

# NEYM QUAKER INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOL RESEARCH GROUP

## *Research Findings*

August 2024

The NEYM Quaker Indian Boarding School Research Group<sup>1</sup> (QIBS) requests your close attention to the following report on the participation of New England Friends and New England Yearly Meeting in the Indian Boarding Schools and the assimilation program of which they were an integral part. We were asked to answer a straightforward question: to what extent and in what ways were individual Friends and the yearly meeting as a whole involved in the Indian Boarding Schools of the late nineteenth century.

The simple answer is, deeply, and in every conceivable way. That many of these efforts amounted to cultural genocide is deeply troubling to Friends today.

It has been disorienting and disheartening for research group members to read so many reports filled with the inevitable triumph of White civilization over Indigenous cultures, and the superiority of euroamerican Christianity over the sacred ways of life of Native Peoples articulated by our Quaker forebears.<sup>2</sup> That Friends thought cultural erasure and the traumatic disruptions of kinship ties was the necessary and *loving* solution to the devastation inflicted on Native Peoples leaves us confused and saddened. Like other, more recent, genocides, the attempted assimilation and cultural genocide of the Indian Nations was carried out both with the tools of war and the tools of bureaucracy, by countless individuals doing their small part.

For many Native People, the fundamental question to Quakers today can be captured in the question: “What have you done with our children?” The report that follows is a first step toward answering that deeply disturbing plea. The fates of most individual children are, so far, difficult to determine. A few Boarding School attendees went on to very public careers and detailed their experiences in books, lectures, even an opera.<sup>3</sup> Others, like a Modoc boy who was sent to the school at Carlisle, attracted individual attention because they died while in the school’s custody.<sup>4</sup>

For now at least, what we Quakers can offer is an inventory of the Quaker schools where these children might have gone. From there, resources like the National Indian Boarding School Digital Archive (NIBSDA <https://nibsda.elevator.umn.edu/>), developed by the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/>), will help families and others answer this most haunting question.<sup>5</sup>

## SUMMARY

Quakers were central figures in the creation of the federal government’s ‘civilize and Christianize’<sup>6</sup> strategy to pacify Native People and eliminate barriers to the settlement and exploitation of lands west of the Mississippi following the Civil War.<sup>7</sup> New England Friends were involved at every level of the development, and implementation of the federal Indian Boarding School program from its inception in the 1870s. The Boarding Schools were central to the assimilation program,

“for the purpose of elevating them to the social and moral conditions of Christian civilization, [the true policy] consists not so much in feeding or governing the adults as in educating the children.”<sup>8</sup>

New England Quakers provided women and men to staff the Agencies and Schools, sent a steady flow of funds, books, clothing, and other supplies, and articulated intellectual and moral principles that shaped and justified harsh measures that became standard practice in many of the Schools. Their stated

intention, to equip Native People to function effectively in the wider culture would be perhaps benign, even laudable, were it not done in service to the larger goals of cultural erasure and White land theft.

Friends of that era, the vocal ones at least, were unapologetic assimilationists even as they wrote to Congress to protest the brutal and unjust removals of Native People, the violation of treaties, and the greed and duplicity of White settlers and politicians.

One of the things we looked for and have not yet found are the voices of Friends who advocated that Indian Peoples should be allowed to live according to their values and traditions. What disagreements we came across were over how best to pursue assimilation (and the implicit cultural erasure). In Samuel Taylor's conclusion to the 1856 report for the NEYM Committee on the Western Indian (CWI), assimilation "may be the only alternative left and the one most likely to save them from utter extinguishment,"<sup>9</sup> we hear a foreshadowing of Richard Henry Pratt's infamous description of his task at the Carlisle School, to "kill the Indian in him, to save the man."<sup>10</sup>

Most of us in the research group knew little or nothing about the Indian Boarding Schools when we began this research. None of us heard about them in school. It seems few non-Native people who grew up in the 20th century did, including people who grew up in places like Shawnee, OK, where several Quaker Indian Boarding Schools were located and kids who went to school in Carlisle, PA, where the prototype Carlisle Indian Industrial School operated from 1879-1918.<sup>11</sup> It has been the perseverance of Paula Palmer<sup>12</sup> and others who have brought this history to the attention of Friends. It is our intention to pull back the curtain on New England Friends' particular part in this horrific legacy.

Conditions at the schools as a whole varied widely, from stern and austere to physically and emotionally abusive. The formal curriculum was conventional for manual labor schools of the day, combining classroom study and manual labor.<sup>13</sup> What set the Indian Boarding Schools apart were the harshly enforced practices meant to sever all connections between children and their families,<sup>14</sup> land, and culture – their Indian-ness. Students were scrubbed clean, their hair cut short, and they were given English names. They were usually required to wear European-style dress or "civilian clothes" and often marched from here to there at the sound of the bugle. They were punished for speaking their Native languages or participating in traditional or cultural practices. And they were usually discouraged or forbidden to return home while enrolled in the schools.<sup>15</sup>

Ostensibly intended as a humane alternative to physical annihilation, the Indian Boarding Schools were a principal vehicle for the cultural erasure of the Indian Peoples.<sup>16</sup>

Concentrating as we have on the deeds of our Quaker forebears, it would be easy to overlook the agency of the Native Peoples affected. From first contact, Indian leaders struggled to get the best deal they could for their people in the face of the enormity of White demands and the threat of overwhelming force. The Citizen Pottawatomie Nation Cultural Heritage Center website details a number of these lop-sided negotiations and the strategies their chiefs used.<sup>17</sup> The Indian Peoples were certainly aggrieved as this process played out year after year, but they were not passive, they did not go quietly.

This report is a story about the beliefs and ensuing actions of Friends of European ancestry.<sup>18</sup> It is not the only or even the most important story. That would be the story, or better, stories, told by descendants of the Native children sent to those schools too often against their own or their parents' wills. A collection of resources on the diverse and complex legacy of the Boarding Schools from Indigenous perspectives can be found at the end of this report.



## OUR SOURCES

Our research consisted mainly in close reading of the relevant sections of four main sources:

Minutes of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox/Gurneyite), 1847-1985. <http://scua.library.umass.edu/new-england-yearly-meeting/>

These records include minutes of the Men's and Women's Meetings, the Meetings for Sufferings, the committees on the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians, and the Western Indians, and the Women's Foreign Mission Society.

"Annual Report of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs" (abbv. AEC) 1880-1898. Philadelphia, Pa.: Haverford College, Quaker and Special Collections.

Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior. (abbv. ARC) volumes. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000063853>.

Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior. (abbv. BIC) 63 v. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000080114>.

Numerous other sources were consulted for background or context. A bibliography is appended.

In support of the work of the QIBS Research Group, two NEYM members, Suzanna Schell and Gordon Bugbee, spent 10 days in February of 2024 examining records in the National Archives repositories in Ft. Worth, TX and Oklahoma City, OK, and traveling around the Oklahoma countryside where the Quapaw and Sac & Fox Agencies and their schools were located.<sup>19</sup>

Because all of the Yearly Meetings of the time were involved in one way or another, and because, for all their theological differences, nineteenth century American Quakers were a small community with a bewildering array of familial and marital relationships, researching the Quaker Indian Boarding Schools is necessarily a collaborative effort. For the last year-and-a-half, members of the NEYM QIBS Research Group have been active participants in a weekly on-line discussion that has included Friends from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Indiana, Intermountain, South Central, Iowa Yearly Meeting (Conservative) and the Alaska Friends Conference.<sup>20</sup> Staff from the UMass Amherst/NEYM, Haverford and Swarthmore archives, the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, and the Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center have made presentations to the network.<sup>21</sup>

We did not have time to examine Quarterly or Monthly Meeting Minutes or the correspondence of individuals.<sup>22</sup> Doing so would undoubtedly make this a richer and perhaps more nuanced report. We may also find those dissident perspectives that might help us better understand the process by which Friends decided to take the course they did.



## BACKGROUND

Friends involvement in Indian education goes back at least to 1795 and Quakers' response to the request by Gaiänt'wakê ("Cornplanter"), a Seneca chief, that they establish schools and a program of agricultural training. New York Friends sent several farm families to Oneida land to encourage Indians to give up their traditional dependence on hunting, adopt European-style farming, and overturn gender roles. They established schools near Cattaraugus.<sup>23</sup>

Quakers were among the thousands of settler families that headed west to Ohio and Indiana to occupy and farm the lands of the Northwest Territory, beginning in 1787, after the Revolutionary War. These lands had been the ancestral home of countless Native Peoples for thousands of years. Beginning in 1802, Baltimore Yearly Meeting supported a series of missions to the Miami and Shawnee Tribes<sup>24</sup> in Ohio and Indiana. After a series of short-lived efforts, Friends established a boarding school for the Shawnee at Wapakoneta in Ohio.<sup>25</sup> The school operated from the 1820s through the Tribe's removal in 1832 to Kansas. The school and its teachers went with them.

In 1818 and again in 1830, Friends from New England followed other yearly meetings in sending "Memorials" to the Senate and House of Representatives, expressing their concern about the forced removals of eastern Tribal communities to western territories and the catastrophic consequences. These entreaties were not successful in stopping the removals. During and after the theological and social conflicts that arose during the Quaker Separations of the 1820s, both Orthodox and Hicksite Friends sent missions to the "frontier."

In the 1840s, Ohio Friends, Thomas and Mary Stanley, established a mission and school for the Kaw (Kanza) at Merriam, Kansas, not far from the existing Methodist and Baptist missions. In 1857, after returning to Ohio and then moving to Salem, Iowa, the Stanleys went back to Kansas and established a mission, school, and farm at Americus when they felt led "to go among the Kansas Indians for the purpose of instructing them in the art of Agriculture and civilization."<sup>26</sup>

When, in 1842, Samuel Taylor Jr, from Fairfield, Maine, and his Vassalboro neighbor, John D. Lang, accepted the commission from New York and New England Yearly Meetings to investigate and report on the conditions of Indians west of the Mississippi, the horrors of the Indian removals of the previous decade had become widely known among Friends. Almost every year thereafter, when gathered in Sessions, New England Friends heard reports on the precarious situation of the Native Peoples in Kansas and elsewhere to the west. In the 1856 report, Taylor wrote for the Committee on the Western Indian,

"But nothing has appeared within the past year to warrant any active service on the part of the Committee for their assistance. It is feared, however, that measures are in progress to unsettle and finally to remove them still further, (to quote their own language used in one of their councils on a former occasion with feelings of grief and dread,) 'towards the setting sun and to the precipice, as the last foot of soil for the poor Indian to tread would be taken from them, so that they who were once like the sturdy trees of the forest, will be left to wither and fade as the tender grass of the field ;'—and while the prospect of aiding this down-trodden people appears discouraging, we hope the lively interest and concern on their behalf, kept up for many years past, will continue to rest with unabated weight and care for them in future."<sup>27</sup>

As a result of the disruptions of the Civil War and a focus on Abolition and the education of Freedmen, efforts by Friends to aid Indigenous People who continued to be uprooted and moved from Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas were reduced.

In 1867, as the dust settled, Iowa Friends were stirred again to consider the difficult situations of many Native People and appointed a committee to consider what might be done.<sup>28</sup> Ironically, Friends showed a disconcerting lack of self-reflection when they lamented the conditions of the Tribes and Nations that endured removal without considering that the land they now occupied was itself stolen from those who lived there for centuries if not millenia, that they too were the beneficiaries of Indian Removal.

The committee included Lindley M. Hoag (born in Charlotte, VT),<sup>29</sup> Enoch Hoag (born in Sandwich, NH, the soon-to-be head of the Central Superintendency), and Brinton Darlington (later the U. S. Agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency), as well as, David Morgan, James Owen, and David Hunt.<sup>30</sup> They quickly agreed to recommend the formation of a body to coordinate the activities of the

Orthodox Yearly Meetings. Iowa Yearly Meeting concurred and invitations went out to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New England, North Carolina, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Yearly Meetings. All accepted and met soon thereafter and established the Associated Executive Committee for Friends on Indian Affairs (AEC). They appointed William Nicholson, a physician and educator from North Carolina, as their General Agent.<sup>31</sup> The constituent Yearly Meetings agreed to an annual assessment to finance the Committee's work.<sup>32</sup>

In 1869, the Yearly Meetings that formed the AEC sent a "memorial" to Congress deploring the conditions among Native Peoples and urging action.

Hicksite Friends from Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Genesee, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois Yearly Meetings created a comparable group, the Executive Central Committee of the Convention of Delegates. It was deputations from these two Quaker Committees that met with President Grant in April of 1869 and agreed on the principles that would guide the "peace policy" for the next eight years.<sup>33</sup>

Eager to move beyond editorials, remonstrances, and representations to Congress and the President, when the invitation from Iowa Yearly Meeting came to form a committee among the Orthodox Yearly Meetings to coordinate activities on behalf of Indian People, New England Friends were ready to join.<sup>34</sup> With that decision, they embarked on the course that led eventually to the establishment of Quaker Indian Boarding Schools.



## NEYM AND GRANT'S "PEACE POLICY"

The goal of Grant's "Peace Policy" was to "civilize and christianize" the, hitherto, "wild savages" that had been pushed by federal law and the Army west onto land that seemed at the time of no particular value to people in power. Efforts at outright extermination had been tried. Indigenous people had proven too resilient and driving them out of existence had proven too costly both in White blood and treasure. Better, it seemed to Grant and fellow assimilationists, to educate them in English and arithmetic and turn them into small-hold farmers and farm-wives severed from their land, language, and people.

Upon his inauguration, President Grant made two important sets of appointments to the Indian Service. In the field, he appointed individuals recommended by the cooperating religious denominations to administrative posts. Grant also appointed a Board of Indian Commissioners (BIC) to advise the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, starting with his Commissioner, Ely S. Parker (Seneca), and prevent corruption in the Indian Service. They were philanthropists, educators, industrialists, bankers and clergy from the religious denominations now charged with running the Indian Agencies. They were also wealthy enough to be able to serve and travel without compensation.

From those nominated by Orthodox Friends, Grant named Enoch Hoag to lead the Central Superintendency.<sup>35</sup> Hoag in turn appointed his nephew, Cyrus Beede, and his son, Edward F. Hoag, chief clerk and clerk. Hoag senior and Beede were both born into Sandwich MM (Dover Quarter, NEYM), and, like many eastern Friends, had made their way to Iowa.<sup>36</sup> Edward Hoag was born in Uxbridge, Massachusetts, and went west with his parents and siblings. Hoag also nominated, and Grant named, ten new Agents for the Central Superintendency.

The ten newly appointed Quaker Agents took up their posts over a wide stretch of the state of Kansas and Indian Territory (Oklahoma in 1907). Two of these Agencies, the Quapaw and Sac & Fox, became the focus of NEYM's interest and efforts.

Friends also nominated men to serve on the Board of Indian Commissioners. Orthodox Friends offered New Englander John D. Lang, recorded minister from Vassalboro, and Benjamin Tatham of New York.<sup>37</sup> Upon his death in 1879, Lang was replaced by Albert K. Smiley, a Friend from North Fairfield, Maine.

Lang was a farmer and woolen manufacturer and was deeply respected by Friends for his many travels among Native Peoples across the continent and his long interest in Indian affairs. Smiley, headmaster of the Oak Grove Seminary (in Vassalboro, Maine) and later Friends' Boarding School (in Providence, R.I.), was especially noted for being the host of the annual Mohonk Conferences that brought together politicians (including Sen. Dawes<sup>38</sup>), officials, military leaders, and members of the religious and philanthropic communities to consider what they regarded as the most pressing issues of the day including the conditions of Freedmen and Indians, and international conflict. The attendees were very supportive of the goals of the "civilize and Christianize" program and the boarding schools.



## QUAPAW AGENCY

The Quapaw Agency was located in the northeast corner of Indian Territory, where Kansas and Missouri meet. The U. S. government acquired<sup>39</sup> a small portion of Cherokee land to provide reservations for seven Tribes, the Quapaw, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami, Wyandotte, Shawnee, and the Seneca-Cayuga, who had been forcibly removed from east of the Missouri.<sup>40</sup> The land, which lies on the western slopes of the Ozark Plateau, is dry and composed of low, rolling hills forested with willow, hickory, oak, and pine trees. It bears little resemblance to the rivers, streams, lakes, and densely-wooded forests of the Ohio River valley and the area around the Great Lakes that had been the traditional homes of these Nations.

When Hiram Jones took over as Quapaw Agent, day schools existed for the Ottawa and Peoria Tribes. New England Friends Asa C. Tuttle<sup>41</sup> (Dover MM) and his wife, Emeline Howard Tuttle, originally from Bangor, ME, were hired to run the Ottawa School, and a New York Friend, John Isaac Collins, the Peoria. The Tuttles boarded some of the students in their home. Illness was a constant factor, a measles outbreak took four Indian children and one white child that first year.<sup>42</sup> The average attendance in 1871 at the Ottawa School was 25. All instruction was in English with Philadelphia Friends supplying books and clothing.<sup>43</sup>

In 1872, a manual labor boarding school<sup>44</sup> for the Shawnee (also known as the Eastern Shawnee), Seneca-Cayuga, and the Wyandotte People was built by the Agent 15 or so miles south on the Neosho River. Funds came from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting<sup>45</sup> and the AEC to help with the construction costs. An average of thirty-six students attended that first year.

New Englanders Anne and Henry Thorndike (from Sandwich, NH) and their daughters arrived in 1873 and took over the Ottawa School as the Tuttles worked to establish a boarding school for the Quapaw Agency.

In November of 1873, Asa and Emeline Tuttle were called on to help the 153 Modoc who had been relocated from the area around Tule Lake in the Cascades of northern California to the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory. The Army's brutal war against the Modoc People had come to an end and the survivors were transported by railroad, in cattle cars, from Fort Klamath in Oregon to Baxter Springs, Kansas, some 1900 miles. The Indian Agent, Hiram Jones<sup>46</sup>, had little warning and was ill-prepared. With help from the Quapaw, the Modoc were brought to land designated for their reservation and marginally adequate shelter was constructed. Arrangements were made to include the Modoc children in the new Quapaw Agency school.

By 1877, day schools were operating for the Peoria and Miami (which had opened, closed, and opened again), and boarding schools had been established for the Ottawa, Quapaw, Modoc, Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandotte. Funds from the AEC, PYM, and NEYM helped with building and operating expenses.<sup>47</sup> Between 1873 and 1877, NEYM contributed \$2,635 to the AEC and dispensed funds from the Committee on the Western Indians and subscriptions totalling an additional \$2,343, primarily for schools.<sup>48</sup>

Between 1878 and 1885, NEYM and New England Friends sent \$3,760 to the AEC and directly distributed \$2,308 to individuals and programs they wished to support, including the Kellogg family working at Quapaw, John Watson and his family (who would later teach at Skiatook /Hillside School), repairs at White's Manual Labor Institute in Indiana, Meetinghouse construction, and \$257.24 to defray expenses for Frank Modoc's travel to the Oak Grove Seminary in Vassalboro.<sup>49</sup>

Peak enrollment in the Quapaw Agency schools came in 1881, when there were 42 students enrolled in the Peoria day school, 75 in the Quapaw/Ottawa boarding school, 149 in the boarding school at Wyandotte, and 23 in the Modoc and Miami day schools.<sup>50</sup> A night school was held at the Modoc school for one or two years. That same year Elizabeth Test, who would become one of the workers in Indian Territory most consistently supported by New England Quakers, began teaching in the Quapaw Agency; a female student from the Seneca Indian School in Wyandotte was sent east to study at Earlham College (probably Arizona Jackson<sup>51</sup>); and a schoolhouse was constructed in the nearby town of Bluejacket at a cost of \$650 (from the AEC).<sup>52</sup>



## SAC & FOX AGENCY

One hundred and forty miles to the southwest, the U. S. government purchased land from the Creek Nation to provide reservations for the Sac & Fox (of the Mississippi in Oklahoma),<sup>53</sup> and the Kickapoo.<sup>54</sup>

The terrain on which the Sac & Fox Agency was located was relatively flat, dry, and thinly wooded with blackjack and post oak trees. This too was nothing like the thickly wooded, well-watered lands of the Eastern Woodlands or the Great Lakes region, the traditional homelands of the Sac & Fox, Pottawatomie, Iowa, Kickapoo, and Shawnee People.

The Absentee Shawnee had lived in the area since the 1850s when the U. S. Army forced them to move from land they had occupied to the south and west. The Citizen Pottawatomie were moved there when their experiences with citizenship, land ownership, and subsistence farming in Kansas were undermined by the encroachment of White settlers. The Iowa came from Kansas and Nebraska in 1878 hoping to avoid allotment and assimilation.

The Shawnee Friends Mission had been established in 1871 by Thomas Stanley from Iowa Yearly Meeting and the first missionaries were Joseph Newsom and his family. Significant monies from Indiana Yearly Meeting combined with federal money, likely drawn from Tribal funds held in trust by the U. S., built a manual labor boarding school and a day school in Shawnee. By 1876, there were 34 students attending the Agency school (32 boarding), and 19 students in the Shawnee school (six of them boarding).

New England Friends' involvement with the Tribes of the Sac & Fox Agency was less direct, mostly in the form of funding and material donations, and developed more slowly. The New Englanders who were drawn to serve in the Sac & Fox Agency schools were from the Starksboro area of northern Vermont, a Quarter then within New York Yearly Meeting. The children of well-known and widely traveled Minister Jeremiah Grinnell, taught first at Maryville in the Friends Freedman's Normal

Institute and then in Shawnee in Indian Territory. Eliza Grinnell Elliott served as a matron<sup>55</sup> while her husband, Franklin Elliott, was a teacher and missionary.<sup>56</sup> Eliza's sister Mary taught at the boarding school in Shawnee and at one of the Pottawatomie day schools. While there, she met and married Thomas Wildcat Alford<sup>57</sup> (Absentee Shawnee) a graduate of the Shawnee school and the Hampton Institute and a teacher and advocate for his People.

Starting with the Shawnee school, Sac & Fox Agent John H. Pickering oversaw the creation of an Agency manual labor (boarding) school at Stroud that had 12 students in 1872. An effort was also made to establish day schools for the Citizen Pottawatomie south of Shawnee at Wagoza (where Mary Grinnell taught), Clardyville, and George Young's Crossing (over the Canadian River).<sup>58</sup> The schools operated intermittently between 1875 and 1884 with support from the AEC. Efforts to establish schools for the Kickapoo and Big Jim's Band of the Absentee Shawnee were frustrated by the refusal of the Tribal leaders and members to enroll their children.<sup>59</sup>

With the help of John Mardock and Jeremiah Hubbard, Friends were finally able to establish missions and schools for those two Tribes in the 1890s. Elizabeth Test, Mary Sherman (Rhode Island MM) and Lina B. Lunt (Durham MM) taught there for varying lengths of time, and NEYM and the YM's Women's Foreign Mission Society (WFMS) supported their work consistently.

In 1890, there were an average of 72 students at the school in Shawnee and 27 at the Agency boarding school. Peak enrollment appears to have occurred in 1901 when there were an average of 94 students at Shawnee and 89 at the boarding school in Stroud.



With the election of Hayes as President in 1876, and the termination of the cooperation agreement between Friends and the government,<sup>60</sup> Quaker control of the schools in Nebraska and most of the Central Superintendency ceased. In 1879, the AEC resigned "all responsibility to the government for the management of Indians."<sup>61</sup> It was noted, during the 1881 annual meeting of the Board of Indian Commissioners that only two Quaker-nominated Agents were still serving, John D. Miles, the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agent, and Laban J. Miles, Agent for the Osage, and five government boarding schools continued to be supervised by Quaker superintendents or teachers.<sup>62</sup>

Friends remained committed however to the students and teachers and continued to send clothes, supplies and money through new and established schools and mission stations. The schools in Quapaw and Sac & Fox Agencies were run by the government from this point on. Friends-operated schools in Indiana, North Carolina, and Alaska continued to receive federal funding. Schools run by other religious organizations had contracts with the Indian Service well into the twentieth century.

In addition to the Tuttle and the Thorndikes, Vermont (NYYM), Friends Sidney Avrill of Swanton, and Thomas C. Battey originally from Starksboro MM taught in schools for the Winnebago and Kiowa.<sup>63</sup> Sumner B. Varney of Dover MM became a physician for the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency and Fordyce Grinnell, brother of Eliza Grinnell Elliott and Mary Grinnell Alford, was the physician for the Wichita Agency and later at Carlisle School.



## THE MOVE TO OFF-RESERVATION BOARDING SCHOOLS

Before 1879, students viewed by their teachers as "promising" were sent to Hampton Institute<sup>64</sup> in Virginia or the Freedman's Normal Institute<sup>65</sup> in Maryville, Tennessee. Following the opening of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in 1879 and the White's Institutes in Indiana and Iowa, Chillico



Indian Agricultural School<sup>66</sup> in Newkirk, Oklahoma, Haskell Indian Industrial Training School<sup>67</sup> in Lawrence, Kansas, and the Salem Indian Training School (later Chemawa)<sup>68</sup> in Washington state in the succeeding years, students of all ages were sent away for long periods. In 1882, two boys were sent from Quapaw to Carlisle. The following year, seven students went to White's in Wabash, Indiana.

By 1885, the Sac & Fox Agent reported sending between 70 and 100 students to "Chilocco, Lawrence and other Indian schools."<sup>69</sup> In 1890, Samuel C. Armstrong, president of the Hampton Institute in Virginia reported (proudly?) on some of the Indian students who had graduated from Hampton and gone on to higher education,

Thomas Miles ...will need one more year to complete his medical course; Annie Dawson ... recently graduated at Framingham Normal School and will go west to teach in the fall; Henry Lyman ... The faculty of Yale Law School have found Henry Lyman studious, thoughtful, conscientiously faithful in attendance upon the school exercises, uniformly correct in deportment, respected and self-respecting, and quite up to the average of his class in intelligence, ... Walter Battice, now teaching at Sac and Fox, expects to return east to study something of law; John Bruyier, a Sioux, ... to Meriden, N. H., to better prepare himself for a course of study in the Yale Medical School.<sup>70</sup>

Whatever opportunities might have been created by these off-reservation schools, they could also bring great loss and sadness. In 1883, Quapaw Agent D. B. Dyer reported, "the death of the boy sent to Carlisle School is a great disappointment to them [the Modoc], and they declare no more of their children shall go away to school."<sup>71</sup> It can hardly have helped that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs refused to pay the costs of having the boy's body returned to his family.<sup>72</sup>

Behind the mundane attendance and school records lay the stunning reality that most of these children had experienced the trauma of forced removal and were now required to leave behind their accustomed clothing, language, and culture (including their hair), and conform to rigid and unfamiliar expectations of behavior.



Three factors led to closure of Indian Boarding Schools of the type run by Friends: preference by the Indian Service for off-reservation boarding schools; allotment; and statehood. All of these supported the overall goal of eliminating Indians and 'Indianness'.

Early in the boarding school era, members of the Board of Indian Commissioners expressed skepticism about the effectiveness of day schools since students returned home at the end of the day and reverted to the language, practices, and relationships the schools were designed to replace.<sup>73</sup> Not long after, on-reservation boarding schools fell out of favor because students often returned home on weekends and undermined the social and cultural changes schools were trying to inculcate. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Indian Service came to believe that large schools, far-removed from the reservations, strictly regimented, drawing from many different Tribal identities, would be the most effective means of separating a child from their Tribe, language, culture, land, and kin, and turning them into compliant, acculturated, work-ready citizens.<sup>74</sup>

The allotment of land previously held collectively by Tribes to individuals broke up Native villages and forced Indian families to disperse across wide expanses of territory. The practice of "checkerboard" allocation, alternating Native and non-Native allotments, was intended by government officials to keep Indians from accumulating large sections of adjacent land. This also dispersed the school-age population eroding or eliminating the student base of a school. Allotment of land to Native Peoples and the distribution of "surplus" land to non-Natives was understood by citizenship advocates as a step

toward eliminating treaty-guaranteed reservations and the obligations (like annuities) delineated in the treaties.

Statehood for Oklahoma in 1907 transferred responsibility for primary and secondary education to the state and local authorities and was interpreted to relieve the federal government of its treaty-obligations to provide schools. This also resulted in unemployment for many of the Native teachers who were not welcomed by White communities or parents.



## FINANCIAL & MATERIAL SUPPORT

New England Yearly Meeting made regular annual payments to the Associated Executive Committee (AEC) to support schools and missions. The Yearly Meeting's Committee on Western Indians (CWI) made periodic contributions for specific schools, missions, and missionaries. They also encouraged subscriptions by local Meetings and individuals. The NEYM branch of the Womens' Foreign Mission Society, founded in 1881, encouraged the development of new missions and disbursed funds in support of existing efforts. Monthly Meetings and individual New England Friends made contributions to support a variety of individuals and projects. Friends also collected and shipped substantial quantities of books, school supplies, and new and used clothing and shoes for students.

Between 1886 and 1890, NEYM contributed \$2,695 to the AEC for schools and missions. The YM's Committee on the Western Indians distributed \$1,572 to support individual teachers and missionaries, to pay school expenses for two Indian students attending Earlham, and to raise a new Meetinghouse for the Ottawa mission. The NEYM Women's Foreign Mission Society organized WFMS Auxiliaries in each quarterly and monthly meeting. Children, youth and young women raised significant funds each year. The women of NEYM committed to supporting a school and mission among the Iowa and Kickapoo Tribes in the Sac & Fox Agency and collected and distributed \$2,451 to pay salaries for New York Friend Elizabeth Test and New England Friends Mary Sherman (Rhode Island Meeting), who began in 1887, and Lina B. Lunt (Durham, ME), who replaced Mary in 1890, and remained with Elizabeth Test more or less until they both resigned in 1915.

Between 1891 and 1897, the AEC received \$4,200 from NEYM. The CWI distributed another \$5,299 to pay salaries and other expenses and support missionaries Jeremiah Hubbard, Charles and Rachel Kirk, John Mardock, Charles Goddard, R. W. Hodson, and John M. Watson and purchase books, a sewing machine, and other supplies. In the same period, the WFMS took over funding the salaries and expenses of Elizabeth Test and Lina B. Lunt and the missions to the Iowa and Kickapoo, donating \$6,131.<sup>75</sup>

The establishment of the Big Jim's school and mission and the ongoing expenses at the Kickapoo school between 1898 and 1911 and the commitment by NEYM to sustain those efforts prompted contributions of \$3,055 from the CWI and \$1,332 by the WFMS in addition to the YM's combined AEC assessment of \$8,075.

The last AEC assessment recorded in the NEYM Minutes was in 1942. Assessments after that were part of the Wider Ministries budget of Friends United Meeting (FUM). The last appointment to the AEC board from NEYM we could find was in 1972.<sup>76</sup>

The Maine chapter of the Women's National Indian Association, led by Portland Friend Myra E. Frye, and the national organization, were instrumental in establishing the school and mission for the Kickapoo People and contributed several thousands of dollars.

Overall, between 1870 and 1911, NEYM paid assessments to the AEC of \$22,830, the YM's Indian Committee contributed \$10,211 to provide supplies, equipment, building materials, and salaries for schools, teachers, and missionaries, and the NEYM chapter of the Women's Foreign Mission Society collected and disbursed \$9,539 to support missions and schools for the Absentee Shawnee, Iowa, and Kickapoo People and the emerging missions in Alaska.<sup>77</sup>



## PROMOTION OF POLICIES & PROGRAMS

It can be argued that the impact of New England Friends and NEYM was most consequential in the design and advocacy of the 'civilize and christianize' strategy of Grant's "peace policy." Friends were not necessarily original or visionary in the program they supported. New England Congregationalists, revivalist Methodists, and patrician Episcopalians all advocated similar tenets<sup>78</sup> through their missionary organizations and through reform organizations like the Indian Rights Association,<sup>79</sup> the Women's National Indian Association,<sup>80</sup> the "Friends of the Indians,"<sup>81</sup> and local coalitions like the Boston Indian Citizenship Committee and the NY-based United States Indian Commission.<sup>82</sup>

But, based on their reputation as an upright people with a history of favorable relations with Native Peoples, and their vocal criticism of government and White inconstancy and greed, Friends were especially credible proponents of the key components of that strategy:

- evangelization* – conversion to Christianity was essential to the pacification and cultural transformation of Native Peoples;
- detrribalization* – individuals and families were to be regarded as the unit of society, not Tribes or Clans;
- allotment in severalty* – land guaranteed by treaty to Tribes collectively was to be allotted on an individual basis, and "surplus," unallotted, land made available for White settlement and exploitation;
- self-sufficiency* – annuities and other compensations for land cessions guaranteed by treaty were to be ended and families were to rely on the fruits of their own subsistence farming and menial labor for sustenance and other material needs;
- citizenship* – Indians would cease to be regarded as citizens of Tribes and wards of the government and lose all protections and considerations detailed in Treaties; officially at least, they would be treated like any other citizen;
- cultural erasure* – languages, clothing, religious practices, customs, kinship relations, gender roles, and other cultural elements were to be eliminated in favor of English, "civilian clothes," Christianity, the "Protestant work ethic," patriarchal nuclear families, and conformity to the norms of the dominant (White) society.



To outline the kinds of advocacy New England Friends pursued, we would like to introduce you to four Quakers who played weighty roles in the development of U. S. Indian policy and the Indian Boarding Schools: John Milton Earle of Worcester, Massachusetts, John D. Lang of Vassalboro, Myra E. Frye of Portland, and Albert K. Smiley also of Vassalboro, all in Maine.<sup>83</sup>

All of these Friends and their spouses were deeply involved in NEYM and often personally connected by marriage.<sup>84</sup> All four served as representatives to the annual Sessions from their Quarters at one time or another, several for multiple years. At various times they each served on the correspondence

committee, various nominating committees, Representative Meeting, the School Committee for the Friends Boarding School in Providence, and the committee that wrote the Yearly Meeting's annual response to the queries (what we now call the State of the Society Report). Several served on the committee holding the concern for the Penobscot and Passamoquoddy Indians of Maine, and Lang, Frye and Smiley and their spouses and some of their siblings served many years on the variously named Indian Affairs Committees.

*John Milton Earle*

In the two centuries since Europeans had started occupying and settling the area that became known as New England, Native Peoples had been driven inland, away from the most heavily settled areas. Numerous cities and towns barred Indians from entering and restricted or forbade commerce between colonists and Native People. The 'praying towns' that Eliot and others had founded as beachheads for Christian Indians and buffers between Natives and colonists had nearly all closed down,<sup>85</sup> and bounties on Indian scalps were enacted to enforce these eliminationist policies.<sup>86</sup> As a result, Native communities were scattered, connections to traditional lands severed, and kinship ties stretched or broken.

In this context, John Milton Earle (1794-1874) was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs by the Governor of Massachusetts in 1859. Earle was from an old Quaker family from Worcester, Massachusetts, and an ardent abolitionist, publishing *The Massachusetts Spy* and later *The Daily Spy* newspapers. He served terms as both a State Representative and a State Senator. Earle was charged with investigating "the conditions of all Indians and the descendants of Indians domiciled in the Commonwealth" and reporting on their demographic, social, and economic status.

His report was exhaustive and includes a list of those who met his standards for "Massachusetts Indians." Earle collected information on kinship, land occupancy, coherence as a group, and degree of mixed blood. He wrote,

By far the larger portion are so mixed with foreign blood, that the traces of the Indian race are slightly or not at all discernible. A few are nearly white, but most of them have the general appearance of Africans, either pure or with a greater or less admixture of white blood. In their personal characteristics there is nothing to distinguish them from the mass of our colored population, with whom they are mostly commingled.<sup>87</sup>

He concluded that many who identified as Indians were so disconnected from any Native past, had so little undiluted Indian blood, and were so nearly assimilated into the general society that they should be declared citizens, subject to the laws of the Commonwealth without any further claims for protection or special treatment. Several Native groups in Massachusetts and elsewhere in New England strenuously dispute these findings.<sup>88</sup> The criteria Earle articulated and the genealogical data in his 1861 report are still used, as in the 2004 decision of the BIA to refuse Tribal recognition of the Hassanamisco Nipmuc Band (Grafton, MA) and Chaubunagungamaug Band of Nipmuck (Dudley, MA).

We have found no evidence that John D. Lang or Edward Earle (John Milton Earle's cousin) or any of the other Friends who were regular attenders at Sessions and served on the Yearly Meeting's Indian committees consulted with Earle on Indian policy. Perhaps the similarities in approach and shared goals of citizenship and self-sufficiency reflected the general agreement in reform circles of the desirability of the disappearance of 'Indianness' and the superiority of White civilization.<sup>89</sup>

In any event, John Milton Earle's report had profound consequences, some of which reverberate today.



*John Damon Lang*

In 1842, when New York and New England Yearly Meetings determined they needed more information about the many Indian Tribes that had been driven from their homes through the mechanisms of the Indian Removal Act, John Damon Lang, of Vassalboro, and his neighbor, Samuel Taylor, Jr, felt led to make the long and difficult journey.<sup>90</sup> The conditions of the Native Peoples west of the Mississippi River as well as the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Nations of Maine were concerns that would draw the attention and efforts of these two men for the subsequent 30 plus years.<sup>91</sup>

John D. Lang (1799-1879), recorded minister and wealthy woolen merchant, was nominated by the AEC and appointed to the Board of Indian Commissioners in 1871. He served for 8 years until his death in 1879.<sup>92</sup> The commissioners' responsibilities<sup>93</sup> included advising the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, making recommendations to the Secretary of the Interior, and "supervising contracts and purchases made for the Indian Department."<sup>94</sup>

Lang, and B. Rush Roberts of the Hicksite Baltimore Yearly Meeting, represented Quakers on the BIC and participated in numerous, extended discussions about how best to implement the 'civilize and christianize' policy of the government. BIC members were also called on for specific tasks. In 1871, Lang was dispatched to Tennessee to accompany a group of Cherokee People who had remained behind after the earlier removals and were now joining their Tribal relations already in Indian Territory. Along with an assistant, Lang traveled to Loudon, Tennessee and organized clothing, provisions, and transportation, by passenger train, of 130 women, children, and men who had recently been forced off their land.<sup>95</sup> The following year, he was sent west to assist with negotiations with the Ute Nation.<sup>96</sup> And in 1874, when he was 75 years old, Lang was sent with the BIC Secretary to San Francisco and Portland, Oregon, to supervise the purchase of supplies and annuity goods for the Indian Peoples of California, Oregon, and Washington Territory.<sup>97</sup>

Throughout this period, he continued to serve on various Yearly Meeting committees.

Lang's reports show his concern for fair distribution of annuities (treaty mandated payments), and his efforts to prevent predation by White settlers. While the reports show a general respect for Native Peoples as brethren and fellow human beings, they show little deep understanding of the different cultures, ways of thinking, and being of the Peoples he was trying to help. He does not appear to have spoken often or at length in any of the BIC meetings for which we have records. There is no evidence that we have come across that suggests he was anything but fully supportive of the cultural erasure and assimilation that were key to the "peace policy" and its oftentimes unspoken goal of freeing land for settlement and exploitation by White people.



*Myra Emery Frye*

Forty years Lang's junior, Myra Emery Frye (1840-1922) of Portland, Maine operated in a different arena, gathering support among women's groups and influential politicians for the policies of allotment and citizenship. Frye<sup>98</sup> worked through the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA),<sup>99</sup> for which she was the Maine chapter president, the NEYM's Women's Foreign Mission Society (WFMS),<sup>100</sup> and the Mohonk Conferences.<sup>101</sup>

Frye conveyed the WNIA's well-wishes to the April 2, 1888 meeting of a proposed union of Quaker women's missionary societies and later spoke at length about the missions work sponsored by NEYM among the Kickapoo and Iowa Tribes. Also present and speaking were Elizabeth Test, Mary Sherman, and Emeline Tuttle. Later during that same convention, Phebe S. Aydelott of New Bedford, Massachusetts, was selected as the first president of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of Friends

in America, which would later become the United Society of Friends Women.<sup>102</sup> The WFMS of NEYM eventually focussed exclusively on foreign missions, but in its early days, work among Indian People was a major recipient of their attention and funding.

In 1897, under Frye's leadership, the Maine chapter of the WNIA provided the initial funding for a school and mission among the Absentee Shawnee.<sup>103</sup> Frye also made substantial personal donations to help with school construction and expenses. Responsibility for the mission was turned over to the WFMS in 1898 and to the Yearly Meeting in 1902. She served, with Emeline Tuttle, as the NEYM representatives on the AEC at least nine times between 1887 and 1898 traveling to Indiana and Pennsylvania for meetings and to Indian Territory to tour the AEC's schools and missions there.

Myra E. Frye and her husband John James Frye, also active in Yearly Meeting and its Indian Affairs Committee, welcomed Frank Modoc into their home when he became ill and could not continue his journey home from the Oak Grove Seminary in Vassalboro. He died there in 1886.<sup>104</sup> Modoc was one of the few warriors who survived the Modoc Wars. He later became an important leader among his people and was recorded as a minister by Kansas Yearly Meeting.

Her energetic advocacy for the passage of the General Allotment Act (the Dawes Act) of 1887 and her support for the program of detribalization, citizenship, and assimilation at the Mohonk Conferences and elsewhere are where she had her most profound impact in Indian People.



### *Albert Keith Smiley*

Albert K. Smiley spent most of his early life an educator, at Haverford from which he graduated in 1849, at an academy in Philadelphia that he founded with his twin brother Alfred, as principal of the Oak Grove Seminary<sup>105</sup> in his hometown of Vassalboro, Maine, and at the Friends' Boarding School in Providence where he was principal from 1862 until 1880.<sup>106</sup>

From 1862, when he came to the Friends' Boarding School until he moved to New York, Albert K. Smiley was a regular participant in NEYM Annual Sessions serving as a representative from Rhode Island Quarter, on the Schools, Epistle, Education, Executive, and Mosher Fund Committees. As such, Smiley would have worshiped and deliberated with John D. Lang, Anne Elmira Lang, Samuel Taylor, Jr, Myra E. Frye, George Howland, David Buffum, Augustine Jones, Edward Earle, and Ann B. Earle, Friends all deeply committed to improving the conditions for Indian People.

Albert's brother, Alfred moved from Providence to the Catskills, and through a series of purchases the brothers came to own all of the land around Lake Mohonk. There Alfred and Albert built the Mohonk Mountain house, that would eventually be the site of the Mohonk Conferences, gatherings of politicians and civic leaders and other "Friends of the Indians"<sup>107</sup> concerned about pressing social and international issues. Carefully selected by Albert K. Smiley, attendees were largely in agreement with assimilationist policies and were crucial to the enactment of the Dawes Act and the development of the network of government-funded and directed Indian Industrial Schools like Carlisle and Genoa. Quakers and other reformers from the eastern cities and school superintendents like Richard Pratt (of Carlisle), Samuel Armstrong, President of the Hampton Institute, and Friend Benjamin Coppock superintendent of White's Institute in Indiana, Chilocco Indian Agricultural School in Newkirk, OK, and supervisor for schools for the Cherokee Nation, exchanged views with senior officials and legislators and with leaders of groups like the Indian Rights Association and the Women's National Indian Association.



Over the years, in addition to those already mentioned, the responsibility for representing NEYM on issues of Indian policy beyond the Yearly Meeting fell to a number of different individuals.

That role on the AEC was shared by a number of New England Quakers. In the 25 years between 1873 and 1898, the period for which we were able to review the records, 13 Friends from across the Yearly Meeting served as representatives:

Edward W. Howland, New Bedford – 1873-78	Myra E. Frye, Portland – 1887-98
Edward Earle, Worcester – 1873-76	Anthony M. Kimber, Newport – 1888-90
Henry T. Wood, New Bedford – 1877-83	Augustine Jones, Providence – 1893-94
Thomas F. Buffum, Newport – 1879-84	Sarah J. Swift – 1894
William O. Newhall, Lynn – 1884, 1886, 1889-98	Hannah J. Bailey, Winthrop Center – 1894, 1896
Timothy B. Hussey, Dover Qtr – 1886	John S. Kimber, Newport – 1894-98
Emeline H. Tuttle, Dover – 1887-98	

Edward Earle served briefly as General Agent for the AEC, who oversaw and coordinated all AEC's programs and personnel, when William Nicholson replaced Enoch Hoag as head of the Central Superintendency.<sup>108</sup>

In 1892, Timothy B. Hussey (Dover Qtr), Alfred H. Jones (Vassalboro Qtr), and William O. Newhall (Lynn MM, Salem Qtr) were sent by the yearly Meeting to present a petition to President Harrison and the Congress opposing legislation that would license the sale of “intoxicating liquors” in Alaska.<sup>109</sup> New England Friends Augustine Jones and Samuel Buffum traveled to Washington at the behest of the Yearly Meeting and made representations to Congress on the impact and importance of the Board of Indian Commissioners on the implementation of U.S. Indian policy.<sup>110</sup>



## PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

### Summary of NEYM Commitments of Personnel and Resources:

<p>Schools with significant connections to NEYM</p>	<p>In the Quapaw Agency: Ottawa (day &amp; boarding), Peoria (day), Quapaw (boarding), Miami (day), Modoc (day and boarding, also night briefly), Seneca Indian School, including Eastern Shawnee, Seneca-Cayuga &amp; Wyandotte), Bluejacket School (day).</p> <p>In the Sac &amp; Fox Agency: Shawnee Mission School (boarding), Sac &amp; Fox Agency School (boarding), Pottawatomie schools (day), Iowa Mission School (boarding), Kickapoo Mission &amp; School (boarding), Big Jim's Mission School (boarding).</p>
<p>NEYM Members</p>	<p>John D. Lang, BIC Commissioner Albert K. Smiley, BIC Commissioner</p> <p>Teachers: Asa C. Tuttle, Emeline Tuttle, Henry Thorndike, Anna B. Thorndike, Alice Thorndike, Lina B. Lunt, Mary Sherman;</p> <p>AEC representatives: Edward W. Howland, Edward Earle (later General Agent), Henry T. Wood, Anna G. Wood, Earle J. Harold, Thomas F. Buffum, William O. Newhall, Timothy R. Hussey, Anthony M. Kimber, Emeline H. Tuttle, Myra E. Frye, Augustine Jones, Sarah J. Swift, Hannah J. Bailey, John S. Kimber, Mary E. Kimber, Lettie M. Bailey.</p> <p>[Does not include individuals born in New England who moved to Iowa, etc.]</p>
<p>NEYM resources</p>	<p>Total<sup>111</sup> financial contributions: AEC allocation \$22,830, various Indian committees \$10,211, Women's Foreign Mission Society \$9,539,</p> <p>for: books, clothing (new &amp; used), supplies, equipment, transportation, construction materials (Kickapoo Meetinghouse, Big Jim's Mission &amp; School, Hominy Mission); and salaries and expenses for: Jeremiah Hubbard, Chas. &amp; Rachel Kirk, John &amp; Eva Watson, Elizabeth Test; Mary Sherman, Lina B. Lunt, W. P. Haworth, Philander &amp; Carrie Blackledge, W. L. George, Anthony &amp; Sarah Bolland;</p> <p>and school expenses for: Arizona Jackson, Eva Johnson, Ida Johnson, Frank Modoc.</p>

Having spent the last two years consulting hundreds of pages of records, both Quaker and official, the committee has come to the conclusion that Friends in general, and New England Friends in particular, were fervent believers and witting and enthusiastic collaborators in the program to assimilate Native People into mainstream American society. Quakers' historical arms-length relationship with



governmental authority appears to have been tempered by their identification with the cultural and philosophical values of other nineteenth century evangelical elites and reformers and their acceptance of the shared convictions that the demise of Indian cultures and traditions was inevitable and the only hope for Native survival was in acculturation and assimilation.

However much Friends might have bristled (may bristle) at the idea that they were carrying out the mandates of the papal Doctrine of Discovery, their pursuit and acceptance of land taken from Native Peoples and their active involvement in the boarding schools and the other mechanisms of allotment, cultural erasure, and assimilation made them complicit and, in our opinion, makes the contemporary Society of Friends answerable for the myriad and devastating harms that resulted.

We are not clear about how Friends in New England can begin to make the necessary repairs (through support of programs of language reclamation, land-back, reparations, etc.) but we are in no doubt that conversations should begin between NEYM and the Quapaw, Ottawa, Peoria, Modoc, Seneca-Cayuga, Eastern Shawnee, Wyandotte, Sac & Fox, Absentee Shawnee, Iowa, Kickapoo, and Citizen Pottawatomie Nations, as they are willing, about what restorative actions are required.

We are also clear that, just as New England Friends in the past did not act alone, this is work in and about which we must engage with our fellow yearly meetings today. We urge other Yearly Meetings to conduct their own formal inquiries into their roles in the Indian Boarding Schools and labor to understand what their responsibilities may be to present and future generations.

As we invite Quakers to seek to make amends for this painful history, we recognize there are diverse experiences and identities within our community. For some, this reckoning may evoke echoes of other histories of oppression and cultural erasure. For some, it may raise complex questions about belonging, displacement, and the ongoing realities of settler colonialism. Yet across our many differences, might Quakers find unity in our commitment to justice, peace, and the inherent dignity of all peoples?

By wrestling with these uncomfortable truths might we begin to build authentic relationships of solidarity with Indigenous communities, and work towards a future of true equity and healing? This is the sacred work, to which we are called as Quakers today — to Listen and be Led, to put our faith into action, to dismantle the ongoing legacies of the Doctrine of Discovery, and to walk humbly in the path of justice and restoration.

*Members of the QIBS Research Group: Gordon Bugbee, Betsy Cazden, Andrew Grant, Janet Hough, Merrill Kohlhofer (with help from Charlie Barnard, Evan McManamy & Emily Neumann)*



## ENDNOTES

1. Established by the Permanent Board, in August, 2022, implementing NEYM Sessions Minute 2022-36: “Friends also asked the Permanent Board to begin the process of researching New England Quakers’ involvement with Indian Boarding Schools, and to do this in consultation with the Archives Committee and the Right Relationship Resource Group. We recognize that this research may happen in stages, may require funding from sources other than our operating budget, and may benefit from widespread input from around the Yearly Meeting. It is hoped that the Permanent Board may report back on progress and findings at Annual Sessions 2023.” Accessed Jun 17, 2024 <https://neym.org/annual-sessions/minutes/2022-08>
2. Nineteenth century Friends appear to have espoused the “social Darwinism” that became influential in reform circles after the publication of Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species* in 1859. According to this view, societies pass through a series of stages from barbarism to civilization, each stage eclipsing the previous one. White, Christian, capitalist, industrial society was held to be the apex, darker-skinned, superstitious, unlettered hunter-gatherers were near the bottom. R. J. Halliday, “Social Darwinism: A Definition.” *Victorian Studies* 14, no. 4 (1971): 389–405. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3825958>. “Social Darwinism,” Wikipedia, Accessed May 27, 2024. [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Social\\_Darwinism&oldid=1225981897](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Social_Darwinism&oldid=1225981897).
3. Zitkála-Šá, *Dreams and Thunder: Stories, Poems, and the Sun Dance Opera*. Edited by P. Jane Hafen. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2001). Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975).
4. See page 9 and footnotes 71 and 72 below.
5. The NEYM Quaker Indian Boarding School Research Group has been pleased to collaborate with Friends from a variety of Yearly Meetings and with NABS to begin to provide tools and clues to help answer these vexing questions. See OUR SOURCES p. 3 above.
6. “Civilize” is a slippery term, deeply contextual. The Greeks described the Persians as ‘barbarians,’ in part because their language seemed unintelligible. (see Britannica, “Barbarian” <https://www.britannica.com/topic/barbarian> and, for history of English usage, see Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. “barbarian (n. & adj.),” December 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/1046593542>.) In the context of nineteenth century dominant American culture, to be civilized was to speak English, dress according to the conventions of Victorian society, live in solid, permanent, “square” houses, make one’s living as a farmer or tradesman or, if you were a woman, spend your time in domestic tasks like cooking, sewing, and cleaning, and profess Christianity. These same categories were used by the Indian Service to tally up the year’s progress, cf *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (ARC) 1880*, pp. 244-45 and *ARC 1885*, pp. 342-43, 358-59.
7. The phrase ‘civilize and christianize’ became shorthand for the supposedly high motives that prompted and justified the whole colonial project. It may be thought of as a slogan for the policies and practices that followed the promulgation of the various papal declarations that are known collectively as the Doctrine of Discovery. See Appendix 3 on the history of this phrase.
8. Board of Indian Commissioners’ summary, *BIC 1875*, p. 9. The Quaker Indian Agent for the Quapaw, Hiram W. Jones, was so convinced of the importance of the schools, “the success of Indian civilization depends largely on the education of the rising generation,” that he advocated “withholding the annuities of children of a suitable age to attend school who are kept out without a reasonable excuse.” *ARC 1876*, pp. 58-59.
9. NEYM Annual Sessions Minutes, 1855. p. 22
10. *National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1892*, (Denver. Colorado). p. 46. HathiTrust. “Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, at the ... Annual Session Held in ... 1892.” Accessed June 16, 2024. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hl3txl?urlappend=%3Bseq=17>.
11. Anon, Personal reports to a Research Group member. May 5, 2024.

12. Paula Palmer, “Quaker Indian Boarding Schools: Facing Ourselves and Our History.” October 1, 2016. *Friends Journal*. <https://www.friendsjournal.org/quaker-indian-boarding-schools/> and Palmer, Paula. “The Quaker Indian Boarding Schools: Facing Our History and Ourselves.” In *Quakers and Native Americans*, edited by Ignacio Gallup-Diaz and Geoffrey Plank. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
13. Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions, New York, Theodore Dwight Weld, and Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress) DLC. *First Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions, Including the Report of Their General Agent, Theodore D. Weld*. January 28, 1833. New York, S. W. Benedict & co., 1833. <http://archive.org/details/firstannualrepor00soci>
14. We use the term “families” with trepidation. Too often, in contemporary society, this is understood to refer to a patriarchal, *nuclear* family – father, mother, two children. That is clearly not what Native people of the nineteenth century (or today) meant. In general, the term, as used by Indian People, was very open, including extended relatives and persons not related by blood. Among the goals of the assimilationist project was the disruption of these extensive kinship networks and ways of transmitting knowledge. We considered using terms like “relations” and “relational networks” but given the grievous and persistent harms done by anthropologists, we generally avoid them as too clinical and lacking the deep emotional dimension evoked by the word *family*. Our use of the term family is consistent with the practice of the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS), the Native American Rights Fund (NARF), and the National Indian Child Welfare Association (NICWA).
15. See National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition, “US Indian Boarding School History.” Accessed June 17, 2024. <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/education/us-indian-boarding-school-history/>
16. David Wallace Adams. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928*. 2nd ed. Lawrence KS: University of Kansas Press, 2020.
17. <https://www.potawatomih heritage.com/history/>
18. We have tried to be mindful in our use of the words “we” and “our”. In general they are used in this report to refer to the observations, experiences, and insights of the members of the Research Group: Janet Hough, Andrew Grant, Betsy Cazden, Merrill Kohlhofer, Evan McNanamy, Emily Neumann, Charlie Bernard, and Gordon Bugbee. To use it more generally, to refer to all members of the Society of Friends, would be to obscure the important fact that some Quakers are themselves of Indigenous ancestry; one more instance of the erasure of Indians and “Indianness” that was the point of the assimilationist program pursued by the U. S. government. Those Friends share the heritages of both those who ran the schools and those who were sent there. They have their own stories which we are eager to hear.  
We also recognize that the contemporary Society of Friends includes people from many countries and ethnicities, whose ancestors had no part in the activities of Quakers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. How they understand the implications of this report is for them to discern. It does bring to mind the observation made to one of us when we sought membership in the Society of Friends, ‘you realize that you are joining the whole Society of Friends, past and present, liberal and conservative, not just your local Meeting.’ (William Kreibel, personal communication with G. Bugbee, 1983.)
19. Suzanna Schell is the clerk of NEYM’s Right Relations Resource Group. Gordon Bugbee is a member of the NEYM QIBS Research Group. Both received grants from Beacon Hill Monthly Meeting. Gordon also received a grant from the Legacy Gift committee.
20. NEYM QIBS Research Group member Andrew Grant initiated and has continued to coordinate this loose network.

21. In March 2024, Andrew Grant was hired by NABS to manage a NIBSDA-related project scanning original manuscripts at Haverford and Swarthmore colleges, pertaining to Quaker Indian boarding schools.
22. The one exception is a wonderful document passed on to us by folks from the Yarmouth Preparative Meeting. It lists supplemental donations collected from the constituent Meetings of Sandwich Monthly Meeting (NEYM) and intended for the “Foreign and Indian Missions” (\$25 each) of the Yearly Meeting.
23. Daniel K. Richter. “Believing That Many of the Red People Suffer Much for the Want of Food’: Hunting, Agriculture, and a Quaker Construction of Indianness in the Early Republic.” *Journal of the Early Republic* 19, no. 4 (1999): 601–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3125135>.
24. Naming the peoples that inhabited this continent before Europeans conquered and colonized it is fraught. The modern descendants of those inhabitants hold a variety of views on this. Following the preference of many Native peoples, when possible, we will refer to nations, tribes and bands by the English version of the name they use for themselves. [The use of the terms “tribe” and “nation” varies. Some groups prefer “nation” to emphasize their sovereignty. Others refer to themselves as a “tribe” in line with traditional usage.] When referring to a collective group, we will use Indigenous, Indian, and Native more or less interchangeably. Our intention is to be respectful and inclusive, two things that do not always yield the same result. For further discussion see, Anton Truer, *Everything You Wanted to Know About Indians But Were Afraid to Ask*. (Ontario: Borealis Books, 2012).
25. Harlow Lindley, “Friends and the Shawnee Indians at Wapakoneta.” *Ohio History Journal*. Accessed October 12, 2023. [https://resources.ohiohistory.org/ohj/browse/displaypages.php?display\[\]=0054&display\[\]=33&display\[\]=39](https://resources.ohiohistory.org/ohj/browse/displaypages.php?display[]=0054&display[]=33&display[]=39).
26. Louis Thomas Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*. Iowa Book Gallery 14. Iowa City, IA: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918. p. 203. [https://www.forgottenbooks.com/it/download/TheQuakersofIowa\\_10272141.pdf](https://www.forgottenbooks.com/it/download/TheQuakersofIowa_10272141.pdf).  
The Indians referred to here were the Kaw/Kanza.
27. NEYM Annual Sessions Minutes, 1856 p. 24 <https://archive.org/details/minutesofyearlym956year/page/n221/mode/2up?q=indian&view=theat>
28. For this history, see: Joseph E. Illick, “‘Some of Our Best Indians Are Friends...’: Quaker Attitudes and Actions Regarding the Western Indians during the Grant Administration.” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 2, no. 3 (1971): 283–94. <https://doi.org/10.2307/967835>.  
Thomas Wistar of PYM was the only non-government appointee to the Southern Treaty Commission (1865) charged with renegotiating treaties with Indian Nations and groups who had sided with the Confederacy (abrogating earlier treaties with the U. S.). See “Reconstruction Treaties,” February 20, 2014. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140220113803/http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/R/RE001.html>. and “Reconstruction Treaties,” Wikipedia. Accessed April 19, 2024. [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Reconstruction\\_Treaties&oldid=1219675885](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Reconstruction_Treaties&oldid=1219675885).
29. Lindley M. Hoag was highly-regarded in Quaker circles and served in a variety of roles in NEYM before his departure for Iowa. NEYM. Minutes of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends., various years. *passim*.
30. Jones, *Quakers of Iowa*, pp. 205-6.
31. Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917*. (Philadelphia, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917). Accessed June 17, 2024. <http://archive.org/details/friendsindians00kels>.
32. NEYM’s assessment between \$340 to \$850 per year, around \$525 usually, appears to have been about double what might be expected given the relative sizes of the member YMs based on Tom

- Hamm's statistics. Perhaps this was meant to reflect the relatively greater wealth and economic status of the older, eastern YMs. Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*. (Georgetown University Press, 1988). Appendix I.
33. We wonder about the impact of Red Cloud's speeches (June 16, 1871) at Cooper Union (New York City) and in Philadelphia and Boston. See a description of these visits and the speeches made *BIC 1871*, pp. 21-31. Around the same time, the United States Peace Commission, established by NY industrialist Peter Cooper, dispatched New York Yearly Meeting Friend Vincent Colyer on an extensive inspectional tour of Indian reservations and communities throughout the frontier territories including the Southwest, the Northwest, and Alaska. Ruth Levitt, "Vincent Colyer (1824–1888) Controversial American Humanitarian." *Quaker History* 104, no. 2 (2015): 1–17. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24896116>.
  34. From the 1820 founding of the State of Maine up to this point, New England Quakers had focussed their concerns about Native Peoples on the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Tribes of Maine. The reports and discussions in the YM Minutes focussed on what became central themes, the "gradual improvement in agriculture and civilization" of the Indigenous people. NEYM Annual Sessions Minutes, 1856, p. 24
  35. Samuel Janney, prominent abolitionist and one of the founders of the Woodlawn Community in Alexandria, VA, served briefly as the head of the Northern Superintendency. "Samuel McPherson Janney," Nest of Abolitionists website. Accessed July 27, 2018. <https://lincolinquakers.com/samuel-mcpherson-janney/>. and Martha Claire Catlin, "Historical Overview of the Woodlawn Quaker Meeting," (unpublished paper, excerpted from National Register Nomination) uploaded by Alexandria Friends Meeting, 2009. <https://woodlawnfriends.org/home/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Historical-Overview-of-the-Woodlawn-Quaker-Meeting.pdf> Samuel Janney was succeeded by Barclay White. "Barclay White [RG4002.AM]." History Nebraska Manuscript Finding Aid. Accessed April 22, 2024. [https://history.nebraska.gov/collection\\_section/barclay-white-rg4002-am/](https://history.nebraska.gov/collection_section/barclay-white-rg4002-am/).
  36. A branch of the family went to New York state and then to the Starksboro area in Vermont. From there they went west to Iowa. Lindley M. Hoag and others whom we will meet later came from this line. Louis Thomas Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa*. Iowa Book Gallery 14. Iowa City, IA: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/223002429.pdf>.
  37. Tatham and BIC Secretary, Vincent Colyer, also of NYYM, were active in abolitionist and Freedmen's issues and were members of Peter Cooper's United States Indian Commission.
  38. Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, sponsor of the General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>
  39. It was reported as purchased, but with what funds – appropriated taxpayer money or funds held in trust for the Tribes by the U. S. treasury?
  40. The Quapaw were moved to the Indian Territory in 1833, the Eastern Shawnee and the Seneca-Cayuga in 1832, and the Ottawa, Peoria, Wyandotte, Miami, and Seneca in 1867. A map of the Agency is Appendix 7. A map of their long, forced migrations is included as Appendix 6.
  41. NEYM Minutes 1848, p. 11. In 1848, Asa Tuttle served on the Boarding School Committee (in Providence, now Moses Brown School) with John D. Lang, who was later a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, Moses Beede (possibly Cyrus' cousin) and Thomas Thorndike (Henry B. Thorndike's father). Tuttle's first wife, Lydia Moore Stackpole, was Lang's niece.
  42. NEYM Minutes, 1879, pp. 27-28. Emeline and Asa Tuttle buried their third child in the Ottawa cemetery in 1878.
  43. *ARC 1871*, 500-502.
  44. Categorizing of the reservation boarding schools varies. Nearly all followed a model that had students in the classroom in the morning and in the fields or workshops in the afternoon. The boys were meant to learn farming and livestock management, smithing, and harness-making, and the

girls were taught cooking, sewing and other domestic activities, skills or trades that would make them capable of self-support, as well as the Three Rs. The naming is inconsistent – Indian Industrial School, Indian Training School, and Manual Labor School seem to be interchangeable.

45. Unless otherwise noted in this report, references are to Orthodox Yearly Meetings. Hicksite Yearly Meetings and Friends were active in the Northern Superintendency (Nebraska), a subject largely beyond the scope of this report. Nebraska Friends have begun documenting Quaker Indian Boarding Schools at the Santee, Omaha, Winnebago, Pawnee, Otoe, and Great Nemaha Agencies.
46. Hiram P. Jones and Enoch Hoag have been accused by the Modoc Nation of being at the center of the “Quaker Indian ring,” a conspiracy by a number of Friends, related by blood or marriage, to defraud the Modoc People and enrich themselves and their kin. Some of these charges were investigated at the time and dismissed, but the Modoc remain aggrieved (<https://modocnation.com/history/>) and they recount the story as an important part of the Nation's history. We are not in a position to judge these claims.
47. *ARC 1877*, pp. 104-105
48. NEYM records do not allow us to infer how these funds were allocated between the Quapaw and Sac & Fox Agencies.
49. NEYM Annual Sessions Minutes 1878-1885, passim. Note: the federal government was willing to pay his fees at Oak Grove, \$167. Sadly, Modoc became ill after a year in Vassalboro and passed away in the home of John and Myra Frye in Portland as he was heading back to his family. Frank Modoc is a fascinating figure. One of the surviving warriors of the Modoc War, he became a Recorded Minister and important advocate for his people in California as well as Indian Territory. <https://modocnation.com/history/>
50. Joe C. Jackson, “Schools Among the Minor Tribes in Indian Territory.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 32, no. 1 (1954): 58–69. <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc1760983/m1/72/>.
51. “Alumni Directory – Earlham College.” p. 90 Accessed May 2, 2024. <http://www.familysearch.org>.
52. The school in Bluejacket was not run by Quakers. Chief Charles Bluejacket (Eastern Shawnee), after whom the town was named, was among other things, an ordained Methodist minister. “Charles Blue Jacket.” Wikipedia, Accessed February 18, 2023. [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Charles\\_Blue\\_Jacket&oldid=1140085690](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Charles_Blue_Jacket&oldid=1140085690).
53. The Sac & Fox of the Mississippi in Iowa, known now as the Meskwaki, purchased land and established themselves in Tama, IA.
54. From the early 1840s until 1867, the Agency was located in Kansas, 20 miles south of Lawrence.
55. Matrons went into the homes of Indian women and taught domestic skills and “home-making” and modeled the kinds of gender relations normal in middle class homes of the time. They ignored the realities of work and family in working class homes. Valerie Sherer Mathes, “Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women’s National Indian Association.” *American Indian Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1990): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1185003>.
56. Elliott was a descendant of John Elliott, the Roxbury Minister and translator of the Bible into the Massachusetts language.
57. Rebecca A. Kyes, “Thomas Wildcat Alford.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 95, no. 2 (2017): 154–81. <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc2017416/m1/1/>.
58. Hobert D. Ragland, “Missions of the Society of Friends among the Indian Tribes of the Sac and Fox Agency.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 33, no. 2 (1955): 130–273. <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc1827496/m1/51/>.
59. Both Tribes regarded plowing the soil sacrilegious, cutting into Mother Earth, and were among the groups most committed to their traditional culture.

60. Grant's collaboration with Friends and other religious groups was meant to reduce the role of political patronage in the Indian Service and therefore corruption. Hayes was committed to reducing other forms of preferential hiring by establishing a robust Civil Service.
61. *BIC 1879*, p. 82. John and Laban were cousins, related through their great grandfather.
62. Note, this count includes all of Kansas and Indian Territory, more than 20 schools, *BIC 1881*, pp. 54-55.
63. The Quaker Meetings in northern Vermont were part of Ferrisburg Quarter in New York Yearly Meeting until 1959. We include them in this report because of the close social and familial ties between Vermont and NEYM Quakers, and as part of NEYM today, they share our accountability.
64. <https://home.hamptonu.edu/about/history/>
65. Jacqueline Burnside, "A 'Delicate and Difficult Duty': Interracial Education at Maryville College, Tennessee, 1868—1901." *American Presbyterians* 72, no. 4 (1994): 229–40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23333357>.
66. <https://chilocco.library.okstate.edu/history>
67. <https://haskell.edu/about/history/>
68. <https://chemawa.bie.edu/history.html>
69. *ARC 1885*, p. 99
70. *ARC 1890*, p. 323
71. *ARC 1883*, p. 83
72. Letter from E. L. Stevens, Acting Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs to D. B. Dyer, U. S. Indian Agent, Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory. June 16, 1883. Oklahoma Historical Society, Quapaw Agency Correspondence, NARA Record Group 75 QA1
73. "The day schools are a total or comparative failure in nearly every instance known to members of the board." *BIC 1871*, p. 11.  
 "The progress of the pupils in industrial boarding schools is far greater than in day schools. The children being removed from the idle and corrupting habits of savage homes, are more easily led to adopt the customs of civilized life and inspired with a desire to learn. The experience of many years at some of the agencies and the more recent, but very satisfactory results at Hampton and Carlisle Barracks prove that boarding and industrial schools are the most effective and hopeful means of education." *BIC 1879*, p. 14. This BIC report was signed by all the Commissioners including Quakers B. Rush Roberts (BYM Hicksite) and A. K. Smiley (NEYM Orthodox).
74. "The agency boarding-school is the object lesson for the reservation. The new methods of thought and life there exemplified, while being wrought into the pupils, are watched by those outside. The parents visit the school, and the pupils take back into their homes new habits and ideas gained in the school-room, sewing-room, kitchen, and farm. Though more or less dissipated in the alien atmosphere of a heathen household, these habits and ideas still have an influence for good, real and valuable, though it cannot always be distinctly traced. The agency school takes the pupils as it finds them; the dull and frail have a chance with the quick-witted and robust; and since Indians are much less willing to send away their daughters than their sons, it furnishes the girls of the tribe almost their only opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of books and of home-making.  
 "But so long as the American people now demand that Indians shall become white men within one generation, the Indian child must have other opportunities and come under other influences than reservations can offer. He must be compelled to adopt the English language, must be so placed that attendance at school shall be regular, and that vacations shall not be periods of retrogression, and must breathe the atmosphere of a civilized instead of a barbarous or semi-barbarous community. Therefore, youth chosen for their

intelligence, force of character, and soundness of constitution are sent to Carlisle, Hampton, and Forest Grove to acquire the discipline and training which, on their return, shall serve as a leverage for the uplifting of their people.” *ARC 1881*, p. xxxiv.

75. Elizabeth Test’s connections to NEYM continued after her resignation from the school in 1915. Friends were kept apprised of her health and circumstances over the years and, in 1918, encouraged to send letters of “good cheer” to her at her home in Wichita where she lived with her adopted daughter Myra Frye (named after Elizabeth Test’s benefactor and supporter, Myra E. Frye of of Portland).
76. Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs. “AEC Minutes and Report of 103rd Annual Meeting.” *Indian Progress*, June 1972. Jean Constineau, Herman Lawrence, and Mildred Richardson represented NEYM.
77. The total of NEYM’s expenditures on Indian affairs during those years was \$46,976. Comparing that to 2024 dollars is not a simple matter, using a CPI inflation calculator, \$46,976 in 1900 would purchase the equivalent of \$1,753,479.86 today. <https://www.in2013dollars.com/>
78. The annual conversation among the representatives of the various religious denominations held in conjunction with the Board of Indian Commissioners meetings included many different points of view but little disagreement on the overall objectives. see *BIC passim*.
79. Benay Blend, “The Indian Rights Association, the Allotment Policy, and the Five Civilized Tribes, 1923-1936.” *American Indian Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1983): 67–80. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1184687>.
80. Valerie Sherer Mathes, “Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women’s National Indian Association.” *American Indian Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1990): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1185003>.
81. Christopher Love, “The Friends of the Indians and Their Foes: A Reassessment of the Dawes Act Debate.” Honors Papers, Oberlin College, January 1, 1991. <https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/honors/571>.
82. Quakers played important roles in all of these reform groups.
83. Worcester is in central Massachusetts, Vassalboro is in central Maine, and Portland is in southern Maine.
84. A genealogical chart of the group of Friends most directly concerned with Indian Affairs is dense, complicated, and fascinating. This is probably not too surprising given their small numbers and the strictures against marrying outside the Quaker community.
85. Jean M. O’Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.
86. Dr Dean Chavers, “Scalping In America.” *ICT News*, September 13, 2018. <https://ictnews.org/archive/scalping-in-america>.  
Benjamin Madley, “Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods.” *The American Historical Review* 120, no. 1 (February 1, 2015): 98–139. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/120.1.98>.  
“Phips Bounty Proclamation,” Upstander Project. Accessed May 13, 2024. <https://upstanderproject.org/learn/guides-and-resources/first-light/phips-bounty-proclamation>.
87. John Milton Earle, “Report to the Governor and Council, Concerning the Indians of the Commonwealth, Under the Act of April 6, 1859,” Isha Books, 2013. pp. 9, 101, 105, quoted in Thee, Christopher J. “Massachusetts Nipmucs and the Long Shadow of John Milton Earle.” *The New England Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (2006): p. 643. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20474497>.
88. <https://www.southcoasttoday.com/story/news/2004/07/08/indian-council-to-appeal-rejection/50442775007/>



Other Tribes and Bands in *N'dakinna* (northern New England) have faced the same obstacles to Federal recognition. “Cawasuck Band of the Pennacook-Abenaki People- HOME.” Accessed May 29, 2024. <https://www.cawasuck.org/>; or “The Nulhegan Abenaki Tribe is a State-Recognized Tribe,” Nulhegan Band of the Coosuk Abenaki Nation. Accessed June 17, 2024. <https://abenakitribe.org/state-recognition>.

89. Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
90. Lang was a successful breeder of sheep and cattle and the owner of several woolen mills along the Kennebec River. Taylor was involved in railroad development. Both men had the means and the time to take on this calling. Lindley M. Hoag of Charlotte, VT was one of New York Yearly Meeting signatories to the traveling papers issued to Lang and Taylor. He was also on the committee of Iowa Friends who urged the formation of a body to coordinate the activities of the Orthodox Yearly Meetings in Indian matters.
91. At the BIC's 1875 annual meeting, Lang told those gathered, representatives of the missionary boards active among the Indian Peoples, about visiting the Winnebago People in 1842 and reported that he had been “acquainted with Indian Affairs” for over 40 years. *BIC 1875*, pp. 148 & 160.
92. Lang was succeeded by Vassalboro Friend Albert K. Smiley. See below.
93. The title “commissioner” is, unfortunately, used in three different ways in the context of the Indian Service. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs was the presidentially-appointed official responsible for the regulation and provision of services to Native Peoples within the territories of the United States, operating under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior. The individuals appointed by the President to the Board of Indian Commissioners were also commissioners. Finally, presidential representatives, designated commissioners, were appointed as needed for particularly important, complicated or fraught negotiations between the government and Indian Tribes or groups of Tribes.
94. *BIC 1875*, p. 9. For a sense of the magnitude of this responsibility, in 1871, the BIC audited 1136 vouchers worth \$5,240,730. They rejected vouchers worth \$153,166 for various reasons.
95. *BIC 1871*, pp. 158-59.
96. *BIC 1872*, p. 6.
97. *BIC 1874*, p. 4.
98. Quaker missionary Elizabeth Test named a Kickapoo child “Myra Frye” when she took her in at age two. Renaming Native children was a common practice, erasing their Indigenous identity, severing ties to relations and traditions, and coincidentally, sparing the teachers and missionaries the chore of learning how to pronounce names in an unfamiliar language.
99. Valerie Sherer Mathes, “Nineteenth Century Women and Reform: The Women's National Indian Association.” *American Indian Quarterly* 14, no. 1 (1990): 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1185003>. For dissenting views see: Jo Lea Wetherill Behrens, “The National Indian Defense Association and Council Fire.” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 75, no. 2 (1997): 128–59. <https://gateway.okhistory.org/ark:/67531/metadc2031813/>. Thomas W. Cowger, “Dr. Thomas A. Bland, Critic of Forced Assimilation.” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 16, no. 4 (September 1, 1992). <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0ch929sn>.
100. “Women's Foreign Mission Society - Indianapolis 1888.” *Indianapolis Journal*. Accessed April 3, 2023. <https://newspapers.library.in.gov/cgi-bin/indiana?a=d&d=IJ18880403.1.4>. United Society of Friends Women International, Incorporated. “USFWI History.” Accessed May 21, 2024. <http://usfwi.net/history>.

101. See Haverford College Finding Aid [https://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/agents/corporate\\_entities/11342](https://archives.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/agents/corporate_entities/11342)
102. *Indianapolis Journal*, *ibid*.
103. Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917*. (Philadelphia, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917). pp. 221-23. Accessed June 17, 2024. <http://archive.org/details/friendsindians00kels>. “Mardock Mission.” In Wikipedia, March 5, 2023. [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mardock\\_Mission&oldid=1143066191](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mardock_Mission&oldid=1143066191).
104. He is buried in the Friends Meeting burial ground there. The Modoc Nation decided not to repatriate his remains, and return regularly to the grave to pay their respects.
105. Oak Grove was established, in 1850, by Friends John D. Lang, Samuel Taylor Jr, Alton Pope, and Ebenezer Frye, who each contributed \$1000. Frye was John James Frye’s great grandfather.
106. Albert’s wife, Eliza C. Smiley was the Principal of the Female Department and his brother, Alfred, the Associate Principal for several years. Albert and Alfred’s sister, Rebecca was there for many years teaching English and later as Principal of the Female Department.
107. Christopher Love, “The Friends of the Indians and Their Foes: A Reassessment of the Dawes Act Debate.” Honors Papers, Oberlin College, January 1, 1991. <https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/honors/571>.
108. Earle was appointed in 1878 and died just a year later.
109. NEYM Annual Sessions Minutes 1892, p. 60-61. Alfred H. Jones and William O. Newhall each served as Clerk of NEYM, Timothy R. Hussey served as an Assistant Clerk.
110. “Indian Commissioners. Report on the Deputation from NEYM to Congress Regarding Funding for the Board of Indian Commissioners,” *The American Friend*, July 19, 1894. p. 16
111. So far as we were able to discover.



• APPENDIX I •

*Some resources*

Here are a few suggestions of books by Native American authors about the Indian Boarding Schools and the generational trauma that followed.

Zitkála-Šá (Red Bird, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin). *American Indian Stories*. West Margin Press, 1921, 2021. <https://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/zitkala-sa/stories/stories.html> .

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina. *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Lajimodiere, Denise K. *Stringing Rosaries: The History, The Unforgivable, The Healing of Northern Plains Boarding School Survivors*. Fargo, ND: North Dakota State University Press, 2019.

White Hawk, Sandy. *A Child of the Indian Race: A Story of Return*. St Paul, MN Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2022.

Novels by Louise Erdrich

We also recommend these media sources, which center Indigenous voices expressing the need for truth-telling to heal the ongoing, intergenerational trauma from the US & Canadian schools

*Dawnland* - about Maine's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, available to rent at <https://upstanderproject.org/individual>

*Home From School: The Children of Carlisle* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zHHVrLRy1oE>  
*The dark legacy of Canada's residential schools, where thousands of children died*, excerpt from 60 Minutes report: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1CfRdEd\\_Pi](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I1CfRdEd_Pi) and  
*Canada's Unmarked Graves; Sharswood* 60 Minutes (full Episode from which the above was extracted) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z4XE6-I1onw>



• APPENDIX 2 •

*Some Abbreviations & Terminology*

Abbreviations (for more information see below)–

AEC - Associated Executive Committee of Friends for Indian Affairs

ARC – Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

BIC - Board of Indian Commissioners

CWI - Committee on the Western Indians of New England Yearly Meeting

NABS – National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition

NEYM - New England Yearly Meeting

QIBS - Quaker Indian Boarding Schools

WFMS - Women’s Foreign Mission Society of New England Yearly Meeting

WNIA - Women’s National Indian Association

Terminology –

*Agencies & Superintendencies:* A superintendent in the Indian Service was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs’ senior most representative in the field. For the first several decades there were a handful of superintendents whose purviews extended over vast territories and many Indian Tribes and Nations. Superintendents oversaw the work of Agents whose area of responsibility was much narrower and might include one or several Tribes.

By the time of the election of President Grant, the system of Superintendents and Agents had been revised numerous times to reflect the ongoing removals of Indian People from lands taken by settlers. The system has continued to evolve within the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Hicksite Quakers were assigned responsibility for the Northern Superintendency (Nebraska) and the five Agencies encompassed. The Central Superintendency (Kansas and Indian Territory/Oklahoma), that contained 10 Agencies, was led by Orthodox Friends (including NEYM) and the AEC.

The Northern Superintendency was abolished in 1876. Thereafter, Agents reported directly to Washington. The Central Superintendency was abolished in 1878.

To facilitate cooperation between the civilian Agents and the local military commanders, Agents were accorded the rank of major.

*Allotment:* The division and distribution of tribal lands to individual Native American households, as mandated by the General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887, which aimed to break up tribal structures, promote assimilation, and free land for White settlement and exploitation. (National Archives. “Dawes Act (1887),” September 9, 2021. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>.) Land was to be allotted in severalty, i.e. “a sole, separate, and exclusive possession, dominion, or ownership : one’s own right without a joint interest in any other person.” <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/severalty#:~:text=%3A%20a%20sole%2C%20separate%2C%20and,tenants%20in%20severalty>.

Heads-of-household were allotted 160 acres, single persons or orphans over the age of 18 were allotted 80 acres, and persons under the age of 18 were allotted 40 acres. Allotments were held in trust by the U. S. government for 25 years. Native adults who “adopted the habits of civilized life” and received an allotment were deemed citizens of the United States. Full exercise of that citizenship had to wait until 1924 and passage of the Indian Citizenship Act. Immigration History. “Indian Citizenship Act of 1924.” Accessed June 6, 2024. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/1924-indian-citizenship-act/>. and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawes\\_Act](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawes_Act)

The Burke Act of 1906 amended the terms of the Dawes Act providing for guardianship for those determined, by the Agent, to be “incompetent.” This is the legal situation underlying the conflict depicted in the book, *Killers of the Flower Moon*, David Grann, 2017. Oklahoma Historical Society | OHS. “Burke Act (1906) | The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture.” Accessed June 6, 2024. <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry?entry=BU010>.

*Assimilation*: The process of absorbing and integrating individuals or groups into a dominant culture, often resulting in the loss of the original culture, language, and identity. Assimilationists in the 19th century saw this as a mark of progress, and good. The alternative, preferred by many, was extermination. It was the difference between, “The only good Indian is a dead Indian.” General Philip Sheridan, 1869; and “Kill the Indian in him to save the man.” Captain Richard H. Pratt, 1892.

*Associated Executive Committee for Friends on Indian Affairs (AEC)*: An organization established by Orthodox Quakers in 1869 to coordinate efforts among Yearly Meetings to assist and “civilize” Native Americans. It included Iowa, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New England, North Carolina, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Yearly Meetings. Its responsibilities were assumed by the Wider Ministries Commission of Friends United Meeting.

The Hicksite counterpart, the Executive Central Committee of the Convention of Delegates, represented Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Genesee, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois Yearly Meetings.

*Board of Indian Commissioners (BIC)*: A federal advisory board established in 1869 to oversee the administration of Indian affairs and prevent corruption in the Indian Service. Commissioners were nominated by the cooperating religious denominations and appointed by the President. There generally were eight Commissioners.

“*Civilize and Christianize*”: see Appendix 3 below.

*Commissioner of Indian Affairs*: A presidential appointee reporting to the Secretary of the Interior, responsible for all aspects of government policy relating to Native Peoples. The office regulating Indian Affairs was originally a part of the War Department.

*Cultural Erasure*: The systematic destruction or suppression of a group’s cultural practices, beliefs, language, and identity, often through forced assimilation or oppressive policies. Also referred to as “cultural genocide.”

*Indian Boarding Schools*: Government-funded and often church-run manual labor schools established in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to assimilate Native American children into Euro-American culture and separate them from their kinship networks, language, and traditions. Beginning in 1879, schools were established “off reservation” to further sever connections to the Indian kin and culture.

*Manual Labor School*: A type of school that emerged in the United States in the early nineteenth century that combined classroom study and manual labor. Intended to create educational opportunities to poorer students, proponents argued that

the connexion of three hours daily labor in some useful and interesting employment, with study, protects the health and constitution of our young men; greatly augments their physical energy; furnishes to a considerable extent or entirely, the means of self-education; increases their power of intellectual acquisition; facilitates their actual progress in study; removes the temptation of idleness; confirms their habit of industry; gives them a practical acquaintance with the useful employments of life; fits them for the toils and responsibilities of a new-settled country; and inspires them with the independence of character, and the originality of investigation, which belong peculiarly to self-made and self-educated men. *The Harbinger* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina). March 20, 1834. p. 4 – via newspapers.com

*National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS)*: “NABS was created to develop and implement a national strategy that increases public awareness and cultivates healing for the profound trauma experienced by individuals, families, communities, American Indian and Alaska Native Nations resulting from the U.S. adoption and implementation of the Boarding School Policy of 1869.” <https://boardingschoolhealing.org/>

*Women's Foreign Mission Society (WFMS)*: A Quaker women's organization founded in 1881 to support missionary work and schools among Native Americans and in other countries. Yearly Meetings each established their own missionary societies and encouraged the development of chapters, known as auxiliaries, and children's groups in local Meetings. Donations and subscriptions collected by the WFMS in New England and elsewhere become a significant source of funding for schools and missions.

Delegates from 10 Yearly Meetings gathered in 1888 to lay the groundwork for a national organization that eventually became the United Society of Friends Women. <https://usfwi.net/history>



*A Brief History of “Civilize and Christianize”*

*Papal Bulls and the Doctrine of Discovery* — A series of papal decrees laid the foundation for what came to be called the Doctrine of Discovery, a set of legal and religious principles Europeans used to justify their claims to superiority and dominion over Indigenous peoples. They claimed to be ‘civilizing and Christianizing’ the “heathen” and natives. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V issued the bull “Dum Diversas,” granting the King of Portugal the right to invade, search out, capture, and subjugate so-called Saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ, and to put them into perpetual slavery.<sup>112</sup> This was followed in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI’s bull “Inter Caetera,” which divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, with the express purpose of claiming dominion over lands and peoples, and spreading the Christian faith.<sup>113</sup> Untold millions of Indigenous People suffered and died as a result.<sup>114</sup>

*English Reformation and the Doctrine of Discovery* — During the English Reformation of the 16th and 17th centuries, the Church of England broke away from the authority of the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church. However, the basic assumptions of the Doctrine of Discovery remained intact, with the British monarch as the supreme governor of the Church of England. In 1649, the English Parliament passed a law “for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England,” effectively establishing a corporation to fund the ‘civilizing and christianizing’ of Native peoples.<sup>115</sup>

*Evangelical Quakerism and Missionary Work*—According to Paula Palmer, “During the first half of the 19th century, Christian missionaries from almost all the denominations fanned out across the West, establishing missions and schools, partially supported with funds allocated by the federal government to ‘civilize and Christianize’ the Indians. She provides the following example of official communication by Quakers to President Grant:

“Whilst we, in our practical way, are endeavoring to present to the Indians a civilization that is the fruit of Christianity, believing that as they are made to understand the value of the fruit, they will more easily be led to seek the seed from whence it springs, we do not interfere with the labor of the religious missions we find amongst them, recognizing the right of the Indians, as well as the white man, to choose his religion according to the dictates of his conscience, so long as it is not subversive of public morals, and does not infringe upon the rights of others.”<sup>116</sup>

*Indian Boarding Schools and Cultural Erasure*— The off-reservation industrial labor schools<sup>117</sup> maintained the aim to ‘civilize and Christianize’ Native American children, to assimilate them into Euro-American ways of life, by force if necessary. Lakota writer Zitkala-Ša graduated from (Quaker) White’s Manual Labor School in Indiana, studied at Earlham College, and was a teacher at Carlisle Indian Industrial School, from 1899-1901. Reflecting on her experiences at Carlisle, she wrote:

“I remember how, from morning till evening, many specimens of civilized peoples visited the Indian school. The city folks with canes and eye-glasses, the countrymen with sunburnt cheeks and clumsy feet, forgot their relative social ranks in an ignorant curiosity. Both sorts of these Christian palefaces were alike astounded at seeing the children of savage warriors so docile and industrious.

As answers to their shallow inquiries they received the students’ sample work to look upon. Examining the neatly figured pages, and gazing upon the Indian girls and boys bending over their books, the white visitors walked out of the schoolhouse well satisfied they were educating the children of the red man! ...

In this fashion many have passed idly through the Indian schools during the last decade, afterward to boast of their charity to the North American Indian. But few there are who have paused to question whether real life or long-lasting death lies beneath this semblance of civilization”<sup>118</sup>

### Notes to Appendix 3

112. Pope Nicholas V, “Dum Diversas,” Papal Encyclicals Online, last modified February 5, 2017, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/nichol05/dum-diversas.htm>
113. Pope Alexander VI, “Inter Caetera,” Papal Encyclicals Online, last modified February 5, 2017, <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/Alex06/alex06inter.htm>.
114. On March 30, 2023, Pope Francis repudiated the “Doctrine of Discovery. The Vatican’s statement not only rejected the doctrine, but also apologized for historical atrocities carried out by Christians and affirmed the rights and cultural values of Indigenous peoples. <https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/230330b.html> See also the influence of the Empty Cradle Board delegation from the Haudenosaunee to the Vatican. <https://rematriation.com/cradleboard-influences-papal-apology/>
115. “July 1649: An Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England.,” in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C H Firth and R S Rait (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1911), 197-200, accessed April 18, 2023, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp197-200>.
116. Memorial to President Grant, written by the (Hicksite) Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs Having Charge of the Northern Superintendency, 10th month 30th day, 1870; cited by Paula Palmer in Gallup-Diaz, Ignacio, and Geoffrey Plank. *Quakers and Native Americans*. Vol. 30. Brill, 2019, p. 298.
117. Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions, New York, Theodore Dwight Weld, and Pamphlet Collection (Library of Congress) DLC. First Annual Report of the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions, Including the Report of Their General Agent, Theodore D. Weld. January 28, 1833. New York, S. W. Benedict & co., 1833. <http://archive.org/details/firstannualrepor00soci>
118. Zitkala-Ša [Gertrude Simmons Bonnin], “An Indian Teacher Among Indians: Retrospection,” In *American Indian Stories*, 81-99. (Washington: Hayworth Publishing House, 1921). <http://www.digital.library.upenn.edu/women/zitkala-sa/stories/teacher.html>.



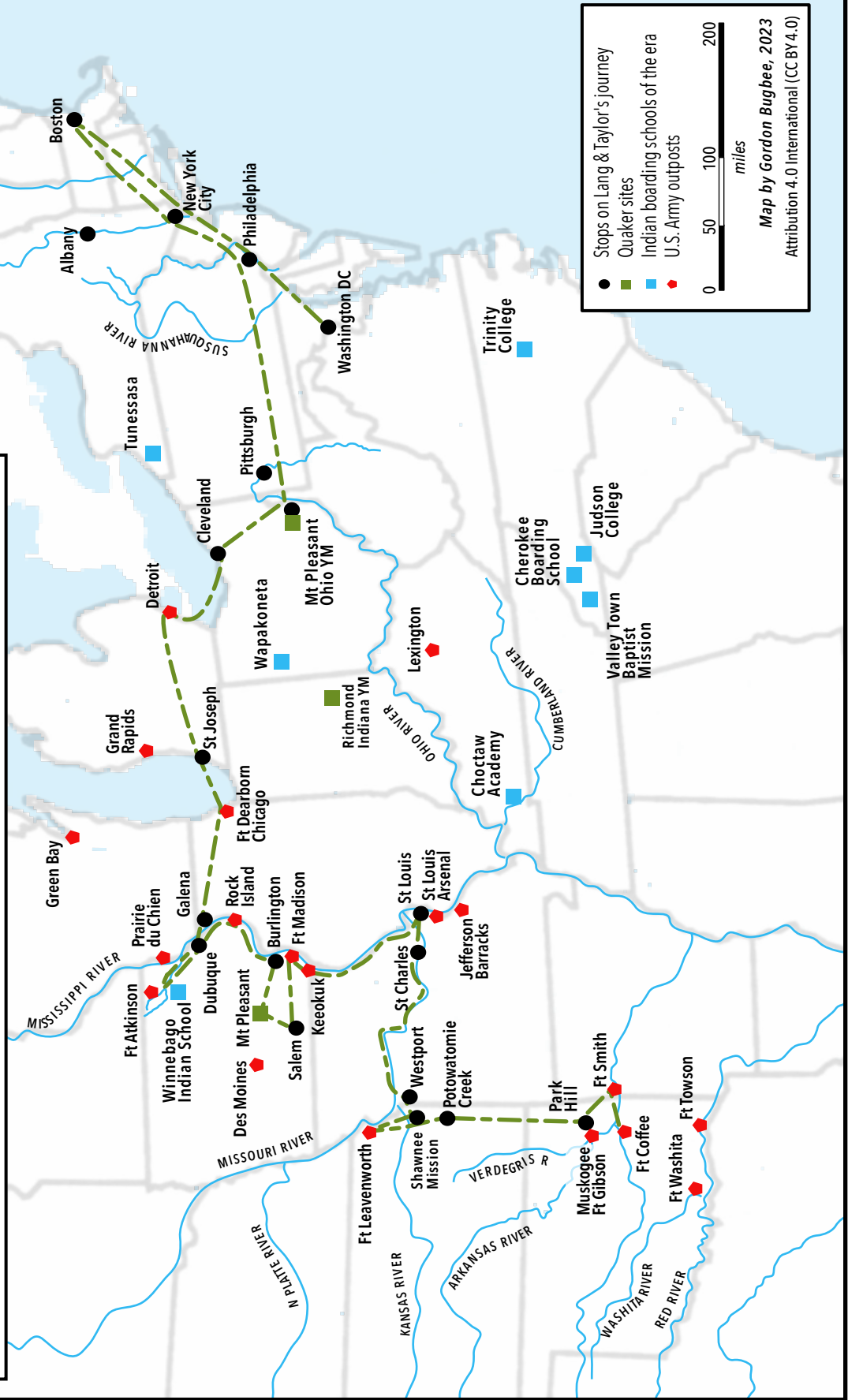


## Appendix 4 - NEYM Quaker Indian Boarding Schools Timeline

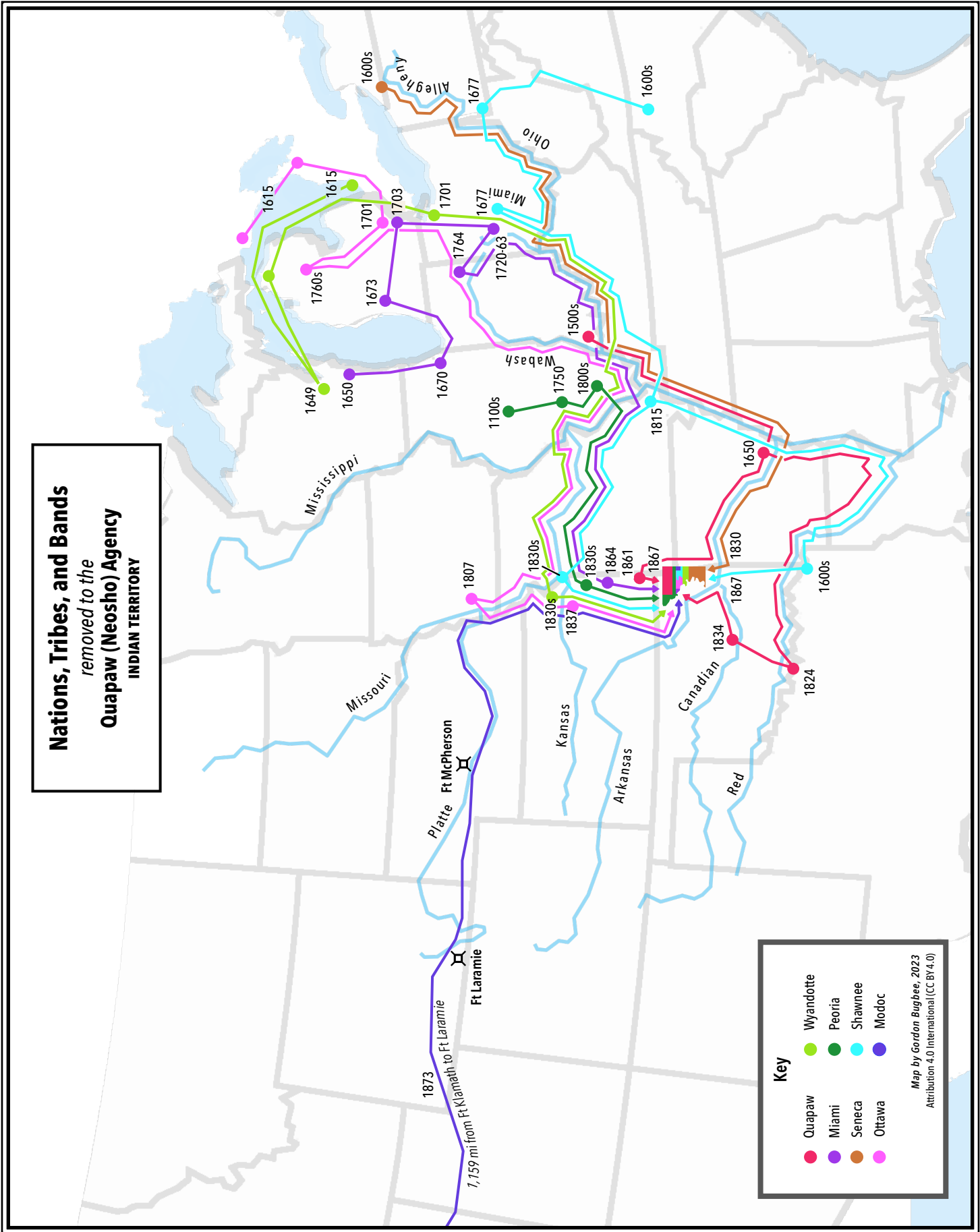
BEFORE 1800	Revolutionary War, 1775-83 Northwest Ordinance, 1781	Treaty of Shakamaxon between Wm Penn and Lenni Lenape Nation, 1682  Gaiant'waké requests Quaker assistance with education and farming, 1795
1800- 1827	SOVEREIGN NATION ERA ENDS  Civilization Fund, 1819 Doctrine of Discovery cited by Supreme Court, 1823	NYM sends farm families to live with Oneida, early 1800s BYM missions to Miami and Shawnee Tribes in Ohio, 1802 BYM est. Wapakoneta School, 1820s
1829- 1849	INDIAN REMOVAL ERA BEGINS  Indian Removal Act, 1830 Trails of Tears begin, 1831 Gold Rush, 1848	Stanleys est. mission & school at Meriam, KS, 1840s Lang & Taylor report, 1843
1850-1878	RESERVATION ERA BEGINS  Indian Appropriations Act, 1851 Civil War, 1861-65 Sand Creek Massacre, 1864 Hampton Institue founded, 1865 Southern Treaties Commission, 1868  Pratt's experiment at Ft Marion, 1875 Rutherford B. Hayes elected President, 1876	Stanleys est. mission and school at Americus, KS, 1852 John Milton Earle's report, 1861 AECFIA established, 1867 Orthodox and Hicksite Friends meet with President Grant, 1869 First Quaker Superintendents and Agents appointed, 1869 John D. Lang, BIC, 1870-79 Shawnee mission in Indian Territory, 1871 Quapaw Boarding School est., 1872 Ottawa-Peoria Boarding School est., 1872 Seneca Indian School (Wyandott) est., 1872 Sac & Fox Manual Labor School est., 1872 Modoc removed from California to Indian Territory, 1873 Citizen Pottawatomie day schools, 1875-84 Orthodox Friends withdraw from governmental responsibilities, 1877
1879-1933	BOARDING SCHOOLS & LAND ALLOTMENT  Carlisle Indian Industrial School est., 1879  Chilocco and Haskell schools est., 1884 Organic Act - Alaska, 1884  General Allotment (Dawes) Act, 1887 Oklahoma Land Rush, 1889 Wounded Knee Massacre, 1890 Compulsory Education at Boarding Schools, 1891 Curtis Act, 1898	Albert K. Smiley, BIC, 1879-1912 Arizona Jackson to Earlham, 1881 Bluejacket school built, 1881 Skiatook/Hillside School est., 1882 Peak enrollment in Quapaw schools, 1881 White's Institute, Indiana est., 1882 White's Institute, Iowa est., 1882 1st Monhonk Conf on Indian affairs 1883  Frank Modoc dies in Portland on his way back to IT, 1886 Douglas Is. Alaska mission and school est., 1887 Mary Sherman assists E. Test, 1887 Lina B. Lunt replaces Mary Sherman, 1888 Kickapoo mission and school est., 1890 Big Jim's Band mission and school est., 1891 Peak enrollment in Sac & Fox schools, 1901
1934- 1967	TRIBAL TERMINATION & URBAN RELOCATION  Burke Act (amends Dawes, incl guardianships), 1906 Oklahoma Statehood, 1907 Indian Reorganization Act, 1934 Termination Acts, 1954 Indian Reorganization Act, 1956 Indian Adoption Project, 1958-67	

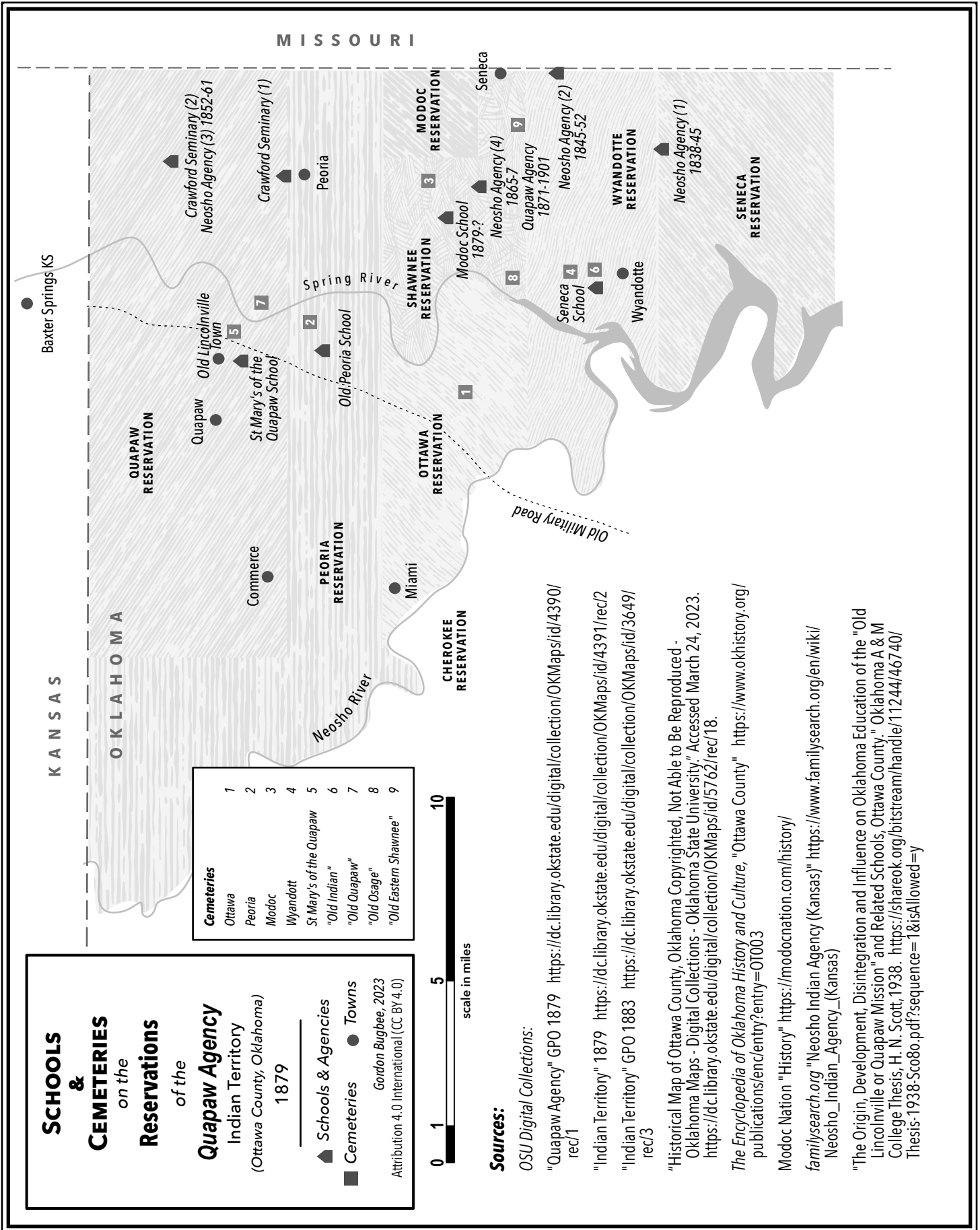
Core timeline source: <https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/timeline/>

Outbound journey of  
**JOHN D. LANG & SAMUEL TAYLOR, JR**  
*to ascertain the conditions of "Tribes of Indians ... since their removal".*  
representing New York and New England Yearly Meetings  
of the Religious Society of Friends  
Eight through Twelfth Months, 1842.  
Based on their Report of 1843

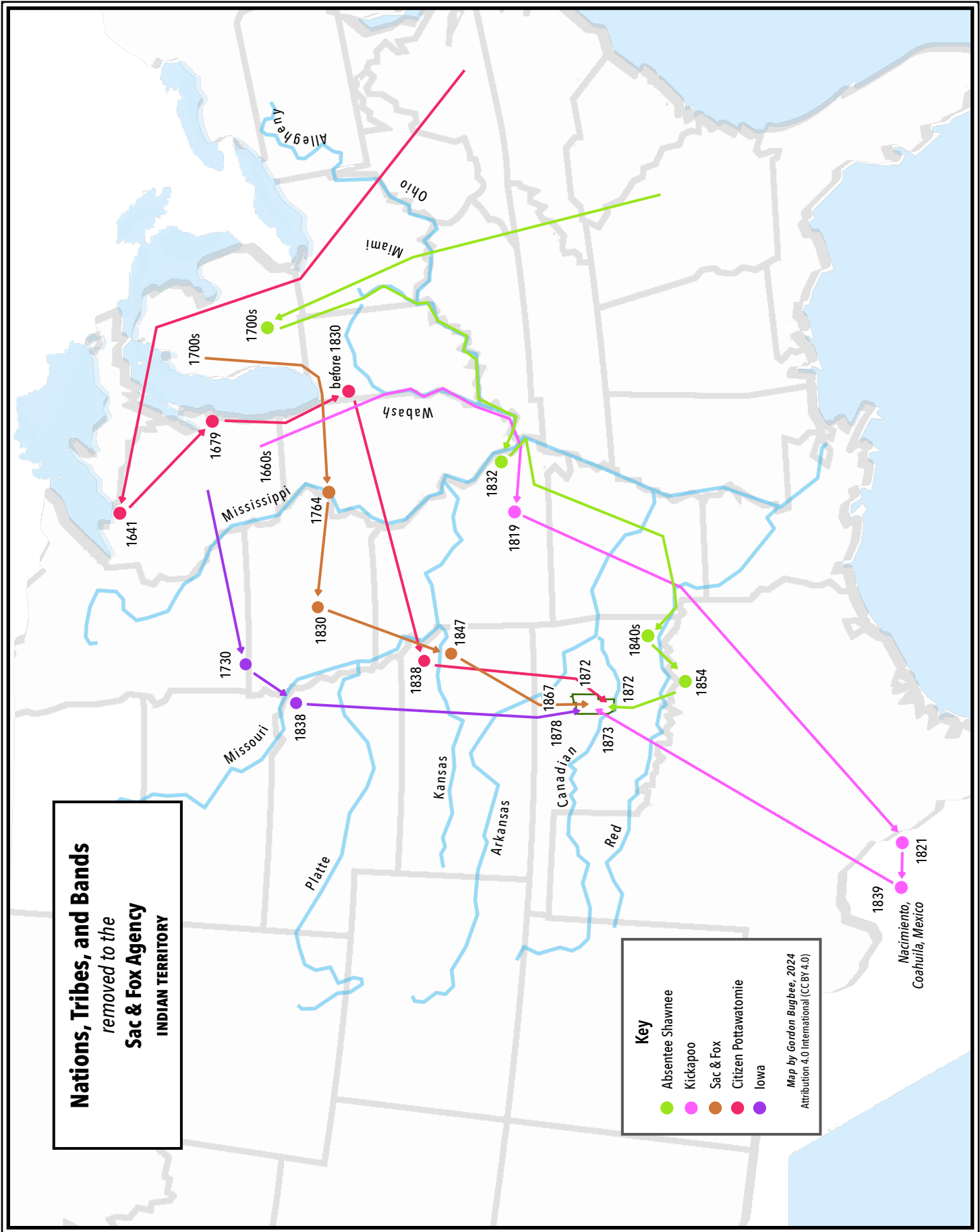


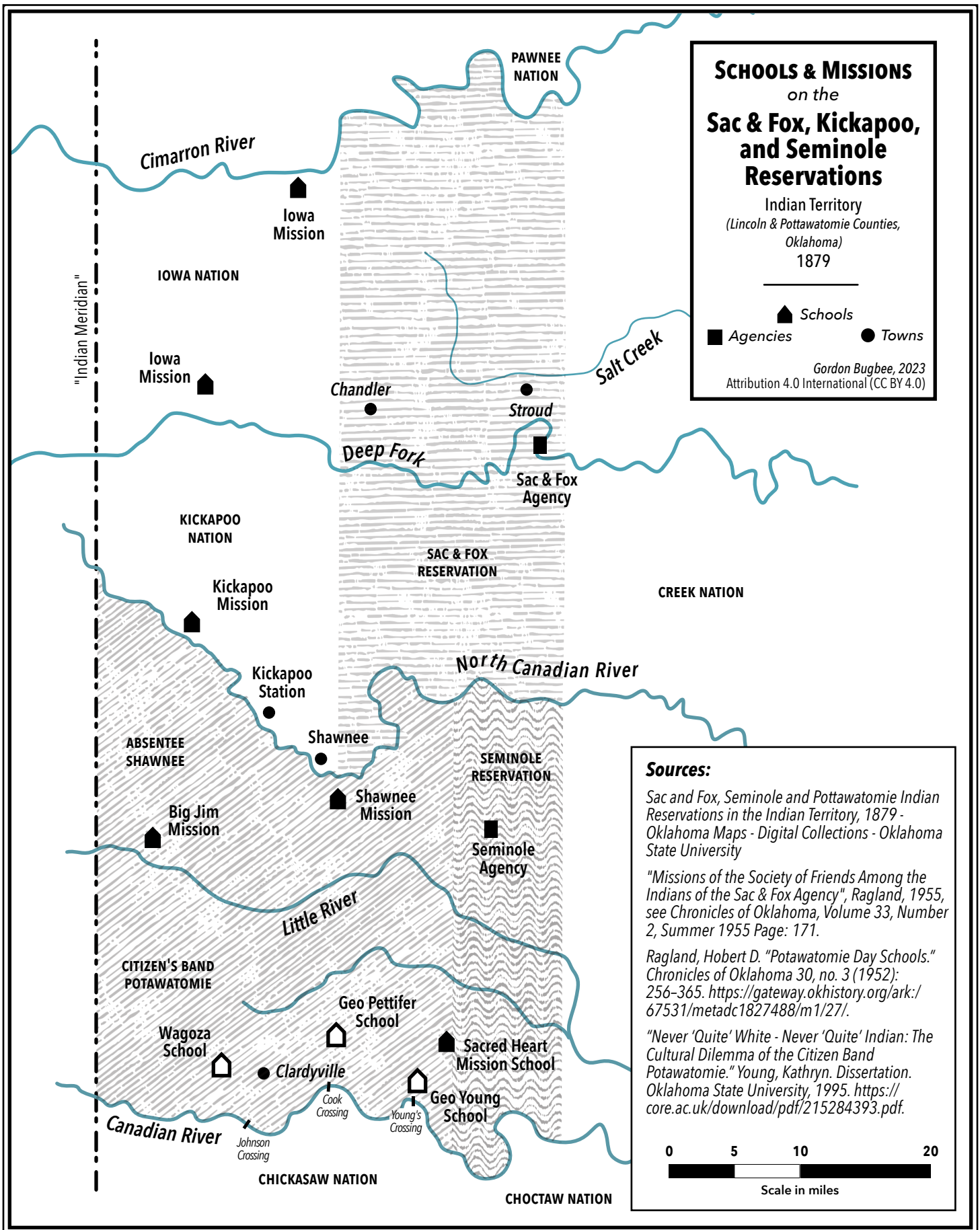
• Appendix 6 •  
Removals to the Quapaw Agency





• Appendix 8 •  
Removals to the Sac & Fox Agency





## NEYM QUAKER INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS REPORT

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