Notes

Chapter 1

1. See my project description for “Contagion, Quarantine and Social Conscience” online.

2. Thomas King, The Truth about Stories. Chapters typically begin with “There is a story I know” and then move to examination of complex ethical issues through the combined lenses of experience and theory. For a case study of story in action in public scholarship, see Patricia Steenland, “Lost Stories.”

3. For related discussion of the value of affect in knowledge-making, see Million, “Felt Theory.” See also Baker, Dieter, and Dobbins, “Art of Being Persuaded,” on Wayne Booth’s conception of rhetoric as mutual inquiry requiring humanitarian listening. Also, linked to chapter 3’s examination of Hull-House’s rhetorical and pedagogical practices, see Ruth Vinz’s closing essay in Jane Addams in the Classroom. Vinz views the settlement as “part of an ongoing creative attempt [by Addams] to act herself and others into a more democratic space of being together,” that is, to cultivate a “transmigration of empathy” (201, emphases in original). As a note on editing, I should mention that, throughout this book, I use a hyphen in Hull-House, following Addams’s own practice, unless I am referencing someone else’s title or quoting from a source where the hyphen is not used.

4. Later in this chapter, within the section labeled “Archives as Resources,” I discuss my use of the terms “archive” and “Archive.”

5. See Who Can Speak?, edited by Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman. For a related discussion of standpoint epistemology, see Santini, Smith, and Robbins, the “Introduction” to Bridging Cultures, especially xxiii–xxiv. My primary teaching site as I was completing this book was TCU, which has a substantial endowment and tuition income to support students, faculty, and staff. While a notable percentage of those enrolled receive financial aid, the overall ethos of the institution—including its ongoing building campaign, its substantial library collection and its highly selective admission process, as well as its very visible success in athletics—distinctly marks the institution as privileged. Furthermore, my previous institutions—
Kennesaw State for much of the teaching referenced in this book, and the University of Michigan and the University North Carolina, Chapel Hill, for the bulk of my professorial training—while public, are all relatively well funded and certainly provide extensive access to knowledge-building resources.

6. I discuss this point in a section (16–19) within “Seeking Trust,” a MELUS essay coauthored with Joycelyn Moody.

7. On reflection as a pathway to rhetorical knowledge, see Liu, “Rhetoric and Reflexivity.”

8. In Autoethnography as Method, Chang explains that autoethnographic writing should textually represent method (the research process), culture as one object of study, and self as another area of interpretation, including how the identity/self of the researcher interacts with specific cultural groups (48–49, 56). Other useful sources include Denzin, Interpretive Autoethnography, and Carolyn Ellis, The Ethnographic I.

9. See, for example, Harry Boyte’s Democracy’s Education; David D. Cooper’s Learning in the Plural; and Julie Ellison, “Guest Column: The New Public Humanists” in PMLA.

10. See, in this context, Cheryl Glenn and Jessica En och, “Drama in the Archives,” where they emphasize the shifting nature of historiographies grounded in archival study and the related impact of scholars’ choices about what archival documents to choose and how to study them (336). Applying a Burkean pentad of “Act, Scene, Agent, Agency, Purpose,” they posit: “Within the archive (the scene), the researcher (agent) engages (agency) in a variety of recovery and recuperative practices (acts) directed toward a specific end (purpose)” (322). For Glenn and En o ch, a key aspect of agency in archival work resides in the process of doing recovery and in the analysis thereby enabled—interpretive work wherein we must be “accurate,” certainly, but also attentive to “what our self-interest is, as well as how that interest might enrich our disciplinary field and how it might affect others,” including those “we talk with and listen to,” “whether they are speaking to us in person or via archival materials” (336, emphasis in original). I aim to affiliate with their call for ethical processes recognizing the ways that knowledge drawn from archival sources is ever-changing depending on the agency of the interpreter. I’ve also tried to answer their invitation for “scholars [to] continue to consider how we might open up even more possibilities for archival recovery”—in this project’s case by extending questions of agency to explore how knowledge derived from the archive can support our participation in civic enterprises today.

11. Said McCrory: “If you want to take gender studies that’s fine, go to a private school and take it.” He added, “But I don’t want to subsidize that if that’s not going to get someone a job.” Bennett (a philosophy major at the University of Texas) asked, on the same radio broadcast: “How many Ph.D.s in philosophy do I need to subsidize?” See Kevin Kiley, “Another Liberal Arts Critic.” See too Aamer Madhani, “Obama Apologizes,” both available online.


book, and in Branson, Sanchez, Robbins, and Wehlburg, “Collaborative Ecologies of Emergent Assessment: Challenges and Benefits Linked to a Writing-based Institutional Partnership,” forthcoming in College Composition and Communication, I address these questions along with other colleagues involved in public scholarship.

15. Some scholars purposefully use a plural form—rhetorics—in line with this field’s emphasis on how language’s rhetorical actions vary according to context. Similarly, for an NEH program I co-led with several National Writing Project (NWP) partners, we titled our initiative Making American Literatures, purposefully choosing the plural form. Here, I generally use singular for consistency’s sake, but I appreciate the intent behind preferences for the plural form.

16. Phil Bratta and Malea Powell, “Introduction to the Special Issue” on cultural rhetorics for Enculturation. Bratta and Powell’s use of the plural form—rhetorics—resonates with their emphasis on situated distinctions in the work of diverse cultural communities. Gilyard’s work, quoted in the next section, uses a singular form (cultural rhetoric), perhaps because he seeks to position the term more as a theoretical framework than a cluster of practices.

17. Also relevant is Steven Mailloux’s recent consideration of rhetoric’s interdisciplinary positioning within the academy and potential benefits of this location and available strategies for doing cultural work through rhetoric. See “Practices, Theories and Traditions,” especially Mailloux’s citing of Tom Miller’s observations on rhetoric’s ability to engage in social intervention (134–35). See also Mailloux’s Disciplinary Identities.

18. See, for example, Schaafsma, ed., Jane Addams in the Classroom. On narrative inquiry as a learning method for teachers examining their own practices, see Schaafsma and Vinz, On Narrative Inquiry.


20. One writerly tradition useful for understanding counter-narratives comes from postcolonial theory and practices. See, for instance, Homi K. Bhabha, Location of Culture, especially chapters entitled “Interrogating Identity” (40–65), “Of Mimicry and Man” (85–92) and “Signs taken for wonders” (102–22).

21. Giroux, Lankshear, McLaren, and Peters situate the concept of counter-narratives within a framework of critical pedagogy in Counternarratives: Cultural Studies and Critical Pedagogies in Postmodern Spaces. Suggesting that two brands of counter-narratives have acquired broad usage, they view the first as generally mounting “a critique of the modernist predilection for ‘grand,’ ‘master,’ and ‘meta’ narratives” associated with Enlightenment thought (2). The second sense they identify works to counter not only the master/grand narratives but also “the ‘official’ and ‘begemonic’ narratives of everyday life: those legitimating stories propagated for specific political purposes to manipulate public consciousness by heralding a national set of common cultural ideals” (2). This approach to making a counter-narrative, they say, aligns the form with the Foucauldian concept of “counter-memory” and Lyotard’s “little stories”—the little stories of those individuals and groups whose knowledges and histories have been marginalized, excluded, subjugated or forgotten in the telling of official narratives” (Peters and Lankshear, “Introduction,” 2ff. emphases in original).

22. Addams and her colleagues were wise enough not to ignore the authoritative
power of quantitative research and writing tools, however. Spurred on by Henrietta and Samuel Barnett, settlement colleagues from London’s Toynbee Hall, Addams encouraged Hull-House residents like Florence Kelley to capitalize on inquiry and dissemination techniques being developed through the then-new social sciences. *Hull-House Maps and Papers* is one example of this blended approach. Similarly, I have tried to adopt and adapt quantitative tools for studying and reporting on my own civic projects, and, despite this book’s focus on narrative inquiry, I recognize the potential of techniques such as “big data” analysis in the digital humanities and visualization rhetorics. See, in this context, my discussion of distant reading in the Coda.

23. The Society of American Archivists (SAA) acknowledges the range of meanings for “archives” in discussion of the term on their website. For instance, the entry there notes: “In the vernacular, ‘archives’ is often used to refer to any collection of documents that are old or of historical interest, regardless of how they are organized; in this sense, the term is synonymous with permanent records.” And, as another example of how vernacular meanings differ in different contexts and shift over time, SAA offers this example: “the noun ‘archive’ is commonly used to describe collections of backup data in information technology literature.” I thank my university librarian colleagues Laura Micham (Duke) and Anmie Harrison (TCU) for assistance in identifying and interpreting helpful sources for defining “archive(s).”

24. White movingly contextualizes his “Foreword” discussion of the importance of governmental archives via references to both World War II and the then-current Cold War: “We should expect the continuing crises provided by the discovery of atomic power,” he says, to generate concerns about “the threat” that warfare poses to “records themselves,” in that “the preservation of archives” is linked to “hope for our civilization” (*Modern Archives*, vii).

25. Already in his 1956 *Modern Archives* book, Schellenberg had pointed to definition challenges associated with using “archive” to apply both to materials and to the places where they reside: “In ordinary conversation, and particularly in professional literature, a distinction must be made between the institution and the materials with which it deals” (11).

26. By way of her study of Annie Ray’s diary, Jennifer Sinor’s *The Extraordinary Work of Ordinary Writing* implicitly argues for family archives to be valued in feminist recovery efforts. See too Jennifer Bernhardt Steadman and colleagues’ “Archive Survival Guide,” which points out that progress has been made in rethinking the place of women’s materials in archives: “A major shift in archival preservation away from male-dominated histories and collecting foci centered on men’s papers and achievements has made space for collecting new texts by and about diverse women and re-cataloging and highlighting documents already in existing collections” (238). In the Coda, I share Jiménez’s reflection on the difficulties he encountered trying to use traditional archival collections to contextualize his family’s experiences as migrant workers.

27. See, as one example of my previous work in archives and my reflections on process, a coauthored discussion of a collaborative project with Ann Pullen, in “Collaboration in the Archive.”
28. Neither Addams nor her colleagues would have used the term "cross-cultural," of course, or a related one that I employ in this book—intercultural. But the anecdotes they marshalled to describe the projects linked to Hull-House nonetheless stressed the vision for social boundary-crossing that was at the heart of the settlement program. Key texts include the “Objective Necessity” chapter of *Twenty Years at Hull-House* and the recurring story of the “Devil Baby,” which Addams first addressed in an article for the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1914, then revisited in October 1916 in *The Atlantic*, and returned to in chapter 1 of *The Long Road of Woman’s Memory*, 1-24.


30. Atlanta University Center (the AUC Consortium) is comprised of Spelman College, Morehouse College and Morehouse School of Medicine, and Clark Atlanta University. As such, the AUC holds a special place in the heritage and current work of HBCUs, i.e., Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

31. Freire’s *Education for Critical Consciousness* and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* provide important context for such work.

32. For helpful conceptual frameworks and examples, see Alcoff, Hames-Garcia, Mohanty, and Moya, eds., *Identity Politics Reconsidered*.


34. Rand, “Why I Can’t Visit the National Museum of the American Indian” provides relevant context.

35. Rickard’s description was reported by Kristine Ronan in her essay on “Native Empowerment,” 137

36. In the pamphlet entitled “Native Artists in the Americas,” Keevin Lewis (Navajo), NMAI’s Community and Constituent Services Coordinator, located the history of the Native Artists program at the museum within its larger commitment to outreach initiatives that incorporated “listening to the needs of Native people” while contributing to “a growing base of Indigenous cultural knowledge, art, history, and language” that can be “shared with a larger audience” (4, 6–7).

37. One question an anonymous reviewer had asked me to address in revision involved considering whether or not some of the informal interactions I describe in this book represent genuine collaboration. S/he wondered if “the process of engaging others as one pursues one’s own work” can actually be viewed as collaboration, and observed that “[m]uch of Professor Robbins’ research takes the form of interviews, discussions, observations” toward writing, rather than collaboration in the more traditional sense of “people working together, in some cases to create something. I am skeptical,” this reviewer noted, “about how collaborative it is, but eager to be persuaded, and I suspect that many other readers will be the same position. . . .” (Reader's Report #1).

38. Online discussion of Camus’s novel in connection with the Ebola outbreak is on the website “Contagion, Quarantine, and Social Conscience: Albert Camus’s *The Plague*.”
39. On envisioning and enacting next steps beyond initial moves to establish genuine affiliations, see Paul Feigenbaum’s *Collaborative Imagination*, where he examines “what it means for contemporary progressives to earn activism through literacy education.” Feigenbaum suggests: “The imagination—especially when employed communally—offers educators a powerful mechanism for fighting injustice. More specifically, counterhegemonic praxes of literacy education facilitate progressives’ collaborative imagination of a world in which citizenship is no longer rigged and in which humankind lives in ecological balance with its natural surroundings” (3, emphases in original).

Chapter 2

1. One legacy of the KCAC project is the scholarly work of K-12 teachers of color who began doing research through the program. For two examples, see Sylvia Martinez Spruill’s 2013 dissertation, “Assessment in Secondary Environments,” and educational texts by Rozlyn Linder, such as *The Common Core Guidebook*.

2. For an overview of the resources initially developed under leadership by Deborah Mitchell, Ed Hullender (Wheeler High School), and others, see “Uplifting a ‘New’ South” on the KCAC website’s “Educating for Citizenship” section.

3. Significantly, the collaboration by teachers in the team studying Spelman was interracial. This pattern would carry forward later in a project developing curriculum for teaching about the 1906 Atlanta race riots.

4. For a calendar of the multiyear KCAC project, visit “Chronology of the KCAC Project’s Initial Work” on the program’s website. For themes, see “Thematic Content.” While the website is dated—such as in lacking interactive conversation—we regularly hear from colleagues using the curriculum. For additional classroom resources, see the companion volume *Writing Our Communities*, eds. Winter and Robbins. For reflective essays by teacher participants, see *Writing America*, eds. Robbins and Dyer.

5. Kennesaw Mountain Writing Project, “Keeping and Creating American Communities: Proposal to the National Endowment for the Humanities” is available online.

6. The *Spelman Messenger*’s first issue appeared in March of 1885 and, on its front page, signaled a goal of promoting the institution via such features as a poem (“Thoughts on Spelman Girls”) written in a student voice, a brief history of the institution, and information on tuition (then, with board, seven dollars per month). Subsequent citations, including titles and authors when listed in an issue, will appear within the text, giving the month, year, and page number in parentheses. Material from the *Messenger* is provided courtesy of the Spelman College Archive.

7. Dave Winter, “A Correspondence Between Atlanta Students,” in *Writing Our Communities*, 34–44.

8. As Kimberly Wallace-Sanders pointed out to me in conversation, Spelman’s placement of its archive in a prominent campus building signals recognition of the key role those materials and the institution’s history play in the college’s current life.

9. This chapter (indeed, the book as a whole) benefited enormously from guid-
ance provided by Roxanne Donovan, Altheria Gaston, Barbara McCaskill, Stacie McCormick, Joycelyn Moody, and Kimberly Wallace-Sanders. Any errors, though, are my own.

10. Du Bois’s poetic characterization of the New England teachers who aimed to help educate the freedmen is sympathetic: “Behind the mists of ruin and rapine waved the calico dresses of women who dared, and after the hoarse mouthings of the field guns rang the rhythm of the alphabet. Rich and poor they were, serious and curious. Bereaved now of a father, now of a brother, now of more than these, they came seeking a life work in planting New England schoolhouses among the white and black of the South. They did their work well. In that first year they taught one hundred thousand souls, and more” (“Of the Dawn,” Souls, 25).

11. In “Bricks Without Straw,” Johnetta Cross Brazzell calls for a more balanced view of the New England teachers who worked in the South—avoiding either over-romanticizing them or lumping all mission organizations and teachers together for critique based on the patronizing, even racist, stances common among some.

12. In The Souls of Black Folk, Du Bois points out that a significant amount of the money raised to found institutions like Fisk, Howard, and Hampton came from “the freedmen themselves,” who “gave of their poverty” (“Of the Dawn,” 29). See also James D. Anderson, Education of Blacks in the South, 12.

13. See Dorsey, To Build Our Lives Together. On southern whites’ and others’ contributions to black education in the postbellum era, see Christina Davis’s dissertation, “Reconstructing Black Education.”

14. On Jacobs’s post-Civil War teaching, including with her daughter Louisa, see Jean Fagan Yellin’s Harriet Jacobs: A Life, 176–86, 199; on the Crafts’ efforts to educate blacks in Georgia after the famous international fugitives’ return to the United States, see Barbara McCaskill’s luminous Love, Liberation, and Escaping Slavery, including chapter 4’s account of how the libel trial against William undercut their Woodville School, but also the epilogue’s treatment of their “legacy of community service, social improvement, and educational and political engagement” (87). Though Charles Chesnutt eventually turned to a legal stenographer career and to authorship, he had teaching and educational administrative experience—and he draws on that background in his fiction. See, for instance, Mandy Oxendine and “The March of Progress.” For W. E. B. Du Bois’s moving account of his experience teaching “in the hills of Tennessee” while a student at Fisk, see “The Meaning of Progress” chapter in Souls, 47, 47–54.


16. Charlotte Forten’s teaching memoir in the Atlantic ran in two parts, beginning in May 1864, under the title “Life on the Sea Islands.” For a history of the NEFAS’s longstanding commitment to black education in the South, as seen through correspondence to and from Boston-based organization leader Ednah Dow Cheney and publication from such texts in the Freedmen’s Record, see my “Social Action.”

17. On Packard’s work for the WABHMS, see Read, Story of Spelman, 31–34.
18. Packard and Giles began working together in 1854 at New Salem Academy in Massachusetts (Read, Story of Spelman, 4). Their skills were so evident that they were hired away to teach in Petersham, then in Fitchburg, and later in Suffield, Connecticut, eventually claiming advanced positions at the prestigious Oread Collegiate Institute in Worcester, Massachusetts (Read, Story of Spelman, 19). Their leaving the institute in 1867 seems to have been related to a gender-based conflict with Harris R. Greene, a new principal, and was a blow to the two educational leaders who had grown accustomed to having their talents appreciated.

19. In this sense, my project affiliates with John Ernest’s call in Chaotic Justice for “an emphasis on the deep structures of the social order that ‘race’ has both defined and justified historically and on the communal networks that have formed over those deep structures” (5).


21. As I was cross-indexing sources on Spelman’s alumnae, I was excited to find a copy of notes Deborah had sent me in early March of 2001 based on her interview with Muriel Ruth Ketchum Yarbrough (who was then 73). The commitment to education “Aunt Ruth” had cited to Deborah was exemplified in an account of an early rural school built by family members just after they had been freed—a school that continued operating until 1941. A recurring theme of this conversation was the family’s servant leadership for the race, which Aunt Ruth explained her mother had always “told us, you pass it on!” (Mitchell, Oral History Notes, KCAC project).

22. One noteworthy exception is “The Female Talented Tenth” chapter (19–41) in Righteous Discontent, where Higginbotham credits Quarles with “literally giving his life to the cause of Spelman” (23).

23. In her review of the contributions of Spelman’s presidents, from Sophia Packard through Beverly Tatum, Yarbrough T. Peeples credits Read as “developing Spelman into a liberal arts college of high quality” (“Philanthropy,” 252).

24. As an example of this peer-style relationship, Taronda sent me a copy of a letter from students in Packard’s class one year. Admonishing their teacher that she “must not come into our class in Analogy again until [she felt] stronger,” this group from the “Class of ‘88” confidently assured Packard that they would “get our lessons and go on reciting as usual,” while she recovered from an illness. “Don’t worry or be anxious about anything, but for the sake of those who love you more than they can express, lay aside every care and we will help the teachers carry on everything just right,” they declared (“Dear Miss Packard,” n.d., signed by “Class of [18]88”).

25. “Colored Women and Girls” flyer dated April 6, 1881; with archivist notation.
27. Taronda Spencer provided me with a Xerox copy of this undated one-page handwritten description of Mary Ann Brooks from the Sophia Packard Papers, along with a note underscoring how this portrait of Brooks exemplified a tendency, early in the institution’s history, for the students to be mature women as well as children. Packard herself references this pattern in the draft for an undated letter to officers of the Woman’s American Baptist Home Mission Society. (Based upon the dated April 1882 query to which this draft responds, Packard likely composed her note in spring 1882.) Looking back at the initial days of teaching, Packard observed: “The ages of these pupils varied from the children under 12 most of whom could read to the matrons over fifty that had not ever known their letters.” Packard’s text includes margin notes and strikeouts indicative of her efforts to provide a balanced report for the upcoming May 1882 board meeting in Boston. Thus, she says: “This school is unique in that we have more mothers than any other school in the South while we have a hundred or more bright promising girls from 15 to 25 . . .” Packard’s correspondence is available through the Office of the President: Sophia B. Packard Collection, Archives, Spelman College, Atlanta.

28. I call these texts “semipublic” rather than private because so much of Packard’s personal letter writing anticipates a group readership. Thus, similar to the pattern Ann Pullen and I have described in “circular letters” to potential donors by missionaries like Nellie Arnott in a later generation, Packard’s “personal” writing often assumes that multiple would-be donors will be evaluating the letters’ contents and deciding, on that basis, how much support to provide. See “Introduction,” Nellie Arnott’s Writings, xv–xvi, and chapter 3.

29. Packard’s positive personal writings about the African American women being educated at Spelman—along with their self-portraits in the publication launched in 1885—coincide with the determined efforts of postbellum black women professionals to craft positive identities, as outlined in Stephanie Shaw’s What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do. Shaw argues that this generation of well-educated black women, fully aware that their mothers had endured slavery, were grateful for new opportunities, but also intent on using their new literacies to promote broad social gains. Comparatively speaking, despite the horrors of Jim Crow, “They were the empowered, the advantaged,” says Shaw, and “They saw endless possibilities for themselves” individually, while also being “keenly aware of their collective history” (xii). For a counterpoint study addressing working-class contexts, see Xiomara Santamarina, Belabored Professions. See also Tera W. Hunter, To Joy My Freedom.

30. Obvious examples of black women’s leadership being affirmed by whites would include Oprah Winfrey, Gayle King, and, on the academic front, such former Spelman presidents as Johnnetta Cole, Audrey Manley, Beverly Tatum, and current leader Mary Schmidt Campbell. However, a speech by Michelle Obama to Tuskegee graduates in spring 2015 (four years after her historic 2011 address at Spelman) offered up a resistant response to assumptions about US society’s having reached a postracial stage in terms of accepting black women’s social agency. For analysis of the widely varying reactions to the First Lady’s speech, see Harvey Mansfield, “Give Michelle Obama a Break” and DeWayne Wickham, “What did you hear Michelle Obama say?” Writing for USA Today, Wickham complained about critical press coverage, including a People magazine article and a CNN report. For
Wickham, the core message of the address was “the ‘double duty’ blacks have to our country and our race,” as illustrated in her speech’s references to the Tuskegee Airmen’s serving “with great distinction during World War II,” yet “suffer[ing] the indignities of Jim Crow racism” (A7).

31. “Collaboration” can be difficult to sort out in cross-racial situations where whites serve as mediators (even if well-intentioned ones) between black authors and their audiences. See Moody and Robbins, “Seeking Trust.” In the case of the Messenger, we cannot determine to what extent the published voices of students were encouraged, guided, and/or constrained by white teachers’ decision-making. What kinds of student writing might have been excluded from those pages so as to construct the portrait Packard, Giles, and their white supporters sanctioned? As E. Patrick Johnson observes in Appropriating Blackness, “The fact of blackness is not always self-constituting,” so that, in a white-dominated society, we must wonder not only how “‘blackness’ is embodied” in a printed space like the Messenger but also how “the material reality of the ‘black’ subject is occluded” (2). Similarly, Roseann Mandziuk and Suzanne Fitch identify “layers” of “rhetorical construction” that stand between Sojourner Truth, the original rhetor speaking to audiences, and the verbal portrait of her crafted by white women writers (“Rhetorical Construction,” 123).

32. Key texts articulating critical literacy’s goals come from Paulo Freire, particularly Pedagogy of the Oppressed and Education for a Critical Consciousness. Black educational theorist bell hooks, for one, draws effectively on Freire’s work in such texts as Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope and Teaching to Transgress.


34. Peeples credits Packard and Giles for attracting donors like the Slater Fund and using such resources without giving up their own vision for the school. Thus, the first principals aimed to prepare students to be “teachers, missionaries and church workers,” but they also “saw a place for industrial training in the curriculum” (“Philanthropy,” 249).

35. As P. Gabrielle Foreman has noted, African Americans had long used their own publications “as the principal public advocate for education and literacy. Essays and editorials that appeared in black papers from their inception in 1827 highlighted the connection between knowledge, economic advancement, self-determination, and personal fulfillment” (“The Christian Recorder,” 713).

36. Examples include “Spelman’s Two Pioneers” (1941), “Spelman College Founders Day Events” (1958), and “Spelman Celebrates 101 Founders Day” (1982).

37. Washington reprinted and discussed his speech in “The Atlanta Exposition Address” chapter of Up from Slavery, 217–37. Articles in the Messenger that year show how attentively the Spelman community was following news of the Exposition and was capitalizing on the chance to attract new visitors to the campus. One untitled blurb in the December 1895 issue noted: “The Exposition still brings us many friends, both new and old, all of whom we gladly greet. We hope none of our readers who come up to the fair will neglect to report themselves to Spelman” (4).

38. Higginbotham proposes that “At Spelman, as at the other Baptist schools” founded for African American women during this era, “industrial training con-
stitted an important but not preponderant aspect of the curriculum. Industrial training was viewed as enhancing, not diminishing, the school’s overall academic direction.” Higginbotham—less convinced of Packard and Giles’s egalitarian stance than I am—asserts that one factor contributing to this linkage was their belief that the “legacy of slavery” had “left blacks indolent and in need of proper work habits,” which could instill a “Protestant work ethic” (*Righteous Discontent*, 33).

39. Before long, Spelman added a more professionally oriented brand of “industrial” education in its “Nurse Training Department,” as outlined in an untitled story for the February 1888 issue of the *Messenger*, which also reprints an appreciative report on that program from the influential white-run *Atlanta Constitution* (5).

40. The *Messenger*’s pages drew from the early nineteenth-century periodical- and book-based campaigns for (white middle-class) women’s education led by authors such as Sara Hale, Catharine Beecher, Lydia Sigourney, and Catharine Maria Sedgwick. See my *Managing Literacy*, introduction and chapter 1. Women of Packard and Giles’s generation had been beneficiaries of these arguments, which they now extended to include southern blacks.

41. Yellin discusses the complicated—and often frustrating—challenges Harriet Jacobs faced in trying to find a white writer to provide an authenticating preface for *Incidents*, something which publishing houses insisted was a prerequisite to their accepting the text. Though twice enduring cruel rejection by Harriet Beecher Stowe, Yellin reports, Jacobs eventually secured support from Lydia Maria Child (*Harriet Jacobs*, 120, 140).

42. As I illustrate in “Social Action,” Ednah Cheney published many positive portraits in the *Freedmen’s Record*, which she edited for the NEFAS. See, in contrast, chapter 5, “Frances Harper’s Literacy Program,” in my *Managing Literacy*, which reviews a number of stereotype-filled depictions of the limited abilities of black learners—penned, ironically, by officials of the Freedmen’s Bureau in their official reports (157–93).

43. My “Gendering the Debate Over African Americans’ Education” focuses on Frances Harper’s astute blending of the industrial model with the “talented tenth” framework in *Trial and Triumph*. I juxtapose her stance with Atticus Haygood’s 1885 report to the Slater Fund and his 1889 book, *Our Brother in Black* to show how she advocated a curriculum for African Americans that would have appealed to white New South leaders as well as northern supporters of the freedmen by stressing the need for blacks’ vocational training (81–84).

44. Praise for the Rockefellers’ generosity, understandably, appeared regularly. The first issue, for instance, reported on the family’s having enabled the school to develop a campus-type setting with new buildings: “The Spelman Baptist Seminary, formerly called Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary, receives its new name from the large donation made by Hon. J. D. Rockefeller, toward the payment of this property, which insures this Institution ever to be kept as a school for girls and women, in honor of the now sainted father of Mrs. Rockefeller, who was for more than forty years the firm friend of the colored race” (March 1885, 1). On Rockefeller’s influential career, including his contributions to Spelman, see Ron Chernow, *Titan*.

45. *Messenger*, April 1891, 3. Sidney Root had been a prosperous antebellum
merchant in Atlanta, amassing a fortune lost during the war. Postwar, Root moved to New York, but he returned to Atlanta in 1878 and became one of the region’s “New South” leaders. Though a strong proponent of racial hierarchies, he gave to both Morehouse and Spelman and is credited with bringing Spelman to the attention of the Rockefeller family (Moye, “Sidney Root (1824–1897),” *New Georgia Encyclopedia* [NGE] online). The *Encyclopedia* says of Haygood: “Atticus G. Haygood . . . was a distinguished president of Emory College and a progressive bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He gained national prominence as a spokesman for the New South, promoting business and commercial development, and he fearlessly preached reunion, reconciliation, and educational opportunity for African Americans” (Mills, “Atticus G. Haygood (1839-1896),” *NGE*).

46. See the *Messenger*’s reprint of Warner, “Colored Schools South,” May 1887, bk. Barbara McCaskill suggested to me in a personal note that the role enacted by Warner and Haygood in such writings could be termed “cultural amanuensis.”

47. Haygood and Hayes, “Spelman Seminary,” single-page flyer dated December 1888. Packard and Giles had been using printed flyers to advertise the school since its launch. They also printed advertisements in the *Messenger*.

48. Similarly, from early in the century, see Joycelyn Moody’s analysis of how, in Frances Whipple’s biographies of Eleanor Eldridge, the white textual manager weaves in “tropes that reify a white masculinist socioeconomic class structure and the racist hierarchizing of whites over Others” (“Frances Whipple, Eleanor Eldridge,” 691).


50. Atticus Haygood’s sister, Laura, a celebrity then for her years of mission service in China, visited in November of 1895 and gave a talk based on her teaching overseas (*Messenger*, December 1895, 5).

51. In a context somewhat parallel to the *Messenger*’s, Jessica Enoch argues that the Carlisle School’s *Indian Helper* served not to empower students with critical literacy but as “a disciplinary and surveillance device meant to constantly remind teachers and students that they must comply with Carlisle’s plan” (*Refiguring Rhetorical Education*, 82). Of course, a key difference between these two institutions’ visions is that Pratt famously aimed to “Kill the Indian to save the man,” whereas Spelman was cast, from the beginning, as a collaborative uplift endeavor for its students. Nora Gordon’s later writing from the Congo (including for her mission organization’s periodical) and Walls’s postgraduation submissions to the *Messenger* reconfirm their own unmediated writing skills and their affiliation with Spelman’s liberal arts learning agenda.

52. This passage seems ironic today in light of the decreasing number of African American males, versus females, completing their high school educations, entering postsecondary settings, and earning advanced degrees. For a thorough analysis of this historical pattern, from prior to the *Brown v. Board* Supreme Court decision through recent data, see Antoine Garibaldi, “Expanding Gender and Racial Gap.”

53. Walls’s story, like the premise that guided Packard and Giles’s vision for Spelman’s curriculum, built on arguments for women’s education that had been circulating throughout the nineteenth century. Advocates like Sara Josepha Hale and, earlier on, Benjamin Rush and Susanna Rowson, had argued that educated mothers
were essential to the nation. Later, leaders like Catharine Beecher extended the argument to claim that women were the best schoolteachers for young children and therefore needed to be well educated themselves. See my Managing Literacy, chapter 3. African American women like Frances Harper and Anna Julia Cooper would adapt that rhetoric—and live its vision—in their own teaching careers.

54. Barbara McCaskill generously pointed out to me that Walls’s invocation of the humble log cabin setting affiliated the young teacher’s account with others’ use of the trope and with its linkage to the mythology around Abraham Lincoln’s growing up and studying, early on, in just such a setting. See, for example, Annie L. Burton’s descriptions of her post-slavery cabin home, succeeded by her discussion of her first schooling, and leading up to her inclusion of one of her school compositions on Lincoln as becoming a determined reader even while living in his family’s humble cabin (Burton, Memories, 12, 45, 55–56).

55. Walls was one of many Spelman students already managing schools. An untitled update in the November 1886 issue of the Messenger reported: “A large number of the older students who have been teaching during the summer related their experience, testifying of many souls won to Christ. Thus the influence of the work begun in Spelman Seminary is carried, during the summer months, not only through the numerous counties of Georgia, but into other states” (4). Another untitled item in the same issue suggested: “Those of the Spelman girls who spent their vacation teaching were richly repaid in the conversion of over three hundred of their scholars” (2). See too a “Dear Editor” letter from Ida B. Carswell in the December 1887 issue, where she described summer teaching in Gabbettville in “a church, situated in a pretty spot by the road-side, a mile from my boarding place” (December 1887, 2).

56. Benedict Anderson, in Imagined Communities, relates the formation of a national consciousness in a range of nineteenth-century settings with the rise of print capitalism and its increasing distribution across otherwise-separated spaces. Reading the same texts, he argues, allowed people who might never meet in person to imagine themselves connected to faraway others. (See, for instance, the opening of chapter 3, 33ff.) Walls’s “Exchange” columns clearly tap into this phenomenon.

57. Full texts of some of Walls’s writings are available in the Keeping and Creating Communities website’s “Educating for Citizenship” section.

58. In Poets in the Public Sphere, Bennett demonstrates that nineteenth-century American women poets writing in periodicals used the genre “as a form of public speech addressed to concrete, empirically identifiable others” (emphasis in original). Self-consciously claiming access to and participation in a Habermasian public space of “practical discursive” work aimed at “persuasion,” women poets of this era were, Bennett shows, attending to aesthetics and affect/emotion, but “in service to swaying the judgments of others on matters of concern to all” (5).

59. See, in this context, Eric Gardner, Black Print Unbound; Benjamin Fagan, The Black Newspaper and the Chosen Nation; and Frances Foster’s Love and Marriage, especially the introduction (xiii ff.). Gardner’s discussion of the need to explore “church-related print” and associated periodicals’ role in black culture (10, original emphasis) resonates with this chapter’s focus on the Messenger. Though the Messenger in Spelman’s early days certainly had white managers and readers
constraining its contents in some ways, the hybrid blend of genres there antici-
pates Gardner’s call for new literary histories of black writing to cast such scholar-
ship as “an interdisciplinary conversation grounded in the archive, challenging
received ‘history,’ embracing a wide sense of the ‘literary,’ and focused on explor-
ing how individuals and groups used the aesthetic, sociopolitical, and philosop-
ghical qualities of published words to address, record, and benefit their lives and
those of their fellows” (11).

60. Jennifer Rene Young, in “Marketing,” notes that ads for Wheatley’s 1773
collection praised her genius, but that “there were critics who sought to dismantle
her career by questioning her intelligence and discrediting her poems.” As one ex-
ample, Young cites a Philadelphia pro-slavery apologists’s printed characterization
of Wheatley as “a Negro girl writing a few silly poems, to prove that blacks are not
deficient to us in understanding” (214). Another of the published critiques claimed
that Wheatley’s writing ability was such an obvious exception to the rule of “this
sable generation” being uneducable that her poems should be ignored (215).

61. In A Brighter Coming Day, Frances Smith Foster documented Harper’s liter-
ary stature and (consistent with Bennett’s framework above) the poet’s consistent
linkage of lyric craft with political advocacy. Foster declares: “Frances Harper was
the best known and best loved African-American poet prior to Paul Laurence Dun-
bar” and cites the assessment of one historian of the black press that she was “the
journalistic mother” of women writers who succeeded her (4).

62. Setting aside the troubling “thug” discourse recently used to stereotype Af-
rican American males, a characterization of all black Americans as “ignorant” would
be surprising to encounter today—especially in writing by blacks themselves.

63. For an insistant defense of regular rhythm and rhyme as marks of excellence
in poetry at the turn of the previous century (and sing-song, regular combinations
of both, at that), see George Bourne, “Rhythm and Rhyme” in Macmillan’s.

64. See Clement and Lidsky, “Danger of History Slipping Away,” on the more
recent commitment of HBCU campuses to safeguarding their heritage.

65. Yellin’s moving “Introduction” to her biography of Jacobs revisits the multi-
ple stages of her own realization that the “Linda” of Incidents—whom Yellin came to
study originally through interest in Lydia Maria Child—might have a recoverable
personal and writerly history, and how, over time, combining patient sleuthing and
collaborations, that history could be reconstructed (Yellin, Harriet Jacobs, xv–xxi).

66. Foster characterized her sense of the ongoing reluctance to accept black
writers’ authority in “Resisting Incidents” (57–75). On the challenge of balancing
appreciation of Jacobs’s authorial agency with an awareness of how “racial, classist,
and sexist hierarchies” would still have had an impact on the Incidents text, see Holly
Laird, Women Coauthors, 59. Moody raises related issues in her nuanced analysis of
the collaboration between Whipple and Eldridge, suggesting that scholars’ reluc-
tance to study collaboratively prepared biographical narratives is at least in part the
result of “literary and social historians” viewing the texts as “ventriloquist and
therefore suspect” and “Anglo-American rather than African American” (“Frances
Whipple,” 690).

67. The location of Dunch’s own work was China, but he drew on the thought-
ful precedent of Lamin Sanneh’s work, from an African context, to emphasize that
however clear “the intent of missionaries to change a culture” might be in a particular case, their efforts to control the learning of their students should not be “confused with the actuality of doing so” ("Beyond Cultural Imperialism," 310, emphases in original; see also 324). For Sanneh, see *Translating the Message* and *Encountering the West* (chapter 2). And, in the case of Spelman’s early students, it’s crucial to keep in mind that most came from black church environments where they had been “ schooled” already to embrace Protestant Christianity and much of its associated cultural heritage, though with a race-based focus.

68. On the tendency of literacy sponsorship to include both constraining and enabling features, see Deborah Brandt, “Sponsors of Literacy.”

69. See *A History of African American Theatre* by Errol Hill and James Hatch. Referencing Spelman, Hill and Hatch confirm the strong awareness one former president, Florence Read, had of performance’s potential to represent Spelman well—assuming those texts were framed in terms consistent with institutional ethos. Thus, during Read’s twenty-seven-year tenure, she was known for “reading and censoring every play produced on campus. Enforcing Rockefeller’s strict Baptist morality, Read permitted no sexual innuendoes, profanity, or drinking of alcohol on stage” (256–57). Thanks to Stacie McCormick for this reference. Decorum is still an important feature of Founders Day. The contrast between the lively but self-consciously dignified tone earlier in Sisters Chapel and the free-spirited on-the-lawn celebration and participatory singing and dancing later in the day speaks to this awareness.

70. Personal communication from Stacie McCormick. I thank Stacie for a reminder to consider the differences between a racially mixed audience like those Brooks studied and those on hand for Founders Day at Spelman each year.

71. For an example of Carrie Walls’s learning legacy still serving to inspire twenty-first century Spelman students, see Moriah Alyssa’s online blog post on “Carrie Walls.”

72. In our discussions of this chapter, Kimberly Wallace-Sanders pointed to the important statement Spelman makes through such scenes depicting women working in the sciences together with women in the arts and other fields: in such a vision, she noted, liberal arts learning emerges as valuable in the long term and as interacting with career development, versus being cast as a mere stepping stone or even a potentially dangerous learning avenue to choose, unlikely to lead to productive and practical work.

73. For an overview of mission service in Africa by Howard, Nora Gordon, and other Spelman affiliates of their era, including discussion of African women sent to study at Spelman after contact with these early alumnae, see Sandy D. Martin, “Emma B. Delaney and the African Mission,” *This Far by Faith*, 220–38.

74. Atlanta’s True Colors Theatre, led by black director, actor, and cofounding artistic director Kenny Leon, is known for performances productively crossing racial lines in content and casting. As Stacie McCormick pointed out in a personal note, having Leon join the Founders Day performance indicates “that Spelman moved forward in embracing more inventive performance strategies as a way to advance the history and mission but also to affirm a relationship with the arts” as a powerful cultural force in the community.
75. For discussion of another year’s specific focus in its Founders Day program, see “With ‘A Legacy of Change,’” which outlines director Kenneth Green’s artistic vision for the then-upcoming Founders Day program of 2010, the year before I attended. This report also notes that his multifaceted performance approach to the occasion began in 2006, when Green “was chosen, along with Jo Moore Stewart, director of publications, to create Spelman’s 125th Convocation celebration, ‘The River That Flows Through Time,’ which set a precedent, changing the format and style of subsequent Founders Day convocations.” See Wood, “With ‘A Legacy of Change.”’ For descriptions of the Founders Day event’s content in its previous format, see articles in the Atlanta Daily World, referenced above. This still-active venue, now a digital-daily and once-per-week print publication, was founded in 1928 by a Morehouse graduate and was home, especially in its first decades, to many a counter-narrative, given the tendency of Atlanta’s white-run newspapers to downplay, misrepresent, and/or erase black perspectives.

76. Tatum’s “A Living Legacy” commentary, originally delivered as her convocation speech in the fall of 2014, appeared online via Inside Spelman around the time when her transition from the presidency was being honored. It was republished at HBCUBuzz in May of 2015. My quotes come from the Inside Spelman/HBCUBuzz version.

77. In one sense, the case for forceful self-affirmation in activities like the Founders Day pageant joins arguments asserting the continued need for all women’s colleges today to exist, and exist with proud commitment to a gendered heritage, even while moves to “go co-ed” continue among some institutions. As Spelman’s affirmation of its unique learning legacies demonstrates, though, the intersectionality of race and gender is crucial to its own unique mission.

78. Warren’s premise may refer not as much to literary production by blacks in the United States, per se, but rather to the rise and (he argues) eventual fading of African American literature as a cohesive and necessary field of study in academic settings. Thus, he asserts that “African American literature took shape” in response to Jim Crow culture, beginning with the Plessy Supreme Court case, and started to lose its central focus and exigency after the gradual victory of the civil rights movement, so that “the coherence of African American literature has been correspondingly, if sometimes imperceptibly, eroded as well” (What Was, 2). Forceful refutations of his argument include a review by Marlon B. Ross in Callaloo (“Kenneth W. Warren’s”). Ross raises several points that bear on this chapter’s analysis, such as invoking current performative expressions of black culture (e.g., distinct musical traditions) and the vibrancy of African Americans’ participation in social media (Ross, 610). If the first aligns neatly with the annual Founders Day performances, the second could suggest a link between blacks’ energetic embrace of social media today and their previous work through venues like the early Messenger to build their own intra- and inter-race networks—as well as the echoes of those self-defining, agency-claiming moves in the lively web presence of Spelman today. To study such examples as signaling cultural continuities across time, therefore, offers another form of response to Warren’s position. See, in this context, this book’s Coda, particularly the discussion of #BlackLivesMatter and its online presence.
79. See, for example, Adams-Bass, Bentley-Edwards, and Stevenson, “That’s Not Me I See on TV” and Shirley A. Hill, “Cultural Images and the Health of African American Women.” See also Roxanne Donovan’s blend of empirical method and theory in “Tough or Tender.” Donovan set out “to investigate White college students’ stereotypes of Black and White women” by “using an intersectional framework” and to see how those stereotypes resonated with patterns already identified in prior research. Drawing on data from over one hundred white college students, she speculated on both the benefits and the downsides of perceptions of black women as “strong and domineering” and outlined potential interventions to help counter the negative implications of the “Matriarch/Sapphire image.” On the lingering presence of related negative stereotypes from as far back as the slavery era, see Jennifer Bailey Woodard and Teresa Mastin, “Black Womanhood”; Micki McElyea, Clinging to Mammy; Kimberly Wallace-Sanders, Mammy; and Wallace-Sanders’s edited collection, Skin Deep, Spirit Strong.

80. One feminist scholar of color calling for such an approach is Inderpal Grewal, whose 2005 monograph on globalizing gender studies (Transnational America) is complemented by her textbook coedited with Caren Kaplan (Introduction to Women’s Studies: Gender in a Transnational World).

81. See Guy-Sheftall and Wallace-Sanders, “Educating Black Women Students for the Multicultural Future.” Spelman’s Quality Enhancement Plan (QEP) joined those of many other institutions in focusing on global citizenship. Spelman’s effort stands out, though, for thoughtfully positioning that plan in relation to its institutional history.

82. The launch of the Gordon-Zeto Center for Global Education at Spelman and the new programming the center enabled also mark the college’s increasing emphasis on global learning. The center, whose name honors Nora Gordon and Flora Zeto (one of the first Congolese graduates of Spelman), was made possible by an anonymous gift of $17 million announced in 2008.

83. Texas Christian University (TCU), founded by Addison and Randolph Clark in 1873 (just a few years before Spelman’s opening), was unusual in its early years in welcoming women students to liberal arts learning in a coeducational environment then dubbed AddRan Male and Female College.

84. Examples of other women of color on that semester’s syllabus included Maryse Condé, I, Tituba, Black Witch of Salem; Louise Erdrich, The Round House; Inderpal Grewal, the “Traveling Barbie” essay from Transnational America; Anna Julia Cooper, essays and speeches; and Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Lynch Law in Georgia. We also studied poetry by Esther Belin and Heidi E. Erdrich.

85. Jerri Anne Boggis, Eve Allegra Raimon, and Barbara W. White, eds., Harriet Wilson’s New England. Describing the Harriet Wilson Project, Eric Gardner suggests that enacting such local projects “asserts that black struggles for identity formation were carried out in specific locations—locations that have often fallen off our maps of early black culture” (Unexpected Places, 13).

Chapter 3

1. “Death of the Hull House” focuses on the nonprofit organization that attempted to keep a version of the original settlement’s programs going, scattered into different neighborhood sites across Chicago, after the bulk of the original settlement’s physical resources were demolished in the early 1960s. The association shut down in 2012. This account, like some other writings on the settlement, omits the hyphen Addams and her colleagues used for “Hull-House.” I follow each publication’s choice in that matter when quoting from a source and use the hyphen otherwise.


3. I want to avoid presenting Jane Addams as perfectly egalitarian in her (presentation of) collaborations. If Addams became the “star” of Hull-House mythology, one reason was that she often overgeneralized the identities of her immigrant neighbors when describing their contributions. In her reminiscence about the Labor Museum, for instance, she exalts in how the project overturned the tendency of older immigrants’ children to discount their elders’ experiential knowledge, and she asserts that craft-sharing at the museum laid “a foundation for reverence of the past which Goethe declares to be the basis of all sound progress” (140). But although she cites John Dewey by name in recalling a conversation with him as helping her conceptualize the museum, the immigrants who were involved early on are unnamed: “a Syrian woman, a Greek, an Italian, a Russian, and an Irishwoman” (Twenty Years, 140). On the flip side, the Woman’s Club project I referenced earlier had members both from among the settlement’s middle-class residents and from the neighborhood. This collaboration—where individuals also go unnamed specifically—cut across social class and ethnic lines. In this context, Hilda Satt (Polacheck) expanded on her comment about the club’s being “a real venture in democracy” by adding: “Women from England, Ireland, Germany, Russia, Poland, Sweden, and many other countries were members. Women who had reached the highest educational levels and women who could not read or write sat side by side at the meetings. Women of wealth and women who barely had enough to eat participated in the discussions of the club on an equal basis” (I Came, 101).

4. Supporters’ efforts to save Hull-House from the wrecking ball ended in 1963, as most of its buildings were razed to make room for UIC. For an example of the Chicago Daily Tribune’s extensive coverage of the battle, see “Meeting Set,” May 23, 1961. For an illustration of the nationwide reporting on the tear-down and its implications, see “Chicago’s Hull House Gives Way” in the Los Angeles Times, April 12, 1963.

5. Certainly, important work had been done on Addams and Hull-House by the time of the settlement’s centennial, as Margaret Spratt pointed out in her 1991 review of six books for the Journal of Urban History (“Hull-House”). But the years
since then have seen an exponential increase in work on Addams and the settlement. One crucial source of support for that process has been the heroic editorial work of Bryan, Bair, and de Angury on the Jane Addams Papers Project, which as of this writing has produced two volumes for *The Selected Papers of Jane Addams.*

6. In contrast to the revitalization of the Hull-House Museum, 2012 marked the closure and bankruptcy filing of the Jane Addams Hull House Association which, for decades after UIC’s encroachment on the original site led to their re-location, had sponsored social service programming to continue the settlement’s mission, including foster care and domestic violence counseling. See Thayer, “Jane Addams Hull House to close,” *Chicago Tribune,* January 19, 2012. Reflecting on her participation in the *Jane Addams in the Classroom (JAC)* project, contributor Bridget K. O’Rourke commented on that loss: “my work on Hull-House is part of the landscape of my own memory and sense of place. I’m more conscious of it now for its absence than its presence. The Hull-House Association closed its doors this year, a sad reality for those of us who knew Hull-House (however remotely) as a living reality and not just a historical model” (O’Rourke, “Interview”).

7. As one example of current scholars’ use of Addams to address “social problems today,” from a “feminist pragmatist” stance, see Danielle Lake’s “Jane Addams and Wicked Problems” (77). Lake notes “Addams’s insights on the need for cooperative action” and praises Hull-House as “a bridge institution” promoting “fellowship, sympathetic understanding, and reciprocity” (78).

8. See the museum homepage, Jane Addams Hull-House Museum. Significantly, even after a shift in personnel described later in this chapter, the vision statement on the website remains unchanged as of this writing, in summer 2016.


10. On Addams’s work to resolve philosophical conflicts around progressive ideas, see Culbertson, “Jane Addams’s Progressive Democracy,” and on her leadership of pragmatism as philosophy, see Hamington, *Social Philosophy.* On Addams’s interactions with Dewey, see Cunningham et al., “Dewey, Women, and Weirdoes.” O’Connell analyzes her work on citizenship (“Jane Addams’s Democratic Journey”); Fischer examines Addams’s moves to connect a rhetoric of maternalism with her work for peace (“Addams’s Internationalist Pacifism”). Other scholars focusing on her contributions to peace movements, feminist thought, and citizenship include Klosterman and Stratton (“Speaking Truth”) and Deegan (“Jane Addams on Citizenship”), who touts Addams as an “organic intellectual” (217) and a model of feminist global citizenship, but who asserts the need to critique the limits of her thinking and activism. On Addams as a writer attentive to craft, Duffy (“Remembering is the Remedy”) examines her use of reminiscence as a rhetorical tool.

11. Scholars arguing for Addams’s relevance today include Danisch, “Jane Addams, Pragmatism and Rhetorical Citizenship,” who points to parallels between the waves of immigration in her time and today’s context; Harkavy and Puckett, who underscore “Lessons from Hull House” for today’s urban universities; and Shields, “Democracy and the Social Feminist Ethics,” who argues that Addams’s theories provide a “bottom up” vision for “participatory democracy” that “also speaks to the lived experience of public administration” (418). In “Accountability Re-examined,”
Oakes and Young use a case study of Hull-House to argue for a model of assessing organizational effectiveness (such as for nonprofits) in context rather than overrelying on quantitative measures. Téllez and Waxman, in describing effective practices for teaching English Language Learners (“Review of Research”), point to Addams’s pedagogy for immigrant children as a model.

12. See, in this context, chapter 2’s discussion of the need to recognize that minority-group learners and writers do have opportunities to exercise agency when engaging with a curriculum that is grounded in dominant-culture content and values. I return to this point in chapter 4 in the context of students’ written accounts of their responses to assimilation schools aimed at Native American children.

13. During our interview, for example, Lisa Lee referenced Shannon Jackson’s *Lines of Activity* as helping to guide work at the museum.

14. My view of Addams’s commitment to *story* aligns with Katherine Joslin’s *Jane Addams, A Writer’s Life*. Joslin argues that Addams’s “turn toward the literary and away from the social-scientific is perhaps the distinctive feature of her writing.” Joslin, accordingly, sees Addams’s writing models—such as Charles Dickens—as coming primarily from literature (15).

15. Frederick Taylor’s highly influential *The Principles of Scientific Management* appeared in 1911. On patterns of rhetoric arising over time in scientific writing, see Lawrence Prelli, *Rhetoric of Science*. On interconnections linking urbanization, the growth of bureaucracies in business and in other organizations, and the rise of the male manager during this era, see John Chambers’s *Tyranny of Change*. Chambers notes, for instance, that as “[m]ore and more middle-class men worked in the bureaucracies of business,” they “began to associate their manhood with specialized knowledge,” even as the “middle-class-oriented educational system reinforced this view by largely excluding girls and women from the classical curricula as well as the scientific and mathematical training” required to claim most leadership roles (Chambers, *Tyranny*, 37). Addams and the other college-educated women at Hull-House had to navigate a contradictory space in both their work and their rhetoric, displaying a conservative commitment to approved womanly roles while also carving out space for contributing to new scientific knowledge fields in gender-approved ways. See, on women’s relationship to scientific rhetoric, Jordynn Jack, “‘Exceptional Women,’” in *Women and Rhetoric*, eds. George, Weiser, and Zepernick.

16. See Valerie Strauss’s “‘Big data’ was supposed to fix education.” Strauss passes along a call from educational researchers Pasi Sahlberg and Jonathan Hakse. They argue: “big data alone won’t be able to fix education systems. Decision-makers need to gain a better understanding of what good teaching is and how it leads to better learning in schools. This is where information about details, relationships and narratives in schools become important. These are what Martin Lindstrom calls ‘small data’: small clues that uncover huge trends. In education, these small clues are often hidden in the invisible fabric of schools. Understanding this fabric must become a priority for improving education” (para 12).

17. Fortunately, Katherine Joslin’s *Jane Addams, A Writer’s Life* provides one important exception to the shortage of attention allotted to *My Friend, Julia Lathrop*. Joslin’s overview includes revealing details about Addams’s research and composing
processes, as well as negotiations with Macmillan representative H. S. Latham and with Paul Kellogg of Survey Graphic (250–61). Joslin notes that Latham (based on concerns about the Depression-era publishing marketplace) encouraged Addams to collaborate with Grace Abbott on one volume rather than to try publishing two separate volumes, as originally planned (250, 254). Kellogg, meanwhile, offered to publish parts of Addams’s material in his periodical ahead of its appearance within the book. Kellogg’s editing of draft material rankled Addams, Joslin reports, but he backed off from aggressive textual interventions after receiving a written complaint from Addams (258–61), even sending an apologetic telegram that reached Addams as she lay on her deathbed and that called the manuscript “luminous” (261).

18. As noted in the introduction, Addams’s choice to narrate more than explicate and to write for a broad readership has, sadly, often led to a false dichotomizing of her legacy versus her colleague John Dewey’s, with Dewey cast as the theorist and Addams as a practitioner—sometimes even as a practitioner unable to theorize her own work. For instance, even in an essay valuing Addams and “other Hull-House residents” for her “practices” at the settlement (589), Schneiderhan, in “Pragmatism and Empirical Sociology,” foregrounds “Dewey’s theory of action” (589) as a lens for analyzing women settlement workers, including Addams herself, who “did not always know where they were going with their acts” (613).

19. Joslin (Jane Addams, A Writer’s Life) argues Addams focused on creating a communal voice depicting shared experience. To explicate this view, Joslin uses Bakhtin’s sociolinguistics: “Mikhail Bakhtin’s theory of the dialogic urge of the novel, the orchestrating of diverse voices and the depiction of the novelist as ventriloquist, may help us understand how Addams’s dramatic use of voices from the street, talking about the issues of the day . . . moved beyond the monologic or static voice of social tracts” (15).

20. In Peace and Bread in Time of War, Addams begins with the collaborative actions of “delegates from Holland, England and Austria” and their meeting in the United States: “we issued what we called a manifesto. . . . We were certainly well within the truth when we said that ‘we bear evidence of a rising desire and intention . . . to turn a barren disinterestedness into an active goodwill’” (19–20, emphases mine). See also her The Spirit of Youth: “We cannot afford to be ungenerous to the city in which we live without suffering the penalty which lack of fair interpretation always entails. Let us know the modern city in its weakness and wickedness. . . . We certainly cannot expect the fathers and mothers who have come to the city from farms or who have emigrated from other lands to appreciate or rectify these dangers” (14–15). On Addams’s strategic use of “we,” and a related choice to make herself a character in her own narratives, see Salazar, Bodies of Reform, especially 206, 216, 221–32.


22. Examples include Addams’s revisiting of the “Devil Baby” story in The Long Road of Woman’s Memory and her reliance on narrative examples to illustrate concepts, as in chapter II’s treatment of the charitable visitor and chapter V’s revisiting of Pullman’s misguided model community in Democracy and Social Ethics. Here too Joslin’s assessment, particularly of the late-career publications, is relevant: Joslin
sees Addams’s final writings as focusing more and more on “record[ing] a collective consciousness in her reminiscence” (16) while “blending other voices into her own, allowing her to speak through and for the people surrounding her at Hull-House” (Jane Addams, 17).


24. Kathryn Sklar, as early as her 1985 “Hull House in the 1890s” essay for Signs, claimed notable social power for the women living and working at the settlement, dubbing them “one of the most politically effective groups of women reformers in U.S. history” (658).

25. For a thoughtful review of the revamped permanent exhibit developed in connection with the settlement’s 150th anniversary in 2010—including its enhanced focus “on the residents and immigrants that lived at, worked in, and benefited from” the settlement (171)—see Dee Harris’s “Re-defining Democracy,” in Public Historian.

26. In an interview focused on the group’s reading, writing, and revision processes, similarly, collection editor David Schaafsma shifted from initially referencing “Addams” alongside “Dewey” to using the “Jane” first name (Schaafsma, “Interview”).

27. We also shared pivotal classroom experiences in a course with Professor Jay Robinson on the politics of literacy. One recurring assignment for that seminar was writing what Jay called “conversation papers,” where we recorded reflective dialogues with our readings. Jay never wrote directly on those papers; instead, he peppered them with sticky notes containing questions to promote more “conversation” during class.

28. As one example of their friendly exchanges, including shared critique, Addams recounts Lathrop’s witty assessment of the way they had been introduced at a meeting where the speaker’s characterizations reduced them to being old-fashioned “ladies bountiful,” a category which Lathrop bemoaned: ‘It is not very complimentary to either of us, J.A., but I am afraid that it is a true word that we are the more highly praised in proportion as we are misunderstood’” (55).

29. Recalling a conversation mixing friendly banter with astute critique, Addams recounts Lathrop’s saying: “Don’t generalize on insufficient data, J.A. It is a great temptation but in this case fully one-half of your data is absolutely off. Fifty per cent of inaccuracy is a very large margin” (132). Similarly, Addams reports on Lathrop’s crafty critique of an Addams speech: “It was a fine story, and at least half of it was off.”

30. This naming of their settlement women’s network as “precious” appears in a letter Addams includes in a chapter on Lathrop’s friendship with Florence Kelley. This epistle gently (but still wittily, as was Lathrop’s wont) takes Kelley to task for failing to report her hospitalization to Lathrop, who describes herself as always “uneasy” when she hears of anyone in their circle “daring to be ill or anything, and not telling me” (89–90). Kelley’s own autobiography, originally composed as a series of articles for Survey Graphic in 1927, includes one piece (“I Go to Work”) fo-
cused on the settlement, where she dubbed Julia Lathrop a “pillar” of Hull-House (Kelley, Autobiography, ed. Sklar, 78).

31. Addams, My Friend, 4. Hamilton herself was one of Hull-House’s most dedicated activists. Having earned a medical degree at the University of Michigan in the 1890s, she became a settlement resident and put her research skills to work to study neighborhood and occupational health issues. As the first woman to earn a faculty appointment at Harvard and the only woman serving on the international health committee for the League of Nations, she—like Lathrop and Addams—became a celebrity figure while also maintaining a strong commitment to the Hull-House women’s network.

32. See Alice Hamilton’s memoir for treatment of Hull-House’s essential role in preparing her for leadership. Notes Hamilton: “I should never have taken up the cause of the working class had I not lived at Hull-House and learned much from Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Julia Lathrop, and others.” (Exploring/ Autobiography, 16).

33. Victoria Bissell Brown’s The Education of Jane Addams presents insightful analysis of Addams’s youthful learning at home and, later, at Rockford Seminary, but also Addams’s work to develop a philosophy that, despite pulling away from established religious practices, maintained a strong commitment to spirituality. Brown declares: “The story told here traces Addams’s evolution from an ambitious, arrogant youth caught up in heroic dreams of individual triumph to a young woman humbled by ill health, family duty, and spiritual doubt,” and eventually finding “salvation in collective, cooperative action” (6). Brown argues that Addams’s education was further honed by settlement practice itself.

34. Though, like Brown (Education), I see arrogance in some of Addams’s schoolgirl writings, I also recognize continuities between her efforts to bring other young women together in shared learning (such as through the debate club and a student newspaper) and approaches she would develop for teaching at Hull-House.

35. Hull-House Maps and Papers, a research project originally taken on with encouragement from Henrietta Barnett, helped establish the settlement’s reputation for basing its social interventions in research. Florence Kelley, a major contributor to that publication, also wrote the autobiography referenced earlier and reports about her work in the socialist labor movement, as well as a translation of one of Friedrich Engel’s books. The Florence Kelley Collection (MSKell77) is held in the Special Collections at UIC.


37. Jane Addams to Henrietta Barnett, February 3, 1920. Copies of such exchanges from their correspondence are in Dame Henrietta Barnett Papers [hereafter DHBP], Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago, MSBarn64.

38. Consistent with her own regular use of novel reading as a strategy for considering real-life issues, Addams describes that tendency as evident in others as well: “The popular books are the novels, dealing with life under all possible conditions, and they are widely read not only because they are entertaining, but also
because they in a measure satisfy an unformulated belief that to see farther, to know all sorts of men . . . is a preparation for . . . the remediying of social ills” (“Introduction,” Democracy and Social Ethics, 8).

39. Interestingly, even within a discussion of how “Teaching in a Settlement requires distinct methods” that focus on “a social atmosphere,” with learning occurring “in a medium of fellowship and good will,” Addams calls upon her personal reading to illustrate her point (427). For instance, she quotes her study of Mazzini to clarify her argument (427), and later in this same “Socialized Education” chapter of Twenty Years, she calls on Victor Hugo’s Jean Valjean to illustrate how a member of the Hull-House Boys’ Club effectively invoked literary allusion when resisting false accusations cast against him (432). She also references courses Ellen Gates Starr taught “in Dante and Browning” and Julia Lathrop’s “Plato club” (435). Overall, she says, “residents of Hull-House place increasing emphasis upon the great inspirations and solaces of literature” (434), which (she notes) they were accessing via direct reading, but also by indirect engagements with text through attendance at plays, lectures, and discussions of books.

40. In Twenty Years, recalling one of their visits to the United States, Addams describes the “hearty sympathy” she shared with Henrietta Barnett (chapter XVI, 371). But it is in their personal papers where we see the clearest signs of mutual affection, as in Addams’s letter praising Barnett’s biography of Samuel and in a note back to Addams soon afterwards, which Henrietta signed, “Yours ever in a big strong humble way” (DHBP, MSBarn64).

41. Jean Bethke Elshtain includes this (in)famous speech, under the title “Address of Miss Addams at Carnegie Hall” in The Jane Addams Reader (327–40). One of the most controversial passages claimed that soldiers Addams met during her pro-peace tour of Europe reported, in regard to bayonet charges, on “the necessity for the use of stimulants” such as “rum in England, and absinthe in France” to enforce their participation (339).

42. In the 1919 biography of Samuel, Henrietta Barnett served up high praise of Addams several times, a loyal gesture during a period when so many of the American’s previously supportive admirers had deserted the Hull-House leader. So, for instance, Barnett characterizes Addams as “a great soul” with “depths of character” enabling her leadership of “that most wonderful of all Settlements” (Canon Barnett, 30). Barnett also wrote freestanding articles defending Addams, such as a “Jane Addams” profile for the Woman’s Leader, June 1, 1923, held in the DHBP collection. For analysis of the shift in popular press depictions of Addams from saintly leader to dangerous traitor, see Shepler and Mattina, “Paying the Price.” See too Elshtain’s long, revealing quote from Maude Royden, a British peace movement leader, on the contrast between Americans’ views of Addams that Royden encountered during a visit to the United States in 1912 versus in 1922–23 (Elshtain, Jane Addams, 244).

43. “My Friend, Julia Lathrop and Jane Addams,” 350. Bessie Louise Pierce’s evaluation in the same year for The Mississippi Valley Historical Review echoed the SSR’s criticisms. Pierce wished that Addams’s text had offered more of the “valiant, dramatic, real, and intelligent” dimensions of Lathrop’s “fight against poverty,” i.e., had conveyed a stronger sense of “the struggle” involved in her work (Pierce, “My Friend, Julia Lathrop,” 442).
44. See, for example, biographies by Victoria Bissell Brown (The Education of Jane Addams) and Louise W. Knight (Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy), both of which weave in details of Addams’s personal relationships as influencing her activism and her writing. For a look at the bonds of friendship connecting Hull-House women as incorporating both spirituality and vocation, see Eleanor J. Stebner, The Women of Hull House. While Addams’s influence on highly educated male writer-thinkers like John Dewey has received less attention, exceptions include Charlene Seigfried’s “Socializing Democracy: Jane Addams and John Dewey,” especially 212 ff.

45. Certainly we should not pretend that the generous, respectful stance of Addams and notable Hull-House colleagues toward immigrants was universal. For an opposing view as expressed in fiction set in a related context, see Anzia Yezierska’s Arrogant Beggar and Salome of the Tenements, the latter of which draws on that author’s complex relationship with John Dewey.

46. On Polacheck’s WPA writing, see Taylor’s Soul of a People, 55–60. See also the WPA Federal Writers’ Project Collection in the American Memory Collection, folklore division, at the Library of Congress; examples of Polacheck’s work held in that collection are “Little Grandmother” and “The Dybbuk of Bunker Street.” The Hilda Satt Polacheck Papers (MSPola75) are held in in the Special Collections at UIC.

47. My original interviews with staff and visits to JAHHM occurred during the tenure of Lisa Lee. In the winter of 2015, Jennifer Scott assumed the director position. Scott’s past work with the “International Coalition of Sites of Conscience . . . to create original content for a two-year initiative, the National Dialogues on Immigration,” made her a logical choice to assume leadership at Hull-House. See UIC’s online announcement by Anne Brooks Ranallo in “NYC Public Historian.”

48. Lee and Lopez, “Participating in History” in JAC. Striking in the context of Lee and Lopez’s “radical empathy” formulation is Jean Elshtain’s account of interviewing two Italian American alumnae of Hull-House programs who, as referenced earlier, described their frustration with prior depictions of Addams and the settlement as tainted by class/ethnic bias (Jane Addams and the Dream, 9–11).


50. In the fall of 2015, while I was drafting this chapter, Lisa Junkin Lopez was still serving as associate director under Lee’s replacement, but she shortly thereafter became director of the museum linked to the Girl Scout’s founding figure. Heather Radke’s move to New York also mirrors how some of the settlement’s most active residents eventually relocated to take on leadership responsibilities elsewhere, with Addams’s encouragement.

51. As Addams so often did, Lee, Lopez, and Radke repeatedly used a first-person-plural “we” when describing their work at Hull-House. Further, each referenced the other two to illustrate key points about the museum’s teaching philosophy and practices.

52. In their introduction to JAC, Schaaftsma and DeStigter explain: “Our interest from the beginning of this project was rooted in Addams’s—and her Hull-
House colleagues’—commitment to *listening to* and *learning from* the people living in the neighborhood in which Hull-House was located” (5, emphasis in original).

53. For context on Lee’s comments about Addams’s rhetoric of pragmatism, see Kaag, “Pragmatism.” On rhetorical pragmatism, see also chapter 1.

54. The TAMMS project was collaboratively led by attorneys, artists, and ex-prisoners.

55. See the richly reflective essay collection edited by Adair, Filene, and Koloski, *Letting Go? Sharing Historical Authority*.

56. On links between the Labor Museum and the Arts and Crafts movement, see Stankiewicz, “Art at Hull House.” Stankiewicz argues that the Labor Museum “showed process, product, and producer in an effort to illustrate the value of handwork,” even in an increasingly industrial age (37). She also connects ideas behind the Labor Museum and the philosophy guiding T. J. Cobden-Sanderson’s promotion of Arts and Crafts activities as transforming society itself into “a potential work of art” embodied by “the union of imagination, spirit, and manual labor” within a liberatory vision (37).

57. Echoes of this position appear in Eisner’s advocacy of arts-based and arts-enriched education, as in “What Education Can Learn from the Arts.” Among lessons Eisner names are “that form and content cannot be separated” (7), “that surprise is not to be seen as an intruder in the process of inquiry but as a part of the rewards,” “that slowing down perception” enhances learning, and that body-based, “somatic” learning is valuable (8).

58. Drawing on work by Dwight Conquergood, Denzin posits that a “feminist, communitarian performance ethic” can be “empowering” for all involved. Thus, Denzin envisions “coparticipatory performances” including dialogue that will promote genuine cross-cultural understanding (*Interpretive Autoethnography*, 80–81).

59. Originally on the museum’s website, O’Grady’s comments were later retrievable from a WBEZ radio online review of the exhibit by Alison Cuddy, “Home Economics.”

60. See “Look At It This Way,” an online report. Carried out in 2013, this project was completed during Lopez’s interim directorship. Through a partnership enabling UIC students to learn museum curatorial work by doing it, the initiative connected students in the Museum and Exhibition Studies Master of Arts program to JAHHM.

61. Examples include Nina Simon’s online “Postcards as a Call to Action” essay and Kass, “Gangs That Came,” from the *Chicago Tribune*.

62. The Chicago Freedom School describes its mission in terms consistent with Hull-House’s original and current vision: “Founded in 2007, the mission of the Chicago Freedom School (CFS) is to create new generations of critical and independent thinking young people who use their unique experiences and power to create a just world. CFS provides training and education opportunities for youth and adult allies to develop leadership skills through the lens of civic action and through the study of the history of social movements and their leaders” (Chicago Freedom School website homepage).

For one example of the striking e-zines from this partnership, see Rachel Marie-Crane Williams’s online “Girls in the System.”
63. Some of their contemporaries indicated recognition of the “special relationship” between Smith and Addams, via commentary that might be veiled, yet still supportive. See, for instance, Elshtain, *Jane Addams*, 23. Elshtain does caution against “sexualizing it [their bond] to conform to the political exigencies of our age” (23). On a parallel front, when doing research for *Nellie Arnott’s Writings on Angola*, Ann Pullen and I heard about the discreet acceptance sometimes accorded, even by conservative church organizations, to women who worked (and lived) abroad together as missionary couples. In a potentially broader context hinting at questions about sexual practices among the Hull-House residents, Elshtain reports this observation from an interview with Ruby Jane Delicandro: “We’ve read stupid stories about how the neighbors were suspicious of Hull-House. But we were the neighbors. No one we knew was worried about taking her children to Hull-House” (9, emphasis in original).

64. Lee, “Hungry for Peace,” 62. In both her opening abstract and her final paragraph, Lee stresses how the museum staff drew on Addams’s heritage to guide their work. Thus, she says her “essay explores ways that Addams’s legacy and the work at Hull-House around food can inform, educate, and expand the horizon of our imaginations on critical contemporary issues of social justice” (62). Lee also argues: “The efforts of the staff and programs at JAHHM are undertaken . . . with the belief that this extraordinary history of social change and reform can continue to inspire our radical imaginations” (78).

65. Schaafsma and DeStigter affirm the symbolic importance and pragmatic benefits of the restored dining room. Celebrating the reopening in May 2008, they salute programming held there as “a way to renew . . . the Hull-House residents’ legacy of carving out ‘public spaces where people of all classes and ethnicities can interact’ with the aim of creative problem solving” (“Introduction,” *JAC*, 1).

66. Vinz’s *JAC* “Afterword” notes: “Jane Addams opens participatory spaces, both in her writing and through the mortar-and-brick version of Hull-House—to live with and in relation to other people across varied landscapes of difference” (200, original emphasis).

67. Here, as elsewhere in her writing, Addams quotes without attributing her source. While our emphasis today on careful citation would fault Addams, I suspect that such omissions were acceptable to her original readers and may even have been another way for her to signal that collaborative knowledge-building made credit-giving inessential.

68. Junkin Lopez’s, Lee’s, and Radke’s efforts to make the museum’s archive-informed practice and philosophy visible are affirmed in Kelland’s exhibit review, “Re-Defining Democracy.” Citing the museum’s ongoing affiliation with “the museological movement away from temple and toward forum,” Kelland characterizes the “broad and complex interpretive responsibility” of JAHHM as linking “the mission of civic dialogue to the democratic values of Jane Addams and the residents of Hull House” (783).

69. Schaafsma’s dissertation became *Eating on the Street*. DeStigter’s *Reflections of a Citizen Teacher* won NCTE’s Richard Meade Award for Research in English Education.

70. Examples include Gere and Shaheen, eds., *Making American Literatures*;
Robbins and Dyer, eds., *Writing America*; Winter and Robbins, eds., *Writing Our Communities*.

71. In an interview conducted while he was collaborating with *JAC* contributors on their revisions, Schaafsma observed, in reference to the real-life pressures faced by many students and teachers today: “You’re talking about racism. You’re talking about classism. You’re talking about, use the postcolonial term, you’re talking about the Othering that happens on a daily basis that needs to be addressed.” To describe his commitment to participatory research along with public school teachers and students, DeStigter wrote in an online interview: “The most challenging aspect of my work—aside from the time it takes to do ethnographic research, write up field notes, etc.—is to see firsthand how the current educational environment we’re living in (one that emphasizes standardized benchmarks/outcomes and high-stakes testing) makes it more and more difficult to listen to the students, to create opportunities for them to bring their experiences and languages into the classroom” (DeStigter, “Interview”).

72. In an online interview about her efforts to teach across social divides, Steffen referenced her *JAC* chapter: “What helps our classes be open places for learning is the sharing of stories to bring a vast range of experiences into our context. . . . I use others’ and my own stories to build acknowledgement of the differences of our experiences but also, in the sharing of the stories, we force common experiences which help bridge cultures” (Steffen, “Interview”).

73. For analysis of what O’Rourke calls the “bayonet speech,” see Roskelly’s “The Hope for Peace and Bread” in George, Weiser, and Zepernick, eds., *Women and Rhetoric*, 32–47. Addams gave the speech at Carnegie Hall on July 9, 1915. Having recently returned from work in Europe with the Women’s International League for Peace, Addams referenced conversations she had with soldiers there. She aimed at presenting a reasoned argument against entering the war. But a brief moment in the talk, where she referenced soldiers’ reluctance to use bayonets, became the crux of critics’ attacks afterwards, despite the applause garnered at the original event (Roskelly, 34–35).

Chapter 4

1. Powell describes her identity, more specifically, as mixed-blood of Indiana Miami, Eastern Band Shawnee, and Euro-American ancestry, and she emphasizes that distinctions between enrolled and unenrolled should be acknowledged.

2. For an example of Powell’s own influential scholarship, see “Rhetorics of Survivance.”

3. Workshop leaders represented a range of institutions: Rose Gubele, Central Michigan University; Joyce Rain Anderson, Bridgewater State University; Kimberli Lee, Northeastern State University; Lisa King, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and more recently University of Tennessee, Knoxville; Gabriela Ríos, Texas A&M University; and Angela Haas, Illinois State University. Resources provided included Angela Haas’s syllabus for a course on American Indian literatures and cultures and Lisa King’s sample assignment on media analysis to teach about Indigenous
rhetorical sovereignty and alliance. (See material from a later online interview with King in chapter 5.)

4. For a moving account by a current teacher of Dakota language, see Neil McKay, “The Spirit of Language,” in Genocide of the Mind, 159–65. McKay observes, “I have witnessed many times that Dakotas are very encouraging of others learning Dakota language. . . . I was told that no matter what someone’s speaking level is, they are speaking Dakota and that is all that matters” (165).

5. Robert Warrior, Tribal Secrets, 123–24. See also Warrior’s riveting chapter 3, “The Work of Indian Pupils,” in The People and the Word, 95–142. Warrior draws on writers ranging from Luther Standing Bear, Gertrude Bonnin, and Charles Eastman to reach imaginative engagement with students who would have worked in the print shop at Santee Normal Training School, which Warrior both compares and contrasts with Carlisle. In his treatment of “an era of Indian policy in which Native youth were targeted to be instruments of transformation” (96), Warrior reminds readers “that Native educational history is best regarded not as a problem to be solved, but as a journey that we are in the middle of” (101).

6. On the complex interpersonal and professional tensions around their collaborative writing, see my “The ‘Indian Problem’ in Elaine Goodale Eastman’s Authorship.”

7. See, for example, Baird, “Are Soldiers Murderers?” 43. For a snide description of her cross-race marriage, see “Elaine Goodale Eastman,” Massachusetts Ploughman, 56.

8. On the history of residential schools in Canada, including similarities and differences between the US and Canadian programs, see the “Separate Schooling Institutionalized” chapter in Charles Leslie Glenn, American Indian/First Nations Schooling, 177ff.

9. David Wallace Adams, Education for Extinction, 6. Similarly, K. Tsiatina Lomawaima and Teresa L. McCarty have underscored the self-serving, contorted reasoning often used to justify assimilation efforts: “The ‘civilized’ nation assumed that its right to dispossess Native nations went hand in hand with a responsibility to ‘uplift’ them, and mission and federal ‘Indian schools’ were established as laboratories for a grand experiment in cultural cleansings, Christian conversion, and assimilation of laborers and domestic workers into the workforce” (To Remain and Indian, 4).

10. See Valerie Sherer Mathes, “Helen Hunt Jackson,” 141–57. Jackson’s writings in support of Native peoples included the nonfiction books A Century of Dishonor (1881) and (with Abbot Kinney) Report on the Conditions and Needs of the Mission Indians (1883). Ramona (1884) represented an effort to use fiction to win support for American Indians, but she was frustrated to find that the love story imbedded in the novel drew more attention from readers than its more political advocacy dimensions.

11. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder stress that “cultural disintegration, not cultural replacement,” was typically the result, with the separation from family and the forced immersion into English-only environments being particularly punitive (5). Among other serious problems, “a breakdown in communication between chil-
dren” and their elders cut “Indian people off from their heritage” (American Indian Education, 7).

12. See The Hampton Album: 44 photographs by Frances B. Johnston. The portfolio’s introductory text characterizes Hampton as an “extraordinarily successful experiment in the training of black and American Indian youth, the triumph of an integrated coeducational system of learning-by-doing in the domestic and agricultural arts and crafts, enabling them to teach others to do likewise” (5). Further, several of the photographs conflate the goals and impact of the curriculum for blacks at Hampton with the related aim of Indian assimilation, as in “Class in American History” (11).

13. Robert Francis Engs, Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited, 116–17. Referencing comments from Armstrong’s Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands as evidence, Engs reports that “Armstrong was much given to comparisons of blacks and Hawaiians, never entirely comprehending how different the two groups truly were, and much to the disservice of both” (74).

14. While Hampton and Carlisle—and their principals Armstrong and Pratt—are rightly associated with the spread of the boarding school model, Charles L. Glenn argues that neither residential schools nor the industrial/vocational curriculum, per se, should be viewed only in terms of having been “imposed on Indians; it was adopted also by the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War as more appropriate for Cherokee-speaking children than the English-medium schools that served the children of the mixed-blood elite” (American Indian/First Nations Schooling, 84–85).

15. For an insightful account of this stage in the longstanding battle over Indian education, as well as later developments, see Frederick Hoxie, A Final Promise.

16. In The Indian Industrial School, Pratt himself would attempt to shape the cult of personality associated with his image by crafting a self-serving narrative justifying his work at Carlisle. Published several years after his removal as superintendent, Pratt’s account seeks to rescue his legacy by stressing the more affirmative aspects of his program. Besides settling some old personal scores, his narrative emphasizes the long-term potential of Native Americans, presents data to illustrate the successes of many alumni, identifies influential supporters, and touts such milestones as his students’ involvement with the Columbian Exposition. Pratt declares: “the whole purpose of the Carlisle school from the beginning was to make its pupils equal as individual parts of our civilization. . . . Indian schools, as I have always contended, should be temporary. . . . Unquestionably the great object to be aimed at should be to have all Indian youth in schools and eventually no purely Indian schools; then and then only is the problem of their proper education really solved” (55).

17. Caskey Russell, “Language, Violence, and Indian Mis-education,” 102, 101. Russell also aligned with Ward Churchill’s genocide argument by asserting: “The violence, both physical and structural, upon which Indian education in America was founded can be defined, according to the original draft of the Geneva Convention, as a form of genocide under the articles defining cultural genocide” (“Language,” 107).

from an Indian residential school near Kenora, Ontario” (xi). The poem depicts Charlie walking “on through the snow, / Heading down the railway line, / Trying to make it home” (ll. 2–4).

19. David H. Dejong, “‘Unless They Are Kept Alive,’” 261–64, 267, 274. Dejong attributes some of the unhealthy conditions to congressional underfunding but others to the policy of industrial training, which not only prepared students for “obsolete occupations” but also exposed them to unhealthy working conditions. Dejong singles out Carlisle for a particularly high student mortality rate (274–75).

20. Charles Glenn, *American Indian*, 79. Glenn’s choice to address both the US and Canadian settings falls in line with the fact that tribal nations’ boundaries have certainly never coincided with other dividing lines between North American countries today.

21. Arnold Krupat describes this strand of scholarship as cultivating a cosmopolitan comparativist perspective: “At the most basic level, cosmopolitan perspectives on Native American literatures read them in relation to other minority or subaltern literatures elsewhere in the late-colonial or postcolonial world; cosmopolitan criticism must always in some degree be comparative” (*Red Matters*, 19).

22. In *Decolonising the Mind*, Ngũgĩ highlights themes that reverberate with research on the residential schooling system. To protest the power of colonial education, Ngũgĩ has published some of his writings in the Bantu language of Kenya’s Kikuyu people, while demonstrating the strategy of employing the language of colonial education itself to critique, but also show mastery over, such programs in English-language narratives such as *Dreams in a Time of War* and *In the House of the Interpreter*.

23. See Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race* and Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia*. Ellinghaus’s examination of cross-racial marriages during this period sets these relationships in the larger comparative context of assimilation-oriented goals and policies in both countries. While noting significant differences in the two settings, she stresses how, in both cases, “When such liaisons did take place, especially when they were tolerated or understood as part of an ideology such as assimilation, they exposed the sometimes invisible imaginings by which colonial societies justified their existence” (xii).

24. In “‘Survivance’ in Sami and First Nations Boarding School Narratives,” Rauna Kuokkanen explores survivance strategies counteracting colonizing elements in residential boarding programs in both contexts. She notes how students can work to maintain connections with their home cultures, including by celebrating family and community stories and reenacting familiar social practices (717). She also highlights humor as a survivance strategy (718) and argues that the girls in novels she studied “actively seek to find ways to cope” so as “to negotiate a balance between the lives of home and school.” Protagonists manage the “pull between resistance and accommodation” to avoid surrender through creative means (719).

26. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*. Lomawaima is one of numerous Native writers drawn to researching boarding schools through family ties.

27. See, in this regard, Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our Grandmothers’ Stories*. Cobb’s report on the academy her own grandmother attended emphasizes that “Bloomfield was different,” in part because “[t]he Chicakasaws had not been relegated to a reservation” and had “a much higher level of autonomy, self-sufficiency, and independence than most other tribal nations.” Thus, this was a school founded in 1852, well ahead of the white-dominated assimilation boarding schools, and envisioned to address goals of the Chickasaw Nation itself (6).


29. See also Clyde Ellis, “‘A Remedy for Barbarism.’” While critiquing the many problematic features of residential schools, Ellis does point out that some Indian parents sought out such placements for their children as the only readily available access to education (98–99). Ellis also presents testimonials from former students who felt they benefited from their school experiences. Overall, Ellis suggests, “The irony is that, in the process of beginning their new lives, students combined two worlds. Thus there is the seeming contradiction of going to school yet staying Indian” (113). See also Michael C. Coleman’s *American Indian Children*, a study of Indian students’ narratives, including nineteenth-century accounts such as Francis La Flesche’s *The Middle Five*. While “not claim[ing] that this group of one hundred autobiographers is representative of all Indian school pupils during these eight decades” (xii), Coleman notes his initial surprise at how “highly mixed” these published memoirs were in their responses to the assimilation schools (x) and how the texts led him to see important ways in which “the pupil narrators became cultural brokers—mediators—between the white world and their own” (xii).

30. See Nancy Bentley, *Frantic Panoramas*. Bentley argues that, rather than cultivating a disdain for mass cultural forms’ expansion during this era, literary writers found ways to tap into these changes, both for subjects to write on and ways to reach audiences. Although she focuses on white writers like Edith Wharton, Kate Chopin, and Henry James, Bentley discusses Gertrude Bonnin (Zitkala-Ša) within a chapter entitled “Celebrity Warriors, Impossible Diplomats, and the Native Public Sphere,” which also addresses controversies around Wild West shows like Buffalo Bill Cody’s (151–87).

31. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian*. Pointing to British author D. H. Lawrence’s analysis of American literature’s representations of Native peoples as signaling their crucial role in national identity formation, Deloria notes: “Savage Indians served Americans as oppositional figures against whom one might imagine a civilized national Self” (3).

32. See Armstrong and others from the Hampton Institute, *Twenty-two Years’ Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute*. The publicity aim of the school’s press is acknowledged in the preface: “To keep this progress before the public, on whose intelligent interest it depends, the School has relied on its Annual
Reports, its monthly ‘Southern Workman’ and occasional pamphlets and outside magazine and newspaper articles . . .” (iii). See also Johnston, *The Hampton Album: 44 Photographs*. These photos, shot in 1899 and 1900, were produced for the Paris Exposition by Johnston “as part of an exhibition demonstrating contemporary life of the American negro” (5).


34. Amelia V. Katanski, *Learning to Write “Indian,”* 44. Katanski’s project resists the binary of casting boarding school students as either assimilated sell-outs or purely resistant, as well as the easy alternative of envisioning them as “caught between.” Instead, she insists on examining the complexity of individual experiences and self-representations. She affirms both rhetorical sovereignty and survivance, broadly speaking (14–15). She also observes: “The combination of verbal skills and group identification developed in Indian boarding schools produced a range of texts—from legal briefs to congressional testimony to autobiographical narratives, poetry, fiction, and plays—that explicitly concern themselves with tribal and indigenous sovereignty” (9).

35. Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder report that, by 1893, Carlisle had a busy print shop regularly preparing two publications, a monthly (*Red Man*) and a weekly (*Indian Helper*). See *American Indian Education*, 141–42.

36. Enoch, “Resisting the Script,” 122. As one telling example of the latter aim, Enoch describes the written response to Zitkala-Ša’s *Atlantic* essays, which had, after all, appeared in a venue designed to reach “Pratt’s most important and indispensable audience—the white financial supporters and Indian-education sympathizers” (“Resisting,” 122). Enoch comments on one especially telling rebuttal appearing in Carlisle’s internally produced publication *Red Man* in June 1900 (135–36). For additional analysis in comparative context, see also Enoch’s *Refiguring Rhetorical Education*.

37. Leslie Marmon Silko has described how a copy of the novel circulated in her extended family. She likens the book to “an ‘extension program’ which would reach Carlisle graduates after they returned home.” Although researchers tracking the book’s history in print archives have amended a few details from Silko’s account, the significance of her theme—how Eastern white culture permeated even the Western homes of Natives via such material products—remains unassailable. See Silko’s memoir essay online at “Introduction to Our First Catalog of Native American Literature: Leslie Marmon Silko.”

38. For example, Carlisle’s internally printed *Indian Helper* includes an illustrative (and self-congratulatory) advertisement for the narrative in an 1899 issue: “‘Stiya’ is the name of a little illustrated book published a few years ago by the Riverside Press, in excellent style, and written by one of our number who has had great experience among the Indians both in the field and at Carlisle. The story is thrilling, and portrays what an educated girl who returns to some of the Indian
Pueblos is liable to have to meet. The character of the girl who overcame every obstacle and came out unscathed is true to life and is built up from actual experiences of returned girls, related to and seen by the author. The book makes a good Christmas present. Price fifty cents, post paid. Address HELPER.” See the Indian Helper 15, no. 6 (December 1, 1899): 2.

39. Embe [Marianna Burgess]. Stiya, 113, 115. Several scholars have identified “Embe” as Burgess. See, for instance, Jane E. Simonsen, Making Home Work, 89–90, and Janice Gould, “Telling Stories to the Seventh Generation,” 13. Simonsen notes that Stiya was first published in Carlisle’s Indian Helper, which Burgess managed. The frontispiece photograph is labeled “Stiya, Carlisle Indian Girl,” but Gould reports that the young woman in that image is actually an Apache student named Lucy Tsisnah, though there was a Pueblo student named Stiya Kowkura attending Carlisle around this time (19 n. 3). Additional photos in the book echo the before-and-after storyline in other portrayals of Carlisle’s work by presenting such scenes as “Pueblo children” to contrast the shot of Stiya in Euro-American dress, as well as a “Pueblo Village,” with the latter positioned to contrast an image of the manicured Carlisle grounds.

40. Reyhner and Eder set the 1893 circulation of the monthly publication Red Man at between two thousand and three thousand, and the weekly Indian Helper as high as nine thousand (American Indian Education, 141–42).

41. In Scott Laderman, “It Is Cheaper and Better to Teach a Young Indian,” see 91–92.

42. Frances E. Willard, “The Carlisle Indian School,” 280. Other causes claiming the energetic Willard’s authorial attention included suffrage and temperance.


44. For discussion of the relatively flexible approaches to language instruction employed at Hampton up until 1888, when a federal crackdown began forcing English-only methods at all funded schools, see Ruth Spack, “English, Pedagogy, and Ideology.” Spack reports that, in the early years of Indian enrollment there, “Hampton allowed students to use their own languages before breakfast and after supper during the week and all day on Sunday.” Outside those time frames, the school used a reward system more than punishment to encourage English speaking. In addition, Spack presents examples of individual teachers’ using Indian native speakers to translate in the classroom rather than trying to present all instruction in English (7).

45. In The Voice at Eve, Goodale Eastman declares: “Although we were not encouraged to acquire the Dakota tongue, I determined to do so, and became rather proud of speaking it correctly enough to be occasionally mistaken for a native when travelling with Indians in the long summer vacation” (25). For additional descriptions of her work in the West and her advocacy around teaching issues, see the book-length memoir published well after her death: Sister to the Sioux.

46. Helen W. Ludlow and Elaine Goodale, Captain Pratt and His Work, 6–7. Goodale’s pro-Carlisle rhetoric in this pamphlet is foreshadowed by a story she published in The Independent in 1885, dubbing the school “a center for one of the
great practical and philanthropic movements of our day” and insisting that “[w]e have nothing but praise for the methods employed in the school and for the degree of success attained.” Describing “industrial education” via such activities as “cheerful” and “merry” girl laundry workers, Goodale characterizes Pratt himself as “the presiding genius of the place” (Goodale, “Carlisle: The Inlook and Outlook,” 3). Goodale’s mentor General Armstrong was a guest speaker at Carlisle.

47. On links between Goodale Eastman’s writing career and her initial involvement in Indian Reform, see Ruth Ann Alexander, “Finding Oneself through a Cause,” 1–37.

48. Examples include Elaine Goodale, “The Indian at Work,” and these signed with her married name, Elaine Goodale Eastman: “From Washington,” “A New Method of Indian Education,” and “A New Day for the Indian.”

49. In The Voice at Eve, Goodale Eastman references Armstrong’s impact on her: “I have always believed that its [Hampton’s] founder has been the strongest influence in my life, after my own parents” (22). See also Sister to the Sioux, where she contrasts the temperaments of Pratt and Armstrong, critiquing Pratt by way of comparison (22).

50. For an example of scholars’ ongoing efforts to criticize Pratt while also giving the man his due, see Reyhner and Eder, American Indian Education, where they point to “his ethnocentrism, which prevented him for seeing any good in Indian cultures,” but also note, as if echoing Goodale Eastman, “his role in convincing both the federal government and the American public that Indians could and should be educated” (145).

51. “The Indians’ Friend: Pratt, The Red Man’s Moses” presents a short review that opens with this assessment: “It would be difficult to find a more outstanding and complete example of single-mindedness, of unselfish, long-continuous devotion to one conviction and purpose than is afforded by the life story of General Richard Henry Pratt as told in this volume by Elaine Goodale Eastman.” The review praises Goodale Eastman’s careful research and her deep knowledge of “the Indian problem,” as well as “the methods which have been tried for its solution” and the “many individual Indians who have made good under General Pratt’s plans, Carlisle, Hampton and other Indian schools” (BR 26).

52. “The Indian Training School at Carlisle, Pa,” Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Magazine (March 15, 1884): 57–59. The lead caption for a full page of illustrations on page 57 offers the following identification: “Educating the Indians—Scenes at the Government Training School At Carlisle, PA—From Photographs and Sketches by James Becker.”

53. On the history and cultural work of images in Frank Leslie’s Illustrated, see Joshua Brown, Beyond the Lines. Brown dubs Leslie’s “the publication that set the pattern for nineteenth-century illustrated journalism” and argues that Leslie’s “did not simply reflect in its pages the crises of the Gilded Age; rather, its varying representations enacted those crises” (4–5). For Brown, such “images are not the antithesis of print culture but an intrinsic part of its nineteenth-century practice” (5). To locate Frank Leslie’s place in the booming periodical marketplace of its day, see the classic multivolume study by Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines.

54. In the early twentieth century, more Native voices would join Zitkala-Ša’s in
describing their own experiences with assimilation education. Key texts include the memoir by Francis La Flesche (Omaha), *The Middle Five*, 1909, with its compelling illustrations by Native artist Angel De Cora, and Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa), *From the Deep Woods to Civilization*, 1916. Eastman’s narrative continues the life story he began in 1902’s *[Memories of an Indian Boyhood]*. While such texts can easily be critiqued today as led, by virtue of white sponsorship, into support of assimilation, they nonetheless encourage readers’ empathetic response to the challenges of boarding school life. On the ways in which “sponsors” of literacy, even today, can both enable and constrain, see Deborah Brandt, *Literacy in American Lives*. In the case of Charles Eastman’s books, questions of course arise about Elaine’s role in determining their content. Her biographer, Theodore Sargent, has drawn on Elaine’s own correspondence to show she viewed her role as stylistic editor more than content manager, as noted in one letter to her sister Rose, where Elaine insists, “He was and is the author—altho[ugh] he wrote very carelessly and would not even try to correct and revise. . . . Naturally, I thought it all over at the time and knew that to appear as joint author would be misleading” (*The Life of Elaine Goodale Eastman*, 89, emphases in original).

55. Zitkala-Ša and Doreen Rappaport, *The Flight of Red Bird*, 56–57. Rappaport credits Zitkala-Ša as primary author on the inside title page: “Re-created from the writings of Zitkala-Ša and the research of Doreen Rappaport.” The biography’s having Puffin as publisher marks its primary audience of young readers, but the respect accorded Rappaport’s research is clear from the text’s frequently being cited in other studies of Zitkala-Ša. Rappaport uses archival photographs to supplement her creative interweaving of her subject’s own writing with contextual narrative. On Zitkala-Ša’s *Atlantic* essays as complex autobiographical texts, see Martha Cutter, “Zitkala-Ša’s Autobiographical Writings” and Dexter Fisher, “Zitkala-Ša: The Evolution of a Writer.”

56. The most recent edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* uses excerpts from all three of Zitkala-Ša’s *Atlantic* essays, as well as a portion of “Why I Am a Pagan” and a reprint of “The Soft-Hearted Sioux.” The longest excerpt is from “School Days” (see volume C, 1113–20). The Heath anthology, volume C, 5th edition, draws only from the “School Days” narrative (five sections) and “Why I Am a Pagan.” *The Bedford Anthology*, volume 2, uses only “School Days.” Already in 1994, in “Native American Literatures and the Canon,” Patricia Okker was pointing to Zitkala-Ša’s increasing presence in American literature anthologies, but also decrying the inadequacy of existing interpretive frameworks for analyzing such Native writers (see especially 88–89).


58. Young Adult novelist Marlene Carvell drew on the history of her husband’s great-aunt Margaret as a Carlisle student to write *Sweetgrass Basket*. Several chapters of this narrative, which alternates between the voices of two sisters (Sarah and Mattie), show Mattie’s attempt to escape. Recaptured, Mattie is locked in a cold guardhouse as punishment. By the end of the novel, her body is in the graveyard, and her sister Sarah has little source of comfort beyond the sweetgrass basket that had been Mattie’s sole treasure from home. Though aimed at young readers, this
counter-narrative forcefully addresses complex aspects of coercive assimilation, including suppression of Native language and identity. Although one white teacher is cast as sympathetic, the text portrays Carlisle as cultivating narrow-minded, racist authority figures on staff.

59. Louise Erdrich, “Indian Boarding School,” 11. Cary Nelson has compiled and posted helpful resources (under the title “About Indian Boarding Schools”) to support the teaching of Erdrich’s poem.

60. In the biting poem “Euro-American Womanhood Ceremony,” Belin contrasts the experience of men at boarding school, where “at least” they were able to learn “a trade,” and that of the women, who “were trained to specialize in domestic household work / to mimic the rituals of Euro-American women / to cook roast beef and not mutton / to eat white bread and not frybread / to start a family and not an education / to be happy servants to doctors’ families . . .” (From the Belly, 20).


62. Indolent Boys in Momaday’s Three Plays collection, 5. In addition to this drama on the Kiowa runaways, N. Scott Momaday’s Three Plays further critiques boarding school education in The Moon in Two Windows.

63. For useful historical context on the school portrayed in this drama, see Ellis, “Remedy.” Ellis points out that the Kiowa School near Anadarko had a particularly troubling history of poor administration, with the superintendent at the time of the events in Momaday’s play being just one in a series of poor leaders (102).

64. Similarly, note Esther Belin’s description of how being “survivors of boarding school ‘education,’ a process of pure indoctrination and rigid transformation,” continues to position “natives as chattels to be directed, displayed, and researched” (70, “Cycle/Whirl,” From the Belly, emphasis added).

65. Cf. whites’ criticism of Elaine Goodale, referenced earlier in the chapter, for adopting Lakota language and cultural practices in her own teaching. On sentimental pedagogy being embraced by nineteenth-century women teachers in place of punitive discipline, see chapter 1, “Sparing the Rod,” in Richard H. Brodhead, Cultures of Letters. See also chapter 3 of my Managing Literacy, Mothering America.

66. While revising this book manuscript, I was struck by the cultural capital that memories of Lincoln brought to key figures in each of my core chapters: early Spelman students calling on the log cabin mythology of Lincoln’s youthful learning years; Jane Addams, through memories of her father, embracing Lincoln’s vision as a guiding force behind the settlement; and/versus Momaday, here speaking through the voice of John Pai, who invokes Lincoln to condemn the boarding schools’ ethos and teaching practices as a perversion of that president’s legacy.

67. Ellinghaus, Taking Assimilation to Heart, 82–83. Acknowledging challenges from the start, Sargent, in The Life, points to the Goodale family’s negative response to the marriage, a stance he attributes to racism (47). Sargent employs letters from Elaine to family members to track her embittered assessment of the marriage in its final years, which the Eastmans spent apart (106–21). Elaine’s intense personality
and her gendered frustrations (including jealousy?) over Charles’s more public career should also be taken into account (Sargent, *Life*, 56–57, 60). Though negatively portrayed in late-career writing by his wife, Charles Eastman was, as Sarah Priapas-Kapit points out in a study comparing his public role as physician and author with that of Susan La Flesche (Omaha), “the best-known Indian of the early twentieth century” by virtue of “his numerous writings and speeches on the eastern lecture circuit” (“‘We Have Lived,’” 65). Further, as Priapas-Kapit documents, his shift away from a pro-assimilationist perspective deserves more attention. Thus, she notes, “the most significant feature of Eastman’s later political philosophy was its rejection of the federal paternalism of which he had once been an agent.” He expressed this shift through his leadership in the pan-Indian Society of American Indians (SAI), which asserted Native peoples as “exemplar citizens in a republic corrupted by whites” (71).

68. For a turn-of-the-century celebration of acculturated Indians like Eastman, La Flesche, and others, see Jessie W. Cook, “The Representative Indian.”

69. See Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses*, where he explains that “survivance, in the sense of native survivance, is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response; the stories of survivance are an active presence” (15).

70. See “Community Projects: Voices of the Trail,” on the Keeping and Creating American Communities website, including a reflection by classroom teacher and KCAC codirector Mimi Dyer.

71. Robert J. Conley, *Mountain Windsong*. Conley, who passed away in 2014, wrote in an array of genres, produced more than forty books, and won numerous literary awards. For a detailed appreciation of this particular novel as worthy of more scholarly attention, see Pamela Fox, *Robert J. Conley’s Mountain Windsong: Tribally-Specific Historical Fiction*. Fox describes her own efforts to elevate Conley’s text as grounded in part in her own Cherokee heritage but also in admiration of his leadership of Cherokee studies at Western Carolina University (see her introduction).

72. Vizenor himself defined *survivance* in his introduction to *Fugitive Poses*, where he also discusses *sovenance*: “Native *sovenance* is that sense of presence in remembrance, that trace of creation and natural reason in native stories; once an obscure [Old French—*souvenir*] noun, the connotation of sovenance is a native presence in these essays, not the romance of an aesthetic absence or victimry” (15).

73. Patsy Hamby, “Uncovering a Region’s Past,” in *Writing America*, 64–73. I cite Hamby’s essay here not only to direct my readers to its helpful content but also in the hope that more attention will be paid to the cultural authority K-12 teachers bring to studies of classroom practice.

74. On the centrality of Vizenor’s *survivance* framework for studying Native cultures, see Lisa King, Rose Gubele, and Joyce Rain Anderson’s “Introduction” to *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story*, 7–8. Similar to our experience with developing curricula through the KCAC project, the editors’ introduction to their collection of teaching stories describes a multiyear collaboration, including a series of workshops and collegial conversations supported by the American Indian Caucus (AIC) of the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC). See especially 4–6. I document these cross-community connections here in print text as another
example of how informal and interpersonal exchanges can support sustained collaborations for cross-cultural teaching.

Chapter 5

1. Dennis would later observe: “I know that our visitors . . . come here with different levels and backgrounds of experience and exposure to American Indian culture. And as a museum professional, I have to address them at their level. There is ignorance that is about, but it’s most of the time innocent. And there are also scholars, academics, Native people, who are also experts, who come, and I interact with them” (Zotigh, interview).

2. To sample the range of responses the NMAI elicited from academics and museum professionals early on, see the collection of essays introduced by Lisa Jacobson in “Review Roundtable” (47–49). Steven Conn followed up on his critique there with a particularly biting assessment in his later book, Do Museums Still Need Objects? (38–39). Taking into account such negative responses to the NMAI, Mara Kurlansky nonetheless reminded readers in 2011 that the core mission of the museum is being achieved: “The most common critique of NMAI is that it is overwhelming, incoherent and hard to engage with. Even for a museum lover such as myself, there is a certain anxiety upon entering the museum, a sense that one must see everything, read everything and understand everything in order to pay tribute to such a difficult history. But despite this anxiety, and despite the fact that both times I have visited I didn’t manage to see or read everything, NMAI communicated its most important message clearly: Native peoples are still here” (“Our Peoples and Our Lives,” http://www.exhibitfiles.org/our_peoples_and_our_lives).

3. Aldona Jonaitis and Janet Catherine Berlo, “‘Indian Country’ on the National Mall,” 216–17. In “What Are Our Expectations Telling Us?,” Gwyneira Isaac contrasts two of her own visits to the NMAI. She first describes the reactions of a group of “anthropologists and museologists” who, “at home analyzing the architecture and displays,” moved toward “critique” of “a number of features [that] confounded us and thwarted our understanding of the goals of the exhibits,” producing “critical fodder for future examination and research” (241). She juxtaposes that occasion with a “second visit,” when she “found the museum to be a welcoming beacon alight” with “singing” and visitors embracing “the palpable sense of a shared public experience” (242). These differences led her to remember how “meanings are made on the ground in ongoing encounters between displays and the ideational worlds their audiences bring with them into the museum space” (242). For a parallel analysis of the impact of guides in Colonial Williamsburg, see Richard Handler and Eric Gable, The New History of an Old Museum, especially the introductory chapter (3–27) and “The Front Lines: Smile Free or Die” (170–207). Handler and Gable sought a more “objective” perspective for their ethnographic enterprise than I have cultivated here, in a project aiming primarily to learn from role models whose expertise I value, if not uncritically, then certainly through a lens of aspiration.

4. Thanks to Bethany Schneider for sharing her essay manuscript, “Reserva-
tion C,” which informs my discussion here. See also Douglas E. Evelyn, “A Most Beautiful Sight,” in Duane Blue Spruce, ed. Spirit of a Native Place, 151–83. Evelyn declares, “Now two centuries of evolving national policy toward American Indians have converged with equally long efforts to shape the National Mall as a place for public inspiration and education. The assignment of the last building site on the Mall to the National Museum of the American Indian restores this long-contested ground to a use that respects its distant past and offers it a new role as a site of reconciliation” (183).

5. For an informative history of NMAI’s evolution, including its complex relationship with the George G. Heye collection and the Smithsonian, see Ira Jacknis, “A New Thing,” in Lonetree and Cobb, 3–42. Several essays in that collection highlight the collaborative approach to the museum’s development; others point to strategies of cultural intervention and reconciliation; still others (such as essays by Sonya Atalay and Amy Lonetree) address shortcomings. See also an essay by George Horse Capture (“The Way of the People”) in Duane Blue Spruce, ed., Spirit of a Native Place, which examines community consultations with Native tribal groups as a core strategy in the museum’s development (30–45).

6. When I asked Dennis what he would most wish young kids who visit the museum to learn there, he suggested that his “biggest point of information” to share with visitors “is that there is no standardized Indian. And taken in historical versus contemporary context, it’s important for children to know our cultures evolved, and today we continue to evolve like the rest of human societies. And for some reason, what is taught to them, is stuck in a time warp, and it’s unfortunate” (Zotigh, interview).

7. During our first one-on-one interview, Dennis Zotigh recited the museum mission statement to me, identifying its content as a guide for all his NMAI work: “Well, everything I do,” he declared, “I consider the mission first. In fact, I always say, [quoting the full mission]: ‘The National Museum of the American Indian is committed to advancing knowledge and understanding of the Native cultures of the Western Hemisphere, past, present, and future, through partnership with Native peoples and others. The museum works to support the continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life.’” See “Mission Statement,” National Museum of the American Indian, on the museum website.

8. I use the terms “nation” and “sovereignty” self-consciously here, hoping to suggest that these cultural interventions support both tribal identity and a reformed US national one that has been reconfigured to respect and honor Native nations.

9. See the “Coda” for To Remain an Indian, where Lomawaima and McCarty argue that American education has much to learn from the historical “footprints of Indigenous struggles for educational, linguistic, and cultural self-determination” (167). They see that heritage as showing how safe spaces for learning “can be constructed as places of difference in which children are free to learn, question, and grow from a position that affirms who they are,” a stance “long held within Indigenous communities,” one that “has the power to create a more just and equitable educational system for all” (170).

10. See Malea Powell, “Rhetorics of Survivance,” 400. See also Anne Ruggles
Gere, “An Art of Survivance,” which suggests that Vizenor’s term characterizes “American Indian capacity to combine survival with resistance” (649).

11. As outlined later in this chapter, Lisa King suggested the term “cultural mediator” to me in an online interview. I prefer her “mediator” to the “broker” term, partly because “broker” these days carries negative connotations associated with recession-generating abuses in the US economic system. However, several scholars have ably employed the “cultural broker” concept, as in Between Indian and White Worlds, edited by Margaret Connell Szasz and referenced in chapter 4.

12. Gardner suggests that Deloria felt quite anxious about publishing in scholarly venues and thus sought reassurance and guidance from mentors such as Ruth Benedict (xxiv–xxv). In contrast, Gardner asserts, “Ella Deloria felt no qualms about releasing Waterlily. Conventional ethnology in published form was an impossibility; writing a novel based on that fieldwork was not” (xxv). This view does seem at odds with the positive response to Speaking of Indians and with Gardner’s own report of Margaret Mead as finding Deloria a strong combination of “‘informant, field worker and collaborator’” (xxv, emphasis mine). See also Agnes Picotte, “Biographical Sketch of the Author,” in Waterlily, 229–31.

13. Diane Wilson, Beloved Child: A Dakota Way of Life, 74. See also 26, 44, 49, 54, 74, 86–87. Wilson compellingly attributes problems some Native adults have with parenting to the legacy of residential schooling: “A 2003 report, ‘American Indian Children in Foster Care,’ estimates that one-half of all Native people were either raised in boarding schools or parented by adults raised in boarding schools. As generations of Native children grew up separated from their families, tribes, and cultural traditions, they never learned what it meant to be part of a traditional Native family or any family at all. They were unprepared to teach their own children when they began to have families” (36). Dennis Zotigh made a similar point during our first interview at the NMAT.

14. For more on the concept of restorative justice, see Lisa Lee’s discussion of its connections to educational practice in chapter 3, and her “Peering into the Bedroom” essay in The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics, 174–87.

15. See chapter 6 of Managing Literacy, Mothering America, wherein I examine the writing of Laura Haygood, a missionary teacher serving in China at the turn into the twentieth century. See also the critical edition I coedited with Ann Pullen: Nellie Arnott’s Writings on Angola, 1905–1913.

16. See, in this context, an interview with Todd DeStigter in chapter 3.

17. Patricia A. Carter reports that, by 1899, just over half of the BIA teaching corps were Anglo-American women (“‘Completely Discouraged,’” 58). Carter is not the only scholar to highlight ways in which (relatively) empathetic white women teachers sometimes resisted the oppressive assimilationist approaches of the boarding schools, even as they faced constraints in such efforts. For example, Lomawaima and McCarty describe the 1890s’ Ogalalla Boarding school, where white teacher Thisba Huston Morgan and her colleagues regularly “chose not to interfere” when their students set up “camps in the several corners of the playground, complete with tepees” for their “Indian dolls made from sticks” (To Remain an Indian, 1).
18. Significantly, Carter contrasts her subjects with other teachers they themselves criticized in their autobiographies as “lifers” incapable of finding other positions—lazy and undedicated, if not incompetent (70).

19. See Goodale Eastman, Yellow Star: A Story of East and West. Yellow Star, an orphan of the Wounded Knee massacre who is adopted by a white missionary and educated in New England, gladly takes on the role of on-reservation teacher at Cherry Creek. Though a confident and highly accomplished instructor, Stella faces prejudice from the whites there, who, the author asserts, “should have welcomed her in all sincerity as a fellow-worker” but instead “looked at her critically, even coldly” as an interloper (243), “too self-possessed for an Indian girl” (244).

20. See, in striking comparison, the commentary by schoolteacher Beth Steffen in chapter 3.

21. For today’s readers, the Foucauldian undertones of these passages are arresting, given the text’s intense focus on surveillance. See Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish.

22. Here, as elsewhere in this account, the narrator is cast as trapped in the role of supporting the same dominating social forces that she had tried so hard to resist in the series’ middle story about her own schooling. In line with postcolonial theorists, we could describe her position as “subaltern,” both in the general sense of being oppressed by hegemonic power structures and in the more specific sense invoked at times by Homi Bhabha, who has pointed out that subalterns are in a position to subvert colonizing authority even as they appear to support it. That is, while portraying herself as complicit in the work of the assimilationist educational machine—as she recruits new victim-students—Zitkala-Ša simultaneously opposes its power through her narrative’s potential impact on her readers, who may come to recognize the colonizing of body and mind being carried out to complement assaults on Indian lands. See Homi K. Bhabha, “Signs Taken for Wonders,” Location of Culture, 102–22.

23. Virtually the only look into Zitkala-Ša’s actual classroom practice is a phrase alluding to “one weary day in the schoolroom” as finally prompting the narrator to leave Carlisle for good, carrying away frustrated memories of the “Christian palefaces” whose visits to her teaching site had seen only what they wanted to find there: “the children of savage warriors [become] so docile and industrious” (“Indian Teacher,” 112).

24. N. Scott Momaday affirms this point in his portrayal of Etahdleuh, a male teacher at Carlisle, in The Moon in Two Windows. After scenes conveying both Etahdleuh’s frustration with school practices and his determined efforts to circumvent the institution’s culture to the best of his ability, Momaday has Etahdleuh surprise Pratt, who had offered to adopt this “ideal” student-teacher (156), by leaving Carlisle for the (hopefully) enhanced agency of pastoral work in the West with his wife-to-be, Lame. Momaday’s assessment of Etahdleuh is empathetic, as seen in the character Luther Standing Bear’s indication that that this former Fort Marion prisoner, now Carlisle teacher, was doing his best “to keep himself an Indian, trying hard, as we all were,” within highly constrained circumstances (137).

25. See, in this context, Dian Million’s impassioned—and thought-provoking—“Felt Theory,” 53–76. Million studies how “Indigenous women . . . created new
language for communities to address the real multilayered facets of their histories and concerns by insisting on the inclusion of our lived experience, rich with emotional knowledges, of what pain and grief and hope meant or mean now in our pasts and futures.” She still bemoans ways that “[o]ur felt scholarship continues to be segregated as a ‘feminine’ experience, as polemic, or at worst as not knowledge at all” (54).


27. Religious schools for Indians (dating back to the pre-Revolutionary era) had a complex history, with notable differences based on individual leadership at particular institutions, denominations’ varied emphases in their programs, and shifts in goals over time. Some white teachers working in religious settings, like the Riggs missionary family at Santee in the late nineteenth-century West, strove to establish close ties with the local tribal communities, as seen in Dr. Alfred Riggs’s longstanding commitment to teaching in Native vernacular. Elaine Goodale Eastman describes their Santee schools as committed to “leader training” and praises the “able” work there of “the Riggs family for more than sixty years” (Pratt: The Red Man’s Moses, 119). As Goodale Eastman notes, Carlisle founder Pratt generally viewed missionary educators as competitors. Therefore, she reports, “Notwithstanding his pious Methodist upbringing and earnest Christian faith,” Pratt felt church-based teaching could be “damned” for its focus on acquiring converts, first and foremost. Thus, she quotes Pratt as complaining: “‘The missionary does not citizenize’” (112). On one side, the fact that a number of influential Indian intellectuals emerged from mission schools and/or embraced Christianity should not be ignored. (See the discussion of Ruth Muskrat Bronson later in this chapter.) On the other, in positioning Ella Deloria within “one of the best-known American Indian intellectual families,” Susan Gardner points not only to Ella’s being the daughter of Reverend Philip Deloria, longtime Native Episcopal missionary, but also to the eventual decision of her brother, Reverend Vine Deloria, Sr., to resign his own position in the church “in protest against its racist policies” (“Introduction,” Waterlily, vii). For insightful treatment of one Cherokee woman’s early nineteenth-century conversion, see Theresa Gaul’s award-winning edition of writings by Catharine Brown, Cherokee Sister (15).

28. To exemplify some missionary teachers’ affiliating closely with tribal communities, Jon Reyhner and Jeane Eder cite the case of Reverend Worcester, who was sentenced to four years of hard labor for supporting Cherokee efforts to resist the Removal. See American Indian Education, 49. In contrast, Reyhner and Eder note, some missionaries “found nothing to value in Native cultures” (119); further, they document cases of abusive treatment at one Catholic mission boarding school and underscore how a single institution might have both “good and bad teachers” (125).

29. Craig S. Womack (in the “Alice Callahan’s Wynema” chapter of Red on Red) has forcefully faulted the novel’s “failure to engage Creek culture, history, and poli-
tics,” as seen in its “erasure of Creek voices, the characters’ rejection of Creek culture, the many instances of cultural misrepresentation throughout, the lack of any depictions of the nuances of Creek life, the protagonist’s repudiation of Muskogean matrilinearity, and the author’s choice of a non-Creek and non-Indian viewpoint.” For Womack, the novel is most useful “as a document of Christian supremacism and assimilation” (107). For A. Lavonne Brown Ruoff, the scholar whose archival discovery brought Wynema to light for today’s readers, the novel is significant in spite of its shortcomings, since it “is probably the first novel written by a woman of American Indian descent” (“Editor’s Introduction,” S. Alice Callahan, Wynema, xiii) and because it represents a rhetorically oriented effort to “educate her audience about Muscogee culture, Indians’ and women’s rights, and the mutual respect between the sexes essential to happy marriages” (xliii).

30. See the “Playing Angry” chapter of Cari M. Carpenter, Seeing Red, 29–53. Carpenter acknowledges Craig Womack’s critique of the novel but sets its rhetoric in the context of Callahan’s mixed-race identity and the “fact that there is little room for American Indian anger” to be openly articulated in “available narratives” of her day, when “anger was figured most readily in the form of a white woman” like Genevieve (52).

31. Ruth Spack has provided insightful analysis of Zitkala-Ša’s tour with the Carlisle band, which Pratt arranged soon after publication of the Atlantic stories, whose content had left him much aggrieved. Spack uses performance theory and historical context from the Indian author’s later career to argue that agreeing to play the violin and recite from Longfellow’s Hiawatha (in Native costume borrowed from the Smithsonian!) during this tour represented not a capitulation but another strategic engagement with white culture. “Zitkala-Ša, The Song of Hiawatha, and the Carlisle Indian School Band,” 211–24.

32. William Willard, “Zitkala-Ša: A Woman Who Would Be Heard!,” 11–16. On the sophisticated rhetorical strategies at play in Zitkala-Ša’s later publications, see Gary Totten, “Zitkala-Ša and the Problem of Regionalism,” 84–123. For instance, Totten acknowledges the irony of Zitkala-Ša’s 1918 essay urging the government not to turn Carlisle “back into military facilities,” since doing so would represent a “loss of education opportunities only Carlisle can give.” Totten views her citing of “the government’s ‘honor-bound obligation to educate the Indian’” as conveying her determination to safeguard such learning as a tool to political power, despite the troubling elements in assimilation teaching that she had experienced herself (107).


Transrhetorical Fight,” gives an apt rhetorical analysis of Bonnin’s writing for this collaborative project.

35. Ruth Muskrat Bronson, *Indians Are People, Too*. The biographical sketch provided on the book’s copyright page traces Bronson’s impressive personal history as a student and teacher, including her attendance at Mount Holyoke and George Washington University, her work as a “teacher of English at Haskell Institute,” and her service as “Guidance Officer for the entire Indian Service.”


37. Bronson dedicated her book “[t]o Mrs. Fred S. Bennett in deep appreciation of her devoted service to my people” (iii). Mrs. Bennett was long involved in Indian education as a leader of the Woman’s Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

38. See, along related lines, chapter 2’s discussion of the commitment among black community leaders like Father Quarles and his spiritual heirs to servant leadership as a key learning goal for Spelman, in the late nineteenth century and today.

39. Esther Burnet Horne and Sally McBeth, *Essie’s Story*, 49. As McBeth states in an introduction responding to Horne’s memoir, “What she found in the boarding school setting became an important part of her life. She found Indian friends, Indian teachers, an Indian husband, and a future in the field of Indian education” as a teacher at another off-reservation boarding school in Eufaula, Oklahoma. At the same time, McBeth observes, Horne’s life narrative “displays a recognition of the complexity of the boarding school experience,” including, in Essie’s own words, a critique of its work “to take the Indianness out of us”—an effort at which Essie judges that “they never succeeded.” In that vein, McBeth’s introduction suggests that Haskell can be seen “as adding another level of ethnicity to Essie’s already intact identity,” combining Shoshone and Pan-Indian selves (xxxiv–xxxv).

40. Certainly progress has been achieved in claiming places of leadership in the academy, in line with prior calls such as that voiced by Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, “Developing Indian Academic Professionals,” 5–10.

41. These colleagues’ descriptions of their work sometimes recall formulations offered by Frances Karttunen in *Between Worlds*, which examines cultural mediators going all the way back to Sacajawea and including figures such as Sarah Winnemucca and Charles Eastman’s children. See, for instance, Karttunen’s description of “individuals, many of them women, who have served as interpreters, translating their languages and also their cultures for outsiders. . . . They functioned as conduits through which information flowed between worlds in collision, translating more than just words and bringing comprehensibility to otherwise meaningless static” (xi).

42. See Jennifer Andrews’s “Living History” interview with Native poet-scholar Kimberly Blaeser, who singles out Womack as a leading figure in what Blaeser calls “tribal-centered criticism” (11). In that context, in his introduction to *Red on Red*, Womack declares: “I hope this study encourages young Creek writers to keep writing; to trust their own voices; to tell the stories of family, home and nation; and to know the story of those who told such stories before us” (20). Interestingly, when interviewing Diane Glancy, Andrews asked her opinion on the tribal-centered
criticism that Blaeser (referencing Womack) had seemed to advocate. For Glancy, making such cultural analysis overly specific could bring its own problems. Citing Blaeser’s own identity, Glancy noted: “She’s Ojibway, she’s Chippewa, Anishinaabe. But what about the Cherokee’s tribal-centered theory? And then the Creek tribal-centered theory? . . . So what good is it going to do to have all these fractured tribal theories? Can there be an overall theory?” (“Conversation,” Glancy and Andrews, 650).

43. King’s *The Truth About Stories*, subtitled *A Native Narrative*, uses stories and storytelling to examine how stories can promote change, both within individuals and in the broader social landscape. Crossing boundaries between the printed word and orality, the book is adapted from his 2003 Massey Lectures in Canada, and the stories King shares here also invoke his experiences growing up in California.

44. On the need to cultivate a critical stance toward cultural tourism—one that recognizes issues of power difference linked to globalization, capitalism, and social hierarchies—R. V. Bianchi’s “The ‘Critical Turn’ in Tourism Studies” is especially insightful.

45. See Schön’s *The Reflective Practitioner* and *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*.

46. In a modest way, I hope my story-gathering also allies with the “talking circles” Native scholar Andrea M. Riley-Mukavetz has carried out with Native women in the Lansing, Michigan, community and described in “Towards a Cultural Rhetorics Methodology.”

47. In a chapter honoring Native agency among learners and teachers, I would stress that I do not view the colleagues who supported this work as “subjects” to be analyzed in the traditional sense of Euro-American research practices but rather as mentors and partners—or, to use Lisa King’s term, allies. In this case, a few of the teaching guides discussed in this chapter mainly responded to email queries; others participated in extended in-person conversations that were tape-recorded and transcribed; still others contributed mainly by way of telephone interviews. Most participated in a combination of in-person, telephone, and online conversations, supplemented by email exchanges. All of these partnerships involved multiple exchanges, over an extended period of time. I invited my colleagues to read and help me adjust “their” sections to achieve the most accurate versions of their stories as possible. Because our exchanges became discursively interconnected, and because we revised wordings together, I do not give single specific dates for quotations, as, typically, each such passage now within the text actually took form over several interpersonal exchanges. Accordingly, for interviews, in the bibliography, I provide a listing of the various connecting occasions for each research partner, by month and by year. This pattern holds for interviewees in other chapters.

48. The four Native educators profiled here are not the only ones whose role modeling has had substantial impact on my teaching. For instance, as I hope was clear from earlier references, and as I will highlight more directly in my Coda, Diane Glancy—as both writer and teacher—is a leader whose example I continue to revisit. Further, I would echo Shawn Miller from *Research Is Ceremony*, “In addition to the discussions that were recorded, many more took place that I did not record. These informal talks greatly improved the clarity of my thinking and expanded the relationships I was forming with an Indigenous research [and teaching] paradigm.”
(129). For me, one crucial example would be the guidance of Philip J. DeLoria, who met with me over a meal in the early stages of my research on the NMAI and who later addressed follow-up questions during an extended telephone interview.

49. See, for example, King’s discussion of how her lessons on representation and stereotypes and associated student assignments have been adapted to expectations for University of Tennessee’s English 102 course, in her “Keywords for Teaching,” *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story*, 27–29.

50. When working to enact these terms in day-to-day teaching, I also draw comparatively on the models of Spelman and Hull-House. For instance, *sovereignty* and *contact*, for me, call to mind the generative mix of claiming agency for black learners and their potential as leaders seen in Spelman’s Founders Day and their focus on seeking contact with other cultures toward globalized learning. *Dialogue* and *reciprocity*, meanwhile, resonate both with Jane Addams’s own writings on her settlement teaching and the practices of the museum educators I interviewed for chapter 3. I’ve sought to embed these same principles in such teaching documents as the syllabus for a course I teach on “cultural contact zones” and in my daily practices during class meetings, where I strive to honor the diverse experiences and social backgrounds my students bring to learning.

51. As a sign of how she works as an “Alliance Builder” in her classroom teaching, I would reference a thought-provoking handout King provided at the CCCC “Standing Peachtree” workshop referenced in chapter 4. This material situated a media analysis assignment she gives her students within a framework of Native teaching practices.

52. King’s incisive *Pedagogy* essay, “Rhetorical Sovereignty and Rhetorical Alliance,” outlines shortcomings in such models as critical and contact zones pedagogy: “The assumption that a critical, democratic classroom practice can address the problems confronted by all minorities by giving everyone a voice is . . . highly problematic for any minority group, and particularly for Native communities who are not necessarily seeking equality so much as working to maintain literal and rhetorical sovereignty” (210). In contrast, King convincingly explains, “The voices we consider normative need to be interrogated for the sake of placing them within their own contexts, rather than as prime narrators that might make token space for voices not like theirs” (211). Then, by incorporating the vision for rhetorical sovereignty in the work of leaders like Scott Lyons and Malea Powell, she argues, “respectful alliances in our classrooms” can be developed.

53. Lee teaches a diverse student population that includes a larger proportion of Native students than at many institutions: in Lee’s case, “33% of our students identify as Native American.” Lee describes Northeastern State as also drawing a notable number of “adult learners” who are “returning to finish their schooling, or just to broaden their horizons.”

54. One fruitful approach Lee has used is to bring contemporary Native music into the classroom, as she outlines in detail in “Heartspeak from the Spirit” in the *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story* collection, 116–37. There, Lee suggests particular songs for teaching about key events in Native history, major concepts such as *Survivance*, and important rhetorical techniques like humor—as well as promoting strong listening skills.
55. Byrd reports that, “Pooling all the students I have taught into one large group, most . . . have been white Americans. The next largest groups . . . have been African American, then Hispanic American . . ., Asian American, and Asian from other countries. It has been rare that students have identified themselves as Native American, although when I ask students, ‘Who has Native American ancestry?’, I am always surprised at how many hands go up from people who are ordinarily identifying themselves as a member of some other American ethnic or racial group.”

56. For a report on the project, including the museum exhibit that included display of Namorah Byrd’s portrait at NMAI’s New York branch and, later, on tour to sites in Texarkana and San Antonio, see Gabrielle Tayac, *IndiVisible*.

57. On Pura Fé and the Ulali Project, see her website.

58. For a powerful reminder that alliances are still far from easy to build in academe—that Native voices, even today, are not always welcome, so that spaces of genuine peace are hard to attain and sustain—see Robert Warrior, “Vandalizing Life Writing,” 44–50. Warrior narrates his experience as curator of an on-campus exhibit by Heap of Birds, entitled *Beyond the Chief*; for Warrior, vandalism aimed at the exhibit conveyed “the sense members of the white supermajority on my campus have that they can declare Native perspectives and analysis as wrong, that, with the exhibit, we brought the vandalism on ourselves by being provocative troublemakers. Had we been quiet about our critique and analysis, everything would have been fine. We could have learned, taught, and lived in peace in exchange for our silence” (49).

59. As reported in chapter 4, Powell describes her identity, more specifically, as mixed-blood of Indiana Miami, Eastern Band Shawnee, and Euro-American ancestry, and she notes that distinctions between enrolled and unenrolled should be acknowledged.

60. One example might be the American Studies Association, for which Native scholars Philip J. Deloria and Robert Warrior have served as presidents. A survey of the online program for the fall 2015 ASA conference, held in Toronto, suggests a commitment to including Native and First Nations scholars and topics drawn from their scholarship in selecting session proposals.

61. See Powell’s coauthored essay with Andrea Riley-Mukavetz in *Survivance, Sovereignty, and Story*, “Making Native Space for Graduate Students,” 138–59. Specific strategies illustrated (and theorized) there include using personal stories to create a web of relations (145), connecting course texts to the landscape of where it is offered (139, 145), and developing a community orientation based in the group (156–57). At TCU, I have had the special benefit of working with, and learning from, doctoral student Natasha Robinson, whose original graduate school training was with Powell at Michigan State.

62. See Jo-ann Archibald, “Creating an Indigenous Intellectual Movement,” 125–48, in *Restoring the Balance*, eds. Valaskakis, Stout, and Guimond. Celebrating the leadership of “first-wave First Nations women” producing important scholarship and teaching in Canadian universities, Archibald identifies major contributions by Freda Ahenakew, Marlene Brant Castellano, Olive Dickason, Verna J. Kirkness, and Gail Guthrie Valaskakis. Valaskakis, who was also a coeditor of the volume of
essays in which this piece appeared, is a particularly significant figure for my own study, given her border-crossing identity of having been “born and raised on the Lac du Flambeau reservation in Wisconsin” (140) but working as an academic in Canada; her focus on gender as well as Aboriginal identity (such as in her study of Indian Princess stereotypes); and her emphasis on narrative testimony as an avenue to knowledge-making (141–42). Encouraging my approach here, Archibald advocates for methodology grounded in an “oral tradition” from “First Nations cultures, when life-experience stories are used for educational purposes,” with “the listener/reader” being “expected to make meaning with the story given” (127).

63. See, in this context, “Wampum as Hypertext,” where Angela Haas forcefully “traces a counterstory to Western claims to the origins of hypertext and multimedia by remembering how American Indian communities have employed wampum belts as hypertextual technologies . . . [using] interconnected, nonlinear designs and associative storage and retrieval methods long before the ‘discovery’ of Western hypertext” (77).

64. Isaac, “Expectations,” in Lonetree and Cobb, 250. In his “Foreword” to Spirit of a Native Place, Duane Blue Spruce describes how NMAI planners sought extensive input from Native peoples, whose advice was then summarized in a working document, The Way of the People (18). As one telling example, he cites this observation: “Hospitality is one thing you will always find among Native Americans, and hopefully always will” (20, emphasis in original). The café seems designed to respond to one recommendation recorded by George Horse Capture in the same collection: “that each visitor should be greeted personally and offered a seat and perhaps a cup of coffee, in the way that Indians welcome guests into our homes” (“The Way of the People,” 42).

65. Communication from Renée Gokey discussing NMAI’s use of distance learning tools, email received Monday, July 13, 2015.

66. Gretchen M. Bataille notes in her “Introduction” to Native American Representations, “Myths about Indians and the West seem impenetrable by facts, and for many people who are not themselves Native American, the stereotypes and misrepresentation remain safer than reality” (7).

67. Renée Gokey, “Not the ‘Last of the Miamis,’” NMAI Blog. For a similar discussion of the theme of Native people not matching whites’ expectations, see Diane Glancy’s conversation with Jennifer Andrews (referenced above), where Glancy notes of her own childhood: “my father was Cherokee. I remember him telling me we were Indian, but it wasn’t the kind of Indian that the school presented. It took me forever to figure this out as a child. And then you couldn’t really present yourself as Indian because it wasn’t accepted” (649). Later, when she was first trying to write about her own Indian heritage, she encountered resistance: “all Native heritage was supposed to be Plains Indian. But we would go back to my father’s people, the Cherokee, and they were farmers. I never saw a buffalo, I never saw feathers, a war bonnet, no tepees; we had a house, a row of corn, a pig. When you were first able to write about your Indian heritage, editors and publishers wanted Plains Indian material. They didn’t want the truth of the kind of Indian you were” (645).

68. NMAI’s Teacher E-Newsletter assembles all issues of the newsletter for convenient online access.
69. Dennis Zotigh, *Meet Native America*, typically presents two new online profiles per month.

70. In “Introduction & 1st Question,” an NMAI Blog posting from January 2011, Zotigh not only introduced himself; he also addressed the familiar question, “What do we call you, American Indian or Native American?” by pointing to variations in individuals’ and generations’ preferences and explaining varying contexts of use for terms. For instance, he points out that “Indian” usually means an enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe,” thus being a “legal term” also reflected in the name of the NMAI and other official titles. Comments added to this blog posting illustrate the wide range of opinions among NMAI stakeholders as to which term(s) would be preferable, and why.

Coda

1. For a forceful call to enact American studies as a critically aware yet aspirational enterprise, see Tomlinson and Lipsitz, “American Studies as Accompaniment.” They propose that “American studies can become one of many sites in US society where a collective capacity for democratic deliberation and decision making can be nurtured and sustained. In the process of attempting to build a better society, this work can also lead to better scholarship because its research objects and research questions emerge out of the actual contradictions of social life” (26–27).

2. One factor both constraining and enabling my work going forward was moving back to a faculty role in the early summer of 2016, after two years as an “acting” dean. Though I lost access to some resources open only to administrators (e.g., funds for speakers, access to facilities, and financial support for collaborations), this shift in roles provided the gift of time—including time to complete work on this book, which had been slowed considerably due to my administrative duties. And it freed me up to return to collaborations with some partners with whom I’d worked in the past, outside the TCU community.

3. Eric Sundquist offers a productive context for discussing this text, and particularly Jiménez’s closing scene, in “The Humanities and the National Interest.” Sundquist observes, “As our principal vehicle for engendering sympathy—the ability to imagine the experience of another, to see ourselves from that perspective, to make another’s life our own, if only for a moment—the humanities are not just a means of promoting the ‘climate of responsible and watchful stewardship and [the] culture of creative innovation’ essential for a strong economy” (here quoting Martha Nussbaum). Also, Sundquist himself argues for the humanities as “a critical means of combating the ignorance and superstition that breed anti-democratic thought, whether abroad or at home, and preparing our young citizens to see themselves” as belonging to a richly diverse nation and world (602).

4. As Shelley Fisher Fishkin astutely notes in *Writing America: Literary Landmarks from Walden Pond to Wounded Knee*, in a view consistent with Jiménez’s research of his family story, not all the sites that have played crucial roles in the creation of American literature have achieved such canonical status as being named to the National Historic Register: “What about the literature produced by writers too
poor or too transient to have permanent homes capable of being preserved—such as early-twentieth-century writers who were impoverished workers from China or Russia, for example, or late-twentieth-century migrant farm workers in the Southwest?” (2).

5. Hunter Walker’s July 6, 2016, “Donald Trump” essay for Business Insider provides multiple examples of what he calls Trump’s “doubling down on his controversial comments about Mexican immigrants,” including describing them as “the worst elements in Mexico . . . pushed into the United States by the Mexican government,” claiming that Mexican cartels are the “largest suppliers of heroin, cocaine and other illicit drugs,” and asserting that “tremendous infectious disease is pouring across the border,” thereby making the United States “a dumping ground for Mexico and, in fact, for many other parts of the world” (para 3).

6. On Trump’s plan for a wall to cut off immigration from Mexico, see Bob Woodward and Robert Costa, “Trump Plans Ultimatum.” For Trump’s broader engagement with immigration-related issues and the potential impact of both his stance and his tone on presidential politics, see Reihan Salam, “Trump’s Immigration Disaster” and Linda Chavez, “Donald Trump’s America.” On the back-and-forth critiques between Trump and Vicente Fox, see Sabrina Siddiqui, “Former Mexican President Vicente Fox Attacks Donald Trump’s ‘Racist’ Ideas.”

7. A related impetus for this work is a collaborative effort at TCU to launch a program in Comparative Race and Ethnic Studies, an initiative spearheaded by professors Max Krochmal and Melanie Harris. For one example from an online story-archive of the annual “alternative spring break” civil rights bus tour led by Professor Krochmal, whose leadership has encouraged many other faculty to revisit such movements in both curricular and cocurricular contexts, see the blog post by graduate student James Chase Sanchez: “Civil Rights Bus Tour—Day 5.”

8. Common’s lyric reference to “Ferguson” clearly invokes the death of Michael Brown in that St. Louis suburb, an event that prompted sustained protests in the local community and beyond, including through social media. Brown’s death also generated extensive press coverage that made connections between that event and other cases of young black men being killed under controversial (to say the least) circumstances. For a cluster of texts addressing Brown’s death and its larger context within an academic journal, see the Spring 2015 issue of Cultural Critique, as described in the editors’ unsigned “In the Conjuncture” introduction (115–17). See below in this chapter for a discussion of #BlackLivesMatter, the movement that grew up as one activist response to the Michael Brown case and so many others.

9. In describing the writing process for “Glory,” Common told Daily Beast reporter Jen Yamato: “We wanted this song to be inspirational. We wanted it to have that pain, but also hope.” See Yamato’s “John Legend and Common.” The “Glory” song was written collaboratively by John Legend, Common, and Che Smith. Like the example of The Circuit in this Coda, as well as Jane Addams in the Classroom and The Indolent Boys earlier, and the role of Frank Quarles in chapter 2, I include this text here in part to signal that my focus on women’s counter-narratives for Learning Legacies is not intended to suggest that only female authors can create such texts.

10. For an insightful analysis of the West Point black women graduates’ photo episode, see Dave Philipps, “Raised-Fist Photo.” For speeches by Frances Harper,
see Foster’s *A Brighter Coming Day* edition; for writings on education by Anna Julia Cooper, including discussion of her graduate study in France, see *A Voice from the South*. On black male youth as “fodder” for university athletics, see Billy Hawkins, *The New Plantation.*

11. James I. Deutsch’s review of *Harvest of Loneliness* in *The Journal of American History* offers a thoughtful assessment of rhetorical and historical decision-making shaping the film. On anti-Chinese stereotypes at the turn between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including anti-immigration visual rhetoric, see Nicholas Sean Hall’s “The Wasp’s ‘Troublesome Children’.”

12. See, for instance, “Arriba Allende: Discussion Video 3” in the series created by Sofia and Mayra based on study of Allende’s *Island Beneath the Sea.*

13. I thank Lisa Junkin Lopez for sharing the one-page write-up that JGLB prepared to characterize the new exhibit and for continuing our conversations about her public scholarship. I have strong personal reasons for being drawn to her new site of archival action. My first full-time teaching position was in Savannah, at Benedictine academy, in the late 1970s. I can call up fond memories of the city’s historic tourism, but also of my own preliminary efforts to bring archival recovery into my American literature courses via copies I typed and then mimeographed of local colonial authors’ texts. Further, as the daughter of a longtime Girl Scout professional, and a veteran of many Scouting programs, I look forward to reconnecting with that part of my personal heritage.


15. Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor’s *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation*, especially chapters 6 and 7, provides a scholarly analysis of #BlackLivesMatter that situates the movement in helpful historical context.

16. Appropriately enough, “The Disruptors” had collaborative authorship by Brandon Griggs, Emanuella Grinberg, Katia Hetter, Wyatt Massey, Melonyce McAfee, David Shortell, Tanzina Vega, and Eli Watkins. To note how quickly the #BlackLivesMatter movement began to draw scholarly attention from diverse disciplinary perspectives, see García and Sharif’s “Black Lives Matter.”

17. Devon Johnson and several colleagues have edited a multivocal scholarly analysis of the Trayvon Martin case and its wider implications, *Deadly Injustice.*

18. See note #9 and references earlier within this chapter to the invocation of Michael Brown’s death in the John Legend/Common “Glory” lyrics and in recent scholarship for *Cultural Critique.*

19. Franco Moretti, *Distant Reading*. For critique of Moretti’s method, see Katie Trumpener, who suggests scholars seek a middle ground between close reading and Moretti’s agenda. “One troubling aspect of Moretti’s statistically driven model of literary history is that it seems to necessitate an impersonal invisible hand. . . . His interest, after all, is in trying to identify systemic, overall, large-scale shifts; by this logic, any specific text becomes statistically almost irrelevant,” says Trumpener in “Paratext and Genre System,” 164.
While I would not view this book as a “counter-narrative” response to Stanley Fish’s *Save the World On Your Own Time*, I’m aware that some readers might do so. Actually, I think there are important overlaps in our arguments—such as a commitment to empowering students as knowledge-makers by having them thoughtfully and deeply engage with various disciplinary canons. But I also recognize differences in our viewpoints, since I am calling for a pedagogy that promotes social action. Like Fish, I don’t expect that “the job of an institution of higher learning [is] to cure every ill the world has ever known,” including “poverty, war, racism, gender bias, bad character, discrimination, intolerance, environmental pollution, rampant capitalism, American imperialism, and the hegemony of Wal-Mart . . .” (10). But I do want to prepare students to *participate* in addressing such problems collaboratively—as rhetorically sophisticated citizens.

For a full description of the “Discovering Global Citizenship” framework, visit the program website, where the various DGC initiatives are outlined. University reaccreditation through the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS) requires periodic development and assessment of a Quality Enhancement Plan (QEP); TCU’s focus on global learning for its current QEP mirrors a trend at many other institutions.

My call for new learning legacies as, themselves, a potential form of scholarship aligns with Ernest Boyer’s *Scholarship Reconsidered* and for associated recognition of the “scholarship of teaching” as valuable.

Sabine H. Smith, “Perfectly Ambivalent: How German Am I?” in *Bridging Cultures*, 40–60. My collaboration with colleagues contributing to *Bridging Cultures* has deeply enriched all my scholarship and teaching since then.