

INDIGENOUS BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY  
THE NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS  
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

This report by the New England Yearly Meeting (NEYM) of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers)<sup>1</sup> attempts to respond to three goals outlined in Interior Secretary Deb Haaland's departmental memorandum of June 22, 2021:

- identifying boarding school facilities and sites;
- [determining] the location of known and possible student burial sites located at or near school facilities;
- and [determining] the identities and Tribal affiliations of children interred at such locations.

In the following pages, we will list the 13 Indian Boarding and Day schools<sup>2</sup> supported by New England Quakers, and share what little we know about the students and the cemeteries where they might be interred. In compiling this list, we were cognizant of the four criteria put forth by the Secretary: housing, education, federal support, and services.

We will also make some observations on the complicated question of whether the religious denominations profited monetarily from their participation in that program and offer a brief, provisional description of the role of American Quakers in general in the Indian Boarding Schools and the assimilationist policies of the U. S. government.

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*In the Quapaw Agency / Ottawa County, Oklahoma:*

NEYM and New England Friends were involved in one way or another with three boarding schools in the Quapaw Agency, two of which are on DOI's list of Federal Indian Boarding Schools (FIBS).

- The Agency Boarding School, also known as the Quapaw/Ottawa Indian Industrial School, was located near the modern town of Quapaw.
- The Seneca Indian School, also known as the Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandotte School, was located in Wyandotte, near the current site of the Wyandotte Nation Tribal Offices.
- A school for the Modoc Nation and other Indigenous children was opened in 1880. It operated as a day school and later a boarding school. The schoolhouse/meetinghouse now sits on Modoc Nation land adjacent to their cemetery and powwow grounds. It is not listed in the FIBS inventory.

Additionally, there were day schools for the Peoria, Ottawa, and Miami children. NEYM also provided funds to build a schoolhouse at Bluejacket for the Absentee Shawnee. (Appendices B and C)

Emeline and Asa Tuttle and Anna and Henry Thorndike and their family, all from the same part of eastern New Hampshire, taught in the Ottawa, Quapaw, and Modoc schools for many years. Financial and material aid from New England Friends directly and through the Associated Executive Committee of Friends for Indian Affairs (representing NEYM and other Orthodox Friends) supported the construction and operation of Quapaw Agency schools for many years.

An Ottawa County Historical Society map from 1965 (Appendix C)<sup>3</sup> lists ten cemeteries associated with Indian schools or Tribes. Numbers on the enhanced version, Appendix D, indicate the following locations for cemeteries:

- [1] *Ottawa* (1 cemetery) east of Miami, near their powwow grounds
- [2] *Peoria* (1) about 5 miles west of Peoria on the Spring River near the Peoria Day School
- [3] *Modoc* (1) in the northwest corner of the current Modoc reservation
- [4 & 6] *Seneca* (2) near the Seneca Indian School, just north of Wyandotte
- [5 & 7] *Quapaw* (2) near the Quapaw Agency, one for the nearby Catholic-operated "St. Mary's of the Quapaw" boarding school
- [8] *Wyandotte* (1) north of Wyandotte on the Spring River
- [9] *Eastern Shawnee* (1) just west of Seneca, Missouri
- [10] *Seneca-Cayuga* (1) near the Seneca-Cayuga reservation in the southern part of the county

*In the Sac & Fox Agency / Lincoln and Pottawatomie Counties, Oklahoma:*

NEYM and New England Friends were also deeply involved in five Indian Boarding Schools in the Sac & Fox Agency, only two of which, the Agency and Shawneetown schools, are listed in DOI's inventory.

Listed chronologically, the Shawnee Mission School is the oldest of these schools and was founded in 1869, as the federal boarding school program was beginning. Located on the North Canadian River in what was then known as Shawneetown, the school served Absentee Shawnee and Citizen Potawatomie students. Boarding schools also operated at the Agency in Stroud: for the Iowa at Fallis, the Mexican Kickapoo at McLoud, and Stella for Big Jim's Band of the Absentee Shawnee. The last three were primarily mission schools, but all received support from the federal government and directly or indi-

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rectly from New England Quakers. Day schools for the Citizen Potawatomie operated intermittently. (See Appendices E and F.)

Vermont-born sisters, Eliza Grinnell Elliott and Mary Grinnell Alford both taught at the Quaker-supported Freedmen's school in Maryville, TN before coming to Indian Territory as matron and teacher respectively. NEYM also helped pay salaries for Quaker teachers/missionaries (Jeremiah Hubbard, Rachel & Charles Kirk, Eva and John Watson, Elizabeth Test, Mary Sherman, Lina Lunt) and supplied clothing, books, and financial assistance.

Six miles south of Stroud, OK, and a little over a mile from the Sac & Fox Tribal Community Building is the Tribal Cemetery. The large public graveyard, Tecumseh Cemetery, on Citizen Potawatomie land across the road from the 1870's era Friend's Church south of Shawnee, OK may contain Shawnee and Citizen Potawatomie students' graves. The Kickapoo Cemetery lies a little over 2 miles south of the Tribal Headquarters in McLoud, OK, next to the Quaker Church and Schoolhouse. The Iowa Mission Cemetery is just north of Fallis, OK. We have not located cemeteries associated with the Absentee Shawnee school in Stella, OK, or the day schools for the Citizen Potawatomie community in the open land north of the Canadian River.

### *Skiatook/Hillside School:*

Quakers from New England were important financial supporters of the Friends mission boarding school begun around 1882, on Cherokee land, in Skiatook, northwest of Tulsa.

A cemetery, four-and-a-half miles north of Skiatook, dating back to the boarding school era, marks the school's location.

### STUDENT LISTS

We have looked and so far have not found student lists among the NEYM records. We did not compile a list of those interred in the 5 cemeteries we visited, but did note that there were a number of graves of those who died during the boarding school era.<sup>4</sup>

We did find a variety of attendance records and other student-related documents in the NARA repository at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City.

When the off-reservation boarding schools were established, Quakers sent students from Quaker mission schools to several of these, including Carlisle and White's in Indiana. There are records of deaths at those schools.

### AVAILABILITY OF RECORDS

The Minutes of the New England Yearly Meeting annual sessions, certain Yearly Meeting committee minutes, and a number of local Meeting records are housed in the Special Collections and University Archives in the Du Bois Library of the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, MA. They are available for research. The yearly meeting's minutes from 1847 to 1945 have been digitized.<sup>5</sup>

Minutes and other documents of local, Monthly Meetings, in New England, are held in various places. The Maine Historical Society in Portland, Maine holds many records from the Monthly Meetings in that state. The Vassalboro Historical Society in East Vassalboro, Maine has many of John D. Lang's papers. (Lang was a long-standing member of the Board of Indian Commissioners.)

### TRIBAL LANDS

We did not find any deeds or other legal documents indicating the New England Yearly Meeting or Friends from New England held title to the lands on which the schools and missions were located. Further research is warranted. In particular a search of the Quaker archives, including records of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends for Indian Affairs, at Earlham College in Richmond, IN should be undertaken to see any records for lands granted to Quakers for missions and schools.<sup>6</sup>

The Commissioner's Annual Report for 1889 makes the following statement accompanying a chart entitled "Lands upon Indian reservations occupied by religious or other societies, etc.":

It is worthy of notice that the Government is every year making liberal grants of right of occupancy of land within Indian reservations to the various religious bodies, and especially to the Home Mission Societies of various denominations, on which to erect mission buildings and schools. Thus the civilizing and refining agencies of our frontier and wilderness localities are being multiplied. An impartial view of these grants is here given: Land upon Indian reservations occupied by religious or other societies for civilizing purposes, educational, and religious.<sup>7</sup>

An excerpt from the aforementioned chart is reproduced below.

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*Lands upon Indian reservations occupied by religious or other societies, etc.—Continued.*

Name of reservation.	Acres granted	Date of grant or occupancy.	Name of organization.	For what purpose used.
<b>INDIAN TERRITORY.</b>				
Cheyenne and Arapaho..	100	1880	Mennonites.....	School.
Do .....	100	1880	do .....	Do.
Kiowa, etc .....	160	1888	Presbyterian.....	School and mission.
Do .....	160	1889	Roman Catholic.....	Do.
Do .....	160	1889	Methodist Episcopal South.....	Do.
Do .....	160	1889	Reformed Presbyterian.....	Do.
Do .....	160	1889	Baptist.....	Do.
Oaage .....	160	1888	Roman Catholic.....	Schools and church.
Do .....	160	1887	Methodist Episcopal.....	School.
Ponca and Otoe.....	40	1887	do .....	Mission.
Pawnee.....	2		do .....	Do.
Wyandotte.....	2	1874	Friends and Methodist.....	Church and parsonage.
Do .....	10	1882	Friends.....	House.
Seneca.....	3	1884	do .....	Church.
Modoc .....	5	1880	do .....	Mission.
Sac and Fox .....	5	1878	Baptist.....	Church.
Absentee Shawnee .....	5	1884	Friends.....	Church and parsonage.
Citizen Pottawatomie .....	290		Roman Catholic.....	Church and school. They claim 640 acres.
<b>IOWA.</b>				

FUNDING

We have not been able to address fully one of the many remaining questions that circulate among Indigenous advocacy groups and Quaker researchers. Did Friends or other religious denominations profit from operating the Indigenous Boarding Schools?

We have found no indication that New England Yearly Meeting was in receipt of federal monies in relation to the Indigenous Boarding Schools or any other program. Funds may have gone directly to the schools, but we have not located records to verify this.

In 1874, New England Yearly Meeting’s two representatives to the AEC, Edward W. Howland and Ann B. Earle, summarized the manner of NEYM’s involvement in the Indigenous Boardings Schools under its care:

Arrangements were also made to engage in the duty specially assigned to us by the Yearly Meeting, viz., the fostering care and supervision of two schools within the limits of the Quapaw Agency; and it was apprehended that our charge embraced not only their literary, but their religious and scriptural instruction. While the general government furnishes buildings for the purpose, and defrays the expense of superintendent and teachers, and also supplies the necessary food for the mission, it is expected of us to provide suitable clothing for the children, to see that books, papers and other necessary articles are furnished for the schools, and in general to promote the moral and religious growth of our charge, and their advancement in civilized life.<sup>8</sup>

The operations were very complex and the system was vulnerable to interruption. Agents were not always well-equipped for the wide range of their responsibilities. The Modoc Nation, for instance, has detailed memories of ways in which they felt cheated and not well-served by the Agent of the time, Hiram Jones, and the network of clerks and factors, all Quaker and many related by blood or marriage.<sup>9</sup> The AEC looked into the matter and did not find merit in the complaints. The Modoc continue to disagree. Further examination of the details of this episode are needed. We are not in a position to refute or confirm Modoc historical memory. That corruption continued into the Grant administration seems highly likely. Further research and actions may be needed for Quakers to hold ourselves accountable for corruption and ineptitude of our Agents.

We had hoped to be able to begin assembling some of the elements that might help us develop “profit-and-loss” statements for the schools in the Quapaw and Sac & Fox Agencies. This has not been possible because the necessary data is difficult and time-consuming to locate, and not always where we had hoped or expected to find it.<sup>10</sup>

Harmonizing the various reports has also proven difficult. It is unclear, for example, what is included in the “\$ education” column, headed “Amount expended for education,” in the Annual Report of the Commissioner. Agent’s Reports vary in length and detail, including numbers of students (enrolled or attending) and teachers some years but not others. The Quaker representing Orthodox Friends to the Board of Indian Commissioners (BIC) chose to submit a copy of the

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relevant section AEC's 1881 Annual Report (which included attendance figures for two schools only). NEYM's Committee on the Western Indians described the work of several Quakers teachers and missionaries, but provided no statistical information.

The availability of a wide range of data has been tantalizing but not sufficient. Rates of pay for the employees of the Agencies and schools are readily available in the congressionally-mandated biennial Official Record of the United States but their distribution within the Agencies is not well documented.<sup>11</sup> Because the Indian Service purchased commodities and supplies for use in the field in bulk, we know what was paid each year for everything from bacon and woolen cloth to 10-penny nails. But we do not know how these materials were apportioned among the Agencies and schools. Figures are available in Agent's reports for the costs of some large construction projects, like a house for the staff or a new dormitory, but there are only passing references to smaller projects and no reporting that we have seen on maintenance costs.

We suspect that a fuller accounting might be available among the records of the Central Superintendency whose chief clerk for many years was Cyrus Beede.<sup>12</sup> He was involved in banking and real estate before his appointment to the Indian Service and was famous for the accuracy of his bookkeeping.<sup>13</sup>

### CONTEXT FOR THIS REPORT

This report is about the involvement of New England Quakers and the New England Yearly Meeting (NEYM) of the Religious Society of Friends. Quakers in North America are highly decentralized. It is rare when Friends can speak with one voice. Originally organized geographically, theological and social differences led to further fracturing of our religious community. By the 1840s, most Friends in North America belonged to one of two networks, the Hicksite (more conservative regarding Quaker traditions and practices) or the Orthodox (more influenced by the evangelical reforms of the Second Great Awakening). New England Yearly Meeting was aligned with Orthodox Friends. The Associated Executive Committee of Friends for Indian Affairs (AEC) was established in 1869 to coordinate efforts by Orthodox Quakers to assist the Indigenous Tribes that had been removed west of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Hicksite Friends created the Central Executive Committee to coordinate their parallel activities in Nebraska.

New England Friends have been actively collaborating with a loose and unofficial network of Quaker researchers from across the country to produce a comprehensive description of Friends' involvement in the Indigenous Boarding Schools and the assimilationist program of the United States government. As you know, the National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition (NABS) and other Indigenous advocates have been urging religious denominations to make public a candid accounting of their roles in the Indigenous Boarding Schools and the forced assimilation of Native children and to provide ready access to their archives and records. NEYM has recognized that a meaningful response to that call is long overdue. We offer this report as a first installment in a full and unflinching account of Friends' participation, and as an encouragement to other Quakers and to other religious denominations to complete this vitally important work.<sup>14</sup>

The New England Yearly Meeting Quaker Indigenous Boarding Schools (QIBS) Research Group was created by the Yearly Meeting 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.

This work arises out of the Yearly Meeting's repudiation of the Doctrine of Discovery in 2013 and the "Apology to Native Americans" approved in 2021.

A report<sup>15</sup> was prepared by the Research Group<sup>16</sup> submitted to, and accepted at the Annual Sessions of New England Yearly Meeting in August of 2024. This report to the Department of the Interior is a distillation and amplification of the Research Group's findings.

### QUAKERS AND INDIAN EDUCATION AND ASSIMILATION

In 1869, two delegations of Quakers, members of the Religious Society of Friends, met with newly-elected President Grant and sketched out the particulars of what would become known as the "Quaker Indian policy" or simply the "peace policy."<sup>17</sup> The appointment to positions of authority within the Indian Service of upstanding men from a dozen of the country's Protestant denominations was intended to accomplish the pacification of Indigenous Peoples and the opening of land for settlement and exploitation with less expense, bloodshed, and corruption.

The implementation of this plan resulted, among other things, in the oversight and implementation of federal Indian policy in Nebraska, Kansas, and Indian Territory, later Oklahoma, by Friends (also known as Quakers). By 1871, Quakers were responsible for 25,000 Indigenous Peoples from at least 28 Tribes and Bands spread out over nearly 230,000 square miles. Fourteen Quaker Agents under the direction of 2 Superintendents, also nominated by Friends, oversaw 21 schools, 629 students, and 55 teachers.<sup>18</sup>



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Friends had been deeply involved in assimilationist efforts and the education of Native Peoples at least since Gaiānt'waké's ("Cornplanter", Seneca) request for schools and instruction in agriculture in 1795. Quakers from Indiana, Baltimore, and Ohio built a boarding school for the Shawnee at Wapakoneta in Ohio in the 1820s. They moved the school to Kansas when the Shawnee were forcibly removed in 1832 and 1833. Appalled by the conditions of the Kaw People, Thomas and Mary Stanley felt led to go to Kansas and built a farm and school at Americus near Council Grove in the 1850s. The Stanleys announced their intention "to go among the Kansas Indians for the purpose of instructing them in the art of Agriculture and civilization."<sup>19</sup> Friends who became involved in Freedmen's education in North Carolina and elsewhere welcomed Indigenous students. However "enlightened" these efforts were, they are also implicated in the attempted erasure of Native cultures and lifeways.

### *Friends and President Grant's "Peace Policy"*

Quakers were among the first officials appointed under the new "peace policy" following Grant's inauguration. Samuel M. Janney, a Hicksite Friend from Virginia, was named to head the Northern Superintendency (Nebraska) in 1869. That same year, Enoch Hoag, an Orthodox Quaker,<sup>20</sup> and one of original proponents of coordinating Friends' work among Indigenous Peoples, was appointed to lead the Central Superintendency (Kansas and Indian Territory). Also the same year, Vincent Colyer, a Quaker from New York, was appointed to the Board of Indian Commissioners. John D. Lang, a prominent member of the Orthodox New England Yearly Meeting, joined the Board in 1871, and B. Rush Roberts, from the Hicksite Baltimore Yearly Meeting, was appointed to the BIC in 1873. Thereafter there was always at least one and often two Friends on the Board.

Janney's and Hoag's appointments led to the naming of 14 Quaker Indian Agents from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Iowa, New York, and Virginia, all appointed by the president and put on the federal payroll. In turn, these men named teachers, matrons, farmers, blacksmiths, cooks, laundresses, and others to manage the complicated business of feeding, educating, and 'civilizing and Christianizing' the captive residents of the reservations that had been, for the most part, hastily established.

By the end of Grant's presidency, the Quaker Agents of the Northern and Central Superintendencies were overseeing 21 boarding and 15 day schools with an average attendance of 1080 students (1551 enrolled). Sixty-six academic and industrial teachers, assistant teachers, and matrons, of whom 35 were federal employees, taught for terms that lasted between 3 and 10 months. Overall the Agencies employed 158 people of various trades and occupations with a payroll of approximately \$108,000 (\$1.68 million in 2024 dollars), including \$19,000 for educational personnel.<sup>21</sup>

Early in the Hayes administration, federal officials objected to what they regarded as a religious test for government service and stopped honoring the nominations made by Quakers and the missionary organizations that had been central to Grant's reforms of the Indian Service. Believing the situation to be unworkable, the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs (AEC), the coordinating body for Quaker work in the Central Superintendency, relinquished all responsibility for the administration of federal Indian Service programs in 1876.<sup>22</sup>

Individual Quakers continued to play significant roles in the development and operation of the assimilationist Indigenous Boarding Schools. James M. Haworth was the Agent for the Comanche, Kiowa, and Wichita before being named the first Superintendent of Indian Schools. He later chose the site and laid the groundwork for the Chilocco Indian Agricultural School. Benjamin S. Coppock served as the Schools Superintendent for the Cherokee Nation and Superintendent of White's Institute in Indiana (1883-88) and Chilocco (1889-94). Benjamin Miles oversaw the school at the Osage Agency and later established and ran the White's Institute in West Branch, Iowa. Miles' brother-in-law, Henry J. Minthorn, was Superintendent of the Forest Grove later Chemawa Training School. Alfred J. Standing was chosen by Richard H. Pratt to be Assistant Superintendent at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School after serving several years as a teacher in Indian Territory.

Friends also served on the Board of Indian Commissioners from 1869 to 1930 (Vincent Colyer, John D. Lang, B. Rush Roberts, Albert K. Smiley, Daniel Smiley). President Herbert Hoover appointed fellow Quakers Charles J. Rhoads and J. Henry Scattergood, both from prominent Philadelphia Quaker families long active in Indian affairs, as Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (They were charged with implementing the recommendations of the Meriam Commission, undoing some of the harms caused by the vigorous activities of their forebears.)

Quakers were very active members of the *Friends of the Indians*, the *Indian Rights Association*, the *Women's National Indian Association* and local advocacy organizations such as the *United States Indian Commission* and the *Boston Indian Citizenship Committee*, where they lent their wealth and good names to the shared goals of the reform movements of the day: allotment, detribalization, and citizenship for Indigenous Peoples.

By the time the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was established in 1879, Quakers had surrendered their role in establishing and operating Indigenous Boarding Schools for the government. However, they continued to support the assimilationist project through:

- building and operating missions and schools to advance the Christianize and civilize agenda;
- supporting and sending students to off-reservation boarding schools; and
- promoting policies of allotment, (qualified) citizenship, and detribalization.

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### REMAINING QUESTIONS

There is much work remaining. Our research thus far has focussed on the institutions and the influential men (and a few women) who led them. We have yet to read through the correspondence we have located between teachers in Friends Mission schools and the Quaker bodies who supervised their work. What were they thinking, and what were they learning?

We know very little about the thoughts and beliefs of individual Friends and local Meetings. We do not know how they explained to themselves and their children what Quakers were doing in the name of ‘civilization and Christianity.’ At the time, children’s religious education groups solicited small monetary contributions and donations of used clothing and shoes, and school supplies. What were they told about the lives of the Indian children they thought they were helping? An examination of the Minutes of local Meetings and the personal papers of New England Friends may go a long way to filling in this part of the story.

We have been struck, and dismayed, by the absence of voices protesting the dismissal of Native wisdom and experience, and the removal and forced assimilation of children. We have not heard Friends suggesting that Indigenous lifeways, language, and culture might have a validity equal (let alone superior) to Western civilization.

Quakers were forceful opponents of forced removals and the violence and dishonesty of settlers and politicians seeking to take land occupied for many generations by Native Peoples. But they showed little hesitation to accept title to farm land in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Kansas that had so recently been taken from Indigenous Peoples under the threat of violence. We find this especially ironic given the extreme persecution and violence that were heaped on the first generations of Quakers in England and Massachusetts.

It is our hope that New England Quakers will look in their attics and Meetinghouses for letters, journals, and other papers that will shed light on the beliefs and assumptions that led Friends to put aside their deeply held convictions against becoming agents of State-supported violence to implement the policies and practices of forced assimilation.<sup>23</sup>

Another aspect of the Indigenous Boarding School project was the “outing” program. Richard Pratt saw placement of older students in the homes of reliable White families as key to solidifying the lessons and training they had learned at Carlisle and the other federally-run off-reservation boarding schools.<sup>24</sup> The farms and homes of Quaker families in the vicinity of Carlisle were among those seen as ideal placements. Other students were placed further afield including Connecticut River Valley communities like Amherst, Massachusetts. We have found ourselves wondering how this all worked and to what extent beyond the assimilationist agenda did Friends participate because it provided inexpensive and compliant workers.

### CONCLUSIONS

There can be no question that New England Yearly Meeting and New England Quakers played significant roles in the early days of the Indigenous Boarding School era.

Both on the ground in Indian Territory, and in Washington and Lake Mohonk<sup>25</sup> and elsewhere, New England Friends and their coreligionists from around the country lent their time, money, and influence to the cause of ‘civilizing’ and assimilating Indigenous Peoples. In the process, they joined the government’s efforts to disrupt kinship and tribal connections, re-define womens’ and mens’ social and domestic roles, sever the link between Indigenous Peoples and the land, and erase millennia-old languages and cultures. That they did all these things with ‘good intentions’ does not heal the harms or excuse the cruelties that occurred.

We have been humbled by the findings outlined above. We have long prided ourselves on being a compassionate and benevolent people and this research has shaken many of us deeply.

Along the way, we have also learned about the strength and wisdom of many, many Indigenous Peoples in the face of the relentless efforts to erase them and the memory of them. To cite a few examples, time spent in the Citizen Potawatomi Nation Cultural Heritage Center in Shawnee gave us a chance to contemplate the perseverance and ingenuity of Tribal leaders to secure for their Peoples the best possible future under difficult circumstances. A conversation with a woman from the Seneca-Cayuga Nation showed us how her older siblings made something good out of their time at Chilocco.

When NEYM started to go down the road of apology and repair in our relationships with Native Peoples, we were building on collaborations and friendships among local Friends and their Indigenous neighbors that went back many years. We all began to think more deeply about the Tribes and Bands who had long called this land home. Conversations with Wabanaki People in Maine, Abenaki Bands in Vermont and New Hampshire, the Nipmuc in central Massachusetts, and the Wampanoag, Narraganset, and other Tribes on our southern shores have led us to begin to understand the dispossession experienced by the Indigenous Peoples of the areas where we live and worship.

New England Friends and the New England Yearly Meeting deeply regret the wounds that were inflicted at the Indigenous Boarding Schools and our roles in the design, advocacy, and implementation of the policy of assimilation. We are committed to finding meaningful ways to apologize to the Quapaw, Peoria, Ottawa, Miami, Modoc, Wyandotte, Seneca-Cayuga, Eastern Shawnee, Sac & Fox, Iowa, Kickapoo, Absentee Shawnee, and Citizen Potawatomi People for the ways in which our forebears imposed their euro-american beliefs and customs, and for the cruel and callous practices used. From

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there, we hope to build relationships and learn, as Indigenous Peoples choose, how we might support their healing, and their flourishing.<sup>26</sup>

The Indigenous Boarding School research has opened us to a whole new set of relationships in need of repair – work that we are eager to begin.

### ENDNOTES

1. “Friends” and “Quakers” are used interchangeably and refer to adherents of the same religious tradition. Most of the official reports of the nineteenth century differentiate between “Hicksite Friends” and “Orthodox Friends.” Both may be referred to as “Quakers.”

2. We found it difficult to differentiate strictly between boarding and day schools. Students living near a boarding school were sometimes allowed to attend as day students. Teachers sometimes allowed students who lived a great distance from a day school to board with the teacher’s family. We came across a December 30, 1875 note from Quapaw Agent Hiram Jones to Mary J. Black (otherwise unidentified) detailing payments (to be?) made for “Boarding, Lodging, Washing, and Caring” for 11 Peoria and Miami children attending the school the Peoria school. The rate was \$2.50 per week. NARA / Ft Worth, “Records of the Quapaw Indian Agency in OK.” NARA Call number 75.19.92.

3. “Historical map of Ottawa County, Oklahoma”, Ottawa County Historical Society, 1965. Oklahoma State Digital Collections (<https://dc.library.okstate.edu/digital/collection/OKMaps/id/5762/rec/2>).

4. In February, 2024, two NEYM members traveled to Texas and Oklahoma to examine the federal Indian Service archives in Ft. Worth and Oklahoma City. They also visited school sites and cemeteries in what were the Quapaw and Sac & Fox Agencies (modern Ottawa and Pottawatomie Counties).

5. Contact [scua@library.umass.edu](mailto:scua@library.umass.edu) for assistance accessing these records or see the NEYM materials online at <http://scua.library.umass.edu/new-england-yearly-meeting/>. Yearly Meeting and library staff are working on reparative cataloging of these records and improving the metadata to facilitate searching.

6. Special Collections and Archives, Earlham College. [freedje@earlham.edu](mailto:freedje@earlham.edu)

7. ARC 1881, p338

8. NEYM Minutes 1874, pp. 22-23 <https://archive.org/details/minutesofyearlym956year/page/n829/mode/2up?q=quapaw>

9. <https://modocnation.com/history/>. They also appear to have fond memories of the Quaker teachers during the same period.

10. The Department of the Interior’s second volume of its Federal Indian Boarding Schools Investigative Report also describes difficulties in locating and interpreting the relevant data. “Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative | Indian Affairs.” Investigative Report. Volume 2, pp. 49-55. Accessed September 10, 2024. <https://www.bia.gov/service/federal-indian-boarding-school-initiative>.

11. United States. *Official Register of the United States ...* Official Register, 1907-11. Washington: U.S. Govt. print. off., 1816. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009557655>.

12. Records of the Central Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1813-1878. M856 Textual Records (109 reels). NARA Group 64, NACP. Available online <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/215867828> accessed September 23, 2024. A quick perusal of these records confirms that these will be well worth a closer look.

13. <https://www.beforetime.net/iowagenealogy/mahaska/portraitandbiographicalalbum/pbbeedecyrus.html>

14. This comprehensive accounting of Quaker participation will entail cooperative efforts of at least 17 different Friends yearly meetings, a necessary but distant prospect. Concerted but unofficial research efforts by Friends from many parts of the Quaker community have been going on for two years. Based on the ground-breaking work of Paula Palmer of the Boulder Friends’ Meeting, this group, known among ourselves as QIBS, the Quaker Indigenous Boarding School research group, has identified 30 day and boarding schools operated by Friends. (A list of those schools is appended.) Several other schools were strongly influenced by Friends but not run by them. The Alaskan Friends Conference has engaged deeply with local Indigenous groups and is providing an example of how Quakers might do the work of establishing right relations with Native People.

15. NEYM 2024 Quaker Indian Boarding Schools Research Group *Research Findings*, August 2024. [https://neym.org/sites/default/files/2024-07/NEYM%202024%20QIBS%20final%20report%20%26%20sources\\_0.pdf](https://neym.org/sites/default/files/2024-07/NEYM%202024%20QIBS%20final%20report%20%26%20sources_0.pdf)

16. The members of the Research Group are Janet Hough, Betsy Cazden, Andrew Grant, Merrill Kohlhofer, and Gordon Bugbee.

17. See President Grant’s *First Annual Message*, December 06, 1869, *To the Senate and House of Representatives* <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/first-annual-message-11>

18. *Annual Report of the Commissioner* (ARC) 1871, 610-613. Seventeen of the teachers were Catholic (13 at one school), 5 were Episcopalian, and 4 were from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregational and Presbyterian).

19. Jones, Louis Thomas. *The Quakers of Iowa*. Iowa Book Gallery 14. Iowa City, IA: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1918. [https://www.forgottenbooks.com/it/download/TheQuakersofIowa\\_10272141.pdf](https://www.forgottenbooks.com/it/download/TheQuakersofIowa_10272141.pdf). p. 203.

20. Enoch Hoag, and several other Friends who were employed by the Indian Service were born in east central New Hampshire or northwestern Vermont and moved to Iowa where they were among the founders of Iowa Yearly Meeting.

21. ARC 1876, pp. 210-15, OR 1876, 363-367

## NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING — INDIGENOUS BOARDING SCHOOLS

22. BIC 1879, p. 82. The Northern Superintendency was abolished in 1876 and its Agents reported directly to Washington. Individual Quakers remained as Agents, among them Laban Miles as the Osage Agent, 1878-85 and 1889-93, and John D. Miles (a distant cousin) was Agent for the Kickapoo and later the Cheyenne and Arapho, from 1868 to 1884. Cyrus Beede served as a Special Agent for several years after serving as Chief Clerk for the Central Superintendency and head of the Osage Agency.

23. New England Quaker participation primarily occurred in the 1870s and 80s. Individual Friends continued to be involved for decades.

24. Trennert, Robert A. "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (1983): 267-91, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3639003>. For contemporaneous material related to the outing program at Carlisle, search "outing" at the Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Center (<https://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/ci-search/outing>).

25. The [Mohonk Conferences](#) were gatherings of politicians and civic leaders and other "Friends of the Indians" concerned about pressing social and international issues organized by Albert K. Smiley, a Quaker from Vassalboro, ME. 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, Chillico 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. See "Proceedings of the ... annual meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent People." New York : Lake Mohonk Conference, 1885-1904. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006784853> 1887-1904 Christopher Love. "The Friends of the Indians and Their Foes: A Reassessment of the Dawes Act Debate." Honors Papers, January 1, 1991. <https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/honors/571>.

26. *Becoming Kin: An Indigenous Call to Unforgetting the Past and Reimagining Our Future*. Patty Krawec. Minneapolis, 2022.

# NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING — INDIGENOUS BOARDING SCHOOLS

## APPENDICES

### A. SOURCES CONSULTED

In the course of our work, we have reviewed thousands of pages of relevant records including:

*Annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior;*

*Annual report of the Board of Indian Commissioners to the Secretary of the Interior;*

*The Official Register of the United States ...;*

Available records of the Quapaw, Peoria, Ottawa, Miami, Modoc, Seneca-Cayuga, Eastern Shawnee, Wyandotte, Sac & Fox of the Mississippi, Citizen Pottawatamie, Absentee Shawnee, and Kickapoo Tribes in the NARA repositories in Ft. Worth TX and Oklahoma City, OK;

Various official and personal papers in the archives at Haverford, Swarthmore, and Earlham Colleges, all founded by Quakers;

*Annual Reports of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends for Indian Affairs* (Orthodox) for the years 1870-1898;

Minutes of New England Yearly Meeting of Friends (Orthodox) 1847-1945 and records of some Yearly Meeting committees and and Monthly (local) Meetings held in the University Archives and Special Collections at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst;

Records of local Quaker Meetings in Maine held by the Maine Historical Society in Portland, ME.

- B. LIST OF INDIGENOUS BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING IN THE QUAPAW AGENCY.
- C. OTTAWA COUNTY MAP 1965 (REPRODUCED)
- D. MAP OF THE QUAPAW AGENCY SCHOOLS AND CEMETERIES
- E. LIST OF INDIGENOUS BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING IN THE SAC & FOX AGENCY.
- F. MAP OF THE SAC & FOX AGENCY SCHOOLS



## APPENDIX B – INDIAN BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOLS – NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING

### Quapaw Agency (formerly Neosho)

Quaker Agents: 1869-1879

School	Location	Tribes	Boarding or Day	Average Attendance	Opened	Closed	Quaker Admin	NEYM Involvement
* Quapaw	Quapaw	Quapaw, Modoc, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami	Boarding	43	1869	1900	1871-93	Teachers; Matrons; funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Peoria	Peoria	Quapaw, Modoc, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami	Day	29	1871	1893	1871-93	Funding, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Ottawa	Ottawa	Quapaw, Modoc, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami NB: combined with Quapaw Manual Labor School	Day	28	1870	1900	1870-93	Teachers; Matrons; funding, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Miami	Miami	Quapaw, Modoc, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami	Day	18	1876	1893	1876-93	Funding, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Modoc	Miami	Quapaw, Modoc, Ottawa, Peoria, Miami	Day/Night & Boarding	18	1880	1893	1880-93	Teachers; Matrons; funding, supplies, clothing; missionaries
* Seneca	Wyandotte	Seneca-Cayuga, Eastern Shawnee, Wyandotte, Cherokee	Boarding	80	1872	1980	1872-84	Funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Bluejacket	Bluejacket	Eastern Shawnee	Day		1872			Construction expenses

\* indicates included on DOI List of Federal Indian Boarding Schools. Dept of the Interior. "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report, Vol. 1." Government. Washington, May 2022.

#### Notes:

**Boarding or Day:** Many schools changed format during their operation. Many began as Day schools and became Boarding Schools. Boarding schools sometimes allowed children who lived nearby to attend as day students, cf. Seneca Indian School; teachers of day schools sometimes boarded students who lived at a distance., cf Ottawa Day School under the Tuttle Schools with dormitories were counted as boarding schools, schools without were counted as day schools when more explicit information was not available.

Night schools were operated at the Modoc and Miami schools for one or two years, providing basic academic instruction for adults.

**Attendance:** These averages are for the period during which Quakers were in charge of the schools (Quaker Admin) and are approximate.. We have been unable to locate attendance figures for Big Jim's Band / Absentee Shawnee School. Schools did not always report attendance figures and did not always distinguish between enrollment and attendance counts. In some cases, attendance includes both day and boarding students, and may include a few White students (children of staff?). They are best regarded as a measure of the schools relative sizes. They are probably NOT a reliable basis for calculating the per student payments received under contracts with the Indian Service.

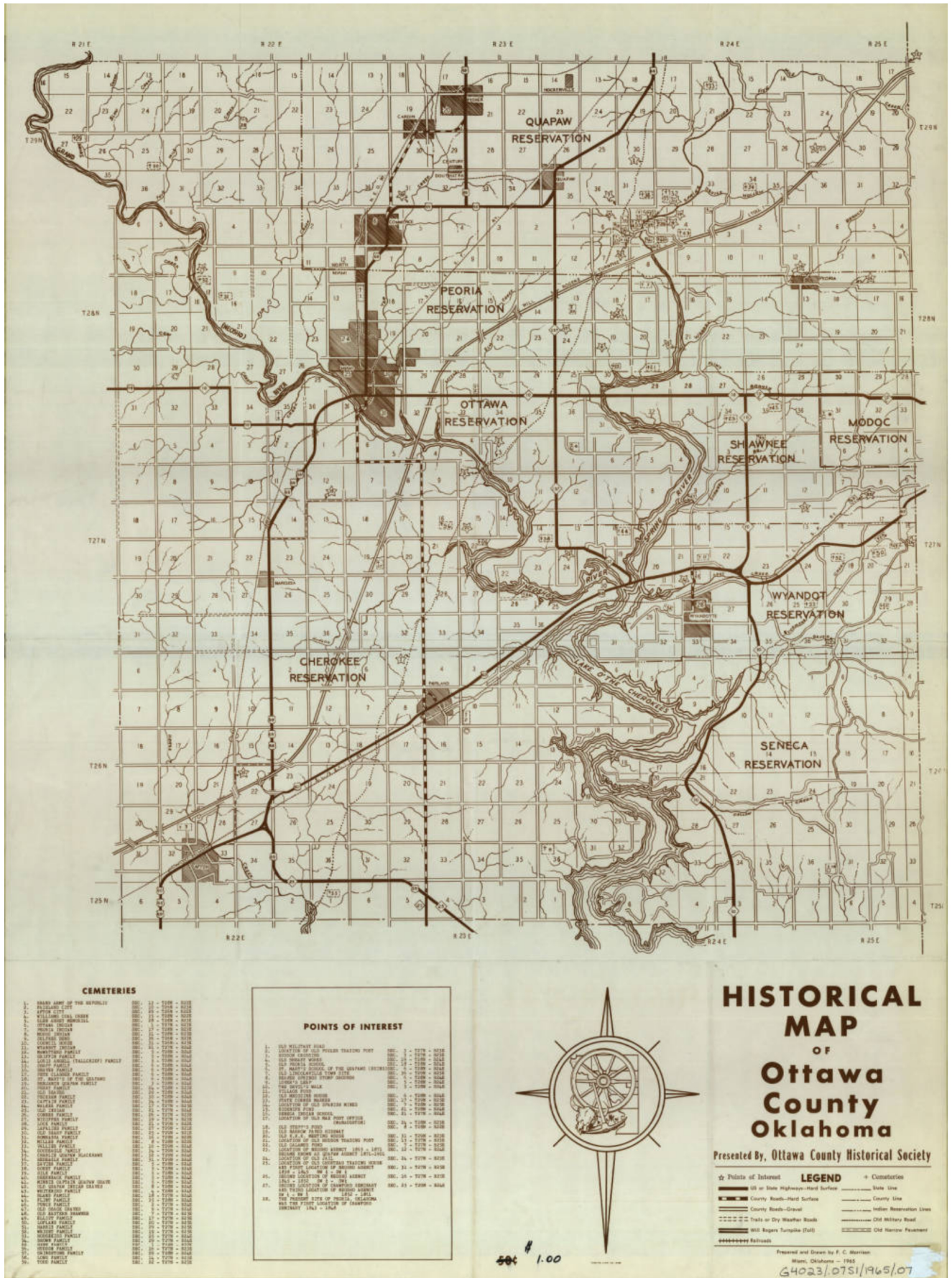
Source: ARC various years.

**School statistics:** AS allotment and detribalization progressed and emphases evolved, statistics collected shifted over time, making it difficult to compare from year to year. Many schools closed when allotment dispersed the school-age children. Others closed or became public elementary schools at Oklahoma statehood in 1905.

NEYM, 2024

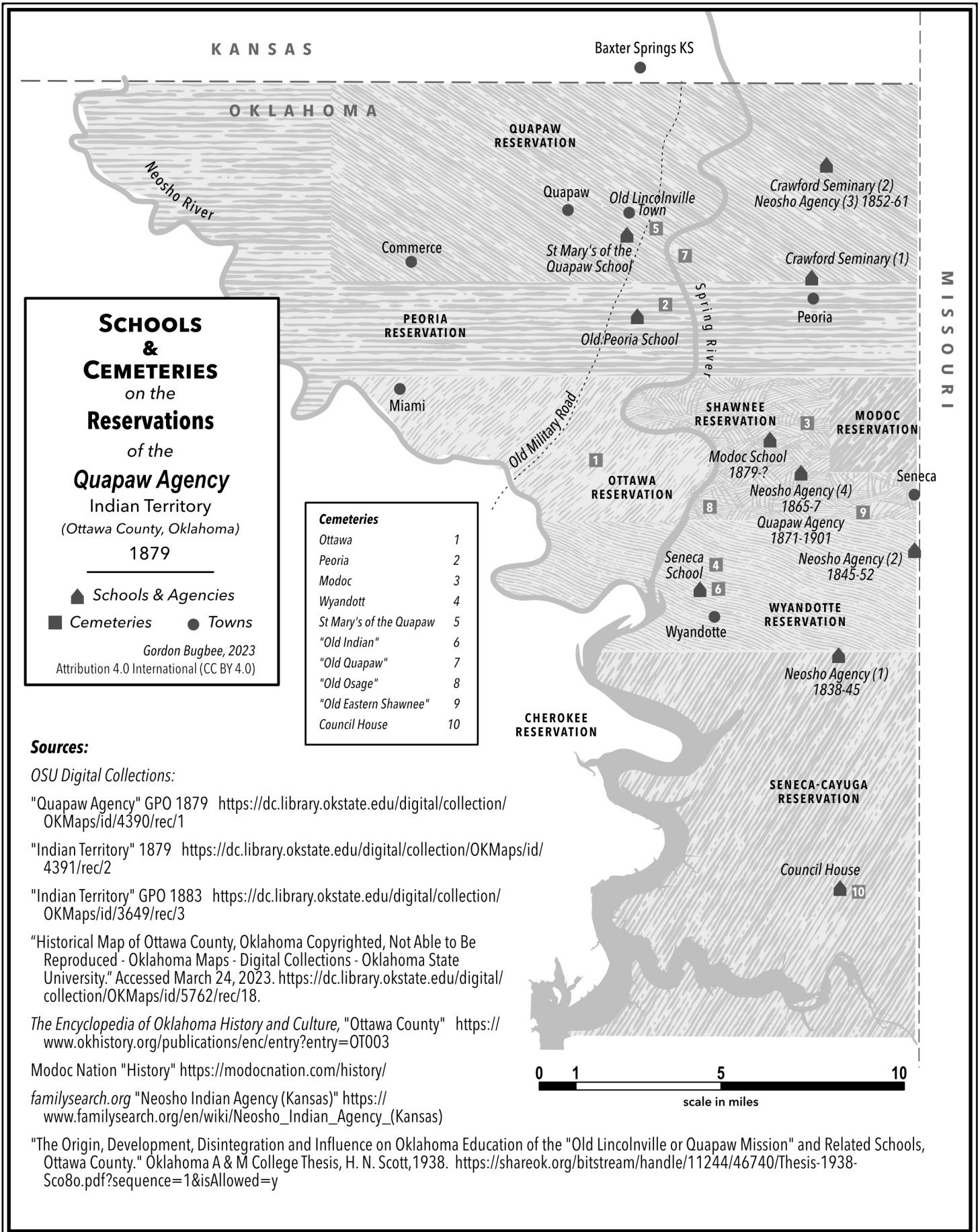
# APPENDIX C – HISTORICAL MAP OF OTTAWA COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

Ottawa County Historical Society, 1965





## APPENDIX D - MAP OF QUAPAW SCHOOLS AND CEMETERIES



## APPENDIX E – INDIAN BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOLS – NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETING

### Sac & Fox Agency

Quaker Agents: 1870-1884

School	Location	Tribes	Boarding or Day	Average Attendance	Opened	Closed	Quaker Admin	NEYM Involvement
*Sac & Fox	Stroud	Sac & Fox, Iowa, others,	Boarding	34	1872	1918	1871-?	Funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
* Shawnee	Shawnee	Absentee Shawnee, Potawatomie, Sac & Fox, others,	Boarding	43	1869	1918	1871-80s	Teachers, Matrons; funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Pottawatomie	various	Citizen Potawatomie, Shawnee, white	Day	18	1876	1884	1876-84	Teachers; funding, supplies, clothing;
Iowa	Fallis	Iowa, Sac & Fox	Boarding	9	1890	1893	1890-93	Teachers; funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Big Jim's Band	Stella	Absentee Shawnee	Boarding	?	1893	1899	1893-99	Teachers; funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
Kickapoo	McLoud	Kickapoo, others	Boarding	8	1891	still open	1891 - today	Teachers, Matrons; funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries

\* indicates included on DOI List of Federal Indian Boarding Schools. Dept of the Interior. "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report, Vol. 1." Government: Washington, May 2022.

### Skiatook / Hillside School

not under any Agency

Skiatook / Hillside	Skiatook	various	Boarding	17	1882	1908	1882-1908	Funding, salaries, supplies, clothing; missionaries
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NEYM, 2024

# APPENDIX F - MAP OF SAC & FOX AGENCY SCHOOLS

