizenor calls "Native survivance"—that is, "an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion" (1).

"Indian Basketry" begins in a collective present that unites O'otham women in *present tense,* weaving a portrait of a community of women who are invoked repeatedly as "the basket weavers." "The basket weavers," Schurz opens, "watch for spring when the leaves of the willow and the cottonwood begin to sprout" (512). The weavers, keen watchers and observers of the natural world and the changing seasons, have a distinct, privileged understanding because of their practiced perception: "The basket weavers are the only ones who know when they [the devil claws] should be gathered" (512). Through the piece, the women are a collective, moving and doing as one. When gathering twigs for their creations,

> *They climb*, … *they cut* them off with a knife. Usually *they stay* out all day gathering twigs. Just about sundown *they come* back with them. After supper *they split* them in two,

[35] Susan C. Power has also discussed Wharton, Reel, and these kinds of texts in *Art of the Cherokee: Prehistory to the Present* (University of Georgia Press, 2007), pp. 133-34.

> using their teeth, … When *they get* a handful split and the bark taken off, it is coiled up tight and wrapped around the back … *They make* several trips … *They keep* the twigs moist … *They watch* and take them in as soon as dry … *they bury* some in wet ground … *they take* the claw and split the ends on both sides … (emphasis added 512-13)

The unifying "they" situates Native women's collective handicraft work in present tense, affirming that this tradition has not vanished but is very much alive and, what is more, is the product of a thriving community. Immediately, Schurz paints a coalition—a portrait of Indian women's knowledge and handicraft work—strengthened by the sense of community and citizenship that emerges in their united efforts. Schurz delicately details the preparation process, from the gathering of cottonwood and willow tree twigs in spring to the burying and soaking of the twigs to soften the bark for peeling, the planting and harvesting of devil's claw for decorative design, and the journey to collect cattails. Indigenous knowledge is foregrounded, as the baskets weavers "are the only ones who know when [the devil-claws] should be gathered" (512). "If they are gathered too green," Schurz instructs with caution, "they will not be black enough, or if too ripe, they will be too stiff to work with" (512).

The portrait of collectivity—of a coalition of women basket weavers—then transforms, and the many weavers become one weaver, one individual woman. "Now," Schurz writes, "the basket weaver has the cottonwood, twigs, and devil-claws ready" (513). Invoking the word "Now" simultaneously signals the weaver's next step and places her actions, and traditions, within the present. Yet just as the reader expects to be presented with the weaver's step-by-step process, Schurz interjects a "but": "but she cannot make her basket" (513). Schurz informs her audience that, before she can begin, "[s]he takes a day's trip down to the Maricopa reservation and camps on several different days, going down each time to the swamps near the river where

the cat-tails [sic] grow" (513). The rhetorical disruption illustrates the disruption of water access that the O'otham faced with settler expansion into Indian territories in the Southwest. In the 1860s, non-Native settlers residing upriver of the O'otham and Pee Posh (Maricopa) villages diverted the flow of the O'otham peoples' main water source—the Gila River—to irrigate their own lands (Programmatic Environmental Impact Statement 1-9; DeJong 91-114). The devastating result was the drying up of the Gila River. Dependent upon the river for their means of livelihood, including irrigation farming and basket weaving, O'otham people were forced to find alternate sources of water, one of which was the Salt River and its surrounding marshes near the neighboring village of the Maricopa.

While Schurz was living and teaching on and near the O'otham and Pee Posh reservations between 1906 and 1917, the battle over tribal water rights continued decades later as the federal government constructed several reservoirs that diverted the water of the Salt River. In a joint petition reprinted in the *Native American*, the two tribes implored Arizona's Governor Hunt to recognize and restore their water rights: "It is the river water only we want and in all justice have the first right to … Under our present system of irrigation from the Gila and Salt rivers, we cannot get enough water to make a living … We were once fairly prosperous, before the white people came in large numbers and took away much of the water above us" ("Pima Indians Petition" 342). The basket weaver's craft is directly dependent upon access to water. Her movement in search of water signals the devastating impact of settler colonialism descending upon the O'otham village, impeding her swift ability to collect the cattails that will allow her to create her basket. Importantly, the basket weaver's journey to the Maricopa village, which consists of an entire day to travel and several days to collect, centers the coalition citizenship

among the O'otham and Pee Posh, who were confederated long before the arrival of settlers.[36] The weaver's journey is a statement of oppression but, more importantly, it is a testament to community.

With the transition from a coalition of weavers to one singular weaver, and with the weaver's pre-basket weaving work complete, the tone of the piece then shifts from one that invokes a kind of legend or folk story to one that is more process-oriented, resembling a how-to guide, complete with photographs (Fig. 6). "After the weaver gets all the material ready," Schurz writes,

> she sits down to weave her basket … she gets her awl, a knife, and a bowl of water in which she soaks or wets the willow and devil-claws … She starts her basket by taking a bunch of devil-claws and trying them into a knot. Then she takes the awl and one of the devil-claws or willow, whatever she chooses, and works the ends of the knot from right to left. When the knot it made, there will be four ends out to be worked around. She puts the awl through first, then the willow or whatever else she is using, and pulls it would each time as right as she can. (514)

For Schurz, equally as important as the step-by-step process is the tradition behind that process. Just as "Occupations of a Pueblo Girl" blended personal and familial history with the how-to manual, Schurz's narrative is not confined to one genre. Multigeneric in nature, Schurz brings traditional stories and folklore to bear on the process of basket weaving—in particular, on the design that each woman chooses for her basket. The choice is not merely decorative. Place, memory, and oral tradition bear upon weavers' choice of design, as they journey to "the

[36] The Akimel O'otham and Pee Posh were confederated before the arrival of settlers. The two tribes shared the Gila River and Salt Rivers Reservations, established by the federal government in the midst of the first water crisis in 1859 and 1879, and they continue to live at the Gila River Indian Community ("History" n.p.).

mountains near the Santan village" where "some women cut [designs] there in order that they might be remembered" (514). The impetus for going to the mountains is a traditional story of the women who first created the designs. "The story goes," Schurz tells,

> that there was a man living near the Blackwater Pond whose name was Yellow Bird. Their father did not want [his daughters] to marry. They took great pride in their toilet, and had nothing to do but draw designs. It was their custom to go very early to the pond to wash their hair, and from there they would run to these mountains where they would sit on the rocks cutting designs. (513-14)

Though brief, the story gestures toward a centuries-long tradition of O'otham weavers incorporating the rock art of their Huhugam ancestors into their baskets (Snell 10). By writing this story and the story of the basket weavers, Schurz passes down the stories once more, preserving tradition in the same way that Hohokam and O'otham Indians cemented their designs—albeit, with a different tool. "Indian Basketry" thus tells the story of three generations of women—a generational coalition rooted in "the continuance of stories"—from the daughters' rock art, to the basket weavers, to Schurz herself (Vizenor 1).

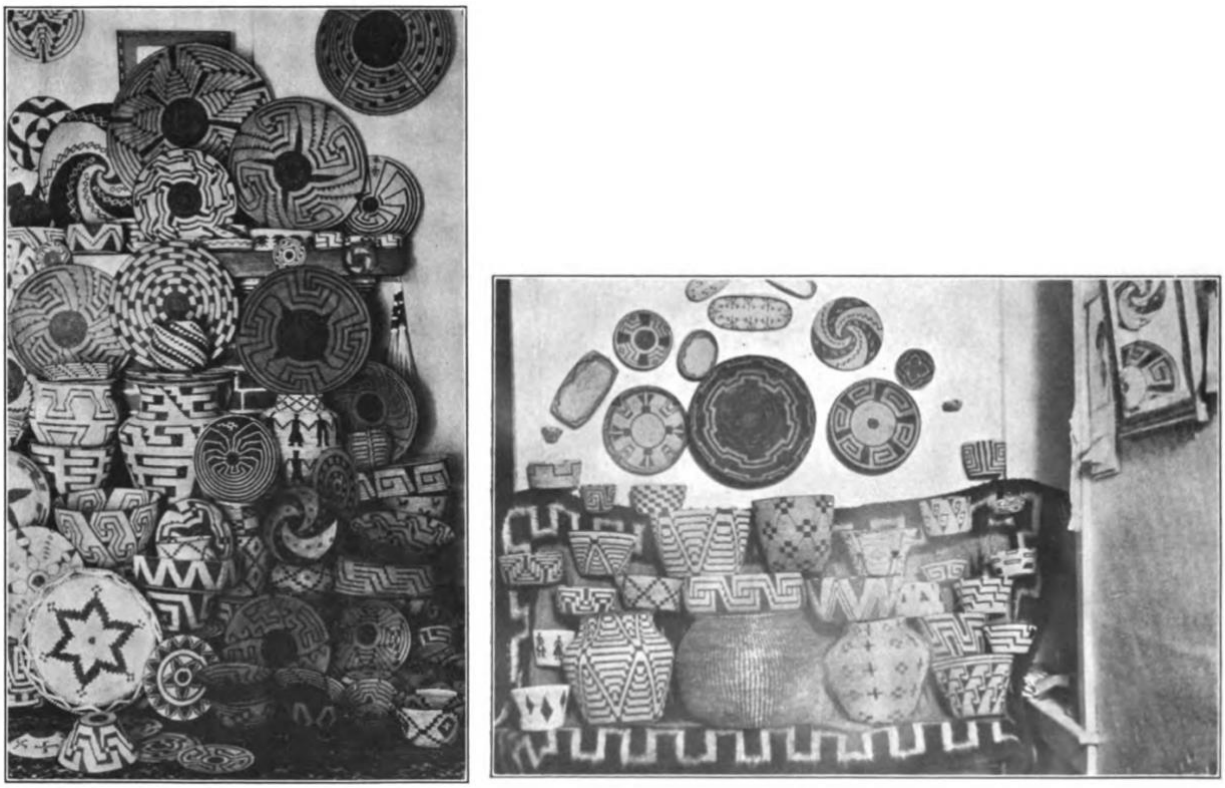

Figure 6. Photographs of baskets that illustrated Schurz's "Indian Basketry." Digital access courtesy of HathiTrust, digitized by University of Michigan.

Like Montion, Schurz uses her narrative to weave a counternarrative to stereotypes of Indian laziness. Weaving baskets is a painstaking process—one that, as she writes, is so time-consuming that a weaver "can only go around [the basket] twice or three times in a day, once in a while four times," and to complete a basket "take[s] two weeks of constant work" (515). It is a craft that is taxing on the body: weaving is "very hard on the eyes and fingers," and some women "have very badly inflamed eyes" as a result (514). She concludes by explaining to her reader that "[t]here are four ways of finishing [a basket]":

> One is the plain black edging. For another they take one strip of the devil-claw and one of the willow and weave both, making a black and white edging. Again, they can work with two strips of the devil-claw, taking a stitch after every four rounds. This makes a slant

> work for the edge. For still another edge, they use only one strip of the devil-claw. In this edge they count four before every stitch and count two backward stitches, which makes the edge look as if it were braided. This last, which is the most difficult, is the most often used. (515)

The frequent practice of using the most artistically demanding, time-consuming design gestures toward the entire undertaking of basket making that Schurz has described through her narrative. From the opening journey from sunrise until sunset to gather twigs, to the days long trek to the Maricopa waters, to the arduous, physically taxing act of weaving itself, women's work in handicrafts alone refutes the typecasting of American Indians as lazy, incompetent, and vanishing.

Perhaps one of the most significant ways in which Schurz affirms Indigenous sovereignty is through what she does *not* say in "Indian Basketry": the commodification and sale of Indian handicrafts to non-Native consumers, a characteristic of domestic advice manuals. Schurz penned "Indian Basketry" during a moment in her life when she was actively attending and displaying her cooking and handicraft work at the annual Pima Indian Fair in Sacaton, Arizona, since its inaugural fair in 1911 (Fig. 7). At the 1914 fair, she displayed her needlework along with ten other young O'otham women. For her embroidered shirtwaist pattern, she "was awarded a sewing machine for the best general display of sewing" ("Pima Women" 583). The previous year, in 1913, she won a cooking contest for best chow-chow ("Third Annual" 465). At the 1915 fair, she and another O'otham woman, Virginia Osif, provided guidance and advice for Indian women, offering patterns for children's clothes, crochet needles and material, and cookbooks ("The Fourth" 258). As the Phoenix Indian School's mouthpiece, the *Native American*, reported about the visitors that the Pima fair drew, "At Sacaton annually is held a most successful

reservation agricultural fair managed and patronized almost exclusively by full-blood Indians" ("Gila River Reservation" 3). The editor also notes that the Fair by 1916 had begun to attract non-Native visitors. During the time that Schurz participated, the gathering remained largely *by* and *for* Indians, its event grounds on the Gila River Reservation a display of community, tradition, craftsmen-ship and craftwoman-ship, and sovereignty.

Crowd Lined Up at Cactus Gateway, Pima Fair.

At the Concert by Phoenix Indian School Band, Pima Fair.

Figure 7. Photographs of the first Pima Fair, Gila Indian Reservation, Sacaton, Arizona, 1911. From "The Indian Fair at Sacaton," *The Native American*, Nov. 11, 1911, pp. 483-484. Newspaper of the Phoenix Indian School. Digital access provided by HathiTrust, New York Public Library.

Tellingly, the Office of Indian Affairs perceived these sovereign gatherings as a threat to assimilation. In 1914, the OIA celebrated Indian fairs while also recommending participation in off-reservation fairs in order that Native peoples could more fully "absorbed into the body of American citizenship" ("Report of the Commissioner" 23). "[T]he next logical step after the strictly Indian fair on the reservation," the report suggests, "is participation by the Indians in conveniently located in county and State fairs" (23). It is important, then, that Schurz's how-to narrative of basket weavers omits any mention of the commodification and commercialization of Native handicrafts to non-Native consumers that were championed by domestic advice manuals and the Office of Indian Affairs alike. Cultural productions are stories, traditions, and communities; they are not an accessory for middle-class home decoration. Like the Native space of the Pima Fair, "Indian Basketry" signals a citizenship that is grounded in tribal community and tradition. In this way, Schurz presents basket weaving in light of how Cherokee two-spirit and queer writer, Quo-Li Driskell, describes the craft—that is, basket weaving is a "decolonial, embodied practice" (73).

Conclusion

Montion's and Schurz's writing published in the *Southern Workman* had a strong counterpart in Hampton's *Talks and Thoughts of Hampton Indian Students*, a periodical published by and for Native students. The objectives of pedagogy and preservation that cohere the memoir-manual of Montion and the narrative nonfiction essay of Schurz are shared by Native student writers, indicative in titles such as "What My Mother Taught Me" (1906) by anonymous, "Teaching Basketry on a Tea Plantation" by Cherokee handicraft teacher Arizona Swayney (1906), "Gardening of Indian Women" by Rachel Tyner (1906), and "The Blanket Weaving" by

Carlota Gutierrez (1906). One article stands out, in particular. Titled “How My Grandmother Used to Make Cornbread” (1906), the anonymous writer begins in past tense, remembering fondly how her grandmother, “even when at an old age, was still a great hand at cooking” (4). She recalls how members of the community would visit her grandmother’s home to observe her “expert” skills, “watch[ing] the process from beginning to end” (4). Shifting to present tense, readers are transported into the intimate space of her grandmother’s home: “Now,” she invites the reader, “watch carefully and see how grandmother made her delicious cornbread” (4). Using the same instructional rhetorical approach to making cornbread as does Montion for baking bread and Schurz for weaving baskets, the writer recreates the step-by-step process, bringing her grandmother back to life through her words. Like Schurz, she repeatedly invokes the word “Now” to signal her grandmother’s next step and to place her traditions within the present. In teaching her audience, the writer not only preserves her grandmother’s memory and tradition but also provides a blueprint for replication in the future. Across Native women’s nonfiction writings, the Indian domestic space—the home, family, and homemaking and handicraft traditions—is celebrated as a site of strength, community, and belonging that is rooted not in total assimilation and allegiance to a national U.S. citizenship but in a sovereign, tribal citizenship.

CHAPTER 3

UP FROM THE SOIL: (AGRI)CULTURAL PRODUCTIONS, RACIAL UPLIFT, AND CULTIVATING CITIZENSHIP

"Farming Pays," announced an advertisement in the *Southern Workman*'s Apr. 1907 issue, "when the Farmer combines Scientific Methods with his Labor" (466). Below this headline, the following line appeared: "The Sun and the Soil have no Race Prejudice" (466). Such a possibility was, of course, more complex than the ad's pithy phrase suggested. Steeped in irony, the notion that "Sun and the Soil have no Race Prejudice" evades the not-so-distant history of enslavement as well as then-current systems of re-enslavement in which the soil of the nation methodically yoked Black subjects—the very readers to whom this ad was directed—to systems of violence and exploitation with regard to the natural world. In eluding this reality, the ad inadvertently exposes that, while the earth itself is eternally colorblind, humans are not. Through slavery, convict lease and chain gang systems, exploitative economic practices such as sharecropping and tenant farming, and racial violence, which historically has manipulated the natural world as a backdrop for bloodhound hunts and lynchings, the South anchored its landscape—the sun and the soil—to the very thing that the advertisement downplayed: oppression.[37] Such systemic violence, rooted in the land, radiated outward and deteriorated Black

[37] For an extensive study of the re-enslavement of African Americans via the convict lease and chain gang systems, which Douglas A. Blackmon has referred to as "slavery by another name," see Alex Lichtenstein, *Twice the Work of Free Labor: The Political Economy of Convict Labor in the New South* (Verso Books, 1996); Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II* (Anchor Books, 2008); and Talitha L. LeFlouria, *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South* (University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

Americans' economic livelihood, familial relationships, communal ties, and a sense of home within the nation.

With this history in mind, African American writers in the *Southern Workman* assert citizenship as equal inheritance of and access to land and, in turn, the nation. Black writers harness a range of genres to grapple with the natural environment as a fraught space in which beauty and violence almost always coexist. Confronting the *un*naturalness of historically coerced and brutal relationships between African Americans and the land, their writings resonate with what Alice Walker describes as a "heritage of love and hate" with the "earth" and what Kimberly N. Ruffin characterizes as an "ecological burden-and-beauty paradox" (Walker 21; Ruffin 2). From buying land to cultivating peaches, the land emerges in *Southern Workman* agricultural writings as a liberatory site upon which the interlocking of land and the violence of enslavement might be "reconcil[ed]," as Leah Penniman has shown, and, as Monica M. White has explored, lends space for the "collective agency" of Black agricultural communities (Penniman 263; White 7). Through a variety of genres—including the agricultural vignette, the memoir, and the short story—this chapter explores how Black writers cultivate "coalition citizenship" through engagements with land. Despite realities of economic oppression and racial violence that plagued rural Black communities, Black writers situate the land as a site of agency and a source of empowerment.

Some of the figures explored in this chapter were first and foremost writers, including luminary literary and historical figures such as Charles W. Chesnutt (1858-1932), who published multiple short stories in the *Southern Workman*.[38] My analysis also examines the writings of

[38] In addition to "The Partners," Chesnutt's *Southern Workman* short stories include "Lonesome Ben," vo. 29, no. 3, Mar. 1900, pp. 137-45, and "Tobe's Tribulations," vol. 29, no. 2, Nov. 1900, pp. 656-64. He also published an article, "The Free Colored People of North Carolina," *Southern Workman*, vol. 31, no. 3, Mar. 1902, pp. 136-41.

lesser-known people: those who were farmers first and writers second, if they considered themselves writers in the formal sense at all. Some are now largely forgotten, including Hampton graduate John W. Lemon (ca. 1867-ca. 1950), and some were never well-known at all in the literary world, including Black farmers and homesteaders in Indian Territory, S. J. (Stonewall Jackson) Faver (1862-1927) and Logan Morgan (ca. 1865-unknown). Despite these writers' celebrity or lack thereof, their meditations help to render a fuller portrait of how Black Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries harnessed the land and farming for the betterment, protection, and survival of their communities. Lemon's agricultural vignettes, for example, celebrate the success stories of Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers turned solvent, thriving landowners and farmers. The brief memoirs of Black Oklahomans, Faver and Morgan, on the other hand, offer advice to farmers in the restorative cultivation of land, efficient farm organization and management, and advertising and marketing literacy, and they position farmers as dignified artists whose work is equally as important as that of lawyers and doctors. And, in Chesnutt's overlooked short story, "The Partners" (1901), cooperation and partnership, rather than individualized land ownership and competition, are positioned as central to the mutual uplift of Black rural subjects.

First and foremost, these writers situate the earth practically, as a site of literal reaping for the sake of survivance and economic uplift. The headline of the "Farming Pays" advertisement gestures toward such an economic relationship with the earth a means of financial security and sustenance. But they also imagine the landscape in ways that move beyond capitalist orientations with which the South has traditionally associated the land through slavery, sharecropping, and convict lease. What is more, their writings resist uniform definitions of culture and render agrarian communities and settings through the lens of creativity, dignity, and wisdom.

Agri(cultural) producers, they show, take the form of farmers and cultivators—everyday artists, akin to poets and musicians, whose orchards and fields are forms of cultural production. What emerges in this kind of exploration of African Americans' engagements with the natural world is a range of Black subjectivity, imagination, and life that is as varied and as vibrant as the cosmopolitan, kaleidoscopic cultural atmosphere of Harlem enshrined in the often-anthologized poetry of Claude McKay and Langston Hughes. Indeed, writings by and about rural Black Americans in the *Southern Workman* often bridge the agricultural/humanities binary that has long been associated with Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, whose philosophies of citizenship and the land have often been placed at odds with one another to the detriment of a deeper understanding of their shared perspectives. In the writings of Lemon, Faver, Morgan, and Chesnutt, agrarian labor and intellectual labor coalesce through land and farming, revealing how the two can be intertwined rather than at odds with one another in Du Bois's tripartite philosophy of "work, culture, and liberty" (*The Souls* 14). Tied to racial uplift, land is empowering, allowing Black individuals to cultivate a sense of citizenship and belonging. In various ways, and across regions, these figures locate a form of coalition citizenship, rooted in the land, as a symbol of and remedy for the ongoing African American freedom struggle.

John W. Lemon's Agricultural Vignettes: Stories of Farming and Racial Uplift

Because of widespread dispossession and exploitation, southern African American farmers—whether landowners, sharecroppers, or tenant farmers—have often been consigned to the periphery of historical memory. Camille Goldmon has discussed how the "historiography of black farm owners tends to contribute to a narrative" that "focuses primarily on land loss" (4, 5). While such a focus, she acknowledges, is well-grounded, it is one that "is extremely limited in

scope" and "impl[ies] a failure of African Americans to participate successfully in agricultural pursuits" (4). Monica M. White expands on the sidelining of Black farmers in her recent innovative study, *Freedom Farmers: Agricultural Resistance and the Black Freedom Movement* (2018). Scholarly emphasis on the "Talented Tenth" in considerations of civil rights movements, White writes, "ha[s] failed to capture the roles of black working-class men and women and thus often ha[s] ignored the legacy of black farmers and those who lived close to the land" (4). Exploring African American agricultural cooperatives, she shows how "farmers created [these sites] as the basis for self-reliant and self-determined community," demonstrating how Black-owned and -operated farms became "space[s] and place[s] to practice freedom" (4, 5). Black landowners and farmers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers have been doubly marginalized, then, exploited during the era and region in which they lived as well as dismissed in scholarly considerations as backward, as antithetical to positioning Black people as intellectual or progressive individuals.

Yet any portrait of Black farmers which focuses narrowly on loss risks denying agency to Black agricultural subjects, positioning them solely as victims or as cogs in a machine. While Black farmers may not fit the mold of traditional representations of activism, their daily work and lives actively upset systems of oppression in ways that empowered and strengthened themselves, their families, and the communities in which they lived and worked. While southern Black farmers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may not have staged sit-ins and protests, they nonetheless harnessed civil rights activist and social justice strategies all the same: they engaged in community-building by organizing coalitions, cooperatives, and partnerships; they championed education, literacy, and economic capital; and they harnessed the periodical press as a means of mobilization.

A salient story of the nexus of cooperation, education, land, and farming that emerges in the pages of the *Southern Workman* is that of John W. Lemon (Fig. 8). A Hampton graduate, Lemon became the farm manager for the Calhoun Colored School (1892-1945) in Calhoun, Lowndes County, Alabama. An industrial school for African Americans, the School was established in 1892 by two White northern women, Charlotte Thorn and Mabel Dillingham, with the help of Booker T. Washington (Fig. 9). Lemon was also the founder of the Calhoun Land Company, a land cooperative affiliated with the school. As Dianne D. Glave notes of southern states during this time, "African Americans remained in or returned to farming after emancipation, primarily as tenants and wage laborers with limited alternatives. In 1900, of approximately 250,000 African American farmers, more than 170,000 were wage laborers, 70,000 were tenants and cash renters, and fewer than 10,000 were famer owner-operators" (*Rooted in the Earth* 86-87). The goal of people like Lemon was to invert these numbers—to decrease the number of Black wage laborers, tenants, and renters and to increase the number of Black farmers who would never again have to pay a landowner to live on and cultivate the land, to never again split the fruits of their labor. To accomplish this vision, Lemon traveled throughout the Black Belt region helping Black families secure land and rise out of debt—a tool of economic oppression that Du Bois describes in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) as "[t]he keynote of the Black Belt" and "the direct heritage of the South from the wasteful economies of the slave *régime*" (101). To further these goals, in 1896 Lemon established the Calhoun Land Company, a land cooperative that purchased the Chesnut and Harris plantations in Calhoun and parceled land on these properties to Black farmers. Lemon's land buying and farming initiatives evidence how Black rural communities organized coalitions for the sake of uplift well before the U.S. Department of Agriculture established initiatives, such as the Smith-Lever Act of 1914,

which dictated how and where funds would be allocated to Black educational institutions.[39] A grassroots cooperative like the Calhoun Land Company, which functioned outside of U.S. government support, is a salient example of how rural southern Black communities created a sense of citizenship not through national inclusion but instead through the formation of local coalitions.

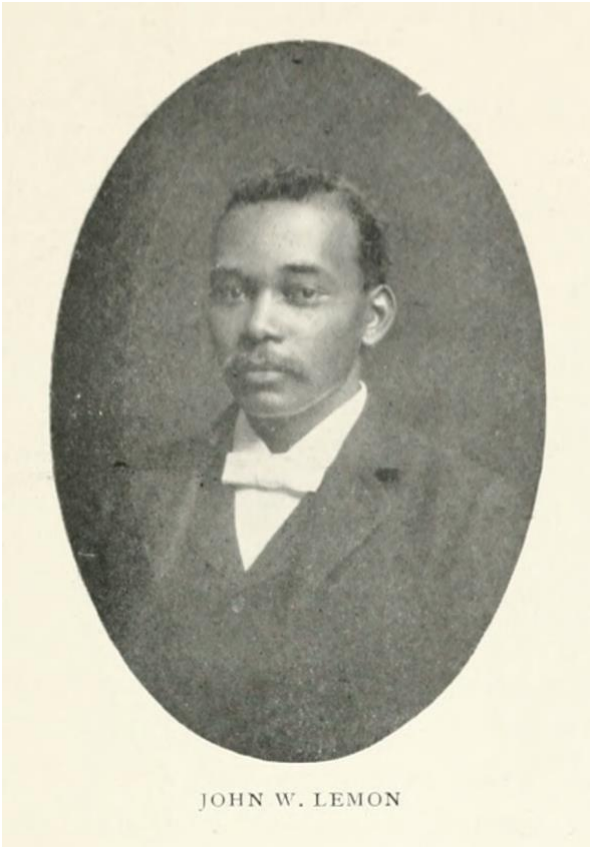

Figure 8. Portrait of John W. Lemon. From *What Hampton graduates are doing*

[39] While scholars have not examined John W. Lemon's writings, scholars have documented the legacy of the Calhoun Colored School. For further reading on the School, see Rose Herlong Ellis, "The Calhoun School, Miss Charlotte Thorn's 'Lighthouse on the Hill' in Lowndes County, Alabama," *The Alabama Review*, vol. 37, no. 3, 1984, pp. 183-201; Denise Davis-Maye and Tonya E. Perry, "The Calhoun Colored School and Community Self Help: 1892-1945," *ARETE-COLUMBIA SOUTH CAROLINA*-, vol. 31, no. 1/2, 2007, pp. 51-72; and Arlette Ingram Willis, "Literacy at Calhoun Colored School 1892-1945," *Reading Research Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2002, pp. 8-44.

in land-buying, in home-making, in business, in teaching, in agriculture, in establishing schools, in the trades, in church and missionary work, in the professions, 1868-1904. Hampton Institute, Press, 1904, p. 9. Digital access courtesy of HathiTrust, digitized by the University of California.

Figure 9. Photograph of the Calhoun Colored School, Lowndes County, Alabama. Social Settlements: United States. Alabama. Calhoun. "Calhoun Colored School": Agencies Promoting Assimilation of the Negro. Calhoun Colored School, Calhoun, Ala.: General View of School, Unidentified Artist, ca. 1903, 3.2002.401.1. Courtesy of Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Transfer from the Carpenter Center for the Visual Arts, Social Museum Collection.

Importantly, Lemon used the *Southern Workman* as a platform to showcase the success stories of Black farmers with whom he had worked through the Calhoun Land Company. From December 1902 to June 1907, he published a series of mini biographies of Black farmers who had purchased land through the Company. He titled these sketches "Agricultural Vignettes."[40]

[40] P. W. Dawkins, a Hampton graduate who became the manager at the Penn School on St. Helena Island in South Carolina, followed Lemon's lead and published a sketch, "Agricultural Vignettes: III. On St. Helena," in the Feb. 1903 issue of the *Southern Workman*. All other sketches titled "agricultural vignettes" in the *Southern Workman*

Lemon's "agricultural vignettes" present brief biographical sketches of rural, working-class men and women who climbed the socioeconomic ladder from debt to financial solvency and land ownership. The portraits humanize those homogenized as an exploited class of workers: Black sharecroppers and renters. Several elements characterize the vignettes: 1) a title that uses directional language to indicate a struggle upward and emphasizes hard work and mobility to indicate themes of racial uplift; 2) a central focus on a journey from destitution or indebtedness to landownership and economic solvency, usually following one individual's journey; 3) the use of cautionary language that warns against debt in the form of sharecropping, high interest rates, and mortgage systems, often using language associated with enslavement; 4) an ethos of racial uplift through an emphasis on autonomy, self-sufficiency, hard work, and thrift; and 5) a catalogue of an individual's gains in land purchase and accumulation of capital as well as his or her productivity in husbandry and home-making.

The subjects of the vignettes were often freedpeople or those born in the generation after Emancipation and, in many ways, the vignettes resonate with the slave narrative genre. Lemon follows the slave narratives' emphasis on racial uplift through property ownership, foregrounding the importance of owning property by one who was once legally considered property themselves. As Booker T. Washington emphasized in his autobiography, *Up from*

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were written by Lemon. The genre, though not specifically referred to as "agricultural vignettes," was also popular in other farming newspapers. Like the *Southern Workman*, Tuskegee Institute's affiliated newspaper, the *Negro Farmer* (1914-18), featured success stories of Black farmers in a recurring column titled "Winners from the Soil-Colored Heroes of the Farm." Lemon's vignettes in the *Southern Workman* are as follows: "I. Uncle Isaac," Dec. 1902, pp. 684-86; II. The Man Who Found a Way Out," Dec. 1902, pp. 686-87; "IV. "Toiling Upward," Mar. 1903, pp. 180-81; "V. From Dependence to Independence," Mar. 1903, pp. 181-82; "VI. Tyson's Way Out," Aug. 1903, pp. 382-83; "VII. A Seven Years' Struggle," Aug. 1903, pp. 383-85; "VIII. The Man Who Kept 'Fightin,'" Sept. 1904, pp. 478-79; "IX. How Hagwood 'Won Out,'" Oct. 1904, pp. 564-66; "IX. The Conversion of 'Doubting Thomas,'" Nov. 1905, pp. 605-08; "X. In the School of Experience," Nov. 1905, pp. 608-09; "XI. His Better Half," Apr. 1906, pp. 221-24; "XII. When the Race Problem Will Die," May 1906, pp. 278-81; "XIII. The Bending of 'De Big Sprout,'" June 1906, pp. 349-51; "XIV. An American Fair Chance," June 1906, pp. 352-54; "XIV. De New Road," June 1907, pp. 349-52; "XV. An Ex-Slave's Struggle for Land," June 1907, pp. 352-54. The numbering is off in the *Southern Workman*.

Slavery (1901), access to land is a central requisite for full citizenship. To build and live upon one's own land is to thrive. It allows not only for institution-building but also for familial connectedness and communion with the land in an unrestrained, free manner. Even before Washington, William Grimes in the second edition of *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave* (1855), the first known slave narrative written on American soil, links land and citizenship. He posits property ownership as a central foundation of his newfound legal citizenship when one of his first decisions in freedom is to buy a burial plot of land for his family in New Haven, Connecticut, where he set up his residence in freedom.

For Black families to procure land is Lemon's central objective. Saturated with language that both indirectly gestures toward and directly indicts the legacy of slavery and its afterlives as in African Americans' struggles to secure land, Lemon shows how, even after Emancipation, Black southerners combatted additional forms of slavery through sharecropping, tenant farming, and indebtedness to a (White) landlord.[41] As he writes in one sketch, "From Dependence to Independence" (1903), to "go further and further into debt and become more and more dependent upon [one's] landlord" is to "[go] into slavery" (181). The connection between crippling credit systems and enslavement is on full display in a vignette titled "A Seven-Years'

[41] Lemon echoed his emphasis on the connection between farming and slavery in his conversations with the students he taught as the Farm Manager at the Calhoun Colored School. In his 1902 "Farm Report," he recalls how inclement weather resulted in "the poorest crop" in "the school's history" for that year (29). The young male students who worked on the farm, as Lemon writes, felt that farming "represents slavery and poverty" (29). One farming season's less than dismal yields lowered morale even more. As Lemon writes, the young men exhibited "little or no enthusiasm" (29). The students hoped that "a chance to get an education" at Calhoun would "elevate them [so] that they will never have to stoop to the degrading work of the farmer" (29). Calhoun concedes that students' distaste in farming is no surprise, and he connects their lack of faith in agricultural production as a profession to the broader dismal farm life in Lowndes County, Alabama (29-30). But, like any artist, Lemon is intent on teaching his students the craft and intelligence that productive farming requires—most importantly, enriching the soil upon which the farmer plants his or her crops (30). As Lemon stated in his farm report for the previous year, in 1901, "the one greatest need of our farm is that the land should be enriched. No words seem strong enough to emphasize the importance of the proper kind of a farm soil as the basis for all that the school is aiming to do in this community" (27). He adds, "The farm must talk more plainly than it ever has before. This it can never do unless it is properly fed" (27).

Struggle" (1903), in which Lemon outrightly states that Black farmers have been "enslaved by the fatal mortgage system" (383). Lemon reprints the words of a man named Shelby who, with the help of the Calhoun School, rose from debt to land ownership. As a sharecropper, Shelby tells Lemon, "I had to mortgage my land, stock, crop, and everything I owned. My wife and I both signed our rights away. For the first time I began to think how I should get out" (384). Shelby's description of his experience as a sharecropper resonates less with farming and more with imprisonment or enslavement. When Shelby tells Lemon that his and his wife's lack of access to their own homestead and means of livelihood is the equivalent of "sign[ing] our rights away," Shelby compares his struggle with the oppressive credit system to the struggle for civil rights (384). The absence of full ownership, then, is synonymous with the absence of full citizenship.

Making visible the contingencies of Black farmers' relationship with the land, Lemon often employs the term "staying." Placed almost always in quotation marks, the word calls attention the precarities of security, longevity, and belonging of farmers whose homesteads and livelihoods are dependent upon the will of another—usually a White landlord. As Lemon opens one vignette, a farmer named James Taylor "had been 'staying' on the Chesnutt Place for fourteen years" ("De New Road" 349). Another vignette begins in the same manner: "Wiley had been 'staying' on" the "Le Grand plantation … for seventeen years" ("From Dependence" 181). Yet again, a man named Tyson "had been 'staying'" on his landlord's property "for so long that he thought it best for him not to break off too suddenly" ("Tyson's" 383). The term "staying" reinforces, in multiple ways, the precarity of renting versus ownership. On the one hand, it signals Black renters' position as mere visitors, or guests, on the land of someone else—a position that could be terminated for reasons outside of their control if, for example, a crop goes

bad, or the landlord decides to raise the rent. On the other hand, "staying" implies legal connotations: to "stay" in a courtroom means to pause, delay, or prevent the judicial process. For Lemon, the precarity of renting is linked directly to the delay of justice, to the instability of citizenship in freedom that led Frederick Douglass, in his 1888 speech at the Twenty-Sixth Anniversary of Emancipation, to assert that "so-called emancipation" was "a stupendous fraud" (715). Citing rent laws across the southern states that leave room for the gratuitous exploitation of Black renters and farmers, Douglass's connection between renting and second-class citizenship is echoed in Lemon's word "staying." By way of landlord and tenant laws, among other injustices, the Black American, Douglass urged, "is the victim of a cunningly devised swindle … [is] a deserted, a defrauded, a swindled, and an outcast man—in law free, in fact a slave; in law a citizen, in fact an alien" (715, 719). For Lemon, the remedy for "staying" is land and home ownership, is owning and tilling one's own land. By each vignettes' end, the term "staying" is replaced with "living," signaling the transformative power that land offers in terms of security and longevity. Further, land ownership equates with citizenship, at least in terms of economics, as Black homeowners "become … the country's producers and taxpayers" ("A Ex-Slave's" 354).

What emerges from this kind of permanency is as a pathway toward citizenship that exceeds mere ownership and economic freedom, however. Within the Calhoun Land Company's project to sow the seeds of citizenship through a coalition of agents and farmers, another coalition arises within the agricultural narratives: the family unit. Portraits of close-knit Black families become models of coalition citizenship wherein its members provide for one another the security, belonging, and access to land that is otherwise withheld by sharecropping and renting systems. In "Toiling Upward" (1903), for example, Lemon tells the story of a farmer named

Harris. For over twenty years, from 1880 to 1901, Harris struggled under the weight of debts to secure a home for himself and his family after "rent[ing] land for twenty-six years" (180). Lemon uses the language of soldiery and valor to depict Harris's struggles. "In the battle that [Harris] had to fight," Lemon writes, "his courage was greatly tested" (180). Harris had nearly purchased land multiple times, but each time he was set back in these endeavors because he put his family first. When his son became ill, eventually succumbing to his sickness, Harris paid his medical bills despite that such financial strains forced him into debt (180). Then, when his aged mother's landlord evicted her, he built for her a cabin near his own "although Harris's own health was failing him" (180). Harris, as Lemon states, continued "'toiling upward in the night'" (181). The phrase, lifted from the poem "The Ladder of St. Augustine" (1850) by poet and abolitionist, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), connects Harris's struggles to slavery and pays homage to the sacrifices of Black fathers who forgoe rest to provide a home for their family. The full stanza reads:

> The heights by great men reached and kept
> Were not attained by sudden flight,
> But they, while their companions slept,
> Were toiling upward in the night. (325-26)

Inspired by Longfellow, who used his poetry as an antislavery tool, Lemon, too, uses his agricultural vignettes to combat alternative forms of enslavement after Emancipation. The reference to Longfellow's poem stresses the struggles and sacrifices of Black fathers, like Harris—a struggle encapsulated in the image of the "ladder" central to the biblical story of Jacob's ladder that inspired African American spirituals and symbolized racial uplift. Perhaps the foremost sign of the family unit as a coalition is when Harris's eldest son, "following his [father's] example, … secured a deed on a twenty-five acre lot, joining his father's" (181). The contiguous tracts of land are symbolic of their father-son bond and of generational wealth—not

merely economic wealth but also familial prosperity, as the land might be passed down for generations to come. In "From Dependence to Independence," a farmer named Wiley purchases land as a form of familial honor and commemoration. After his brother dies, Wiley "[buys] the sixty-one acres that his brother was buying before his death" in order to ensure "that his brother's children shall have a home" (182).

Like much Black farming literature of this era, the agricultural vignettes are a male-dominated genre. But women are also present as active agents of familial wealth—as the heads of familial coalitions—even if their stories are told through others' recollections. One vignette, titled "De New Road" (1907), tells the story of the mother of a farmer and aspiring landowner named James Taylor. James and his three siblings were raised by their single mother, an indefatigable female tiller of the soil. As the "burden rested on [her]" to be the family's sole provider, she "rent[ed] land and work[ed] hard on her farm to support her children" (349). Without the support of childcare, she and her children tended their crops of cotton and corn together. The vignette centers familial cooperation and generational inheritance. "[James] and his brothers loved and respected their mother," Lemon writes, "and they soon grew to love the work on the farm" (350). In 1892, when the Calhoun School purchased the Chesnut plantation, James purchased a fifty-acre tract of land to start his own farm and, most importantly, "kept his mother with him" (350). Lemon goes on:

> [James] has a neat little cabin built with his own hands, a stable, team, farming tools, two cows, and a good garden. His mother is still with him. She raises poultry. James says, 'I feels somethin' like a man dat's been carryin' a heavy burden an' done lost dat burden. I done had a hard time tryin' to get in dis new road. My mother done been helpin' me all

> de way through. I gwine make half of what I got over to her. Yes, sir, half—she is my mother—half. I wants her to stay right dar with me. Yes, sir—no departin.' (352)

The story of James and his mother is framed with the language of familial duty. Whereas the story opens with James's mother's burdens of economic precarity and the potential loss of their home, it closes with James assuming these burdens for her and, ultimately, casting them off altogether. Furthermore, the closing words, "no departin'," is as much a statement of familial closeness as it is a direct reference to the ways in which the land can be a remedy to the separation of Black families in slavery. Land emerges as a site that, as author, activist, and farmer Leah Penniman explains in her contemporary how-to manual, *Farming While Black* (2018), reconciles traumatic "ancestral violence and loss" by positioning the earth as a liberatory site that honors an African ancestral past (263).

Positioning Black farmers and community members as creating strong homes and, as a result, being *at home* in the nation—by living and thriving in a displaced land, and by growing thriving farms and families upon that land—is the ultimate demonstration of coalition citizenship. The sketches show thriving Black families and men and women tilling the land together as partners. Angela Y. Davis's seminal essay "The Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves" (1971) traces this kind of familial model of coalition citizenship, rooted in enslavement. Discussing how slavery required manual labor of both enslaved men and women, Davis emphasizes the lack of distinctions about masculine and feminine labor when it came to Black "property": enslaved men and women labored "in the fields, … toiling under the lash from sun-up to sun-down" (87). What Lemon's vignettes demonstrate is that African Americans took labor—a social custom that was profit-motivated and used by enslavers to separate Black families—and made it a strength post-Reconstruction.

Beyond the South: Uplift Narratives and Black Homesteading in the West

Moving beyond the deep South, writings in the *Southern Workman* locate thriving Black farmers in Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma). The brief firsthand accounts of two Black farmers appeared in the *Southern Workman* around the same time: "Making Farming Pay: A Personal Narrative" (1915) by S. J. (Stonewall Jackson) Faver, and "A Successful Negro Fruit Grower: The Story of Logan Morgan" (1916) by Logan Morgan. Both men were born in the South—Faver in Georgia and Morgan in Alabama—and relocated to Indian Territory in the latter half of the nineteenth century. What is more, both Faver and Morgan attended the National Negro Business League's Fifteenth Annual Convention in Muskogee, Oklahoma, where they presented versions of the same farming narratives published in the *Southern Workman*.[42] At the convention, the two farmers likely met an editor or agent of Hampton's periodical, who may have encouraged them to contribute or asked them for permission to reprint their stories.[43] Centering racial uplift through land ownership, scientific farming, and home-building, the success stories of Faver and Morgan resonate with the advice manual genre. They blend American democratic ideals of individuality and self-reliance with the communal sharing of

[42] Faver and Morgan presented on the same panel, "Making Farming Pay." "Fifteenth Annual Convention through Twentieth Annual Meeting." From *A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of Records of the National Negro Business League, Part I: Annual Conference Proceedings and Organizational Records, 1900-1919*, ed. Kenneth Hamilton (University Publications of America: 1995), Reel 3, p. 16. The *Southern Workman* also published another narrative, "From Cowboy to Landlord: A Personal Narrative" (1915) by Jake Simmons, which was first presented at the National Negro Business League Conference in Muskogee. Simmons places greater emphasis on an economic- and property-driven vision of uplift—a visions of upward mobility through wealth that signifies the ethos of self-reliance and self-help of success stories like those of Abraham Lincoln and Booker T. Washington. Yet, unlike Faver and Morgan, whose narratives omit the presence of Native peoples in Indian Territory, Simmons's rise from a chicken coop to a six-bedroom estate emerges out of a cross-racial vision of coalition citizenship, in his relationships with Native peoples and in his tribal allotment as the descendant of Creek freedpeople. Unlike Faver, Morgan, and other Black settlers from the South who made land claims during the land runs, Simmons obtained land by way of tribal allotment. As the descendant of Indian freedpeople, Simmons and his family applied for land allotments in 1898 after the passage of the Dawes Act and Curtis Act and became U.S. citizens ("Interview" 25; Creek Nation Freedmen Roll).

[43] The editor or agent they met was likely Hampton administrator and journalist William Anthony Aery. Aery was asked by Emmett J. Scott, a convention organizer, to join the National Negro Business League meeting and report on the events. Aery was also the amanuensis for Logan Morgan's published narrative in the *Southern Workman*.

knowledge, offering agricultural and home advice to would-be farmers—in particular, Black farmers from the South who might make a life for themselves out West. In reprinting the speeches of Faver and Morgan, the *Southern Workman*, then, became an extension of farmer's conferences and business league meetings that modeled coalition citizenship through the deliberations about uplift that took place at such gatherings.

Black homesteading in the West as a pathway toward racial uplift and citizenship is the tie that binds the narratives of Faver and Morgan. Their autobiographical sketches, which resonate with Lemon's agricultural vignettes in their trajectories from penury to prosperity, would have been appealing to editors of the *Southern Workman*. In the 1870s and 1880s, the *Southern Workman* acted as a kind of agent in encouraging African Americans to relocate from the South to the West. Writings in the *Southern Workman* during this time projected places like Kansas Territory as promising for Black sharecroppers and tenant farmers trapped in cycles of poverty and debt that the Calhoun Land Company sought to eradicate. For southern Whites, Nell Irvin Painter explains, "the agricultural economy of the region formed an integrated whole, a scheme in which well-to-do whites, 'the wealth and intelligence of the South,' were to oversee the development of the entire region," and "[l]andlords envisioned a permanent and, most important, a *landless* labor force" (66, 67). In letters written by southern African Americans investigating opportunities in Kansas, Painter explains, by and large "the first question concerned terms under which land could be acquired" (68).

Orchestrated in large part by Benjamin "Pap" Singleton (ca. 1809-1900), a formerly enslaved cabinet and coffin maker from Tennessee who witnessed firsthand the exploitation of and violence against Black people (he himself had furnished coffins for victims of racial violence), the mass exodus of southern African Americans to Kansas offered hope. Just after the

Exodus of 1879, the *Southern Workman* published letters from Hampton graduates who settled in colonies established for freedpeople after the Civil War, writing back to their alma mater to report on opportunities in land and farming. One graduate, G. W. D., opened a school for refugees in Morris County, Kansas, and informed Hampton that "[t]here is a grand opportunity here for young men to build up their people and themselves … They can teach if they wish, or they can buy land very cheap and go to farming" (6).[44] In Hampton's classrooms, students were even tasked with composition assignments that asked them to write letters of application for membership in Black colonies in western territories. In a section titled "Would Be Colonists" (1881), editors reprinted these letters, composed in a geography class. "There is a company of fifty persons of different trades and professions," one unnamed student writes, "who would like to settle and obtain land in the Colony which you are about to establish" ("Would Be" 5). Referencing discriminatory working conditions in the South, the student and their fellow community members desire the ability "to obtain work enough to procure for themselves a fair living" (5).

Black emigration to the West—in particular, to Indian Territory—accelerated with the land runs of the late 1880s and 1890s. In his *Southern Workman* article, "The Negro in the West" (1899), G. N. Grisham, principal of Lincoln High School, the first all-Black high school in Kansas City, Missouri, encouraged relocation, citing alleviated racial discrimination as a foremost incentive for Black Americans to leave the South: "The outlook for the Negro in the West is good. He can look around him, and see something accomplished by his own hands. He knows that the white people around him stand ready to applaud any good deed he may do, and second any earnest efforts towards advancement" (461). Whatever opening for racial harmony

[44] G. W. D. published another letter about his work among Kansas Exodusters. See "Letter: Work Among the Refugees in Kansas," *Southern Workman,* vol. 13, no. 7, 1884, pp. 78, 83.

might be found between Black and White Americans, however, settlement in Indian Territory was made possible by a similar kind of colonial violence that African Americans wanted to escape in the South—a violence directed against Native Americans.

After the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887 and the Curtis Act of 1898, the federal government seized tribal lands and parceled out individualized land allotments to Native peoples and Indian freedpeople, and "excess" land was sold to developers and opened to settlers who could, literally, stake a claim to newly opened lands on a first-come, first-serve basis. During the Oklahoma Land Rush—a series of land runs in the late 1880s and early 1890s[45]—Black Americans, many formerly enslaved, saw Indian Territory as a land of opportunity amidst the failure of Reconstruction, exploitative economic practices, the dictum of segregation through *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), and widespread, ever-looming racial violence that ensured second-class citizenship even after the guarantee of birthright citizenship by the Fourteenth Amendment. What became a promised land for Black Americans, however, was predicated upon the theft of tribal lands by the federal government and the cultural genocide of Native peoples—forms of violence about which the *Southern Workman* and its contributors, including Faver and Morgan, remained silent.

In reorienting the North/South focus of Reconstruction to include Indian Territory as another site of Reconstruction in the United States, historian Alaina E. Roberts explores the complex and complicated nexus of theft, colonialism, and liberation that characterized Indian Territory during Black and White settlement in the mid to late nineteenth century. Defining

[45] The first and largest land run, known as the Land Run of 1889, took place on April 22, 1889; the second on September 11, 1891; the third on April 19, 1892; the fourth on September 16, 1893, and the fifth and final run on May 3, 1895.

settler colonialism not merely by race but instead by action, Roberts defines settler colonialism as

> a process that could be wielded by whoever sought to claim land; it involved not only a change in land occupation but also a transformation in thinking about and rhetorical justification of what it meant to reside in a place formerly occupied by someone else. This means that … anyone could act as a "settler," despite previous status as, say, a slave or a dispossessed Indian, as long as they used this process—composed of rhetoric, American governmental structures, and individual action—which may have aided in their efforts to acquire land or protection but which ultimately served the goals of spatial occupation and white supremacy: the dual nature of settler colonialism. (2-3)

While Indian freedpeople, African Americans, and White Americans "may not have truly believed that the American government should hold the power to police their land claims or that white people were the superior race," they nonetheless "engaged with the settler colonial process in an effort to realize their own visions of freedom" (Roberts 5).[46] For people of African descent, Indian Territory became "a space upon which … [they] projected their hopes and dreams of successful land claims" (6).

By the early 1890s, prosperous Black communities had cropped up in cities like Muskogee, Guthrie, Ardmore, Tulsa, and Oklahoma City, as Quintard Taylor explores in his

[46] Others, including Murray R. Wickett, Celia E. Naylor, Paul Frymer, and Michael J. Hightower, have discussed the complexities of expansion and homesteading in Indian Territory, such as relationships between Black and Native peoples in Indian Territory, Black settlers' claiming of Native lands, and Black colonization in western territories. See Wickett, *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans, and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865-1907* (Louisiana State University Press, 2000); Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Frymer, *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton UP, 2019); and Hightower, *1889: The Boomer Movement, the Land Run, and Early Oklahoma City* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2018).

study of Black migration to the West after the land rushes.[47] By 1891, the territory of Oklahoma "had seven African American settlements" (Taylor 144). The movement westward, as Taylor explains, was precipitated in large part by Black leaders such as William Lewis Eagleson (1835-99) and Edwin P. McCabe (1850-1920), who created a "concerted effort to create towns and colonies where black people would be free to exercise their political rights without interference," encouraging Black emigration from the South to territories like Kansas and Oklahoma (144). McCabe, who established the Oklahoma Immigration Association in 1889, stationed agents throughout the South, including Atlanta. When Black settlers arrived to claim land during the opening of the Sac and Fox Reservation on September 22, 1891, they were met with "agitated local white cowboys and the Fox Indians, who threatened violence" (Taylor 147). "Despite this violence," Taylor writes, "an estimated one thousand black families made successful claims on the Sac and Fox lands" (147). Perhaps precipitated by an encounter with Eagleson and McCabe's emigration agents, a Black native of Atlanta, Georgia—a man named S. J. (Stonewall Jackson) Faver—was one of them. S. J. Faver (1862-1927) relocated from Georgia to Oklahoma in 1891. He first lived in Guthrie, where he began building a life there working as a grocery store clerk before moving to Shiloh and then the town of Iowa, where he became a well-known local farmer and County Commissioner.[48] As reported by the *Peoples Elevator*, a weekly African American

[47] In addition to Taylor's study of the Black West, see Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Lonnie E. Underhill, "Black Dreams and 'Free' Homes: The Oklahoma Territory, 1891-1894," *Phylon*, vol. 34, no. 4, 1973, pp. 342-57; *Black Cowboys in the American West: On the Range, On the Stage, Behind the Badge*, eds. Bruce A. Glasrud and Michael N. Searles (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); John W. Ravage, *Black Pioneers: Images of the Black Experience on the North American Frontier*, second expanded edition (University of Utah Press, 2009); Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *Sweet Freedom's Plains: African Americans on the Overland Trails, 1841-1869* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2016); and Douglas Flamming, *African Americans in the West* (ABC-CLIO, 2009).

[48] "1900 United States Census." Year: *1900;* Census Place: *Guthrie, Logan, Oklahoma;* Roll: *1339;* Page: *25;* Enumeration District: *0137;* FHL microfilm: *1241339* (Ancestry.com. *1900 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004); "Official Directory," *Guthrie Daily Leader* (Guthrie, Oklahoma), Mar. 15, 1912, p. 7; Faver, Untitled article, *Kansas Farmer and Mail and Breeze* (Topeka, Kansas), Nov. 14, 1908, p. 1. Faver gave a brief autobiography of his farming ventures, similar to the one he presented in Muskogee, in the White-edited newspaper, *Kansas Farmer and Mail and Breeze*.

newspaper published out of Guthrie, he capitalized on "the Opening of the Iowa and Sack [sic] and Fox Reservation" and "settled upon 160 acres of land" ("Editorial" 3). Faver quickly became a kind of local celebrity, and he served his community in politics and in health. In 1911, Faver and another local Black resident, J. D. Murphy, won the County Commissioner election, unseating two White County Commissioners with their victory ("Prominent Farmer" 1). Unlike Faver, who was frequently mentioned in both Black and White newspapers of Oklahoma, less information exists about Logan Morgan, who was born enslaved in Alabama, became a farmer in Muskogee, Oklahoma, and whose agricultural specialty was cultivating peaches.

Brief as they are, the narratives of Faver and Morgan help to shade in absences in the historical and literary record of Black farmers and landowners in Indian Territory—of the hundreds and thousands of southern African Americans who boarded trains "bound of Oklahoma," as Sarah Collins Fernandis wrote in a letter to Gen. Armstrong, printed in the *Southern Workman* in 1893 (140-41). Offering guidance to would-be Black farmers in Oklahoma, Faver's "Making Farming Pay" and Morgan's "A Successful Negro Fruit Grower" draw from the genre of advice manuals. Together, they caution their audience against swindlers hoping to capitalize on settlers' inexperience. Faver, for example, offers concrete advice on being discerning of sales agents and advertisements that target farmers and, especially, Black farmers from the South whom Oklahomans and White settlers might assume to be ignorant. "Do not buy everything that comes along just because the agent praises it to the sky," Faver cautions, "and do not believe everything you read in newspapers and farm journals about an article until you have some proof of its value, for many a time things are not what they are represented to be" (52). While Faver suggests that new farmers exercise restraint when sales agents come knocking

at their doors, Morgan warns against grafters who prey on illiterate and ignorant farmers, convincing them through deceptive schemes to sign over their land.[49] "If I had listened to the grafters with their smooth tongues," Morgan recalls, "my hands would have been tied and we wouldn't have had anything" (380-81). Faver's and Morgan's autobiographical sketches are further united in their positioning of farming as a dignified and creative profession: Faver argues that the farmer is an intellectual, no different than a doctor or lawyer, and Morgan paints the farmer as an artist who must read the land judiciously in order to understand how, where, and what crops should be planted. Their sentiments that echo those of the famed Tuskegee agricultural scientist George Washington Carver, who, at a farmer's conference in 1908, told his audience:

> … we all too wrong[ly] are wont to assent to this idea of the farmer and foolishly show ourselves abashed when we come into the presence of men who represent the profession. But we should put away this mistaken notion, brace ourselves up and show to all that we esteem our occupation an honorable one. We should learn too that it is all erroneous and false to say or think that it requires little or no intelligence to be a farmer. Indeed, on the contrary, it requires the highest intelligence and the highest type of intelligence to be a farmer. (qtd. in Burchard 38)

Faver's firsthand account, "Making Farming Pay: A Personal Narrative," traces his personal experiences as a farmer but, more importantly, functions as an advice manual for struggling or aspiring farmers, aligned with what Erica Ball calls the "antislavery sensibilities" of conduct literature that helped to forge a Black middle-class in the antebellum era (3). "It was in Atlanta, Georgia, that I was born," Favor begins, "and it was in Oklahoma a good many years

[49] For more on grafters in Oklahoma, see Danney Globe, *Progressive Oklahoma: The Making of a New Kind of State* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2015).

ago that I started out with $1.25 in my pocket" (51). Initially unable to afford land, he details his work in horse and cattle trading until he saved "enough to buy a farm of 160 acres" (51).

Securing land is merely one way in which Faver situates the farming profession within the context of citizenship. Importantly, Faver places the farmer's work alongside professions that are traditionally considered more intellectual—more aligned with the "Talented Tenth." "It takes more thinking nowadays to be a farmer," Faver states, "than to follow any other profession. If the farmer thinks properly, there is no profession equal to his, either in happiness, health, or profit. The lawyer, the doctor, the preacher, and the teachers of science and art and all those things may think as highly of their professions as they choose, but I tell you the farmer is more necessary, bigger, and above all of these" (53). Furthermore, Faver connects farming with literacy. Faver's first action after purchasing his land, as he writes, "was to name my farm 'The Eastview Stock Farm'" (51). He goes on:

> To make farming pay, I feel that farmers ought to do just what the merchant, the doctor, and the lawyer do. They ought to hang out their signs and have dealings with the newspapers. They ought to select some special and suitable name for their farms to set forth to the passers-by the special things that they produce. People ought to know whether they are passing a dairy farm, a poultry and egg farm, and an alfalfa and hog farm. (51).

Faver elevates the farmer's profession in society, placing it alongside the professional realms of commercial trade, medicine, and law. In the same way as a merchant who sells a particular type of good, a doctor who specializes in healing certain ailments, or a lawyer who practices a specific field of law, farmers too each have their own unique specialties. What is most important about this passage, though, is Faver's emphasis on the centrality of print culture to the livelihood

of farmers. He foregrounds literacy as equally vital as land ownership, and he situates visibility in the public sphere—both in physical locations as well as the periodical press—as a central tool in promoting and ensuring the success of farming businesses.

Faver's advice also counters the abuse of the soil under systems of enslavement and sharecropping. He offers suggestions about crop rotation, explaining the importance of allowing the land to "rest" and "replenish" to keep from depleting the soil. Caring for the land by rotating crops to prevent soil depletion, for example, ensured not only that the land would yield for years to come, but also that a fruitful inheritance could be passed down to generations of sons and daughters. But a central tenet of running a successful farm, for Faver, is not simply conserving the nutrients of the soil—it also means caring for one's laborers and renters. Faver cautions farmers to "treat" their laborers "right" by allowing them to "have some stock of their own and provide accommodation for it" and to "[l]et them know you are interested in them and in the welfare of their families" (53). The goal is not to keep farm laborers forever as "renters" (53). It is to provide them, like the soil, with a rich environment in which they can grow "until they have farms of their own" (53). Faver reconceives of the exploitative relationship between landowner and renter. His actions model coalition citizenship by creating room for a real sense of permanence for renters and by fostering a generations-long community of farmers: rather than a lifelong condition, he understands renting to be a temporary circumstance, an opportunity to learn and to save, on a path toward permanence. His progressive philosophy of communal uplift through farming caught the attention of major news outlets, including Timothy Thomas Fortune's *New York Age*, which praised his efforts in an article titled "Concrete Examples of Progress in Oklahoma" (1, 5). Faver's commitment to coalition citizenship is also evident in his sharing of the fruits of his labor with his community. To local organizations, he donated the

produce that he grew on his farm—an act of coalition citizenship by extending to others the fruits of his labor. One newspaper report praised "a half bushel" of apples that Favor donated to an organization called Leader Force, who enthusiastically commended them as "the finest apples we have seen this season … exceptionally large and luscious" ("Fine Apples" 5).

The next year, Morgan's narrative appeared in the *Southern Workman*. William Anthony Aery, an affiliate of Hampton Institute and *Southern Workman* correspondent for meetings of the National Negro Business League, printed the firsthand account of Logan Morgan ("Negroes Who Win" 911). The account, "A Successful Negro Fruit Grower: The Story of Logan Morgan" (1916), was transcribed by Aery from Morgan's speech "Fruit Growing" that he delivered at the 1914 National Negro Business League Convention in Muskogee. Born in Alabama either during or just after the Civil War, Morgan moved to Indian Territory around 1890 to begin a new life there. He married Fannie (Caesar) Morgan, a descendant of Creek freedpeople, in 1894.[50]

"'I have been able to hold my own and stay [in Oklahoma],'" Morgan recounts proudly, "'while some others I know have lost all they had'" (380). Like Faver, Morgan tells of his successful rise to property ownership and peach cultivation: "Twenty years ago I started in Oklahoma . . . as a married man with six bits and an eighteen-dollar pony … Now I've got seven hundred acres of land under cultivation, and my land isn't mortgaged land. No man has any paper against it; it is free from debt" (380). He then connects farming to art. "'You have to wait five years . . . before peach trees bear good fruit. I tell you there is an art in setting our peach trees. You must know which side the North is on and which side the South is on'" (381). The

[50] Logan and Fannie married on Jan. 11, 1894. See *Oklahoma, U.S., County Marriage Records, 1890-1995* (Ancestry.com [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2016). Fannie and their children—Gerty, Jesse, Fannie, Roby, and Billy—are enrolled in the Dawes Rolls as Creek freedpeople. See Dawes Rolls, 1898-1914, Roll Nos. 2524-29, Oklahoma Historical Society. Their other children included Sanford, Daisy, Gustava, Irene, Peter, and Oreba. See *1910 United States Federal Census*, Year: *1910*; Census Place: *Agency, Muskogee, Oklahoma*; Roll: *T624_1263*; Page: *14B*; Enumeration District: *0094*; FHL microfilm: *1375276* (Ancestry.com [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006).

earth can be read is the same way that a student reads a textbook. And, to read the landscape correctly, Morgan suggests, is a form of literacy. Such narratives expand understandings of literacy that counter the "Talented Tenth" philosophy, positioning farmers as holding a form of knowledge in which doctors and lawyers are not trained, especially from the perspective of Morgan, who did not have a formal education and who was self-taught in agriculture.

Morgan then shares his secrets in the art of farming with his audience, but not before interjecting commentary by Aery, who resembles the White amanuenses of slave narratives in vouching for Morgan's success as a farmer yet reminding the audience of his lack of formal education. Demeaning Morgan, Aery writes that he "is one of many Negro farmers who can do good work, but who know little or nothing about scientific agriculture," adding flippantly, "Morgan simply farms" (381). Aery's bias against farmers not formally educated in the agricultural science echoes the "Farming Pays" advertisement of the connection between racism and nature, though Morgan himself notes that "[n]o color line is drawn against a fine farm product" (380). Yet, despite Morgan's lack of a formal education, his advice to farmers echoes the scientific agricultural experiments and teachings of Carver, who advised farmers to use organic fertilizers. Morgan offers the following advice:

> Here are some of my directions for planting peach trees: Break up the ground enough by sub-soil plowing, so that the roots can easily spread out in every direction. Set out your trees. Bone meal is good to use as a fertilizer with a little lime spread around the trees. I break up the ground in the early fall, any time between October and the last of January. The winter freezing helps the soil by making it break up fine, and also kills whatever insects and little worms live in the ground. (381)

Drawn from his agricultural experiments at Tuskegee, Carver emphasized using the same organic fertilizers that Morgan recommends: compost fertilizers that rejuvenate and enrich the soil, from manure to wood ashes and lime (Carver "What Shall" n.p.). Morgan's clear instructions, coupled with his suggestion of cost-effective fertilizers, make farming accessible to even novice farmers, offering a sustainable pathway toward successful farming—and, by extension, citizenship—that will ensure yields as fruitful as the nutrient-rich soil in which his peaches thrive.

A nexus of Morgan's Christian faith, his close-knit family, and their God-given gifts of determination and resiliency, Morgan's peach orchard is symbolic beyond its pedagogical value in methods of farming. The orchard is elevated to a site of citizenship and belonging. "'Every time I look toward my little peach nursery—and sometimes I have worked down there before sunrise and again even by moonlight—,'" Morgan humbly tells his audience, "'I thank God that my wife, my children, and I have been able to come through so many trials and difficulties'" (380). The peach orchard is a symbol of God's deliverance, and its prosperity is linked to the strength and perseverance of his family. The interwoven portrait of farming, religion, and racial uplift is reflected, too, in his offering of a basket of peaches to Booker T. Washington at the National Negro Business League meeting. Logan—a savvy advertiser whose oft-repeated motto was that he grew "'peaches that can't be beat'"—presented a basket of his peaches to Washington after his speech, praying that Washington "will go onward and upward and fight the good fight until God calls you higher" as "the leader of our race" (Morgan 380; NNBL Minutes 101). Morgan's gesture is reminiscent of Washington's advice in his 1895 Atlanta Exposition speech to "cast down your bucket where you are" (357). Yet such an act was anything but a display of conciliation, as Washington's call has often been criticized. As one who has done

everything in his life *except* compromise—as evidenced in his renunciation of the South and journey to begin life anew in the West—Morgan's basket of peaches is the embodiment of the sense of citizenship and belonging that he has found through his farm and his family. Unlike in the South, in Oklahoma, Morgan is in a position to share with others the fruit that has been cultivated by his own hands, and his gesture of generosity is the ultimate public display of coalition citizenship.

The brief memoirs of Faver and Morgan are statements of agency, autonomy, and strength. Both men succeeded in farming and owning their own labor and productions at a time when, as Henry Roe Cloud (Winnebago) stated in a *Southern Workman* article, "[i]n vast sections of that Oklahoma country ninety per cent of the farms of white men were under mortgage" in the year 1915 (15). The absence of sharecropping and tenant farming in the West allowed Black farmers like Faver and Morgan to carve out their own ideas of citizenship. Owning their own land in Oklahoma was a realized dream in which they were self-sustaining and, further, achieved a level of prosperity that ushered in the ability to share resources with their own communities. In other words, land ownership benefitted the individual, but it also allowed for communal uplift and the cultivation of a sense of citizenship. Nowhere is this vision of coalition citizenship better visible than in S. J. Faver's sharing of his apples, and Logan Morgan's sharing of his peaches. To take care of the land is to take care of oneself and one's community.

"a true spirit of mutual uplift": Farming, Partnership, and the Freedom Struggle

The story of the Black southern farmer also found its way into the fictional writings of Charles W. Chesnutt, who contributed several short stories to the *Southern Workman* in the early

years of the twentieth century.[51] On the heels of spring in May 1901, Chesnutt fictionalized a farming partnership in his often-overlooked short story, "The Partners."[52] Transforming into the literary imagination the spirit of coalition and cooperation that underpinned Black farming cooperatives like the Calhoun Land Company, and reminiscent of the uplift narratives of Faver and Morgan, Chesnutt connects the Black freedom struggle to the struggle for land through the partnership of William and Rufus, two formerly enslaved men who vow to navigate their new freedom together as partners.

Just a few months before Chesnutt published "The Partners" in the *Southern Workman*, in February 1901, Chesnutt had visited Tuskegee Institute and attended a panel of Booker T. Washington's Tenth Annual Negro Farmers' Conference, where he sat in the audience and listened to the speeches of Black farmers and landowners "who gave their experience for the benefit of the rest" (Chesnutt "A Visit" 147).[53] The speeches presented success stories like those penned by Lemon and delivered by Faver and Morgan in Oklahoma. In an article for the *Cleveland Leader*, Chesnutt commended the cooperative atmosphere of the Conference as "a place where they can come once a year, meet in friendly intercourse, and exchange views and experiences" (150). He touted the farmers as models of race progress, writing that their stories "proved that former slaves, without any education in letters, could work, could save, could prosper under conditions which were not favorable to the highest or quickest development"

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[51] Chesnutt's other stories published in the *Southern Workman* include "Lonesome Ben," vol. 29, no. 3, Mar. 1900, pp. 137-45, and "Tobe's Tribulations," vol. 29, no. 11, Nov. 1900, pp. 656-64.

[52] William L. Andrews and William E. Moddelmog have briefly discussed "The Partners." See Andrews, *The Literary Career of Charles W. Chesnutt* (LSU Press, 1999), pp. 85-86; and Moddelmog, Chapter 4: "Charles Chesnutt's Fictions of Ownership," in *Reconstituting Authority: American Fiction in the Province of the Law, 1880-1920* (University of Iowa Press, 2002).

[53] Allen Jones provides a history of the Tuskegee Negro Farmers' Conference in "Improving Rural Life for Blacks: The Tuskegee Negro Farmers' Conference, 1892-1915," *Agricultural History*, vol. 65, no. 2, 1991, pp. 105-14.

(150). What impressed and inspired Chesnutt most about this meeting, however, was not merely the narratives themselves but "the spirit of charity" that pervaded the work of men and women "whose lives had been spent with the sun and the soil" (150).

> They stood up for their own race, but were full of good will for all men … The influence of these meetings does not stop with those in immediate attendance. Each visitor, upon his return home, spreads the leaven among his neighbors who were too poor to go—and the mass of the farm laborers are still desperately poor, and need all the help which enlightened philanthropy can give them. (150)

In celebrating the triumphal stories of race uplift, Chesnutt also wondered about Black farmers who had not achieved the same level of economic prosperity: "The speakers, of course," he wrote, "were picked men; if every Negro farmer in Alabama were as prosperous as some of them, there would be small need of Tuskegee" (150). Perhaps inspired by his visit to Tuskegee, Chesnutt fictionalized in "The Partners" both the triumphs and plights of African American farmers in the Black Belt. Most importantly, he imagined in the story a pathway toward uplift and citizenship for struggling farmers rooted in coalition citizenship and the same "spirit of charity" and "enlightened philanthropy" that he witnessed among the farmers at Tuskegee. In "The Partners," William and Rufus find themselves prey to the contingencies of citizenship for newly freed people in the post-Civil War South. The two men are confronted by a series of hindrances, from the advice of a seemingly well-intentioned White northern philanthropist who convinces them to conform to an individualized model of self-help to a land surveyor and descendant of enslavers who weaponizes the law to strip Rufus of his land and home. Amidst their struggles and absent of fair legal protection, the only form of protection—and, as a result, a sense of citizenship—that emerges triumphant is coalition.

"The Partners" opens just after the Civil War, as William and Rufus begin to navigate a life after enslavement. After making one another's acquaintance in a refugee camp, they immediately form a bond and enter a life outside of slavery not as individuals but as partners—their friendship a fictional rendering of the bonds of kinship and connection that Abigail Cooper has explored as emerging out of camps for the formerly enslaved during and after the Civil War (447-49). "Among the human flotsam and jetsam that followed in the wake of the Civil War," the story begins, "there drifted into a certain Southern town, shortly after the surrender, two young colored men, named respectively William Cain and Rufus Green" (Chesnutt "The Partners" 271). The surnames of William and Rufus—Cain (an illusion to the biblical story of Cain and the curse of Ham as well as a homophone for sugar cane) and Green (a reference to the natural world)—immediately situate them within slavery's system of forced agricultural labor. Further, Chesnutt imbues this opening description with oceanic language—"flotsam," "jetsam," "wake," "drifted"—to invoke the transatlantic slave trade that fated these two men first to be enslaved and then to experience the mixture of joy and fear of being "thrown" out into the world with nothing and "upon their own resources" (271). Chesnutt recreates the feeling described variously by scholars including Hannah Rosén as "the terror in the heart of freedom" and by Marcus Wood as "the horrible gift of freedom" (Rosén 19, Wood 1). Positioning William and Rufus as human wreckage and refuse, the story begins by inadvertently posing questions: How does one make a future out of the wreckage of slavery? How, and what, does one salvage in order to begin a life in freedom?

For Chesnutt, and the characters, the answer to these questions is partnership. The story itself weaves "the subject of their future"—a future in which William and Rufus are unyoked from the land through forced labor and create prosperous lives by owning their own labor, their

own land, and their own autonomy (Chesnutt "The Partners" 271). The men immediately devise a plan that involves salvaging, and repurposing, skills they learned in enslavement to be used for their future prosperity. William has experience in bricklaying and plastering, while Rufus has limited trade experience but is adept with the farming tool of the hoe. "'I don' know how ter use nuffin' but a hoe,'" he confesses to William—his last name "Green" perhaps a nod not merely to the agricultural economy of slavery but also of his relative inexperience, for which William will spend his life counteracting by mentoring Rufus (271). William encourages him, replying, "'I has ter use de hoe in my bizness too … De mortar has ter be mix' wid a hoe'" (271). The hoe—a symbol of Rufus's labor in enslavement—becomes a symbol of their mutuality, which they transform into a tool of strength in freedom. What is more, the hoe, as Leah Penniman points out, is "[a]n ancient, versatile African tool" (129). Now a symbol of freedom, the hoe also connects Rufus to an African ancestral past that follows him and aids him in his newfound freedom. Equipped with their respective skills, William suggests, "'W'y can't we go in podners? You kin mix de mortar, an' I'll put it on, tel I've larnt you all I knows'" (271). William's southern dialect creates a homonym: the pronunciation of "partners" as "podners" brings forth a vision of a "pod," a seed or vessel symbolic of their partnership. They pool their expertise to form a cooperative partnership defined by the mutual exchange of knowledge to ensure their joint uplift, care, and protection.

To solidify their pact, a contract is made. Both illiterate, William and Rufus find a local townsperson to "[dictate]" their agreement:

> William Cain and Rufus Green is gone in partners this day to work at whatever their hands find to do. What they makes shall belong to one as much as the other, and they

> shall stand by each other in sickness and in health, in good luck and in bad, till death shall us part, and the Lord have mercy on our souls. Amen. (272)

The sentiment of the "solemn" document, reminiscent more of a marriage vow than a business contract, is lived out in their daily lives: William and Rufus "settled down" in a home—a kind of "new order" household that, as Abigail Cooper notes, "had been impossible in slavery" (Chesnutt 272; Cooper 445). William and Rufus "ate together, slept together, and had a common purse" (Chesnutt "The Partners" 272). Concluding with "Amen," their promise is also a prayer. The prayer-vow-contract is an emblem of brotherhood, its language rooted in Christian love and the kind of sibling-companionate marriage union that Claudia Tate has described of the egalitarian "model of ideal love" portrayed in Black women's nineteenth-century domestic novels (176).

Despite the troubles that William and Rufus will soon face, their legal contract, official in its inscription and its observation by a notary, holds added significance as a print record of their relationship. As freedpeople, their contract represents the privileges of citizenship that did not exist in enslavement. Enslaved peoples, not being legal persons, could not enter marriage contracts, nor could they legally own property. William and Rufus's contract is an official print record that legitimizes themselves as citizens under the law, their relationship, and their soon-to-be position as landowners. Importantly, as citizens, at the heart of the connection here between citizenship and contract is consent. "In postbellum America," Amy Dru Stanley writes in *From Bondage to Contract* (1998), "contract was above all a metaphor of freedom," "exchange," and "self ownership" (2, 3). The contract "reconciled human autonomy and obligation, imposing social order through personal volition rather than external force … [and] established the symmetry of the relation, entailing a reciprocity of rights and duties while also testifying to the

mutual consent of the contracting parties" (Stanley 2). The contract, which William carries in his pocket every day and by the end of the story is "yellow" with age, is a testament and daily reminder of his and Rufus's autonomy and personhood as their arrangement as coalition citizens (Chesnutt "The Partners" 278).

William and Rufus's brotherhood exists in a state of blissful harmony and mutual uplift until one day a White northern philanthropist, whose ostensible benevolence lies only in his own economic self-interest, descends upon the rural southern town. The unnamed philanthropist, who "purchased at a low price an extensive plantation in the vicinity of the town" and parceled the land "into small farms … for the encouragement of industry and thrift among the Negroes," sold plots to newly freed people at cheap prices (272). "Learning that [William and Rufus] lived in what they called partnership," the philanthropist "informed them that such a relation was incompatible with the development of self-reliance and strength of character, and that their best interests would be promoted by their learning each to fight his own battle" (272). By sowing geographic and social division rooted in competitive individualism, his assistance is the opposite of the "spirit of charity" and "enlightened philanthropy" that Chesnutt described of the farmers at Tuskegee ("A Visit" 150). The philanthropist's efforts echo the cornerstones of self-reliance and individualism that characterized the ethos of institutions such as Hampton and which have been affiliated with Booker T. Washington, often to the detriment of Washington's investment in collaborative strategies of communal uplift evidenced, for example, by gatherings like the farmer's conference of the National Negro Business League in Oklahoma as well as the Negro Farmers' Conference at Tuskegee. Further, the philanthropist's intent on separating their partnership further resembles the separation of families and the policing of congregation under enslavement. In a less-than-veiled criticism of American democratic ideals of rugged

individualism, the narrator (Chesnutt) asserts in an aside commentary, “A thoughtful student of history might have suggested to the philanthropist that the power of highly developed races lies mainly in their ability to combine for the better accomplishment of a common purpose” (“The Partners” 272). Yet, trusting of the so-called philanthropist’s good will, William and Rufus follow his cautionary advice about the benefits of individuality and purchase adjoining tracts of land to settle separate farms.

Initially, all is well. William’s and Rufus’s farms “were paid for,” and they “tasted the pleasures which any healthy-minded man feels when he first knows himself owner, in a fee simple, by metes and bounds, of a piece of the soil which, in a broader sense, is the common heritage of mankind” (273). The land is characterized as a gift that provides sustenance for their families. Moreover, Chesnutt’s description of the earth as “the common heritage of all mankind” situates full citizenship as universal and uninhibited access to the land as a birthright regardless of legal status. Gradually, however, the philanthropist’s model of individualism drives William and Rufus apart, in large part, as the narrator notes, to “the demon Envy,” as William’s farm prospered far beyond Rufus’s own (273). Now, “they met and walked along the turnrows and across fences rather than by each other’s firesides” (273). Without William’s mentorship, Rufus’s sweet potatoes rot, his cows go dry, and his horses become ill. Jealously for William’s success ensues, culminating in Rufus’s wife’s blatant hostility toward the Cain family’s material possessions—in particular, their newly purchased buggy. A “mutual coolness” ensues, which Chesnutt characterizes as a “breach,” gesturing through legal language toward the dissolution of the partners’ initial contract of mutual self-help (274).

As scholars have discussed, Chesnutt was no stranger to the legal system. He was a student of law, passed the Ohio bar exam, and later became a court stenographer.[54] Like many of his other works, "The Partners," too, takes a legal turn. Rufus files a lawsuit against William to prevent him from utilizing the meadow on Rufus's land to irrigate his rice crop. An injunction is filed, followed by the hiring of a White surveyor who is a descendant of slaveowners. To add insult to injury to Rufus's failing farm, the surveyor—a disgruntled son of the Confederacy who once owned and then lost the land upon which Rufus's home and farm stands—finds at the courthouse a "remarkable discovery": Rufus's land was sold to him through a fraudulent deed (276). The philanthropist sold the same land to multiple buyers, and Rufus held his home "under a clouded title"—a metaphor for his precarious position as a formerly enslaved person and as an American citizen (276).

Contrasting darkly with William and Rufus's original contract, the fraudulent property contract negates consent. In signing the contract for the land, Rufus unknowingly consents to losing his home and the fruits of his labor. Rufus is a fictional representation of just one among many "Black land buyers, most of whom were illiterate," who "faced racial oppression and 'confidence men or con artists' selling fraudulent deeds" in the wake of the Civil War (Browne-Marshall 215). As Melissa Milewski has explained, "[B]lack landowners … faced threats from all directions," as "[w]hite land agents, neighbors, and speculators … constantly eyed their property, waiting for a moment of weakness" (130, 131). It was far too common for White citizens "to convince them to sign fraudulent bills of sale by presenting them as mortgage documents, threatening them with violence, or lying about the value and size of the land they

[54] Trinyan Mariano and David Hollingshead has discussed Chesnutt's fiction within the context of tort law. See Mariano, "The Law of Torts and the Logic of Lynching in Charles Chesnutt's *The Marrow of Tradition*," *PMLA,* vol. 128, no. 3, 2013, pp. 559-74; and Hollingshead, "Nonhuman Liability: Charles Chesnutt, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and the Racial Discourses of Tort Law," *American Literary Realism,* vol. 50, no. 2, 2018, pp. 95-122.

were buying" (Milewski 131). Through the fraudulent sale of land, akin to the federal government's broken promise of "forty acres and a mule," Chesnutt situates the philanthropist's philosophy that individual property ownership and cooperative uplift are incompatible as a grandly orchestrated con—a fiction intended to divide rather than unite, stoking post-Emancipation fears of Black economic prosperity and propagating in the post-Emancipation moment antebellum fears that no good can result from the congregating of Black peoples. Rufus's "clouded title" is a post-Reconstruction reenactment of President Andrew Johnson's reversal of General William T. Sherman's "forty acres and a mule" order, which confiscated lands that had been settled by freedpeople and returned the property to its former slaveholding Confederate owners.[55] Reminiscent of John W. Lemon's term "staying" to signify the precarity of rent for Black farmers, Rufus's situation recalls Douglass's denunciation of Black peoples' exploitation post-Emancipation as "a cunningly devised swindle"—one that reveals the Black Americans as "a deserted, a defrauded, a swindled, and an outcast man—in law free, in fact a slave; in law a citizen, in fact an alien" (Douglass 715, 719).

To add insult to injury, the surveyor surreptitiously secures the deed to Rufus's land. Armed with Lost Cause sentiment which, as David W. Blight explains, was predicated upon "its use of *white supremacy* as both a means and ends" and which used "a language of vindication and renewal" in its aims, the surveyor uses his knowledge and position to exercise power over Rufus (259, 266). Disinherited from the slaveholding wealth of his ancestors, who "had been ruined by the war" but "had once been rich in land and slaves" and "had once owned the very plantation out of which Rufus's farm had been carved," the surveyor considers himself an

[55] For more on the broken promises of "forty acres and a mule," see Claude F. Oubre, *Forty Acres and a Mule: The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Land Ownership* (Louisiana State University Press, 1978); and Roy W. Copeland, In the Beginning: Origins of African American Real Property Ownership in the United States," *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 44, no. 6 (2013), pp. 646-64.

"unjustly … poor man" (Chesnutt "The Partners" 276). "[F]lourishing farms" like William's and Rufus's, the surveyor believes, "ought to be his own" (276). Once again, the fruits of Rufus's labor are stolen and seized, and he is forced "to leave the land that he had labored upon for so many years, the house he had built with his own hands, and in which he had expected to spend his declining years in peace and comfort" (277). The contingencies of citizenship—emblematic in the loss of land ownership and, as a result, the status of home and family—is especially evident in the living situations of Rufus and his wife after their separation. While she "rented a small room and took in washing for a living," Rufus "rented an abandoned cabin in the woods"—a harrowing reminder of Lemon's term "staying" (277).

Hearing news of Rufus's loss, hope sparks again when William "climb[s] over the fence" and approaches Rufus "with outstretched hand" (277). "Rufus rose slowly, and taking each other's hands they buried their enmity in a prolonged and fervent clasp" (278). Their severed union is repaired, embodied in the partners' "fervent clasp" of hands—a "prolonged" embrace that reinstates the longevity of their loyalty to one another. Regretful of his past deeds at William's gesture of kindness, Rufus tells William that their partnership was broken ten years ago, to which William responds,

> 'Broke up? Who said it wuz broke up? … It says, "in good luck an' in bad, till death do us part, an' it means w'at it says! Do you suppose de Lord would have mussy on my soul ef I wuz ter fersake my ole podner at de time er his greates' trouble? He wouldn n' be a jes' God ef he did! Come 'long now, Rufus, an' we'll put dem things back in yo' house, an onhitch dat hoss. You ain' gwine ter stir one foot f'm dis place, onless it's ter go home ter dinner wid me. I've seen my lawyer, an' he says you got plenty er time yit ter 'peal you' case an' take it ter de upper co't, wid eve'y chance ter win it—an' he's a hones'

> man, w'at knows de law. I've got money in de bank, an' w'at's mine is yo'n till yo' troubles is ended, an' f'm dis time fo'th we is podners 'till death shall us part.' (278)

By way of his successful farm and economic status, William is able to hire a lawyer to fight Rufus's case. The farm leads to economic prosperity, providing William with the means of hiring a lawyer and seeking justice in the court—a luxury afforded only to those who have the economic capital to do so. A successful farm becomes a symbol of citizenship, even as the way that William must use its economic success to protect Rufus is a reminder of their position as second-class citizens. Coalition citizenship is the only protection, in this case. For William and Rufus, it is the only way forward, the only thing that can bring about a kind of justice in an unjust South. Chesnutt finds a middle ground between the philanthropist's ideology of staunch individualism and the narrator's assertion that is the earth is the ""the common heritage of all mankind" (273). For Chesnutt, individualism and communal uplift need not be mutually exclusive. In the same way that Lemon's Calhoun Land Company pooled resources to ensure individual property ownership, and the spirit of individuality and the communal sharing of knowledge underpinned Washington's National Negro Business League and Tuskegee Farmers' Conference, individuality and self-reliance in "The Partners" provide a foundation for coalition citizenship. The prosperity that emerges from both can be harnessed for the welfare of one's community.

Yet, it is significant that the story ends before Rufus's court appeal begins. Readers are not privy to the outcome of his legal battle and whether Rufus's land title will be rectified. Chesnutt leaves the verdict to readers' imagination and conjecture—a rhetorical move that reinforces the realities of uncertainty and vulnerability for Black southerners, and especially illiterate Black southerners like Rufus, within the American legal system. While the story

concludes with uncertainty regarding the future of Rufus's property, what emerges in steadfastness and in strength is the partnership contract that inaugurates William and Rufus's first step into freedom. The fraudulent deed given to Rufus—a promise that does not, in fact, guarantee—may be a metaphor for the Fourteenth Amendment. The promise that does deliver, however, is the contract between William and Rufus.

Conclusion

Over a half a century after Lemon sketched his agricultural vignettes, Faver and Morgan presented their farming narratives, and Chesnutt penned his short story, Malcolm X told his audience in his 1963 rally speech, "Message to the Grassroots," the following: "Revolution is based on land. Land is the basis of all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality" (9). Malcolm X reiterated to his listeners that every revolution, including the American Revolution, called for "bloodshed" in seeking independence and nationhood (7). The Black farmers in this chapter were not revolutionaries in the sense that Malcolm X called for during the civil rights era. But they engaged in revolutionary acts. For them, revolution equated with the subversion of landlessness and exploitation for Black southern communities. Revolution signified restorative environmental practices that played out in literal ways, such as rotating crops to renew the South's depleted soil. Revolution meant cultivating a sense of citizenship and belonging *rooted* in the land—the orbit around which values of community, cooperation, and coalition turned. It did not mean proving that "sun and soil have no race prejudice" but instead that race prejudice would not determine African Americans' relationship *to* the sun and the soil.

CHAPTER 4

NATURE STUDY, ENVIRONMENTAL AND RACIAL JUSTICE, AND CITIZENSHIP

In May 1891, J. W. Hatch, teacher of Agricultural Science at Hampton, reprinted in his *Southern Workman* article, "Agriculture and Schools," two short creative compositions by unnamed students in the junior science class. Often printed in the *Southern Workman*, these assignments, rooted in storytelling and the "power of imagination," were intended to demonstrate students' successful understanding of science and nature study (*Principal's Report* 35). Students were asked to imagine the perspectives of nonhuman life, such as trees, planets, sea crustaceans, stones, or streams. For the assignments, students might write from the standpoint of "a pebble or a piece of coal … tell[ing] its own story, or a brook tell[ing] its story in the form of a dream" (35). One of the stories that Hatch printed that year, titled "The Story of My Life," was written from the perspective of a tree. "Many years ago," the student/tree begins, "I was a small branch of a large tree that grew in a great forest" (191). The tree mourns its mother's death after she is cut down by the lumber industry, leaving the child tree alone in the world with the "pretty little brook" as its sole friend (191). One by one, the tree recounts, the forest is felled, and the trees are deformed, "changed from anthracite coal into a mineral called graphite" (191). The student then imagines the emotional turmoil of the tree, writing,

> I wondered whether our trials would ever cease. I was very tired of being pressed and burned. I longed for those happy times we used to have in the forest. But every day the pressure and heat was greater and greater until we were so very hard our name was anthracite coal . . . We have rest at last. The pressure either stopped or we became so used

> to it that we did not feel it. We had a long rest and I had begun to think that I would not have any more trouble. One day I was greatly surprised by being dug and taken to a factory where I was rapidly changed, and now I am the lead in this very pencil that is writing this story. (191)

Trees, as this student imagines, are sentient beings with a consciousness, an emotional capacity, a family, and a life of their own. They are, as humans, citizens of the earth.

Moreover, through coded language the story imparts a lesson about morality and ethics not merely about how humans treat the earth but also about how humans treat fellow human beings. The separation of the tree's family, the destruction of the forest, and the refining process that the trees endure as their original lives and forms are transformed for the benefit of industry hint at the processes of assimilation and acculturation that Hampton's Black and Native students underwent. The unnamed student's lamentation of the tree's "being dug" up and "taken to a factory," where he/she "was rapidly changed" and given the new name of "anthracite coal" is nearly a direct metaphor for Native American children's experiences at boarding schools like Hampton (191). Akin to the lumber factory in the story, these institutions were places where Native children were, like the tree, uprooted from their homes, torn from their families, given new names, and assimilated into an Americanized lifestyle. Simultaneously, the tree mirrors the experiences of enslaved peoples of the African diaspora, torn from their native homes and families in both the transatlantic slave trade and the domestic slave trade. At Hampton, a constant reminder of slavery and its abolition—a tree—stood in the heart of campus: the Freedman's Oak Tree, also known as Emancipation Oak, where the Emancipation Proclamation was first read to enslaved people in the South. Through the perspective of the tree—in which the student and the tree are, quite literally, one, both a part of the earth in different forms—the

student suggests that the human exploitation and oppression of fellow human beings is mirrored in the ways that humans exploit the natural environment.

Such an environmentally conscious educational approach was part and parcel of Hampton Institute's participation in the nature study movement the arose in the 1890s, a grassroots education movement that grew out of the back-to-nature movement and that was affiliated with the conservation movement. In his seminal study of the nature study movement, Kevin Armitage explains that nature study was a progressive educational movement that arose in direct response to the growth of "modern science and industry" as "dominant force[s] in social and cultural life" (41). Amidst the exploitation of the natural world during the second industrial revolution, nature study advocates, teachers, and writers sought to foster "an affinity between people and the green world that created a harmonious relationship between nature and human beings" (Armitage 6). Incorporated in schools across the U.S., including agricultural and industrial schools such as Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute, nature study curriculum blended "aesthetic appreciation" and "systematic observation" (Kohlstedt 203). Liberty Hyde Bailey (1858-1954), head of the Agricultural Department at Cornell University and known to many of the father of nature study, explained in *The Nature-Study Idea* (1903) that nature study countered the "dry-as-dust science-teaching" of traditional classroom learning, which emphasized studying nature through textbooks rather than experiencing it (7). As such, Bailey defined nature study education as the following: "[It] is not science. It is not knowledge. It is not facts. It is spirit. It is concerned with the child's outlook on the world" (5). From cultivating school gardens to bird watching and collecting pinecones, leaves, twigs, seeds, and other objects for study on fieldtrip excursions, nature study was a place-based, experiential form of education

that fostered curiosity, wonder, and appreciation of the beauty and complexities of nature and nonhuman life.

Despite its wide-ranging influence across institutions, the nature study movement remains largely understudied. Consequently, even less attention has been paid to nature study at schools like Hampton Institute. When nature study at agricultural and industrial institutions has been addressed, it has often been construed as divergent from the aesthetic focus of the larger nature study movement and written off as a strictly economic, agricultural, and accommodationist tool intended to maintain an agricultural labor class of African Americans in the rural South. However, as nature writings in the *Southern Workman* evidence, nature study at Hampton was more complex and nuanced—a fact of which the unnamed Hampton student's literary composition from the perspective of the tree provides only a glimpse. By examining writings in the *Southern Workman*, which was used as primary reading material in Hampton's classrooms, nature study at Hampton was not so parochial. From students' science compositions to how-to essays, nature study leaflets, and nature poems, there was at least some level of investment at Hampton in cultivating an imaginative approach to the natural world. This approach, while it included agricultural study, aligned less with a purely practical, economic approach to the environment and more with the larger nature study movement's tenets of cultivating an acute sense of observation and an appreciation for the beauty and multitude of nonhuman life found in nature. Kim Tolley provides an especially useful definition for thinking about the kaleidoscopic range of approaches to nature study, calling the movement "a loose coalition of communities composed of individuals, societies, and institutions able to find some common ground in the study and appreciation of the natural world" (128). Such a diverse coalition of educators, advocates, and writers, whose conceptions of and methodologies in

carrying out nature study was manifold, is reflected in the pages of the *Southern Workman*. Within this multiracial coalition of figures emerges a range of approaches to nature study that, despite their differences, are all in some way rooted in citizenship.

Indeed, this coalition of nature study advocates was a multiracial one, though scholarship on the nature study movement has largely centered White figures—White women, in particular, including popular nature study writers like Audubon movement leader Mabel Osgood Wright (1859-1934), entomologist Anna Botsford Comstock (1854-1930), and scientific historian Neltje Blanchan De Graff Doubleday (1865-1918).[56] Such a focus has resulted in a whitewashed understanding of the nature study movement. It also reflects the larger neglect of early Black writing that engages with the environment not only by scholars of African American literature and history but also of nature writing and various environmental movements throughout U.S. history, as Camille Dungy and Kimberly N. Ruffin[57] have explored. Yet the environmental ethos promoted by the nature study movement was on the minds of African American reformers, teachers, and writers nationally—particularly those affiliated with Hampton Institute and the *Southern Workman*.

This chapter explores "coalition citizenship" through the lens of the nature study movement at Hampton Institute. Examining nature writings across race in the *Southern*

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[56] See Marcia Myers Bonta, "Anna Botsford Comstock: Dean of American Nature Study," in *Women in the Field: America's Pioneering Women Naturalists* (Texas A&M UP, 1992); Pamela M. Henson, "'Through Books to Nature': Anna Botsford Comstock and the Nature Study Movement," *in Natural Eloquence: Women Reinscribe Science* (University of Wisconsin Press, 19917); Robert K. Musil, *Rachel Carson and Her Sisters: Extraordinary Women Who Have Shaped America's Environment* (Rutgers UP, 2014); Kimberly E. Perez, "Fancy and Imagination: Cultivating Sympathy and Envisioning the Natural World for the Modern Child," dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 2006, pp. 218-75; Paul Brooks, *Speaking for Nature: How Literary Naturalists from Henry Thoreau to Rachel Carson Have Shaped America* (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1980).

[57] See Dungy, Introduction, *Four Centuries of African American Nature Poetry*, edited by Dungy (University of Georgia Press, 2009), pp. xix-xxxv; and Ruffin, *Black on Earth: African American Ecoliterary Traditions* (University of Georgia Press, 2010).

Workman, I begin by discussing the common goals of nature study among writers and educators in this era. Yet, as I examine, the tenets of ethics and environmental justice of the nature study movement took on added layers of meaning within the context of race and citizenship for African American writers and proponents of nature study. Like the farming literature discussed in the previous chapter, African American nature writings in the *Southern Workman* meditate on the natural world as a site of agency and citizenship. But the writers discussed in this chapter—including well-known figures, Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872-1906) and W. E. B. Du Bois, as well as two largely forgotten Hampton graduates, teachers, and writers, Sara W. Brown (1868-1948) and Sarah Collins Fernandis (1863-1951)—approach nature study from the perspective of situating the environmental within the context of social and racial justice. From nature study leaflets to nature poems and speeches, they position access to nature for education, recreation, and inspiration as a means of cultivating citizenship. Some writers' interest in nature lies in its social features—in the capacity that nature creates for social cohesion and belonging within a community. A run-down schoolhouse in a poor rural county in the South, for example, can be harnessed as an opportunity for the exchange of knowledge and a site of citizenship through community-building, as in Sara W. Brown's nature study leaflet, "Beautifying School Houses and Yards" (1901). Poets and community activists like Sarah Collins Fernandis, on the other hand, bridge racial and environmental justice by bringing nature into urban spaces to humanize working-class and exploited peoples. Together, the meditations on nature and nature study by Dundar, Du Bois, Brown, and Fernandis convey philosophies of citizenship that link uninhibited access to the natural world with personhood, autonomy, communal resiliency, belonging, and ultimately, racial justice. In examining the ways in which Hampton Institute and the *Southern Workman* provided a platform for what Caroline Finney calls "the black environmental

imaginary," a more inclusive portrait of the nature study movement emerges—one that locates the roots of racial and environmental justice movements much earlier than the 1980s, when scholars typically conceive of their inception (Finney 9; Smith 5; White 5).

Through a Different Lens: Nature Study Education, Hampton Institute, and the *Southern Workman*

A popular curriculum, nature study education was incorporated nationally, from Black industrial and agricultural schools in the South to urban and normal schools in the Northeast, upper Midwest, and West (Kohlstedt 4). Despite the widespread implementation of nature study education, Sally Gregory Kohlstedt explains, "No single or simply defined program served to dominate or universalize nature study as educational theorists and grade-school teachers expressed their particular interpretations and worked within their own natural environments" (3). Nature study education was highly place-based and needs-based, and how and why it was carried out was left largely to the autonomy of teachers. At White-funded African American agricultural and industrial schools in the South, Kohlstedt suggests, "racial attitudes meant nature study had a distinctly vocational intention" (4). Historian Dianne Glave, in some of the only scholarship that centers the ways in which southern African American teachers implemented nature study curricula, also suggests that nature study education at schools like Hampton was designed "to encourage children to stay on the farms … particularly in the South" (*Rooted in the Earth* 109). Indeed, as *Southern Workman* editors professed in an editorial on the value of nature study, "Nothing is more important than that the teachers of this race should be convinced of the necessity of such instruction as will make their pupils contented to live in the country and get their pleasure and profit from the common things of life" ("Tendencies" 419).

Yet Hampton's approach to nature study was more varied than scholars like Kohlstedt and Glave might suggest, or even than the *Southern Workman* editors let on. In describing the establishment of the school's Nature-Study Bureau, established in 1901, Hampton's administration envisioned a twofold purpose for the Bureau: "encouraging nature study in the public schools of the South and of introducing among farmers better methods of agriculture" (*Thirty-fifth Annual Report* 230). The Bureau vowed to "be of great assistance in spreading the love of nature and the study of agriculture throughout the South" (230). While school administrators suggested that "at least one" teacher sent by Hampton to Black public schools in southern states to train teachers in nature study should "devote his whole time to instruction" in agriculture, far more teachers focused their energies on training in hands-on nature study projects, such as cultivating school gardens and beautifying school grounds (230).

Like the wide-ranging variety of nature study education nationally, nature study at Hampton was implemented with diverse methods. At Hampton's Hemenway Farm, where male students were employed to pay for their tuition, board, and clothing, students learned not only about agriculture but also about practicing "kindness to animals" ("Hemenway" 145). In 1900, nature study took special prominence at Hampton's Whittier School for young children, named for the antislavery poet John Greenleaf Whittier, when teachers inaugurated gardening activities. On two acres of school property, students cooperatively cultivated two-hundred garden plots with vegetables and flowers. The cultivation imparted lessons about the "powers of observation," "a sense of responsibility," a "sense of beauty," and a love of "produc[ing] something of one's own" ("The Whittier School" 602, 603). Once students reached their senior year, they, too, became teachers of gardening to the children in the Whittier School (Fig. 10).

Figure 10. Photograph of senior Hampton student and teacher of gardening at the Whittier School. From *Everyday Life at Hampton Institute*, Hampton Institute Press, 1907, p. 14. Digital access courtesy of HathiTrust, digitized by the University of California.

One impetus for the explosion of interest in nature study education nationally was Cornell University's publication of nature study leaflets in 1898. With academics like Liberty Hyde Bailey and Anna Botsford Comstock, Cornell had been a leading intellectual center for nature study, and with the publication of the leaflets, Cornell had inaugurated a popular genre. Such reading material was especially ripe for Black industrial and agricultural schools, and in 1901 Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute followed suit. In 1901, Hampton and Tuskegee opened nature study and extension bureaus that produced nature study leaflets modeled after Cornell's. Hampton's leaflets, often reprinted in the *Southern Workman*, were initially

distributed to teachers and farmers at no cost. Because they became such a success, Hampton's Printing Office eventually began charging a small fee for those who wanted to procure them in order to alleviate printing costs. Teachers, farmers, students, and children from the South to the Northeast sent letters of praise to Hampton's Nature-Study Bureau, often soliciting additional pamphlets ("Nature Study in the South" 364-66). The leaflets were particularly popular among southern Black rural farmers, teachers, students, and children. One of many readers who wrote to Hampton expressing the joy and use value of the leaflets was Artie J. Souther, an eleven-year-old African American girl from Albemarle, Virginia, and enthusiastic reader of Hampton Institute's Nature-Study Bureau leaflets.[58] In Aug. 1902, the *Southern Workman* printed her letter. "As summer has passed and fall is here," she writes, "we will tell you about the success we had in making our flower garden." She goes on,

> My sister and I made our flower garden together. Our papa cleared a piece of ground for us and after reading the leaflet carefully and trying as hard as we could to follow its teaching, we had great success. We will tell you about some of the names of our flowers. They are zinnias, portulacas, dahlias, phlox, petunias, red flax, poppies and touch-me-not. We have three kinds of lilies. Our papa, being very fond of flowers, brought us the root of a dahlia and some dahlia seed, and a beautiful running vine from Fluvanna … Our garden is situated next to the road, and almost everyone who passes admires it and asks for a bouquet. (696)

A labor of familial love, enjoyed by neighbors and passersby, Artie and her sister's garden calls to mind Alice Walker's recollections of the communal power of gardening that grew from her

[58] Additional letters from children and teachers printed in the *Southern Workman* which express a similar enthusiasm for the leaflets can be found in the same article as Artie Souther's, "Extension Work in Nature Study," *Southern Workman*, vol. 31, no. 12, 1902, pp. 694-97; and "Nature Study in Southern Schools," *Southern Workman*, vol. 31, no. 6, 1902, p. 362.

own mother's garden. "[My mother's] fame as a grower of flowers," Walker recalls, "spread over three counties … I remember people coming to my mother's garden to be given cuttings of her flowers"—"sunflowers, petunias, roses, dahlias, forsythia, spirea, delphiniums, verbena…" (241). Like Walker, Souther links the environment with a sense of belonging and citizenship rooted in familial strength, communal closeness, and knowledge. In addition to the leaflets, Hampton's Nature-Study Bureau established a traveling nature study library, and at Hampton summer sessions for teacher training, nature study held a prominent role (*Thirty-fifth Annual Report* 230).

Like the larger nature study movement, which used "local objects for study, emphasizing the connection between those objects and human experience" in order to "[enhance] individual learning," Hampton, too, encouraged curiosity, observation, and recreation through hands-on outdoor excursion activities in which students chose "specimen[s]" of nature to examine (Kohlstedt 3; Davis "Nature-Study" n.p.) (Fig. 11). As Hampton teacher, *Southern Workman* editor, and Head of the Nature-Study Bureau, J. E. Davis (Jennie Eliza Davis, ca. 1858-1935), explained of the value of nature study,

> In the South, where fields and roads are not often covered with snow or ice, there are objects of interest to be found out-of-doors all winter long. In the fall, crickets and grasshoppers chase eac[h] other over the stubble of brown fields, fluffy seeds fly through the air, burrs stick to children's clothes as they walk along narrow road-side paths, birds sing from the tangled hedges, field-mice burrow under foot, and red and yellow leaves hide chestnuts and chinquapins … holly berries grow red, and mistletoe tempts the small boy to climb to dizzy heights. Chrysalids and silky cocoons hang from bare twigs and bushes, and gum-balls fringe the trees. (n.p.)

The value of curiosity and wonder, imparted by examining the intricacy of the natural world through local specimens, was that it encouraged students to ask the question, "'why?'" (n.p.).

Figure 11. Photograph of nature study fieldtrip among Hampton Institute's Whitter School students. From Hampton Nature Study Leaflet No. 2, Nov. 1901, Hampton Institute Press, p. 1. Digital access provided by HathiTrust, digitized by the University of Chicago.

Building upon nature study's tenets of attention and perception by using local objects for study, Hampton engaged with a central concern of the nature study movement: the welfare of and respect for nonhuman life. In offering advice for teachers who wished to institute a Bird Day Program at their school, for instance, Davis also penned an essay, "How to Interest Children in

Birds" (1899).[59] In it, Davis explains that cultivating keen powers of observation is an antidote to hunting and the gratuitous killing of animals:

> The object of rousing the children's interest in birds is not so much to give them scientific knowledge as to kindle in them an enthusiasm for nature and a desire to find out her secrets; to stimulate their senses so that they will observe what is going on about them … One of the objects to be sought in encouraging boys and girls to observe birds is to teach them to so enjoy watching them alive that they will have no desire to kill them; and to become so interested in seeking for and observing nests that they will not want to rob them. (181-82)

The philosophy of observation resonates with Henry David Thoreau's ethical stance on ornithology that he articulates in *Walden* (1854). Employed by Louis Agassiz and his assistant, James Elliot Cabot, to shoot, collect, and send creature specimens for scientific use, Thoreau eventually concluded that "there is a finer way of studying ornithology" than using a gun (167). His solution was bird watching: "It requires so much closer attention to the habits of the bird, that, if for that reason only, I have been willing to omit the gun" (167). It is this exacting attention that bird watching requires that prompts Thoreau to refrain from hunting. To kill the birds would be to disregard the gifts of attention that they offer as well as to deny that the birds have their own society, their own ways of knowing, and their own communities—that a bird "holds its life by the same tenure that" a human being "does" (Thoreau 168). Rooted in acute attention to the value of nonhuman creatures, Davis, like Thoreau, advises teachers to blend science and nature study with literature. She offers suggestions on poems to teach about bird life, and reprints "The Birds' Lullaby," a poem by First Nations writer, E. Pauline Johnson

[59] Davis wrote many anonymous articles on nature study. This article appeared in the "Graduates' Department" section of the *Southern Workman*, a section under the editorship of Davis, and so this article was likely hers.

(Mohawk), lifted from her poetry collection, *The White Wampum* (1895). The speakers of the poem—a collective of birds "slumber[ing]" in the branches of a cedar tree—sing a hymn to the tree for the protection and solace it provides after the birds have had a long day of "caroll[ing]" (Johnson lines 30, 5).

Just a few years later in 1903, when the nature study education was in full-swing at Hampton after the establishment of the Nature-Study Bureau, the *Southern Workman* editors reprinted an environmental poem by Black America's poet laureate, Paul Laurence Dunbar. Preceding an article titled "A Recent Tendency in Nature Study" by Linus W. Kline, a teacher at the Duluth State Normal School, appeared Dunbar's poem, "The Forest Greeting," reprinted from *Century Magazine*. In the poem, Dunbar blends Western frontier sentiments of conquest with environmentally philosophical meditations on the moral ethics of hunting as a recreational sport. In positioning nonhuman life—deer, birds, panther, and bear—as equal citizens of the earth, Dunbar joined some of the most popular nature writers of the time in their portrayals of animals as citizens.

As Armitage explains, ideas of citizenship orbited nature study. One focus among many of nature's study emphasis of children and adolescents was "to make children into active citizens who were skilled in reasoning and were committed workers on behalf of their environments" (Armitage 3). By incorporating implicit didactic lessons about environmental ethics through the humanization of animals, lessons such as "American nationalism, family order, and proper gender roles," nature study literature was "influential in producing citizens and in reproducing American society" (Donaldson 178, 179). The language of citizenship pervades nature study literature in obvious and informal ways. From leaflets to manuals and children's books, nature study emphasized citizenship through engaged learning and participatory stewardship of the

environment. Nature study proponents also formulated a progressive understanding of citizenship that saw human beings and nonhuman creatures in communion with one another as equal citizens of the earth. Anna Botsford Comstock, for example, an etymologist, nature writer, lecturer at Cornell, and contributor to Hampton's nature study leaflets,[60] asserted a vision of citizenship among insects in her book, *The Ways of the Six-Footed* (1903): "The generosity of these insect citizens toward each other is an ideal which still lies beyond the horizon of accomplishment in the human world" (71). On a larger national scale, figures such as Mabel Osgood Wright, a leader of the Audubon movement, and Elliott Coues (1842-99), an ornithologist, found in the popular genre of nature writing an opportunity to encourage readers to envision birds as fellow citizens—most notably, in their co-authored children's book, *Citizen Bird* (1897), illustrated by ornithologist Louis Agassiz Fuertes (1874-1927).[61] Scientific historian and nature writer, Neltje Blanchan De Graff Doubleday, who helped to establish the Nature-Study Bureau at Hampton, published nature study leaflets with Hampton, including one titled "How to Make Friends with the Birds" (1903).[62] In it, Blanchan taught adolescent readers the importance of humans' ethical relationships with winged creatures—again, a philosophy that resonates with Thoreau's philosophy of bird watching. Lamenting how bird homes are robbed and killed, Blanchan imparts to her young readers a recognition of the emotional capacities and familial life of birds,

> A farmer's boy comes along the road. Bang! bang! goes his gun. He has killed a meadow lark. Yet this bird is one of the very best friends that his father has. The boy didn't know

[60] Comstock's leaflet, "The Winged Pollen Carriers" (1904), was published by Hampton's Nature-Study Bureau.

[61] Wright also published books with titles such as *The Friendship of Nature* (1894), *Four-Footed Americans and Their Kin* (1898), *Birdcraft* (1895), and *Birds of Village and Field* (1898), among others.

[62] Several of Blanchan's Hampton leaflets were reprinted from her books published by Doubleday & McClure Company, owned and operated by her husband, Frank Doubleday.

> that. Meadow larks eat so many grasshoppers that, for this reason alone, every one of them on a farm is worth as much as a dollar a year to the farmer. All the terrified birds within hearing of that gun leave the place at once. "What cruel people must live about here," they think. "We could never trust our home in such a neighborhood." (6)

As Elizabeth Donaldson notes in her discussion of the sentimentalism of nature study writing, female writers in particular "often depicted bird activity in terms analogous to human domesticity … The bird's nest became a domestic space that mimicked the human household" (183). While Donaldson refers specifically to meditations on the connection of domestic bird life, endowing nonhuman creatures with human characteristics, habits, and social structures was a common trope not merely for female writers but male writers as well. The idea was that, by humanizing nature, readers could become more human themselves.

In "The Forest Greeting," Dunbar cultivated a similar ecological ethics. Like the unnamed Hampton student composition from the perspective of a tree, Dunbar urges his reader to consider the consciousness of wildlife by imbuing birds, bear, deer, and panther with emotions. The poem opens with a line that is repeated throughout: "Good hunting! aye, good hunting" (Dunbar lines 1, 5, 9, 21). This jovial phrase serves as the first line of four of the poem's six stanzas, and it is consistently followed by a "But" that prompts readers to grapple morally with the seemingly innocent pastime of "good hunting."

> Good hunting! aye, good hunting,
> Wherever the forests call;
> But ever a heart beats hot with fear,
> And what of the birds that fall?
>
> Good hunting! aye, good hunting,
> Wherever the North winds blow;
> But what of the stag that calls for his mate?
> And what of the wounded doe?

Good hunting! aye, good hunting,
And ah! we are bold and strong;
But our triumph call through the forest hall
Is a brother's funeral song.

For we are brothers ever,
Panther and bird and bear;
Man and the weakest that fear his face,
Born to the nest or lair.

Yes, brothers, and who shall judge us?
Hunters and game are we;
But who gave the right for me to smite?
Who boasts when he smiteth me?

Good hunting! aye, good hunting,
And dim is the forest track;
But the sportsman Death comes striding on:
Brothers, the way is black. (616)

Like his poem, "Sympathy" (1899), bookended by the famous lines "I know what the caged bird feels, alas!" and "I know why the caged bird sings!," Dunbar shifts an anthropocentric worldview to one that acknowledges a coalition of all living things, human and nonhuman, as equal citizens of the earth (lines 1, 17). The hunted animals of the forest, like human beings, raise and love their own the families and carry on their own partnerships—an image that emerges poignantly in "the stag that calls for his mate," the "wounded doe" (Dunbar, "The Forest" lines 7, 8). The speaker's questions invert the roles of hunter and hunted, prompting the human hunter to put themselves in the place of those he or she hunts: the bird, the deer, the panther, and the bear. Until life in all the earth's forms—from a bird to deer to a human being—is respected and regarded as worthy, equal inheritors of the earth, Dunbar suggests, then justice fails as only "Death" and darkness prevail (line 24). The inclusive "we" in "we are brothers ever" gestures not only toward communion between humans and animals and earth's inhabitants but also to humanity in general (line 13). The poem imparts a sense of reciprocal justice rooted in coalition

citizenship and which is both environmental and racial: to save one form of life, in other words, is to save another form. Dunbar's understanding of the earth is similar to the one that Ta-Nehisi Coates articulates over a century later in *Between the World and Me* (2015). Those who "plunder … the bodies of humans" also ravage "the body of the Earth itself" (150). "[T]he same habit that sees [Black] bodies stowed away in prisons and ghettos," Coates writes, "is the same habit that endangers the planet" (151).

Amidst national attention to nature study, Dunbar perhaps saw an opportunity to use the burgeoning environmental ethics of valuing human and nonhuman life to call attention, through the animal world, to the oppression of and violence committed against Black Americans who, like the bird, bear, panther, and deer, were hunted like animals by White lynch mobs amid escalating racial violence. Given the history of racial science, combining animals and humans in order to bring about a dual message of environmental and racial justice was potentially dangerous on Dunbar's part. Such a depiction had to the capacity to be "violently reductive," as Paul Outka notes of the antebellum "conflation of blackness and nonhuman nature"—a pairing that "served as the principal 'justification' for chattel slavery" and which continued to "[persist] at the heart of most subsequent American racist ideologies" in the post-Reconstruction era (51). But Dunbar's comparison also underscored the fact that the end of slavery had not dissolved White supremacist ideologies of seeing Black people as less than human, as animals.[63] Through

[63] Educators and conservationist-oriented periodicals latched onto Dunbar's "The Forest Greeting." It was reprinted in the *Kindergarten Review*; *Our Dumb Animals*, published by the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals; *Unity*, a religious magazine dedicated to freedom and fellowship of all races; the Quaker journal *Friends' Intelligencer*; the *National Humane Review* printed by the American Humane Association and the American Red Star Animal Relief; and the *Journal of Zoophily*, published by the American Anti-Vivisection Society and the Women's Pennsylvania Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. It was even taught in schools as far west as Colorado as part of Arbor Day and Bird Day programs ("Colorado" 209). See *The Kindergarten Review* (Springfield, Mass.), vol. 17, no. 2, 1906, p. 82; *Our Dumb Animals* (Boston, Mass.), vol. 43, no. 1, 1910, p. 19; *Unity* (Chicago, Il.), vo. 52, no. 3, 1903, p. 44; *Friends' Intelligencer* (Philadelphia, Penn.), vol. 60, no. 10, 1903, p. 653; *National Humane Review* (Albany, N.Y.), vol. 7, no. 2, 1919, p. 35; *Journal of Zoophily* (Philadelphia, Penn.), vol. 12, no. 11, 1903, p. 128.

the repetition of "brothers," Dunbar applies the same language of universal brotherhood deployed in the same era by antiracist interracial coalitions like the Society for the Recognition of the Universal Brotherhood of Man (SRUBM), which hosted Ida B. Wells on her anti-lynching tour in England. The poem also calls attention to the fact that, despite national advocacy for moral and ethical obligations to the nonhuman world, there remained an incongruency between how humans treat animals and how humans treat fellow human beings—a tension that, ultimately, fell along the fault line of race.

While those like Davis, Comstock, Wright, Blanchan, and Dunbar engaged in nature study discourse from the perspective of welfare for nonhuman life by imbuing animals with human qualities in order to impart lessons of morality, ethics, and conservation, theirs was just one of many facets of the nature study movement. Others took inspiration from nature study's gardening initiatives as an inspiration for and method of racial uplift. Two of these figures were Sara W. Brown and Sarah Collins Fernandis, graduates of Hampton Institute who entered the field of nature study and nature writing from the vantage point of racial and environmental justice for rural and urban Black communities suffering from a lack of educational resources and circumscribed to dilapidated, environmentally unsafe urban neighborhoods as a result of Jim Crow segregation.

Social Justice, Rural and Urban Communities, and Black Women's Nature Writing

Knowledge of, communion with, and admiration for nature are positioned as synonymous with cultivating a sense of citizenship in the writings of two Black female graduates of Hampton Institute: Sara W. (Winifred) Brown (class of 1887) and Sarah "Sadie" Collins Fernandis (class of 1882). As graduates of the same institution, the orbit of Brown's and Fernandis's life and

activism overlapped long after their matriculation. They were colleagues in the same social reform circle of Black women in Baltimore and D.C., a group that included notable reformers such as Anna Julia Cooper (1858-1964), and they worked together at the Colored Settlement House in Washington, D.C., established by Fernandis in 1902. Intertwined with their social justice work, they wrote within the genres of the nature study leaflet and the nature poem to meditate on the links between citizenship and the environment. Like the British and American Romantic writers of a century earlier, Brown's and Fernandis's writing takes inspiration from, and inspires, the value that resides in the observation and appreciation of nature's beauty. While Black writers like Brown and Fernandis imagine "the natural environment … often us[ing] the same language that white writers used," they "put this language to different uses, with a different set of problems and experiences in mind" (Smith 3, 5). In Brown's nature study leaflet and in Fernandis's nature poems, the two women advocate for nature as a form of community-building that is tied explicitly to social and environmental justice, positioning recreational and environmental resources as necessities for thriving communities and, as a result, full citizenship.

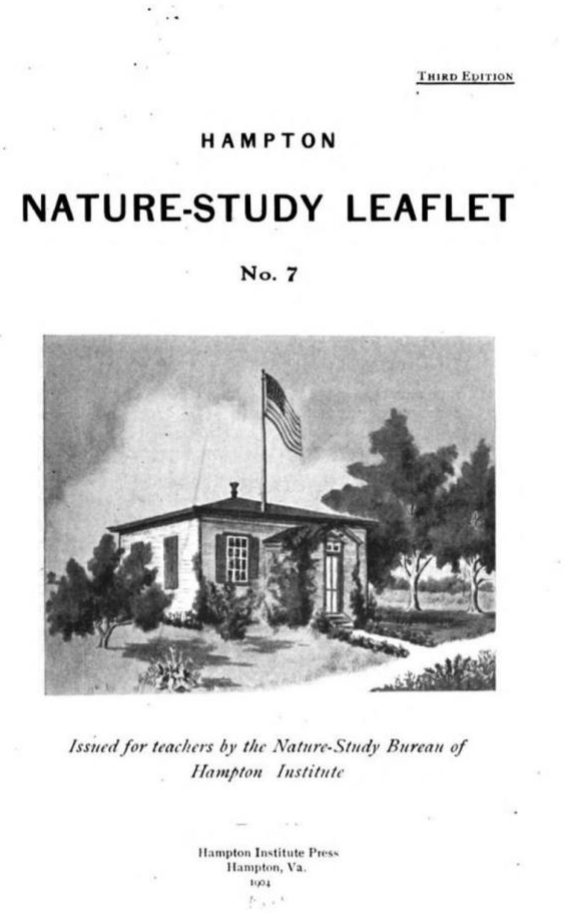
Brown's and Fernandis's social justice work and their meditations on nature were reinforced by one another. Brown's nature leaflet, "Beautifying Schoolhouses and Yards" (1901), offers advice to Black communities that inherit schoolhouses lacking proper resources. Utilizing local resources at hand—farmers, students' families, neighbors, and nature itself—Brown provides a blueprint for transforming dismal classrooms and desolate yards into spaces that reflect the "living beauty" of the natural world, as she expresses in her leaflet (17). Fernandis, on the other hand, was drawn to the genre of nature poetry. Her early nature poems, including "Consummation" (1913), magnify small yet intricate elements of the atmosphere, such as snowflakes and raindrops. Such poems are precursors to her more realist nature poetry in the

1920s and 30s, in which she reflects on the natural world in the urban spaces of alleys and tenement home windows. Together, Fernandis and Brown demonstrate the ways in which Black women in the early twentieth century drew inspiration from the natural environment to create strong communities.

The writings of Brown and Fernandis appeared in the *Southern Workman* at the height of the nature study movement. Brown graduated from Hampton in 1887 (Fig. 12). After graduating from Cornell University with a biology degree in 1897, she enrolled in medical school at Howard University, where she co-founded in 1910 the College Alumnae Club (now the National Association of University Women) with educator and reformers, Mary Church Terrell (1863-1954), Mary E. Cromwell (1876-1966), and Nancy Fairfax Brown (1877-1958). While studying for her medical degree, Brown taught science and nature study courses at the Colored Normal School No. 2 in Washington, D.C., where she helped to build and run the school greenhouse ("Normal School" 11). In one report sent from Brown to the Department of Agriculture in 1905, she furnished information about the progress of nature study education in Black schools in D.C., which included teaching soil formation study, lessons on seeds, plant propagation, tree grafting, school and home gardening, and the beautification of school grounds (Brown "Normal School No. 2" 15). She was instrumental in securing additional land to be allotted to the school for a garden ("Refuses" 12). As she notes in her report, some of the primary reading material for nature study came from bulletins and leaflets from the Department of Agriculture, Hampton Institute, and Cornell University (Brown "Normal School No. 2" 15). Just a year earlier, Brown had penned her own nature study leaflet, titled "Beautifying School Houses and Yards: A Nature-Study Leaflet," published first by the Hampton Nature-Study Bureau and then reprinted in the *Southern Workman* (Fig. 13). Writing in a genre dominated by White writers, Brown is

seemingly the only Black woman affiliated with Hampton who penned a nature study leaflet, or at least the only Black woman whose leaflet was published by the Institute.

Figure 12. Graduation portrait of Sara W. Brown, 1897. Courtesy of Cornell University, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.



THIRD EDITION

HAMPTON

NATURE-STUDY LEAFLET

No. 7

Issued for teachers by the Nature-Study Bureau of Hampton Institute

Hampton Institute Press
Hampton, Va.
1904

Figure 13. Cover page for Brown's nature study leaflet. Digital access courtesy of HathiTrust, digitized by the University of Chicago.

Carolyn Merchant has noted of late nineteenth-century conservation and preservation movements that women, in particular, "had developed interests and organizations that paved the way for their work in the conservation and reform movements of the progressive era" (58). They "engaged in the beautification of yards, vacant lots, school yards, and public building by planting trees and shrubs" (Merchant 61). White southern women's gardening clubs were especially involved "in projects to protect, rescue, or restore historic landscapes" (Howett 28). As Elizabeth D. Blum had discussed, Black clubwomen participated in many of the same environmental and

conservation activities, including organizing cleanup days and weeks, investigating animal abuse and teaching children about humane animal treatment, tree planting and forest preservation, and more (86-90). But nature study and conservation movements meant something a bit different for Black women reformers and teachers, like Brown, who did not have the "[l]eisure time … afforded [to] middle and upper-class" White women (Merchant 58). If the conservation and preservation interests of White women reformers and clubwomen, as Catherine Howett explains, were grounded in gardening and beautification as means of looking backward to pay homage to "the growing nostalgia for America's past" at the end of the nineteenth century, then African American women looked forward (30).

Yet, as Dianne Glave has cautioned, "Scholars have missed the critical role of African American women gardeners in Progressive reform efforts, or at least have not viewed the participation of African Americans in these efforts through the critical lens of gender" ("Rural" 38). "African American women in the rural South," Glave assures, "controlled how and where they gardened, and, by implication, why they gardened" (38). They used the information they learned "from community knowledge, from their own interpretations of agricultural reform, and from the training they received in horticulture in the Cooperative Extension Service, African American schools," and "oral tradition," as opposed to "whites, whose expertise came from magazines and books" (37-38, 39). I am interested in how Black women, too, transcribed and circulated their knowledge of gardening and beautification through print culture, including nature study leaflets such as Brown's, which situates gardening as a central form of community-building and was circulated among farmers and teachers throughout the South. A combination of farmer's almanacs, advice manuals, primers about ethics and morality regarding nature, and self-

help reading, nature study leaflets were a vital source of disseminating information to and supporting literacy within rural southern Black communities.

The rural southern schoolhouse in Brown's leaflet is a nexus of beautification, decoration, artistic creation, literacy and education, and racial uplift. The school serves as a model for rural Black communities to cultivate a sense of citizenship through community-building. "What can we do to make our country schoolhouse attractive?" Brown asks ("Beautifying" 4). "If fate has set it on the edge of a grove in a large grassy lot," she explains, "little need be done save keeping the grass mowed and the place clean" (4). If rural Black communities were afforded such "ideal" locations, however, Brown would have had no reason to pen her leaflet (4). Brown then confronts the power structures—what she calls "fate"—that deliberately place schools for Black children in run-down areas and structures. Brown writes: "The word 'fate' is used advisedly, for it seems to be by design that the typical country school is located in the bleakest, most barren spot" (4). The words she uses mirror directly the ground upon which the school is built: "bleak" and "barren"—terms that mirror what the "design" to which Black Americans would have been confined. She follows this commentary with a cautionary remark, writing, "whether of log, stone or 'slab,' it is not the purpose here to criticise [sic] the structure, but rather to suggest some means of beautifying even so unpromising a place" (4). Her use of the word "structure" has dual meanings: it references the literal structure of the schoolhouse while at the same time condemns the larger discriminatory educational structure of a Jim Crow South that is responsible for the lack of adequate school resources. Almost twenty years later, the same inequities persisted on Brown's heart and mind. As she denounced in an article for the *Southern Workman*, "Fundamentals of Race Progress" (1921), "[T]hose of us who have seen dilapidated, insanitary school buildings thronged with numbers far beyond the

capacity of the structure or of the teaching force, realize that equal opportunity is not yet given our children, and that there is a vast amount yet to be done to make anything like adequate provision for the need" (542).

Brown divides her leaflet into two sections: "The Interior" and "The Exterior." The first part offers a kind of educational theory of the spatial dynamics of a productive schoolhouse. First and foremost, a "wholesome" schoolhouse is one that is "well lighted," "clean," and "airy," and in which the doors and windows are open to allow "sunlight and air" (Brown "Beautifying" 4). As a public health professional who would later serve as a Y.W.C.A. girls' camp physician, participate in National Negro Health Week conferences, and become a member of Washington, D.C.'s Social Hygiene Society, Brown was especially concerned with providing safe, sanitary learning environments for children and adolescents—a privilege that she understood as part and parcel of equal citizenship ("Graduates" 477; *Annual Conference* 1; Carter 7). She then offers advice to teachers in the event that there are no desks available, which she says "unfortunately" is "too often the case in back-country schools" (Brown "Beautifying" 6). Her guidance on beautifying schools—a kind of educational theory on the aesthetics of the schoolroom—is evidence of Brittney Cooper's assertion in *Beyond Respectability* (2017) that "Black women did their theorizing in unexpected locations" (12). Cooper writes, "when Black women advocated for opportunities to engage their thought leadership 'beyond woman's sphere,' they were arguing explicitly for the right to do intellectual work in public space" (14). Brown gives advice on how to organize a public space.

Importantly, Brown makes the nature study leaflet her own, inserting into a conversation about school beautification her own ideas about nature study by disagreeing with and expanding upon the beautification advice of the famed Cornell educator, horticulturalist, and nature study

expert, Liberty Hyde Bailey. Brown writes, "While 'it is little matter if one knows the names,' as Prof. Bailey says, of the plants to be used in improving school grounds, I cannot refrain from a word or two for those plants which I knew best and love most" ("Beautifying" 15). Brown's language is tempered, of course: she is a Black female teacher disagreeing with a well-known White educator in a public print forum. Consequently, she adeptly couches her knowledge in terms of personal affinity rather than professional knowledge. But her advice is no less expert. Bailey might surmise that that the names of flowers do not matter, but she—along with a host of African American women artists, writers, and intellectuals who came before her and who would come after her, those like Artie Souther and Alice Walker—revels in reciting the names of flowers as a source of knowledge and as evidence of their uniqueness. Reflected in the multitude of flower varieties is the diverse multitude of the human race—all who deserve to have their names stated and honored. Among her favorites, she writes, are the scarlet maple and the dogwood tree.

Just as Alice Walker's mother ornamented their shabby home with flowers, Brown does the same in the classroom: she encourages teachers and students to create a border on the blackboard that "[c]onsists of various leaves, flowers and fruits which have been studied in the fall, and which thus serve as a means of review for the children" (8). In the same way that an artist wields a paintbrush on a blank canvas, Brown creatively draws upon specimens in nature to decorate what is otherwise a bleak, bare blackboard. The foliage specimens serve a dual purpose: they are both an aesthetic adornment *and* an educational tool. The mixture of practicality and beauty is visible, too, in Brown's recommendation of transplanting various trees to grow in the schoolyard. "The red or scarlet maple grows easily and rapidly," Brown notes (15). Further, it brings "[a] glory of color" to the schoolyard (15). The dogwood tree, she writes, "bears

conspicuously beautiful and interesting showy white leaves or bracts (wrongly called flowers) in great profusion in the early spring" (16). With the dogwood, Brown's advice moves beyond nature's use value for humans. Its "bright red berries, brilliantly effective as a decoration," serve not only the human world but also the animal world as they "[furnish] food to the robins" in the spring and autumn (16). Woven into Brown's advice is also a nod to cultural heritage. She puts her love of wildflowers on display but then acknowledges that some in her audience may not prefer what they might see as "simply 'weeds'" (17). She offers an alternative, one that honors the legacies of ancestors and female gardeners who came before her: "choose for your school grounds the beautiful flowers of our grandmothers—hollyhocks, primroses, zinnias, four-o'clocks, lilacs and the others that all of us love, perhaps best of all" (17).

What is most significant about Brown's leaflet is that it presents a portrait of the strength of rural southern Black communities. Beautifying the schoolhouse and yard through gardening strengthens a sense of coalition citizenship. As Brown acknowledges, it is too often the case that, in rural communities, the burden falls upon the teacher to clean, decorate, and prepare the schoolhouse. However, Brown offers guidance on turning such a burden into a transformative community-building opportunity. When considering what flowers would be best to plant, Brown suggests inquiring with someone in the neighborhood who has a garden as to what plants would flourish in that particular soil (14). She describes such an interaction as "securing a powerful ally" (14). Further, she suggests, "Some practical farmer in your neighborhood will explain how the transplanting should be done, and by consulting him you will enlist his co-operation" (15). The schoolhouse is also a means of strengthening the family bond. "In many schools, arbor or tree day is now regularly observed. Fathers co-operate with the children, and in their own wagons bring trees and shrubs from the woods to plant in the schoolyard" (15). In positioning

members of the community through the language of "ally[ship]" and "co-operation," Brown paints a portrait not merely of neighborly citizens. She illuminates a concerted coalition of citizens who mobilize to support the educational future of its youngest members. What is more, she dismantles the traditional hierarchy of learning. Brown implements J. E. Davis's proclamation that the faithful teacher of nature study would become "a pupil with his pupils," studying and learning alongside students, but she takes it one step further to include community members and students' families ("Nature-Study" n.p.). In her schoolhouse, the teacher is not the keeper of the classroom or the sole arbiter of knowledge. All are citizens of the classroom, from the students themselves to their family members. In the true spirit of coalition citizenship, the students have a stake in their classroom community and therefore their education. They are, in essence, a coalition of learners.

Like Brown, Sarah Collins Fernandis wrote about the natural world, yet in a different genre, in nature poems (Fig. 14). With her husband, John Fernandis, she opened the Colored Social Settlement in Washington, D.C., in 1902. The Settlement was established to revitalize a neglected Black neighborhood, known as "Bloodfield," located on the southwest side of D.C. and situated along the city's open sewage system (Fernandis "A Colored" 346). Fernandis and her husband purchased a two-floor home in the neighborhood and divided the bottom floor into assembly and living rooms (347). The house offered a daycare for working Black mothers, a kindergarten, domestic training classes for young women, a reading room for boys and young men, and evening meetings for mothers and young men (347-48) (Fig. 15). Emblematic of coalition citizenship, the Settlement was a labor of communal love. As the Washington *Evening Star* reported on June 7, 1907, a coalition of Black female educators, including Brown, Anna Julia Cooper, and Bettie G. Francis formed a committee to organize a conference on "civic

problems encountered by the colored social settlement," including a lack of funding for the Settlement's working mothers' day nursery and boys' reading room ("Meeting" 23; "Aids Colored Settlement" 20).

Figure 14. Portrait of Sarah Collins Fernandis. From "For Charity's Sake," *The Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), Aug. 27, 1904, p. 8. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

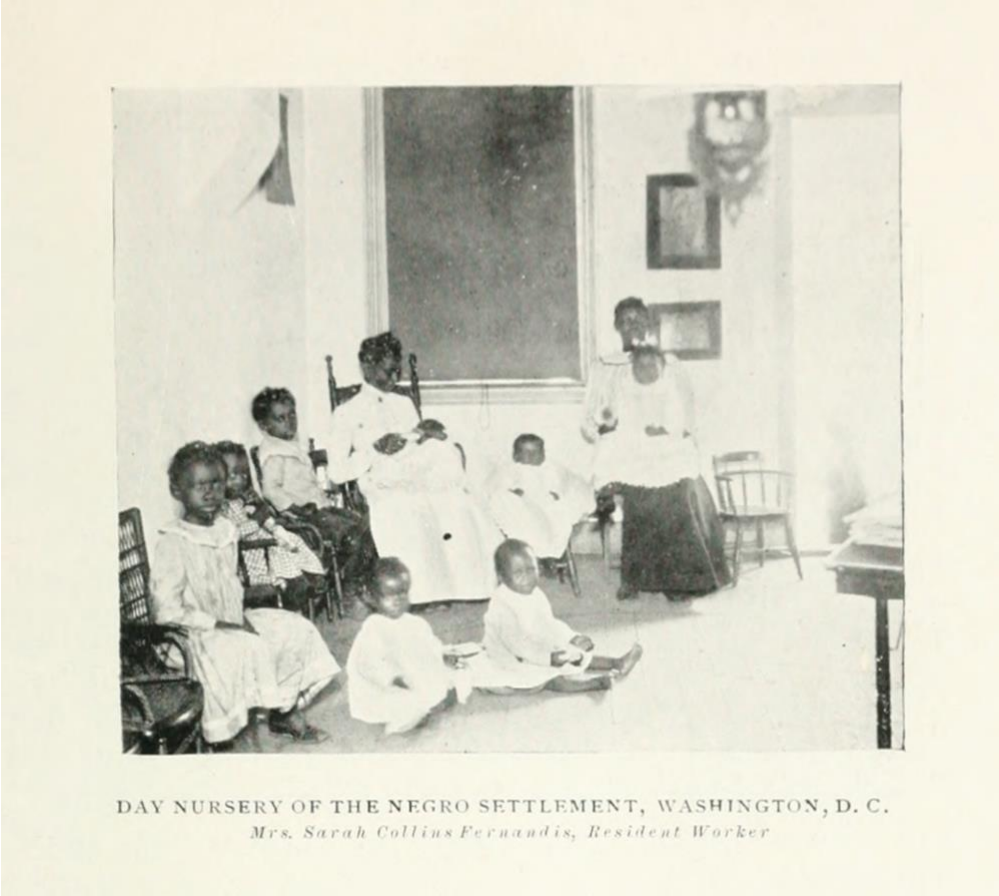


Figure 15. Photograph of Sarah Collins Fernandis and students, Settlement Day Nursery. From *What Hampton graduates are doing in land-buying, in home-making, in business, in teaching, in agriculture, in establishing schools, in the trades, in church and missionary work, in the professions, 1868-1904*. Hampton Institute Press, 1904, p. 27. Digital access provided by HathiTrust, digitized by the University of California.

Fernandis's social settlement work shared larger concerns about recreation among African American leaders in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—a debate that was often termed "the problem of recreation" or, as W. E. B. Du Bois put it, and "the problem of amusement," which addressed the formal and informal ways in which segregation and anti-Black violence limited Black Americans' access to public spaces for leisure (Du Bois "The Problem" 182). As Colin Fisher has explored, "forced exclusion from parks, playgrounds, and beaches" and the "struggle for nature" amidst "white resistance" was a main catalyst of race riots,

including the 1919 Chicago race riot (64).[64] Furthermore, recreation became an urgent subject of debate because "reform-minded" Black leaders understood that "passive commercialized amusement and vice"—such as "poll halls, cabarets, cheap theatres, liquor stores, policy outlets, and houses of prostitution"—would contribute to "juvenile delinquency, degeneration, and ill health" (Fisher 70).

Nearly twenty years before the concerted focus on recreation by Black leaders and following the overturning of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 in 1883 which sanctioned unequal access public spaces based on race, Du Bois delivered a speech at a summer conference at Hampton Institute in 1897—one that perhaps galvanized the noncommercial recreation-building movement among African Americans. The speech, titled "The Problem of Amusement," was printed in the *Southern Workman*. In it, Du Bois theorizes recreation as re-creation, defining recreational activities as those that are life-giving.

> Let us consider the first question; and ask, What is amusement? All life is rhythm—the right swing of the pendulum makes the pointer go round, but the left swing must follow it; the down stroke of the hammer welds the iron, and yet the hammer must be lifted between each blow; the heart must beat and yet between each beat comes a pause; the pay is the period of fulfilling the functions of life and yet the prelude and end of day is night. Thus throughout nature, from the restless beating of yonder waves to the rhythm of the seasons and the whirl of comets, we see one mighty law of work and rest, of activity and relaxation, of inspiration and amusement. (182)

[64] Victoria W. Walcott terms such instances of "racial conflicts in spaces of leisure" as "recreation riots" (*Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters* 4). For more on African American civil rights and recreation, see Walcott's *Race, Riots, and Roller Coasters: The Struggle Over Segregated Recreation in America* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) and *Remaking Respectability: African American Women in Interwar Detroit* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

Du Bois foregrounds the need to build spaces of recreation and entertainment by and for Black people. The absence of recreation and rest, to work and labor constantly, is unnatural, Du Bois suggests; it moves against the grain of nature and the order of the universe—against "the rhythm of the seasons" and "the whirl of comets" (182). What is more, Du Bois makes visible that rest is not simply a human phenomenon. All nature—from the wind, to the waves, to the movement of stars—has rest periods. Du Bois suggests that the only thing that makes a human a brute is when "work and drudgery so predominate as to destroy the very vigor" within a man or woman (182). "[W]holesome amusement," Du Bois posits, is "true re-creation—for what is true amusement, true diversion, but the re-creation of energy which we may sacrifice to noble ends, to higher ideals, while without proper amusement we waste or dissipate our mightiest powers?" (183). Du Bois then encourages teachers to "make the observance of recess as compulsory and that of work," urging them that "boys and girls should be encouraged if not compelled to run, jump, walk, row, swim, and vault. The school picnic with a long walk over hill and dale and a romp under the trees in close communion with Mother Nature is sadly needed" (183). The importance of "run[ning], jump[ing], walk[ing], row[ing], swim[ming], and vault[ing]" without fear of violence or without policing one's body to conform to White expectations is to live without the looming "double-consciousness" that he would describe just a few years later in *The Souls of Black Folk* (Du Bois "The Problem" 183, *The Souls* 8).

Fernandis heeded Du Bois's call. Intent on bringing nature into urban spaces through gardening, playgrounds, and outdoor excursions, Fernandis helped to build playgrounds, host fieldtrips on the Potomac River, and institute summer camps for African American children and adolescents. As a member of the Public Playgrounds Committee in D.C., Black children's access to green spaces within the inner city figured prominently on her agenda, and she was tireless in

her efforts. In collaboration with a multiracial coalition of social workers—including White social worker, Charles Frederick Waller (1870-1957), founder of the Neighborhood House settlement in D.C., and colleague of Hull House's Jane Addams—she built the first playground for African American children in the segregated and neglected neighborhood of Bloodfield. Then, when the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was granted permission to dump dirt on the corner of the playground lot in 1905, for instance, Fernandis and members of the Playgrounds Committee petitioned the U.S. War Department, expressing their desire to contact Secretary Taft to request that the railroad's permission be rescinded ("Playgrounds" 4). That same year, Fernandis orchestrated an event called Colored Babies' Day in D.C. On June 10, 1905, around 1,500 African American children and their mothers, residents of Washington's southside neighborhoods, headed to the wharf at the Potomac River. There, they boarded the steamboat, *Jane Mosely*, and traveled thirty miles to Somerset Beach, where families enjoyed picnics, games, and comradery, free of charge ("Colored Babies' Day" 3; "The Other Half" 16). In 1907, she also helped establish an outdoor summer camp for children in Tuxedo, Maryland, called the Pleasant Camp ("Pleasant Camp" 3). For Fernandis, equal access to green spaces in urban neighborhoods was linked directly with equal citizenship. As she stated at a meeting of the Southwest Citizens' Neighborhood Improvement Association held at the Social Settlement in 1905 commending the work of the playground committee, securing recreational spaces for the city's Black children was not only "'patriotic'" but also "'humane'" ("Would Change" 6). In many ways, Fernandis was an early forerunner of contemporary environmental movements and their concerted efforts to introduce gardening and harvesting into schools in lower-income neighborhoods.

Reflective of her social justice work in creating green recreational spaces for Black residents of urban communities, her *Southern Workman* poems bring nature into the urban space. Fernandis began publishing her poems in the *Southern Workman* in the 1880s while still a student at Hampton. Her early poems took the form of tributes to famed antislavery poets such John Greenleaf Whittier, to the Hampton model of education, and to Hampton's founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong. She began publishing nature poems around the turn into the twentieth century, amid the rise of the nature study movement. As Camille Dungy states, nature poems by Black writers remain largely absent from conversations and anthologies about American nature and environmental writing. "They haven't been seen," she writes, "or when they have it is not as people who are rightful stewards of the land. They are accidentally or invisibly or dangerously or temporarily or inappropriately on/in the landscape" (xxvii). But, as Dungy affirms, Black poets "were investigating the alignment between man and nature long before the popularity of contemporary ecocritics was confirmed" (xxii). Such a marginalization of Black poets, in addition to the history of the southern environment and violence as well as systemic limited access to outdoor resources, has rendered African Americans "environmental others" (Dungy 3).

Fernandis's poem, "Consummation" (1913), ruminates on the multiplicity of meanings that the natural world holds for humans—for children and adolescents, in particular, to whom nature study education directed its emphasis. In many ways, the poem harkens back to Frances Ellen Watkins Harper's poem, "Thank God for Little Children," published in the *Southern Workman* decades earlier in 1872, in which Harper stresses the need to protect the most vulnerable. "Consummation" reinforces the lessons of keen observation that nature study education encouraged. From the perspective of a young child, Fernandis locates the natural

world as a contemplative and inspirational entity that imparts to the human world lessons about imagination.

A dancing ray of sunlight,
        A child essays to clasp,
And sighs with disappointment
        When it eludes his grasp.

For him a pearl's descending—
        A raindrop, lambent, round,
Then—dire disintegration—
        It splatters on the ground!

But Nature's compensation
        Comes in the happy hour
Of springtide's consummation—
        He, smiling, holds a flower!

And in our crude impatience
        Do we not often tend
To seize the incompleteness
        Now waiting for the end—

The blessed consummation
        Of God's perfected plan—
Which, from our human viewpoint,
        We may not always scan? (270)

"Nature's compensation" against "dire disintegration" is twofold (lines 9, 7). The connotation of "compensation" with monetary reward gestures toward the Hampton model of agricultural training and positions the natural world as a place of plenty. For Fernandis, however, nature's "compensation" moves beyond the economic realm. The poem celebrates nature for its emotionally and spiritually healing qualities, calling attention to nature's ability to spark—through contemplation—creativity, connection, and healing in a modern, urbanizing world. Fernandis distinguishes between what can and cannot be physically "grasp[ed]" by the young boy: the intangible—a "ray of sunlight"—and the tangible—a "raindrop" and "a flower" (lines 1, 6, 12). Longing to hold a ray of sunlight and a raindrop, "dire disintegration" and

"disappointment" follow when the child cannot clasp either (lines 7, 3). Yet "Nature's compensation" for the child comes with spring, in the gift of a flower (line 9). The joy and beauty that the child initially sees in the "dancing ray of sunlight" and in the "lambent, round" raindrop that looks to him like a beautiful pearl, is now shared with him and is his own. Nature not only harvests the flower. It produces the boy's smile. For Fernandis, nature is a mending force. It can repair things that fall apart, atoning for, in other words, "disappointment" and "disintegration" (lines 3, 7). Furthermore, for a Black child to be in the position of contemplating nature without threat of violence—for a Black child to "grasp" a "ray of sunlight" without it "elud[ing]" his or her reach—is a "blessed consummation" (lines 4, 1, 4). The flower—nature's symbol of citizenship—harkens back to Brown's leaflet and the potential for the natural world to bring beauty to those who are neglected and pushed to the margins of society.

Reflective of Fernandis's ethos of lighthearted curiosity at the natural world, "Nature's compensation" speaks directly to an adult audience, reminding the older and wiser to be patient: to watch, observe, and wonder. The last two stanzas of the poem transition from a focus on the child's mind to the adult's and the powers of God and the universe. Implicating even herself, Fernandis addresses her adult readership directly, lamenting "our crude impatience"—a hallmark of the modernizing industrial world—that prevents us from "seiz[ing] the incompleteness" in our restlessness to "[wait] for the end" (lines 13, 15, 16). The rhetorical question that she poses in the closing lines is a call to revel in "incompleteness," encouraging an orientation to viewing that world that is more like that of a child—like the little boy who attempts to "clasp" a ray of sunlight or a raindrop—even knowing, as adults do, that it will "[elude]" our "grasp" (lines 15, 2, 4). Fernandis calls for an abandoning of reasoning and logic in exchange for wonder and curiosity. Like Brown's leaflet, which resonates with Walker's contemplations on the power of

gardening, Fernandis's poetry calls to mind Walker's meditations on the connection between nature and spirituality. Just as Shug tells Celie in *The Color Purple* (1982) that "God love admiration," that "it pisses God off if you walk by the color purple in a field somewhere and don't notice it," Fernandis reminds her audience that we can "scan" "God's perfected plan"—his "blessed consummation"—not in "waiting for" an "end" but in admiring and loving the everyday gifts that He imparts, like the supposedly simple yet profound creation of a flower (Walker, *The Color* 196; Fernandis, "Consummation" lines 20, 18, 17, 16).

Moreover, the dual meaning of "consummation" for Fernandis—both as a reference to Nature's gifts as well as racial justice and equity—is visible in her "Report of the Women's Co-Operative Civic League" (1914). In it, Fernandis refers to the "civic progress" of the League—work that entailed the implementation of a garbage disposal system and the creation of school and settlement gardens—as an "ideal consummation" (16). Of the League's Home Garden Committee revitalization of abandoned and overgrown gardens of one African American public school, Fernandis looked forward joyfully to "the old gardens" being brought "once more into bloom" by way not only of "healthful outdoor exercise" but of something higher and more spiritual" (16). In another report, she celebrated such work as evidence of the "true spirit of municipal patriotism" ("The Women's" 29). In this report, she concludes by honoring, with a poem, the "co-operation" of African American women laboring to surmount the "peculiar conditions and circumstances"—that is, second-class citizenship, racial oppression and segregation, and unfilled promises of equity and civil rights—that their "souls" have been "task[ed]" with:

> Have patience under cruel stress
> To stifle racial bitterness,
> Nor swerve in the extremity
> From our own souls' nobility;

> To question the unrighteous line—
> Measuring by equity divine,
> Yet foster beauty, sweetness, grace
> Within the circumscribed place. (30)

If Fernandis's social work and settlement work, philanthropic labors, and racial justice advocacy might be summed up in verse, it is in this untitled poem. The directional focus of nature's "consummation"—sunlight and rain descending so that a flower can ascend—resonates with the motto of the Black women's club movement, "Lifting as we climb," indicative of the larger racial uplift movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Fundamental to race uplift was combatting denigrating stereotypes of Black criminality and delinquency—a label that Fernandis disintegrates, like the raindrop, in the image of a young Black boy reveling in the beauty of a flower.

Poems such as "Consummation" are precursors to Fernandis's more realist nature poetry in the 1920s and 30s, which bridge nature with urban spaces, in alleyways and in tenement home windows. Her poems still retained the intense concentration on specimens in nature, but with an added layer of commentary on the socioeconomic conditions of Black urban neighborhoods. One of her poems, "A Blossom in an Alley," published in the *Southern Workman* in 1923, meditates on the image of flowers planted in a tenement home window, perched above a neglected alley. The speaker in "A Blossom in an Alley" is one day caught off guard by the striking beauty of a flower blossom in a window while walking down a "dark" "alley" of the city (line 1). At its sight, the speaker's "smoldering faith leaps to a glowing spark" as she "read[s] [the flower's] message of all-pervading good / Its earnest of a sweeter life, a closer brotherhood" (lines 2, 3-4). Like Dunbar's "The Forest Greeting," the speaker sees in nature a message of community, of a coalition of all living things, human and nonhuman. She then aligns her own desire, and the flower's desire, for humanity's harmonious communion with the unknown gardener who planted

the flower, contemplating that she and the flower share "the same urge that guided the rough hand that placed it / there" (lines 5-6). The seemingly insignificant description of the "rough hand" paints a portrait of a working-class man or woman, perhaps a day laborer in a railroad yard, a launderer, a housekeeper, or a factory worker. The calloused hand of a person who returns home in the evening from a long day of labor to grow a delicate flower endows working-class peoples, dehumanized and written off as ignorant laborers, with artistic creativity. An affinity for the beauty of nature is not circumscribed to poets and intellectuals, Fernandis affirms, and such an appreciation is not defined by race or class. As the speaker asserts, "Beauty, answering, reck'd not of hovel or of hall— / But that a human soul had craved and she had felt its call!" (lines 8-9). Beauty finds those who seek it, regardless of *where* they seek it, and it is unbound by "creed and caste" (line 12).

What is bound by both race and class, however, is the sanctioned and unsanctioned unequal access to greenery. In a rare reminiscence on her childhood in one annual report of the Women's Cooperative Civic League, she recalls growing up in a neglected and impoverished neighborhood of Baltimore. One day, with a friend, she transgressed the "boundaries" of her "universe" to a White neighborhood (Fernandis "Annual Report" 5). There, they "came to a wonderful place of cool, green grass, beautiful flowers and sparkling fountains, where little children happily played" (5-6). This scene she called "a vision of Paradise"—a real life Garden of Eden come true (6). "When I returned to my own street environments," she writes,

> there occurred one of my greatest childhood tragedies. My play world had suddenly grown ugly and unattractive, its outstanding features had put on a new aspect: the water from the open sluices of Jones' Falls was a filthy stream; Mrs. Smithy's cowyard reeked with mire and muck, while her cows were miserable, mangy creatures; the soap factory

> belched out clouds of ugly black smoke and smelt to the skies; the denizens of the street unmentionable passing our doorstep showed countenances repulsively marked with degradation; and all this, with never a cool plot of grass to redeem it from its utter squalidness. (6).

She laments the second-class status of the neighborhood's "colored citizens," orchestrated by the "constructive disaster" of "segregation" (6). Fernandis brought these issues of citizenship to bear on her poem, "A Back-Street Window Box" (1934). In it, Fernandis takes the presence of the flower in "A Blossom in An Alley" one step further to hint at environmental racism in a more directly, albeit still subversive, manner:

> When I behold a flower-box—
> Larkspur, geraniums and phlox.
> Petunias of what you will—
> In a city back-street window-sill,
> I know that in the narrow lane,
> Of sagging door and broken
> pane
> This bit of beauty's saving
> grace,
> Makes the whole world a fairer
> place. (6)

The "broken" window "pane," a homophone for pain, coupled with the "narrow lane" and "sagging door," conjures an image of an economically impoverished and neglected urban neighborhood (lines 6, 5). Importantly, only three lines use enjambment, resulting in only three words, including "pane," occupying their own line: "pane," "grace," and "place" (lines 7, 9, 11). The three words create their own image. Through the flowers, described as "beauty's saving / grace," Fernandis suggests that nature's beauty can atone for, can provide "grace" for, the pain of this "place." Equal access to nature has the capacity to "[Make] the world a fairer / place" (lines 10-11). Further, the word "fairer" has obvious racial connotations. It gestures toward what

Fernandis witnessed as a child—the association of Whiteness, or "fairness," with the privileges of beauty and greenery of affluent White neighborhoods. Along similar lines, "fairness" refers to equity—racial equity and full citizenship that cannot be attained until all people, regardless of race or class, have equal access to nature. Fernandis dedicated her life's work—her philanthropic work and her literary writings, both deeply intertwined—to ensure that African Americans in the urban South had their own paradises which they would not have to cross into White spaces to experience and which they could enjoy, literally, in their own backyards and gardens. And she mobilized coalitions to accomplish it.

Conclusion

Nature writings in the *Southern Workman* reveal how a coalition of intellectuals, educators, teachers, teachers, and community members conceived of the natural world as a site of agency and a means of becoming engaged, empathetic citizens. Black artists, teachers, community activists, and students, on the other hand, saw in the natural world opportunities to cultivate a sense of citizenship, and the rights to equal citizenship, denied to African Americans in legal and extralegal ways. Together, they demonstrate the ways in which African Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries drew inspiration from the natural environment to create strong communities, to provide protection and sustenance for those communities, and to foster racial justice. Though the writers in this chapter take different approaches to environmental justice, and understandings of environmental justice are nuanced by each writers' particular concerns and context, all are connected by the same overarching philosophy: full citizenship is rooted in equal inheritance and access to the natural world.

CHAPTER 5

"MAKING BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW": MILITARY SERVICE AND COALITION CITIZENSHIP

On Dec. 7, 1918, a letter appeared in the *New York Age*. Benjamin F. Selden, an ex-student of Hampton Institute and Y.M.C.A. volunteer in France during World War I, wrote back to the United States to give praise to the 367th Infantry, known as the "Buffaloes," of the 92nd Division—a segregated, all-Black Division of men trained mostly at Hampton. "My work has carried me in every front line trench that our 376th boys have held and fought in," Selden wrote (43). "We thought we knew the better side of the Negro back home," he goes on, "but we did not . . . [U]nder all these trying conditions I have found him resourceful and tactful, long-suffering and farsighted, cool-headed and patient when the occasion demanded and, when necessary, doing as the Egyptians of old did, making bricks without straw" (Selden 43). Selden's letter, reprinted in the *Southern Workman*'s inaugural issue of 1919, resonates with the labors of wartime. But it also speaks to the larger civil rights struggle for communities of color in the U.S. This struggle, embodied in Selden's invocation of the proverbial phrase, "making bricks without straw," demonstrates the ways in which citizenship for people of color is a negotiation between gain and loss. Moreover, it embodies the continual challenge of securing equal citizenship even after Emancipation and in the failure of Reconstruction, described variously by scholars including Hannah Rosén as "the terror in the heart of freedom" and by Marcus Wood as "the horrible gift of freedom" (Rosén 19, Wood 1).

When Selden sent his letter across the Atlantic at the end of 1918, the struggle was just as visceral as it had been in the decades before World War I. The expression "making bricks without straw" was invoked in popular texts written by African American leaders, most notably by the formerly enslaved educator, Booker T. Washington (1856-1915), in his postbellum slave narrative, *Up from Slavery* (1901). Describing the difficulties of educating Tuskegee students in brickmaking without trained expertise, Washington writes, "I had always sympathized with the 'Children of Israel,' in their task of 'making bricks without straw,' but ours was the task of making bricks with no money and no experience" (150). His description of building a foundation without proper resources parallels the challenge of living as a citizen in a hostile nation. Such a struggle was shared by students at Tuskegee as well as Hampton Institute, which was both a Black industrial school and American Indian boarding school. As these institutions often doubled as military training grounds, they offered students like Selden an entry point into enlistment. Military service was one pathway to carve out a position of national belonging, to "make bricks without straw," first within the military itself and, by extension, the fabric of the nation.

Though wartime service offered opportunities for inclusion, however, it reflected the precarity of African American and American Indian peoples' position as citizens. Even as the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was extended in 1868 to grant citizenship status to all born on U.S. soil, including newly freed people and their children, limited economic opportunities, widespread racial violence, and Jim Crow segregation guaranteed second-class citizenship for Black Americans. In the U.S. military, Black soldiers fought in segregated battalions, and Black veterans returned to a Jim Crow South.[65] While American Indian soldiers

[65] For further reading on African American military service during this era, see *Torchbearers of Democracy: African American Soldiers in the World War I Era* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010), and Le'Trice D. Donaldson, *Duty Beyond the Battlefield: African American Soldiers Fight for Racial Uplift, Citizenship, and Manhood, 1870–1920* (Southern Illinois UP, 2020).

fought in integrated units with White soldiers, recognition as birthright citizens was legally withheld until Congress unilaterally granted that status to all tribal peoples with the passage of the Citizenship Act of 1924 (also known as the Snyder Act), a few years after World War I ended. Further, service for Indigenous enlistees was synonymous with assimilation. Securing citizenship by pledging allegiance to the U.S. military was an unequal exchange, as it often meant lessening or severing ties with Indigenous culture through assimilation into American culture.[66]

This chapter examines the genres of the race history, traditionary history, occasional or tribute poem, and short story through which Black, White, and Native writers in the *Southern Workman* explore military service as a pathway toward citizenship. In doing so, contributors challenge the ethos of racial uplift propagated by schools like Hampton Institute, which were central sites of military training and founded by military officials, including Hampton's founder, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839-93). Writers explored in this chapter include African American historians, poets, and short story writers, including Charles Steward (1870-1967), W. T. B. Williams (1869-1941), Eva del Vakia Bowles (1875-1943), Sarah Collins Fernandis, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and Alice Dunbar-Nelson (1872-1935); Native American historians and poets, such as Arthur C. Parker (Seneca, 1881-1955), Henry M. Owl (Eastern Band of Cherokee, 1896-1980), Hen-Toh (Wyandot, 1872-1928), and Arthur Chapman (White Earth Chippewa, years unknown); and the White missionary and adopted member of the Omaha tribe, William Justin Harsha (1853-1938). From the soldier facing the front lines to the mother sewing uniforms back home, these writers share a hope that military service might usher in national belonging.

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[66] For further reading on American Indian military service during this era, see Thomas A. Britten's *American Indians in World War I: At Home and at War* (University of New Mexico Press, 1997), Susan Applegate Krouse's *North American Indians in the Great War* (University of Nebraska Press, 2007), and William C. Meadows's *The Comanche Code Talkers of World War II* (University of Texas Press, 2002).

But that hope is accompanied by a sense of skepticism that informs their understanding that inclusion into the nation on military terms often meant towing a treacherous line between gain and loss. For example, speakers of poems subversively yoke the violence of wars overseas with racial violence on U.S. soil, and characters in short stories often decide to renounce altogether their allegiance to the U.S. military. What these writers reveal is that wartime did not always yield a completely harmonious American front. They respond to this limitation by placing value instead on the formation of nations within the larger American nation, united by a sense of coalition citizenship through the pressing needs of wartime and shared values of communal uplift and protection. These nations-within-the-nation are responsive to inclusion, yet eager, as the short stories of Alice Dunbar-Nelson and William Justin Harsha suggest, to privilege negotiating inclusion on their own terms and willing to withdraw or separate than risk cultural loss or harm.

Black Heroism and Singing for the "Unsung Heroes"

The African American race history grew out of the same spirit of commemoration to which Selden's letter testified regarding the heroism of Black soldiers in World War I. A popular genre among African American contributors to the *Southern Workman*, the race history describes commemorative accounts that chronicle the forgotten and/or misrepresented accomplishments of people of color. Laurie Maffly-Kipp has explored the growth of the race history in the 1880s and 90s as a response to Jim Crow racism and violence to Black memory enacted on the American historical record. Such histories, she explains, were created as correctives to "'white' race histories . . . presented as national histories" (233). Race histories push back against monolithic stories of White American heroism which, in denying Black perspectives, rejected them as equal

citizens of the nation. In addition to race histories, the occasional or tribute poem was a staple genre in the *Southern Workman*. The form, which I argue *Southern Workman* contributors adapted as a literary version of the race history, accomplishes similar work by recognizing publicly the contributions of Black enlistees through imaginative verse. Reaching back through multiple wars in U.S. history to make visible the memory of African American soldiers, the verse of Black poets Paul Laurence Dunbar and Sarah Collins Fernandis undertake one goal of the race history by cultivating a "collective existence" (Maffly-Kipp 3). These poets also used occasional verse to extend the work of the race history by questioning the value of military service and its ability to produce a fully united coalition of American citizens. The acts of creating histories and occasional poems, then, emerge as forms of what Derrick Spires calls "practicing citizenship" (4). "Citizenship," Spires states, "is not a thing determined by who one is but rather by what one does. Law and custom shape these activities (negatively and positively), but they do not make citizenship or citizens. Practicing citizenship makes citizens" (3-4).

Making visible Black heroism as a means of "practicing citizenship," of protecting the representation, memory, and history of Black soldiers, was especially important in a periodical like the *Southern Workman*, in which writings that caricatured African Americans as demeaning types who were passive, docile, and blindly loyal to former enslavers were not few and far between. Nostalgic sketches by White female southerners, such as Henrietta Daingerfield's "Our Mammy" (1901), Virginia Sherrard's "Recollections of My Mammy" (1901), and Kate B. Conrad's "Uncle Stephen" (1901), abetted the reconciliationist vision that David W. Blight has labeled a mythology of the post-Civil War South (2, 216). Conrad's "Uncle Stephen," for example, paints a loyal, doting, and happy relationship between an elderly enslaved African American man and a young White plantation mistress, reinforcing what Saidiya Hartman calls

"scenes of subjection"—"happy scenes of the plantation" in which "tension[s] between domination and intimacy" are "resolved" through sentimentality (7, 29). Writers of race histories refuted such disparaging depictions, with an eye toward the legacy of Black military heroism.

In the late 1890s, African American writer Charles Steward—son of scholar, minister, Army chaplain, and Buffalo Soldier, Theophilus Gould Steward (1843-1924)—published articles in the *Southern Workman* that recovered the eclipsed history of Black military service. His article, "Colored Americans as Army Officers" (1899), functions as a mini race history by providing a corrective to whitewashed accounts of America's wars that have either diminished or completely erased the military service of people of color since the American Revolution.[67] Nearly a century before Steward penned his histories, African American abolitionist and journalist William C. Nell (1816-74) vowed in the introduction of his own military history, *Services of Colored Americans* (1851), "to rescue from oblivion the name and fame" of Black soldiers in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 (3). Steward heeded Nell's project, with a particular focus on the recently ended Spanish American War. "Public acknowledgement of the achievements of Negro soldiery in Cuba," he laments, "was neither adequately cordial nor unmixed with detracting comment" (Steward 376). The wartime service of Black soldiers, who had "no favorable journalist," was distorted, couched in terms of dependence and cowardice (376). To Steward, this was nowhere more evident than in Theodore Roosevelt's account of the Spanish American War, *The Rough Riders* (1889), in which he credited White officers for prompting the bravery and sacrifice which Black soldiers assertively displayed in the Battle of San Juan Hill (376).

[67] The same year, in 1899, Steward published another race history in the *Southern Workman* titled "Colored American Soldiers."

To counter such misrepresentations, Steward calls on the record of Black regiments in the Civil War. "The history of our Civil War," Steward writes, "bears many now somewhat familiar instances of Negro officers commanding Negro troops in battle" (378). The possessive use of "our" war simultaneously claims Black soldiers' equal participation in the country's struggles and highlights the specific freedom struggle of people of African descent. He recounts the heroism of the formerly enslaved Captain André Cailloux (1825-63) who, despite a mangled arm shattered by cannon fire, continued to lead the 1st Louisiana Native Guard of the Union Army in the Battle of Port Hudson (1863), "urging his men onward by brave words and braver example" (379).[68] The record of bravery and sacrifice was no different in the Battle of San Juan Hill. Steward presents the names and ranks of Black soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry, a litany meant to restore individuality and dignity to soldiers whose bravery had been overlooked. The weight of Steward's words would have had an immense impact on student readers of the *Southern Workman*.[69] Used primarily as a fundraising tool to advertise Hampton's agenda in industrial and military training, the periodical also had another audience: Black and Native students who not only materially produced the *Southern Workman* but also students in Hampton's classrooms who were assigned the periodical as reading material. Such race histories, then, were crafted not merely to provide evidence of Black peoples' worthiness to White audiences contemplating a

[68] The impetus of Steward's race history—to commemorate the memory and reimagine the wartime experiences of Black soldiers—resonates, too, with recent literary works and scholarship, including Natasha Trethewey's poem "Native Guard," the title poem for her collection *Native Guard* (First Mariner Books, 2006), and Cody Marrs's *Not Even Past: The Stories We Keep Telling About the Civil War* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2020). As Trethewey writes, "Some names shall deck the page of history / as it is written on stone. Some will not" (lines 1-2).

[69] Letters printed in the *Southern Workman* from Hampton graduates who went on to serve in the military reinforced the sentiment of Steward's history. Sergeant H. B. Bivins, of the Tenth Cavalry for instance, who wrote back to his alma mater to commend the bravery of Black soldiers in the 1898 Battle of San Juan Hill. "I need not tell you how my regiment fought," he wrote. "Bravery was displayed by all of the colored regiments" (166). Bivins's letter was reprinted in William B. Gatewood, Jr.'s collection, *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902,* ed. Gatewood (University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 49-50.

donation to Hampton but, more importantly, to inspire and instill race pride in the next generation of aspiring young Black men and women—in particular, male students who had been trained in the military since Hampton's founding (Fig. 16).

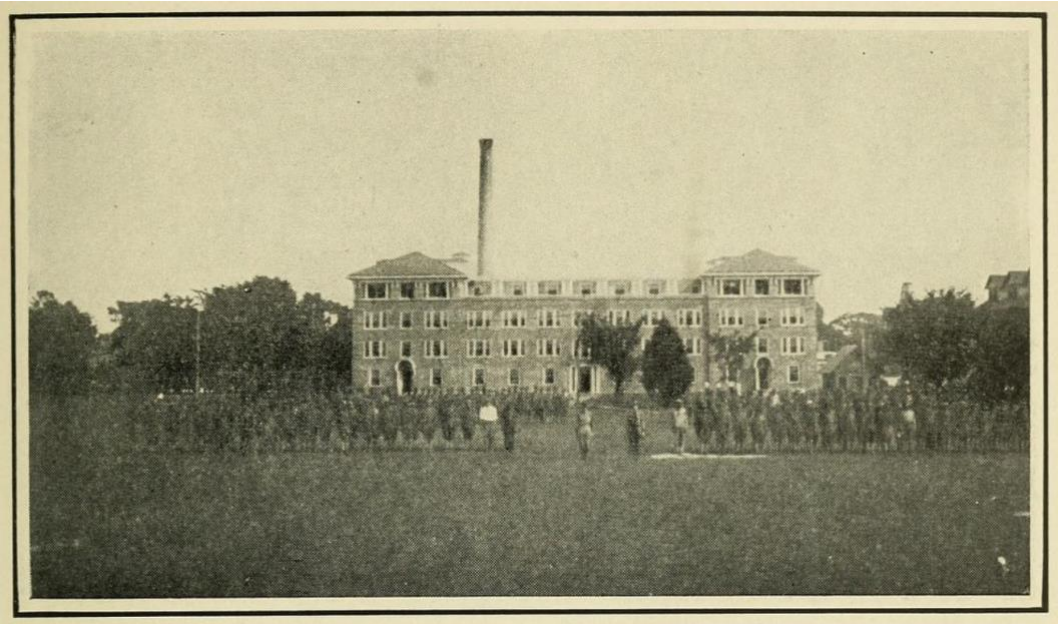

Figure 16. Photograph of student soldiers at military drill. From *Hampton in War Time*, Press of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1918, p. 16. Digital access courtesy of HathiTrust, digitized by Columbia University.

The need to right the wrongs of the historical record in race histories like Steward's was again confirmed almost two decades later, near the end of World War I. In 1918, an editorial from the *New York Times* was reprinted in the *Southern Workman*. It read:

> Like a pathetic romance runs the story of our soldiers in black. Too little has been told about them by the writers of American history. A better understanding between the races might have long ago materialized had a page or two here and there from the musty old Government reports and official war records, long buried in the dustiest corners of big

> libraries, been inserted in the textbooks of history, giving the Negro's part in the nation's wars. (16)

Allotting only "a page or two here and there" would still circumscribe Black military service as a brief history— a rare sacrifice, a creviced experience in the annals of patriotic duty. African American contributors to Hampton's magazine fought, in their own kind of battle for recognition, with the pen and the race history. Placed just before the snippet from the *New York Times* was "The World War and the Negro" (1918), a brief race history by W. T. B. (William Taylor Burwell) Williams, a Black educator and graduate of Hampton. He begins by asking, "What has the Negro to do with the war?" (9). His answer is: everything. Calling on the legacy of the Civil War, Williams notes, the Black soldier "played a determining part" for "freedom" (10). Commenting on his current moment and World War I, he asks rhetorically, "Is it not significant that now the white man should find himself forced to call upon the black man, to whom he so strenuously denied the rights and privileges of democracy…?" (10). He paints a pan-African portrait of all the soldiers of African descent fighting in the war, from Black troops in the U.S. Army to the Senegalese, Somali, and Algerian soldiers of France. As he concludes, "the Negro hopes to win, in this war, not only freedom for America, but full and unquestioned citizenship for himself" (16). Williams's inclusion of the phrase "unquestioned citizenship" is a nod to the strictures and pitfalls that jeopardize the full citizenship guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment: Jim Crow segregation that sanctioned the segregation of Black military units, mob violence and lynchings, dismal job opportunities, mass incarceration through convict lease and chain gang systems.

What writers of race histories also made visible was that the story of Black war heroes could not be told without also bringing to light the female figures on the periphery of the war

efforts: African American women, often mothers of sons serving their country, who fought in the war by washing, darning, and sewing uniforms for the U.S. military. In "Negro Women and the War" (1918), Eva del Vakia Bowles used her brief race history to foreground the agency of Black women—"to show the world" what Black women "are capable of doing, not because of, but in spite of, apparently insurmountable obstacles" (425). Like Williams, who highlights a spectrum of soldiers both inside and outside of the U.S., Bowles draws on the work of women of African descent both nationally and internationally, in the U.S. and in France, affirming a sense of transatlantic coalition citizenship in which their "spirit of sacrifice" was rooted (425). "Negro women have heard the reveille," she concludes, "and with Christ as the Captain of their souls they will be able to 'Carry On' and contribute their share in bringing about world Christian democracy, which can never be complete without them" (426).

In recasting the race history, poets such as Paul Laurence Dunbar and Sarah Collins Fernandis transformed the genre into poetic form. Their tribute poems take the facts, historical details, and litany of names and accomplishments characteristic of the race history and elevate it with the literary imagination in order to depict scenes, emotions, hopes, and fears of soldiers of color in battle and the women who supported them from afar. Dunbar's tribute, "The Unsung Heroes" (1900), reimagines the experiences of enslaved African American men who joined, fought, and died for the Union army in the Civil War. Dunbar uses the genre of the occasional poem to affirm what Martha S. Jones calls "birthright citizenship"—a term that encapsulates the ways in which Black people asserted citizenship even before the U.S. Constitution legally granted them such a status (5). The poem's title captures the purpose that galvanized writers to compose race histories: to "[narrate] a past" that "gave African Americans control over their

identities" and "allowed them to refute the pervasive dictum of black inferiority" (Maffly-Kipp 3).

Moreover, Dunbar's poem fills a void in representations of military heroism in photographs of the Civil War. As Mark Meigs has noted, in photographs by two of the war's most famous photographers, Mathew Brady (ca. 1822-96) and Alexander Gardner (1821-82), Brady and Gardner give us "white heroes, dead and alive" (par. 24). When Black subjects are pictured, they are often serving or burying the bodies of White soldiers. Deborah Willis's recently published *The Black Civil War Soldier: A Visual History of Conflict and Citizenship* (2021) acknowledges how such a "lack of images of black soldiers" fighting in battles or standing with regiments continues to "influence our modern perceptions of the war," and she reprints letters from Black soldiers as one means of bridging this gap (viii). The firsthand accounts reprinted in Willis's book testify to the sacrifices and death toll of Black soldiers on the battlefield. The absence of photographs showing bodies of Black soldiers is a striking contrast to photographs of lynchings that depicted the lifeless, mangled bodies of Black men and women and propagated stereotypes of Black criminality. The erasure that both images enact upon Black historical memory and lives are evidence of what Jacqueline Goldsby has termed the "cultural logic" of lynching—namely, the "social world to which lynching refers," which is both "informed" and "formed by violence" (26-27). Dunbar's "The Unsung Heroes" counteracts such violence by creating the image of Black heroism that Brady and Gardner refused to capture and which White Americans who consumed lynching visuals were not willing to accept. Whereas the southern landscape under slavery locked enslaved people in an unnatural relationship with the natural world through forced labor and violence, Dunbar associates that same landscape as a site upon which Black heroism is visible. On the "bloody sod" of battlefields, Dunbar reimagines

fallen Black soldiers who "fought their way from night to day," from enslavement to Emancipation (lines 43, 44). From the coasts of South Carolina and Louisiana to the banks of the Mississippi River in Tennessee, in the battles of Fort Wagner and Port Hudson and in the Fort Pillow Massacre, the "rivers," "valleys," "hillsides," and "plain[s]" of the South "saw their glory," "heard their war-cry," and "knew their blood" (Dunbar lines 25, 34, 21, 23, 21). Dunbar's poem functions as a kind of proxy photograph, providing the American public with an image of Black heroism that was never produced.

Following Dunbar, Sarah Collins Fernandis's war poems commemorate Black military legacies. A Hampton graduate, Fernandis worked for the War Camp Community Service in Chester, Pennsylvania, where she organized a club for Black veterans, a parade for Black soldiers, Girl Scouts, and Boy Scouts, and concert programs dedicated to enlistees and veterans during World War I ("Chester's" 379-80). She also planned a week-long series of events called New Era Week. The celebration "demonstrated that white and colored men and women can successfully engage in constructive cooperation for the all-round advancement of a war-production community and the distinct betterment of race relations" (381). Fernandis must have looked around Chester and saw that the war produced much more than military resources. The war-production community was not simply a coalition of Black and White citizens coalescing to produce the necessities of wartime. The very act of coming together to produce wartime resources was a form of production in and of itself in building a stronger national coalition of diverse citizens, as was the case at Hampton (Fig. 17). During World War I, Black and Native students collected books and fashioned bookcases to be sent to the Library War Service; produced checker-board tables for the Army Y.M.C.A.; participated in food conservation efforts

by canning and baking "war bread" for the Red Cross; and knitted afghans and sweaters for soldiers (*Hampton in War Time* 7-21).

Figure 17. Photograph of Whittier School girls learning to knit for soldiers. File Unit: Colleges and Universities - Hampton Institute, 1917 – 1918, Series: American Unofficial, Collection of World War I Photographs, 1917 – 1918, Record Group 165: Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs, 1860 – 1952. Courtesy of National Archives at College Park.

Like a military uniform that not only protects but also brings pride to its wearer, Fernandis's tributes[70] bestow dignity upon Black soldiers by celebrating their sacrifice and brotherhood while also protecting their memory in the public sphere. Her poem, "Our Allegiance" (1917), celebrates Black soldiers who took up arms to defend the nation in World War I. The speaker alludes not solely to international strife overseas but also to racial discrimination at home in the U.S. by deploying the language of social justice. "Our flag, our

[70] The poems I analyze, "Our Allegiance" and "The Cry Supreme," are only two examples of Fernandis's war poetry published in the *Southern Workman*. She also wrote "The Troopers at Carrizal" (1916), "Our Colored Soldiery" (1918), and "A New Vision" (1919), none of which have been reprinted since their original publication.

country!" the speaker proclaims, "tho' our plaint, a meed / Inadequate; tho' justice's delay / Has held us hindered by our urgent need / For equity on progress' steep way—" (Fernandis lines 1, 5-8). Fernandis projects a hope into the future that "light unprejudiced" will illuminate the nation to see Black subjects not as a problem to be solved but "as citizens of this great land" (lines 11, 12). While the poem may initially seem a testament to Black soldiers' allegiance to the nation, the unbalanced scales of justice—embodied in the phrase "justice's delay"—foreground an allegiance to Black brotherhood instead (line 1). The "our" in the poem's title refers not to a united coalition of Americans but a coalition of Black soldiers who will grant one another a foremost right of citizenship that the nation does not: protection.

Fernandis's most poignant interrogation of securing equal citizenship through military service is visible in her poem, "The Cry Supreme" (1918), in which she subversively confronts another unofficial and ongoing battle in which racism and discrimination ensure second-class citizenship even for Black veterans returning home from war. "The Cry Supreme" is dedicated to African American women's Red Cross work in Baltimore, Maryland. It foregrounds the agency of Black women who served in official and unofficial military capacities in World War I, a tribute to those who "fold[ed] and knit[ted] and sew[ed], and pray[ed]" for soldiers overseas battling the "great counter-strife" of the "brutish invading Hun," or the German army (lines 16, 1, 2).[71] Yet Fernandis's message runs deeper. In the context of racial violence and terrorism, the mass incarceration of Black men and women in chain gangs and convict camps, and Jim Crow segregation, it becomes clear that the violator to whom the speaker refers is not Germany but the

[71] For further reading on Black and Native women's roles in the war effort, see Alice Dunbar-Nelson, "Negro Women and War Work," in *Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War*, edited by Emmett Jay Scott (Homewood Press, 1919), pp. 374-97; Nikki Brown, *Private Politics and Public Voices: Black Women's Activism from World War I to the New Deal* (Indiana UP, 2006); and Thomas A. Britten, *American Indians in World War I* (University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

U.S.—a nation that "by force and frightfulness o'er-run[s]" its own "[e]stablished law" by exacting "ruthless devastation" onto subjects who, by legal doctrine, are its citizens (lines 3, 7). To be a Black citizen in America, Fernandis suggests, is to be a soldier. The real "counter-strife," or retaliatory strike, then, is the Black poet's public condemnation, and the occasional poem becomes a gun aimed in combat against the first strikes dealt by the nation. Its message is a bullet that aims at, shoots, and shatters the heart of America's beliefs in the sanctity of the inalienable rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and in the amendments of the U.S. Constitution as the law of the land. With this criticism in mind, the feminine characterization of "her" that the speaker uses to reference America also gestures toward another female presence to whom the poem is dedicated: Black women whose fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons have been doubly stripped from them by fighting *for* the American nation and by merely living *in* the American nation. "She," a composite of all Black women, watches "[h]er manhood's last, dying groan" (line 6). The "ruthless devastation" of racial terrorism seeks the "red blood" of Black people as "womanhood's deep wail / Of nameless torture" and "childhood's frightened scream / All intermingle in the cry supreme" (lines 9-10, 10-11). By the poem's close, it is clear that the women form a coalition to "fold and knit and sew, and pray" not for the larger nation but for another coalition—the "nation within the nation," as Du Bois described of the Black community in his 1934 speech, "A Negro Nation Within a Nation," in which he encouraged Black Americans to build autonomous economic and educational resources (384). Their labors of love are performed for the survivance, safety, and strength of Black soldiers—both official combat soldiers overseas and unofficial soldiers who are citizens fighting to survive in a hostile nation.

"let it not be forgotten": Writing against the "Vanishing Indian"

American Indian contributors to the *Southern Workman* also penned commemorative histories and tribute poems. Akin to the genre of the race history, the American Indian traditionary history protects the memory of tribal histories and the cultural and political contributions of Indigenous peoples. Describing the contours of traditionary histories, Maureen Konkle writes, "Native writers did exactly the opposite of what white writers did when they wrote about their traditions, and histories . . . They not only explained traditions but also explained their experience of whites and that of their tribes generally; they wrote about treaties and broken agreements; they wrote about the progress of Indian nations as they understood it" (151). Whereas the African American race history dispelled stereotypes of criminality or obsequiousness, traditionary histories allowed Native writers to push back against the myth of the "vanishing Indian." The histories also foster a sense of cultural pride, assert political autonomy, emphasize the strength of tribal families and communities, and, further, foreground a pan-tribal vision of "cross tribal bonds" which, as Creek-Cherokee scholar Craig A. Womack has noted, worked against assimilation policies of boarding schools intended to individualize the culture, family, land, and selfhood of Native peoples (226). In doing so, the histories foreground what White Earth Ojibwe scholar Gerald Vizenor calls "Native survivance"—"an active sense of presence over absence, deracination, and oblivion" (1).

As Christopher Capozzola explains, even though Congress passed an act in 1919 that granted citizenship to Indian veterans who enlisted in World War I, and the Citizenship Act of 1924 approved this status unilaterally to Native peoples, "no one took seriously the idea that many Native Americans did not want to be citizens of the United States" (118). At the heart of such hesitancy or outright refusal was that U.S. citizenship policies "pushed American

institutions and cultural practices toward a citizenship premised on a single allegiance to one state bounded by the territorial limits of the United States" (Capozzola 119). While boarding schools like Hampton used military training as evidence of the successful assimilation of Native peoples, writers of traditionary histories often throw that ideology into question. Writers towed a thin rhetorical line, blending celebratory accounts of Native soldiers' sacrifices with thinly veiled, and at times blatant, critiques of the hypocrisy of U.S. democratic ideals. What the histories make visible is that military enlistment was not always synonymous with the renunciation of cultural roots. Further, they cast doubt on the idea that inclusion into the U.S. military could offer Native enlistees a sense of citizenship and belonging in a nation that did not already value the sovereignty and subjecthood of tribal peoples, emphasizing that some soldiers did not fight to obtain U.S. citizenship but did so to protect their homeland as the First Americans.

One contribution in the *Southern Workman* stands as poignant evidence of the kinds of stereotypes that writers of traditionary histories attempted to dispel. In his address, "A Plea for the Red Man" (1905), a White politician and ex-Governor of Oregon named J. F. Fletcher cautions readers about the erasure of American Indian heroism latent in American historical memory. "[L]et it not be forgotten," Fletcher urges, "that the white man has been the historian. We have read only one side of the story" (14). Echoing the saying, "the half has never been told," of the experiences of enslaved African Americans, Fletcher concludes, "The Indian side will never be told" (14). While the ex-Governor attempts to combat the "vanishing Indian" myth, he simultaneously encourages assimilation through Christianization and allotment to "[convert] every Indian into a citizen of the United States" (16). He calls such a plan "the only just, true, and radical solution" to "the problem," reducing Indigenous peoples to an "Indian problem" that

must be solved (16). Regarding tribal communities as the nation's wards, rather than as sovereign nations or citizens, was paralleled in dominant White culture's rhetoric of Black subjects. As Alain Locke denounced in his introduction to *The New Negro* (1925), Black people are disparaged, viewed not as agents or citizens but as sick patients of American society (11). Though Fletcher attempts to counter the "vanishing" myth, the irony seems to have been lost on him that he himself is implicated in creating such a stereotype by encouraging the further erasure of tribal cultures. Nonetheless, Fletcher's claim that "the white man has been the historian" rang true (14). But Indigenous voices in the *Southern Workman* made certain that Fletcher's prediction, "the Indian side will never be told," would not.

The traditionary histories of Henry M. Owl (Eastern Band of Cherokee) and Arthur C. Parker (Seneca) countered the "vanishing" stereotype by documenting the past and present military service of American Indians. Unlike Fletcher's title "A Plea for the Red Man," traditionary histories were not pleas for recognition but affirmative statements of subjecthood. Owl's "The Indian and the War" (1918) documents Native soldiers in World War I, reaching back through history to demonstrate the heroism of tribal peoples on the front lines "in every war" that America "has waged" since the war for independence (Owl 353). The article's opening line announces the Native subject as "a patriotic citizen," claiming American citizenship even as the Constitution did not yet recognize about 40 percent of tribal peoples as such when Owl's article appeared in the *Southern Workman* (353). Importantly, however, Owl's history is inflected by a sense of skepticism about the U.S. military's ostensible campaign for peace overseas and its treatment of tribal peoples at home. He confronts the ways in which the U.S. government has hindered the autonomy of and undermined the once "[bright] future" for tribal nations not simply in the "treaties" that "have been broken" but, more importantly, the

"detrimental … treaties" that "have been kept" (353). He goes on: "The red man, cooperating with his fellow countrymen, will fight to the bitter end for an ensured and humane peace, for we cannot enjoy such a state of existence until we successfully abolish that detestable autocratic government which is a tyrannical injustice to civilization" (353). Criticizing the inhumane injustices of oppressive governments outside of the U.S. and against which the U.S. waged war, Owl indirectly indicts the hypocrisy of the American federal government. While the U.S. may be fighting in a global war to bring about "ensured and humane peace," Owl suggests, that same harmony is antithetical to its own ideals of democracy—a discrepancy visible in the centuries-long subjugation of Native peoples, especially by U.S. military conquest and its involvement in Indian genocide and removal.

Like Owl's history, Arthur C. Parker's traditionary history, "The Seneca Indians in the War of 1812" (1916), looks to Indian nations' involvement in a past war to reflect on the current service of soldiers in World War I, recounting specifically the story of how the Seneca became U.S. allies in the War of 1812.[72] Parker makes visible that protecting *their* homeland as the First Americans, rather than securing U.S. citizenship and national belonging, was the Seneca nation's primary objective. While the title of Parker's history highlights one nation and one war, the piece broadens outward to create a pan-tribal vision—a coalition of sovereign tribal nations—of the precarities of wartime service for all Indigenous peoples, including both American Indian and First Nations tribes. Precipitated by British forces' encroachment onto and occupation of tribal land, an inter-tribal meeting of the Iroquois Confederacy was called in Detroit, Michigan, including the Seneca, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Tuscarora nations. The

[72] This traditionary history was one of several that Parker published in the *Southern Workman*. He also wrote "Progress for the Indian" (1912), "The American Indian in the World War" (1918) and "The New York Indians" (1921).

collaborative decision of "the league of the tribes" was to support the U.S. military (Parker 116). While Parker paints the motivations of the tribes in the language of American democracy and patriotism, he makes clear that allyship was agreed upon not out of loyalty to "white settlers" or to the U.S. but instead out of the tribes' "native love of country" (117). The Confederacy's declaration, which Parker reprints, makes clear that, as the First Americans, "native love of country" signifies loyalty to sovereign tribal nations and not to the larger U.S.: "'We know of no other way to preserve peace but to rise from our seats and defend our own firesides, our wives, and our children,'" and, to protect the very foundation upon which the home and the family can prosper, "'our lands'" (120).[73]

Parker's conclusion gestures toward the larger tensions between hope and skepticism regarding Native peoples' participation in the military and highlights the lack of consensus among tribal peoples regarding the value of enlistment. "More than anything else," he writes, "the War of 1812 cemented the Iroquois to the United States and left them loyal people confident in the integrity and justice of the nation. Their hopes were high and they believed that a new era of good fellowship had dawned" (122). This hopeful vision, however, is fleeting. "Alas," Parker laments, "how falsely they were deceived. In fifteen years' time this hope snapped like a bubble. Through a fraudulent treaty, signed by the chiefs elected by a land company, they lost the Buffalo Creek Reservation for which they had spilled so much blood" (122). Though "[o]ne

[73] Like Steward's race history, Parker's traditionary history lists the names on a "roster kept by the survivors of the war"—not only of male soldiers but also of female soldiers, juvenile soldiers, and prisoners of war (120). In the War of 1812, Parker writes, women, most of whom were Oneida, "donned uniforms, shouldered muskets, and fought like the patriots they were" (121). A salient element of both race and traditionary histories, the litany of names humanizes soldiers, assuring that their memory would be circulated among Indigenous audiences—most importantly, the audience of Native students in Hampton's classrooms and Print Shop. Moreover, they offer a more detailed, expansive gloss on scattershot news items featuring singular portraits of Indigenous women such as Sarah Valandre, for example, whose knitting efforts on a South Dakota reservation were praised in the *Southern Workman* and in other boarding school and mainstream periodicals across the U.S. Her ability, described as a "remarkable record," to knit an entire soldier's sweater in a period of four hours gained her national attention ("Indian Americans" 208).

hundred years ha[d] passed since the close of the second war with Great Britain," little had changed at the time Parker penned his history in 1916 (122). Though "[i]n every national calamity the Senecas have supplied men to defend and uphold the Union," the hard truth is that the exchange of service for U.S. citizenship, recognition, and autonomy of tribal nations was an unequal and unfulfilled one (122). An editorial in the *Southern Workman*, titled "The Indians and the War" (1917), echoes Parker's contrasting sentiments. The editorial reports that "the council of the Seneca nation in New York States protested against inclusion in the draft" on the grounds that they were "denied the full rights of citizenship," denigrating their action as a "political" "move" ("The Indians" 521). It also reprints a letter from Red Fox James of the Blackfeet tribe who appealed for the rightful position of Native soldiers in the military, celebrating his appeal as "an admirable spirit of loyalty and patriotism" (521). The report not only evidences the diverse range of stances regarding military service among Native peoples but also reveals the ideological agenda of Hampton's periodical to depict military skepticism as unpatriotic.

Like Dunbar and Fernandis, who recast the race history into imaginative verse, American Indian poets adapt meanings of the traditionary history into occasional poems that look to the past, present, and future in questioning Indigenous peoples' relationship to the U.S. military. Arthur Chapman's (White Earth Chippewa) poem, "Indians in Khaki" (1919), invokes the Wounded Knee Massacre in which nearly three hundred Lakota were killed by the U.S. Army.[74] The speaker opens by recalling the 9,000 Indigenous enlistees in World War I, stating that "[f]orgotten, then, was Wounded Knee" (Chapman lines 1, 5). This seemingly definitive statement poses a question: Who forgot the massacre? While initially this line seems to gesture

[74] In his edited collection, *Changing is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), Robert Dale Parker questions the verity of Arthur Chapman's status as a White Earth Chippewa, citing a lack of tribal records.

toward American Indian enlistees' willful forgetting of the massacre in fighting for the U.S., the history of Wounded Knee suggests that it is White soldiers and White America who suffer from historical amnesia. The massacre was precipitated by the Army's attempts to disarm the Lakota of their weapons. The irony, which Chapman's allusion exposes, is that the U.S. is now, for its own protection, arming those whom it once disarmed. "Forgotten, then, was Wounded Knee" is really a statement that *Indigenous peoples* will never forget. Although armed today, they could be disarmed tomorrow, and the parallel between Wounded Knee and World War I encapsulates such shifting contours of citizenship.

Wyandot poet Bertrand Nicholas Oliver (B.N.O.) Walker, also known as Hen-Toh, builds upon Chapman's skepticism of military service. Printed in the *Southern Workman*'s inaugural issue of 1919, Hen-Toh's commemorative poem, "The Calumet or Peace-Pipe," laments the destruction of war while simultaneously imagining that Native enlistment will generate national belonging and racial harmony.[75] The speaker expresses hope that the "fruits" of military service "offered" in defense of the nation might also be extended "to each other" to bring about "peace and brotherhood" (Walker lines 3, 2). But the speaker's desire for "mad War's red stain" to be "blot[ted] out" from the "Earth" gestures not simply to the world war in which the U.S. was recently engaged, but also to the war that settler colonialism and its legacy in Hen-Toh's contemporary moment waged upon tribal peoples' culture, families, and land (line 12, 13). Further, the poem's framing with the language of Whiteness gestures toward Hen-Toh's doubt that becoming a naturalized U.S. citizen by serving in the military would both ensure equal footing in the U.S. while also honoring the sovereignty and culture of Native peoples. Beginning with an image of the "white lands of the North," the poem ends with a call for fraternal harmony,

[75] Hen-Toh's poem was later included in his poetry collection, *Yon-Doo-Shah-We-Ah (Nubbins)* (1924).

symbolized in the metaphorical offering of the peace-pipe for which the poem is titled. In the last words of the poem, the speaker describes the offering as a "White Peace" (lines 1, 14). Such a framing implies Hen-Toh's understanding that any "[a]ccept[ance]" by White America "of the Red Man's ancient symbol" will be on the colonizer's terms (line 10). Rather than reject tribal allegiance in favor of "a uniform system of citizenship with a single allegiance" to the U.S., Hen-Toh reaffirms sovereignty and tribal traditions (Cappazola 115). Titled for the ceremonial event of passing around a peace-pipe, which is both a traditional and political act, the poem represents a brotherhood—a coalition, similar to Du Bois's "nation within a nation"—of American Indian soldiers who cultivate national belonging through cultural and political practices not within the larger American nation but through a pan-tribal community of enlistees and veterans (line 10).

"with needles as weapons": Mothers, Sons, and Soldiers on Parade in the Short Stories of Alice Dunbar-Nelson and William Justin Harsha

While contributors such as Steward, Owl, and Parker composed histories and Dunbar, Fernandis, Hen-Toh, and Chapman commemorated soldiers in tribute poems, fiction writers like Alice Dunbar-Nelson and William Justin Harsha reached into the literary imagination to render the experiences of Black and Native soldiers and the communities who supported them. Though published nineteen years apart, their stories offer strikingly similar portraits of Black and Native soldiers' experiences. Dunbar-Nelson and Harsha not only reimagine more diverse experiences of Black and Native war heroes but also bring to life female figures on the periphery of the war efforts: African American and Native American women, often mothers of sons serving their country, who fought in the war with "needles as weapons," as Owl remarked in his traditionary history, by washing, darning, and sewing uniforms for the U.S. military (355). Crafting figures of

cultural and familial support behind the soldier at battle as well as public occasional events such as military parades and welcoming-home receptions allowed Dunbar-Nelson and Harsha to simultaneously commemorate the soldiery of Black and Native men, foreground the agency of Black and Native women, and express skepticism regarding the military's ability to usher in full citizenship.

Dunbar-Nelson's now virtually unknown short story "Esteve, the Soldier Boy" (1900) reimagines the silences in histories of soldiers of color in the War of 1812—the Battle of New Orleans in particular. A diverse coalition of Kentucky and Tennessee regiments, White Creoles, Baratarian pirates, Choctaw Indians, free men of color, San Dominguan émigrés, and enslaved people fought in the Battle of New Orleans. Yet the service of people of African descent is often eclipsed by Jackson's triumphant story. Dunbar-Nelson decenters this towering narrative by reimagining the Battle of New Orleans from the perspective of the fictional young Creole boy of color, Esteve. In her essay "The Site of Memory" (1987), Toni Morrison distinguishes between "fact and fiction" and "fact and truth" in "fill[ing] in the blanks" of the unwritten "interior life" and silenced "emotional memory" of slave narratives (93, 95, 99). Imagination is also central to Dunbar-Nelson's historical method. That 430 men of African descent fought in the War of 1812 is a fact (McConnell 84). But Dunbar-Nelson, like Morrison, is interested in the truth of that fact: the emotional memory of the soldiers' experiences, the interior life of those who felt, aspired, and desired, but "didn't write it" (Morrison 99, 93). In the only scholarship on the story, Caroline Gebhard acknowledges that Esteve's character blends both fact and fiction, nothing that he is "loosely based . . . on Jordan Noble, a real fourteen-year-old free Black boy who showed exceptional bravery as a drummer in the Battle of New Orleans" (353-54). In "Esteve," Dunbar-Nelson places alongside familiar, monumental figures and events fictional, marginalized

characters. By placing into historical memory a diverse story of the struggles and desires of people of color between the American Revolution and the Civil War, a time when, as Carrie Hyde notes, "the term 'citizen' remained undefined in U.S. law," the story questions representations of heroism and the contours of citizenship for people of color (4). Writing in the wake of Reconstruction's failure and nearly a century after the war with Britain—a period that witnessed the abolition of slavery and the passage of three constitutional amendments supposed to guarantee equal citizenship and civil rights—the shaky ground of citizenship for Black Americans that characterized Dunbar-Nelson's contemporary moment paralleled the uncertainties of citizenship in the early nineteenth century.

Dunbar-Nelson's child war hero, Esteve Boyer, is a young Creole of African descent living in New Orleans. His father died during the Haitian Revolution and, like so many refugees from all castes who fled St. Domingue after the slave rebellion, including slaveholders, free people of color, and the enslaved (often with their enslavers), Esteve's mother, Lois, emigrated to the Crescent City during or shortly after the uprising (Baur 402, Lachance 11). After witnessing two battalions of soldiers of color in a military procession during the War of 1812, an awestruck Esteve is kidnapped by American defectors and impressed into to the British army, flees to Andrew Jackson's ranks, and fights for the American army in the Battle of New Orleans. Framed by two military processions during the War of 1812, the tale is set in motion by a celebration in New Orleans's old military parade ground, the Place d'Armes (which translates in English to "parade"), now Jackson Square. The celebration presents a significant racially and transnationally united front: White troops, soldiers of color, and Baratarian pirates leave the city together for battle, the parade a grand send-off. The unlikely coalition of diverse forces elicits sarcastic commentary from the omniscient narrator: "It was very funny, all of it. For were not

these the dread Baratarians—the Gulf Coast pirates—they whose little kingdom down by the sea had been a dread and menace for so long a time? . . . Jean and Pierre Lafitte had held the country around in subjection for years, but now they were patriots . . . accepted by the great General Jackson to defend the unprotected city" (Dunbar-Nelson 631). The pirates from which the city once shielded itself were now its deliverers. This uncanny reversal of allegiance questions how freedom can be safeguarded by pirates, calling attention not only to the ironies of American ideals but also to heroism's association with oppression: Jackson was both a staunch supporter of slavery and the war's celebrated icon of freedom. Such details invoke the expansion of Western imperialist nations' territorial possessions for economic, political, and military influence under the masks of humanitarianism and liberation—in particular, the American occupations and annexations during the Spanish and Philippine American wars at the turn into the twentieth century.

The crowd's "laughter" at the pirates-turned-patriots soon transforms into "cheering" and "joyous wonder" as Jean and Pierre Lafitte's men pass out of view and two military corps of soldiers of color take their place (631, 632). "There was much parading in those days," the narrator explains, "for the citizens loved to see the men who were to save the city" (632). The audience's love of soldiers on parade is a kind of scripted performance that allows onlookers to take part in the pageantry of patriotism. But one onlooker's sentiments toward the military men pierce a realm beyond the crowd's eagerness for patriotic entertainment. Esteve "suddenly . . . hushed and stood still in joyous wonder too deep for words" upon seeing the two battalions, the first in the nation's history: Major Daquin's San Dominguan Battalion and Colonel Fortier's Battalion of Free Men of Color (632). A "very proud" Esteve watches the soldiers in awe, for he "was a little brown boy whose father lay buried in San Domingo" (632). Esteve's conception of

American military heroism is transformed in this public celebration of men who look like him when he observes a much different version of gallantry than that conveyed by the Baratarian pirates, whose "kingdom by the sea" was an entry point for slave smuggling (Obadele-Starks 34-35). Uniformed ranks that exude possibility instead of exclusion inaugurate Esteve's desire to become a soldier. Esteve's aspirations for military service might be described in Hyde's words as "civic longing"—evidence of the ways in which, as Martha Jones has explored, African Americans asserted themselves as birthright citizens in the nation before the Fourteenth Amendment legally granted them that status (Hyde 9, Jones 5). Esteve's dream of military service is not motivated by valor but by the possibilities of full citizenship, which the vision of the Black battalion offers and which, as Gebhard points out, provides Esteve "a model of manhood, patriotism, and civic belonging" (353). As a child he does not understand the larger issues at stake in the war but immediately recognizes the import of the men's public recognition which, unlike the darkly comic appeal of the piratical heroes, is magnificently inspirational.

What Esteve may not understand but the author does is that, though the soldiers of color march in file alongside White soldiers, Gov. William Claiborne (1803-16) and Jackson welcomed them as volunteers out of desperate need. As Dunbar-Nelson describes in her essay "People of Color in Louisiana" (1916), the flood of immigrants and refugees who fled to New Orleans after the Haitian Revolution doubled the city's population and drastically changed its racial makeup (18). Claiborne worried about the allegiance of newly arrived émigrés. To prevent a potential uprising among the enslaved or free people of color and to allay anxieties about an insufficient number of soldiers in contrast to the British ranks, Claiborne and Jackson extended a disingenuous olive branch by recruiting communities of color for military and police purposes. Under the guise of equal citizenship and American unity, Jackson's "Address to the Free Colored

Inhabitants of Louisiana" (1814) solicited the city's Black inhabitants with the language of family and fraternity. "Through a mistaken policy, my brave fellow Citizens," Jackson professed, "you have heretofore been deprived of participation in the Glorious struggle for National rights in which our Country is engaged" (58). He goes on: "This shall no longer exist, as sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing: As Americans, your Country looks with confidence to her adopted Children, for a valorous support . . . As fathers, husbands, and Brothers, you are summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence" (Jackson 58). In this early national period, Hyde observes, "distinctions between . . . aliens and citizens were constantly being redrawn" (5). Jackson's deceptive salutation of "fellow Citizens" and the historical context of who could serve in the War of 1812 reveals how the contours of citizenship for people of African descent were at the center of such confusion. In exchange for fidelity to the nation as citizen-soldiers, or voluntary non-commissioned soldiers, they were promised the benefits of full citizenship already allotted to their White counterparts: freedom from bondage and voting rights for free men of color. But Jackson's offer of brotherhood proved empty rhetoric. The deception and reneged promises place Jackson on equal footing with the pro-slavery Baratarian pirates as well as two American defectors from Jean Lafitte's band (Gaspard and Reggio), who identify Esteve's "small and dark and agile" body as one they can exploit: they trick him into gaining their trust, kidnap him, and impress him as a child spy for the British army (Dunbar-Nelson 633-34). Such rhetoric parallels the empty promises of citizenship which were laid out in the Fourteenth Amendment, exacerbated in the aftermath of Reconstruction's failure, and continued into 1900, the year Dunbar-Nelson wrote "Esteve."

Even as "Esteve" critiques the piratical nature of imperialism and the deep-rooted ironies of American democracy, it foregrounds the potential for military service to sponsor racial uplift and make publicly visible the legacies of Black people. At the story's close, we circle back to the parade we saw at the outset. As "political acts" used "as tools for building, maintaining, and confronting power relations," Susan G. Davis has argued that nineteenth-century parades and public ceremonies—in particular, battle reenactments, militia parades, and war commemoration ceremonies—were heavily curated forms of public memory (5, 67-70). After the Battle of New Orleans, a pageant tableau on the steps of the cathedral depicted two women dressed in white, representing Justice and Liberty, standing on opposite ends of a grand arch. From the Place d'Armes to the Mississippi River, only Plauché's battalion of White Creoles was visually prominent, lining the pathway to the church to welcome Jackson (Latour 199-200). "By focusing attention on the white Creole militia and Jackson," as Shelene Roumillat has noted, "city leaders sought to direct public gratitude in ways that reaffirmed the existing social and political hierarchy" (n.p.). Like a camera angle that shifts its focus, Dunbar-Nelson reorients the military parade procession from a vision of blanket White heroism to that of Col. Fortier's battalion. "Beautiful girls dressed in angel robes and beautiful boys [waiting] to crown [Esteve] with laurel wreaths stood at its side," the narrator describes. "There was a radiance of the city's fairest women abroad to honor the brave men. And in the proud procession which marched in time to the huzzas and bravos of the populace, walked Esteve, with Col. Fortier's men" (Dunbar-Nelson 636). Whereas Esteve was initially an onlooker, he is now a uniformed member of the military order. In the parade's grand display, which aesthetically associates Whiteness with "beauty" and "radiance" through tableaus of "[fair] women" decked in "angel robes," Dunbar-Nelson emphasizes Esteve and the Black battalion. His military garb is a visible marker of his inclusion

in the ranks, and his place in the procession is symbolic of his inclusion in the civic sphere. That Esteve's uniform is made by his fellow comrades is an emblem of the coalition citizenship, strength, and fraternity he has found with the Black battalion.

Yet, amidst the Whiteness of the celebration, the separateness of Esteve and the segregated Black battalion represent visually the thin line between national inclusion and exclusion of Black citizens. And so Dunbar-Nelson concludes the story by undermining the public performance of patriotism and national unity that would downplay the sacrifices and aspirations of the Black battalions in order to supplant it with another kind of allegiance: a cultural and familial one, untainted by the empty rhetoric of harmonious brotherhood in Jackson's address. Though finally a member of the corps, Esteve can think only of being reunited with his mother, and he abandons the military procession to embrace her. Spotting Maman Lois and forgetting his duty, Esteve "burst from the ranks" into her arms (637). Amidst a "hushed . . . crowd," the narrator notes, "there rose two cries": "Maman, Maman Lois!" and "Oh, Esteve, mon fils!" (637). In this moment, the emotional exclamations of a mother and son upstage the sounds of the procession, their "cries" rising "above the General's great speech" (637). Dunbar-Nelson minimizes Jackson's address to emphasize instead the voices of Esteve and his mother. The story closes with a conversation between the two, which reframes a military duty for a familial one. "'I am a soldier now, Maman,'" Esteve tells his mother, to which she responds, "'Thou art a deserter . . . dost thou not know that thou canst never be a soldier until thou canst control thyself?'" (637). The closing line is Esteve's reassurance to his mother: "Esteve shook his head, 'I'll never be a soldier, Maman, then, if I ever see you look so sad again'" (637). Esteve abandon the lines and, in his own way, becomes a defector. Unlike the piratical defectors, however, Esteve's decision to step out of the military rank lies in allegiance

to his mother and, by extension, to his culture and race. Defecting from one position, in this instance, means commitment to another. Koritha Mitchell has pointed out that Dunbar-Nelson "was no stranger to American contradictions" of Black citizenship and that in Dunbar-Nelson's play *Mine Eyes Have Seen* (1918), published in the NAACP's *The Crisis*, she challenges "those whose faith in [America's] ideals somehow overpower their awareness of the nation's betrayals" (85). Esteve's choice to stand beside his mother, positioning him once again as a spectator, is a direct disavowal of American allegiance and national inclusion. In Esteve's embrace of his mother, Dunbar-Nelson recasts Jackson's language of family and fraternity and grafts it instead onto Esteve's African and Haitian ancestry.

Printed nineteen years after Dunbar-Nelson's story, William Justin Harsha's short story, "The Laughter of Deep Laughter," depicts characters, scenes, and themes that resonate with "Esteve, the Soldier Boy." A White missionary, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Omaha, Nebraska, member of the Omaha Ponca Relief Committee, and chairman of the Omaha Citizenship Committee, Harsha was sympathetic to destructive government policies of assimilation and land allotment. With his close friend, journalist Thomas Henry Tibbles, Harsha drew public attention to the trial of *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879). Standing Bear and the Ponca people challenged their imprisonment at the Fort Omaha Barracks by General George Crook, where they were held for returning to their tribal land after signing a mistranslated document sanctioning the Ponca's removal from Indian territory. Tibbles's wife, Susan La Flesche Tibbles (also called Bright Eyes), served as Standing Bear's interpreter and would later write the introduction to Harsha's reform novel, *Ploughed Under: The Story of an Indian Chief, Told by Himself* (1881). Published anonymously, its subtitle falsely suggested that the story was a firsthand account by a Native chief. Despite Harsha's appropriation of a tribal identity, he was

valued by the Omaha for his reform efforts, and he was made a member of the tribe ("Dr. William" 16).

Like Dunbar-Nelson's fictional reimagining of Black soldiers, Harsha uses short fiction to call attention to the heroism of Native American soldiers. In his short story, "The Laughter of Deeper Laughter," Harsha creates counterparts to Esteve and his mother. Like Esteve's mother, Deep Laughter, a woman of the Arapaho tribe in Oklahoma, is a sewer and mender of military uniforms. It is through her needle and washing work that she can afford to send her only son, Sings Low, to the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, where he is trained as a soldier, serves in World War I, and returns home to the Arapaho reservation as a war hero for his courage in breaking the German Hidenburg Line. Through the mother-son relationship between Deep Laughter and Sings Low, Harsha interrogates the stakes of obtaining national belonging and citizenship on U.S. military terms and questions what allegiance to the U.S. military meant for allegiance to Native American culture.

The story's opening scene shows Deep Laughter siting in the grass weaving blankets, perhaps for the war effort, with a group of Native women and a White missionary woman. Harsha immediately introduces a racial stereotype, which he then proceeds to dismantle throughout the story: the "stoic Indian" stereotype. Instead of using the military parade as a framing device, as in Dunbar-Nelson's story, Harsha bookends his story with the meaning of Deep Laughter's name and the stereotypes associated with it. Deep Laughter has never been heard to laugh aloud, and her "strange" silence elicits questioning commentary even from fellow tribal women (Harsha 127). Deep Laughter's disposition of "subdued, unvocal mirth" is juxtaposed with the constant, visible mirth of the White missionary woman: "She was always laughing, this Jesus woman, or missionary," the narrator remarks with a tinge of vexation, asking

rhetorically, “Was she not well named Paye-own-mah—‘Happy Heart’?” (128, 127). Harsha quickly dismantles the stereotype of innate stoicism. As a young child, Deep Laughter’s mother observed that she “was always smiling” out of the “pleasant waters” of love for her family that “bubbl[ed] . . . deep in her heart,” and so she named her for it (128). Deep Laughter’s “subdued mirth,” then, is not rooted in a natural emotional disposition inherent in Native people, as the “stoic Indian” stereotype assumes. Deep Laughter refuses to laugh aloud out of a “reverent pledge to the mother who had given her that name to live up to,” and she felt that “[s]he own consistency in this to her mother’s memory” (128). But we also learn another reason that Deep Laughter has cause not to be as mirthful as Happy Heart the missionary woman: her only son has been separated from Arapaho culture and assimilated as a soldier at Carlisle. The difference between Deep Laughter and Happy Heart is that Happy Heart can afford to be felicitous. She does not have the burden of memory weighing on her actions, and her only son is not, as far as we know, overseas fighting a war for a nation that requires the erasure of his tribal identity.

It is no coincidence that Happy Heart is the one who has trained Deep Laughter in the occupation of laundering that allows her to pay for Sings Low’s education at Carlisle. The language of Whiteness used to describe the military unfirms that Deep Laughter launders reflects the assimilation policies that the missionary woman spreads throughout the Arapaho reservation. Deep Laughter cleans the uniforms, which are “[a]s white as snow . . . and all pressed out to beautiful smoothness, the darning done neatly, and the buttonholes mended” (129). The cleaning and refining process of the clothing by Deep Laughter that represents her sacrifice for her son and her unofficial role in the war effort is simultaneously symbolic of the process of assimilation that boarding schools as well as the military requires of Native Americans. Details such as “white as snow,” “pressed,” “smoothness,” “neatly,” and “mended” refer literally to the

laundering process but also gesture toward the idea that, like the method of cleaning uniforms, a boarding school education and a military training bleach tribal culture "white as snow." Immediately after this moment, Deep Laughter thinks to herself, "My boy grew away from the deer-skin trousers I made him . . . He asked me for the trousers like those the son of the agent wore" (129). She then recalls a photograph that Sings Low sent her from Carlisle of himself "dressed in football garb" (129). Here, Harsha recreates the visual tableau of before-and-after photographs that boarding schools like Hampton advertised as evidence of successful assimilation of Native peoples. Photographs showed the replacement of long hair and tribal garb with short, cropped hair and western clothing style and dress—visual evidence of Carlisle founder Richard Henry Pratt's motto "Kill the Indian, Save the Man."

Such visible markers of patriotism as requisites for full inclusion apply not only to Sings Low but also to Deep Laughter. When she returns the laundered uniforms to the military camp, she has a conversation with the Colonel, who implies that she will be unprepared to greet her son unless she, too, bears a visible marker of patriotism akin to her son's uniform: "'Your boy has distinguished himself . . . are you ready for tomorrow? See! I will give you this to help make you ready.' He pinned a small American flag on her breast" (130). The placement of the flag on Deep Laughter's breast is symbolic of competency commissions in which the U.S. government would judge whether Native peoples were "competent" enough to utilize their own tribal lands. If deemed competent, tribal members received, with a land allotment, the legal status of citizen. One *Southern Workman* contributor, in an article titled "Citizenizing the Indians," described the events of a commission in Fort Hall, Idaho. The rite of passage into American citizenship asked tribal members to "shoot arrows into the air," an act that "symbolize[d] the idea that then and there they threw off the traditions and habits of their forefathers" (Thorne "Citizenizing" 350).

The arrows, referred to as "hinderance[s] to their progress toward civilization," were afterward returned to tribal members "as mementoes of their old life" (350). The Colonel's pinning the American flag on Deep Laugher's breast represents on a smaller level these commissions, which were often unequal exchanges accompanied by assimilation into American culture and separation from Native culture.

When the train enters the station in Anadarko, Oklahoma, the town is assembled "in gala colors" to welcome home Sings Low and his fellow Native American soldiers, just returned from France (Harsha 131). William C. Meadows has documented the combat and noncombat roles that Native soldiers held in World War I and II. The regiment that inspired Harsha was likely Company E of the 142nd Infantry Regiment, Thirty-sixth Division, which was made up of exclusively Native Americans from Oklahoma, including one Arapaho soldier (Meadows 15). Trained at Camp Bowie in Fort Worth, Texas, many of the young men in the unit came from boarding schools such as Carlisle and Haskell (15). The multicolored decorations of the town parallel the diverse gathering of townspeople: "The platform was crowded, white people and red people mingling in garments and blankets of varied colors, all of them bright" (Harsha 131). Like Esteve and Maman Lois's voices that reach above the parade crowd, one voice rises above the rest. "Attention! Fall in! Forward!" orders Sings Low, who is the captain of the returning soldiers (131). Like Dunbar-Nelson, Harsha pushes back against the exclusivity of allegiance on which citizenship policies were predicated. Sings Low leaves the parade festivities, opting out of the welcoming luncheon hosted by the ladies' committee, to instead "[search] through the groups" for his mother (131). Sings Low then leaves the military ranks to be reunited with his mother, a moment in which allegiance to the U.S. military is renounced and exchanged for allegiance to his Arapaho roots. Doubly significant is that his movement away from the ranks

and toward his mother occurs at the train station, a space symbolic of encroaching industrialization, the loss of tribal lands, and the extinction of buffalo.

Back on the reservation, the Arapaho tribe gathers around a fire to pass around a peace pipe in celebration of Sings Low's return. The tribe's head chief rises, and his proclamation situates Sings Low and other Native soldiers as citizens, even before the passage of the Citizenship Act: "'We are proud to know that when the call came our red boys were not slow to answer . . [and] went forth under the flag that is ours as well as the white man's. Yes, this flag is ours more than it is the white man's. We are the true Americans'" (Harsha 132). The chief's language unites tribal peoples across nations, recalling a pre-contact era to claim citizenship as the land's original inhabitants. Sings Low then unpins from his uniform the ribbon and medal for distinguished service to pin it instead to his mother's breast, replacing the American flag that the Colonel pinned there earlier in the story. The decorations, he announces, "'belong not to me. They should be worn by my mother'" (133). Sings Low situates his mother's sacrifice on par with his own. Deep Laughter's sacrifice was not just that of sewing and laundering uniforms. It was a much deeper one: sending her son to Carlisle, where he received military training, was a cultural and familial sacrifice. Duty to the U.S., in this instance, means the sacrifice of another nation, the Arapaho nation. At the story's close, Harsha returns to the meaning of Deep Laughter's name. After Sings Low gifts his medal of honor to her, Deep Laughter retreats to the woods on the edge of the gathering, and the story ends with "the sound of strange laughter" emanating from "dark willows" (133). Deep Laughter's "hysterical expression" cannot be reduced to a stereotype of the stoic Indian (133). In fact, her laughter is so ambiguous as to be unexplainable, a mixture of sadness and elation, which receives only a brief closing comment by

the narrator: “If they could have looked upon her face they would have seen it wet with tears” (133).

Conclusion

Firsthand accounts published in the *Southern Workman* by Black veterans and Hampton graduates, including Spanish American War veteran, W. B. Kennedy, and World War I veteran, Ernest B. Coleman, reveal how military training prepared soldiers for opportunities beyond combat. Soldiers in camps served as regimental tailors, operated publication offices, cut and styled the hair of military personnel as barbers, and even utilized their skills as carpenters to make music boxes for military bands (Coleman 45). Veterans then often returned home to apply the skills they had learned to “[run] the shops” and “[keep] the books” to inspire the “authority,” “[power],” and “uplift” of their “fellow citizens” in Black communities (Kennedy 507). This strengthening of citizenship and belonging in Black and Native communities is reflected in the race histories, occasional poems, and short stories in the *Southern Workman*, which reveal the ways in which citizenship for people of color is a negotiation between gain and loss. Faced with racial violence, discrimination, segregation, and assimilation policies, Black and Native men and women chose to mobilize autonomous coalitions to cultivate a sense of citizenship not within the American nation but within familial, cultural, and racial communities. They harnessed the values of sacrifice, service, and solidarity that the military instills to be soldiers and protectors of the betterment of Black and Native communities so that the citizens within them would not have to struggle to “make bricks without straw.”

CHAPTER 6

AFTERWORD

Four years after the publication of his monumental *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois launched two magazine projects that ultimately had fleeting lifespans but would be precursors to the *Crisis* (1910-present), the central mouthpiece of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the longest continuously running African American periodical other than the *A.M.E. Christian Recorder* (1848-present). One of these magazines was the *Horizon: A Journal of the Color Line* (1907-10). As a "digest," to use Susanna Ashton's description of the *Horizon*, a central objective of the periodical was to evaluate magazines and newspapers in establishing a canon of Black periodicals (4). Staple sections included "The Magazines," "The Race Magazines," and "Our Magazines," all of which showcased what Du Bois found to be valuable Black newspapers and magazines. Hampton Institute's *Southern Workman* was a frequent feature in these sections. In one issue, Du Bois and his fellow editors, F. H. Murray and L. M. Hershaw, proclaimed the following: "We are claiming the *Southern Workman* as 'ours,' though conducted and contributed mainly by white people" ("Our Magazines" 19). They lauded the *Southern Workman* and its contributors as champions of race uplift, touting Hampton's mouthpiece as a leading Black print production despite its White editorship. Their declaration of the *Southern Workman* as "ours" evidenced the reputation that the *Southern Workman* had built as a site for foregrounding Black literary and cultural productions and intellectuality in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Yet, by the late 1920s, Du Bois's opinion of the *Southern Workman* as a vehicle for showcasing Black literary and cultural productions was a far cry from what it had been twenty years earlier when the *Horizon* announced the *Southern Workman* as "ours" in 1908. In a 1928 letter to African American educator, Roscoe Conkling Bruce, Du Bois encourages Bruce to submit an article to the *Southern Workman*. But he warns Bruce that, if published there, he runs the risk of its not reaching an African American audience. "It will, of course, be interesting to have an article like yours published in the SOUTHERN WORKMAN," Du Bois writes, "[but] this does not mean that colored people will know anything about it" (Letter). Hampton's organ, he adds, "is not read by colored people" (Letter).

The waning multiracial contributor base and literary productions of African Americans and Native Americans in the *Southern Workman* after 1920 suggests that Du Bois was not alone in rethinking the place of Hampton's periodical as valuable platform for people of color. By the 1920s, the explosion of literary productions by Black and Native writers that marked the evolution of the *Southern Workman* in the 1890s had tapered off. Gone, by and large, were the names who once populated its pages. Poems and short stories, so abundant years earlier, were a rare occurrence.[76] By the 1920s, former contributors had moved on to more progressive platforms, edited by and for Black and Native peoples.

The 1920s witnessed the cropping up of newspapers and magazines tied not to conservative educational institutions like Hampton but instead to social and political

[76] Of all the writers discussed in this dissertation, Sarah Collins Fernandis is the only figure who consistently continued to publish her work in the *Southern Workman*. She was steadfast in publishing her poems in the *Southern Workman* before publishing two full-length volumes of poetry, *Poems* and *Vision*, in 1925. Her post-1920 poems in the *Southern Workman* included: "Your Little" (Feb. 1921, p. 70); "A Newer Sacrifice" (Feb. 1922, p. 80); "Love's Service (May 1922, p. 231); "In Protest" (Jan. 1923, p. 15); "A Vision" (Nov. 1923, p. 561); "A Gift Beneficent" (May 1924, p. 212); "Denial" (Mar. 1928, p. 106); "Hampton: A Song of Service, Love, and Loyalty" (Nov. 1928, p. 466); "A City Garden" (Sept. 1931, p. 375); "Julius Rosenwald" (Feb. 1932, p. 89); "Salvage" (Sept. 1934, p. 270); "Love's Afterwhile" (Feb. 1935, p. 53); "Voices of Peace" (May 1935, p. 146); "Women of Ethiopia Land" (Jan. 1936, p. 13).

organizations and movements. With the rise of the New Negro Movement, which would come to be known as the Harlem Renaissance, African American writers coalesced to tie literature, culture, and the arts to political activism and, importantly, to place their work in periodicals owned and edited by and for Black people. Amidst cultural revivals rooted in racial art and pride, progressive political agendas, and the mass exodus of African Americans from the South to the North in the Great Migration, the *Southern Workman* probably seemed like a relic to a new generation of writers who would come to be affiliated with the Harlem Renaissance. Perhaps it became to them a worn monument, symbolic of "the old Negro" and then-outdated models of racial uplift through industry, agriculture, self-help, and hard work that were understood, by that point, as antithetical to modernist experimentation, protest literature and art, and overtly progressive politics that had begun to characterize emergent periodicals such as the *Crisis*, *Opportunity: A Journal of Negro Life* (1923-49), and *The Messenger* (1917-28). By the 1920s, writers like Alice Dunbar-Nelson and Charles W. Chesnutt, who were once regular contributors to the *Southern Workman*, had been publishing their work in these periodicals—spaces that were not only overtly progressive venues but created by and edited and vetted by African Americans without White editorial oversight.[77] Though Black educators and leaders continued to publish in the *Southern Workman*, such contributions were largely informational articles on community organization, such as health services and community centers, as well as reports about the happenings of Hampton's fellow industrial schools.

Native American intellectuals also created and sought organizations and periodicals run by and for Native peoples. As Lucy Maddox writes, by the 1910s, both African Americans and

[77] Dunbar-Nelson published her one-act play, *Mine Eyes Have Seen*, in the *Crisis* in 1918, and Chesnutt published his short story, "The Doll," in the magazine in 1912.

Native Americans had "organized their own 'uplift' organizations within a few years of each other, and articulated, largely in a received language, a broadly pluralist philosophy and a shared view that the responsibility of the uplift of a race belonged to the race" (12). In 1911, founders of the Society of the American Indians (SAI) (1911-23) created a pan-tribal reform coalition—the first national reform organization led by and for Native peoples. The SAI's founders and members held that the "Indian problem" and issues of citizenship should reside not in the hands of White leaders but instead with Native Americans themselves, as Maddox, Lomawaima, and Thomas Constantine Maroukis have examined.[78] Like the NAACP's the *Crisis*, out of the SAI emerged a central mouthpiece of the organization: the *Quarterly Journal of the American Indian* (1913-15), later renamed the *American Indian Magazine* (1916-20). And, like the *Crisis*, it functioned outside of the surveillance of a White administration and editorship. In the *American Indian Magazine*, for example, Native writers need not tow a thin rhetorical line—to mask their more progressive ideas within subversions and intimations—in order to circulate their work to audiences. Similar periodicals run by and for American Indians cropped up—some with an even more radical agenda, including Yavapai Apache political leader Carlos Montezuma's (ca. 1866-1923) radical newspaper, *Wassaja* (1916-22). Promoted by Montezuma as "a little spicy weekly," Montezuma, as Rochelle Raineri Zuck explains, wanted to establish a periodical that "did not focus on accounts of 'civilization' and was not mediated by white institutional power" (Advertisement; Zuck 80).

As a result of the establishment of such print venues, as well as the end of Hampton Institute's education of Native students, Native writers were nearly non-existent in post-1920

[78] See Maddox, *Citizen Indians: Native American Intellectuals, Race, and Reform* (Cornell UP, 2006); Lomawaima, "The Mutuality of Citizenship and Sovereignty"; and Maroukis, *We Are Not a Vanishing People: The Society of American Indians, 1911–1923* (University of Arizona Press, 2021).

issues. By the mid-1920s, Hampton no longer educated a Native student body. The last Native American student graduated from Hampton in 1923. With that, its forty-five-year Indian education program that began in 1878 ceased due to a lack of funding and the resignation of Caroline Andrus, the head of the Indian Department (Lindsey xi). There was no longer a need or an audience for Native writers interested in addressing education, citizenship, and sovereignty within the *Southern Workman*, reinforcing the idea that Native writers who had published in the *Southern Workman* were writing with Native audiences in mind: students, teachers, graduates, subscribers. When that audience evaporated, so too did their presence in the periodical. Editors ceased reprinting the works of Native writers, perhaps for the same reasons.

Two writings in the early 1920s *Southern Workman* issues especially signal the shift in Black writers' attention to the need for more progressive print venues: Carter G. Woodson's speech delivered at Hampton, "Some Things Negroes Need to Do" (1922), and Alice Dunbar-Nelson's article, "Negro Literature for Negro Pupils" (1922). In his address to Hampton students, Woodson sent out a clarion call that stressed the necessity of African Americans' access to an education "well rounded in philosophy and science and history," the need to "develop" an African American "press," and the importance of "develop[ing]" and "read[ing] … a literature … by their own people" (34). He promoted his recently launched *Journal of Negro History* (1916-present, now the *Journal of African American History*), which inspired young minds like those of Hampton students to read "the beautiful history"—to familiarize themselves with "Africa, the history of our ancestors—people of whom you should feel proud—[and] you will realize that they have a history that is worth while [sic]" (Woodson 36). In the very next issue, Dunbar-Nelson echoed Woodson's call:

> … for two generations we have given brown and black children a blonde ideal of beauty to worship, a milk-white literature to assimilate, and a pearly Paradise to anticipate, in which their dark faces would be hopelessly out of place … Negro literature is frequently mentioned in whispers as a dubious quality … [we] must give the children the poems and stories and folklore and songs of their own people … It is high time that we throw off the shackles which convention binds around our educational methods and "let down our buckets where we are." (59-61)

Woodson's and Dunbar-Nelson's call for the importance of Black literature for Black readers as a way of providing young children of color models of uplift and intellectuality from within, rather than outside of, their race sheds an exposing light on the educational structure at Hampton. In addition to the *Southern Workman*'s editorial staff, which remained White throughout the publication's lifetime, the institution's administration followed suit. Although Dunbar-Nelson herself taught for two summers at Hampton's summer sessions, the school did not welcome full-time Black leadership until the 1930s and 40s. When Dunbar-Nelson asserts the "milk-white literature" of "assimilat[ion]" as evidence of the "shackles" of "convention" which "[bind] … educational methods," she connects the "milk-white" nature of the curriculum at African American schools like Hampton to the Whiteness of its teacher ranks.[79]

…

I often imagine the *Southern Workman* as having lived three lives. Its first life, from 1872 to 1890; its second, most inclusive and vibrant literary and cultural life, and the subject of this

[79] Dunbar-Nelson critiqued the White teacher ranks of Black industrial schools in her essay, "Is It Time for the Negro Colleges in the South to Be Put into the Hands of Negro Teachers?" The essay appeared in *Twentieth Century Negro Literature*, a collection of essays written by prominent African American race men and women. See *Twentieth Century Negro Literature: Or, A Cyclopedia of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro*, ed. Daniel Wallace Culp (Toronto: J. L. Nichols & Co., 1902).

dissertation, from 1890 to 1920; and its third and final life, from 1920 to 1939. When the *Southern Workman* evolved into its second life in the 1890s, it did so largely in response to a changing political climate. National conversations about citizenship during the "nadir" of race relations in America demanded close scrutiny of the social, economic, political, and legal wrongs lobbied against African American and Native Americans. To ignore those national conversations—conversations that centered the very Black and Native study body educated at Hampton—would likely have rendered Hampton's central publication irrelevant. The administration and editors understood the needs of the time, and they adapted the *Southern Workman* accordingly to reflect the voices of stakeholders themselves—not merely White officials and donors—in discussions of citizenship. While the *Southern Workman* never morphed into a staunchly political or visibly progressive periodical, it nonetheless created a multiracial platform for debate that lasted from 1890 to 1920—one that showcased the most well-known figures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and brought together voices across lines of race, class, and culture. The 1920s marked another turning point—but one that signaled that, by this time, the White-edited *Southern Workman* and its connection to the ethos of Hampton's model of gradual uplift no longer passed muster as a space for foregrounding progressive visions of citizenship.

Nonetheless, the vibrant thirty-year period of the *Southern Workman* between 1890 and 1920 expands our understand not only of American writing but writers—not merely the luminaries but also everyday artists who contributed to discussions of citizenship during a fraught moment in American history that is not only considered the "nadir" of race relations in the United States but is also often overlooked as the low-point of Black and Native writing.

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