

FRIENDS
AND THE
INDIANS
1655-1917

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A MODERN APOSTLE TO THE INDIANS. CALLED BY THEM "THE-MAN-WITH-A-TEAR-IN-HIS-EYE." SEE P. 164, NOTE.

FRIENDS AND THE INDIANS

1655-1917

BY

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"The proceedings of the Society of Friends are no doubt preserved as a part of history for future generations. If the Indian finds this history his heart will throb with gratitude when he learns that the Society of Friends has stood by the Red Man of the forest in all times of difficulty and trouble, to advise and assist him."

—A SENECA INDIAN

PUBLISHED BY

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TO
THE MEMORY OF
SARAH ATWATER KELSEY
MY MOTHER

PREFACE

This little volume is presented with the misgivings that always come when one arises from a literary task that has involved merciless condensation. To those who find some parts of the following account too brief for their purposes I may say that in preparing it my surprise at finding the subject so widely ramified in time and space has been equalled only by my difficulty in compressing it into the confines of so small a book.

Some of the subject matter, especially for the earlier period, has been largely and fairly dealt with by other writers. In such cases I have made use of reliable secondary accounts, although I think not in any case without careful consideration of the chief source materials upon which the account rested. For the period from 1795 to the present time much of the story has not been told before in connected form and I have drawn it almost entirely from the manuscript or printed sources.

The materials used are indicated in footnotes and occasional bibliographical notes. The attention of those interested in religious history is directed especially to the General Note on Bibliography at the close of the volume which may be of some service as a guide to the location of Quaker records.

For advice or active help in this study I wish to thank Edward M. Wistar, Isaac Sharpless, Amelia Mott Gummere, Jonathan M. Steere and Florence Trueblood Steere, Mary S. Kimber, Albert Cook

Myers, my brother W. Irving Kelsey, and my former students George Montgomery and Harrison H. Arnold.

My especial thanks are due to Norman Penney, London, England, for his interest in my labors and his valuable help in supplying notes from materials in the Friends' Library, Devonshire House, London.

As ever, my greatest obligation is to my wife for encouragement and active help at every stage of the work.

RAYNER W. KELSEY.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA,
September, 1917.

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CHAPTER I.

THE INDIANS, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH.

THE history of the American Indians is a tragic drama of mighty proportions and fast changing scenes. No part of it can be comprehended without some understanding of the whole. The work of Friends for the American Indians north of Mexico is a little but a worthy part of the story, better told after the whole has been sketched in outline.

In the territory to-day comprehended by the United States, Canada, Greenland, and Alaska, there were, according to careful estimates, about 1,150,000 Indians when the white men came to these shores at the close of the fifteenth century. Now there are about 403,000. The difference represents a decrease of sixty-five per cent. Of the earlier number there were perhaps about 846,000 within the present bounds of the United States proper, exclusive of Alaska, as against 265,683 in 1910, the number having increased slowly in recent decades.

The territorial possessions of the Indians within the United States proper show even more striking changes. The whole imperial domain, although never actually occupied by them in its entirety, was at the first potentially theirs. To-day their broken tribes can claim but 52,013,010 acres, distributed in 161 reservations, scattered in more than a score of states. On a map of the United States showing the original distribution of the

Indian linguistic families, the great Algonquian, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Siouan, and Shoshonean branches occupy vast tracts, each equal to many states. To-day the lands of any of these show as a dot or strip within a single commonwealth.

The story of such change in the fortunes of a once free and haughty race is sad at the best, while at the worst it is not wholly darkened with loss nor unlightened by deeds of honorable statecraft and Christian charity.

The chief causes for the decrease in numbers are traceable to the white man, though some of them were wrought unwittingly. Small-pox, fever, tuberculosis, sexual diseases, drunkenness, starvation, and war,—these make up the category, almost all of them introduced and the remaining ones aggravated by the coming of the whites.

Terrible small-pox epidemics in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries reduced the northern Plains tribes by about one half. Fever ravages wrought similar destruction in California and nearly exterminated the Chinookan stock in the Northwest. There was almost constant warfare among the Indian tribes before the white men came, but the introduction of fire-arms increased the work of destruction. In the early New England wars (the Pequot War of 1637, and King Philip's War of 1675-1676) whole tribes were practically exterminated, and similar destruction was at times wrought in the south and west. The ravages of fever in California have been mentioned, yet the appalling decrease of the Indian population there, from 250,000 to less than 17,000, must be assigned largely to dissipation introduced by the whites

and to the wholesale murder and massacre carried on by the miners and early settlers. Similarly the Aleutian branch of the Eskimauan family in Alaska was almost exterminated by the early Russian intruders. Frenchman in the north and Spaniard in the south wrote each his chapter in the story of destruction. So the white man ruled and the Indian died.

It was inevitable that the vast area of America should cease to be occupied by a scattered people in the roving, hunter stage of life. It was indeed of the greatest importance that the Indians should be led into the higher stages of life, wherein the earth, intensively cultivated by settled communities, could support thousands in the place of hundreds. So arose the necessity for the extinction of Indian land claims and the compression of the tribes within narrower limits. The tragedy of the transaction lies in the stupidity and selfishness with which the work was often done by the representatives of Christian nations.

The early land policy of Great Britain, France, Spain and other nations that occupied land in the new world was essentially the same. They assumed that discovery and exploration gave them the right of ownership to distant, heathen lands. The earliest English charters, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, make no mention of the rights of natives to the soil. However, it soon came to be the general policy of governors and colonists who came to America to make some bargain with the Indians for their land. They had to deal with the practical problem of getting along with the natives, and wisdom as well as justice dictated an amicable policy where possible.

Roger Williams, when he first came to New England, addressed an argument to the governor and council of Plymouth in which he asserted that any just title to the land of the new world must be acquired from the Indians and not from the grant of the crown. Following this principle, from a sense of justice or expediency, the English colonists or proprietors, especially in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England, sought as a rule to acquire their land by purchase from the Indians. From this practice of the colonists the home governments of the various countries came to pay more regard to Indian titles in the later period. Yet the method of making purchases, by defrauding the Indians as to price or establishing fraudulent boundaries, often tells a shameful story. Indeed it was in the method and spirit of such dealings, rather than in the mere fact of purchase, that the vast difference lies in the history of various colonies.

Based upon the experience of the colonial period the United States inaugurated a policy that was designed to secure justice for the Indians. When the Ordinance of 1787 was passed for the organization of the great territory north-west of the Ohio the following clause was inserted: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent." This statement was reënacted in 1789 under the present constitution and also in the organizing acts for as many as sixteen states and territories. Such a statement undoubtedly represents the best attitude of the people of the United States and the government. Yet designing white settlers and venal government officers have all too often combined to defeat such a

benign purpose. So the Indians have been ejected from their favorite sections and in some cases located upon arid or semi-arid reservations. This latter crime has not only entailed immediate misery and death, but has helped to defeat the ultimate purpose of changing the Indian from the hunting to the agricultural stage of civilization.

One of the most important features of government policy has been the reservation plan. This plan was followed in Canada by both French and English, and was also tried somewhat by the colonies before the Revolution. It was inaugurated by the United States as early as 1786 and is best exemplified perhaps by the striking experiment of removing the Eastern Indians to the territory west of the Mississippi River. This latter plan was broached as early as 1804 and was thoroughly outlined by President Monroe in a report to the Senate in 1825. In carrying out this plan the present Oklahoma and much of what is now Kansas were constituted the "Indian Territory." To this Territory by the close of 1840 most of the great Eastern tribes had been removed. Later the Kansas portion of the grant was detached and most of the tribes within that portion were removed to the part of the Territory south of the present Kansas line. The nucleus of the present state of Oklahoma was an unoccupied tract near the center of the Indian Territory which was opened to white settlers in 1889. The next year the whole western part of the Indian Territory was erected into the territory of Oklahoma, and when this territory became a state in 1907 the whole of the remaining Indian Territory was included within its borders.

There are also large reservations in Arizona and South Dakota while smaller ones in other states bring the total number up to 161 reservations.

The most important act of recent years with regard to Indian land tenure is the severalty act of 1887. "This act provided for the allotment to each man, woman, and child of a certain portion of the tribal land and the issuance of a patent by which the United States holds the allotment in trust, free of taxation and encumbrance, for 25 years, when the allottee is entitled to a patent in fee simple. On the approval of their allotments by the Secretary of the Interior the Indians become citizens of the United States and subject to its laws."

By the close of 1915 there had been made 115,949 allotments involving a total of 19,398,927 acres of land. Under an Act of 1906 and certain subsequent acts for granting patents in fee, there have been granted 9,894 patents in fee, covering 1,114,878 acres of land.

In a "Declaration of Policy" under date of April 17, 1917, Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said:

"Broadly speaking, a policy of greater liberalism will henceforth prevail in Indian administration to the end that every Indian, as soon as he has been determined to be as competent to transact his business as the average white man, shall be given full control of his property and have all his lands and moneys turned over to him, after which he will no longer be a ward of the Government. . . . This is a new and far-reaching declaration of policy. It means the dawn of a new era in Indian administration. It means that the com-

petent Indian will no longer be treated as half ward and half citizen. It means reduced appropriations by the Government and more self-respect and independence for the Indian. It means the ultimate absorption of the Indian race into the body politic of the Nation. It means, in short, the beginning of the end of the Indian problem."

So winds the path by which the American Indian has come from his primitive, roving life, in possession of a mighty continent, to a guarded tribal existence on government reservations, and thence to the rights and privileges, the restrictions and responsibilities of private land-holding and citizenship. And the path has been more rugged than ever foot-sore Indian followed in his native forest.

The brighter colors of the picture show chiefly in the efforts of the government, the churches, and various voluntary organizations, to educate and uplift the Indian.

Every nation having New World colonies showed at some time in some way a feeling of its responsibility for the Indian. Many of the earliest charters contained clauses calling for the civilization and Christianization of the natives. The Russians founded Indian schools in Alaska, the Spanish government cooperated in maintaining the great mission establishments, the French government at one time tried to prohibit the sale of liquor to the Indians, and at least two persons were driven out of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam for supplying the natives with intoxicants. Many of the English colonies tried at various times to prevent the sale of liquor and fire-arms to the Indians and to secure justice to the natives

in their general trading relations with the whites. Such attempts were usually sporadic and often ineffectual, but the difficulty of circumventing the greed of white traders was great and it is cheering to know at least that some attempt was made.

The obligation to educate the Indian was early recognized. Harvard, Dartmouth, and the College of William and Mary were founded with the purpose wholly or partially in view of educating Indian youth, although their graduates of Indian blood have been very few. At the outbreak of the Revolution the Continental Congress appointed a committee on Indian affairs and shortly thereafter money was voted to support Indian students at Dartmouth and Princeton colleges.

In 1819 the United States made its first general appropriation, of ten thousand dollars, for Indian education, but until 1873 most of the government funds for this purpose were expended in cooperation with the mission schools of various denominations. Since 1873 government schools proper have been established, and aid has been gradually withdrawn, especially since 1900, from schools under the care of religious societies. The Canadian government to-day maintains a splendid system of industrial, boarding and day-schools.

The United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1916 reported 162 boarding and 238 day schools with an average attendance of 20,083 and 5,220, respectively. With nearly 30,000 in the public schools of various states, and about 5,000 in mission and private schools, there were altogether 61,243 Indian children attending school in 1916.

The annual appropriation by Congress for Indian

schools has increased from \$20,000 in 1877 to \$4,701,905 in 1917.

The record of the white man's dealing with the Indian would be fairer if this obligation had been more adequately met at an earlier period. Yet the best spirit of the American nation is no doubt manifest in the official declaration made in 1792 to some Indians near Lake Erie: "That the United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization, as the only means of perpetuating them on the earth; that we are willing to be at the expense of teaching them to read and write, to plow and to sow in order to raise their own bread and meat with certainty as the white people do."

The work of Christian missions and missionaries for the civilization and Christianization of the Indians writes the truly heroic part of the whole story. With Spain and France this work was from the first a governmental concern and "the missionary was frequently the pioneer explorer and diplomatic ambassador." With the English the spiritual welfare of the natives was more largely left to the zeal of individuals or of religious societies.

As to priority of missionary work among the Indians a competent authority makes the following statement: "First in chronologic order, historic importance, number of establishments, and population come the Catholic missions, conducted in the earlier period chiefly by Jesuits among the French and by Franciscans among the Spanish colonies." As the intrepid old sea-captains and explorers of Castile were first to sail the western seas and open paths through the newly found lands, so were her spiritual pioneers in

the van of conquest in carrying the message of the cross to the savage races. The first missionaries to labor within the present bounds of the United States were the Spanish Franciscan Fathers, Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Descalona, who marched from Mexico with Coronado into the great southwest of this country only fifty years after Columbus landed on San Salvador. Three years later (1545) Father Olmos began a work among the tribes of Texas. Thus the dark chapter of cruelty practiced by Spanish soldiers and explorers was lightened by the heroic deeds of the mission fathers, almost a century before the Protestant work for the natives began in New England under Williams, Mayhew, and Eliot.

The story of the Spanish missionaries and missions in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Florida is well matched by that of the French Fathers laboring along the vast reaches of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and down through the Illinois country to the mouth of the Mississippi. Even as the early apostles these men counted not their lives dear. The Dominican, Louis Cancer, was murdered by the Florida Indians; three Franciscans gave their lives at one time among the Texas tribes; seven Spanish Jesuits were massacred about 1570 in the vicinity of the James River in Virginia. The heroic French Jesuit, Father Jogues, died a martyr's death among the Mohawks of New York, Father Râle died at his post in Maine, while Father Brébeuf and Father Lalement, laboring among the Hurons, suffered horrible tortures and final death at the hands of invading Iroquois. These are a few cases of many that could be cited of the early Catholic missionaries who enacted deeds as heroic as

are recorded anywhere in the annals of the Christian church.

The first and some of the finest Protestant missionary efforts among the Indians were begun by the Congregationalists in New England. When Roger Williams (later a Baptist) fled from the authorities of Massachusetts early in 1636 and found a refuge from wintry storms among the friendly Wampanoags and Narragansetts southwest of Plymouth, the Protestant effort to carry the Gospel to the natives may be said to have fairly begun. Seven years later Thomas Mayhew, Jr., began his famous work among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, a work continued for four generations by the same family. This work was so successful that the Indians of the island, although they outnumbered the whites ten to one, remained friendly during the terrible years of King Philip's War, 1675-1676.

Near Boston, among some Massachusetts Indians, John Eliot began his remarkable work in 1646. Owing to the success of Eliot and Mayhew there was formed in England the "Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in New England," and this body continued for more than a century to aid in the mission work. In 1674 there were 14 villages containing over 1,000 "praying Indians" as a result of the labors of Eliot and his friend, Samuel Danforth. About the same time the Christian Indians of southeastern Massachusetts, including Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, under John Cotton and Richard Bourne, numbered about 2,500. Most of the mainland towns of "praying Indians" were broken up by King Philip's War, 1675-1676, but Eliot labored

among the remaining ones until his death in 1690 at the advanced age of 86 years. A permanent monument to his memory was his translation of the Bible into the Natick tongue.

The famous missionary effort with the Stockbridge Indians followed the tribes as they were pushed westward by the advance of white population. Gradually the work in New England dwindled as the Indians became fewer and more scattered, and it was continued in a small way in the nineteenth century only by the aid of government appropriations.

The splendid work of the Congregationalists has been referred to at some length because it was the beginning and fairly typical of the work of Protestant denominations. The efforts of other denominations, the spread of the work among the various colonies of the Atlantic seaboard, the missionary invasion of the territory between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River, cannot be followed in this treatise. One great fact should, however, be borne in the mind of the reader. That is, the fact of the removal of the Indian tribes, especially those of the eastern states, and their consolidation west of the Mississippi in the Indian Territory. This was accomplished largely in the decade between 1830 and 1840, and in the history of Indian missions this event marks a great crisis. Old mission establishments were broken up; some followed the tribes in their migration, and many new ones were set up in the western territory.

The following statistics, for the year 1914, give some idea of the missionary effort now maintained among the Indians by several of the Christian denominations:

Denomination.	Missions and Churches.	Missionaries and Helpers.	Church Members Native.	Mis- sion Schools.
Baptist, Northern	123	127	5408	5
Congregational	34	26	1331	4
Friends	10	22	550	1
Mennonite	17	18	250	
Methodist Episcopal	92	57	2500	6
Methodist Episcopal, South....	110	37	2875	
Moravian	36	20	875	
Presbyterian, Northern	249	194	8955	13
Presbyterian, Southern	20	12	500	1
Protestant Episcopal	127	170	6982	18
Reformed Church in America..	13	22	1500	
Roman Catholic	238	610	63,000	63

The story of these missions and those of the earlier period is eloquent of a long succession of as heroic deeds as could be mustered from the history of any country in any age. To be sure, many of the missions that were established came to a speedy end. Some of them, on the other hand, continued long in the field but seemed to work little permanent change in the life of the Indian. Some historians have written much of the apparent failure of certain Indian missions, and little of others that showed immediate and permanent success. A mature judgment on this question is expressed by Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of American Ethnology:

“In the four centuries of American history there is no more inspiring chapter of heroism, self-sacrifice, and devotion to high ideals than that offered by the Indian missions. Some of the missionaries were of noble blood and had renounced titles and estates to engage in the work; most of them were of finished scholarship and refined habit, and nearly all were of such exceptional ability as to have commanded attention in any community and to have possessed them-

selves of wealth and reputation, had they so chosen; yet they deliberately faced poverty and sufferings, exile and oblivion, ingratitude, torture, and death itself in the hope that some portion of the darkened world might be made better through their effort. To the student who knows what infinite forms of cruelty, brutishness, and filthiness belonged to savagery, from Florida to Alaska, it is beyond question that, in spite of sectarian limitations and shortcomings of individuals, the missionaries have fought a good fight. Where they have failed to accomplish large results the reason lies in the irrepressible selfishness of the white man, or in the innate incompetence and unworthiness of the people for whom they labored."

It is a task of the slow centuries to undo the work of ages and re-make the savage children of the forest. Some will always scoff as the hard task drags and clogs along its way. Others will toil and faint not. And when the story of saving the American Indian is at last told in history, the highest place in the great honor roll will go, even as in the saving of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors from savagery, to the Christian missionaries and missions.

In the light of the foregoing sketch of Indian history and Indian missions, the work of the Society of Friends may be seen against a proper background.

Until about the close of the eighteenth century the efforts of Friends for the Indians were confined to the following points: The development of kindly relations with the Indians, protecting them from the vices and injustice of the white men, and the preaching of the Gospel to them by Friends who felt called to do so by an individual "concern." It was perhaps the

feeling cherished by Friends that everything in the nature of religious effort should be the result of *individual leading* that postponed to so late a date the corporate efforts of various yearly meetings along mission lines.

About 1795 the *corporate* phase of Friends' efforts for the Indians began, and from that time forward various yearly meetings have fostered worthy missionary efforts, in which the teaching of useful industrial arts has had a large place.

Perhaps the most interesting part taken by Friends in the Indian work was the leading part assigned to them by President Grant in carrying out his famous peace policy, beginning in 1869. From this time dates the work of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs.

A final phase, worthy of consideration, is the influence and labors of Friends in various philanthropic organizations devoted to the welfare of the Indians.

To a description of these various lines of effort the remaining chapters of this study are devoted.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

At convenient division points in this study will be found bibliographical notes referring to the principal source materials or secondary works used by the author, and to other works that may be of value to readers in carrying on further reading along the lines treated briefly in this text. See also General Note on Bibliography at end of volume.

BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS, *Annual Reports*.
Washington, D. C.

Contain valuable material on special problems connected with the Indian Service.

COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, *Reports*. Published annually by the United States Government.

These reports are the great store-house of information on the work of the government for the Indian.

DENNIS, J. S., AND OTHERS. *World Atlas of Christian Missions*. Student Volunteer Movement. New York. 1911.

Contains useful maps showing location of Indian missions in the United States, Canada, and Alaska.

EASTMAN, CHARLES A. (OHIYESA). *The Indian Today*. New York. 1915.

A discussion of the Indian problem by a Sioux Indian. *Encyclopedia* articles. There is a splendid brief account of the American Indians in the *New International Encyclopedia*, and a longer one in the 11th edition of the *Britannica*. In the latter is an especially valuable table in which each Indian tribe and linguistic family is given, with the following headings of information after each: Stock, Situation, Population, Degree of Intermixture, Condition, Progress, Authorities (*i. e.*, citation of books on the particular tribe).

FARRAND, LIVINGSTON. *Basis of American History*. (Vol. I of *American Nation* series.) Harper and Bros. 1904.

The larger part of this volume deals with the American Indians, their history, customs, and present conditions. It is the best brief narrative treatise and is thoroughly reliable.

See bibliography at close of volume for list of works on American Indians.

FLETCHER, ALICE C. *Indian Education and Civilization*. Government Printing Office. 1888.

This work is now rather old but it contains much information that is still valuable and interesting.

HODGE, FREDERICK WEBB (editor). *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*. 2 vols. Government Printing Office. 1907-1910.

This is the best general reference work now available and everyone interested in Indian history should have it. It is a government publication and can sometimes be secured gratis through a Congressman.

The above chapter is based largely on information contained in these volumes. See especially the articles on Missions, Education, Governmental Policy, English Influence, French Influence, Spanish Influence, etc.

A most valuable feature of these volumes is the citation of the best authorities on various phases of Indian history, given at the close of the more important articles.

See the fine large map at the close of volume I, showing the early distribution of Indian linguistic families. *Indian Laws, Codification, Annotation, and Revision of*. Prepared by W. K. Watkins. Government Printing Office. Washington. 1917.

Indian Population in the United States and Alaska. Bureau of Census. Washington. 1915.

A splendid compilation with tables, maps and charts. Based on U. S. Census of 1910. LEUPP, FRANCIS E. *In Red Man's Land*. New York. 1914.

A small handbook on the Indian problem by a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Contains a supplemental chapter by A. F. Beard on Christian missions among the Indians.

Another and fuller discussion by Mr. Leupp is *The Indian and His Problem*. New York. 1910. MOFFETT, THOMAS C. *The American Indian on the New Trail*. New York. 1914.

A valuable contribution from the standpoint of Christian missions. ROYCE, CHARLES C. *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*. Government Printing Office. 1899.

This is also a government publication and is Part 2

of the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

The introduction by Cyrus Thomas gives much valuable information on the policy of the early colonizing nations, of the various English colonies, and of the United States toward Indian land claims.

The body of the volume contains a tabular schedule of the successive Indian land cessions arranged chronologically; also a series of graphic, colored maps showing the various cessions in the different states.

CHAPTER II.

PREACHING.

THE founding by Friends of permanent mission establishments among the Indians did not occur until the last decade of the eighteenth century. Prior to that time individual Friends, under a "concern," preached the Gospel to the savages, and Friends in general sought to cultivate kindly relations with them and protect them from the injustice and the vices of unprincipled white men. This preaching and practice of the Christian virtues among the Indians during the first century and a half of Quakerism form suitable divisions of this study and a fitting introduction to the later work of Friends in regular mission establishments. The early *preaching* of Friends among the Indians will be described in this chapter, and *practice* in the two following chapters.

It was a "weighty concern" of the first generations of Friends that the Gospel should be preached to the American Indians, and the story of this early ministry is suitably opened by the words and acts of the founder of the Society of Friends. George Fox, shortly after the beginning of his ministry in England, admonished Friends in America (1667) to "go and discourse with some of the Heathen Kings, desiring them to gather their Council and People together, that you may declare God's Everlasting Truth, and his Everlasting Way of Life and Salvation to them, knowing that

Christ is the promise of God to them, a Covenant of Light to the Gentiles.”¹

A few years later (1671-1672) Fox had the opportunity to put his own suggestion into practice during his sojourn in America, and he was not recreant. From Rhode Island to the Carolinas the founder of Quakerism traveled and whenever opportunity offered he preached the Gospel to the Gentiles. The picture of this rugged apostle of Truth ministering to the rude savages in their forest haunts is simply but vividly pictured in his own words: “I had a Meetinge at Shelter Island amonge the Indians, and the King and his Councell with about 100 more Indians were with him, and they sate about two hours and I spoke to them by an Interpreter, . . . and they appeared very Loveinge, and they saide all was truth, and did make a confession after the Meetinge of it; and soe I have set up a meetinge amonge them once a fortnight and a friende Joseph Silvester is to reade the Scriptures to them.” Again, on Fox’s return from New England to Maryland, he describes a large meeting of white people with a few Indians present: “And an Indian Emperour, and one of his great men, and another great man of another Nation of the Indians, and they stayed all the Meetinge, and I had a good speech with them the night before, . . . and they Received the truth, and was very Loveinge and the Emperour saide hee did beleve that I was a very honest man, blessed be the Lord his truth doth spreade.” Some idea of Fox’s teaching to the Indians may be gathered from his description of a meeting with them in North Carolina: “I went amonge the Indians . . . and shewed them

¹ Fox, *Epistles* (edn. 1698), 254.

that God made all things in six dayes, and made but one man and a woman and how that God did drowne the old world, because of their wickedness, and soe alonge to Christ, and how that hee did dye for all and for their sinns, and did inlighten them, and if they did doe evill hee would burne them, and if they did well, they should not bee burned."²

It is difficult to say how much the untutored natives profited by this doctrine, which was happily succeeded by the teaching of industrial arts in the later mission period. But the interest and good-will of the savages may be attested to the modern reader as to Fox himself by the fact that they stayed through his rather prolonged discourses and were well disposed toward him afterward.³ The zeal of the Quaker apostle and the kindness of the Indians show unmistakably in the typical entries of the *Journal*: "Wee declared the day of the Lord to them," and "They was very Loveinge."

Nor did George Fox forget his dusky hosts of the American forests after his return to England. Writing to Virginia Friends in 1673 he says: "If you go over again to Carolina, you may enquire of Capt. Batts, the Old Governor, with whom I left a Paper to be read to the Emperor, and his Thirty Kings under

² For this and the preceding quotations see Fox, *Journal* (Camb. edn. 1911), 2: 224, 229, 236. For further references on Indians see Index of the *Journal*. It has seemed proper in this treatise to modernize somewhat the spelling and punctuation of the original journal for the sake of clearness, yet not so completely as to destroy entirely the quaintness of the original style.—See also "The American Journey of George Fox" in *Journal of Friends' Historical Society* (London), 9 (1912): 4-52.

³ John Burnyeat tells of a meeting which he attended in Maryland at which George Fox preached for nearly five hours to the Indians.—*Writings of John Burnyeat* (1691), 60.

him of the Tusrowres (Tuscaroras), who were to come to treat for peace with the People of Carolina.”⁴

Again in 1679 he wrote to “Friends in America” urging that they teach the Indians the universality of Christ’s redemption, who “tasted Death for every Man, . . . and is the Propitiation not for the Sins of Christians only, but for the Sins of the whole World.” Two years later he sent a similar message to the Friends of Carolina, and in 1682 in “An Epistle to all Planters, and Such Who are Transporting Themselves into Foreign Plantations in America,” he says: “And in all places where you do outwardly live and settle, invite all the Indians and their Kings, and have Meetings with them, or they with you.” So to the Friends of West Jersey and Pennsylvania in 1687 and to Friends in all the American colonies in 1689 George Fox wrote urging them to be true to their duty of carrying the Gospel to the Indians. His life was now drawing to its close but his passion for the salvation of the American savages burned without falter. In 1690, only a few months before his death, he wrote: “Dear Friends and Brethren, Ministers, Exhorters, and Admonishers, that are gone into America and the islands thereaway. Stir up the gift of God in you, and the pure mind, and improve your talents, that ye may be the light of the world, a city set upon a hill, that cannot be hid. Let your light shine among the Indians, the Blacks and the Whites, that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign, that God hath set up, Christ Jesus. . . . And Friends, . . . have meetings with the Indian kings, and their councils and subjects everywhere, and with

⁴ Fox, *Epistles* (edn. 1698), 336.

others. Bring them all to the baptizing and circumcising Spirit, by which they may know God, and serve and worship Him." Such is the urgent plea made by the founder of Quakerism in the last days of his life, a plea to which all later efforts of Friends on behalf of the Indians make answer.⁵

Many other early Friends felt the call to speak to the spiritual need of the savages, and it is worth the effort to follow a few of them in their arduous journeyings.

More than a decade before George Fox visited America there were Quaker apostles to the Indians. In 1658 Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston made their remarkable journey from Virginia to Long Island through the Indian country, as will be related in the following chapter.⁶ The former Friend continued the journey to New England and preached to the natives at various places. The earliest Quaker ministry to the Indians of which a contemporary description has been found is recounted in the following excerpt from a letter of Josiah Coale written at this time: "I was moved to goe to a serten Island (in New England) caled Martens [Marthas] Vineyard to visit som Indians ther amongst whom I had felt desires to know the Lord, and I had A meeting amongst them, and they were very Loving to mee, and tould mee they much desired to know God, and afterwards at Another place

⁵ For the epistles quoted or referred to above see Fox, *Epistles* (edn. 1698), 426-427, 463, 477, 553. And *Journal of George Fox* (Bicent. edn., 1901), 2: 493, 502.

⁶ See below, p. 41. Besides this early incident it is almost certain that in 1657 Christopher Holder and John Copeland preached to the friendly Indians who entertained them for three days on Martha's Vineyard, but the fact is not mentioned in the account in Norton's *Ensigne*. See below, p. 41.

Neare plimouth Coleney I was amongst the Indians amongst whom was true Breathing after the Knowledge of God.”⁷

The following year, 1659, John Taylor, a Friend of York, England, traveled in America and came in touch with the Indians on Long Island. His Journal tells the story of his message to them: “And so when I had an opportunity to declare the Truth to them, and to turn them from Darkness to the Light of Christ Jesus, in their own Hearts, which would teach them, and give them the Knowledge of God that made them. And they heard me soberly and did Confess to the Truth I spake, by an Interpreter that was my Guide. And they were Loving and Kind afterwards to Friends.”⁸ Prophetic of the later kindly relations between Friends and the Indians is the final statement of this early Friend, who was one of the first members of the Society to carry the Gospel message to them.

William Penn’s benevolence to the Indians is best seen in his practical dealings with them. He felt that they could be won to Christianity most readily “*by just and lenient measures,*” as he expressed it in his application to the Crown for the grant of Pennsylvania. But he was also desirous that as much as might be they should be taught the precepts of Christianity. “My Friends: There is a great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you and I and all people owe their being and well-being; to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world. This great God

⁷ Transcript of MS. letter in Devonshire House, London: Josiah Coale to George Bishop, 6 mo. 2d, 1658. Letter reprinted in *Bulletin of Friends’ Hist. Soc.* (Phila.), 6 (1914): 2-5.

⁸ John Taylor, *Journal* (1710), 7-8.

hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are commanded to live and help and do good to one another.”⁹ Such was the simple, kindly message sent by the young proprietor to the Indians of Pennsylvania the year before his own first visit to his new province. The abiding interest of Penn in the spiritual welfare of the Indians is shown in a minute of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting in 1700: “Our dear Friend and governor having laid before this meeting a concern that hath laid upon his mind for sometime concerning the Negroes and the Indians, that Friends ought to be very careful in discharging a good conscience towards them in all respects, *but more especially for the good of their souls*, and that they might, as frequent as may be, come to meetings upon first days; upon consideration whereof, this meeting concludes to appoint a meeting for the Negroes to be kept once a month.”¹⁰ No meeting was provided for the Indians as they probably could not come regularly to the city and the matter of holding meetings among them was still left to individual “concerns.” The interest of William Penn is however evident, as it is also in the following account by John Richardson of his own concern for the Indians and Penn’s cooperation therein. John Richardson was an English Friend traveling in America and was present at a great meeting held between Penn and the Indians just before the former returned to England in 1701. Richardson says: “When much

⁹ Letter of Penn to the Indians, 18 Oct., 1681, carried to America by William Markham, Penn’s cousin and deputy.—Quoted in Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment*, 155–156. See *Select Works of William Penn* (edn. 1771), XXVIII. Reprinted in many collections.

¹⁰ Quoted in *Conduct of Friends* (1844), 55, 56.

of the Matters were gone through, I put William Penn in mind to enquire of the Interpreter, if he could find some Terms or Words that might be intelligible to them, in a religious Sense, by which he might reach the Understandings of the Natives, and inculcate into their Minds a Sense of the Principles of Truth, such as Christ's manifesting himself to the inward Senses of the Soul, by his Light, Grace or holy Spirit, with the Manner of the Operations and working thereof in the Hearts of the Children of Men, and how it did reprove for Evil, and minister Peace and Comfort to the Soul in its Obedience and Well-doing; or, as near as he could, come to the Substance of this in their own Language. William Penn much pressed the Matter upon the Interpreter to do his best, in any Terms, that might reach their Capacities."¹¹ The effort to get these thoughts interpreted to the Indians met with little success on this occasion, but later Richardson had better success when he visited some of the Pennsylvania Indians in their own haunts. He seemed to have a more satisfactory interpreter at this time, and the meeting makes one of the finest pictures extant of the ministry of early Friends to the natives: "When I came to them, and signified that I was come from a far Country with a Message from the Great Man above (as they call God) and my Message was to endeavour to persuade them that they should not be Drunkards, nor steal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit Adultery, nor put away their Wives, especially for small Faults, which (as I understood) is usual with them to do; for if they did those Things, the great and good Man above would be angry with them, and would

¹¹ *Account of the Life of John Richardson* (1783), 135-136.

not prosper them, but bring Trouble on them; but if they were careful to refrain these Evils (before mentioned) then would God love them, and prosper them, and speak Peace to them; or very near these Words. And when the Interpreter expressed these Things to them in their own Language, they wept, and Tears ran down their naked Bodies, and they smote their Hands upon their Breasts and I perceived said something to the Interpreter: I asked what they said? He told me they said, all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the great Man had sent me, I could not have told them those Things. I desired the Interpreter to ask them, how they *knew* what I said to them was good? they replied, and smote their Hands on their Breasts, the good Man here (meaning in their Hearts) told them what I said was all good. They manifested much Love to me in their Way, and I believe the Love of God is to them, and all People in the Day of their Visitation.”¹²

Thomas Story, traveling in America in 1699, tells interestingly of his efforts to declare spiritual things to the natives. At a meeting with some Indians in Virginia he declared: “That we did not come among them for any Hurt to them [they seemed somewhat fearful] or Gain to ourselves, but being lately arrived from England, had a desire to see them; for we loved Indians, and had something to say to them concerning the great God, who made the Heavens, the Sun, Moon, Earth, and all that dwell therein, Englishmen, Indians, and all Nations; that he loves all good English, and good Indians, and other good People everywhere. . . . And that God had placed a Witness in the Heart of

¹² *Account of the Life of John Richardson* (1783), 138–139.

every Man, which approves that which is good, and reproves that which is evil." A little later as Thomas Story was passing through Connecticut toward Rhode Island he found an Indian woman spinning at a wheel. "And after a while I found a Concern for her in my Mind, and made her stop her Wheel, and then spake to her of the Witness of God in her, which discovered to her Good and Evil, that dictates the former, and reproves the latter. To which she confessed, and said, with Tears in her Eyes, that she knew better than she practiced,—and was very humble."¹³

A visit of Thomas Chalkley to some Shawnee and other Indians is of interest. With thirteen companions Chalkley traveled into the back country "near Susquehannah, at Conestogoe," in southern Pennsylvania. "We had first a meeting with the Senecas, with which they were much affected; and they called the other nation, viz., the Shawanese, and interpreted to them what we had spoke in their meeting, and the poor Indians, particularly some of the young men and women, were under a solid exercise and concern. We had also a meeting with the other nation, and they were all very kind to us, and desired more such opportunities; the which I hope Divine Providence will order them, if they are worthy thereof. The Gospel of Jesus Christ was preached freely to them, and faith in Christ, who was put to death in Jerusalem, by the unbelieving Jews; and that this same Jesus came to save people from their sins, and by his grace and light in the soul, shows to man his sins, and convinceth him thereof, delivering him out of them, and gives inward peace and comfort to the soul for well-doing, and

¹³ *Journal of Thomas Story* (1747), 162, 195.

sorrow and trouble for evil doing ; to all of which, as their manner is, they gave publick assents ; and to that of the light in the soul, they gave double assent, and seemed much affected with the doctrine of the truth ; also the benefit of the holy Scriptures was largely opened to them.”¹⁴ The reference to the readiness with which the Indians assented to the doctrine of the Inward Light is mentioned many times by early Friends from the time of Fox’s discourse with the Indians during his sojourn in America. The doctrine seemed to tally so well with the spiritual conceptions of the natives and their apprehension of the promptings of conscience that they seem readily to have attained what seemed to be common ground with Friends.

John Woolman is usually and rightly thought of as the champion of the rights of negroes, but nowhere did his sweet spirit blossom in more fragrant beauty than when it opened toward the American Indians. Histories do not improve on the writing of John Woolman and the story of his visit to the Indians of central Pennsylvania in 1763 is best told in the classic beauty and simplicity of his own Journal: “Having for many years felt love in my heart towards the natives of this land who dwell far back in the wilderness, whose ancestors were formerly the owners and possessors of the land where we dwell, and who for a small consideration assigned their inheritance to us, and being at Philadelphia in the eighth month, 1761, I fell in company with some of those natives who lived on the east branch of the river Susquehanna, at an Indian town called Wehaloosing [Wyalusing], two hundred miles from Philadelphia” and thereafter “at times I

¹⁴ *Journal of Thomas Chalkley* (1818), 73.

felt an inward drawing towards a visit to that place." He told his "concern" to no one but his wife for some time, but finally laid it before his Monthly, Quarterly, and the General Spring Meeting (1762-1763) and found Friends in unity with his concern. Undeterred by the rumor of an Indian uprising on the frontier he finally set out on his perilous journey with another Friend, Benjamin Parvin, as companion, and with some Indian guides. After a long and wearisome journey the Quaker apostle reached his destination. The famous Moravian missionary David Zeisberger had arrived at Wyalusing before John Woolman and had been accepted by the Indians as their regular missionary. Quaker and Moravian entered however into harmonious relations and John Woolman was given full opportunity to deliver his message. Describing his feeling toward the Indians and his ministry to them he says: "Before our first meeting this morning, I was led to meditate on the manifold difficulties of these Indians, who, by the permission of the Six Nations, dwell in these parts. A near sympathy with them was raised in me, and, my heart being enlarged in the love of Christ, I thought that the affectionate care of a good man for his only brother in affliction does not exceed what I then felt for that people." Again he says: "In the afternoon, my heart being filled with a heavenly care for their good, I spake to them awhile by interpreters; but none of them being perfect in the work, and I feeling the current of love run strong, told the interpreters that I believed some of the people would understand me, and so I proceeded without them; and I believe the Holy Ghost wrought

on some hearts to edification where all the words were not understood." John Woolman remained some days among the Indians and thus describes his last meeting with them: "The following morning, in meeting, my heart was enlarged in pure love among them, and in short plain sentences I expressed several things that rested upon me, which one of the interpreters gave the people pretty readily. The meeting ended in supplication, and I had cause humbly to acknowledge the loving kindness of the Lord towards us; and then I believed that a door remained open for the faithful disciples of Jesus Christ to labour among these people. And now, feeling my mind at liberty to return, I took my leave of them in general at the conclusion of what I had said in meeting, and we then prepared to go homeward." So ended this memorable visit of John Woolman to the Pennsylvania Indians. There is a spirit over the whole narrative that cannot well be caught in a few excerpts. His universal love for the oppressed shines through all the story and in one place came to a very sun-burst of loving-kindness when on the outward journey of this mission he saw in prospect the long line of favorably situated English settlements, along the American coast, and in contrast "the difficulties attending the natives as well as the negroes in many places." Continuing, he says: "A weighty and heavenly care came over my mind, and love filled my heart towards all mankind, in which I felt a strong engagement that we might be obedient to the Lord while in tender mercy He is yet calling to us, and that we might so attend to pure universal righteousness as to give no just cause of offence to the gentiles, who do

not profess Christianity, whether they be blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent."¹⁵

More than a century has been covered thus far in the narrative of this chapter and in approaching the end of the period it is well to note the great change that has come in the situation of the Indians.

In the days of William Penn the Delawares, with whom Friends were most closely associated in the early days, had their chief habitat along the Delaware River. Thus Friends, settled in eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, came readily into association with them. But all this had changed by the end of the eighteenth century. White settlers, including great numbers of Germans and Scotch-Irish, had gradually pushed the Indians westward. Roughly speaking there were, by the time of the Revolution, two strata of white population separating the Friends in the east from the Indians in the central and western parts of Pennsylvania. The first stratum was composed of Germans who poured into the territory just west of that occupied by Friends. The second was of Scotch-Irish, further westward, who clung to the frontier and came roughly into contact with the retreating Indians.

Thus the natives of Pennsylvania had been pushed back. The Delawares removed to the Susquehanna River about 1742, then gradually moved across the Allegheny mountains, were occupying tracts in eastern

¹⁵ *Journal of John Woolman* (1900), 163-181. See also E. de Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, 271. Many interesting details of Woolman's visit to Wyalusing will be found in the new edition of *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* which is under preparation by Amelia Mott Gummere and which the present author has had the privilege of consulting in manuscript form.

Ohio about 1751, and twenty-five years later some of them were forming villages in Indiana.

So it was that when the aged Friend, Zebulon Heston, and his companion, John Parrish, both Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, desired to make a religious visit to the Delawares in 1773, it required a long, arduous journey westward. The most distant settlement visited by them was well within the present state of Ohio and nearly 500 miles from Philadelphia. The "concern" of Zebulon Heston and the unity of Friends therewith is indicated in the following extract from a letter sent to the Indians on that occasion by the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia: "Brethren, —We write this to you by our beloved friend Zebulon Heston, whose mind being influenced by the love of Christ, and constrained thereby, engages him to go and visit you, being desirous, though an old man, to see you before he dies, and to express something of the love of God, which he hath known to preserve him from his youth to this day. He hath approved himself a faithful minister of Christ, both in word and doctrine, and in life and conversation, and we hope you will receive him as our true friend and brother."

The journey of Zebulon Heston and John Parrish occupied about ten weeks and satisfactory meetings were held with the Indians, as may be gathered from the following extract taken from the kindly reply of the Indians to the above epistle: "We think that as we two brothers, the Quakers and Delawares, were brought up together as the children of one man, it is our Saviour's will we should be of one religion. . . . Now you have come and opened the road. . . . We are poor and weak, and not able to judge for our-

selves, and when we think of our poor children it makes us sorry; we hope you will instruct us in the right way, both in things of this life as well as the world to come."¹⁶ Great is the pathos to be read in those lines if the reader but remembers the proud race of Indians who treated with the first proprietor of Pennsylvania when he landed on the shores of the Delaware.

One more incident, just at the end of the period covered by this chapter, may be cited as a fitting close to this portion of the narrative. William Savery, David Bacon, John Parrish, and James Emlen were appointed by the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings in 1794 to attend a treaty to be held between the United States and the Six Nations at Canandaigua, New York. William Savery thus describes a beautiful meeting held during the visit: "The curiosity of the white people being raised, and some coming from other motives, we had a large and good meeting, which held till near sunset; both whites and Indians were quiet and behaved decently; as many of the Indians had received some notion of the Christian religion from missionaries, and were desirous to begin the service with singing of hymns or psalms, and we not thinking it would be best to object to their wishes, they appeared very devout, and I thought that the melody and softness of their voices in the Indian language, and the sweetness and harmony that attended, exceeded by far anything of the kind I had ever heard among the white people. Being in the midst of the

¹⁶ Phila. Meeting for Sufferings, *Minutes*, 1: 388 f. *Conduct of Friends* (1844), 94-97.

woods, the satisfaction of hearing those poor untutored people sing, with every appearance of devotion, their Maker's praise, and the serious attention they paid to what was delivered to them, conspired to make it a solemn meeting, long to be remembered by me."¹⁷

From Josiah Coale in 1658 to William Savery in 1794 a long line of Quaker apostles to the Indians has been followed. Other names, such as those of John Bowater, Robert Widders, James Dickenson, Samuel Bownas, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Budd, Robert Stacey, William Reckitt, Thomas Olive, Thomas Turner, Roger Gill, Thomas Beales, Sarah Stephenson, and William Robinson, might have been mentioned. Each of these Friends held meetings with the Indians, or at least was companion to some ministering Friend on such occasions. Other Friends came into touch with the Indians and preached to them, although in many cases no record has been left of the fact. Sometimes a record is extant of meetings appointed for the Indians with no mention of the Friends present.

Yet in the early period Friends were not so zealous as some other denominations, such as the Catholics, Congregationalists, and Moravians, in preaching the Gospel to the Indians. Individual Friends "under a religious concern" visited the Indians from time to time and spoke to them of spiritual things, finding them especially appealed to by the doctrine of the universal light of Christ in the hearts of men. But from the beginning many Friends felt and expressed doubt as to the efficacy of much *preaching* to the natives without some other things, notably the teaching to

¹⁷ *Journal of William Savery* (edn. 1863), 88-100.

them of useful industrial arts and the daily *practice* on the part of the whites of the Christian virtues that were preached to the Indians.

The *practice* of Friends during the period thus far covered will be narrated in the succeeding chapter. In the later period, covered in other chapters, appear the efforts of Friends to teach the Indians useful arts in regular mission establishments.

“Ruminating on the state of the Oneida Indians,” writes William Savery in 1794, “who are said to be more civilized and better instructed in religion than any others, it is natural to enquire what influence it has had on their manners and morals, which, from anything I can discover, has yet been very small. . . . They have heard of Jesus Christ through their missionary, and have been taught to sing psalms and hymns in their own soft and engaging language; but it appears to me that the great body of the nation have received the gospel in word only, and not in power.”¹⁸

Similarly in New England more than a century before, George Fox and other Friends had found the Indians little benefited by the preaching that they received. They were ill-disposed to accept good precepts from those who in practice despoiled them.¹⁹

The method of teaching the useful, industrial arts to the Indians as a basis for spiritual influence will be illustrated in the later pages of this work. The increased effect that might have been wrought by the early preaching of Friends and all others, if the white

¹⁸ *Journal of William Savery* (edn. 1863), 101.

¹⁹ Fox, *Journal* (Camb. edn. 1911), 2: 250. See also Bowden, *Friends in America*, 1: 125.

men had *practiced* more consistently the Christian virtues, pictures itself clearly in the mind of every thoughtful student.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

For bibliography covering this chapter see Bibliographical Note at close of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III.

PRACTICE.

WHEN William Penn petitioned Charles II for a grant of land in America he stated that one of his objects was the conversion of the poor Indians to Christ's kingdom "*by just and lenient measures.*" He evidently foresaw that the *practice* of the Christian virtues would be more convincing than the preaching of them. This was especially true among the American Indians who were quick, keen judges of human nature.

In the period covered in this and the preceding chapter, reaching from the birth of Quakerism to the close of the eighteenth century, the practical relations of Friends with the Indians form the most important and most interesting part of the story. The province of Pennsylvania looms biggest in it because there Friends had for about seventy-five years a fairly free hand to work out their ideals in practical politics. But in the Jerseys, Rhode Island, and the Carolinas they had some period of political influence, and in other colonies they found many opportunities in private life to translate precept into practice. The story of Friends' dealings with Indians in Pennsylvania during this period has been told and retold, and would easily fill a stout volume if recited in detail. To relate it in a single chapter, with the additional account of similar activi-

ties in other colonies, makes the task largely one of condensation.¹

The kindly relations that existed between early Friends and the Indians have been a subject for idealization. The great treaty at Shackamaxon has been immortalized by the brush of West and the pen of Voltaire as "the only treaty never sworn to and never broken." Perhaps the goodness of the early Quakers in these respects has been exaggerated in the minds of some until they have gained the impression that the action of Penn and other Friends in paying the Indians for their lands was without precedent. Such an impression is, of course, wholly contrary to fact, as has been indicated in an earlier chapter of this treatise.²

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that some recent historians have rebelled against this idealization and in their efforts to correct false impressions have gone somewhat to the other extreme. In the eyes of such an adverse critic as Francis Parkman the admiration of men for the pacific measures of the Pennsylvania Quakers in their dealings with the Indians "will diminish on closely viewing the circumstances of the case." The same writer goes on to produce an argument which if valid would tend not only to diminish but well nigh to destroy entirely any admiration for the Quaker policy.³ Such adverse criticism has probably served a useful purpose in making Friends and others more guarded in their statements of the facts and more careful to give due credit to other denomina-

¹ In addition to the footnote references in this chapter see Bibliographical Note at the end of Chapter IV.

² See pp. 3-4, above.

³ The adverse opinions of Parkman, Fiske, and Hanna are discussed below, pp. 79-83.

tions that have done noble work for the American natives. In reviewing the kindness and justice shown by early Friends to the Indians, the writer cannot forget and the reader may profitably keep before his eyes the shining examples of other truly benevolent people who dealt righteously with their savage neighbors, as recounted in the opening chapter of this treatise. Yet it seems well within the bounds of truth to say that few facts are more strongly attested by historical evidence or more universally accepted by competent historians than the fact that in the matter of fair and kindly dealings with the natives, Friends hold a place unique. As compared with other sects they were tardy in setting up regular mission establishments among the Indians, a fact already noted. Their early *preaching* to the natives was only occasional because left to individual "concerns." But the *practice* of the Christian virtues in dealing with the Indians was a very passion among Friends. They seemed in this respect to seize upon the best practice of earlier communities in America, fuse with it their own vision of the ideal, and then set themselves to put the whole high conception into persistent, almost stubborn practice. If the virtue of Friends in this regard has been some whit overdrawn at times by artist or historian it was probably because the foundation fact of the case was fit subject for idealization in art and literature.

The experience of some of the earliest Friends' ministers who traveled among the Indians has already been recounted. The treatment of such Friends by the natives was prophetic of the kindly relations that were to exist at a later period.

In 1656 an old man, Nicholas Upsall, a member of

the established church in Boston, was exiled from that place because he befriended the Quakers who were being persecuted there. He in turn was befriended by an Indian chief who remarked pointedly: "What a God have the English who deal so with one another over the worship of their God." Upsall later became a fully "convinced" member among Friends.⁴

When Christopher Holder and John Copeland went to Martha's Vineyard in 1657 the Governor seized them and hired an Indian to carry them off the island. Fortunately the Indian had imbibed some of the spirit of Christianity, probably from the missionary efforts inaugurated in the island by Thomas Mayhew, Jr., fourteen years before. For three days the sea was too rough for a passage to the mainland, all of which time, say these Friends: "We received no small love from the Indians, the like we could not receive from the English, for what we eat we could not persuade him whom we were withall to take money for it, he saying that we was strangers, and Jehovah taught him to love strangers."⁵

Similarly Josiah Coale and Thomas Thurston were treated with the utmost kindness by the Indians in the course of their dangerous overland journey from Virginia to New York in 1658. As they traveled northward from Virginia they came among the Susquehanna Indians who received them most hospitably, entertained them in their huts, and then sent several of their number to accompany them for about two

⁴ Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 40-41.

⁵ Norton, *New England's Ensigne*, 21-22. The above mentioned Friends came to America with other apostles of Quakerism in the ship *Woodhouse*. See Jones, *Quakers in Amer. Cols.*, 63, 65.

hundred miles through the untracked wilderness. These Indian companions helped the Friends across rivers and secured for them a supply of food. "After this travel," says Josiah Coale, "we came to a place where more of them inhabited, and they also very kindly entertained us in their houses, where we remained about sixteen days, my fellow traveler being weak of body through sickness and lameness; in which time these Indians shewed very much respect to us, for they gave us freely of the best they could get."

A little later in New England, after Josiah Coale and John Copeland had been beaten and imprisoned by the white settlers, the former found a safe refuge among the Indians. The Indian chief sympathized with the persecuted Friend and said: "The Quakers are honest men and do no harm, and this is no Englishman's sea or land, and Quakers shall come here and welcome." Josiah Coale was much moved by the kindness of his dusky hosts and wrote: "I do confess this to be the Lord's hand of love towards me; through the goodness of the Lord we found these Indians more sober and Christian-like towards us than the Christians so-called."⁶

So it was that the natives received the blessing of the early Quaker apostles who, foot-sore, sick, and afflicted, found rest in the wigwams and comfort in the humble ministrations of the children of the forest. That the Indians too appreciated the attitude of early

⁶ Bowden, *Friends in America*, 1: 123-125. Bishop, *New England Judged* (1703), 28-29. Bowden quotes from and no doubt Bishop used the letter cited above, p. 24, Josiah Coale to George Bishop, 6 mo. 2d, 1658. From endorsements on this letter it would seem that Thomas Chapman accompanied Coale and Thurston at least in part of their journey.

Friends toward them can not be doubted. An early historian tells a simple but affecting story of the presence of a Friend at the death-bed of an Indian chief in New Jersey. This Friend, Thomas Budd, who was one of the proprietors, spoke to the dying chieftain, of God, the future life, and the broad and narrow ways. The Indian answered: "It is true, it is so; . . . there are two paths, a broad and a [strait] path; the worst and the greatest number go in the broad, the best and fewest in the [strait] path." The story goes on to tell how the kindly feeling of the Friends for the old Indian was shown after his death: "This king dying soon afterwards, was attended to his grave in the Quakers burial place in Burlington, with solemnity by the Indians in their manner, and with great respect by many of the English settlers; to whom he had been a sure friend."⁷

So the friendly feeling between Quaker and Indian was early sealed in life and in death. Within a score of years after the first Friends landed in America (1656), not only had they on many occasions preached the Gospel to the Indians, as recounted in an earlier chapter, but by an interchange of kindly deeds had laid deep foundations for a permanent relation of peace and good-will.

The land policy of Friends in their dealings with the Indians was of paramount importance. As has been stated already there was plenty of precedent for the practice of purchasing lands from the native occupants, and since it usually required no great amount of merchandise and trinkets to satisfy the Indians, this

⁷ Smith, *Hist. of New Jersey*, 149-150. See also *Journal of Friends' Historical Society*, London, 9 (1912): 164-166.

policy seemed to be dictated both by justice and wisdom. The distinguishing virtue of Friends would seem to lie in the thorough and fair manner in which they carried out this policy.

Friends settled in many of the colonies long after the land had been acquired from the Indians. In West Jersey and Pennsylvania, however, they occupied large tracts for the first time and were also masters of the public policy. Friends had long wished to plant a colony in America, when by a series of fortunate events (1674-1676) a group of Quakers, including William Penn, came into control of West New Jersey. The activity of Friends in this province was in many respects an introduction to the broader activity in Pennsylvania later, and Quaker history in the two places is always directly connected because from that time until the present, one yearly meeting has covered the whole field.

The famous body of "Concessions and Agreements" (1676), the charter of liberties of the early settlers of West Jersey was probably in large measure the work of William Penn, and the clause relating to the purchase of land from the Indians was a fitting prelude to the later policy of Friends:

"It is agreed, when any land is to be taken up for settlements of towns, or otherways, before it be surveyed, the commissioners or the major part of them, are to appoint some persons to go to the chief of the natives concerned in that land, so intended to be taken up, to acquaint the natives of their intentions, and to give the natives what present they shall agree upon, for their good will or consent; and take a grant of the same in writing, under their hands and seals, or some

other publick way used in those parts of the world: Which grant is to be registered in the publick register, allowing also the natives (if they please) a copy thereof; and that no person or persons take up any land, but by order from the commissioners, for the time being.”⁸

This quotation epitomizes the land policy of Friends in West Jersey. When the large company of Quaker settlers came over in the ship *Kent* in 1677 they put the above agreement into faithful practice. One purchase after another, from one creek to the next along the east shore of the Delaware River, was made from the friendly Indians, and when the supply of trading goods ran low the Friends made a partial payment on a further tract and agreed not to settle on it until the balance was paid.

Friends were also in control of East New Jersey for a few years, and Robert Barclay, the great Quaker apologist, was governor of the province. Again the rights of the Indians were not forgotten and when Barclay sent Gawen Lawrie out as deputy governor to the province in 1684 there was a clause in his *Instructions* providing for the purchase of land from the Indians.⁹

The price of the early land purchases seems as nothing now but it was a fair price in those days in the minds of both parties. It took centuries for the white people themselves to learn the value of lands in America, and the recent policy of conservation on the part of the United States government is merely the latest

⁸ N. J. *Archives* (1st series), 1: 259-260. Smith, *Hist. of N. J.*, 533.

⁹ N. J. *Archives* (1st series), 1: 260, 461. Smith, *Hist. of N. J.*, 94-98. Jones, *Quakers in Amer. Cols.*, 367.

phase of a long process of awakening to real and potential values. The sum paid to Napoleon for the vast Louisiana tract, or that paid to Russia for Alaska seems fully as ridiculous to-day as the collection of merchandise and trinkets paid for Indian lands in the earlier days. Matchcoats, guns, kettles, clothing, lead, powder, knives, axes, tobacco-tongs, pipes, scissors, looking-glasses, awl-blades, fish-hooks, red paint, needles, bells, Jews-harps. and rum¹⁰—these were the currency that Friends paid for New Jersey town-sites, and that other white people paid for Indian lands in various colonies in the early day, and if the bargain was fairly made the Indians returned to their wigwams satisfied.

It was fitting that Friends should be present on behalf of the natives at the treaty of Easton¹¹ in 1758 when the Indians bartered away their last lands in New Jersey, for the sum of one thousand pounds and the further consideration that a tract of land containing about 3,000 acres should be held in trust for their occupancy.¹² It would seem that the idea of this transaction had been suggested by an organization of Friends known as "The New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians," organized the year before. The preamble of the constitution of this organization set forth the kindness shown by the New Jersey Indians to the early settlers, and the first article provided, "That a tract of about Two Thousand acres of the best land that can be got, nigh or adjoining the Bar-

¹⁰ On the practice of giving rum to the Indians see below, pp. 53-54.

¹¹ See below, p. 78.

¹² This tract was probably the first Indian reservation, properly so-called, within the bounds of the United States.

rens . . . be purchased as soon as conveniently may be after the subscriptions are completed," and be set aside for occupation by the Indians without charge to them. The names of nineteen members with the amount of their contributions were subscribed to the constitution, the list containing the notable name of John Woolman with a subscription of six pounds. No further records of the Association have been found and it was probably dropped by Friends because they were able to get their plan incorporated in the public policy the next year as has been described.¹³

Thus Friends helped to inaugurate and carry out the Indian land policy of the province of New Jersey, than which no other American colony or commonwealth, not Pennsylvania herself, has a finer record. While a few minor troubles with the Indians occurred in New Jersey during colonial times, not an Indian war stains the pages of her history, and when the state settled the last claim of its aboriginal inhabitants in 1832 the benedictions of Heaven were invoked upon the state by the Indian representative.¹⁴

The record of land purchases in Pennsylvania is too well known to require a detailed account in this place. The success of Penn's experiment in New Jersey naturally led him to adopt the same policy in Pennsylvania, and he also received sound advice to the same effect from the English authorities. In a letter of 1683

¹³ On the New Jersey Association see Allinson, *Fragmentary Hist. of the New Jersey Indians*, 33-36. (In *Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, 4: 33-50.)

¹⁴ This was a claim for some old fishing rights. See the affecting account in Allinson, *Fragmentary Hist. of New Jersey Indians*, 49-50. (In *Proceedings of N. J. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, 4: 33-50.)

to the committee of the Privy Council having charge of foreign plantations Penn wrote: "I have followed the Bishop of London's counsel, by buying, and not taking away, the natives' land."¹⁵

Thus the process inaugurated in New Jersey, on the eastern shore of the Delaware River, was reenacted along the west bank of the same stream. From creek to creek Penn purchased successive strips of land in the years following 1682, so that three years later he could write: "I have made seven Purchases from the Indians, and in Pay and Presents they have received at least twelve hundred pounds of me."¹⁶ The deeds of these purchases and those of later years are preserved in the official records of early Pennsylvania. Similarly are found notices of continued efforts to settle all land disputes between the Indians and individual settlers. Law after law was passed to prevent individual whites from making private land purchases of the Indians, or from encroaching on unpurchased territory. Many of the official purchases had ill-defined boundaries so that they overlapped, and portions of them were paid for more than once, perhaps several times. The claims of the Iroquois in New York were also remembered since they were the conquerors and over-lords of the Indians in eastern Pennsylvania. They, too, were paid for the same lands that were purchased from the Delawares. In treaty after treaty, in council after council, in the earlier and later years of the province the Indians referred to the early

¹⁵ This bishop was Henry Compton, himself a member of the Privy Council. He was much interested in colonial affairs and a few years later was appointed on the "Committee for Trade and Plantations." See *N. Y. Colonial Docs.*, 3: 572.

¹⁶ Myers, *Narrs. of Early Penna.*, 276.

land purchases and other fair dealings of their friend "Onas" as they called William Penn, and showed to their younger generations the belts of wampum that ratified the early treaties.¹⁷

The antithesis of William Penn's policy in land purchases is found in the dealings of some of the later proprietors after his death. The greatest example of this perfidy was the infamous Walking Purchase of 1737 which carried the province of William Penn far on its course toward that rupture with the natives which resulted in a frontier war less than a score of years thereafter.

Thomas Penn, who left the Society of Friends, was managing proprietor of Pennsylvania at the time of the Walking Purchase and he must bear the odium of the transaction. An old deed of 1686, itself of doubtful authenticity, was produced which conveyed to William Penn certain lands in eastern Pennsylvania for the distance that a man could walk in a day and a half. In 1686 this probably would have meant about thirty miles, but in 1737 this distance was more than doubled by two young men trained for the purpose, traveling in a path that had been cleared for them. Thus the boundary of the alleged purchase was extended to include some coveted lands within the fork of the Delaware and Lehigh rivers, then occupied by a tribe of Delaware Indians. These Indians realized the iniquity of the proceeding and refused to move from their homes. Then, heaping insult upon injury, the executive authorities of the province, since the Quaker assembly refused funds to enforce such a bargain, called in the Iroquois masters of the Delawares. By

¹⁷ For authorities see bibliography at end of Chapter IV.

bribing and cajoling these over-lords the authorities succeeded (1742) in persuading them to order the subject tribe to abandon its old home. This the submissive Delawares did, but in their sullen breasts smouldered from this time forward a fire that a few years later was to sweep the Pennsylvania border.

The outbreak did not occur until 1755, and it was precipitated by a crowning act of injustice of the preceding year. In 1754 the sons of William Penn decided once for all to clear western Pennsylvania of all Indian claims. At a council held at Albany, New York, which was not fully representative of the Pennsylvania Indians nor of the Six Nations, almost the whole western half of Pennsylvania was bargained away by the Indians present. Some of them did not understand fully the reasons for nor the extent of the treaty, and others seem to have been privately influenced to sign the deed. The effect of this affair on the tribes concerned was swift and decisive.¹⁸ The outbreak of the next year, to be discussed later, was the result of a far departure from the policy of the founder of the province. His justice the savages did not forget. His memory they ever held in loving remembrance. His policy in the purchase of lands and the effect of it on the native occupants has been tersely summed up by a historian of Pennsylvania: "What seems to have impressed the Indians was the fact that Penn insisted on purchase at the first and all subsequent proceedings as being an act of justice, to which both parties were to give their assent voluntarily. They also felt that the price paid was ample to extinguish their claims, and that no advantages were taken

¹⁸ For authorities see bibliography at end of Chapter IV.

by plying them with drink or cheating them with false maps. The treaties were open and honorable contracts, and not characterized by sharpness or chicanery. As the Indians reflected on them at their leisure they saw nothing to repent of, and everything to admire in the conduct of Penn and his friends, and they preserved inviolably the terms to which they had solemnly agreed."¹⁹

While Friends had a better opportunity in New Jersey and Pennsylvania than elsewhere to carry out their policies, there is scattering evidence extant to show that in other places they made efforts to the same end. At an early date (1738) Thomas Chalkley had urged Friends at Opequan (Hopewell), in Virginia, to purchase their lands from the Indians because "they have a natural right thereto in justice and equity; and no people . . . according to our own principle, which is according to the glorious Gospel of our dear and holy Lord Jesus Christ, ought to take away or settle on other men's land." The case of these Friends, who had settled on the western side of the mountains on lands for which the Indian title was uncertain, was agitated for over fifty years. The Philadelphia *Meeting for Sufferings* corresponded with Virginia Friends about it and the Friends at Hopewell seem to have done what they could in the matter though perhaps tardily. In 1765 Hopewell Monthly Meeting refused to give certificates of removal to its members until it was ascertained that the site to which they wished to

¹⁹ Sharpless, *A Quaker Experiment*, 1: 159-160. For an extensive account of the Walking Purchase see W. J. Buck, *History of the Indian Walk* (1886). An interesting recent account by W. W. Dewees is in the *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society* (Phila.), Vol. 4 (1912): 124-132.

remove had been fairly purchased from the natives. In 1778 Friends at Hopewell raised a fund to pay the original owners of their land if they could be found, "and if not, for the benefit of such other Indians as may require brotherly compassion in the manner best Wisdom may point out." The matter was settled about sixteen years later through the agency of Philadelphia Friends by a gift to the Tuscarora Indians, then residing in New York, although their claim to the Virginia lands was somewhat doubtful.²⁰

It would seem that when the Indian war broke out in Pennsylvania in 1755 the Friends of Philadelphia were aroused as never before on the subject of Indian land purchases, and by correspondence they urged their fellow members, especially in the southern states, to be true to the principles of the Society in that respect.²¹ Probably as a result of this renewed agitation Friends at New Garden, North Carolina, attempted through a Monthly Meeting committee appointed in 1764, to discover whether there could be any Indian claim against the lands on which they lived. The committee could learn only of a slight remnant of the original occupants, the Cheraws, then living with another tribe, and as the claim was uncertain and affairs "seemed somewhat unsettled" the matter was dropped.²²

A similar case in the south was under discussion for several years following 1787 when some Friends were

²⁰ Chalkley, *Works* (edn. 1790), 317-319. *Conduct of Friends*, 110-111. Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 99, note. Janney, *Hist. of Friends*, 266, 267, 440-441.

²¹ *The Friend*, Phila., 46 (1873): 187.

²² MS. *Minutes* of New Garden Mo. Mtg., 2d mo. and 4 mo., 1764. Weeks, *So. Quakers*, 107, note.

under discipline in North Carolina for occupying lands in eastern Tennessee for which the title was not clear. These Friends were forbidden (apparently without effect) to hold meetings and were under discipline from their monthly and quarterly meetings and the yearly meeting in North Carolina. The pioneers claimed that their lands had been fairly purchased and finally the whole question in dispute was settled by negotiations between the Indians and the government of the United States.²³

These examples are scattered and the records incomplete and unsatisfactory, but they may serve to show at least that efforts were made by Friends in various colonies to follow the good example of those in New Jersey and Pennsylvania in the important matter of land purchases from the Indians.

Other efforts of Friends to incline the Indians to Christianity "by just and lenient measures" must be briefly summarized. In the first instance must be noticed, however, the practice of giving rum to the Indians as a part of the payment in land purchases. The only record of this being practiced by Friends is in the earliest land purchases in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. It seems to have been discontinued when the demoralizing effect on the Indians became evident. There was practically no sentiment among Christians at that time against a moderate use of liquor, and in 1701 we find William Penn at an Indian conference distributing drink to the Indians, yet not in large quantities, but as a beverage to be consumed on the spot.²⁴

²³ MS. *Minutes* of Western and New Garden Quarterly Meetings, and New Garden Mo. Mtg., 1787-1791, and of North Carolina Y. M., 1791; also Weeks, *So. Quakers*, 252.

²⁴ *Life of John Richardson* (1783), 134.

Yet throughout Pennsylvania history during the Quaker regime there were determined efforts made by the authorities to stop the rum traffic among the Indians. During the same period there is no one phase of Indian concerns that so occupied the attention of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting as this one. Over and over again members were cautioned and warned against having any part in the business of supplying liquors to the Indians. In 1687 a long and earnest minute on the subject was adopted and by way of bringing the matter home to every member the advice was closed in the following words: "We advise that this Our Testimony may be Entered in Every Monthly Meeting Book, and Every Friend belonging to the Said Meeting to Subscribe the Same."²⁵

Such was the attitude of Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and an interesting example in another part of the country was the law passed in South Carolina early in the regime of the Quaker governor, John Archdale: "It is enacted that every person which shall give, or any other way dispose of any rum or brandy, or any sorte of spirrits to any Indian or Indians . . . shall forfeit for every time he shall dispose of any such liquors as aforesaid the summe of twenty pounds."²⁶

In Pennsylvania there was need of restricting other trade with the Indians besides that in rum, and so a supervision was kept over traders to the end that the

²⁵ Several other extracts from *Minutes* given by Sharpless in Jones, *Quakers in American Colonies*, 499-500. For the public policy in Penna. see Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment*, 1: 165-169, 171-172. For reference to source materials see *Penna. Records and Archives* (1st series), Index volume, under "Indians" and "Rum."

²⁶ Jones, *Quakers in Amer. Cols.*, 347.

Indians might not be defrauded and thus cause be given for ill-will between the two races. One of the finest examples of the integrity of William Penn has come to light in this connection in a private letter written by him to a friend in 1681: "I did refuse a great temptation last second day, which was six thousand pounds . . . and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north, between the Susquehannah and Delaware rivers, paying me two and a half per cent. acknowledgment or rent: but as the Lord gave it to me over all and great opposition . . . I would not abuse his love, nor act unworthy of his providence, and so defile what came to me clean."²⁷

In the adjustment of civil disputes between the whites and the Indians great efforts were made by Friends to secure justice for the natives. In New Jersey and Pennsylvania under the Quaker regime the experiment was tried of having mixed juries of whites and Indians, and an order to the same effect was issued in Rhode Island by the Quaker Governor, Nicholas Easton. The success of such experiments did not seem to warrant their long continuance, but they are typical of an extended list of efforts on the part of Friends to secure justice and fair play for the natives.²⁸

²⁷ Letter to Robert Turner, in *Memoirs of Hist. Soc. of Penna.* (edn. 1864), 1: 212.

²⁸ *N. J. Archives* (1st series), 1: 259. Jones, *Quakers in American Cols.*, 175, note, 402. Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment*, 1: 158, 165, 170-172. Proud, *Hist. of Penna.*, 2: 146-149. A more practical plan was inaugurated under Governor Archdale in South Carolina, by which the Governor and one member of the Council should judge disputes between Indians or between whites and Indians. See *Statutes of S. C.*, 2: 109.

One of the darkest pages in American colonial history tells of the enslavement of the native inhabitants of the country. While the number of Indian slaves was always much smaller than that of negroes yet it was larger than readers of American history usually suppose. A report of 1708 placed the number of Indian slaves in the Carolinas at 1,400. In 1730 the population of South Kingston, Rhode Island, included 935 whites, 333 negroes and 223 Indian slaves. These figures probably represent extreme cases but it is evident from recent historical research that in all of the English colonies in America the enslavement of Indians was practised to some extent. The system of Indian slavery existed most extensively in the South, quite largely in New England, and least of all in the middle colonies.

It is to be remembered that Christian people as a rule had no scruples about slavery during the time of American colonial history. The radical sentiment among Friends that resulted in the manumission of their slaves did not develop greatly until after 1750.

Yet it is evident that prior to that time there was some sentiment among Friends against the enslavement of Indians. Following King Philip's War (1675-1676) many Indian captives were sold into slavery. The government of Rhode Island was in the hands of Friends at this period and it is evident that the treatment of captive Indians was less severe there than in most of the other New England colonies. By a vote of the General Assembly in 1676 it was ordered that "noe Indian in this Colony be a slave, but only to pay their debts or for their bringing up, or custody

they have received, or to performe covenant as if they had been countrymen not in warr.”²⁹

Just what some of these exceptions meant at the time, it is difficult to say but it is apparent that the enslavement of Indians was considerably limited. This interpretation is borne out by the action of the town of Providence a few months later in disposing of a number of Indian captives by “involuntary indenture” for a period of nine years. This would not be considered slavery in the strict meaning of the word which would involve indenture for life. It was customary at the time to sell even white people into temporary servitude as a punishment for crime.

Various other restrictions on the buying, selling or holding of Indian slaves make it appear that the Quaker influence in Rhode Island at least mitigated this crime against the native inhabitants.

Throughout the early period of Pennsylvania history (1681-1755) there were no Indian wars and hence no Indian captives were available for enslavement. It is clear, however, that Indian slaves were imported from other colonies, as the early newspapers contain accounts of their being bought and sold.

As the Friendly testimony against slavery developed, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting began to take action against the trade in Indian slaves. In 1709 a clause was placed in the Discipline prohibiting members from purchasing Indian slaves. In 1719 at the close of a Minute directed against the sale of rum to the Indians the Yearly Meeting directed that “to avoid giving

²⁹ *Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, 2: 534-535.

them Occasion of Discontent, it is desired that Friends do not buy or sell Indian Slaves."³⁰

In later years as the sentiment against slavery increased among Friends the general testimony against the system included of course Indian slavery and the records sometimes read "negroes and other slaves."³¹

During the administration of the Quaker governor, John Archdale, in South Carolina, a tribe of Indians under his jurisdiction captured some Florida Indians and prepared to sell them into slavery. Archdale forbade the transaction and secured the safe return of the Indians to Florida. A little later an English ship was cast away on the Florida coast among barbarous Indians, but the survivors, including two traveling Friends, Robert Barrow and Edward Wardell, were offered no harm and finally made their way to St. Augustine. Archdale attributes their escape to the kindly feeling between Carolina and Florida, and their respective Indian tribes, which was the outgrowth of his earlier act.³²

So while slavery in general was not condemned by Christian people during the early colonial period, and while Indian slavery was not widespread enough to be an outstanding evil at the time, yet it is evident that on due occasion the practice was mitigated or curtailed by those who at a later period were to lead in the crusade against negro slavery.

³⁰ MS. *Minutes* of Phila. Y. M., 1709 and 1719.

³¹ Much of the above material on Indian slavery has been gathered from A. W. Lauber, *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*, 106, 110, 116, 128-130, 151-152, 308. —The *Minutes* of Virginia Yearly Meeting and of the Meeting for Sufferings mention aid given to Indians, 1813 to 1815, in securing their release, through judicial action, from a state of slavery.

³² *Hist. Collections of S. C.*, 2: 108.

In the ways outlined above Friends sought in their dealings with the Indians to put the Christian precepts into practice. By purchasing lands fairly from the native occupants, by restricting the sale of rum and safe-guarding other trade so as to prevent fraud, by dealing out as nearly as possible even justice to Indians and whites in civil disputes, by raising their voices against the infamy of Indian slavery,—by such means the early Friends sought to carry out William Penn's benevolent design of converting the Indians to Christianity "by just and lenient measures."

The success of this policy of peace and good-will may be next discussed as a fitting conclusion to the story of Friends' activities among the Indians in the early period.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

For bibliography covering this chapter see Bibliographical Note at close of Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV.

THE QUAKER PEACE.

THE peace principle of Friends may account for their dealings with the Indians as already narrated, or the peace may be looked upon as resultant of the kindly *practice* of Friends in their dealings with the Indians, or the peace policy may be regarded as one great phase of that *practice*. Viewed from any standpoint the policy of peace and good-will was a definite purpose of Friends from the beginning, and in it they attained a notable measure of success.

In New Jersey, Rhode Island, the Carolinas, and Pennsylvania, Friends wielded political influence in varying degrees for a period of time. In all the colonies they could use the ordinary influence of private citizens.

In New Jersey, as has been narrated, they were in political control for a few years, and thereafter they continued to be influential in shaping the Indian policy of the province. Thus they helped to inaugurate and carry out a policy which, before the end of the eighteenth century, had solved the Indian problem and saved New Jersey from the horrors of Indian warfare.¹

In Rhode Island the Quakers did not come into political influence early enough in the history of the colony to develop an *Indian Policy*, nor were they ever

¹ See above, p. 47.

in full control of the government. In the latter part of the seventeenth century, however, several Friends were elected to the governorship and to other high offices in the colony, and it so happened that this period of political influence covered the time of King Philip's War, 1675-1676.

This was a war between the New England colonies and the Indian confederation formed by King Philip, and the Quaker authorities of Rhode Island found themselves drawn into it much against their will. As the war was coming on, however, they made a heroic effort to avert it. John Easton, the Quaker Deputy-Governor, with four others went unarmed among the sullen savages at King Philip's camp, and proposed to the Indians that all differences between them and the whites be settled by arbitration. King Philip recited the grievances of the Indians, and the injustice of the whites, and doubted the willingness of the other New England colonies to settle the things in dispute fairly, as proposed by Easton and his companions. The Rhode Islanders pleaded all day for arbitration and although they and the Indians "sat veri friendly together" the peaceful mission was unsuccessful.

In the war that followed the Quakers did not control the colony entirely, but their influence was great enough to develop a very halting war policy, much to the disgust of their political opponents in Rhode Island and in the other New England colonies.

It was at the close of this war, when the other New England colonies were selling their Indian captives as slaves in the West Indies and Morocco, that Rhode Island passed its law limiting Indian slavery in that

colony.² Moreover, when some of the Indian leaders were brought to Newport to be court-martialed and shot, the three Quakers who were members of the court seem to have absented themselves at that time on account of their scruples against inflicting the death penalty.³

The attitude of the Friends who held political position at this time was apparently dictated largely by their genial peace principles. They had no voice in developing the earlier Indian policy of New England and were unsuccessful in their efforts to avert the war. What the history of the Indian affairs in New England would have been if a peace policy had been consistently developed from the beginning must be left to conjecture.

When Charles II granted Pennsylvania to William Penn in 1681 he gave to the proprietor the charter privilege to make war on the savages and to pursue them "even without the limits of the said province, and, by God's assistance, to vanquish and take them; and being taken, to put them to death, by the law of war, or to save them," at his pleasure. Oddly enough sounds this plenary grant of war power in the light of history. The *pleasure* of the great proprietor did not require that clause of the charter. It was rather expressed in the first message sent by William Penn to the Indians, a year before he himself could cross the ocean to sit at their councils: "I have great love and regard towards you; and desire to win and gain your love and friendship, by a kind, just and peaceable life; . . . I have sent my commissioners to treat with you

² See above, p. 56.

³ Jones, *Quakers in Amer. Cols.*, 181-189.

about land, and a firm league of peace; let me desire you to be kind to them, and the people, and receive these presents and tokens, which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good-will to you, and my resolution to live justly, peaceably and friendly with you."

To describe in detail the development and effect of Penn's peace policy with the Indians would be to relate a large part of the early history of Pennsylvania. The story, however, may be succinctly and graphically told by exhibiting some brief extracts from various sources descriptive of the relations between Friends and the Indians during the seventy-five years of the Quaker regime.

In describing the Great Treaty of Shackamaxon, held in 1683, Penn writes: "When the Purchase was agreed, great Promises passed between us, of Kindness and good Neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light." And one Indian leader declared in the name of all the assembled chiefs, "that many Governors had been in the River, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong."⁴

In 1712 some Conestoga Indians came to Philadelphia to present some alleged grievances to the provincial Council. Their remembrance of William Penn's attitude and their readiness to continue the kindly relations are evident in their statement: "That the Proprietor, Govr. Penn had at his first Coming

⁴ The Great Treaty was long thought to have been held in the fall of 1682, but recently historians have argued reasonably for the later date. See F. D. Stone, *Penn's Treaty*, in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, 6: 217-238.

amongst them made an agreement with them that they should always Live as friends and Brothers, and be as one Body, one heart, one mind, and as one Eye and Ear; that what the one saw the other should see, and what the one heard the other should hear, and that there should be nothing but Love and friendship between them and us (the English) forever. . . . On their part they had always kept up to this Agreement, And should constantly observe it in all respects; that if anything came to their knowledge relating to us they would always like brothers and friends acquaint us with it.”⁵

In 1720 James Logan, Secretary of the Council and long time friend of William Penn and of the Pennsylvania Indians, reported a remarkable interview with the natives in the Susquehanna valley. One tribe had said to him: “That William Penn made a League with them to last for three or four generations; That he is now dead, and most of their ancients are also dead, but the League still remains, and they now take this Opportunity to renew and strengthen it with their friend, who has always represented William Penn to them since he left them; One Generation may die, and another may die, but the League of Friendship continues strong and shall forever continue so on their part. And this is not said on behalf of themselves, the Mingoes only, but of all the Indians on the River, And they gave another bundle of Deer Skins.”

Another tribe at the same council declared: “That their present Chief was once at a Council with William Penn before they removed into this province, and that since they came into it, they have always lived quiet

⁵ *Colonial Records*, 2: 553.

and in Peace. . . . When the Sun sets they sleep in Peace, and in Peace they rise with him, and so continue while he continues his course, and think themselves happy in their Friendship, which they shall take Care to have continued from Generation to Generation."

So the Indians sat in council with the friend of William Penn, throwing down a bundle of skins as a pledge with every declaration of fidelity. They had not forgotten the old bond, the old promise of the founder that he and they should be "as one Body, one Blood, one Heart, and one Head." Such were their words in another part of the same council, words followed by the declaration: "That they always remembered this, and should on their parts act accordingly; That few of the old men who were at those Councils were living; These were removed, and those who were then very young are now grown up to succeed, but they transmitted it to their Children, and they and all theirs should remember it forever."⁶

At a council in 1727 the representatives of the Five Nations expressed similar sentiments concerning William Penn and his followers and "the Covenant Chain and the Friendship that has long subsisted between them, and 'tis This they desire may be Kept bright and shining to the Sun, and that neither Rain nor Damps nor any Rust may affect it to deprive it of its Lustre; And that the Governour and his People, and they and their People, and their Children and our Children may ever continue as they have hitherto been, one Body, one Heart and one Blood to all Generations."⁷

⁶ *Colonial Records*, 3: 93-94.

⁷ *Same*, 3: 274.

Unhappily for Indian and white man the old covenant chain was soon to corrode and break. Under the sons of William Penn avarice began to do its wonted work, Friends gradually lost control of the executive policy of the province, and outrages upon the good faith of the Indians followed one another in rapid succession. Germans and Scotch-Irish were crowding into Pennsylvania and were impatient of the Indian land claims that barred the western frontier. The infamous land steals that led up to the hostilities of 1755 have been described in the preceding chapter. The story of the troublous years that followed need be told here only as it illustrates the relations between Friends and the Indians, and shows that the latter distinguished clearly between the new management of the province and the party of their old friend "Onas" that had now lost control of the provincial policy.

When Braddock was defeated in 1755 the die was cast and the Indians of western Pennsylvania were at one with the French, arrayed against the English. Early in 1756 the governor and council of Pennsylvania declared war against the Indians and offered bounties for scalps. The Quaker Peace had at last given way to war.

Many Friends in public life, influenced by the war spirit and the dangers on the frontier, came to feel that a defensive war at least in this instance was justifiable. But the spiritual leaders of the Society and the official utterances of the Yearly Meeting were all on the side of peace.

Friends in England, always interested in the welfare of the Indians and in the maintenance of the

peace "testimony," took an active part in the deliberations that preceded the final decision. Samuel Fothergill and other English Friends traveling in America urged the peace policy. John Hunt and Christopher Wilson brought to America the official advice of London Yearly Meeting to the effect that those Friends who sat in the Pennsylvania Assembly should resign their seats if the public demanded a war policy. As their advice coincided with the decisions of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting the leading Friends in the provincial assembly resigned their places and the peace policy of William Penn, after lasting for seventy-five years, came to an end.

The influence of Friends was however merely turned into another channel. Refusing to pay the war taxes they agreed to contribute to the cause of peace "more than the heaviest taxes of a war can be expected to require," and they proceeded to make good their promise through the work of the Friendly Association. The provincial authorities sometimes resented the self-appointed activities of this association, but not so the Indians. They knew the sincerity of the Friends and rightly counted on them as faithful to the covenants of the old time council fires.

The Friendly Association expended about \$25,000 in the work now undertaken. Its representatives gave presents to the Indians, advised them to treat for peace, were present in the interests of the Indians and of peace at various treaty councils, and finally were rewarded by seeing the savages bury their tomahawks and return to their wigwams in peace.⁸

⁸ Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment*, 1: 179-184. For other authorities, including sources, see bibliographical note below, pp. 83-88.

The immunity of the lives and property of Friends from Indian depredation during this war will be mentioned in another connection. The charge that Friends in their zeal for peace were callous to the sufferings on the frontier cannot stand in the face of the following declaration of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1756), the sincerity of which will never be doubted by a well-informed and unbiased student of history.

“The melancholy afflicting Circumstances of the Settlers on the Frontier of these Provinces is a Subject of deep and painful Exercise to every mind endowed with Christian Tenderness and sympathy, and has engaged the earnest concern and prayers of many to be enabled steadily to wait for and receive a right understanding how to act in the divers methods proposed for their Relief, so as to manifest to the World that a desire to maintain the Testimony of Truth inviolate and to promote the spreading of the Gospell of peace is preferred by them to every temporal Consideration.”⁹

The Quaker Peace Policy forever ended in Pennsylvania in 1756 because after that time Friends never had a controlling voice in the government. One or two events subsequent to that date should, however, be mentioned in this connection.

The minutes of the Friendly Association end in 1760 though its activities continued for a brief period after that time. It continued to provide material aid for the Indians and to send representatives to look after their interests when treaties were made. It apparently brought its efforts to a close in 1764 or shortly thereafter. Nothing is heard of it at the Treaty of Fort

⁹ MS. *Minutes*, 1756.

Stanwix in 1768 when the final treaty was made that closed the Indian question until the time of the Revolution.¹⁰

The so-called "Paxton Riot" is worthy of mention because at that time some of the younger and more exuberant members of the Society of Friends relaxed their peace principles and were very near to fighting *for* not *against* the Indians.

In 1763 some Scotch-Irish frontiersmen of Pennsylvania, residing near the Susquehanna River, became incensed over some occasional Indian depredations on the frontier and murdered a small band of helpless Indians, mostly women and children, who lived peaceably within the white settlements in Lancaster County. A little later a similar group of frontiersmen, several hundred in number, marched toward Philadelphia to visit like vengeance upon some Christian Moravian Indians sheltered there, and incidentally upon any Quaker who might attempt to block the enterprise. The raiders were met near Philadelphia and induced to turn back by a deputation from the provincial government, but not until many young Friends had armed themselves and joined the provisional militia raised in Philadelphia to ward off the threatened raid. The spectacle of armed members of the Society of Friends, taking refuge from the wintry cold within the meeting house, and stacking their arms in the gallery on this strange occasion, is an anomalous picture of Quaker devotion to the Indians and infidelity to the Friendly principle of peace. Some of the members involved in this affair later acknowledged their offence

¹⁰ Parrish, *Friendly Assoc.*, 117-118. Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment*, 2: 38.

and others were labored with by the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia, apparently with not too great harshness.¹¹

While the Friendly policy of peace with the Indians was worked out to best advantage in Pennsylvania, there is scattering evidence to show that southern Friends were not unmindful of the same testimony.

John Archdale, the Quaker governor of the Carolinas, made a treaty of peace and friendship with a coast tribe of Indians who had earlier practiced "barbarous Cruelty on Men Castaway on their Coast," but who subsequent to the treaty astounded by their civility and kindness a company of shipwrecked whites who fell into their hands.

A little later Archdale urgently advised against all wars and animosities among Christians who wished to influence the Indians rightly, for by such actions, he argues, the Christians discard "the essential Badge of Christianity, and so can never be Instruments to propagate the Gospel amongst the Heathen, who will never be won to the Gospel of Peace by the Banner [of] War."¹²

In the Indian war, 1711-1713, Friends of North Carolina had to meet a difficult situation similar to the one faced by Pennsylvania Friends during the French and Indian War. In 1712 the Yearly Meeting of North Carolina, held at Perquimans, appointed a committee to attend the provincial assembly on account of the Indian war and the consequent "distress and trouble which is Like to come upon Friends."

¹¹ Sharpless, *Quaker Experiment*, 2: 42-63. Same, in Jones, *Quakers in Amer. Cols.*, 505-508.

¹² *Hist. Collections of S. C.*, 2: 108-109, 117.

There is no further record on the subject and the above minute is rather obscure. It is probable, however, that Friends wanted to influence the Assembly toward a speedy peace with the Indians, and to protest against compulsory military service. In the latter connection it is evident that Friends were troubled with some of their members, as were Friends of Philadelphia half a century later. In 1713 Eastern Quarterly Meeting expressed regret that some of its members had neglected the caution and advice of Friends and had obeyed "a law made in this country to oblige all free men between sixteen and sixty years of age to go to the Indian war or otherwise to forfeit five pounds." The available records are incomplete and do not show what punishment was meted out to the disobedient Friends, but the temper of the meeting is shown in the concluding portion of the same minute: "Yet we [do regret] nevertheless some have gone contrary to the command of Christ and the advice of their friends and brethren in the truth and sore dishonoured their Head, themselves, their profession besides bringing of a burden upon others of the same profession in complying with the said law. Some seeing and knowing this to be done do advise that those be dealt with in true love to make them sensible if it be in their power, of the wrong they have done themselves and the church they do belong to and for them to give it satisfaction, as such an offence justly requires that the reproach may be removed and they received into unity."¹³

After the Indian troubles at this period and the re-

¹³ MS. *Minutes* of respective meetings, 1712 and 4 mo. 27, 1713.

removal of the war-like Tuscaroras to New York, southern Friends enjoyed comparative immunity from the vexing problems entailed by Indian hostilities. However, at the time of the American Revolution, there is a minute of New Garden Monthly Meeting to show that the old peace testimony was not forgotten: "Abraham Potter offered a paper to this meeting condemning his misconduct of taking up arms to defend himself against the Indians which was read and accepted."¹⁴

Such was the Indian Peace Policy advocated by Friends as opportunity offered in public or private life in several of the American colonies north and south. One result of such advocacy, the preservation of Friends from Indian depredations, deserves more than passing mention.

The fact is picturesque enough to invite over-emphasis in history and probably too much has been made of it in the past. Probably more Friends suffered in Indian wars than is generally known. There were certainly more than Dymond cited in his *Essay on War*.

It is probable that the present author has compiled an incomplete list and that historical investigation will discover further examples from time to time. Yet in order to arrive as nearly as possible at the truth of the matter it will be worth while to mention briefly the chief examples that have been recorded of the sufferings of Friends at the hands of the Indians.

The earliest event of the kind discovered occurred in New England during the Indian disturbances of Queen Anne's War. Thomas Story was traveling in

¹⁴ MS. *Minutes*, New Garden Mo. Mtg., 9 mo., 1775.

New England at the time and tells of a man with whom he talked who had engaged in conversation with some Indians who declared they would never injure the peaceable Quakers. Three Friends, however, about 1704, in Massachusetts, two men and a woman, were killed by the Indians. Friends in general had refrained entirely from carrying weapons or from taking refuge in garrisons. The two men in question broke away from this practice and carried guns, and the woman took refuge in a garrison. Whereupon the Indians, classing them with other militant whites, killed them in cold blood.¹⁵

Again, about 1725, there was evidently some suffering by Friends at the hands of the Indians, for in that year and for one or two years following there are records in the minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of a collection of nearly a thousand dollars taken up for John Hanson, "of the eastern part of New England, whose wife, four children and a servant were carried off by the Indians and he had to ransom them at a great price."¹⁶

Just prior to the Revolutionary War the Quaker frontier in Georgia began to waver somewhat on account of the Indian troubles and meetings were held irregularly. The climax of the trouble came when Tamar Kirk Mendenhall and her eldest son were killed by the Indians and the youngest son held in captivity for about two years. It is probable, however, in this case also that these Friends did not uphold the usual Quaker testimony of fearlessness and trust, as they

¹⁵ Chalkley, *Journal* (1818 edn.), 58-65. *Life of Thos. Story* (1786 edn.), 187-190.

¹⁶ MS. *Minutes* of Phila. Y. M., 1725-1727.

had retreated from their homestead earlier in the year and had returned to gather the ripened grain when the tragedy occurred. It would seem from both of the above accounts that the safety of Friends lay in the consistent attitude of peace that set them apart in the eyes of the savages from all other white settlers.¹⁷

The above instances, of five persons killed and members of two families taken captive, all occurred in New England or the southern colonies where Friends had had no controlling voice in shaping the Indian policy. It is probable also that Friends suffered somewhat, at least in property, at the time of King Philip's War in New England. In New Jersey, on the other hand, there never occurred an Indian war, and in Pennsylvania when the Quaker Peace Policy was finally overthrown by the non-Friendly authorities, the preservation of the lives and property of Friends was remarkable.

The Indian hostilities that broke out on the Pennsylvania border in 1755 came to an end, except for sporadic outbreaks, in 1757. The immunity of Friends during the war was beyond the faith of the Society. It is clear at the beginning of the war that Friends believed they would have to suffer along with others, the innocent with the guilty. It has been stated often, and, for the most part truly, that the Scotch-Irish and some Germans lived on the frontier, while Friends held the older settlements of Pennsylvania near the coast. On this account some critics have railed upon Friends because in their comparative security they were not willing to provide military defense for the

¹⁷ Weeks, *So. Quakers*, 118-120. See also *The Magazine of History*, Aug., 1911, 17-23.

exposed frontier. It has even been intimated that *because* of the safety of their own position they were the readier to avoid military taxation.¹⁸ Yet it seems very clear from the records that at the opening of the war there were Friends in the outlying settlements exposed to the Indians, and that the Society faced the possibility and probability that they would suffer. Indeed, one of the land-mark events in the organization of the Yearly Meeting came at this time and on this account. In 1756 the Meeting for Sufferings was established, chiefly because of the disturbances on the frontier, and its first duty was "to Hear and Consider the Cases of any Friends under Sufferings, especially such as suffer from the Indians or other Enemies." In 1757 Friends of Philadelphia in their epistle to London Yearly Meeting said: "We can inform you with Thankfulness that the Losses and Sufferings of our Brethren on the Frontiers from the Indian Enemies have not been so great as we had cause to apprehend, the last year none being killed or taken Captives that we have heard of."¹⁹

While in a few instances aid was extended to Friends who suffered property loss, yet at the close of the Indian hostilities of this period, Israel Pemberton, a leading Friend of Philadelphia and a prominent worker in the Friendly Association, could write in a personal letter: "Is it not a consideration worthy of thankful remembrance, that in all the desolation on our frontiers, not one Friend we have heard of, has been slain or carried captive, and we have reason to

¹⁸ For a general consideration of this and similar criticisms see General Note below, pp. 79-83.

¹⁹ MS. *Minutes* of Phila. Y. M., 1756.

think, both from their conduct in places where Friends were as much exposed as others and from their declarations to us, they would never hurt Friends if they knew us to be such."²⁰

In 1780, many years after the Quaker peace had come to an end, and when the Indians were inflamed by the ravages of a raiding army, occurred the famous captivity of the Gilbert family. During the preceding year General Sullivan of the American revolutionary army had swept from northeastern Pennsylvania into central New York, burning villages, destroying vegetable and grain crops, girdling fruit trees, and leaving a wide path of desolation where had been the fruitful country of the Five Nations. During the following year broken bands of Indians took savage vengeance on the frontier settlements and plied the torch and tomahawk along the borders of New York and Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Gilbert and family, members of Richland Monthly Meeting, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, were residing at this time on Mahoning Creek, not far from the later city of Mauch Chunk. Their situation was quite exposed to frontier attacks and in the spring of 1780 the immediate family and a few others were taken captive by a roving band of Indian warriors. They were taken on a painful, heart-breaking march across central New York to Fort Niagara, often in apparent danger of death at the hands of their cruel captors. At Fort Niagara the English officers secured the release of Benjamin Gilbert and part of his family by purchase from the Indians. The other members of

²⁰ Letter of 12 mo. 2nd, 1758, reprinted in *The Friend*, Phila., 46 (1873): 187.

the family eventually obtained their liberty and all returned to Pennsylvania, excepting Benjamin Gilbert who died shortly after his release by the Indians.²¹

Such are the chief exceptions that seem to emphasize the rule that Friends were largely immune from Indian attacks because of their well known policy of peace and good-will toward the natives. That the Indians did as a rule make a distinction between Friends and others can scarcely be denied. At a later date the Shawnee Indians, a tribe engaged in this war, stated explicitly in a message to Friends that in former days they knew members of the Society from the people of the world "by the simplicity of [their] appearance which in times of war had been a preservation to [them]."²²

An outgrowth of the Quaker Peace Policy that should be mentioned in conclusion was the custom practiced by Friends of attending treaties in order to safeguard the rights of the Indians. In 1701 William Penn had promised the Indians that he would give them counsel from time to time to promote their interests. Following this principle, when Friends lost

²¹ *The Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and His Family* (edn. 1904), 25, ff.—There were at this period other scattering cases of Friends who suffered property loss as a result of Indian raids, and English Friends contributed to help make good such losses.—Notes of Norman Penney from MS. vols. "Letters to and from Phila." in Devonshire House, London.

²² Weeks, *Southern Quakers*, 131.—How early Friends counted on immunity from Indian attacks is quaintly told by William Edmundson. In a journey from Virginia to North Carolina, made against the advice of others, he passed unharmed through a dangerous Indian country. He had a distinct impression that if he refrained from the journey he would lose his life but if he went his way the Indians would not harm him.—*Journal of William Edmundson* (edn. 1820), 122–123. Also in *Friends' Library*, 2: 123.

control of the executive branch of the Pennsylvania government and hence could not be represented officially at treaties, they developed the custom of sending unofficial representatives. Sometimes the provincial authorities objected to this custom which seemed impertinent to them, but the Indians were glad to have Friends present, and in 1757 the great Delaware chief, Tedyuskung, refused to negotiate a treaty unless the Quakers were present.²³ This practice of attending treaties was continued by Friends during the nineteenth century and became one of the typical methods by which the followers of William Penn showed their lasting desire to aid the American natives.

So it was that the Quaker Peace Policy was carried out in Pennsylvania and exemplified in several other colonies. So it was broken down in the province of William Penn when his policy of justice and fair play came to an end. And so when the evil days came and the tomahawk was bared for its deadly work, the warring savages remembered and spared the children of "Onas."

No more fitting conclusion to this part of the story could be written than the statement of Philadelphia Friends regarding Indian relations in 1717. Then, in the closing days of William Penn's life, his Peace Policy was yielding its best fruits. The happy situation depicted and the desire expressed for the future Indian policy of the country speak with simple eloquence and touching pathos in the light of later history.

"As to . . . our conduct towards the Heathen, near or among whom it hath pleased God to cast our lot. We can truly say as it has been the care of Friends,

²³ Proud, *Hist. of Penna.*, 2: 61, Appendix.

even from their first settlement to behave with a godly and prudent Carriage towards them, in which our worthy friend William Penn, when here always set a noble and good example by his love, Justice, and tenderness towards the Indians, so that his memory is dear to them, and they love to speak of and hear his name. So it is the care of Friends in their several stations, and places what in them lies to continue the same, and we could heartily desire, that as the country increases, all that come in among us, and the succeeding Generations may not slacken in that respect. But look back on the great and remarkable Blessing, preservation and peace, which the hand of the Almighty has vouchsafed unto these Countrys as a continual engagement upon the Inhabitants thereof."

GENERAL NOTE.

Adverse comment on the Quaker Indian policy in Pennsylvania is to be found in the following works: Francis Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (2 vol. edns.), 1: 80-85. John Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, 205-206. Same, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, 2: 160-167. Only the first named requires examination as Fiske merely gives a paraphrased restatement of Parkman's argument.

Parkman makes two points. In the first place he asserts that the Quaker policy was the only prudent policy under the circumstances: "It required no great benevolence to urge the Quakers to deal kindly with their savage neighbors. They were bound in common sense to propitiate them; since by incurring their resentment, they would involve themselves in the dilemma of submitting their necks to the tomahawks, or wielding the carnal weapon, in glaring defiance of their pacific principles."

It is hard to escape the conclusion that in this passage

Parkman's renowned flow of rhythmic English carried him out of the course of good reason. To choose a policy consistent with one's principles has been only seldom regarded as cause for reproach. On the other hand, the *prudence* of the policy of justice and peace with the Indians was ever urged by Friends from their first settlement until now. The strange thing in the light of history is that so many communities for so long a period of time chose the other alternative of "submitting their necks to the tomahawk." It may be wondered whether some future historian will seek to strip the laurels from present day advocates of international peace because their oft iterated claim that peace is the most prudent policy shall be verified by experience. Parkman's other point is that the Delaware Indians who treated with Penn were subject to the Iroquois and so dared not fight the Quakers. He says: "The humble Delawares were but too happy to receive the hand extended to them [by Penn], and dwell in friendship with their pacific neighbors; since to have lifted the hatchet would have brought upon their heads the vengeance of their conquerors, whose good-will Penn had taken pains to secure."

Parkman makes much of this point, as does Fiske, both agreeing in the statement of the former that on this account, "the position of the colony [Pennsylvania] was a most fortunate one." Yet to many it will be hard to understand why it was fortunate for the policy of Friends that they had two claimants to satisfy instead of one. Parkman tells us only in an inconspicuous footnote the method by which Penn "had taken pains" to secure the good-will of the Five Nations: "He paid twice for his lands: once to the Iroquois, who claimed them by right of conquest, and once to their occupants, the Delawares." The fact is that historians have pointed out again and again that while many white settlers in various colonies purchased lands from the Indians, Penn and the early

Friends went so far as to pay for lands twice if necessary, satisfying all reasonable claimants, and indulging in no sharp bargains that would cause chagrin to the Indians upon after consideration.

If Friends were not sincere in proclaiming their ideal of peace and justice, if Penn "had taken pains" to secure the good-will of the Five Nations in order to take advantage of the "fortunate position" of his colony among the subjugated Delawares, why did he trouble himself to pay the latter for their lands? Why did he not use his influence with the Iroquois to brow-beat and defraud the poor Delawares? This is exactly what happened when a proprietor succeeded who wished to profit by the "fortunate position" of the colony. Parkman tells the incident of the infamous Walking Purchase of 1737 (see above, p. 49) but neglects to say that the managing proprietor at that time was not a Friend and that the wrong then done to the Delawares was execrated by Friends at that time as it has been ever since.

It would seem, therefore, that the "fortunate position" of Pennsylvania could redound to the selfish interest of the proprietors only when the policy of justice and fair play had been abandoned. For William Penn it only complicated the task and put his benevolent theories to the greater test. He must win the friendship of two groups of savages and satisfy double claims to his lands.

A recent work (1911) by Charles A. Hanna, entitled the *Wilderness Trail*, is very bitter in its denunciation of the Quaker Peace policy with the Indians. The writer sympathizes entirely with the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen of Pennsylvania who suffered in the Indian wars. He advances the usual arguments against the Friends for failing to protect the people on the frontier. However, his bitter invective against the Quakers removes that portion of his work from the class of serious history. An example of his spirit is the following (1: 25): "These

men (the Paxtang Boys) and their neighbors are subject to another serious reproach. At least, if not a reproach, it is a matter of great wonder that these Scotch-Irish of the Pennsylvania frontier did not organize themselves into a lynching party nine years before the Conestoga massacre, . . . march to Philadelphia and forever destroy the Quaker government—a government which as early as 1751 had forfeited its right to existence by coolly inviting the sacrifice of the lives and fortunes of hundreds of its subjects, in order that the safely protected and over-righteous members of its own little clique might escape taxation for military purposes, and better the supposed chances for the salvation of their own tiny, pinched, and self-magnified souls.”

For criticisms of Hanna's anti-Quaker bias see the following reviews: *Nation*, N. Y., 93 (1911): 242-243. *Athenaeum*, London (July 1, 1911): 7-8. From the latter may be quoted the following pertinent suggestions concerning the views of Parkman and his followers, including Hanna.

“What was in 1755 a violent party view, with little force outside the coteries of a locality, received after the lapse of more than a century a new lease of life in the picturesque pages of Parkman, who is obsequiously followed (when not merely paraphrased and exaggerated) by all British writers on the subject and most American ones. But Parkman was by temperament, character, and choice of subject antipathetic towards the Quaker, pacific, or even political type of man; and so in regard to what was indeed a difficult question, with rights and wrongs on both sides, he did not even take the trouble to inform himself fully of the facts. That his ‘school’ should do so was not to be expected; but Mr. Hanna has enough knowledge to be his own master. Yet among expressions of the Parkman view—expressions which heighten in tone at every repetition—none has pleased us so much as the additions here made. For instance, the ‘Paxtang Boys,’

who in 1763 butchered some harmless Indian neighbors (mostly old people and children), are to blame for that excess, but also because they did not rather 'march to Philadelphia and overthrow and forever destroy the Quaker government' (*etc. as quoted above*). . . . Now this is the very voice of Lancaster County, not to say of Paxtang Township. . . . The voice of truth on that matter, we think, would sound less ringingly, and may yet be heard."

Aside from the points mentioned above it has been asserted by Parkman and others that the Delaware Indians were not a warlike tribe. To deduce this from the fact that for a period they were under subjection to the powerful Five Nations is loose reasoning. On account of their admitted priority of political rank the Delawares from early times were accorded the respectful title of "Grandfather" by all the Algonquian tribes and were called "Wolves" by the French. During the wars in the latter half of the eighteenth century these same Delawares threw off the Iroquois yoke, terrified the western frontier with their ferocity, and, according to one of the best modern authorities, "up to the treaty of Greenville in 1795 showed themselves the most determined opponents of the advancing whites." (*Handbook of Amer. Indians*, 1: 385.) Even Parkman admits that at this time the Delawares "stood in high repute for bravery" and proved themselves "a race of formidable warriors." (*Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1: 31.)

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For a list of other valuable publications on Indian affairs by the London Meeting for Sufferings see inside of title page to the above work.

FOX, GEORGE. *Journal.* Cambridge edition. Edited by Norman Penney. 2 vols. 1911.

This recent edition contains many passages omitted in former editions and omits other portions that never were a part of the *Journal* proper. On these accounts and because it is reprinted *verbatim et literatim* (as earlier editions were not) it should be the basis for any careful study.—See also "The American Journey of George Fox" in *The Journal of The Friends' His-*

torical Society, London, 9 (1912): 4-52. From a MS. in the Bodleian Library.

Friends' Library. 14 vols. Philadelphia. 1837-1850.

Contains the journals and memoirs of several early Friends who visited the Indians.

JONES, RUFUS M., AND OTHERS. *The Quakers in the American Colonies*. 1911.

Now the standard work on Friends in America during the colonial period. To be continued to cover later periods.

The part relating to New Jersey was written by Amelia Mott Gummere, and that relating to Pennsylvania by Isaac Sharpless.

Journals and Lives of various Friends.

See *Friends' Library* listed above and Smith's *Catalogue* below.

LAUBER, A. W. *Indian Slavery in Colonial Times*. Vol. 54, No. 3, *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, Columbia University. New York. 1913.

Minutes of yearly and other meetings of Friends.

Where MS. minutes are cited they have been examined by the author. The date is sufficient for finding any passage and where that is given in the text a footnote citation is sometimes omitted.

For the present location of the records of the various yearly meetings, see General Note on Bibliography at end of volume.

New Jersey Archives (1st series). Vols. 1-10. Newark, N. J. 1880-1886.

These volumes (the first ten of a large series) contain reprints of official documents. See "Indians" in General Index.

NORTON, HUMPHREY, AND OTHERS. *New England's Ensigne*. 1659.

Brief reference to relations of some early Friends with New England Indians.

PARRISH, SAMUEL. *Some Chapters in the History of the Friendly Association*. Philadelphia. 1877.

Based upon the "Minute Book" of the Association and other valuable papers.

The most complete work on the subject.

PENN, WILLIAM. *Works*. London. 1771. And other editions.

This old collection contains little on Penn's Indian policy.

The collection of Penn's *Works* now being prepared by Albert Cook Myers, Moylan, Pa., will be standard.

Further letters and papers of William Penn are to be found in the following works:

Hist. Soc. of Penna., *Memoirs*, vols. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10. Vols. 9 and 10 contain the Penn-Logan correspondence.

Hazard, *Annals of Penna.*, 1850.

Hazard, *Register of Penna.*, 16 vols., 1828-1834.

Penna. Records and Archives. See below.

Proud, *Hist. of Penna.* See below.

Penna. Magazine of Hist. and Biography. Especially vol. 10.

Watson, *Annals of Phila.* 1830.

Many of Penn's letters and papers will also be found in the biographies of him, especially that by Janney.

Among the following biographies and memoirs of Penn those by Janney, Clarkson, and Dixon are the best: Belknap, Clarkson, Dixon, Eggleston, Ellis, Fisher, Janney.

A thoroughly satisfactory life of William Penn is yet to be written.

Pennsylvania Records, 16 vols. *Archives* (1st series), 12 vols. Philadelphia, Harrisburg. 1852-1856.

These volumes form the standard collection of source materials on early Penna. history. There is a General Index that leads the reader to voluminous official records of Indian relations.

See also *Votes of the Assembly, 1662-1776*. 6 vols. 1752-1776. *Charters and Laws, 1879*. *Statutes at Large*, vols. 2-7, 1899.

PROUD, ROBERT. *History of Pennsylvania*. 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1797-1798.

A rare, old work, still very valuable. Contains many reprints of William Penn's letters and papers, and other original documents.

Quaker Biographies. 5 vols. Philadelphia. 1909-1914.

In vol. 3, pp. 110-139, are accounts of various visits to the Indians, especially by William Savery and Thomas Wistar.

SHARPLESS, ISAAC. *A Quaker Experiment in Government*. 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1898-1899.

This work, of which several editions have been printed, is the standard work on Friends in Pennsylvania.

The relations of Friends with the Indians are covered quite fully in the following chapters: The Indians, Military Matters, Last Days of Quaker Control of the Assembly, The Friendly Association, The Paxton Riot.

SMITH, JOSEPH. *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*. 2 vols. London. 1867.

A very full list of official and private publications by Friends. There is also a supplement published in 1893.

SMITH, SAMUEL. *History of New Jersey*. 1765.

An old work but still invaluable for early New Jersey history. Contains much information on Friends and the Indians, including reprints of source material.

THOMAS, A. C., AND R. H. *A History of Friends in America*. Revised and enlarged edition. Philadelphia. 1905.

The standard one volume work on the subject.

THOMSON, CHARLES. *Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnese Indians*. Philadelphia. 1759. Reprinted, 1867.

Published anonymously. A careful and valuable contemporary examination of the injustice in land transactions, etc., practiced upon the Indians by the later proprietors and their agents, which led finally to the Indian war in Pennsylvania.

WALTON, JOSEPH S. *Conrad Weiser*. Philadelphia. 1900.

This volume written by a Friend contains interesting facts illustrating the Quaker attitude toward the Indians.

WEEKS, STEPHEN B. *Southern Quakers and Slavery*. Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 1896.

This standard work is based on primary materials, MS. *Minutes* of meetings, etc. It follows the migrations of Friends to the South and thence to the west, with frequent references to their relations with the Indians.

CHAPTER V.

TUNESASSA.

IN 1789 George Washington was inducted into office as the first President of the United States under the Constitution. One of the first and gravest problems with which he had to deal was the question of how to pacify the western Indians who were greatly agitated by the advance of white settlers across the Ohio. The administration decided to use a strong hand in bringing the Indians to terms and after six years of intermittent war and bloodshed a permanent peace was arranged at Greenville (Ohio) in the summer of 1795.

It was the Indian trouble of these years that led Friends to renewed activity in their efforts on behalf of the Indians. Individual Friends visited the Indians in their homes and committees of Friends attended their treaty councils.

The most important result of this renewed interest was however an advance from the earlier conception that all missionary efforts for the Indians must be the result of individual leading. Transition was made to the corporate "concern." In the years following 1795 various yearly meetings in their corporate capacity established mission stations among the Indians.

The principal work of this kind carried on by Philadelphia Friends and the only one supported officially by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting was among the Six Nations of Iroquois in southwestern New York. As

the national capital was located in Philadelphia during the decade 1790-1800 Friends had many opportunities for conferences with deputations of Indians that came to present their grievances and appeals to the President and Congress. On occasion the Meeting for Sufferings drew up petitions to the national government on behalf of the Indians and thus, as the interest grew, Friends of Philadelphia entered upon a new era of activity in this field of service.¹

Mention has been made in an earlier chapter² of the custom developed among Friends of the eighteenth century of attending Indian treaties. Pursuant to this custom a deputation of Friends, at the urgent request of the Indians, made a journey in 1793 to attend a treaty conference to be held at Sandusky, Ohio. Although little progress was made by the government at this time toward securing a general treaty yet the representative Friends had opportunity for considerable friendly intercourse with the Indians.³

Again the following year a treaty conference was held by the government with representative chiefs of the Six Nations at Canandaigua, New York, and a committee of Friends again attended.⁴ An address prepared by the Meeting for Sufferings seemed to be much appreciated by the assembled Indians as was also the gift of various presents brought by the delegated Friends. The Indians made speeches to the Friends

¹ For the chief sources of this chapter see Bibliographical Note at close of chapter.

² See above, p. 77.

³ Wm. Savery, John Parrish, John Elliott, Jacob Lindley, Joseph Moore and Wm. Hartshorne were the Friends who made this journey. See Phila. Y. M. Meeting for Sufferings, MS. *Minutes*, 3: 226 ff. Also *Conduct of Friends* (1844), 101-106.

⁴ Wm. Savery, David Bacon, John Parrish and James Emlen.



WILLIAM SAVERY
(1750-1804)

and requested advice from them as difficulties arose during the progress of the negotiations for the treaty.

It may be safely said that it was the impressions gained by the Friends present at this treaty that led to the permanent work of Philadelphia Friends among the Six Nations and their allied tribes. There amidst the rugged surroundings of an undeveloped country, encircled by the encamped representatives of the once powerful Six Nations a "weighty concern" settled upon the minds and spirits of the Friends present. "This evening Friends being quietly together," writes William Savery in his *Journal*, "our minds were seriously turned to consider the present state of these six nations; and a lively prospect presented, that a mode could be adopted by which Friends and other humane people might be made useful to them in a greater degree than has ever yet been effected; at least for the cause of humanity and justice, and for the sake of this poor declining people, we are induced to hope so. The prospect and feelings of our minds were such as will not be forgotten, if we are favoured to return home."⁵

True to the impression made upon them at this time the Friends made a stirring appeal in their report to the Meeting for Sufferings. After mentioning that the Indians still kept bright the memory of William Penn and reposed great confidence in the "children of Onas," the report continued: "Many are the difficulties and sufferings to which the Indians are subjected, and their present Situation appears loudly to claim the Sympathy and Attention of the members of our religious Society and others who have grown

⁵ Wm. Savery, *Journal* (edn. 1844), p. 75.

numerous and opulent on the former Inheritance of these poor declining People; we cannot but believe some mode may be fallen upon of rendering them more essential Service than has yet been adopted.”⁶

It was this appeal that stirred the Meeting for Sufferings to propose further action to the following Yearly Meeting, held in 1795, and from that time until the present the Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting has been active in its field of service.

The Yearly Meeting of 1795 at first appointed a large committee of forty-three members to give preliminary consideration to the subject and upon a favorable report by this committee, made while the Yearly Meeting was still in session, the first standing committee on Indian affairs was appointed.⁷

The line of action to be pursued by the committee had been rather clearly marked out in advance. The need of the Indians for schools and for practical training in agriculture and the mechanical arts was apparent. The great Seneca Chief Corn Planter had requested as early as 1791 that Friends take some Indian boys to the vicinity of Philadelphia to educate

⁶ Phila. Y. M. Meeting for Sufferings, MS. *Minutes*, 3: 274-275.

⁷ This latter Comm. was composed of 29 Friends as follows: John Parrish, John Elliott, John Spencer, jun., Anthony Johnson, John Stapler, Oliver Paxson, Joseph Trimble, James Emlen, Isaac Coates, Amos Harvey, Warner Mifflin, Samuel Howell, John Smith, Benjamin Clark, Benjamin Swett, John Hunt (of Evesham), James Cooper, Mark Miller, Wm. Hartshorne, Richard Hartshorne, Thos. Wistar, Joseph Sansom, Wm. Savery, John Biddle, Thomas Harrison, Henry Drinker, Joseph Sloan, John Pierce, John Hunt (of Darby). This committee met Oct. 4, 1795, the day after its appointment, and organized with Thomas Wistar as Clerk and John Elliott as Treasurer. Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 3.

them, and a beginning of this type of service had already been made.⁸ Other Indians had requested at various times that they be helped to provide schooling for their children and training for themselves in the arts of civilized life. During the treaty conference at Canandaigua in 1794 Sakarissa, a Tuscarora chief, had even made the concrete suggestion that Friends should send some of their young men among the Indians as teachers.

Acting upon such suggestions the Committee prepared subscription blanks for the collection of funds, prefaced by an Epistle directed to the various Quarterly and Monthly meetings and by extracts from various speeches and letters of appeal addressed to Friends by prominent Indians during the preceding years.

The definite objective of the Committee in its initial plan is set forth in the following paragraph from this Epistle of 11/3/1795: "It is hoped that some sober well qualified friends will be drawn to unite with the Concern so far as to go among them for the purpose of instructing them in husbandry, and useful trades; and teaching their children necessary learning that they may be acquainted with the Scriptures of truth, improve in the principles of Christianity, and become qualified to manage temporal concerns; and it is expected that the Committee will find it expedient to erect Grist and Saw Mills, Smith's shops and other necessary improvements in some of their villages. For the support of those who may be disposed to under-

⁸ About this period several Indian children received training in the homes of Friends in Pennsylvania. For the correspondence with Corn Planter see Phila. Y. M. for Sufferings, MS. *Minutes*, 3: 159, 161-163, 193. Also *Conduct of Friends*, 98-99.

take the performance of these services, due provision is intended to be made; and any proposals from concerned friends will be received by Thomas Wistar of Philadelphia, our clerk, and laid before the Committee for consideration."⁹ This plan of blending religious and practical instruction is fairly typical of the work of the Philadelphia Committee.

Before following these Friends to the permanent field of their labors among the Indians of New York, it may be remarked that the Philadelphia Committee has done a great deal, especially during the earlier years of its activity, for various tribes of Indians in many parts of the United States. Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws and Chickasaws from the south; Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, Wyandots, Potawatomes, Ottawas, and Chippewas from the west; all of these and others have received help. Often the representatives of these tribes laid their needs before the Committee in Philadelphia and secured the influence of Friends in their negotiations with the national government. Often they carried back to their distant homes letters of greeting and advice, or funds for use in an emergency, or tools and implements of husbandry. Many Friends of Philadelphia were encouraged by the Committee to make journeys for religious or other service among distant tribes. Thus in various ways and at all times have the Friends of Philadelphia shown that their interest in the Indians was not circumscribed by the bounds of their special field of activity.

Before entering upon the work for the Indians of New York the members of the Committee notified President Washington and other high officials of the

⁹ Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 5-6.

plans about to be put into operation. From these officials Friends received the most cordial encouragement and Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, wrote a letter to the Six Nations heartily recommending to them the motives and plans of Friends.

The first settled missionary work of the Committee was among the Oneidas. After sending a circular letter to the various settlements of the Six Nations informing them of the desire to help them and after a visit of inspection and inquiry made by several Friends it seemed that the Oneida Indians offered the most open field of service for the time. Consequently in 1796 three Friends settled among these Indians and began the experiment of teaching them the ways of civilized life. A little later other Friends were engaged at the same station, among them a blacksmith fully provided with the tools of his trade. Other tools and implements of general husbandry were also provided for the instruction of the Indians, and the women Friends who resided at the mission home made progress in training the Indian women in the arts of house-keeping. Premiums were offered with good effect to excite competition among the Indian men in the raising of crops and among the women for the weaving of woolen cloth. Schools were also maintained for a time with the support of Friends among the Oneidas and also among the Stockbridges who were settled on the Oneida reservation.

The work at this place lasted for three years. Toward the end of that period Friends began to feel that the Oneidas had been instructed sufficiently to enable them to improve rapidly if they would but apply themselves. Some of the Indians too had be-

come suspicious that Friends would ultimately bring claims against them for the services rendered and it was thought that such suspicions could best be allayed by withdrawing presently from the field. Moreover the Yearly Meeting of New York was becoming interested in the Indians of that vicinity and Philadelphia Friends were already extending their interest to the Seneca tribe farther west in the same state. Therefore the station among the Oneidas was closed in 1799. The blacksmith's tools and various implements of husbandry were given as presents to the Indians and after mutual expressions of good-will the resident Friends took leave of the Oneidas.¹⁰

As heretofore mentioned, Friends had already been interested for some time in the Seneca Indians. The Seneca Chief Corn Planter lived on the Allegheny River in northwestern Pennsylvania about five miles south of the New York line.¹¹ Other villages of Senecas were located farther up the Allegheny River and in adjacent parts of western New York. Early in 1797 Friends were considering what their duty might be toward these Indians¹² and about the middle of the following year several Friends made their way into that country.

The first settlement of Friends among the Senecas was made at Genesanguhta, now Old Town, a few miles north of Corn Planter's village and within the state of New York. Three young Friends, Joel

¹⁰ The Friends engaged at Oneida station at various times were: Jacob Taylor, Henry Simmons, Jr., Josiah Rowland, Jonathan Thomas, Wm. Gregory and wife, Enoch Walker, and Hannah Jackson.

¹¹ See above, p. 92.

¹² Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 50.

Swaine, Henry Simmons, Jr., and Halliday Jackson were the first workers in this field,¹³ and were accompanied on their journey by Joshua Sharpless and John Pierce. It is said that Cattaraugus County, New York, within which they settled had never before had a white inhabitant. At all events it was an arduous journey made by these Friends to Pittsburgh and thence up the Allegheny River. At Corn Planter's village they accepted the friendly hospitality offered by the great chieftain and enjoyed some friendly intercourse with the Indians, even if the meal cakes dipped in bear's fat did not appeal greatly to their appetites. The location at Old Town was finally settled upon and the two older Friends returned to Philadelphia by way of the mission station among the Oneidas.¹⁴

The work at Old Town continued through a period of six years. As at the Oneida mission effort was made to teach the Indians the ways of civilized life and at the same time to influence them religiously. Premiums were offered for progress in agriculture and by precept and practice the resident Friends tried to draw the Indians from the careless, improvident ways of the hunter's life.

As Friends became more familiar with the situation it became apparent that a more favorable location could be selected and in 1804 the mission station was removed further up the Allegheny River. "On viewing a creek called Tunesassah," report the prospecting Friends who were seeking a new location, "which falls

¹³ Other workers later engaged at Old Town were John Pennock, Jacob Taylor, Jonathan Thomas and Vincent Wiley.

¹⁴ A large part of the *Journal* kept by Joshua Sharpless during this journey is to be found in *The Friend* (Phila.), 21 (1847): 14 ff.

into the Allegheny River on the East Side about two miles above Genesinguhta (Old Town), we found sufficient water to work a saw mill and a convenient situation to build one, about half a mile from the Indian reservation, and navigable for Canoes to and from the River at many seasons."¹⁵ Here at Tunesassa the new station was located and this vicinity has been the special field of labor of the Philadelphia Committee since that time.

It is not possible within the scope of this treatise to give a detailed history of the work at Tunesassa. Only some of the landmark events can be noticed in passing.

A tract of almost 700 acres was purchased of the Holland Land Company and early in 1805 a saw and a grist mill were in operation. Workers came and went, delegations from the committee in Philadelphia journeyed to the far away station to study the work at first hand, and gradually the Indians became familiar with the methods of civilized life and the aspirations of the Christian faith.

It was Joseph Elkinton who established the school for Indian boys at Tunesassa. Although there was much opposition at first on the part of some Indians the school finally became a permanent part of the mission work. At first Joseph Elkinton tried to hold the school on the Indian reservation as it would there be nearer to the homes of the children. The opposition of the conservative party among the Indians was however too great and in 1822 the school was established on the mission grounds.¹⁶ Three years later Mary

¹⁵ Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 189-190.

¹⁶ Joseph Elkinton taught a school at Cold Spring as early as 1816.—Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 18.

Nutt, afterward the wife of Joseph Elkinton, established a school for girls. These schools were not greatly appreciated by the Indians and often had very few scholars, the boys' school even being entirely without attenders at some periods.

In the period just following 1830 the Indians were much disturbed by the plans of the government for removing various tribes beyond the Mississippi River and the situation at Tunesassa became so discouraging that all mission work was suspended for a period of five years beginning in 1831.

During this period various Friends visited the Indians in the vicinity and kept in touch with the situation, with the result that conditions seemed favorable for reopening the work in 1836.

In 1843 Robert Scotton who for a long period was active and zealous in the Indian work ended a period of service at Tunesassa and his place was taken by Ebenezer Worth who was sometimes referred to as the John Woolman of his day. Under the regime of Ebenezer Worth schools were maintained at Horse-shoe Bend and at Corn Planter's village while he personally taught one at Cold Spring.

About 1850 Friends began to feel distinctly the disadvantages of a day school that had to depend on the caprice of the Indian children and their parents for attendance. Consequently in 1852 a Boarding School was opened at Tunesassa which accommodated six girls as boarders besides about thirty other Indian children who attended as day scholars. Thus began a type of work which has been enlarged and improved and which has been without doubt the most successful method developed at the mission station. The school

plant has been changed and enlarged on several occasions and after it was burned down in 1886¹⁷ a commodious two story building was erected at a cost of something more than twelve thousand dollars. This building too has been improved and enlarged until it offers accommodations at the present time for about fifty-five scholars aside from the apartments devoted to teachers and helpers.

The work at Tunesassa has now entered well upon the second century of its history but even yet it is impossible to measure its value with a proper perspective. The work has been slow and at times discouraging as all mission work among the Indians has been. Yet some idea of the progress may be gained from reports of the work at various stages in its history.

Some glimpse of the life of the Indians when Friends first went among them may form a background for viewing their later improvement. John Phillips, with Isaac Bonsall and Halliday Jackson, visited the Indians near the mission in 1806 and wrote as follows of their situation: "Many of their houses have earthen floors with some boards along each side, with some deer skins spread over them, which serve for beds and seats to sit on. When they eat they set a dirty looking bowl made of bark in the middle of the floor; each one comes and cuts a piece and takes it in his hands and sits down again with the pigs and dogs (of which they have abundance) running about the floor. . . . Here and there as we travelled about we saw and were in divers of their old bark cabins. It is wonderful to

¹⁷ This fire occurred just at the close of the service of Aaron P. and Eunice Dewees who served the mission long and acceptably as Superintendent and Matron.



TUNESASSA BOARDING SCHOOL

think how anybody could live in them through the winter without being frozen.”¹⁸

That such conditions rapidly yielded to the ways of civilized life is indicated by a letter addressed to the Philadelphia Committee by some of the Chiefs in 1816. Robert Clendenon and his wife and daughter who had been residing at Tunesassa were leaving at that time and the letter was written in part to express the regret of the Indians at their departure. The Chiefs expressed sorrow that they and their people were so slow to learn and so quick to depart from the right way even after it had been pointed out to them. Yet they made it clear that some progress was being made: “It is indeed a long time, almost twice ten years, since you first held out your hand to assist us, and though we have not improved so fast as you might have expected; yet your labor has not all been lost. When your friends first sat down among us, we had not one comfortable shelter to accommodate them with; now, we have many warm and pleasant, and some spacious and even elegant dwellings; many of our women can spin and have wheels in their houses, and a number of us have good shelter and provender for cattle, besides corn, potatoes, and many other useful vegetables in abundance.”¹⁹

The manifold attempts and the resourceful methods employed to interest and instruct the Indians cannot be more than illustrated here. The devotion of Robert Scotton was shown in his patient attempts to instruct the Indian boys in the use of tools, especially those of

¹⁸ Phila. Y. M. Indn. Comm., Filing Case, *Misc. Papers, 1803-1815*.

¹⁹ *The Friend* (Phila.), 78 (1904): 91.

the wheelwright. The vision of Joseph Elkinton was great enough to move him to the attempt, not permanently successful, of founding as early as 1825 an "Aboriginal Agricultural Society" among the Indians.

The Indian women too received a full share of instruction and encouragement especially from the women Friends who visited at the mission station or resided there for some period. Spinning, weaving, knitting, cooking and general house work were the arts taught to the Indian women. Thomazine Valentine was one of the most devoted of the women Friends engaged in this work and one of her letters of 1866 portrays the progress that had been made at that period: "I have felt comforted in visiting the Indians this time, and feel there is cause of thankfulness, that the Lord has opened the hearts of the Indian women so generally to attend to what has been told them in regard to keeping better houses, and not taking offense. When I first saw them, there were only a few right clean houses—now the clean ones quite outnumber the dirty ones. It used to be a very usual thing to find their houses with the dishes not washed; beds not made, nor houses swept. I think I have not found more than two of that kind this time, and the women were in poor health in both cases."²⁰

The improvement of the children in the elements of learning and of some of the older Indians in the practical duties of life are both illustrated in the following extract from a well written essay of the year 1879 by Lydia Jackson who was a scholar at Tunesassa and later a teacher among the Indians. Speaking of the progress of her people in agriculture she cites the fol-

²⁰ Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 4: 159.

lowing examples: "Thomas Jemison of Cattaraugus Reservation who raises annually a thousand bushels of wheat, John Mt. Pleasant of Tuscarora Reservation who raised last year fifteen hundred bushels of oats and sixteen hundred bushels of wheat, five hundred barrels of apples, three hundred barrels of peaches and beside other fruits in abundance, he has a beautiful farm of two hundred acres. He owns two reapers, one mowing machine and two threshing machines. His wife who is a Seneca woman keeps the house neat and in order. They milk ten cows."²¹

While the above illustrations of successful farming were not taken from Allegheny Reservation yet they serve to illustrate the general progress of the New York Indians in which the mission at Tunesassa was having a worthy part.

In religious matters the advancement of the Indians was also slow but apparently sure. While Friends were giving practical instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts they always had as their ultimate object the religious development of their wards. The Indian boys and girls in the schools read the Scriptures and memorized portions of them. It is said that the Indian girl Lydia Jackson, mentioned above, at one time committed to memory in about two hours a chapter of the New Testament containing forty-two verses. After the Boarding School was opened in 1852 there was greater opportunity to influence the children in a religious way by precept and example, in the class room, in the meeting for worship, and in the daily round of work about the mission buildings and farm. While many of the Indians thus influenced become

²¹ *The Friend* (Phila.), 78 (1905): 406-407.

only nominal Christians yet there are numerous examples of those who have become truly devout in profession and life and have developed a profound appreciation of spiritual values. One such Indian woman became a member of the Society of Friends in 1882 and many others in their lives and in their deaths have manifested a genuine Christian faith.²²

The work of Friends for the Seneca Indians was not confined to those who lived in the immediate vicinity of Tunesassa. As early as 1799 some of the same tribe living on the Cattaraugus River about forty miles northwest of Tunesassa, applied for help in setting up a saw mill. This request was promptly complied with by the Committee and in the following years a growing interest was manifested in the Cattaraugus Indians. In 1803 the Friends who selected the mission site at Tunesassa continued their journey and visited some of the Senecas farther north.²³ As a result of this visit some help was extended to the Senecas at Tonawanda, and a considerable work was begun for the Cattaraugus Indians at Clear Creek. At the latter place about 500 acres of land were purchased in 1808 and the next year, a house having been built, several Friends went to occupy it and aid the Indians in their attempt to adopt a settled agricultural life.²⁴ Saw and grist mills were erected on the property for the use of the Indians and care was taken to instruct the Indian women in the arts of domestic life. At times in the early years the Indians at Cattaraugus became sus-

²² *Lives and Happy Deaths of Some Indians Deceased*, 19-32.

²³ Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 196 f.

²⁴ Benj. Coope, Jacob Taylor, Stephen Twining and Hannah Jackson arrived at Clear Creek in 1809. Phila. Y. M. Indian Comm., MS. *Minutes*, 1: 301.

picious for fear Friends would at some time bring a claim against them for services rendered but by sending written assurances to the contrary the Committee was able to quiet these fears.

In 1815 a part of the land held by the Committee was sold to Jacob Taylor, one of the Friends who had been stationed at the mission. The land sold contained the mills and these were thenceforth operated as private property although it was provided in the terms of sale that the Indians should have their grist ground for one year free of toll. Jacob Taylor continued his interest in the welfare of the Indians and for several years after the extensive service of the Committee at Cattaraugus was ended (in 1815) he continued as agent and correspondent for the Committee.

For a short time the Committee supplied a teacher for the Cattaraugus Indians but the attempt was discontinued because the Indians were not united in support of the school.

In 1821 even the agency of Jacob Taylor was discontinued and although the balance of the land owned by the Committee was not disposed of for about thirty years thereafter, the active efforts of the Committee in that section were discontinued.

Thus far this account of the work done by the Philadelphia Committee for the Seneca Indians has been largely confined to the history of the mission establishments at Tunesassa and Cattaraugus. Yet that is only part of the story. No phase of the Indian's life and interests was without the pale of Friendly interest and no corresponding opportunity to aid the Indians was lost. At Corn Planter's village, Tunesassa, Clear Creek, Tonawanda, Buffalo Creek, indeed wherever the

Indians were in need, they found the Quakers ready to aid them with advice, money, tools, or influence with officers of the government.

In religious matters the influence of those regularly in charge at the mission was supplemented by efforts of visiting Friends and by letters of advice and admonition sent by the Committee at Philadelphia. During the war of 1812 Friends used every endeavor to dissuade the Indians from taking part in the hostilities. Another subject of vital concern to Friends was the use of alcoholic liquors by the Indians. In season and out of season were the natives admonished to abstain from this evil. Against punishments for witchcraft and against laxity in observance of marital bonds Friends constantly used their influence. In the early years of the Committee many Indian children were trained in the homes of Friends and at all periods the Committee was ready to aid the Indians in securing fair treatment in their dealings with the white man and the white man's government.²⁵

This brief account of the work of the Philadelphia Committee may be appropriately closed by a consideration of the present status and problems of the mission at Tunesassa.

The work is still carried on under the direction and by the support of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting although during the past forty years most of the superintendents and helpers at the mission have come from western states, notably Ohio.

²⁵ In the years 1838-1842 the Phila. Comm. had a part in trying to protect the Senecas in the possession of their New York lands. This work was chiefly done however by Liberal Friends. See below, pp. 119-124.

The regular expenses for maintaining the school during the year 1916-1917 amounted to about \$8,000. Of this sum \$3,500 was appropriated by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and the balance was met largely by the income from permanent investments, and the profits from the operation of the mission farm. Aside from regular expenses the sum of \$1,516.25 was expended for a new electric light plant.

One of the interesting activities at the mission in recent years has been the development of a splendid herd of cattle with attention given to modern methods of feeding and the care of the milk. A butter making business is carried on and this serves as a useful object-lesson not only to the pupils but also to the older Indians who visit the school.

Various improvements have been made from time to time in the general equipment of the establishment. The attendance is usually about fifty, quite equally divided between boys and girls, and in recent years the applications for admission have at times exceeded the capacity of the school. Most of the pupils come from the Allegheny and Cattaraugus reservations.

A problem has developed with the extension of the public school system among the Indians. The tendency has arisen to send the older children to the public day schools in order to have them at home outside of school hours. As a result it is largely the younger children that are sent to the Friends' boarding school. Such pupils are not so well able to help in the daily work of the farm and mission home as were the older pupils of an earlier period. Nor do their parents usually leave them in the school long enough for them to receive the full influence for good that is desired by Friends.

One of the latest tendencies in the management of the school has been to extend and systematize the instruction in the useful industrial arts. Manual training for the boys and practical domestic science for the girls have proved useful as well as popular studies for the pupils. A recent superintendent writes, "The boys scarcely can wait for their turn in the shop." In the case of the girls the training in domestic science is at least partially overcoming the difficulty mentioned above by holding them in the school longer than they would otherwise remain.

So the modern move toward industrial training is being promptly adopted by the Indian school at Tunesassa and other contemplated improvements promise to hold the instruction there abreast of the times.²⁶

Such is the story, briefly told, of the work done since 1795 by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting through its "Committee for Promoting the Improvement and Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives." This work, be it remembered, has been done at all periods in the face of the great discouragements always incidental to such a task. The object of this sketch has been to record the things accomplished. Yet the Friends who did the work were often well nigh overwhelmed by a realization of what they failed to accomplish. Often the Indians were too lazy or too prejudiced to desire the ways of civilized life. At times during the first three or four decades of the work the old conservative pagan faction among the Indians seemed determined and well nigh able to checkmate all efforts toward civil-

²⁶ The above sketch of the recent developments at Tunesassa has been compiled from the annual *Reports* of the Phila. Indian Comm., printed in the *Extracts* from the Minutes of Phila. Yearly Meeting.

ization and Christianity. Again individual Indians who had received training at the school or helpful advice in the community would lapse hopelessly into the old shiftless savage life. Yet on the whole it is impossible to read the description of the situation as it was found in 1798 and know the Indians as they are to-day without realizing that Friends have builded well in their work among the Allegheny Senecas.

Within the Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting during the past few years there has developed a desire to foster more actively the religious and spiritual life of the Indian children in the school and of the adult Indians and their families generally. This desire has had cordial response from the workers at Tunesassa several of whom in the more recent period have been members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

The following quotation may serve as a fitting close to the story of this work. It is the expression of the first generation of those who undertook the task. It shows that they understood the difficulties confronting them and that their perseverance and faith were not unequal to the task:

“In the Prosecution of a Work like this, subject to Impediments thro’ the Prejudice of long established Habits and the common Disinclination of the Natives to Industry, the Progress may seem slow and its Effects but little, yet patient Perseverance being abode in, an unshaken Hope is at Times vouchsafed, that as the Concern did not originate in the devices of human Wisdom, He that hath begun it will, as we are subject to the Leadings of his holy Spirit, be pleased to carry it on and bless it to that People.”²⁷

²⁷ Phila. Y. M. for Sufferings, MS. *Minutes*, 4: 155. In an epistle of 1809 to the London Mtg. for Sufferings.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The chief manuscript materials for the field covered in this chapter are: the *Minutes* (1795 following) of the Indian Committee of Phila. Yearly Meeting; the *Minutes* (especially for the period 1790-1795) of the Meeting for Sufferings of Phila. Yearly Meeting; several filing cases of misc. papers of Indian Comm. of Phila. Y. M.; *Indian Records 1502-1873*, 9 vols., being MS. transcripts of misc. papers prepared by Joseph S. Elkinton.—These manuscripts are preserved in a vault on the Yearly Meeting grounds at Fourth and Arch Sts., Philadelphia.

The printed materials that have been useful are: *The Conduct of Friends* (1844), see Bibliographical Note at close of Chapter IV above; occasional pamphlets published by Phila. Y. M. descriptive of its work for the Indians, as listed in Smith, *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, vol. 1, pp. 783-785; also an account by George J. Scattergood printed in *The Friend*, Phila., vol. 77 (May 21, 1904) to vol. 79 (Aug. 12, 1905); a briefer account by Joseph Elkinton in *The Friend*, Phila., vol. 87 (1914), p. 458 ff.; see also *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publications*, 18: 169-189; various short biographies and other treatises at the Friends' Book Store, 304 Arch St., Philadelphia.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER WORK IN THE EAST.

WHEN the Friends of Philadelphia were aroused to further efforts for the Indians in 1793 they communicated their "concern" through their Meeting for Sufferings to other Yearly Meetings. So it came about that Friends in other parts had their interest in the Indians renewed and by 1795 a general advance movement of the work of Friends for the Indians was under way.

The result of this new movement in the establishment of a work among the Indians of Ohio and other parts of the west will be described in subsequent chapters. The further work in the east was that undertaken by New England Yearly Meeting on behalf of certain New England tribes, and by New York Friends for some of the tribes of that state other than those under the special care of the Philadelphia Committee.

The desire to aid the Indians who were in need arose in New England Yearly Meeting in 1795, and for six years thereafter the matter received the attention of New England Friends. The Meeting for Sufferings¹ gathered information about the condition and needs of the Indians in New England but no plan was evolved for a permanent work among them.²

¹ The Meeting for Sufferings was the administrative committee that handled the affairs of the Yearly Meeting in the intervals between the annual sessions.

² However, a special committee of the Meeting for Sufferings

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century Friends of New England gave their special attention to the matter of establishing a school for the education of their own children. Yet they were not entirely forgetful of the Indian question and in 1818 promptly accepted a suggestion from Baltimore Friends and prepared accordingly a memorial to the federal government calling attention to the needs and rights of the Indians.³

The most important work of New England Friends for the eastern Indians was for the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy tribes of the state of Maine.⁴ The attention of the Yearly Meeting was turned to the Penobscot Indians⁵ in 1820 at the suggestion of the Governor of Maine and a work was begun with the co-

reported (Jan. 1801) having expended \$189.55 to help five families of Narraganset Indians remove to some lands provided for them among the Oneidas in New York.—This special committee seems to have been the first Indian Comm. of New Engd. Y. M. and was composed of Wm. Knowles, Thos. Wilber, and Thos. Howland.

³ This memorial, dated 10/9/1818, was drawn up by Wm. Rotch, Jr., Abm. Shearman, Jr., and Thos. Arnold, and was signed by Saml. Rodman, Clerk of the Mtg. for Sufferings.—There is almost classic beauty in the spirit and words of the memorial as witness the closing statement: "And it is our fervent desire and prayer to Almighty God, the father and preserver of the whole human family, that he would enlighten the minds of our Rulers, clearly to see, and inspire their hearts with a disposition to pursue that perfect rule of justice and charity, which would preserve the character of our own Country pure and unsullied by any imputation of unjust or ambitious motives."

⁴ Work for the Indians west of the Mississippi River claimed the attention of New England Yearly Meeting from the year 1837 onward. See below.

⁵ The Penobscot and Passamaquoddy Indians are the most important tribes within the State of Maine. The U. S. Census of 1910 gives their numbers as 253 for the Penobscot and 381 for the Passamaquoddy tribe.

operation of two Friends, Samuel F. Hussey and Jackson Davis, who were Indian Agents of that state. At that time the hunting and fishing pursuits of the Penobscot Indians were failing to produce a livelihood and Friends by various means encouraged the Indians to take up a settled life of agricultural pursuits. Members of the Yearly Meeting Committee visited the Indians at proper seasons to help them in seeding and to instruct them in the care of crops. In one of the early years a present of windows and nails was made to a progressive Indian family engaged in building a frame dwelling house.⁶ The Indians were also instructed and encouraged in their religious life although the work of Friends in this direction was somewhat limited by the fact that the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies adhered largely to the Catholic faith. Earnest efforts were however made by Friends to dissuade the Indians from the use of liquor which in Maine as elsewhere was the ever present curse of the natives.

The interest which was aroused for the Passamaquoddy tribe about 1838 continued unabated although members of the committee could not often visit them on account of their distant location on the far eastern borders of Maine.

In the last two decades of the work in the field the committee was especially interested in visiting the Indian schools and encouraging that phase of the work in every possible way. Finally, however, the opportunities for usefulness seemed to be more and more limited and in 1879 the committee at its own request was released from further service.⁷

⁶ Report of 1825.

⁷ Stephen Jones and John D. Lang were active members of the committee through all the later years of this work. A number of Women Friends were added to the Committee in 1875.

While no regular mission station or school was established by Friends among the Indians of Maine there is little doubt that the visits and counsel of the representatives of New England Friends were of real help to the Indians in the critical stage of their transition to the settled habits and activities of civilized life.⁸

NEW YORK YEARLY MEETING.

The other and greater field of Friends' missionary activity for the eastern Indians was among those of New York state. Here to the war famed tribes of the Six Nations came the Friends of New York and Philadelphia on their errands of peace and good will.⁹ Philadelphia Friends did their permanent work among the Senecas in the western part of the state, as described in the preceding chapter. New York Friends labored among the tribes farther east.

The attention of New York Friends was directed to the Indian situation in 1793 by a letter from the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The way did not seem open for any service at that time but two years later the Yearly Meeting took up the "concern" by appointing a committee to cooperate with the Meeting for Sufferings in dealing with the subject.¹⁰

In order to get the needful information a few

⁸ Authorities consulted for the above sketch of the work of New England Y. M.: MS. Records of the Yearly Meeting and the Meeting for Sufferings down to 1846; after that the printed *Minutes* of the Yearly Meeting.

⁹ For the work of New York and Phila. Friends for the western Indians see below, p. 147 and chapters VIII and IX.

¹⁰ New York Yearly Meeting, MS. *Minutes*, 1: 351.

Friends made an extended tour of the Indian settlements in the state and made a full report of conditions as they found them.¹¹ In the years immediately following this visit, members of the Indian Committee and other Friends made frequent visits among the Indians, encouraging them in their efforts for religious and economic advancement and studying their situation with a view to a more definite work among them.

This more definite work was begun in 1807 when a Friend, John Dean, and his family were secured by the Committee to reside among the Brotherton Indians. This policy of having some Friends reside among the Indians proved very helpful and was thereafter adopted by the committee whenever finances and other conditions warranted it.¹²

The decade following 1807 was the period of greatest prosperity for the work of New York Friends for the Indians of that state. Friends became interested especially in the Oneida, Onondaga, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians.¹³

¹¹ For report of this committee see N. Y. Yearly Meeting, MS. *Minutes*, 1: 342-349. See also *Friends Review*, 5 (1852): 778 ff.

¹² Other Friends who resided among the Indians at various periods were: Absalom and Ruth Hatfield, Charles Willetts, and Adin T. Cory and family. The MS. *Minutes* refer to others without mentioning their names.

¹³ The Brotherton and Stockbridge bands were Algonquian Indians from New England settled on Oneida lands at the invitation of the latter nation. The Oneidas and Onondagas were Iroquoian and members of the Confederacy of the Six Nations. Mention was made in the preceding chapter, p. 96, of how Friends of Phila. transferred their work from the Oneidas to the Senecas when New York Friends became interested in the former nation. During this period (in 1826 and 1827) Thomas Shillitoe, an English Friend, visited and preached to several of the Indian tribes in New York and Canada.—See *Friends' Library*, 3: 364-383.

Various were the activities of Friends among these tribes. At times a school was taught by a Friend or the committee would aid in the support of a school taught by an educated Indian. Much instruction was given to the Indians in methods of agriculture and farming implements were furnished on occasion. "Brothers," wrote the Onondagas in 1811, "we are in want of cattle, chains, ploughs, and all kinds of farming utensils, . . . we have opened our eyes—we now see that we must work. We are willing to work; we begin to raise wheat and will do more if we can get help." To this appeal Friends responded in goodly measure. Oxen and tools were supplied in this instance, and at another time sheep were purchased and loaned to various Indian families in succession until each could get started in sheep husbandry. A blacksmith was sent out to teach the Indians his trade.

At the same time women Friends devoted themselves to the instruction of the Indian women who were taught to sew, spin, weave, cook, and carry on the various concerns of the household. At one time two Indian girls were taken by the committee to be educated in the vicinity of New York and several girls were at one time placed for training in the homes of various Friends.

The variety of the services rendered by Friends may be further illustrated by the fact that at one time about one thousand Oneida and Stockbridge Indians were vaccinated through the efforts of Friends on account of a small-pox epidemic. Moreover, again and again were the Indians counseled and exhorted to stop the ravages of alcohol among themselves by turning their backs upon that ever present curse of the Red Man.

Nor were the efforts of Friends confined entirely to the tribes mentioned above. The Montauk and Shinnecock Indians on Long Island, the Tonawandas and other branches of the Seneca nation in western New York, received advice or material assistance as occasion required.

Of all the Indians aided by New York Friends the Onondagas seemed to respond most encouragingly to the efforts of the committee. Over and over again the committee reported the good results obtained among this nation of the Iroquois, especially mentioning the almost total absence of intemperance among them. It was among these Indians that Adin T. Cory and his family did a splendid work during the later years of the committee's efforts. In 1825 some representatives of the committee visited these Indians and reported that considerable quantities of grain had been sold by this nation over and above the amount needed for their own consumption. The Indian girls were also showing much progress in spinning, weaving, and other domestic industries.¹⁴

About 1820 there began to be great unsettlement among the Indians of New York on account of the pressure being brought to bear upon them to move with other Indian tribes to lands in the western states and territories. This agitation soon began to interfere with the work of Friends among them and by 1830 most of the Indians among whom the Friends of New York had so long labored had left their old homes and followed the westward trail.¹⁵

¹⁴ N. Y. Yearly Meeting, MS. *Minutes*, 3: 41.

¹⁵ The principal source materials used in the foregoing account were the manuscript *Minutes* of New York Yearly Meeting and of the *Indian Committee* of the same Yearly Meeting.

EFFORTS OF LIBERAL FRIENDS.

At the same time that the Indians were becoming unsettled by the westward movement the Society of Friends was divided into two opposing factions by the unhappy separation of 1828. In New York Yearly Meeting the Liberal branch of Friends received the funds of the Indian Committee and continued to labor among those Indians that did not migrate to the west.¹⁶

In the decade following 1830 the chief interest of New York Friends (Liberal) was gradually transferred from the Onondaga nation to that branch of the Seneca nation dwelling at Cattaraugus. It was felt that the Onondagas had received sufficient help and instruction to enable them to make due progress without the special aid of Friends. Therefore, although the committee kept in friendly touch with them at all times, the greater effort was exerted among the Senecas at Cattaraugus, where a Friend's family was soon established and a school opened (1833).¹⁷

The work thus begun at Cattaraugus was similar to the work done among other New York tribes as described earlier in this chapter. It is not necessary therefore to follow it in detail especially since it was

¹⁶ New York Friends had received \$6000 from a fund of money provided about 1807 by English Friends for the work of American Friends among the Indians. The Treasurer of this fund and Adin T. Cory, the Friend residing among the Onondagas, adhered to the Liberal branch. As a result the Indian Committee of N. Y. Orthodox Friends was released in 1832 and the Indian work of that branch ceased for a few years.

¹⁷ Griffith M. Cooper and family took charge of this work in 1836. About the same time the work was placed under the direct care of the newly established Genessee Yearly Meeting which was in closer proximity to the Indians. New York Yearly Meeting continued however its support of the effort.

soon overshadowed by the great and splendid effort of various Yearly Meetings to protect the Seneca Indians in the ownership of their lands.

A preemptive right to the lands of the Seneca nation had been long held by an organization known as the Ogden Land Company.¹⁸ This preemptive claim merely gave to the company the exclusive right to purchase the Indian lands when the Indians should choose to sell. According to treaty right the Senecas could not be compelled to part with their lands. Yet the Ogden Land Company was greatly interested in encouraging the Indians to sell, and at the period under consideration it had become the settled policy of the United States Government to encourage or compel the various Indian tribes of the east to remove beyond the Mississippi River. Consequently any move supported by the Ogden Land Company to secure the removal of the Seneca nation was likely to get considerable support from the executive and legislative branches of the government at Washington.

It is impossible within the scope of this chapter to give the details of the struggle that took place between the years 1838 and 1842 over the question of the removal of the Senecas to the west, and the efforts of Friends to help these Indians retain their New York lands.

The basis for the struggle was laid in a Council held

¹⁸ This claim had been purchased of former owners in 1810 by David A. Ogden who later formed the Ogden Land Co. The meaning and extent of this "preemptive claim" has been and is still a much controverted subject but at the period under discussion the company was trying merely to exercise the right of first purchaser when the Indians could be induced to sell. For a recent investigation of this case see U. S. 63d Cong., 3d Sess., House Doc. No. 1590.

with the Senecas in 1838 near the city of Buffalo at which some of the Seneca Chiefs signed a treaty agreeing to cede their New York lands. When this matter came to the attention of Friends they had reason to believe the treaty had been secured by fraud and so they undertook to protect the Indians in their right to the lands in question. In this effort the Indian Committees of Genessee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings (Liberal) united.¹⁹

The Indian custom of settling tribal matters by a Council of Chiefs was open to those dangers of bribery and corruption that have menaced all governments of every age in which great power is concentrated in the hands of a few people. The opportunity was clearly present in this case for the Ogden Land Company to secure thousands of acres of very valuable land at a nominal cost by trading on the venality of a few Indian Chiefs.

That such corruption had been practiced the members of the Joint Committee soon convinced themselves. They gathered evidence supported by affidavits to prove that the grossest forms of fraud and bribery had been practiced. It appeared that various Indian Chiefs had been paid large sums of money to sign the treaty and to favor it among their friends; that some who had never been duly elected Chiefs had signed the document; that the names of others appeared on the treaty without their knowledge or authorization; that less than half of the names appended to the treaty had been secured "in open Council" as

¹⁹ Orthodox Friends of New York, Phila., and Baltimore also made some representations to the government at the beginning of the trouble but the chief effort was put forth by Liberal Friends.

the United States Senate had stipulated. Most flagrant of all the abuses seemed to be this, that some of the Chiefs had received not only money but a promise of large tracts of land in the reservation to be deeded to them in fee simple. Thus the so-called "emigration Chief" would sign away the reservation lands and compel his people to emigrate while he and his heirs would be permitted to live and die on their native ground.

So convincing was the evidence presented that President Van Buren transmitted the treaty to the Senate stating in his message that the conditions for receiving the assent of the Senecas had not been properly fulfilled and that there was good reason to believe "improper means" had been employed to influence the Seneca Chiefs.

The Joint Committee of Friends now felt that their arduous labors were about to be rewarded and they sent a memorial to the Senate presenting the same facts that they had previously laid before the President. What then was their surprise and grief to see the Senate, by a bare majority that included the casting vote of the Vice-President, ratify the treaty by which it was alleged the Seneca Indians had fairly alienated all of their New York lands to the Ogden Land Company.

Friends immediately returned to President Van Buren to strengthen his hands in refusing the treaty when their disappointment was changed to despair by hearing from him that, since the Senate with all the facts before it had ratified the treaty, he could not feel justified in rejecting it.

Little has been said in the account thus far of the

various and laborious duties required of the Joint Committee of Friends or its representatives in championing the cause of the Senecas. The long journeys to the Seneca reservations, the conferences with the Indians in their homes or their Councils, the quest for evidence and the taking of affidavits, the strenuous days and weeks at Washington seeking interviews with those in authority,—these were items in the cost to the children of Onas of this new effort to protect their Red Brothers.

For a considerable time after the ratification of the treaty it seemed that nothing further could be done to prevent the expatriation of the Senecas from their New York homes. Various expedients were discussed but nothing seemed feasible. The best legal opinion obtainable declared that no further proof of fraud could avail since the treaty had been ratified. Apparently the consummation of the treaty had vested in the Ogden Land Company the right to the land in question and they could not be divested of their title except by their own consent.

One tribunal however remained open to the case, and that was the supreme court of public opinion. The case of the Senecas had been getting a hearing in this court for some time. Friends and others had published various pamphlets stating the case and the evidence of bribery and fraud was freely aired in the public press. As a result a storm of protest began to go up from many influential sources and the defense offered by the Ogden Land Company and its friends availed little to quiet the storm.

By the treaty the Indians were given five years in which to remove from their lands and long before

those years had run the Ogden Land Company was ready to make concessions in order to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the public.

As a consequence of this situation a conference was held early in 1842 between the Secretary of War,—who at that period had charge of Indian affairs,—the Agents of the Ogden Land Company, and a delegation of Friends on behalf of the four Yearly Meetings of Genessee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore.

The result of this conference was that the Ogden Land Company agreed to a supplemental treaty. According to this treaty the Company was to retain its title to the Tonawanda and Buffalo reservations while the Indians were to receive back their title to the reservations at Cattaraugus and Allegheny. This compromise offer was duly laid before the Indians by Friends and was gladly accepted as the basis for the settlement of the unfortunate and disgraceful transaction.²⁰

Largely as a result of the difficulties experienced by the Indians during these years and their consequent distrust of their Chiefs, the Senecas in 1845 took from their chiefs the power of alienating tribal lands and in 1848 completed this political reform by establishing a thoroughgoing republican form of government.²¹

²⁰ The Senecas soon concentrated their population on the two reservations thus secured to them, save that the Tonawandas refused to leave their reservation and a few years later (1857) purchased the title to it from the Ogden Land Company.

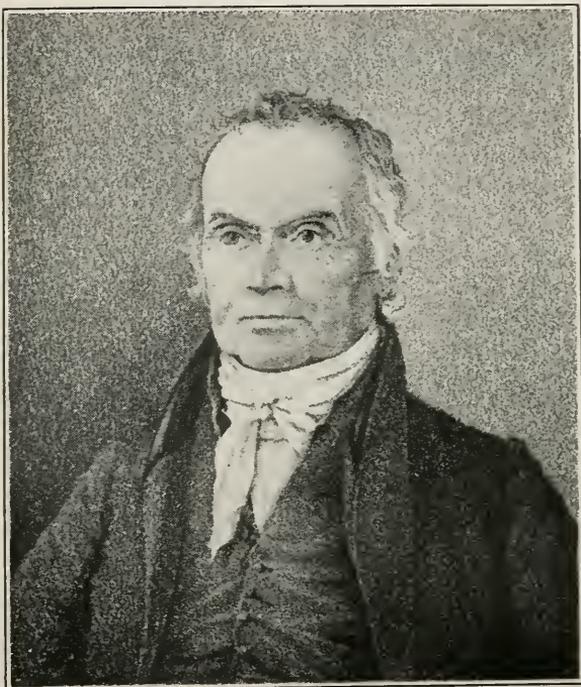
²¹ This account from the beginning of the land trouble in 1838 is taken largely from the following publications: *Proceedings of the Joint Committee*. Balt., 1847. *Further Proceedings of the Joint Comm.* Balt., 1850. *The Case of the Seneca Indians*. Phila., 1840. *Appeal to the Christian Community*. N. Y., 1841. *Further Illustration of the Case of the Seneca Indians*. Balt., 1841.

In all of these changes the Indians freely sought and freely received the help of Friends although the latter were always careful not to take a partisan attitude in political agitations unless it was a clear case of right and wrong.

The fickleness of the Indians in their decisions made the task of Friends much more serious. A simple minded people untrained in grappling with complex problems, yet withal full of suspicion because of the fraud and deceit so often practised upon them, the Indians would suddenly become agitated and almost panic stricken. Perhaps they would surmise they had been tricked into making some recent decision. Or perhaps they would be fearful that some treaty or agreement had not been made firm or binding enough, and they would want further guarantees of its fulfilment. The pathos of their unsettled state of mind caused by the sore experience of generations of their people will not escape the reader,—and it did not escape Friends of that day.

After the two reservations of Allegheny and Cattaraugus had been secured to the Senecas in 1842 the Indians seemed to have settled in the negative the question of going west. Yet the agitation of a few discontented "emigrationists" did not cease and finally a small party went west in 1846. These soon found themselves in want and they appealed to their tribesmen in New York who in turn appealed as ever to Friends: "We see no other resource but to look again to those kind hearted friends, who have done so much already to relieve us in our distress," wrote the Cattaraugus Senecas to Philip E. Thomas,²² of Baltimore,

²² Philip E. Thomas was for many years (1803-1861) an



PHILIP E. THOMAS

A LEADER IN THE INDIAN WORK OF LIBERAL FRIENDS. CALLED BY
THE INDIANS "THE BENEVOLENT."

in 1847. "Our obligations are already very great, and we cherish deep feelings of gratitude for past favors. We would not willingly burden your kindness now, were it not for the peculiarly difficult and perplexing condition of things just at the present time. But we feel that humanity towards our own people, demands of us to make this application in their behalf."²³ To such appeals Friends never turned a deaf ear, and the above instance is cited merely as an example of many similar ones that cannot be included in this brief sketch.

Toward the close of the decade (1839-1849) of the active service of Liberal Friends for the Senecas a great desire was felt especially by women Friends that some more definite service might be done for the Indian women.

The Indians had been urged many times to withdraw their women from the fields for the domestic duties of the household. A woman Friend, a member of the Committee, spoke as follows at a Council with the Indians in 1846: "To mothers, properly belongs the care and management of the education of their children. . . . It is in early infancy that lasting impressions are made upon children, and we cannot begin

active member and the Clerk of the Indian Committee of Baltimore Y. M. (Liberal after 1828) and was a member of the Joint Comm. of the four Yearly Meetings. He was highly respected and greatly beloved by the Senecas. In 1845 they made him an adopted (or honorary) member of their nation, giving him the name Sagaoh (or Sagonan), "The Benevolent." In 1848 when the Senecas changed to a republican form of government they changed the name of Philip E. Thomas to Hai-wa-noh, "Ambassador." The significance of this was that he was to be their special representative in their communications with the government at Washington.

²³ *Proceedings of Joint Comm.* (1847), 184.

too early to instil into their young and tender minds, the principles of virtue. . . . Thus as they advance in age, they will become a blessing to their parents, and useful to the community."

In the same Council an Indian woman, Gua-na-ea spoke as follows: "I am one of the females appointed to come here and listen to what our friends might have to say. This is the first time any opportunity has been offered for one of my sex to be heard in any of the deliberations of our Nation. We feel thankful for this favor, and congratulate ourselves that we have been permitted to meet our female friends here in Council, and trust, a new and better prospect is about opening before us. I am instructed by the women now present to say, that we fully approve the propositions that have been made in reference to the education of our children, and that it is our earnest desire they may be instructed in the manner represented. We will do all in our power to cooperate in and promote so good a work."²⁴

As a result of the deliberations of this Council a Female Manual Labor School was opened. The operations of this School may be judged by the following description given by the Joint Committee: "This school was held in the dwelling erected for the use of Friends, at Cattaraugus. The average number of pupils was about twenty-eight, generally under twenty years of age. They were boarded in the family at the expense of the Committee, and were taught to card and spin wool, knit stockings, cut out and make garments, etc. A part of their number was admitted daily into the family of the Superintendent, where they were

²⁴ *Proceedings of Joint Comm.* (1847), 171-172.

taught to wash and iron clothes, etc., make bread, do plain cooking, and every other branch of good housewifery, pertaining to a country life. Into this department all were admitted by turns, generally four at a time, and continued until the necessary proficiency was attained. As such left the school others took their places, by which arrangement a large number of young women became qualified to take charge of families, and extend to succeeding generations the comforts and blessings of domestic life.”²⁵

In contrast with the civilized life and pursuits being taught to the Cattaraugus Senecas there stood out in the minds of the Committee the situation of the same Indians a short decade before: “In the years 1839, 1840, during the contest about their lands, the Indian men were seen in groups round the Council House, some in the old Indian costume,—their blankets girded round them,—the tomahawk and scalping knife hanging at their belt,—their faces painted in glaring colors,—brilliant feathers in their head dress,—ear rings dangling in their ears, and broad silver bracelets on their arms; whilst a few others, principally young men, were dressed in fine broad cloth, made up in the European fashion: the whole presenting a motley group, and giving ocular evidence of the tenacity with which an Indian clings to the customs and habits of his ancestors, and to the ease and indolence of savage life.”

“At this period the women appeared uniformly in their old dress. A female was seldom or never seen without her blanket. If they wore anything on the head, it was a fur hat, such as are worn by the men, and generally having a broad band round the crown,

²⁵ *Further Proceedings of Joint Comm.* (1850), 43.

made of silver or some ornamental work. They generally wore leggings, richly ornamented with bead work, or coloured porcupine quills." . . . "A very large portion of the Indians lived in wigwams, or poor log huts,—covered with bark, boards, or other materials, hardly sufficient to shield them from the weather. Many of them had earth floors, on which they slept in buffalo skins or blankets. They set no table,—had no regular meals,—used no plates, nor knives and forks. An iron pot was generally found placed over a fire, into which they put beans and hominy, and a piece of some kind of meat,—either pork or venison. When any one of the family was hungry, he helped himself to what he wanted, putting it in a small wooden vessel, and feeding himself with a wooden or iron spoon. The interior of their dwellings generally presented to the eye a spectacle by no means calculated to warm the imagination in favour of Indian life. The truth is, that savage custom had driven woman from her proper sphere, and domestic happiness could not enter the dwelling in her absence."²⁶

²⁶ *Further Proceedings of Joint Comm.* (1850), 41-43.—Some idea of the progress of the Senecas may be had by comparing the above description with the following, taken from the report of a joint delegation of Baltimore and New York Friends who visited the Allegheny and Cattaraugus reservations in 1862: "The Indians appear to have entirely discarded the use of the blanket as an article of dress, and adopted the dress of the Whites. The Delegation saw no blankets worn, except as shawls, thrown over their other dresses. In a ride of some six miles in one direction, on the Cattaraugus Reservation, there were well improved farms on both sides of the road, throughout the whole distance, with good houses, barns and other out-buildings, and in many instances well cultivated gardens, and yards planted with flowers, ornamental trees and shrubbery. There were greater and more wide-spread evidences of progress in agriculture, and

In leading the Indians away from their old customs and into the modes of civilized life it is important to notice that liberal Friends did not emphasize any religious teaching. Their ideas in this respect were well expressed in an address to the Indians early in 1849: "With your religious concerns we have studiously avoided to interfere, not because we have deemed Religion an unimportant subject, but because we have not been called upon by our position or sent among you to teach it,—and because we most assuredly believe, that if you faithfully conform to the Will of God, so far as he is pleased to make it known to you, it will place you in the best state for the attainment of Religious knowledge. It will teach you to be *practical* Christians;—it will make you honest, merciful, benevolent, holy, humble,—in a word, it will make you pure in heart, and thus prepare you for the society of just men made perfect in the kingdom of Heaven. It is not the extent of our theological instruction, but our fidelity in the performance of *manifest* duty, that is the measure of our acceptance in the Divine Sight."²⁷

In 1848 it was coming to be more and more the opinion of the Joint Committee that Friends should soon withdraw from the work at Cattaraugus and leave the Indians to work out in practice the things they had learned in the years during which Friends labored among them. Consequently, early in 1848, Joseph S. Walton and family went to Cattaraugus to take charge of the Friends' establishment there. His

in civilization with its healthful attendants, morality, industry and taste than we had been at all prepared to expect."—Report of Indian Committee in Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Liberal) printed *Minutes* (1862), 9.

²⁷ *Further Proceedings of Joint Comm.* (1850), 57-58.

especial aim was to continue the work of the Female Manual Labor School and put the farm in proper order to hand over to the Indians when Friends should withdraw. These objects having been sufficiently accomplished in the year 1849 the farm lease was returned to the Indians and the active work of Liberal Friends for the Seneca Nation came to a close.²⁸

The genuine sorrow of the Indians at the withdrawal of Friends from active service among them was given expression in an official letter addressed to the Joint Committee of the four Yearly Meetings of Genessee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore by a Committee of the Council of the Seneca Nation :

“*Brothers,*—

“It is with much pain and sorrow we learn that you are to close your labors among us. When we turn our faces backward, and look over the histories of the past, we find that more than fifty winters have gone by, since the Iroquois, or ‘The Six Nations of Indians,’ first selected the Ho-di-wi-yus-doh [Society of Friends] as *their friends* upon whom they could repose confidence, without fear of being betrayed.”

After enumerating the specific charities of Friends for them they continued :

“*Brothers,*—

“We have, as associates, passed through many dangers, and severe trials and hardships.—In all these you have ever stood by us and been our support,—have counseled us in our troubles,—consoled us in our misfortunes,—

²⁸ Friends, however, especially those of Balt. and New York Yearly Meetings, remained in friendly touch with the Cattaraugus Indians for more than a decade after 1849 assisting them occasionally with advice and influence or, as in the case of a small-pox epidemic of 1862, with financial aid.

strengthened us when feeble, and often relieved our necessities:—all—all of these kind offices have endeared you to us.—To part, are words too severe for our ears.”

“*Brothers,*—

“We hope that you may teach your children to love and pity the red man, so that when the Master of Life and Light shall call you hence, your red brothers may still have friends like you, and the good understanding now existing between us, be forever perpetuated and cherished between your posterity and ours.”²⁹

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

New England Yearly Meeting, Orthodox. The chief source materials for the Indian work of New England Yearly Meeting are listed in note 8, p. 14, above.

See also *Conduct of Friends* (1844), pp. 211-217, for brief secondary account, with quotations from sources. Listed in Bibliographical Note at end of Chapter IV.

New York Yearly Meeting, Orthodox. The principal sources are the manuscript *Minutes* of New York Yearly Meeting and of the Indian Committee of the same Yearly Meeting.

See also *Conduct of Friends* (as above), pp. 155-210.

Liberal Friends. The manuscript materials consist chiefly of Yearly Meeting *Minutes*, and *Minutes* and other records of the Indian Committees.

The principal printed sources are the printed *Minutes* or *Extracts* of the various Yearly Meetings and the works cited in note 21, p. 123, above.

For location of manuscript and printed sources see General Note on Bibliography at end of volume.

²⁹ *Further Proceedings of Joint Comm.* (1850), 60-65. It should be added that as a memorial to Friends the Indians converted the school-house and farm so long occupied by Friends into an orphan asylum for Indian children.

CHAPTER VII.

WORK ESTABLISHED IN THE WEST.

The earliest missionary effort undertaken by Friends for the western Indians was the result of an interest awakened in Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1795. The first mission established was in Indiana; within a few years it was closed and a similar mission was opened in western Ohio; thence the Friendly apostles followed the Indians in their move westward into Kansas; there the work was continued for more than three decades, until the Shawnee Indians for whom it was established in Ohio and Kansas had removed to the present state of Oklahoma.¹

Although Baltimore Yearly Meeting appointed an Indian Committee in 1795 and entered with great zeal into its effort to aid the Indians, no settlement was made among the natives for almost ten years. During that time several journeys were made into the Indian country of Ohio in order to investigate the condition and needs of the various tribes then inhabiting that part of the country. In 1798 the Delaware Indians on the Muskingum River were given some tools and implements of husbandry. In 1799 an invitation was received from the famous Chief Tarhe of the Wyandot tribe inviting Friends to visit him at Upper Sandusky and be present at a Grand Council Fire. The Friends

¹ The later mission work of Friends in Oklahoma was not directly an outgrowth of the above mentioned work. See Chapters VIII and IX.

sent out by the Committee in response to this invitation arrived too early for the Grand Council and, not finding it convenient to remain for any length of time, had to content themselves with a conference with Tarhe and other chiefs who could be readily called together from the vicinity. A most friendly intercourse was held at this conference but the Friends returned to Baltimore greatly depressed by the terrible havoc which they saw was being wrought among the Indians by the use of spirituous liquors. Unless this evil could be checked it was felt that little progress would be made in any effort to lead the Indians into the higher planes of civilized life.

In 1802 several chiefs of the Miami and Potawatomi tribes were passing through Baltimore and members of the Committee had an opportunity to meet with them and point out clearly the baneful effects of the use of liquor. They found the Indians not blind to the situation. The famous Chief, Little Turtle, of the Miamis, replied pointedly: "When our forefathers first met on this island, your Red Brethren were very numerous. But since the introduction amongst us, of what you call spirituous liquors, and what we think may justly be called Poison, our numbers are greatly diminished. . . . It is not an evil of our own making. We have not placed it amongst ourselves. It is an evil placed amongst us by the white people. We look to them to remove it out of our country."²

² *Proceedings of Balt. Comm.* (1806), 18-19. The first committee of Balt. Y. M. to have charge of Indian matters consisted of the following, appointed in 1795: John Wilson, John M'Kim, John Branen, Evan Thomas, Allan Farquhar, John Love, Caleb Kirk, Jonathan Wright (of Monallen), Thos. Matthews, Joseph

Stirred by the pathetic and incisive words of Little Turtle and by the increasing gravity of the situation Friends prepared a memorial to Congress. This memorial and the subject introduced by it received favorable consideration and a law was passed which greatly reduced the evil in question. So marked were the results of this legislation that the government Indian Agent at Fort Wayne, Indiana, expressed the opinion in 1803 "that the suppression of spirituous liquors in that country, is the most beneficial thing which was ever done for them [the Indians] by the United States."³

The way seemed opened by this beneficent legislation for a greater and more permanent work among the Indians. Such a work was undertaken in 1804 near Fort Wayne, Indiana.

At the solicitation of two Indian Chiefs, Little Turtle and Five Medals, a deputation of Friends was sent out from Baltimore consisting of George Ellicott and Gerard T. Hopkins. With them went Philip Dennis who was ready to remain for some months among the Indians and teach them some of the elements of agriculture. They reached the Indian country in 1804 and after a time of most friendly intercourse and counsel it was decided, with the hearty approbation of the Indians, that Philip Dennis should remain among them for some time as had been planned. Thus was established the first mission settlement of Friends among the western Indians.

A plot of fertile land was selected on the Wabash

Bond, Joseph Beeson, John Butcher, Benjamin Walker, Israel Janney, David Brannen, Gouldsmith Chandlee, Moses Dillon, Elias Ellicott, Nathan Heald, David Greane.

³ *Proceedings of Balt. Comm.* (1806), 22.

River at a place called Boat-yard about thirty-two miles southwest of Fort Wayne and there Philip Dennis gave to the Indians a demonstration of practical and successful agriculture. He remained during most of the year and on his return home reported that his relations with the Indians had been most cordial. "He raised about 400 bushels of corn, besides a quantity of turnips, potatoes, cucumbers, watermelons, pumpkins, beans, parsnips, and other garden-vegetables; which he directed to be divided amongst the Indians on their return from their hunting camps; and left with the family of Indians with whom he had resided, upon the farm he had cultivated, 23 hogs and pigs, seven of which were in good order to kill, and which he expected would weigh 1,500 lb. . . . With some assistance, which he obtained from Fort Wayne, he cleared and enclosed under a substantial fence twenty acres of ground, and built a house, thirty-two feet long and seventeen feet wide, a story and a half high, with floors and partition." It required some effort to dissuade the industrious young Indian women from assuming the burden of cultivating the fields, but Philip Dennis finally persuaded them to study the art of spinning and knitting under the direction of a white woman at Fort Wayne and before he left the Indian settlement he had the satisfaction of seeing the Indian women knitting the yarn of their own spinning.⁴

Such was the practical and auspicious beginning of the work on the Wabash River in Indiana. The Eel River and the Wea Indians, branches of the Miami

⁴ *Proceedings of Balt. Comm.* (1806), 38-40. For the journey to Indiana and the establishment of the work on the Wabash River see the *Journal* kept by Gerard T. Hopkins, published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, March, 1909.

tribe, were chiefly influenced by this work but others saw or heard about the experiment and were influenced by it.

In 1805, at the request of Baltimore Friends, the government agent at Fort Wayne employed a man to carry on the work begun by Philip Dennis the year before. After that two young men were sent out by the committee and they remained in the work for several years.

The success of the effort was apparent from the start and continued so for about five years. In 1809 difficulty was again encountered from the sale of liquor to the Indians but an appeal to the government by the Indians themselves, backed by the good offices and influence of Baltimore Friends, accomplished some abatement of this evil for a season.

A greater difficulty, that could not be thus controlled, soon arose and in a short time brought the work in Indiana to a sudden termination. This was the unrest caused among the Indians by the influence of the famous Shawnee "Prophet," Tenskwatawn, and his twin brother Tecumseh. These men stirred the Indians with a religious fervor to oppose the white man with all his customs. The agitation led to the disastrous defeat of the Indians by General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe, Indiana, in November, 1811. The Indian war then blended into the war between Great Britain and the United States which began the following year.

As early as 1810 the agitation of the "Prophet" had begun to hinder the work on the Wabash River and in 1811 the Baltimore Committee reported that the work had been suspended for the time. As the fortunes of

the situation turned it was suspended for all time. Early in the War of 1812 the establishment on the Wabash River was destroyed and when Friends again established a work for the western Indians a more auspicious opening was found in the state of Ohio.⁵

So ended the first work in the west. Begun under favorable conditions, it flourished as long as conditions remained favorable, and ended abruptly with the crisis that could not be foreseen nor avoided. It was the only mission work of Friends ever destroyed in an Indian war.

The work in Indiana did not turn the minds of Friends from the Indians of Ohio. The Delawares on the Muskingum River who had received tools and implements from the Baltimore Committee as early as 1798 continued to receive similar aid in 1810 and for one or two succeeding years. A young man was also employed for some months to show them how to use their tools and plant their crops.

In 1810 also the Baltimore Committee reported to the Yearly Meeting that a request had been received from that portion of the Shawnee tribe residing at Wapakoneta on the Auglaize River in western Ohio that Friends should extend a benevolent interest to them.⁶ This invitation was accepted and a grist mill was erected at Wapakoneta the following year. A little later some tools were supplied to a mixed settlement of Iroquois, Shawnees, and other Indians settled a few miles southeast of Wapakoneta near the present Lewistown, Ohio.

⁵ MS. *Minutes* of Balt. Comm. (Orth. Copy), 6-14.

⁶ It should be remembered that Indian tribes were often split up into various divisions that lived in widely separated localities. This is notably true in the history of the Shawnees.

The help extended to these Indians in western Ohio was much interrupted by the War of 1812. The mill at Wapakoneta was dismantled, the Indians were driven from their homes, and this new work of Friends came to a stand-still. Yet the way was being blazed to a greater activity. The door closed in Indiana by the war was being opened in western Ohio even during the same war.

In 1815, at the renewed solicitation of the Indians and with the approbation of the national government, Friends prepared to enter the newly opened door in Ohio. It was in this year that Ohio Yearly Meeting appointed its first Indian Committee and in the following year a deputation representing the Baltimore and Ohio Committees visited the Indians at Wapakoneta and Lewistown.⁷

The Friends who made this journey were received most cordially by the Indians to whom they gave wholesome advice as to the necessity of abstaining from liquor and developing industrious and steady habits in their agricultural pursuits. The Indians replied in kindly and earnest words through their Chief Black Hoof at Wapakoneta and Captain Lewis at Lewistown.⁸

This was the beginning of a considerable and an important work among the Indians of these two settlements in western Ohio. The grist mill at Wapakoneta was at once rebuilt and a saw mill was soon added to the equipment of the community. A family

⁷ Ohio Yearly Meeting was organized at Mt. Pleasant in 1813. For the appointment of the first Indian Comm. see MS. *Minutes*, Aug. 23, 1815, and following days.

⁸ *Report* of the joint deputation, 1-16; also MS. *Minutes* of Balt. Comm. (Orth. Copy), 20-37.

of Friends was located at each of the two settlements to superintend the work undertaken and to teach the Indians by precept and example the manners and methods of civilized life.⁹

The principal work was at Wapakoneta. The opening there among the Shawnees seemed especially inviting and as early as 1819 plans were in process for the establishment of a school for the Indian children at that place. Encouraged by a donation of £150 from Friends in Ireland the Committee of Ohio Yearly Meeting, which by this time had taken over the active management of the work, proceeded with this plan and in 1822 the school was opened. The school building and a dwelling house for the Superintendent had been erected on a tract of two hundred and fourteen acres bought for the purpose and adjoining the reservation of Wapakoneta.¹⁰

⁹ Among the men, usually with their families, who aided in the work at Wapakoneta and Lewistown as superintendents, teachers, or otherwise, during this period (until 1832) the following are mentioned in various reports: John Paxon, Jacob Taylor, Jesse Baldwin, Isaac Harvey, Asa Pound, Robert Green, Simon Harvey, and Henry Harvey.—It was Isaac Harvey who saved an Indian woman at Wapakoneta from probable execution by the Indians on a charge of witchcraft and thus helped to break up the witchcraft superstition among the tribes of that vicinity. For an account of this incident see Harvey, *Shawnee Indians*, 170–182.

¹⁰ MS. *Minutes* of Balt. Comm. (Orth. Copy), 58–59; *Conduct of Friends*, 228. Aside from the above mentioned gift of Irish Friends was the generous donation of English Friends (see note 16, p. 118). This latter fund had been invested in bank stock in Baltimore city and the income from it was the main support of the work in Ohio. This fund was retained by the larger (Liberal) body of Baltimore after 1828 and was the cause of much un-Friendly dispute. See MS. *Minutes* of Balt. Comm. (Orth.), for the years 1834 and 1841.—The total sum subscribed by English Friends (1806–1807) was about \$31,500. Of this sum

The school was a success as long as conditions were favorable. The Indian children showed good ability in mastering the elements of learning and their parents, in some cases though not in all, took a lively interest in their progress. The children, aside from their regular studies, learned to turn their hands to useful labor, the boys working on the farm and the girls learning to spin and perform other domestic tasks. There seems to have been an average of from ten to fifteen children in attendance most of the time.

The unfavorable condition that militated against the school, causing it to be suspended several times for short periods, was the agitation among the Indians over the subject of their removal west of the Mississippi River.¹¹ This agitation began to stir the Indians at Wapakoneta as early as 1820 and it was continued at intervals until the last of the Indians at that place began their journey westward in the fall of 1832. During this period of more than a decade the Indians were thrown into an excited state of mind at intervals and great discord often arose among them on account of their differences of opinion on the advisability of changing their place of residence.¹²

The removal was inevitable. The government had adopted the plan of Indian consolidation as a settled

\$6000 was apportioned to New York Friends for their Indian work and the balance, about \$25,500, seems to have been divided equally between Philadelphia and Baltimore Yearly Meetings. It would appear that when the separation occurred in 1828 Liberal Friends retained the New York and Baltimore funds, and Orthodox Friends the Philadelphia fund.

¹¹ See above, p. 5.

¹² Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, for the years 1821 to 1833; Indiana Y. M. MS. Indian book, 20-70, passim; Harvey, *Shawnee Indians*, 185-233; *Conduct of Friends*, 228-234.

policy and thus the Friends of Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana saw their work for the Shawnees in Ohio gradually drawing to a close.¹³ In 1825 Captain Lewis removed with a large number of the Lewistown Indians to a tract granted to them in Kansas and from that time onward it was evident that the westward movement of the Indians was sure to take place. The subject continued to be agitated at intervals and finally in 1831 the Shawnees entered into a treaty for the sale of their lands at Wapakoneta. During the next two years the remaining Indians with whom Friends had labored at Wapakoneta and vicinity took their journey toward a new and unknown home beyond the Father of Waters.¹⁴

The Friend in charge at Wapakoneta has told how all the Indians stopped to say farewell as they passed the mission home at the beginning of their long journey. Even these stolid children of the forest wept bitterly as they took leave of their long time friends, the Quakers. "We have been brothers together with you the Quakers for a long time," said some of the Chiefs before their departure. "You took us by the

¹³ Indiana Y. M. was organized in 1821 and at once entered into active co-operation with Ohio and Baltimore Yearly Meetings in their Indian work. The following were the members of the first "Active Committee" on Indian concerns of Indiana Y. M.: Isaac Harvey, Aaron Brown, Jno. Wright, Caleb Harvey, Robert Furnas, William Stanton, Caleb Wickersham, Thomas Frazier, Henry Pickeral, William Hadley, Patience Whitacre, Jane Smith, Agatha Harvey.—Indiana Y. M. MS. Indian book, p. 3.

¹⁴ The aid extended to the Indians by Henry Harvey, the Friend in charge at Wapakoneta, in protecting them from fraud in the treaty of sale for their Ohio lands, and in securing food for them in time of need, is told in Harvey, *Shawnee Indians*, 190-229.

hand and you held us fast. We have held you fast too. And although we are going far away from you, we do not want you to forsake us. . . . Through all we have found that by holding to the Friends we have done best, so we hope always to be in your hands." These poor wanderers were soon to discover that however far the avarice of the white man or the exigencies of advancing civilization might drive them, the hands of the Quakers would still reach out to them and continue to "hold them fast."¹⁵

Steps were soon taken that led to a renewal of the missionary work of Friends among the Shawnees in their new home. In 1833, less than a year after the removal of the Indians from Wapakoneta, a deputation of three Friends¹⁶ was sent out by the Indian Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting to visit the Indians on their new reservation in Kansas. The delegation went out with the approval of Ohio and Baltimore Friends and with a cordial letter of introduction written by Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and directed to the Indian Agents and other officers of the government with whom the traveling Friends might come in contact.

These Friends found the Shawnees located just west of the Missouri River, only a few miles from the present Kansas City. The Indians had not been idle in their new home: "Since their arrival in that country

¹⁵ Harvey, *Shawnee Indians*, 231; MS. *Minutes of Balt. Comm.* (Orth. Copy), 118.

¹⁶ The three Friends were Henry Harvey, Simon Hadley, and Solomon Hadden. Henry Harvey had been in charge of the mission station at Wapakoneta when the Indians migrated westward the year before.

last fall they have, as well as we are able to judge, made upwards of thirty thousand rails, and laid most of them up. They have settled on the timbered land and have cleared, some two, some four to six and some eight acres, and are engaged in planting corn. They have planted considerable of potatoes and the like in order for subsistence the ensuing year. They have purchased some milch cows; and some of them have a few hogs." Such is the picture as seen by the visiting Friends whose hearts were warmed with the belief that the long years of effort in the mission at Wapakoneta had done its part in developing habits of thrift and industry among the Indians.

Nor was there any lack in the welcome extended by the Indians to their old friends. The chief who made the formal address of welcome recalled what Friends had told the Indians before they migrated from Ohio: "Our brothers the Quakers told us that we were going far to the west, but they said that the arms of our brothers the Quakers would still be able to reach and assist us. . . . This is what our brothers told us and now it appears they have not forgotten us."¹⁷

Encouraged by what they heard and saw the three Friends reported to the Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting that the way seemed to be open and the opportunity great for a further work among their former wards. The suggestion was passed on eastward to Friends of Ohio and Baltimore and received by them with cordial approbation. It was agreed that the three Yearly Meetings should coöperate in the work as

¹⁷ Full report of deputation in MS. *Minutes* of Balt. Comm. (Orth.), 141-145; see also Harvey, *Shawnee Indians*, 234-236.

formerly but that the active duties entailed should devolve upon the committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting.¹⁸

Plans were put into operation promptly. A location was selected for the mission establishment, suitable buildings were erected, superintendents and a teacher engaged, and in 1837 the work of Friends for the Shawnees in Kansas was in operation.¹⁹

When Friends first began to work among the Shawnees in Ohio their principal effort was directed toward

¹⁸ MS. *Minutes* of Balt. Comm. (Orth.), 160. The three Yearly Meetings that carried on the work in Kansas were of the Orthodox branch. For the work of Liberal Friends after 1828, see above, p. 118 ff.

¹⁹ The following is a list of those who had a part in the work at the mission, some for only a very short time, others for more extended periods. The list has been compiled from the printed *Minutes* of Indiana Y. M. and the various names are here given only under the date when first mentioned in the *Minutes*:

1837, Moses Pearson and wife; Mary H. Stanton; Elias Newby. 1840, Henry and Ann Harvey and family; David Jones. 1841, Thomas and Hannah Wells, teachers. 1842, Thomas and Esther French; Thomas and Mary Stanley; John Stewart and Mary Crew. 1844, John M. Macy. 1845, Zeri and Miriam Hough; Thomas and Hannah Wells, Superintendents. 1846, Alfred Johnson; Ann Stanton; Eli Hadley. 1847, Jesse and Elizabeth Harvey; William F. and Sarah Harvey; Richard Mendenhall; Thomas Harvey; Sarah Ann Nixon; Rachel P. Hall. 1849, James Stanton. 1850, Jonathan Brown; Edith Lewis and Matilda Smith. 1851, Wilson and Zelinda Hobbs; Edward Y. Teas; and Theresa Arnett. Cornelius and Phebe Douglass; Rebecca Jenks. 1852, William Horniday; Eleanor Horniday. 1854, Davis W. Thayer and wife; Elizabeth M. Thayer; Cyrus Rodgers. 1856, Jeremiah A. Hadley and wife; Martha Townsend; John Denny and wife. 1857, Simon D. and Mary H. Harvey; John Pool; Caleb and Rebecca Harvey. 1858, Mary J. Harvey. 1859, Maria Hussey; Simon and Mary J. Hadley. 1860, James and Rachel Stanley. 1861, Lydia M. Butler; Mary Brock. 1863, Henry and Anna M. Thorndike. 1864, Frank Coggeshall. 1865, Elisha Parker and wife; Mary E. Hill. 1866, William and Penelope Gardner. 1867, John and Achsa Carter; Nerena Carter. 1868, Joel W. and Elizabeth Willis. 1869, Eli and Jemima Vestal.

teaching the adult Indians the elements of practical agriculture. That stage had passed by the time the work was begun in Kansas and the principal work centered in the school for the Indian children.²⁰ This work consisted of teaching them the elements of a literary education and training them outside of school hours in the practical duties of life. At this time too, as in the later years of the work in Ohio, more and more stress was laid upon teaching the Indian children the doctrines of evangelical Christianity.

One of the early reports shows the routine of work for the school children: "The children have been kept at their books five or six hours in each day, five days in each week; they are allowed an hour or more recess each day, and the remainder of the day they are kept at work, and bid fair to be very helpful. The boys have gathered a considerable quantity of fodder, while we were engaged at other work; they were helpful in harvest and at many other kinds of work. The girls can all knit stockings except one or two, who have not been long with us; several of them can make their own dresses, they are helpful in the kitchen, and seem intent to learn all they can."²¹

By means of the help of the Indian boys and other help engaged for the purpose the mission farm was cultivated to good advantage and at times it helped materially in the support of the work.

The Christian instruction of the Indians was made a primary object. When Friends of England subscribed

²⁰ To-day another stage has been reached at the Friends' missions in Oklahoma. The government looks after the schooling of Indian children and the missions confine themselves strictly to religious and social work.

²¹ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1840, p. 17.

to the work at its inception in Kansas they specified that "their [the Indians'] Christian instruction is the primary object which the subscribers have in view." The acting committees of Ohio and Indiana heartily concurred in this desire and did their best to carry it out. The children in the mission school were taught the principles of the Christian religion and they committed to memory suitable portions of Scripture. Religious meetings after the manner of Friends were held regularly at the mission and the Indians young and old were invited to attend. One of the interesting results of this religious effort was that an Indian by the name of Kiko (or Caco) in 1852 joined the Society of Friends, becoming a regular member of Miami Monthly Meeting, of Indiana Yearly Meeting.²²

The annual donations for the support of the work came usually from Friends of Indiana, Ohio, and Baltimore, although aid often came from other sources. Friends of London, Philadelphia, New York, New England, Western and Iowa Yearly Meetings contributed generously at various times during the period from 1833 to 1871. Aside from the support of the mission work proper, supplies of food and clothing were provided for the Indians on several occasions when they were in need on account of crop failures or for other reasons.²³

²² Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1834, p. 15; same, 1852, p. 36; same, 1862, p. 38. Provision was made in 1850 for Indians to join Friends, see *Minutes*, 1850, p. 29.

²³ In 1847 Indiana Y. M. appropriated \$653.49 to the work, Ohio Y. M. \$307.00, and Baltimore \$140.00. This was about the usual proportion although Indiana Y. M. gave as high as \$1000 or \$1200 some years. For gifts from other Yearly Meetings see Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes* for 1833, 1834, 1838, 1845, 1850, 1851, 1859, 1864. For the gift of Dr. John Unthank see MS.

The interest and coöperation of New York and New England Yearly Meetings is worthy of particular mention. It has been stated already in this narrative that the work of New York Friends for the Indians of that state was broken up about 1830 by the removal of the natives westward.²⁴ These Friends were not satisfied however to lay aside all responsibility for the Indians and in 1837 a plan matured for inquiring into the condition of the Indians residing west of the Mississippi River. In that year a communication was addressed to several other American Yearly Meetings inviting them to coöperate with New York Friends in securing information about the needs of the Indians in the west. As most of the Yearly Meetings were already carrying on extensive missionary enterprises among the Indians only New England seems to have entered heartily into the project. There a committee was appointed and the two Yearly Meetings began an active correspondence with regard to plans for getting information and entering into united service for the Indians.²⁵

John D. Lang and Samuel Taylor, Jr., ministers of New England Yearly Meeting, offered to visit the western Indians and were appointed to that service

Minutes of Balt. Comm. (Orth.), Dec. 17, 1835; same, 1832-1842, for bequest of Sarah Zane and efforts to collect it from her estate.

²⁴ See above, p. 117.

²⁵ In planning for united action by several Yearly Meetings the New York Comm. in 1839 proposed "that the committees of the several Yearly Meetings adopting the measure, shall have an agent, or agents, as their pecuniary means may admit, residing at the central seat of Indian government."—See *Conduct of Friends*, 172. This plan foreshadowed the Associated Executive Committee established about three decades later.

by the committees of the two Yearly Meetings. Having secured the approbation of the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of War they set out in August, 1842, on a journey which was to occupy them until about the close of that year. They first visited the Winnebago Indians in northeastern Iowa and then gradually worked southward to the present state of Oklahoma. They visited the Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Delawares, Kansas, Potawatomes, Osages, Senecas, Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws, and came somewhat into touch with various other tribes.

During the journey the hearts of the traveling Friends were occasionally uplifted by incidents tending to assure them that the earlier work of Friends had not been in vain. They met a Stockbridge woman who as a girl was educated in a Friends' school on Long Island. Her ease and grace of bearing and the splendid condition of her family and household affairs testified to the benefits of her early training.

The tradition of William Penn's kindness to the Indians and of the Great Treaty at Shackamaxon was still alive among the Delaware Indians. One of the principal men of the Munsees (a division of the Delaware tribe) spoke feelingly, even tearfully, of the long time kindness of Friends to the Indians: "Brothers, your fathers, William Penn and others of your old men, and our old men the Munsees, lived in peace like brothers, and made the treaty under the elm tree, and the Quakers and the Munsees have always been friends, and my heart is glad you still think about your poor Indian brethren, and come and see them; for it



JOHN D. LANG
(1799-1879)

makes poor Indian's heart glad when they see their Quaker brothers."²⁶

The visit to the Friends' mission among the Shawnees in Kansas was the most important part of the journey as far as direct and permanent results were concerned. The traveling Friends found twenty-three boys and fourteen girls in the school. They seemed to be well cared for and well trained. They were proficient in their various lines of study and could answer readily the questions put to them with regard to the Scriptures. The Friends held councils with the chiefs and head men of the Shawnees at which the usual assurances of friendship and good-will were interchanged.

The report of John D. Lang and Samuel Taylor, Jr., to New York and New England Yearly Meetings contained many practical suggestions on the Indian policy of the United States government and these suggestions were embodied in a joint memorial forwarded by those yearly meetings to the government.²⁷

The part of the report that described the work of the Friends' mission among the Shawnees was also

²⁶ *Conduct of Friends*, 192, 198. A sketch of the life and work of John D. Lang with portrait is in *The American Friend*, New Series, 4 (1916): 1017-1018. The tradition of Penn's kindness and the Great Treaty may not have been continuous but several considerations favor the belief that it was: the usual vitality of such traditions; the fact that Friends had aided a portion of the Delaware tribe located in Ohio in 1798 and in the early 19th century (see above, p. 132 ff.), and had labored among other tribes in Ohio and Indiana with whom the Delawares were closely associated. This missionary activity, talked about among the Indians, would help keep alive the old tradition which must have been well known by the older Indians at the close of the 18th century.

²⁷ Copy of this memorial in *Conduct of Friends*, 209-210. See also New England Yearly Meetings MS. *Minutes*, 1844.

productive of results and induced the two Yearly Meetings to give to the mission substantial aid in a financial way during the succeeding years.

The Shawnee mission was at the high tide of its prosperity at the time the two Friends visited it, and remained in a very prosperous condition for a few years following their visit.

During the first two or three years of the school there had been only about fifteen pupils in attendance but this number was more than doubled by 1842 and six years later the average attendance for the year was about forty-two scholars.

The year 1850 is a suitable time to see the work of the mission in detail for soon after that date the period of change and decline came on. The Report for that year of the Committee on Indian Concerns of Indiana Yearly Meeting describes the work of the year as follows:

“By the reports received from our Superintendent we are informed that 56 Indian youth, of both sexes, have received literary and religious instruction in the Institution the past year; 30 of whom can read the Scriptures, and seem more interested in reading these writings than of any other book. Most of this class can write and cypher, and are acquainted with the use of maps; 20 read and spell in easy lessons, and 6 are in the alphabet. The school has been composed of Shawnees, except three, most of them orphans, between the ages of 4 and 18. The larger boys have been employed in splitting rails and other work. There was one beef, and 7,000 pounds of pork, salted last year on the farm. Upwards of 60 acres in corn and garden vegetables have been cultivated. The corn has suffered some for the want of rain. There is upwards of 4 tons of hay in the mow. About 30 acres have

been sown in clover and other grass seeds, and more than 100 fruit trees set out. 40 acres of wheat, and 28 of oats have been harvested; about 600 bushels of wheat and oats threshed out; 25 acres of prairie sod broke up, and 60 cleared of brush; 550 rods of fence new and re-set; and 30 acres sown in wheat this fall. This season there has been about 500 lbs. of butter, and 600 lbs. of cheese made; 84 lbs. of wool spun; 42 yds. of linsey woven for blankets, and 32 yds. of rag carpet, and a piece of linsey is being made for dresses this fall; upwards of 50 pairs of socks and stockings have been knit; 130 garments for the girls made up, and upwards of 100 for the boys; 50 sheets, towels, etc., for house use; besides coats, pants and vests taken in and made for Indian and white men."

Aside from the above activities of school, farm, and household, it was reported that the Meeting for Worship and the First-day School had been regularly kept up and in the latter the children had been exercised faithfully in Scripture Questions and Barclay's Catechism.²⁸

Such were the activities, religious and secular, of the Friends' mission among the Shawnees of north-eastern Kansas when the work there was at the height of its prosperity.

The changes that set in shortly after this time were varied and rapid. One of the notable facts was that the mission for a time ceased to be strictly a mission for the Shawnees. In the above report for 1850 it was stated that all of the scholars except three were Shawnees. Very soon this changed. In 1851 there

²⁸ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1850, pp. 25-26. See reports of mission Supts., Thomas and Hannah Wells, in Indiana Y. M. MS. Indian book, pp. 239-250.

were five tribes represented in the school and the next year six. This tendency continued until in 1861 the report of the school showed that of the scholars in attendance eleven were Shawnees, ten Ottawas, four Senecas, two Wyandots, one Brotherton, and one Stockbridge.

This tendency in itself would not have been discouraging but for the fact that it meant that Friends were having to receive any Indian children they could get to fill up the school. The children were almost all orphans sent from various tribes and bands of Indians in the vicinity because the boarding school was a convenient home in which to locate orphan children.

To be sure there was evidence, even as this period of decline began, that the work of Friends had borne good fruit. The Committee in its report of 1855 told of the good work of a Friend who had recently visited the mission and the Indians in that vicinity. This Friend had visited a number of homes among the Shawnees and in these homes had met many Indians who had been educated at the Friends' School. The good results were very evident especially in the women. The neatness of their dress, the order, cleanliness and comfortable appearance of their dwellings, and the strict propriety of their deportment brought satisfaction and encouragement to the heart of the visiting Friend.²⁹

Yet a series of untoward events and conditions mili-

²⁹ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1855, p. 43. A few years later, in 1858, two English Friends, Robert and Sarah Lindsey, visited the mission; a copy of Sarah Lindsey's journal is in Devonshire House, London; see copy in Haverford College Library, vol. 1, p. 178 ff.; copious excerpts in *British Friend*: 45 (1887), 7 ff.

tated against the school. In 1854 the Shawnees sold a large part of their land in Kansas to the United States and this sale caused difference of opinion and unsettlement among the Indians. Such a situation always hampered missionary and educational efforts.

The following year there was a scourge of cholera that caused the death of three scholars and made necessary the suspension of the school for a time.

There was trouble also at this time on account of the slavery question. The Kansas-Nebraska Act passed in 1854 opened Kansas to the test of popular sovereignty and soon the battle was waged between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery men. The attitude of Friends on slavery was well known and the mission, situated near the Missouri line, was exposed to the fury of the extreme pro-slavery advocates who crossed over from that state to help settle the Kansas question.

A glimpse of those days in "bleeding Kansas" is contained in the report of the mission work for 1856: "The school continued in a prosperous condition until the 20th of the Eighth month last, when a body of armed men, eighteen in number, came to the Establishment, took all the horses and saddles on the premises, and the Superintendent going out, asked them to leave him one of the horses to send to Westport (a village about six miles from the mission) to obtain a physician for his wife who was lying sick in the house, when the captain of the band gave utterance to profane and abusive language, and presenting his gun at him, in that threatening attitude told him, this was only a beginning of what he might look for, if he did not leave the place."³⁰

³⁰ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1856, p. 33.

The result of this attack was that the school was again closed, the Superintendent and other helpers went to their homes in Indiana, and the property was left in the care of a hired man and his wife. A little later William H. Coffin, who then resided in Kansas, went to the mission to look into the status of affairs. He found that no further depredations had been committed and consequently provision was made to have the crops and premises cared for during the winter preparatory to reopening the establishment again in the spring.

Early in 1857 Simon D. Harvey and his wife Mary H. Harvey with helpers went out and reopened the school. The attendance was fairly good for a time but soon began to dwindle again, so that in 1861 the average attendance was only twenty-three, less than half of what it had been in 1848. It should be stated however that while the small attendance was in some years due to unfavorable conditions among the Indians it was also due to the fact that the mission was not securing adequate financial support part of the time.

In the year 1861 a special committee appointed the year before to examine into the situation made an elaborate report to Indiana Yearly Meeting on the condition, needs, and prospects of the mission establishment. This committee, referring to the adult Indians, pointed out the fact so often noted by careful observers in that day and this that the annuities paid to the Indians by the government, "instead of inciting them to industry, economy and spirited improvement, would appear to have had a contrary effect, by enabling them to live in indolence, and contract habits of vice and drunkenness, leading to degeneracy."

The general reasons assigned for the decline of the school were that district day schools open to Indian children had been organized and that, however great the opportunities, there was among the Indians that "*natural carelessness* usually prevailing in ignorant and uncivilized communities as to education itself."

Aside from these things the committee pointed out frankly and specifically certain failings on the part of the supporters and the management of the mission: "(1) A lack of sufficient funds to prosecute the concern to the best advantage; (2) Overtaxing those we employ with more services than they are able to perform with profit; (3) Too frequent changes in Superintendents and teachers (for these should be devoted persons of much Christian endurance and patience, who can remain in their positions for years together); (4) A want of that Missionary spirit and those Christian gifts which are necessary to success, in the Superintendent, Teachers and others employed in the concern."

Having delivered itself plainly of these observations the committee referred by way of contrast to the mission of another denomination in the vicinity (probably that of the Methodists) which, "having not suffered for want of sufficient means, but which has had one persevering and devoted Superintendent for 24 years, has in it more than 60 students of the tribe in which it is located, and is in prosperous and profitable progress."³¹

The special committee went on to suggest the possibility of changing the field of operations and opening

³¹ Report of special committee in Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1861, pp. 25-30.

up in a suitable location a boarding school for Indian orphans irrespective of tribe. It was also suggested, since many Friends had gone to reside in Kansas, that a new Indian Committee be appointed with Friends resident in Kansas constituting a majority of its membership. This new committee was appointed the following year and also a correspondent from each Quarterly Meeting to keep in touch with the work and cooperate with the committee.

Although the new committee was instructed to carry out the suggestions made by the special committee in 1861 if the way opened properly, the proposed new Boarding School for Indian orphans was not established.

In 1862 the mission school was closed and the teacher was allowed to return to her home. An inventory was made of all property at the establishment and Friends prepared to close up their work among the Shawnees. But the following year a new turn of affairs made possible the continuation of the work for a few more years.

When the Shawnee chiefs saw that Friends were about to close up their work they became desirous that a home and school might still be provided for the orphan children of the tribe. Consequently they offered to pay the expenses of such an establishment by an appropriation from their school fund which was ample for the purpose. On that basis a contract was concluded according to which Friends were to take a number of children not to exceed fifty and receive eighty dollars per annum to cover the expense of board, clothing, tuition and medical care for each child. The committee then concluded a contract with James and

Rachel Stanley to manage the establishment at the rate of seventy-five dollars for each child. This amount was to cover board, clothing and tuition, the committee retaining five dollars for medical attendance on the children and incidental expenses. On account of the rise of prices toward the close of the Civil War a new contract had to be arranged with the Shawnee chiefs by which they agreed to pay \$31.25 per child for each quarter of the school year.³²

Under this contract system the school flourished again and for several years the average attendance was about forty scholars. Finances were in better shape than ever before. The farm produced good crops and supplied the establishment with much that otherwise would have had to be purchased at high prices. In the report of 1867 there is noted a gain of over one thousand dollars in favor of the establishment in one year.³³

Yet the work for this branch of the Shawnee nation was drawing rapidly to its close. For some years Friends had been trying to get a title in fee simple to the land which constituted the mission farm and which had been assigned to them for their use. The effort to get a permanent title to this property caused dissatisfaction among some of the Indians and in 1868 the chiefs announced their desire to terminate the contract under which the school was maintained. The school was therefore closed for a time although a few of the orphan children who remained were still cared for in the mission home. Early in 1869 the school was opened again at the request of the Indians on the same

³² Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1863, p. 37; same, 1865, p. 54.

³³ *Same*, 1867, p. 34.

terms of contract as before. Again however the Indians changed their minds and about the first of April, 1869, the mission school was finally closed.

Even then Friends kept the mission home open for some months for the reception of any orphan children that might return. The end of the work had however come. By the time the committee reported in 1870 nearly all the Shawnees in that part of Kansas had removed southward to the present state of Oklahoma and had been incorporated with the Cherokees with the full privilege of the schools and school funds of the latter nation.

By the close of the following year Friends had closed up the business affairs of the mission by sale of the buildings and personal property. The proceeds amounting to \$7,634.60, were ready to be used for the work of the newly organized Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs.³⁴

So ended the work for this branch of the Shawnees, a work begun by Baltimore Yearly Meeting about sixty years before when the Indians were residing at Wapakoneta, in western Ohio. With the growth of new yearly meetings of Friends in the west and with the removal of the Indians westward the active management of the mission had passed naturally into the hands first of Ohio and then of Indiana Yearly Meeting. The prelude to this work was the work done for a few years near Fort Wayne, Indiana, for various tribes of Indians, and the end of the story came when this branch of the Shawnees removed from Kansas and became incorporated with the Cherokee nation.

The work had been highly successful at times and

³⁴ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1871, pp. 43-44.

again had met great discouragement. So must go the story of all similar efforts for a half civilized people, of fast changing habitation and condition.

Other work was done by Friends for the Indians of the west during this period. Efforts were made frequently by various Yearly Meetings to influence the national government by memorials and otherwise to safeguard more closely the material and moral welfare of the Indians. Moreover, toward the close of the period just covered other mission work began to be projected and carried out in the west. These things however belong to later divisions of this story. The work done in Indiana, Ohio, and Kansas, as described in this chapter, covering the period from 1804 to 1869, represents the *beginnings* of Friends' missionary efforts for the Indians in the west.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

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This little volume gives much interesting information on the work in the west prior to 1844, often giving considerable quotations from reports and other source material.

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Friends' Review. Philadelphia.

This weekly paper which began publication in 1847 contains many reports of the Indian committees of various Yearly Meetings, observations of Friends traveling among the Indians, etc. It is the most valuable of the Friends' papers after 1847 for the work in the west.

HARVEY, HENRY. *History of the Shawnee Indians.* Cincinnati, 1855.

The most valuable part of this book is the author's reminiscences of his work at the Friends' mission among the Shawnee Indians for several years.

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These publications are listed in Smith, *Catalogue*, 1: 737. (See above, p. 87.)

The most important number of the series is *Conduct of Friends*, listed above, p. 84.
Yearly Meetings, Records of.

For the location of the records of various yearly meetings, see General Note on Bibliography at end of volume.

For the period 1795-1848 the MS. *Minutes* of the Committee on Indian Concerns of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) is invaluable. This book contains only transcripts and summaries of the minutes from 1796 to 1826 for which period the original minute book is in the care of Liberal Friends, Baltimore. After the division of 1828 however the Liberal Friends had no part in the work described in the above chapter.

Ohio Yearly Meeting was organized in 1813 and beginning with 1815 the *Yearly Meeting Minutes* are valuable for the reports of the Committee on Indian Concerns. No minute book of this committee has been found.

After 1821 the *Minutes* of Indiana Yearly Meeting are valuable and printed copies are available from the beginning. After 1833 Indiana Y. M. had almost full charge of the work (in Kansas) and hence the reports to be found in the *Minutes* form the most valuable material for study. There is preserved at the Yearly Meeting House, East Main St., Richmond, Ind., a somewhat fragmentary manuscript copy of the *Minutes* of the Indian Committee and of other matter connected with the Indian work from 1821 to about 1850. It is more complete for the earlier years.

Pamphlets were printed from time to time summing up the work done for the Indians by the various yearly meetings. These accounts have not been used much in this study because the original records from which they were drawn have been available.

A list of these printed accounts will be found in Smith, *Catalogue*, 1: 783-785.

For the beginning of the work by Baltimore Friends see especially *A Brief Account of the Proceedings of the Committee Appointed by the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in Baltimore for Promoting the Improvement and Civilization of the Indian Natives*. Balt. 1805; similarly *Proceedings of Balt. Committee*, Balt. 1806; also *A Quaker Pilgrimage* (in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, March, 1909), being the Journal kept by Gerard T. Hopkins on the journey to the Indians of Indiana in 1804; also contains other miscellaneous material on the early work of Baltimore Friends for the Indians.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRANT'S PEACE POLICY.

THE inauguration of the "Peace Policy" by President U. S. Grant in 1869 was in a sense a vindication and culmination of the peace policy so successfully followed by William Penn and the philanthropic efforts so faithfully continued by the later generations of Friends.

In the years immediately following 1850 it became very clear even to many military men that the war policy was not successful in dealing with the Indians. The system of removing the tribes, often by force, to the established reservations, the constant pressure of white gold-seekers, traders and farmers upon the Indian's hunting grounds, and the building of the Pacific Railroad (1865-1869) conspired to stir up constant turmoil and frequent wars on the frontier. These wars were costly not only in lives but in money. The Sioux war of 1852-54, the Cheyenne of 1864, the Navajo, the second Sioux of 1866, and the second Cheyenne of 1867 cost upwards of one hundred million dollars. It was estimated at the time that in the Cheyenne War of 1864 the cost was more than a million dollars for every Indian killed.

Against this background of pillage, massacre and waste there stood out in clear relief the efforts of the peace loving Friends for the Indians. The missionary and philanthropic efforts of Philadelphia Yearly Meet-

ing (Orthodox) for the Allegheny Senecas of New York; the largely successful effort of the various eastern Yearly Meetings (Liberal) to protect the Seneca Nation in its landed rights and the succeeding philanthropic efforts for the Senecas at Cattaraugus; the missionary efforts of the various Yearly Meetings (Orthodox) among the western Indians, as exemplified by the mission establishment among the Shawnees in Kansas and one carried on among the Kaws of the same state by Western Yearly Meeting¹ for several years following 1863; the frequent pilgrimages of individual Friends among the Indians for religious or philanthropic service; the proverbial and outstanding friendly attitude of the Indians toward Friends;—all of these things united to emphasize the contrast between the Friendly method and the war method of dealing with the natives.

Moreover, the government officials were especially familiar with the work of Friends. William G. Coffin had ably managed the Southern Indian Superintendency during the administration of President Lincoln. In connection with the land troubles of the New York Senecas the Indian Office had frequently coöperated

¹ In the year of its organization (1858) Western Yearly Meeting appointed a Committee on Indian Concerns and attention was at once directed to the needs of the Kaw Indians in Kansas. The school for Indian children was maintained from 1863 to 1866, the expenses being paid by the Government out of the school funds of the Kaw Indians. The following Friends were engaged at various times as superintendents or teachers in the school: Mahlon and Rachel Stubbs, Martha A. Townsend, John Woodard, Samuel J. Spray, Thomas H. Stanley and wife. For several years before 1863 Thomas H. Stanley and James Stanley, early settlers in Kansas, had interested themselves in the welfare of various Indian tribes.—See *Western Yearly Meeting Minutes*, 1858–1868.

with Friends in their efforts. Memorials were often received from various Yearly Meetings, and these were frequently presented by delegations of Friends sent to Washington for the purpose.

In 1849 Thomas Wistar had been sent by the government as a special commissioner to distribute \$40,000 among the mixed Menominees at Green Bay, Wisconsin. In 1860 he and Samuel Bettle, Jr., had distributed supplies provided largely by Philadelphia Friends among some destitute Oneida Indians near Green Bay, Wisconsin. On two other occasions (1865 and 1866) Thomas Wistar had been a member of special commissions sent out by the government to treat with various tribes of western Indians, on the former occasion having another Philadelphia Friend, John B. Garrett, associated with him.²

For several years prominent statesmen had been suggesting on occasion that a milder and more philanthropic attitude toward the Indians might succeed better than a policy of coercion. On September 14,

² Thomas Wistar, 2nd, dedicated a large part of his time from youth to old age to the Indian work. His father, Thomas Wistar, 1st, had been a prominent member of the Indian Committee of Phila. Y. M. (Orth.). Thomas Wistar, 2nd, made frequent journeys among the Indians of New York and the west, and was often present in Washington, D. C., to lend his influence when Indian affairs of importance were pending. His emotions were at times so deeply stirred by the sufferings of the natives that they came to love him intensely and called him "The-man-with-a-tear-in-his-eye." He was an active and efficient member of the Associated Executive Committee in its early years. He died early in 1876.—The author has gained much valuable information from six manuscript volumes of his letters and memoirs, kindly loaned by his grandson Edward M. Wistar, of Philadelphia, who has been Chairman of the Associated Exec. Comm. for many years and prominently connected with other associations for the help of the Indians.

1867, the Weekly Chronicle of Washington, D. C., made a more definite suggestion as follows: "The treaties made by Wm. Penn were always respected by both parties, and the peaceful sect of which he was a distinguished member have been traditional friends of the aborigines, and always kindly regarded by them. We have often thought that if the Society of Friends, who so successfully colonized and civilized the Senecas in western New York, and with such judgment and benevolence managed their affairs with the Government, could be induced to take charge of the subject of colonizing the Indian territory, and instructing the Indians, they might prepare them for the inevitable future."³

The year 1867 had been a troublous one, with massacre and bloodshed on the Indian frontier. Even General W. T. Sherman had despaired of subduing the Indians permanently by military force and had declared that fifty Indians could checkmate three thousand soldiers. He advised peaceful negotiations and as a result the government appointed a commission composed of four army men and four civilians to treat with the belligerent tribes. The negotiations were not entirely successful, however, and the next year (1868) there were still more serious outbreaks by the Indians and more extensive military efforts by the government to quell them.⁴

In the fall of 1867 there was a Friends' conference on Indian concerns held in Baltimore and participated in by the Yearly Meetings (Liberal) of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Genessee, Ohio and Indiana.

³ Quoted in *Friends' Intelligencer*, 24 (1867): 514.

⁴ *Amer. Annual Cyclopeda*, 7 (1867): 402, 8 (1868): 382.

At this conference it was reported that prominent statesmen connected with the government had expressed the wish that Friends might be intrusted with the care and civilization of the Indians and Friends were urged to be prepared for any service that might open before them. A memorial on behalf of the Indians was addressed to the government, at the close of which Friends expressed their willingness to enter unselfishly and without compensation upon any service that might redound to the benefit of the Indians.⁵

The Indian troubles of 1867 also stirred Friends of Iowa Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) to action and the subject was taken up by the Representative Meeting in September of that year. A Committee on Indian Concerns was appointed and the coöperation of other Yearly Meetings invited. This resulted in the formation of a joint committee of Iowa, Indiana, Western, and Ohio Yearly Meetings (Orthodox) and elicited also the active interest of Baltimore, New York, and New England Yearly Meetings.

The above agencies were very active during 1868 on behalf of the Indians and in favor of a more peaceful and philanthropic Indian policy. One point urged upon the government is worthy of especial notice. In a memorial dated January 18, 1868, the four western Yearly Meetings urged, "that in the appointment of officers and agents, to have charge of their (the Indians) interests, care should be taken to select men of unquestioned integrity and purity of character."⁶

The ultimate and most effective result of the effort

⁵ *Friends' Intelligencer*, 24 (1867): 580.

⁶ This memorial was signed by Enoch Hoag for Iowa Yearly Meeting, Parvin Wright for Ohio, Luke Woodard for Indiana, and Robert W. Hodson for Western.

inaugurated by Friends of Iowa was a conference held at Baltimore in January, 1869, with representatives present from the Yearly Meetings (Orthodox) of Baltimore, New York, New England, Ohio, Indiana, Western, and Iowa. After much serious deliberation a memorial to the government was drawn up and the conference went in a body to Washington to present the memorial and confer with various officials influential in Indian Affairs.

On January 25th an audience was secured with General U. S. Grant, the President-elect, and before him was laid the great "concern" of Friends for a more peaceful and Christian policy toward the Indians.⁷

In the meantime the Friends of Philadelphia had also been stirred by the Indian situation in the west and on January 26th a committee representing the Meeting for Sufferings was in Washington to present a memorial and visit various influential government officials. They also had an interview with President-elect Grant, and the concern of Friends was earnestly and feelingly presented by Thomas Wistar.⁸

Both of the above committees of Friends, visiting General Grant on consecutive days, were impressed with his cordial, sympathetic attitude toward them, and his apparently earnest desire to inaugurate a more peaceful and humane policy in dealing with the Indians.

The formal announcement of Grant's Peace Policy

⁷ For the above account of the efforts initiated by Iowa Friends see MS. *Minutes* of Representative Meeting of Iowa Yearly Meeting, Sept. 3, 5, and 7, 1867; Sept. 8, 1868; Sept. 7, 1869. See also *Friends' Review*, 22 (1869): 362, 378, 380, 389, 392, 424, 440, 456, 552-553.

⁸ T. Wistar, MS. *Memoirs*, 2: 193-194.

came less than a month later, when on February 15, 1869, Ely Samuel Parker, an Aid to General Grant, directed identical letters, as follows, to representatives of the various bodies of Friends, Orthodox and Liberal:

“HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
“WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15, 1869

“*Sir*: General Grant, the President elect, desirous of inaugurating some policy to protect the Indians in their just rights and enforce integrity in the administration of their affairs, as well as to improve their general condition, and appreciating fully the friendship and interest which your Society has ever maintained in their behalf, directs me to request that you will send him a list of names, members of your Society, whom your Society will endorse as suitable persons for Indian agents.

“Also, to assure you that any attempt which may or can be made by your society for the improvement, education, and Christianization of the Indians under such agencies will receive from him, as President, all the encouragement and protection which the laws of the United States will warrant him in giving.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“(Signed) E. S. PARKER

“*Brev. Brig. Gen., U. S. A. and A. D. C.*”⁹

After serious consideration on the part of Friends and much consultation with the authorities at Washington it was decided that Orthodox Friends should take charge of the Central Superintendency, embracing the tribes of Kansas together with the Kiowas, Co-

⁹ Alice C. Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization*, 682. E. S. Parker was a Seneca Indian of the Tonawanda band, N. Y. He was later Commissioner of Indian Affairs for a short time under President Grant.

manches and other tribes in the Indian Territory, while Liberal Friends should be responsible for the Northern Superintendency, embracing the various tribes resident in the state of Nebraska. In each of these two great divisions of the Indian service, in the heart of the Indian country, Friends were to nominate members of their Society to occupy the post of Superintendent and the various Agents within each Superintendency. This was the beginning of President Grant's famous Peace Policy which was soon (1870) extended by the grant of other Superintendencies to various Protestant bodies and to the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰

It is difficult to say what was the chief or deciding factor in leading Grant to devise this policy, and to call upon Friends to initiate the work. Probably it was no single one of the various events mentioned above, but many or all of them put together. The troublous years of Indian warfare following 1850 furnished an immediate motive. The various activities of Friends on behalf of the Indians at the same period, and the long tradition of friendship between Friends and the Indians from the days of William Penn, marked the Society of Friends as a fit agency to initiate

¹⁰ Another important phase of the peace policy was the appointment in 1869 of a Board of Indian Commissioners made up of men "eminent for their intelligence and philanthropy to serve without pecuniary compensation." This Board had power to inspect and advise the Indian Office. It made a hard and winning fight against the graft of the "Indian Ring" and proposed many of the most enlightened and progressive measures that have been incorporated into the Indian policy of the United States. Several prominent Friends have belonged to this Board, including John D. Lang, Albert K. Smiley, B. Rush Roberts, Philip C. Garrett, and Daniel Smiley. George Vaux, Jr., of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) is Chairman of the Board (1917).

a policy of peace and good will between the white man and his red brother.

In his first annual message to Congress (Dec. 6, 1869) President Grant, referring to the Indians, made the following statement: "I have attempted a new policy toward these wards of the nation. . . . The Society of Friends is well known as having succeeded in living in peace with the Indians in the early settlement of Pennsylvania, while their white neighbors of other sects in other sections were constantly embroiled. They are also known for their opposition to all strife, violence, and war, and are generally noted for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations of Indians to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the society itself. The result has proven most satisfactory."¹¹

CENTRAL SUPERINTENDENCY ORTHODOX FRIENDS.

When the new Administration decided to assign the entire Central Superintendency to the care of Orthodox Friends, the latter at once set about perfecting an organization that could cope with the new and great responsibility. The central executive committee that had earlier cared for the Indian concerns of the four western Yearly Meetings furnished the pattern for the greater Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, which was organized at Damascus, Ohio, in June, 1869.¹² Representatives from the seven

¹¹ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 7: 38.

¹² A previous Conference had been held at Indianapolis, Mar. 31 and April 1, 1869, where a committee was appointed to make

Yearly Meetings of New England, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Ohio, Indiana and Western were present at this meeting. A representative appointed by Iowa Friends was not able to be present, and North Carolina Yearly Meeting had not yet appointed delegates although it did so in the course of a few months.

In Philadelphia an Indian Aid Association was formed in April, 1869, and it is this Association that has coöperated with the Associated Executive Committee ever since that time.¹³

Enoch Hoag, a pioneer in the Indian concerns of Iowa Yearly Meeting was appointed by President Grant as Superintendent of the Central Superintendency. The territory over which he was to preside embraced all the area of Kansas and the Indian Territory, about 144,000 square miles in all. It was a wild country in those days, much of it unsettled, and untraversed by wagon roads or railways. Most of the streams were unprovided with bridges or ferries and in rainy periods it was a difficult and dangerous task to ford them.

The civilized tribes, the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, in the eastern part of the Indian Territory were only indirectly under the care of Superintendent Hoag, and their religious and educational interests were largely in charge of religious denominations other than Friends. These Indians numbered about 45,000.

plans for the permanent organization. For the various steps in the organization of the Assoc. Exec. Comm. see *Friends' Review*, 22 (1869): 529-530, 721-724; 23 (1870): 422; 24 (1870): 59.

¹³ *Friends' Review*, 22 (1869): 552, 585. Indian Aid Associations were also formed later by the women Friends of Phila. and Germantown, the latter being still in existence (1917) and rendering valuable service.

The remainder of the Indians, many of them wild and war-like, numbered about 19,000. These Indians were scattered from northeastern Kansas to southwestern Indian Territory and were under the immediate care of nine Agents, members of the Society of Friends. Each Agency was under the supervision of Superintendent Hoag and of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington.

Included among the tribes under the care of Friends were the Kickapoos, Shawnees, Potawatomes, Kansas (or Kaws), Osages, Quapaws, Sacs and Foxes, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Wichitas, Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches.¹⁴

In order to keep in touch with this vast field of operations the Associated Executive Committee appointed Dr. William Nicholson, of North Carolina, as its General Agent.¹⁵ His duty was to spend most of his time in the Indian country as the direct representative of the Committee, to which he frequently reported by letter or in person. A sub-committee of

¹⁴ *Friends' Review*, 25 (1871): 65-102, passim. Also Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1869, 356-387, 460.

¹⁵ The General Agent was paid by the Assoc. Exec. Comm. while Supt. Hoag and the Indian Agents under him were of course under pay from the Government. Dr. Nicholson became Superintendent of the Central Superintendency in 1876 in place of Enoch Hoag who resigned after 7 years of faithful and successful service. In 1878 Dr. Nicholson again became General Agent of the Associated Committee after the office of Central Superintendent had been abolished by the government. Among those who acted as Indian Agents during the regime of Orthodox Friends were the following: John D. Miles, Reuben L. Roberts, Mahlon Stubbs, James Stanley, Brinton Darlington, Lawrie Tatum, Joel H. Morris, John Hadley, Hiram W. Jones, Isaac T. Gibson, Jonathan Richards, Thomas Miller, B. W. Miles, John H. Pickering, J. M. Haworth, M. H. Newlin, Cyrus Beede, Levi Woodard, A. C. Williams, Laban J. Miles, Jacob V. Carter.

Friends living in the vicinity of Washington, D. C., represented the Associated Committee in its intercourse with the government.

With such a vast field of operations spread out before it and with its working force thus duly organized, the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs laid hold devoutly and resolutely upon the greatest single undertaking that Friends have ever attempted for the American Indians.

One of the first and most important services of the Friends who became Indian Agents was to help quiet some of the tribes and persuade them to coöperate in making the peace policy a success. Some of the wilder tribes of the southwestern agencies such as the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes had been recently on the war-path or at least engaged in raids and other depredations. The life of Agent James M. Haworth seemed to be in danger when he first went among the wild Kiowas and Comanches, but by quiet and firm methods and refusal to call on the military to enforce a peace policy, the first crisis was passed.¹⁶

¹⁶ Agent James M. Haworth tells one of his experiences as follows: "After I took charge [of the Agency] Lone Wolf, who is regarded as a very dangerous man, came to see me. In accordance with the [former] rule, though there was no soldier about, he took off his arms and left them outside. After he had taken his seat, I went out and brought them in, and, handing them to him, told him to put them on, that I was not afraid of him; I had come a long distance to live with them, was their friend, and one should not be afraid of his friend. He got up, and laying both hands upon me, said it made him feel happy; said the Indians were all talking what a good Father Washington had sent them, and he had come to see me, and was ready to lay his heart at my feet, and do whatever I told him. I believe it was a victory over his wild nature, for he has treated me with the greatest respect each time he has been in."—*Friends' Review*, 26 (1873): 651.

Agent Brinton Darlington had notable success in quieting the war-like Cheyennes and Arapahoes. Superintendent Enoch Hoag also did notable work in securing the release of two Kiowa chiefs from prison in Texas on condition that their tribe would remain peaceful thereafter.

When the work was first inaugurated the Associated Committee appointed Thomas Wistar, Achilles Pugh, and John Butler to visit the various tribes in the Central Superintendency. These Friends all visited the agencies in Kansas and Achilles Pugh and John Butler went on to the wilder tribes in the Indian Territory near the Texas border. At the Wichita and Comanche Agency they found Agent Lawrie Tatum dealing courageously with his various difficult problems and among many other tasks getting a good acreage of corn under cultivation as an object lesson to the Indians. The visiting Friends consulted with the various tribes, giving them friendly advice and above all seeking to encourage them to adopt a peaceable, civilized mode of life. It was on this journey, however, that Achilles Pugh departed from the peace policy sufficiently to frighten two bold and threatening young braves nearly to death by removing his plate of false teeth suddenly and holding it out toward them.¹⁷

Another notable journey was that made by Thomas Wistar, James E. Rhoads, and Marmaduke C. Cope to the Indian country in 1874. They held conferences with various restless tribes in order to get them to restrain certain lawless members, especially young

¹⁷ *Friends' Review*, 23 (1869): 161-163. Achilles Pugh, MS. *Journal*. Comsnr. Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1869: 121-124. A little later Joseph D. Hoag and Edward Earle made visits to the Indian country.

men, who seemed bent upon continuing a career of raiding. To the Comanches and Apaches Thomas Wistar and James Rhoads spoke so plainly that the Indians were almost incensed. James M. Haworth, Cyrus Beede and Marmaduke C. Cope also spoke, the last named more soothingly. Thus, wrote James Rhoads, the Indians were enabled to take the strong "medicine," because they knew it came from their friends.¹⁸

It was often necessary for the Agents to settle difficulties among the Indians themselves. Thus in 1873 a lawless band of Osages wantonly murdered the head chief of the Wichitas. Immediately the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes and Arapahoes were rallied by the Wichitas to help them take vengeance on the guilty Osages. It was only by the most tactful management on the part of Jonathan Richards, Agent for the Wichitas, aided by other Friends, that the aggrieved Indians were persuaded to meet in peaceable council with the Osages and after much diplomatic maneuvering to accept an indemnity of money, ponies and goods instead of demanding blood for blood as was the usual custom among the Indians.¹⁹

Aside from the routine duties of distributing rations and annuities, instructing the Indians in agriculture and the various modes of civilized life, and counseling them in their great and petty difficulties, one of the all-important tasks of the Agents was to oversee the establishment of the system of government schools.

¹⁸ *Friends' Review*, 27 (1874): 573. Battey, *A Quaker Among the Indians*, 263-272. Tatum, *Our Red Brothers*, 182-187.

¹⁹ Comnsr. Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1873, p. 225. B. Wetherill, I. T. Gibson and Cyrus Beede also helped in resolving this difficult situation. See *Friends' Review*, 26 (1873): 762-763.

When Orthodox Friends took charge of the Central Superintendency in 1869 there had been only about four schools in operation among the Indian tribes of that region. By the aid of government appropriations and some additional help from various Yearly Meetings this number was soon increased to fifteen, about four-fifths of which were boarding schools and one-fifth day schools. During the decade (1869-1879) in which Orthodox Friends were most actively engaged in this work the number of Indian children enrolled in these schools increased from 150 to about 1,000. As Friends were allowed to nominate the principal employees in each agency these schools were largely conducted by Friends.²⁰

A clear picture of the work done in a school among the wilder tribes is given by Stanley Pumphrey, an English Friend who visited the various agencies in 1876. He says: "The Indians under the care of the Agency at Fort Sill are those of the wildest tribes, the Kiowas, the Comanches and the Apaches. They number in all about 3,000. The Friends spent Fourth-day afternoon and evening at the school, where about 70 children are boarded, lodged and brought under the care of an English Friend, Alfred J. Standing, and his wife. The school has been in operation rather more than twelve months. Of course the difficulty of teaching Indian children, who did not know a word of English, by a teacher who was equally ignorant of their language, was great. But A. J. S. has mastered

²⁰ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1879, p. 45.—In 1873 the Assoc. Comm. assigned each Indian school to the special care of a particular Yearly Meeting. In this way the schools often received supplies of books, papers, or even financial aid from the various Yearly Meetings.

it very successfully. He began with numbers, and went on with pictures. He makes large use of the black-board and of a very simple and excellent child's reading book. They learn quickly, considering the circumstances; read monosyllabic narratives about black dogs and white cats, with tolerable fluency; spelled words of four letters, getting nine to eleven right in a dozen, and worked short addition sums on their slates. Their writing seemed even better than their other exercises. They behaved well, and were fully as tractable as white children, and less disposed to quarrel. The Friends saw them demolishing their supper of bread and meat with great vigor. They also visited the boys in bed. They sleep in a little draughty shed that has been lately added to the building, and are so short of room that they have two rows of berths, one over another, ship-board fashion. Both boys and girls are clothed in ordinary dress, but their features are unmistakably Indian. Long black hair is universal, and many have necklaces, bracelets and rings. A very favorite bracelet is a brass wire ring filed a little and kept bright. Over forty of these dubious ornaments were counted on the wrist of one girl."

The same Friend gave a still more favorable report of the school work among the Caddoes, of the Wichita Agency: "They are much farther advanced than the Kiowas, reading, spelling and addition, all creditable. They had a fair grounding in grammar, were well posted in the main features of the geography of the United States and Europe; their writing was good, and the drawing also. They answered Scripture questions and repeated fairly."²¹

²¹ *Friends' Review*, 30 (1876): 244, 261.

Aside from the regular class-room work the boys of suitable age were usually trained in various kinds of out-door work such as the care of stock, cutting wood, and the use of various tools, while the girls received a similar training in the common household industries. In this way a training in the peaceful arts became an important part of the great peace policy.

The various services to the Indians performed by the Agents and other officials in the field and by interested Friends at home can be mentioned in part only. Literary and temperance societies were formed among the Indians and the latter especially seemed to work a great moral uplift. Improvements in the Indian service were urged upon the government, often successfully. Several captive white children were delivered up by the Kiowas and Comanches to Agent Lawrie Tatum.²²

At the same time Friends of the various Yearly Meetings contributed regularly to the work. Annually the Yearly Meetings gave several thousand dollars to the work of the Associated Committee and other monies were collected and disbursed through various channels. In 1879 it was estimated that the expenditure of Orthodox Friends for the Indian work of the preceding year had been \$6,450.

In 1877 the Women's Aid Committee of the Philadelphia Indian Aid Association reported having supplied to the various Indian stations during the preceding year clothing, shoes, blankets, cloth, toys, books and pictures to the value of more than \$1,500. Aside

²² *Friends' Review*, 26 (1872): 37, 188.

from this the salary of an assistant teacher at the Wyandot Mission had been paid for four months.²³

Very naturally the religious efforts on behalf of the Indians were of supreme interest to the religious body that fostered the work. That the various Agents and other employees nominated by Friends should be truly religious and have the real missionary spirit, was a point greatly emphasized throughout the period.

It was a new experience for most of the Indian tribes to have "praying" Agents come among them. When Agent Mahlon Stubbs took charge of the Kaw or Kansas tribe they were mostly blanket Indians and full of superstitious ideas but he held religious meetings with them on Sunday afternoons and found them willing to hear the Christian message. Agent I. T. Gibson usually held two religious meetings every Sunday at the Osage Agency and found even the full blood Indians becoming gradually interested in Christianity. He mentions in his report of 1874 that four ministers and four elders of the Society of Friends besides several other members were employed on the reservation and eight Friends had recently made religious visits among the Indians.²⁴

The *Kansas State Record* in the fall of 1869 remarked upon the fact that the new Quaker Agent (Joel H. Morris) to the Potawatomes knelt in prayer among them after his first conference with the tribe. The paper said: "This is decidedly a new feature in Indian Councils. It has generally been understood that Indian agents are always ready to prey, but we

²³ Board of Indian Commissioners, *Report*, 1879, p. 71. *Friends' Review*, 30 (1877): 604.

²⁴ *Friends' Review*, 28 (1874): 125.

venture that there are not many, if any, persons now living in Kansas, who ever saw an Indian Agent kneel in the midst of his charge, and ask for the blessing of Heaven to rest upon them."²⁵

An impression of the regular round of religious exercises may be gained from the report of the Associated Executive Committee for 1876 at which time the work of Friends in the Central Superintendency was at high tide. This report says: "Meetings for worship on First-day mornings are held regularly at ten places in the different agencies, and are attended by the agents, their families, most of the employees, some traders and their clerks, and the Indian school children and some adult Indians. At least 475 persons have attended these meetings, including Indian children and adults. Meetings on First-day evenings are also held at nearly all these places for select reading and devotional exercises. Beside these, on week days, devotional meetings are held at four places. There are 11 Scripture schools, attended by 617 persons. Religious instruction is given daily in all the schools, consisting of Scripture readings, Bible lessons, repeating texts, singing hymns and reading religious tracts, varied according to the judgment of those having them in charge. In all of the agencies there is some advance in Christianizing the Indians."²⁶

Mention has been made above of Friends from various Yearly Meetings who visited the Indian country under a sense of religious duty to preach to the Indians or to study the Indian problem at first hand.²⁷

²⁵ Quoted in *Friends' Review*, 23 (1869): 184.

²⁶ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1876, pp. 53-54.

²⁷ Among the many Friends who visited the Indian country

One of the most interesting of these journeys was the one already mentioned, made by Stanley Pumphrey, a well known English Friend of the day, accompanied by Enoch Hoag, of Iowa, formerly Superintendent of the Central Superintendency. The difficulties and dangers often attending a journey through the Indian country in those days are depicted in the following narrative by Stanley Pumphrey: "On Second-day, Eleventh mo. 13th, [1876] they started at day-break for the Pawnee Agency, sixty miles distant. They had had such beautiful weather, and it was so like summer that, although it rained, they little suspected what was before them. The rain grew heavier and being less protected than sometimes, and in an open vehicle, their wraps were soon saturated. Then the wind blew strongly from the north right in their faces, and their outer clothing was frozen stiff, and the rain changed to hail and snow. It was too late to turn back, and they pressed on. About half way they crossed the Cimarron, or Salt Fork of the Arkansas, the waters of which are brackish. On the opposite side they rested and took dinner, jumping about to keep from freezing. At 4 P. M. they were still ten miles from their destination, and on a road which neither of them had traveled before, and the faint tracks of which grew fainter from falling snow; and

during this period were the following: Thomas Wistar, John Butler, Achilles Pugh, James E. Rhoads, Edward Earle, Joseph D. Hoag, Marmaduke C. Cope, Anna C. Allen, Jennie Gordon, Isaiah Worth and wife, Amasa Chase and wife, Timothy Widdifield, Edwin Andrews, John Bull, Abby Steer, Thomas H. Stanley, Elkanah and Irene Beard, Lawrie Tatum and wife, Asa and Emeline Tuttle, Jeremiah Hubbard, Elwood Weesner, Andrew Wooten, Abel Bond. Several of these remained to do missionary work.

darkness was settling over them. There is not a solitary [settler's] house for fifty miles, so there was no chance for shelter. Though nothing was said, they all began to fear they might have to stay out all night, and realized more than a little the perils of the wilderness. They kept on their way very slowly, sometimes getting out to walk; the mules were tired and the driver suffered severely. Never scarcely were poor travelers more thankful to see a light, and to learn that they had not missed their way. There was a river to cross, which they were afraid to venture in the dark. An Indian offered to show them over for a dollar, which was gladly accepted, and they were soon under the hospitable roof of Agent [William] Burgess. He was out, but his wife, a kind-hearted, motherly woman, did all for them that they needed, and they were soon at rest."²⁸

The results of the religious efforts of visiting Friends and of those employed on the reservations were not rapid but were visible after a few years. In 1876 Agent J. M. Haworth, of the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, said in his annual report to the government: "Besides our regular morning meeting, which many Indians attend, it has been our custom to have one meeting each Sabbath for religious instruction, especially for the benefit of the adult Indians, in which they have manifested very great interest, both in attendance and attention; and, instead of fleeing from fright or trembling with superstitious fear, as they did a few years ago, when the guidance and blessings of

²⁸ *Friends' Review*, 30 (1876): 293. For account of S. Pumphrey's travels among the Indians see *Friends' Review*, 30 (1876-1877): 188-310, passim; also *British Friend*, 34 (1876): 322 to 35 (1877): 59, passim.

the Great Spirit were invoked, either in their own language or in ours, they now bow their heads in reverence and in some instances respond with deep feeling."²⁹

To understand the significance of such a report it is necessary to bear in mind that it refers to two of the wildest, most warlike tribes with which the government has had to deal.

In 1879 Dr. Charles W. Kirk reported that at the close of one of the meetings at the Wyandot Mission, Quapaw Agency, after a sermon on "Gospel Temperance" eleven Indians, all nearly adult in age, were converted and made profession of the Christian faith. A mission church was organized on the spot and the new converts were given the right hand of fellowship.³⁰

The following year Elkanah Beard wrote from the Cheyenne Agency of how many of the older Indians could not keep the tears from welling up in their eyes at times during the religious services. That they really wanted to hear the Gospel was witnessed by the fact that many of them walked several miles in the face of a cold wind, some of them carrying papooses, in order to be present at what they called "the Jesus medicine."

During the ten years (1869-1879) of the most active service of Friends under the government there were

²⁹ Comsnr. Indian Affairs, *Report*, 1876, p. 51.

³⁰ Dr. Charles W. Kirk and his wife Rachel Hollingsworth Kirk entered the Indian work in 1878, when they took charge of the Wyandotte Government School in northeastern Okla. In 1885 they took up mission work at Shawnee under the Associated Executive Comm. of Friends. Shortly thereafter Dr. Kirk was made General Supt. of all the mission work of the Comm. in Okla. which position he filled most efficiently until his death in 1893. Rachel Kirk remained in the Indian work until 1915 when failing strength made it necessary for her to retire from active service.—See biog. sketch by E. K. Calvert in *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, Sept., 1916, p. 14.

hundreds of Indians who professed conversion and many died with calm and joyful confidence in the Christian faith.³¹

Aside from the work accomplished during this period the way was being opened for the permanent missionary effort sustained ever since by the Associated Executive Committee. Several Friends employed by the government and others who came into the Indian country on exclusively religious errands laid the foundations for this more permanent work which will be described in a later chapter.³²

During the two terms of President Grant's administration the work of Friends went forward smoothly and the relations with the government were most pleasant. After President Hayes was inaugurated in 1877 several members of the Associated Executive Committee waited on him to find out his attitude toward the continuance of Friends in their official connection with the Indian work. He expressed himself as well satisfied with the existing situation and as desiring no change at that time.

Difficulties soon began to develop however making it appear that the new administration was not in great sympathy with the plan worked out by President Grant. A new Commissioner of Indian Affairs took office in the fall of 1877 and at once showed his antipathy to the work of Friends. He gave the Associated Committee to understand that he considered many of the Friends employed in the Central Superintendency as inefficient and some of them dishonest. Very soon

³¹ For the above items on religious results see *Friends' Review*, 33 (1879): 249; same, 34 (1880): 206; *Indiana Y. M. Minutes*, 1879, p. 40.

³² See below, p. 201 ff.

Friends were deprived of several Agencies and the office of Central Superintendent was abolished. Members of the Associated Committee visited President Hayes and tried to come to an agreement with him upon a basis for continuing the work. The agreement however was disregarded by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and to Friends it seemed evident that political considerations were being allowed to thwart them in their efforts to aid the Indians. Therefore in May, 1879, the Associated Committee, in a formal note to President Hayes, resigned all further responsibility to the Government for the management of the Indians, whether by the nomination of Agents or otherwise.³³

Several Friends already employed as Agents, teachers, or in other capacities in the Indian country continued in office for some years after this time and in 1882 the Associated Committee even consented to nominate, at the request of the Indian Commissioner, an Agent for the Sac and Fox Agency.

During the years from 1879 to 1885 the educational work in the government schools had a very prominent place in the interests of the Associated Committee. The schools in the agencies still under the care of Friends and the Wyandot School in the Quapaw Agency were largely in charge of officers and teachers who were Friends. The same was true of a few other government schools especially in agencies formerly held by Friends.

The extent and nature of the educational work

³³ Associated Exec. Comm., *Reports*, 1877-'79. It should be said that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who assailed the ability and integrity of Friends was peremptorily removed from his position early in 1880 while under charges of gross malfeasance in office.

during this period may best be learned from the following excerpts from the report of the Associated Executive Committee for 1885: "Six Government Boarding Schools and three Day Schools have been mostly supplied with teachers and officers who were Friends. These have had an enrollment of 585 pupils. There have been besides these 129 pupils in the two White's Institutes of Indiana and Iowa,³⁴ making over 700 pupils. There have been 54 Friends employed as Superintendents, Matrons, and Teachers, during the year. Two Indian girls have been educated at Earlham, one of whom now teaches at the Wyandot School. One boy has been educated in the Maryville Normal Institute, Tennessee, at the cost of the Philadelphia Committee. The Forest Grove U. S. Indian School, Oregon, has been under the care of Dr. H. J. Minthorn a part of the year, and is now in charge of Dr. W. V. Coffin. The school has been managed with efficiency, and the results have been excellent."³⁵

So it came about that while the principal period of Friends' activities under the "Peace Policy" extended only through one decade, 1869-1879, yet a considerable work, especially in the government schools, was continued six years longer. In 1884 John D. Miles, who had served as an Indian Agent from the beginning of Grant's policy, resigned from the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency. The next year Laban J. Miles, the only remaining Orthodox Friends' Indian Agent, resigned from the Osage Agency. At the same time

³⁴ These two Institutes were not managed by the Associated Committee and will be considered in a later chapter, p. 234 ff.

³⁵ Indiana Y. M. *Minutes*, 1885, p. 18.—The Forest Grove School, while under the care of Dr. Coffin was moved to the outskirts of Salem, Oregon, and was given by him the name "Chemawa," which it still bears.

Friends were dropped from their positions in the government Indian schools. After this time there were a very few instances of the appointment of Friends to positions as Indian Agents or in the Indian schools, but such appointment did not again become a "policy" of the government.

THE NORTHERN SUPERINTENDENCY LIBERAL FRIENDS.

The Northern Superintendency, in the state of Nebraska, comprising six agencies with an Indian population of about 6,000, was given by President Grant into the charge of Liberal Friends.

The various Yearly Meetings entered with vigor and enthusiasm into the new work and throughout the period general conferences attended by delegates from all the Yearly Meetings were held to consider the various problems relating to Indian welfare. A small Central Executive Committee looked after the details of the work in the intervals between the general conferences.

Samuel M. Janney³⁶ was placed in charge as Superintendent, and entered upon the duties of his office at Omaha, Nebraska, in the latter part of May, 1869.

As soon as possible after taking office he visited the various agencies under his charge and in September was able to report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs the general conditions among the Indian tribes.

The Winnebagoes, under the care of Agent Howard White, were in a poor condition physically and morally. They lived in uncleanly, ill-ventilated lodges,

³⁶ Samuel M. Janney was born in Loudoun County, Virginia, in 1801 and died there in 1880. He was author of a *Life of Wm. Penn* and a *History of the Society of Friends* and other works. See *Memoirs of Samuel M. Janney*, 1881.

suffered from diseases of a scrofulous nature, and were addicted to drinking, gambling and other vices. There were about 1,300 Indians in this Agency.

The Omahas numbered about 1,000 and were under the charge of Dr. Edward Painter. These Indians enjoyed the unusual privilege of dwelling upon their own ancestral lands. They were orderly, progressive and provident and seldom required rations from the government for subsistence. Most members of the tribe realized the need of turning to the pursuit of agriculture and in general to the ways of civilized life. Their freedom from the use of intoxicating liquors was notable.

The Santee Agency contained nearly 1,000 Santee Sioux Indians and was under the care of Agent Asa M. Janney, a brother of the Superintendent. These Indians had been greatly helped by Episcopal and Presbyterian missionaries and many of them were professing Christians. They lived usually in log houses which though rudely built were much more comfortable and healthful than the lodges and wigwams occupied by most of the Indians of the superintendency.

The largest tribe and the most warlike under the care of Liberal Friends was the Pawnee. Jacob M. Troth accepted this Agency and found it to contain about 2,400 Indians, nearly twice as many as the next largest tribe in the superintendency. The members of this tribe were generally backward in their civilization but some of them seemed anxious to adopt a more progressive mode of life. They lived in miserable, ill-ventilated earth lodges and consequently suffered much from disease.

The Otoe Agency contained about 440 Otoes and Missouriias and was in charge of Agent Albert L. Greene. These Indians lived in squalid, damp lodges and were great sufferers from scrofula and other diseases. They were extremely ignorant and superstitious but seemed amiable and willing to learn.

Finally there was the Great Nehama Agency under the care of Agent Thomas Lightfoot. These Indians were few in number and had been on the decline for some years. There were about 228 Iowas and 84 Sac and Fox Indians living on two adjoining reservations. They were addicted to the use of liquor, and although very poor were quite averse to any laborious employment. They depended largely on their annuity for subsistence and clothing.

Such were the conditions found by Superintendent Janney in the several agencies under his charge. In summing up the situation and needs of his wards he wrote as follows: "Experience has shown that the Indian can be civilized, and that under favorable circumstances he will accept the benign principles of Christianity—the only means whereby a nation can be advanced to the highest grade of refinement, and secured in the possession of permanent prosperity.

"To accomplish this great work in the shortest time possible, the Indians now living on reservations should have allotments of land in severalty secured to them by patent; they should be assisted in building comfortable houses and furnished with implements of agriculture and live stock; well conducted schools should be maintained among them, and above all, they should be placed under the care of good and enlightened men and women whose kindly and familiar intercourse with

them would secure their confidence, win them from their savage ways, and lead them in the path of peace."³⁷

In the summer of 1869 a delegation of Friends from the eastern Yearly Meetings journeyed to the Indian country and made a tour of the Nebraska agencies. In this delegation were Benjamin Hallowell³⁸ of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, Franklin Haines of New York Yearly Meeting, and John H. Dudley and Joseph Powell of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The experiences and observations of these Friends, related in a full report on their return, gave to Friends of their several constituencies a vivid picture of life among the Indians.

The delegation of Friends held religious meetings among the Indians when opportunity offered and to these meetings came Indians, some of them fearfully painted, with feathers in their head-dress, and bones, bears' claws, and beads around their necks. The Indian children, many of the women, and some of the men sat on the floor and seemed to sit with a peculiar ease and grace.

At the Winnebago Agency the visiting Friends saw the Indians just after Agent Howard White had distributed the annuity goods. The Indians passed

³⁷ Commissioner of Indian Affairs *Report*, 1869, pp. 332-356. —Other Indian Agents who served during the regime of Liberal Friends were: Joseph Webster, William Burgess, Jesse W. Griest, C. H. Roberts, T. T. Gillingham, Taylor Bradley, Mahlon B. Kent, Charles H. Searing, Jacob Vore, Augustus Brosius, Isaiah Lightner, Charles Hill.

³⁸ Benjamin Hallowell was born at Abington, Pa., in 1799 and died at Sandy Spring, Md., in 1877. He was for many years a recognized leader of the Indian work among Liberal Friends. See *Autobiography of Benjamin Hallowell*, 1883.

in procession, with the goods carried sometimes on the back of a pony, sometimes on the back of a squaw. The men were on foot, on ponies, in wagons, with tomahawks, pipes, war clubs, sabres and battle-axes. The procession extended for three miles and was visible for two miles as it passed over the undulating prairie and along the hillsides.

Another typical picture of Indian life that appealed strongly to the visiting Friends was among the wild Pawnees. The impression made upon the Friends is best given in their own words: "The evening was beautiful, and hundreds of Indians, with their bright red blankets, could be seen wandering or riding over the broad prairie in all directions, giving a life and picturesqueness to the scene, and awakening much thought, which *would* be tinged with sadness! What is to be the result? How can we get hold of them so as to give beneficial direction to their wanderings?"³⁹

In seeking to answer this great question rightly, the Friends of the seven Yearly Meetings (including Illinois Yearly Meeting organized in 1875) labored earnestly and diligently to meet the many great needs of their red brothers. Many delegations and many individual Friends visited the Indian country in the following years to study the problems at first hand. On their return home they reported their observations and conclusions to the various committees and conferences having the work in charge. Each Yearly Meeting interested itself in one particular Agency and furnished funds and supplies to the Indians there. At the same time the Superintendent and Agents in the field, feel-

³⁹ *Friends' Intelligencer*, 26 (1869-1870): 580.

ing a responsibility not only to their Indian wards and to the government, but also to their meetings and friends at home, labored diligently and effectively to advance the interests and civilization of the Indians. They at once began to establish and build up a government school system, they carried out the allotment of land in severalty among some of the tribes, they encouraged the Indians in the settled pursuit of agriculture and in the building of comfortable homes, they distributed the annuity goods and settled tribal and inter-tribal disputes, and finally reported all their activities to the government and made recommendations conducive to the further progress of the tribes under their care.

Many and varied were the exigencies faced by the Agents in dealing with factions and parties within the several tribes. Howard White has related personally to the author how he changed the chiefs and established an elective system among the Winnebagoes. Early in his service as Agent for this tribe he found the tribal government dominated by a group of old conservative chiefs who were utterly incompetent and strongly adverse to all civilizing influences. These men were opposed by many of the younger Indians and half-breeds who believed that their only salvation as a people was to adopt the ways of white men and become civilized. Consequently Agent White stepped in and deposed all the old chiefs and appointed younger and more progressive men in their places. After a period of time he allowed an election for chiefs to be held and the result was that progressive men were largely chosen.

His story of the election shows how hard it is for a

primitive people to become inured to the ways of modern democracy. He announced the hours during which the polls would be open. At the close of the time the ballots were counted and the result announced. At once a defeated candidate rode off at full speed on his pony and in due time returned with enough of his Indian friends who had not voted to turn the tide of election in his favor. The Agent explained to him that the polls were closed and the election over. Such stringent regulations were too much for the Indian to understand and he went away sorrowful, protesting against the gross injustice of the white man's ways of government.

Later on Agent White found it more satisfactory to the Indians to hold the elections along a road way, and merely allow the voters to line up on opposite sides of the road in company with their respective candidates. Thus any dissatisfied partisan could pass down the line and verify the count. To the suspicious mind of the Indian the simplicity and openness of this system were far preferable to the intricacies and secrecy of the white man's vaunted Australian ballot.

Superintendent Samuel M. Janney retired from the Northern Superintendency in the fall of 1871, having served most efficiently for something over two years. During that time much had been accomplished for the advancement of the Indians under his charge. Lands in severalty had been allotted to the Omahas, Winnebagoes, and Santee Sioux. Much land had been broken and improved for agriculture. The more progressive Indians had built houses, and had been supplied with wagons, plows, mowing machines and other agricultural implements. Above all several schools had been

built and a generation of Indian children started in the paths of knowledge.⁴⁰

Samuel M. Janney was succeeded in the Central Superintendency by Barclay White of New Jersey, a Friend who had been for some time actively interested in the Indian work of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Under him the work so well begun was carried forward with vigor and ability. New day schools and some industrial boarding schools were built, and the Indians were encouraged in various ways to the further development of agricultural pursuits. Various measures for the help of the Indians were annually urged upon the government at Washington. In harmony with suggestions repeatedly made by Samuel M. Janney and Barclay White a field matron, supported by Friends, was sent out to the Santee Sioux. She visited the Indian homes and instructed the women and children in the various domestic arts of civilized life.

As an example of the advancement made by the more progressive tribes the following excerpt from Superintendent Barclay White's report of 1873 on the Winnebagoes is in point: "At the time of his (Agent Howard White's) taking charge (four years previously) they were a rebellious, turbulent people, with chiefs adverse to the adoption of civilized habits and customs, and but few improvements had been made on the reservation. Now this beautiful tract of country is dotted over with substantially built cottages, which have been built upon farms that have been allotted in severalty. These farmers own their wagons, horses, harness, and furniture of their houses, dress in civi-

⁴⁰ Annual Reports of Supt. Janney in *Reports of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1869, 1870, 1871.

lized costume, raise crops and take them to market for sale. Surely they are on the high road to civilization."⁴¹

In his report of 1875, referring to the general situation of all the tribes in the Superintendency, Barclay White wrote: "During the six years the Santee Sioux, Winnebagoes, Omahas, Pawnees, Otoes and Missourias, Iowas, and Sacs and Foxes of Missouri have been under the care of the Society of Friends they have made marked advancement and improvement in civilization and industrial pursuits. No murder of a white person has been charged upon them for four years, and although several Indians have been killed by whites during that time, for which crime the murderers were not punished, no attempt at retaliation has been made by the Indians. As a rule, these Indians are honest and temperate in regard to strong drink; in these respects being probably above the average of the same number of white persons in the State in which they reside. The majority of the Winnebagoes, Santee Sioux, and Iowas have given up the chase as a means of subsistence, and are devoting their attention to agriculture. The disposition and intention of all the tribes is good and tending towards the arts of civilization. With just treatment, the adults are easily controlled, and the children are apt scholars in most branches of school-learning.

"Were it possible for the Nebraska Indian to receive from his white neighbor the treatment and respect due to a man, and from the Government equal rights with the white man before the law, he would soon stand as his peer, and become as valuable a citizen."⁴²

⁴¹ Comsnr. of Indian Affairs *Report*, 1873, p. 185.

⁴² *Same*, 1875, p. 314.

The above report was made just one year before the Northern Superintendency was closed. Early in June, 1876, Barclay White received orders from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to close his office on the 30th of that month. He complied promptly and thereafter the various Friends who were Indian Agents in Nebraska reported directly to the Commissioner in Washington. This was near the close of Grant's second term. When the Hayes administration came into power it soon became evident to Liberal Friends, as it did to Orthodox Friends laboring in the Central Superintendency, that the old order was changing. Year by year the work was made more difficult by the increase of various political influences. The efforts of the Indian Agents were nullified by hostile orders from the Commissioner or by the defiant attitude of Agency employees forced upon the Agents contrary to their desire. One by one the various agencies were given up until after 1880 only the Great Nehama and the Santee Sioux were left under the care of Friends' Agents. The former was held until 1882 and the latter until 1885. In the latter year when Isaiah Lightner withdrew, the experiment inaugurated by President Grant came to an end with Liberal Friends as it did in the same year with Orthodox Friends. Although a Friend, Charles Hill, was appointed to the Agency after a short interim and served for about five years, it was understood that "with the retirement of Agent Lightner, the official connection of the Society of Friends with the United States Government in the care of the Indians ceased."⁴³

During the ten years 1869-1879 when Liberal

⁴³ Baltimore Y. M. *Minutes*, 1886, p. 31.

Friends were having a large place in the Peace Policy it is estimated that more than \$60,000 was donated by the various yearly meetings for supplies, clothing, and various kinds of help for the Indians.

The results of this and of the efforts of Superintendents, Agents, school-teachers and other officers in the field were highly encouraging with most of the tribes. The small band of Sacs and Foxes and the Otoes and Missourians made rather slow progress on account of untoward conditions within the tribes. The wild Pawnees were constantly harassed by the roving bands of Sioux but made commendable progress up to the time of their removal to the Indian Territory. Among the remaining tribes the success of Friends was scarcely less than remarkable. The Santee Sioux, Winnebago, Omaha, and Iowa Indians, at the close of the official service of Friends for them, were living for the most part upon their own homesteads, with comfortable houses, and modern farming implements. They had ample school facilities and in short were well on the way to become educated, self-supporting American citizens.⁴⁴

Nor did Liberal Friends forget their former wards when the official service came to an end. The early suggestions of Samuel M. Janney and Barclay White as to the desirability of sending white women among the Indians were put vigorously into practice about 1890. The function of the field matron was to go into the Indian homes and instruct the women and children in the arts of household economy as practiced among civilized peoples. The experiment, supported at first

⁴⁴ Barclay White, *The Friends and the Indians*, 1886, pp. 11-15.

by Friends, was soon adopted by the government, and was successful to a marked degree.

In this way and by various other methods Friends for many years kept in touch with some of the tribes formerly under their charge and were always ready to aid them or any other Indians that needed the help of a friendly hand.⁴⁵

CONCLUSION.

Such was the work done by Orthodox Friends in the Central Superintendency and by Liberal Friends in the Northern Superintendency. Other denominations did similar work in various places but the part taken by Friends was conspicuous because they were selected to inaugurate the new "Peace Policy." It was essentially President Grant's policy and it hardly outlived his administrations. It was begun in 1869, largely curtailed by Hayes about a decade later, and was brought to a final close about 1885 at the beginning of Cleveland's first administration.

That the policy was a success will probably never be seriously questioned. There were faults in the whole Indian system that militated against it. There

⁴⁵ In 1898 Baltimore, Phila., and New York Yearly Meetings were still engaged somewhat in Indian work. See *Proceedings of Friends' General Conference*, Richmond, Ind., 1898, pp. 113-114.—In 1911 the Indian Committee of Balt. Y. M. reported "very little activity. . . . In fact, during the past decade, the standard of effort has been gradually lowering among all the Yearly Meetings, until at this time hardly any reference is made to the subject in any but ours, and very few and circumscribed are the channels of usefulness left open to us." The Balt. Committee however continued to make contributions to various efforts on behalf of the Indians. *Friends' Intelligencer*, 68 (1911): 786-787.

were faults in the work done by Friends. Yet on the whole the effort was crowned with a fine success. The Indians, many of them wild and warlike, or filthy and debased, made remarkable progress toward civilization, especially in the early years when Friends were unhampered by adverse political influences. The establishment of a school system, the instruction in agriculture, the training of the Indian women in domestic arts, the teaching by precept and example of the benign principles of Christianity,—these were the outstanding features and these wrought the prime successes of the work of Friends. And before all, and above all, the “Peace Policy” brought peace.

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BATTEY, THOMAS C. *A Quaker Among the Indians*. Boston. 1875.

Experiences among some of the wildest tribes during the early years of the “peace policy.”

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COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, *Annual Reports*. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

These volumes contain the annual reports to the government of the Superintendents and Agents in the field. These reports together with the annual reports of the Associated Executive Committee and the Central Executive Committee, mentioned above, form the main fund of source material on the subject of this chapter. *Friends' Intelligencer*, Philadelphia.

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This weekly publication contains reports of various committees and delegations, letters from agents in the field, and other important material on the work of Orthodox Friends.

TATUM, LAWRIE. *Our Red Brothers*. Philadelphia. 1899.

Much valuable and highly interesting material on experiences of Orthodox Friends by one who was for some time an Indian Agent.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OKLAHOMA MISSIONS.

THE most extensive system of Indian missions ever maintained by Friends is that maintained during recent years among the tribes now resident within the state of Oklahoma.

In northeastern Oklahoma, close to the Missouri line, are the Wyandotte and Seneca missions. In the central part of the state are the missions to the Kickapoos and Shawnees, and somewhat further south one to the Big Jim band of Shawnees. Further north are three stations, among the Otoes, Iowas and Osages, respectively. Other stations, maintained until recently, have been discontinued on account of a scattering of the Indian population, the influx of whites into the vicinity, or because it seemed best to relinquish the field to the missionary efforts of other religious bodies.

At each one of the stations a missionary and his family reside, and at each mission excepting the one at Hominy among the Osages there is a meeting house in which religious services are held. Bible schools are maintained for the instruction of young and old, and house to house visitation by the missionaries is a prominent part of the work. At Wyandotte, Otoe and Shawnee there are government Indian schools and a considerable work is done among the pupils in these schools. The missionary resident at Shawnee

besides having charge of the local work at that mission has a general oversight, as superintendent, over all the stations in Oklahoma.

This extensive system of missions is under the care of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs and is the legacy that was left to that committee when the official duties assigned to them in 1869 by President Grant were laid down.

When it became certain, as described in the preceding chapter,¹ that the administration of President Hayes was not in sympathy with the work being done by Friends in an official capacity, it became more and more evident that a door was nevertheless opening for a missionary effort in the field that had become so familiar and so appealing during the preceding years.

In reality the missionary effort began as early as 1869 because many of the first Indian Agents appointed by President Grant were zealous in their efforts to Christianize the Indians under their charge. The same may be said of many Friends who took positions in the government Indian schools, and of others who early entered the field on purely religious errands.² Thus, while the official activities of Friends were gradually drawing to a close during the years 1879 to 1885, the missionary effort was growing apace. In 1880 four Friends with their wives were devoting themselves to the religious instruction of the Indians. Asa C. and Emeline H. Tuttle,³ who had been re-

¹ See p. 184 ff., above.

² See p. 182 ff. for evangelizing activities of Indian Agents and others. Several of the Friends mentioned in note 27, pp. 180-181, who visited the Indian country remained to do missionary work.

³ Asa C. and Emeline H. Tuttle entered the Indian work in 1870 under the auspices of the Associated Executive Committee,

leased by the government from the charge of the Modoc and Quapaw Boarding School, were continued for religious work in the same field by the Associated Committee. Elkanah and Irene Beard were doing missionary work among the Cheyennes, Jonathan Ozbun and wife among the Kaws and Osages, Franklin Elliott among the Shawnees, while Jeremiah Hubbard⁴ made visits twice a month to the Senecas.

Realizing the meaning of the transition that was taking place the Associated Committee wrote in 1880: "The committee having fully examined the work conducted under its supervision, considered what should be its future action. Having been providentially relieved from responsibility to the government, and thus withdrawn from the complications which this mixed responsibility involved, it was felt that never before was the Lord's blessing so manifest in our labors. With gratitude we recognize that He seems to have placed before us an open door for teaching the Indians a knowledge of the saving truths of Christian-

They opened a school among the Ottawa Indians and received Indian orphans as boarding scholars. Their work expanded rapidly and was soon adopted and supported by the government. They were later transferred to the Quapaw mission, and did a wonderful work for the Modocs, as mentioned below, p. 208 f. They retired from the Indian service in 1881. Asa C. Tuttle died Nov. 11, 1898. Emeline H. Tuttle is still living, 1916.

⁴ Jeremiah Hubbard ("Uncle Jerry") was born in Indiana in 1837 and died at Miami, Okla., in 1915. He began religious work among the Indians in the winter of 1879-80 and for many years labored faithfully and efficiently among the Wyandots, Senecas, Ottawas, Modocs and other Indians in northeastern Oklahoma. Perhaps no other missionary to the Indians was so widely known among Friends of the United States. An interesting though sketchy autobiography is his *Forty Years Among the Indians*, Miami, Okla., 1913. See also memorial sketch in *American Friend*, 22 (1915): 335.

ity; and for aiding them in literary and industrial education."⁵

Into this open door of service Friends now entered under the leadership of their Associated Executive Committee. While the most outstanding developments during the following six years, 1879-1885, as narrated in the preceding chapter,⁶ were connected with the agencies and government schools where Friends still held official positions, yet there was a considerable development in the purely missionary effort.

This work gradually became established in two principal districts that have remained as permanent centers for the activities of the Associated Committee. The work, mentioned above, that was being carried on in 1880 by Franklin Elliott among the Absentee Shawnees in the Sac and Fox Agency became the nucleus about which several mission stations sprang up, and this part of the field may be termed the central district. The mission at Shawnee became a few years later the seat of the general superintendent of all the Friends' mission in the Indian Territory.

The other center, of what may be called the north-eastern district, was at Ottawa in the Quapaw Agency, where Asa and Emeline Tuttle by years of devoted labor had built up a splendid religious work.

The missionary effort of Friends at this early period was more extensive in the northeastern district and in this district was organized in 1881 a Monthly Meeting of Friends among the Indians. Asa and Emeline Tuttle had done missionary work for many years

⁵ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1880, p. 82.

⁶ See p. 185, above.

among the Ottawas, Quapaws, and Modocs in this district, and Jeremiah Hubbard, John M. Watson, Thomas Stanley and others about 1880-1881 had made good progress in holding meetings among them and among the near-by Senecas. At the request of Jeremiah Hubbard about ninety Indians of the above mentioned tribes were received into membership by Timbered Hills Monthly Meeting, Kansas. It was then decided to establish under the authority of Spring River Quarterly Meeting four Preparative Meetings among the Ottawas, Senecas, Modocs and Wyandots respectively, and of these four meetings was composed Grand River Monthly Meeting, set up September 3, 1881.⁷

In the central district the work under Franklin Elliott at Shawneetown had been continued successfully under the especial care of New York Yearly Meeting. In the period 1881-1884 this field of service had opened new opportunities and was transferred by New York Friends to the care of the Associated Committee.

Among the intractable Mexican Kickapoos a few miles away a new work was being slowly and laboriously built up by John Clinton and wife. With a vision of the future possibilities in this vicinity Friends decided to build permanently upon the foundations thus laid and in 1884 a Monthly Meeting was established at Shawnee with a membership of about 40 Indians. The following year a meeting house was built.

About the same time John F. Mardock was seeking to interest the Kaws of the Osage Agency in the truths

⁷ J. Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting*, 4-25.

of Christianity, and he and James K. Osbun were trying to reach some of the Osages and Cherokees.

The above narrative indicates fairly the extent and organization of the missionary work that was built up during the six years following 1879, and that served as a foundation for the purely missionary effort that was to be continued by the Associated Committee after the last official duty under the United States government was relinquished in 1885. In that year the Committee could report twelve places where religious meetings were held, one Indian, Frank Modoc, who had been recorded a minister, and two monthly meetings with a combined membership of 168 Indians.

The experiences of the workers in the field during this period rival in human and historic interest those of the days of Penn or Savery. Jeremiah Hubbard tells of a birthday dinner held in the Ottawa Friends' meeting house in 1881 for old Grandma King of the Ottawa nation. Nearly all the members of the tribe were present and after a good dinner there came the usual flow of speech. "Grandma" was said to be 113 years old, and she could speak three languages, Ottawa, French and English. Her memory seemed to be perfectly clear and in jovial reminiscence she told the assembled company how the young braves had come to see her about one hundred years before.

The type of religious and evangelistic effort carried on among the Indians at this time is fairly represented by the following incidents involving the Wyandot Indian, Frank Whitewing. Jeremiah Hubbard tells how he with Alpheus Townsend and Nicholas Cotter attended the funeral of Frank's sister. When the coffin was lowered into the grave Whitewing dropped

on his knees and gave voice to a powerful and moving prayer in the Wyandot tongue. The Friends present were much stirred by the impressive and solemn scene there in the valley of Sycamore Creek, down deep in the timber, with snow lying on the ground, and red men and white standing in the presence of the dead voicing their common faith in a life that does not end with the grave.

"We returned back to the mission," writes Jeremiah Hubbard in his journal, "and several of the Indians coming in, we had a good meeting; found John M. Watson there at meeting this evening. John read one of the Psalms and spoke and prayed powerfully to the Master for us all. I then spoke awhile; some ten or twelve persons arose to be prayed for. Our meeting was much favored of the Lord and unto Him be all the praise."

Frank Whitewing had been in former years one of the wildest Indians in the neighborhood but after his conversion to Christianity led an exemplary life. Even after his body had been weakened by tuberculosis he often rode many miles to attend meeting. When he was unable to leave home and had been absent from meeting several times Jeremiah Hubbard went to see him: "I knocked. Some one said, Come. I opened the door. There lay Frank, and his wife was standing by the fire. I shook hands with his wife, and then went to him. He said: 'I glad you come. I know you come.' I said, 'How did thee know I come?' He said, 'I ask the Lord to send you and I knowed he would, for I ask Him to.'" It then developed that he was in destitute circumstances and his friend's coming was the means of relieving his want.

His absolute faith in prayer was typical of the simple trust that was manifested by the Indians who made profession of Christianity through the work of the missions.⁸

Perhaps the most strikingly successful missionary effort in the history of Friends' work with the Indians was that accomplished among the Modoc Indians. This work was begun by Asa and Emeline Tuttle immediately after the Modocs were brought as prisoners of war from Oregon to the Quapaw Agency after the terrible Modoc War. The story of how many of the scarred and hardened warriors who had fought with unexampled fierceness in the lava beds of southern Oregon became humble, peace-loving, self-sacrificing followers of the Christ, would perhaps nearly equal any story in the whole history of Christian missions.

One of the early converts was Frank Modoc, "Steamboat Frank." His little girl came under the influence of Friends at school and thus carried the Christian influence into her home. She told her father the things she learned. She gave thanks at meal time and in the evening sang and prayed. After a time a fatal illness came upon her and just before her death she placed her hand in her father's and said to him, "Father, shake hands and promise you will meet me in heaven." His dying child's appeal was the means of his conversion. He confessed himself a great sinner and from the time of his daughter's death walked, as he called it, "straight and solid." If anyone asked him about his former life as a warrior he would dismiss the subject saying, "I leave that way back long time ago." He was a devoted Christian and he and

⁸ J. Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting*, 16, 56 ff.

his wife often walked a distance of about fourteen miles to attend the mission service. He became a recognized minister among Friends and was of great influence in his tribe, even visiting the remnant of his people in Oregon to carry the Christian message to them. Feeling his lack of education he journeyed to Friends' Oak Grove Seminary at Vassalboro, Maine, but there his health gave way and he died in 1886 at the home of his devoted friends John and Myra E. Frye, in Portland, Maine.⁹

As a result of his example and of the earnest efforts of the mission workers, the Modoc meeting became the largest and in many ways the best meeting of Friends among the Indians.

Isaac Sharp, a prominent English Friend, visited several of the missions in 1883 and was greatly impressed with the meeting among the Modocs. In his account he mentioned especially the vigorous singing of hymns, and an impressive prayer by "Steamboat" Frank.

Henry Stanley Newman describes one of the meetings during his visit as follows: "The 12th of January 1890 was Sabbath day. A fierce blizzard was raging, and the white man's church was empty. The snow beat into our faces as we drove along in the intense cold to the Friends' Meeting House in the Modoc

⁹ J. Hubbard, *Grand River Monthly Meeting*, 5. *Indiana Y. M. Minutes*, 1882, p. 45; 1884, p. 25; 1885, p. 24. H. S. Newman, MS. *Narrative of Sojourn among the Indians*, pp. 13-14. Mahlon H. Stubbs, Jesse Hobson, Levi M. Gilbert and others later visited the Modocs in Oregon and witnessed the good results of Frank Modoc's work there. *Indiana Y. M. Minutes*, 1886, p. 22; 1890, p. 72; 1891, p. 14. Levi M. Gilbert did religious work and was for a time at the head of the government school at the Klamath Agency. See *Christian Worker*, 21 (1891): 213-214.

camp, where John and Julia Hall work as missionaries. As we drew near we saw the Modocs coming from various directions through the storm. There were sixty of them present! Moses Kyst, a Modoc warrior, was the first to bow in lowly prayer. Scar-faced Charley, one of the old chiefs from the lava beds, also spoke. Faithful William, Robin Hood, Clinton, and other of their heroes were present. The Modoc meeting is a marvellous testimony to the miraculous and conquering power of the Gospel of Christ."¹⁰

The general lines of missionary effort to be followed by Friends in the Oklahoma field had been clearly laid in 1885 when the official work under the government was relinquished. The chief element in all activities was to be the preaching of the gospel message and the building up of mission churches among the Indians. The missionaries were also to lay great emphasis upon house to house visitation, comforting and helping the needy in every possible way, material and spiritual. Bible Schools were to be organized in which Indian children and adults might learn the truths of Christianity as recorded in the Scriptures. Special attention was to be given to the children in government schools that were in proximity to any of the missions. As it transpired Friends were occasionally appointed after 1885 to teach in the government schools, although not to such an extent as formerly. In such cases a very great influence was exercised over the school children. Such schools were

¹⁰ H. S. Newman, MS. *Narrative of Sojourn among the Indians*, pp. 14-15. Isaac Sharp's account in *British Friend*, 42 (1884): 6-9; *The Friend* (London), 24 (1884): 13-16.



SCAR-FACED CHARLEY

A MODOC, ONCE A FIERCE WARRIOR LATER A MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

sometimes aided by Friends through gifts of equipment or added support for the teacher, and in a few instances private schools were supported by Friends, a slight tuition being charged to aid in the maintenance.

Such was to be the type of work done and it has not been altered in any considerable way during the thirty years of its development. To be sure all effort to maintain private schools has ceased since the public school system has been largely extended, and few Friends have been appointed in recent years to teach in government schools. Aside from these changes however the chief developments to be recorded are those connected with the growth or decline of the work as a whole and in various localities, the opening of new mission stations and the closing of old ones, and the changing conditions of Indian life that have affected the whole mission situation.

Chronologically the period may be divided roughly into three sub-periods of about one decade each, representing approximately the length of time spent in the field by each Superintendent until 1914. Dr. Charles W. Kirk took charge of the mission at Shawnee in 1885, was appointed Superintendent of the whole field in 1888, and served until his death in 1893. His wife then acted as Superintendent until the following year. The period of nearly a decade, from 1885 to 1894, may be thought of then as about representing the administration of the first Superintendent, Dr. Kirk. George N. and L. Ella Hartley were appointed Superintendents in 1894 and served until 1904, while William P. and Abigail C. Haworth served in the same capacity from 1904 to 1914.

The first of these three periods was a time of vigorous growth and expansion. The work was new and inspiring, the Indians were living in fairly compact groups with few white people settled among them, and Friends had some splendid starting points for mission work in the localities where some of their number had served as Indian Agents or in the government schools.

As a result the work expanded rapidly between 1885 and 1894. In the latter year four Monthly Meetings were reported, new ones having been organized during the period at Blue Jacket in the Cherokee country, and among the Iowas. A Quarterly Meeting, called Grand River, had been established consisting of these Monthly Meetings and one across the Kansas line. The four Monthly Meetings in the Indian and Oklahoma Territories comprised thirteen Preparative Meetings and twenty-three meetings for worship besides several out-stations where meetings were held occasionally. The Indian membership of the meetings had grown during the nine years from 168 to 426. In the latter year there were fifteen Bible Schools with an enrollment of 807 pupils and an average attendance of 469.¹¹

Several new meeting houses were built among the Indians at this time and so extensive and successful did the work appear that during the period grants of land were made by the government to several of the mission stations, with the consent or at the request of the Indians.

A notable development during the period was the fact that so many white people had joined the meet-

¹¹ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1894, pp. 18-19.

ings. In 1894 there were two meetings composed of whites only and all told there were 567 white members as against 426 Indians. This seemed to be due partly to the fact that so many whites were settling in the Indian country and partly because the white people seemed to be more susceptible than the Indians to the evangelizing efforts of the missionaries. For a time the Associated Committee was quite favorable to the work among the whites because of its indirect influence upon the Indians. By 1894 however the number of white adherents was growing so rapidly that the Committee began to remind the missionaries that the Indians were to be the chief and immediate objects of their labor.¹²

One of the notable successes of this period was the work established among the Iowas in the central mission district. Meetings were held among them about 1887 by Charles W. Frazier and others and very soon a permanent work was built up. A day school was established which was taught at various times by Elizabeth Test, Mary Sherman, Rachel Kirk, Lina B. Lunt and others. Various Friends visited the station and did religious work among the Indians. John F. Mardock labored faithfully and efficiently at this station and much of the success achieved during the period was due to his devoted service. The day school was largely supported by the Philadelphia Indian Aid Association and the mission work proper by New England Friends in the early years and later by Friends of Baltimore Monthly Meeting. Before the close of the period under discussion a Monthly Meeting had been established among the Iowas and the sta-

¹² Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1894, p. 19.

tion was giving great promise of permanent usefulness.¹³

Another work, built up more slowly and laboriously, but destined to be more permanent, was that among the Mexican Kickapoos about twelve miles away from the mission at Shawnee, in the central mission district. Mention has been made above of the work begun among the Kickapoos by John Clinton and his wife about 1883. It was a difficult and discouraging work and almost no impression could be made on the Indians for several years. Some of the leading Kickapoos declared that if they took up the white man's learning and religion the Great Spirit would kill them. Consequently they decided to kill any missionary who attempted to convert them.

About 1886, however, Elizabeth Test began her work among these Indians. She had been employed for some years as a teacher in the government Indian schools but the passion of her life was to aid in carrying the Christian message to the Indians. When she first began her work among the Kickapoos she lived in a bark hut among them. The way to the hearts of the Indians seemed however to be entirely closed at this time and for a period she taught a day school and did religious work among the Iowas. In 1890 a few of the Kickapoos asked her to teach them and she hastened to open a school in a tent to receive the nine pupils that awaited her. The door was at last open but the way was still to be long and rugged that reached to the hearts of these Indians. Space does

¹³ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1887, pp. 16-17; 1889, pp. 17-18; 1890, pp. 73-74; 1892, pp. 26, 29; 1893, pp. 15-16. For the sudden decline of the work among the Iowas at a later period see pp. 228-229, below.

not permit to recount the great discouragements, the little, hard-won victories and the utter sacrifices by which a success was at last attained that would be hard to surpass in the history of Friends' work for the Indians. A typical sacrifice was the giving by Elizabeth Test of \$1,000 of her own money for a building to house the mission home and school. A well-earned reward was the grant by a Kickapoo Chief of the land upon which the building might be erected. Ably assisted through many years by Rachel Kirk and Lina B. Lunt, Elizabeth Test succeeded at last in gaining the entire confidence of the Indians and building up a work that stands as a shining example of Christian devotion and self-sacrifice. She is known as "Teacher" among Indians and white people far and near, and her life work has ennobled the title.¹⁴

Perhaps the most successful school carried on or aided by Friends in this period was the one at Skiatook (later called Hillside) taught by Eva Watson, assisted part of the time by Olive Chamberlain. Eva Watson had had a notable success in the Modoc School before going to Skiatook. At the latter place she soon built up a splendid school, which in 1890 had an enrollment of sixty-nine. Many pupils boarded in the families near the school, some of them in the mission which was maintained at this time by Eva Watson's parents, John M. and Eliza Watson. In 1890 the Associated Committee said of this school: "It appears

¹⁴ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1887, p. 16; 1890, pp. 73-74; 1891, p. 16; 1892, p. 27; 1893, p. 17; 1894, p. 22. Elizabeth Test is still at the Kickapoo station (1917), the veteran worker in the Oklahoma field. For a sketch of the work of Elizabeth Test written by Myra Esther Frye, one of her Indian pupils, see *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, Sept., 1916.

to be the best school within the radius of twenty-five miles, and the pupils crowd the houses around it so as to be near the school. The classes range from those in the alphabet chart to those studying higher arithmetic. All are taught some Bible truths daily; they have learned the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the 1st and 23d Psalms, and the golden text for the year. The school is a powerful agency for good."¹⁵

The teaching of religious truth in connection with the regular school studies was practiced in other schools that were taught or aided by Friends during this period, such as those among the Kickapoos, Iowas, Modocs, Ottawas, Senecas, Miamis, and Cherokees. One of the successful teachers of the period was Arizona Jackson, a Wyandot Indian girl who had been educated at Earlham College, Indiana.

While space does not permit to describe the work of many devoted missionaries and teachers¹⁶ of this period a brief mention should be made of some of the Indian workers who labored devotedly among their people at this time, supplementing the work of their white friends who had first taught them the message

¹⁵ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1887, p. 14; 1889, p. 16; 1890, p. 74; 1891, p. 16; 1893, p. 17.

¹⁶ Other regular workers or assistants at this time, most of them married and ably assisted by their wives, were: Jesse Stanley, John W. Hall, John B. Bishop, Charles W. Frazier, Robert K. Quiggan, Charles W. Goddard, Amos Davis, Robert W. Hodson, William Neal, William L. George, Thomas W. Alford, Charles E. Pearson, John F. Sherman. During this period Benjamin S. Coppock served ably for some years as Supt. of the Chilocco Indian Training School, a post held by Dr. H. J. Minthorn at an earlier period (1884-1885). This of course was not a missionary work but it opened the way for much religious influence among the pupils.



LUCY WINNEY

A CHRISTIAN INDIAN WOMAN, AN ELDER OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.
SEE P. 217

that they passed on to their fellows. John and Lucy Winney, the former a Seneca and the latter a Wyandot, were perhaps the most widely known, as they traveled somewhat among Friends outside of the Indian Territory. These consecrated Christian Indians were for long years faithful workers among the Senecas and largely by their own labors built up a flourishing meeting at Cayuga. They were Elders in Seneca Meeting and were held in highest esteem by all who knew them. The present writer had the privilege of meeting Lucy Winney in 1913, a short time before her death, and can testify personally to the grace of her beautiful Christian character.

The Modoc Indians reached a remarkable degree of spiritual development, many of them taking a ready part in religious activities. After attending one of their meetings Dr. Kirk wrote: "It has rarely been our privilege to attend a meeting giving more evidence of true spirituality than that of the Modocs on the occasion of a recent visit."¹⁷

Henry Stanley Newman and his wife Mary Anna Newman, Friends from England, visited the Oklahoma missions during this period, in the winter of 1889-1890, and their relation of personal experiences paints vivid pictures of the Indian life and the mission work at that time. H. S. Newman describes a meeting that they attended at the home of Jane Alsop, a Wyandot Indian woman: "They sang, 'Come ye sinners, poor and needy,' and every member present gave a testimony in a few words, some in English, others in their own language. They speak with very little emotion, in fact the Indians seem to have been

¹⁷ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1893, p. 16.

trained for generations to hide their emotions. Yet these Wyandot Friends are very tender spirited, and the tears quietly trickled down their faces before they were aware, and they have a singular reverence for and perception of the Divine Presence."

Mary Anna Newman describes a Monthly Meeting which she attended among the Senecas: "I sat beside Smith Nicholls and John Winney both of whom are Indians. Not much more than a year ago the former was a terrible, bad man, but one night when Jeremiah Hubbard was speaking about Christ, he stood and listened outside, and the words touched his heart, and then and there he was converted. It was a wondrous change that was wrought in him. He has been received into membership with Friends, and now holds meetings himself, while his altered life preaches still more eloquently than his words. . . . The Indians are a stoical, solemn-looking people, who apparently make a point of concealing their feelings, but I think they were interested as I spoke to them. After I sat down Lucy Winney got up and told the people in Wyandot what I had been saying, and I think she must have enlarged on it a good bit. We had prayer in Wyandot from a rough looking Indian, and one or two hymns were afterwards sung in that language. There were some very fine looking Indian women present. They wrap themselves in brilliant plaid shawls, which suit their dark complexions admirably. The business of the meeting consisted chiefly in long reports from each of the five or six congregations that send their representatives to it, and the consideration of various applications for membership, and the In-

dians evidently took an intelligent interest in all that went on."¹⁸

Just at the beginning of the next period the work suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Dr. James E. Rhoads. The Associated Committee at its annual meeting in 1895 set forth the seriousness of this blow in the following minute: "We meet this year under a feeling of the great loss which we and the work of the Associated Executive Committee have sustained in the sudden death of our dear friend, Dr. James E. Rhoads. He was a member of the Committee during the 26 years of its existence; and for many years was its presiding officer. He had a knowledge of the work amongst the Indians and of the workers in the field possessed by no other of the members of the Committee. His broad Christian charity and devotion to the cause, added to an unusually sympathetic nature, brought him into close and loving relations with the individual missionaries and made him a great support and help to them in their work. We ask the continued aid and sympathy of Friends everywhere, that the important interest committed to us may be successfully carried on, and crave that the blessing of our Heavenly Father may rest upon it."¹⁹

In 1894 the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs had been in existence 25 years and from the viewpoint of the present (1917) that year was just about the mid-point of its history.

¹⁸ H. S. Newman, MS. *Narrative of Sojourn Among the Indians*, p. 7. For account of H. S. and M. A. Newman's experiences in the Indian country see also *The Friend* (London), 30 (1890): 41-42, 65-67, 88-89. Also *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, 25 (1891): 553-566.

¹⁹ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1893, p. 16.

The sub-period of a decade following 1894 is that covered by the administration of George N. and L. Ella Hartley as Superintendents. Perhaps the most outstanding development during this time was the establishment of two new mission stations, one among the Otoes and one among the Big Jim band of Absentee Shawnees.

The Otoe Indians were settled in close proximity to the Iowas and there was much social intercourse between the two tribes. As a result of this the Friends who were laboring among the Iowas formed a desire to reach the neighboring Otoes. Women Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting became especially interested in this pioneer work and they formed an Indian Aid Society in 1897 which was in existence about five years and was largely instrumental, under the oversight of the Associated Committee, in founding and building up the mission among the Otoes. As a result of these efforts D. Amos Outland and his wife Rhoda M. Outland arrived among the Otoes in the spring of 1898 and with the aid of Superintendent George N. Hartley began the new work. The mission buildings were erected on a tract of 40 acres allotted by the government for the purpose, a short distance from the government school.

The early progress and the type of the work among the Otoes may be judged from the following excerpt from a report made by D. A. and Rhoda M. Outland in 1899, after they had been in the field about a year and a half: "We have known the blessing of God on us, and our labor here, manifested in His immediate care of us, and, in His giving us greater influence with the Otoe Indians. We have kept up our Sabbath

school and other services in the Government school, with the encouragement of government officials, and have spent a great part of the remaining time with the older Indians, in their homes and camps, visiting the sick, burying the dead, and, in everything endeavoring to show them a better way. We receive from them many expressions of tenderness and appreciation of us and our work with them.

“While visiting families yesterday, I called on an aged man, who was sick. When I entered the room, he gave me one hand and raised the other, and began praying. Understanding his wish, I knelt beside him and he prayed at length. When he mentioned the name of Jesus Christ his voice broke, and, for the moment failed, overcome by emotion. After a time of pleasant talk, I left him to find another, who can speak and read English. He too had a lingering fever. I found his Bible on his bed, and he was eager to talk of Jesus.”²⁰

So the work among the Otoes was established and along lines as described above it developed. Early in 1902 the school buildings of the government were burned and this caused some discouragement to the missionaries on account of the importance of the services held with the school children. But the buildings were soon rebuilt and the mission work continued to develop as before.

The mission among the Big Jim band of Absentee Shawnees was established in 1897 by the Maine Branch of the Women's National Indian Association. Buildings were erected, an orchard planted and several acres of land put under cultivation. The above

²⁰ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1899, p. 30.

named organization was for pioneer work only and its policy was to transfer its established stations, as occasion offered, to religious organizations already at work in the vicinity. As the station at Big Jim was only twenty miles south of the Friends' mission and superintendency at Shawnee, and as various Friends, members of the Maine Branch, had been directly charged with planting and caring for the Big Jim mission, it was decided to offer this station to the Associated Executive Committee. This was done in 1898 and after careful consideration the Committee took charge the following year. The devoted workers, Philander and Caroline Blackledge were for a time in charge of this mission. They were followed by John F. and Mary Mardock, veteran workers who had done much pioneer work among various tribes. However, although a great deal of faithful labor was expended, not much outward result could be seen by 1904, the close of the period under review. Chief Big Jim and other prominent men in the band were opposed to Christianity and were able for the time to thwart largely the efforts of the missionaries. It was a time of seed sowing and long waiting for the harvest.²¹

The missions among the Kickapoos and Iowas established earlier but still to be classed as newer stations made slow but steady progress. A large element among the Kickapoos was still very conservative and much opposed to Christianity and the white man's ways. The Iowas were restless and unsettled, dissatisfied with the lands allotted to them, and fond of visiting other nearby Indians.

²¹ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1892, p. 23; 1899, p. 18; 1904, p. 29.

Friends of Baltimore Monthly Meeting continued their support of the work among the Iowas and New England Friends continued to help the Kickapoo station. In the latter case however the responsibility for financial support was transferred in 1902 from the Women's Foreign Missionary Society to the Yearly Meeting's Committee on Western Indians.

The continued interest in the Indian work so long shown by Friends across the sea was witnessed in this period by the visit of Harriet Green, an English Friend, to the Oklahoma missions. She was much impressed with the evident results among the Indians of the evangelizing message. During a visit at Modoc station she dined with Hiram and Ellen Blackfish, Christian Indians. In reporting this visit to Friends in England she related the following incident: "I told Hiram I should like to welcome him to London Yearly Meeting, and I shall never forget the grand ring of his voice or his dignified manner as he said, 'If I came, I should tell the Friends, I am saved of the Lord, saved by the same grace as you are.'" This incident illustrates a very general impression made upon visiting Friends that the Indians had a real understanding of the fundamental implications of the Gospel message.²²

On the whole the work was somewhat less encouraging in this period. The conditions of Indian life were fast changing. The presence of many white settlers seemed to lessen in some ways the impact of the evangelizing message. There was less need for Friends' schools as the government and public schools became more numerous and more efficient.

²² *The Friend*, London, 37 (1897): 168.

In 1902 Superintendent Hartley reported as follows: "Within the past twelve months, there has been drawn into this new country, by the opening up of new lands, a mixed multitude of people, tens of thousands in number, of almost every nationality on the face of the earth." Again just at the close of the period, in 1904, he reported along similar lines, reviewing the changes of the preceding decade: "On first coming into this locality the nearest railroad station was fifty miles distant, and these Indians were comparatively isolated; but now the whistle of the trains may be heard on every hand, and white people, side by side with the Indians, are transforming the broad prairies into fertile fields of grain, and orchards of fruit. The huts and cabins are being rapidly exchanged for commodious dwellings, and the promise of financial prosperity seems evident.

"The stimulus to activity thus given, is bearing fruit among the Indian population, in the way of self-support, as more and more they are beginning to cultivate their own farms instead of renting them.

"Eventually the change that is now taking place must become a blessing to the natives, after the rougher classes have pushed on to the frontier countries and left their places to be filled by honest industrious settlers."²³

The great development in the central organization of the mission work during this period was the relation established between the Associated Committee and the Five Years' Meeting. Edward M. Wistar, for many years the faithful chairman of the Associated Committee, read a paper on the Indian work before

²³ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1902, p. 24; 1904, p. 22.



BIRDIE SPOON AND FAMILY
AT HOME" TO THE FRIENDS' MISSIONARIES GEORGE N. AND L. ELLA
HARTLEY.

the Five Years' Meeting in 1902 and there followed a discussion participated in by Rachel Kirk, Francis W. Thomas, Allen Jay, Carolena M. Wood and others. As a result the Five Years' Meeting adopted a series of four resolutions endorsing the Indian mission work as worthy of the continued and increased support of the Yearly Meetings and appointing the Associated Committee as its "official representative in this field." The Committee was requested to continue its annual reports to the several bodies represented in it and to send a full report to each Five Years' Meeting.²⁴

During the decade 1904-1914 William Perry Haworth and his wife Abigail C. Haworth occupied the mission station at Shawnee and were superintendents of the entire system of missions.

One of the changes that culminated in this period was the elimination of the Indian schools maintained by Friends. In 1898 there were two Friends' boarding schools, at Kickapoo and Skiatook (Hillside) respectively, besides seven day schools. Gradually, as the government and public schools became more numerous and more efficient, these private schools closed their doors until that phase of the pioneer work came to an end. The following extract from the report of the Superintendents in 1908 explains the new conditions that had arisen and also points out the value of the Friends' schools in the past: "With the changing events, circumstances change, surrounding many

²⁴ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1903, pp. 26-27. *Minutes of Five Years' Meeting*, 1902, pp. 30, 152-153, 126-141. The Five Years' Meeting is the central representative body of Friends in America and was organized in 1902. It includes all of the Orthodox Yearly Meetings except Philadelphia and Ohio and some small conservative bodies.

of our mission stations. With the coming of statehood (in 1907) is coming the provision for free schools, open alike to both Indians and whites. This, together with the continued provision of our government for the education of Indian children, seems largely to supersede any effort we as a religious organization are prepared to make for the education of Indian children. While we might doubt the value or efficiency of such schools, when compared with those under the immediate religious care of the Church, yet they are here, and are offering opportunities to the masses of Indian children, such as the Church would be largely unable to do. The conditions above referred to have occasioned the closing of our school so long maintained at Hillside, it being the last school under the control of your Committee. Many of the business men, both mixed bloods and whites, in the counties adjoining this school, have received their inspiration and training here, which probably would have been wholly lacking but for the opportunities this school afforded them."²⁵

Almost at the same time that the school system came to an end, the purely religious work of the Associated Committee was further extended by the addition of a station among the Osage Indians. Friends had been much interested in these Indians from the time of Grant's Peace Policy, and Laban J. Miles who had been their Agent for some years prior to 1885 was recalled again to that service in 1890 at the request of the Indians. At this time, too, Thomas H. Stanley, of Kansas, a veteran in the Indian work, visited the Osages and helped to awaken again the interest of

²⁵ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1908, p. 26.

Friends in them. In the following years this interest was maintained and in 1907 Isaac T. Gibson, of Oklahoma, a former Agent of the Osages, wrote a letter informing Friends of the open door for missionary effort among these Indians. As a result Edward M. Wistar, William P. Haworth and Isaac T. Gibson visited the Osages early in 1908 and in the fall of that year a mission station was established at Hominy in charge of Daniel A. Williams and his wife Hattie E. Williams. About five hundred Indians had their homes adjacent to the town of Hominy, with no opportunity for religious instruction save for the occasional visit of a Catholic priest.

The work of Friends among these Indians has developed largely along the lines of family visitations and of meeting and speaking to the Indians in their own gatherings. No meeting house has been built but the confidence of a large number of the Indians has been gained and a considerable religious influence exerted among them. This is one of the richest of the Indian tribes and the money and lands received from the government have brought with them terrible temptations to idleness and vice. The opportunity for religious service is widening and the need is great.²⁶

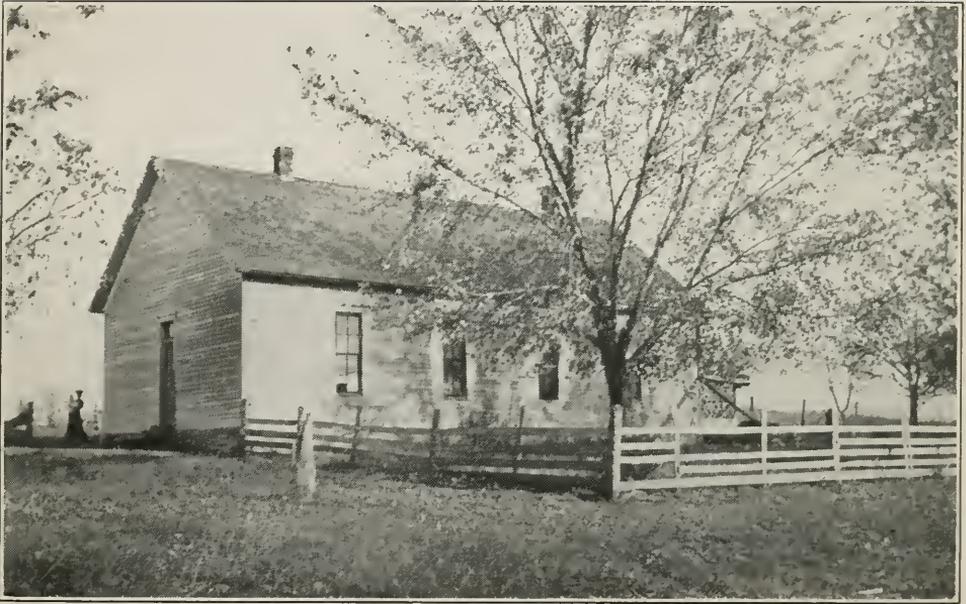
As the work was thus being extended into new and needy fields it was becoming less extensive in some of the older fields. The changing conditions of Indian life so evident during the administration of George and Ella Hartley (1894-1904) became even more marked in the subsequent decade. As a consequence

²⁶ The dates given in the text are sufficient guide to the source materials in the annual printed reports of the Associated Committee, which are usually reprinted in the *Minutes* of Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings.

there was a gradual withdrawal during both periods from active missionary work at various points. This shifting of effort really dates from the beginning of the missionary work but the process has become more marked as the changes in Indian life have been accelerated. The early work of Asa and Emeline Tuttle among the Quapaws was gradually given up as a more open field of service appeared among the Modocs and Ottawas. Similarly in the year 1896-1897 five subordinate stations passed from the partial care of the Associated Committee to the entire charge of Kansas Yearly Meeting.

This process went on rapidly especially at the eastern stations as the tide of white population rose. The support of a missionary at Sycamore was discontinued about 1909. The Indian work at Hillside grew less and less after 1905 and that station was discontinued in 1913. The work at Ottawa and Modoc, two of the strongest stations at an earlier time, later became smaller on account of the scattering of the Indians and the coming of white people. As a result the two stations were placed under one missionary during the year 1913-1914 and in 1915 the support of the Associated Committee was withdrawn from them altogether.

The withdrawals thus far mentioned were all from stations in the eastern mission district. The closing of the Iowa station for a period of two years was from other causes. About 1910 the Associated Committee entered into cordial relations with the Home Missions Council, a body made up of representatives from various evangelical Christian churches in America. One of the aims of this Council is to prevent any



FRIENDS' MODOC MEETING-HOUSE

overlapping of home missionary effort. It has been found impossible however to get the coöperation of some of the smaller and more sectarian bodies. As a result a representative of such a body, emphasizing the need of water baptism and certain other outward ordinances, waged a sectarian war against the Friends' missionaries among the Iowas and succeeded in alienating nearly the whole band of Indians from the influence of Friends. The Iowa Indians had received great help spiritually and temporally from Friends and for some years the mission establishment among them had been one of the most promising. While the closing of such a station was most discouraging yet it may perhaps be counted as one of the inevitable results of the incoming white population. Perhaps the Indian too must suffer from the petty sectarian wars that have brought religious devastation to many a white settlement in the pioneer stage.

As Friends did not feel drawn to enter into a protracted dispute with the representative of another religious denomination and as a great majority of the Indians seemed thoroughly alienated, the Iowa mission was closed in 1915. Two years later, however, at the request of a considerable number of Indians, including Chief Dave Tohee, who always remained loyal to Friends, the mission was reopened under the care of the veteran workers John F. and Mary Mardock and Lina B. Lunt.

Since 1914 Clark and Elma T. Brown have been situated at the Shawnee Mission and are the Superintendents of the entire system of Friends' missions in Oklahoma. The system is not so extensive as it once was and the conditions are vastly changed. There

are only seven regular mission stations where a few years ago there were eleven, and the total Indian membership in the organized Friends' meetings has decreased in still greater proportion. Many of the older leaders and supporters²⁷ of the work have passed away and some of the Yearly Meetings have diminished or withdrawn their support of the work. At the same time there has been some accession of help from younger Friends and other Yearly Meetings.

Looking back over the whole period it is clear that the recent changes in the work are due wholly to the changed conditions of Indian life. In the beginning the Indians lived in allotted districts and were prevented by strict government supervision from scattering. Moreover at this time the presence of any considerable white population among the Indians was unknown. During the period of Grant's Peace Policy Friends had a paramount influence and an unprecedented opportunity with various tribes officially under their charge. In many places Friends maintained the only schools in the vicinity and thus found access to the hearts and homes of the Indians through the work for the Indian children. Many of the bands and tribes had suffered untold misery in the Indian wars and in the exigencies of their removal to the Territory. To these Indians Friends brought the consolations and promises of the Gospel and they heard the message

²⁷ Allen Jay, for many years chairman of the Indian Committee of Indiana Yearly Meeting and a valued member of the Associated Committee, died in 1910. T. Wistar Brown, of Philadelphia, one of the most generous supporters and wisest advisers of the Committee, died in 1916. A provision made before his death allows further support to the work as long as it is continued under the auspices of the Associated Committee as at present constituted.

gladly. The result was a tidal wave of evangelistic effort and an ingathering of converts, comparable, as in the case of the Modocs, to the finest successes of modern missionary effort.

All of the fundamental conditions of this early success passed gradually away with the change of governmental policy and the influx of white population. Friends lost their paramount influence as the agencies passed one by one from their control. Friends' schools were closed as the public school system became established.²⁸ The Indians scattered in many sections as the strict government supervision was relaxed. The initial impact of the early evangelizing movement among a pagan people lessened with the influx of white settlers, and the missions have gradually settled into the slower steadier effort to win and hold a people influenced by the vices as well as the virtues of a new civilization.

Jonathan M. Steere and Walter Smedley, for many years valued members and officers of the Associated Committee, visited the mission field in 1906, and summarized their impressions of the modern problem in the following statement: "We were fully convinced that Friends are doing a splendid piece of work and that while it may from time to time be best to relinquish it in certain places, the work as a whole should not be allowed to flag; but rather the hands of those who are directly engaged in it should be strengthened, new fields of effort be entered upon as occasion may arise and the whole work be given the hearty and cor-

²⁸ It should be noticed however that at the present time the Friends' missionaries at Wyandotte, Shawnee, and Otoe have good opportunity to influence the Indian children in the government schools at those places.

dial support, both financially and sympathetically, of Friends in all our Yearly Meetings. It seemed to us that the work was one peculiarly laid upon Friends to do. The mission stations are points of light and of healthy influence, and we have often talked together of how serious it would be to the communities should they be abandoned. It is perhaps easier to explain why we were impressed so much by what we saw and heard when it is considered that in some places where our missions are established they are the only centers of religious influence of any kind for perhaps a radius of ten or fifteen miles, and were these influences which go out from the little mission centers eliminated from the life of the prairie, it would seem that incalculable loss would be the result."²⁹

Such is the situation and such the work of the Oklahoma missions at the present time. The pioneer conditions are gone or going. The high tide of the first evangelizing effort is passed. The present situation calls for steady, earnest, self-sacrificing labor unmindful of immediate rewards or successes. It is a critical time for the Indian and a testing time for the Quaker missionary spirit.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The chief source for the above chapter is Associated Executive Committee *Minutes* as listed, p. 199, above, and used in this chapter as contained in Indiana Yearly Meeting printed *Minutes*.

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²⁹ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1908, p. 34.

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A valuable manuscript written by H. S. Newman at the request of Mary S. Kimber, now deposited in the Library of Haverford College.

CHAPTER X.

MANY WORKS IN MANY FIELDS.

MOST of the movements and developments in the work of Friends for the Indians have been described. There remain however some important phases of the story not told in the earlier chapters.

WHITE'S INSTITUTES, INDIANA AND IOWA.

Josiah White, a Friend of Philadelphia, left \$40,000 by will in 1850 to establish two schools, one in Indiana and one in Iowa, "for poor children, white, colored and Indian, . . . such as have not the means to procure schooling, board and clothing for themselves."¹

The two institutions were established in due time, one near Salem, Iowa, and the other near Wabash, Indiana. Both were embarrassed by a lack of financial resources and were not largely successful during their early years in carrying out the design of the founder. About 1883 a movement for the extension of Indian education developed that practically changed the two White's Institutes into Indian schools for a short period of years.

At this time the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs was seriously considering the advisability of establishing an industrial school for Indian children in or near the Indian Territory. The

¹ *Friends' Review*, 4 (1850): 174.

government however decided to provide such a school and also to support a number of Indian children in other schools that might be selected in various states.

Friends saw in this an opening for further service to the Indians and after securing the consent of Indiana Yearly Meeting it was decided to open the doors of White's Institute at Wabash to such Indian children as the government might see fit to send. As a result twenty-seven Indian children selected by Asa and Emeline Tuttle from various tribes in the Indian Territory were received into the Institute early in 1883. As this number of pupils overtaxed the accommodations of the Institute the Associated Executive Committee collected \$3,100 for the building of a Boys' Home and a little later \$6,700 to apply on a Girls' Home.²

This was the beginning of a work that was carried on for about a decade with great success. As a rule about half of each week-day was devoted to school work proper and the other half to various industrial exercises suited to boys and girls respectively. The age of the Indian pupils usually varied from about twelve to eighteen years.

The following excerpt from a report of 1885 by Benjamin S. Coppock, then at the head of the school work in the Institute, indicates the type of work done in and out of school by the boys and girls: "There has been a general spirit of contentment among the pupils, and they have easily adapted themselves to the methods of work, manners and habits of life at the Institute. We find that they yield to authority,

² Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1882, p. 51; same, 1883, pp. 19, 53; same, 1884, pp. 23, 26.

to the influence of others, and to religious motives with readiness. They would make good citizens in a good community, or bad citizens in a drunken, wicked neighborhood. With the general knowledge of farming and house-keeping they now have, many of them would make desirable help in good farmers' families, and with proper surroundings and encouragement they will develop into useful men and women. They need to have developed in them a love of home, a love of property, a love of life, and respect for woman. They show powers of perseverance and of endurance in labor. During the winter the chores about so large a home and farm as we have here involve a good deal of work. The boys are taught in sections of four each, and rotate through seven divisions of work, changing every two weeks. They have been through each division several times, and now many of them are quite prompt and reliable. During the farming season the boys have been employed in all the various operations of a large stock-raising farm, with field crops and gardening in addition, so that they now prepare to take responsibility, and do many kinds of work. Habits of business and economy have been instilled, and efforts made to give them an appreciation of the values of time, of labor, of money, and of clothing, and there is nothing in which they have taken greater interest or made better progress than in this much-needed part of their education. Three of the boys are now working for us as carpenters, and, under direction, perform as much work daily as white mechanics would do. The girls have been divided into seven sections, and are trained in as many divisions of work, which include all the details of house-keeping. They have

shown earnestness, and in several departments proficiency. Several of them have learned to make and bake bread and pies, to cook a plain meal, to care for milk and cream, and to make butter. Some of them can cut and make dresses; a number sew by hand and with a machine. They have some knowledge of all the details of laundry work and general house-keeping. In school they equal or excel white children in writing, drawing, geography, history and in reading as far as the Third Reader. In advanced reading and Arithmetic they fall behind. I think their strong points are observation, imitation, and memory. They are weak in reasoning. . . .

“We have daily family collection and school collection, each accompanied with reading of the Bible, and a semi-weekly study of the Bible, with recital of texts. We have a weekly Bible school and a meeting. There have been several requests from children for special prayer meetings. A considerable number have requested prayer for themselves. Several have taken part in the meetings.”³

Such in general was the type of work carried on throughout the period. The religious side was strongly emphasized in the daily routine and in special evangelistic meetings occasionally held. There were many professed conversions to Christianity among the Indian children and many of them exhibited to a high degree the cardinal Christian virtues.

Oliver H. Bales and his wife Martha acted as Superintendent and Matron respectively throughout the period. Benjamin S. Coppock was Principal of the school during the early years and was succeeded in

³ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1885, pp. 20-21.

the later period by Marcus L. Pearson. In 1883 there were 27 Indian children and 24 whites in the Institute but the number of white children dwindled to almost nothing in a few years while the Indians numbered from 60 to 75 during most of the period. For these children the government paid usually about \$167 each, per year, although this amount was reduced some years. The Philadelphia Indian Aid Association also supported from 6 to 10 Indian children at about the same rate of payment for several years. The Associated Executive Committee aided financially and in every possible way throughout the period. Members of the Committee frequently visited the Institute to advise and encourage those in charge.

In the years following 1890 many Friends connected with the Institute and with the Associated Executive Committee began to feel that the basis of the work was not satisfactory. It was felt to be unwise to carry on a work under denominational auspices by the use of government funds. It was also evident that a proper standard of training could not be maintained with the amount of money which the government paid for the Indian children. As a result most of the sixty-six Indians in attendance during the year 1894-1895 were sent back to their homes at the close of the school year, others were transferred to various government schools, and one to Earlham College. So the work of White's Indiana Institute as a distinctive Indian school came to a close.⁴

During part of the same period White's Iowa Institute was also used as a training school for Indian children. Benjamin and Elizabeth B. Miles, who

⁴ Indiana Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1895, p. 15.

were engaged for some years in government service among the Osages of the Central Superintendency, later opened a Training School for Indian children at West Branch, Iowa.

As the number of Indian pupils increased rapidly the premises of White's Iowa Institute were leased and the school was continued at the latter place from 1883 to 1887. In the latter year the main building of the Institute was destroyed by fire. Effort was made to provide means for continuing the work but the government promptly withdrew the Indian children and Benjamin and Elizabeth Miles retired from the Indian service after long years of successful labor.

The type of work done at the Iowa Institute was similar to that done in Indiana. The students devoted about half of each day to school work and the other half to industrial pursuits. The boys learned to work about the farm, caring for stock and crops, while the girls helped with the house work and learned by practice the ordinary domestic arts. The following extract from the report of 1884 makes clear the type of life and training experienced by the pupils in the school.

“In the industrial department the girls whose ages range from seven to eighteen years of age have done, under caretakers, a large part of the work in the kitchen, dining-room, laundry, dormitories and sweeping and cleaning the different apartments of the house, and have assisted in making clothing for both boys and girls. During the last two months two full-blooded Indian girls have had the entire charge of yeast and breadmaking for both officers and children. And two other school children, one an Indian, the

other a mixed blood, have had the care of the dairy work, including butter making, etc. The boys and girls do the milking of from twelve to fifteen cows. The boys have assisted in all the variety of garden and farm work; besides, they are learning the routine of work at the barn and care of stock. The children yield readily to training and discipline and are orderly in their deportment, and many of them listen with attention and we believe are imbibing the simple truths of the Gospel. Some have made an open profession and are entering into deeper experience of religious knowledge, and are living prayerful and consistent lives therewith.”⁵

All who knew the school at the time remarked about the strong religious influences there and the splendid results in the lives of the pupils. One of the results was that a large number of the Indian children made application for and were received into membership with Friends.

The tuition of the Indian pupils was paid by the government as in the case of those sent to the Indiana Institute and as the amount was always insufficient aid was given by the Associated Executive Committee, the Women’s Indian Aid Society of Philadelphia, and various interested Friends. While the Indian work at the Indiana Institute was under the auspices of the Trustees of the Institute, and the Associated Executive Committee, that in Iowa was undertaken by Benjamin and Elizabeth Miles on their own responsibility. They provided the plant at West Branch with their own funds and later leased the buildings of White’s Institute in their own names.

⁵ Iowa Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1884, p. 23.

The splendid results are to be credited largely to their faith and devotion.⁶

THE EASTERN CHEROKEES.

Contemporary with the Indian work at the two White's Institutes was the work carried on by Friends of Western Yearly Meeting, Indiana, with some help from North Carolina Friends and others, for the Eastern Cherokees living in the southwestern part of North Carolina. When the main body of Cherokees was removed to the Indian Territory (1838-1839) a considerable number of the Eastern Cherokees refused to leave their old home. Seeking the almost impenetrable fastnesses of their native mountains they defied pursuit and finally received permission from the government to remain.

About 1880 some Friends residing at Maryville, Tennessee, became interested in these Indians and brought their needs to the attention of Friends of North Carolina and Western Yearly Meetings. As a result Barnabas C. Hobbs, of Indiana, was sent by Friends of Western Yearly Meeting to investigate the situation of these Indians. He conferred with Dr. I. D. Garner and others of Maryville, Tennessee, visited and met in council the Indians and at Washington had audience with President Garfield and the Secretary of the Interior. The outcome was that Friends entered into an arrangement with the government to open schools among the Eastern Cherokees.

⁶ In compiling the above, use has been made of the account in L. T. Jones, *The Quakers in Iowa*, pp. 224-226; also of a MS. book of memoirs written by Elizabeth Miles and loaned to the author by her daughter Mary E. Morrison.

The support of the work was to come from certain funds held by the government for these Indians and other money that Congress might appropriate, supplemented by such funds as Friends might feel led to give to aid in the successful prosecution of the work.⁷

In accordance with this plan Thomas C. Brown and wife were engaged to take general charge of the work and they arrived in the field in the latter part of October, 1881. Four day schools had already been opened among the Indians and a fifth was added early in the winter. Aside from acting as general superintendent of the schools Thomas C. Brown engaged in religious work among the Indians, holding meetings and organizing Bible Schools in various places.

At the beginning of the work two Indian children who wished to become teachers and therefore needed higher training than that offered in the day schools were taken to a Normal School under Friends' care at Maryville, Tennessee. In connection with this it was clearly seen that one higher school should be provided among the Indians.

The opportunity to meet this need came in 1883 when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs offered to support twenty Indian girls in such a school if Friends would open one. The board and tuition of these girls were to be paid for by the government at the rate of \$167 each as in the case of those sent to the White's Institutes of Indiana and Iowa. An appropriation from the Indian fund was also made to erect an addition to the main building at Cherokee to provide dormitory room for the new scholars. Bar-

⁷ Western Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1881, pp. 41-43.

nabas Hobbs, who acted as general agent for the Committee of Western Yearly Meeting, again went to North Carolina and made all arrangements for the erection of the new building and the opening of the boarding school.

Thus was inaugurated a work among the Eastern Cherokees that was to be carried on by Friends for more than a decade with most encouraging results. After the Boarding School had been in operation for one year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs added twenty boys to the enrollment, and Congress appropriated funds for a boys' dormitory and other school facilities. In 1888 the number of boarding scholars was doubled again and the next year reached the maximum of 89. During most of the period the enrollment in the five day schools, apart from the boarding school, ran well over 200, so that about 300 Indian children were usually under the care of Friends for school instruction.

Greatest interest centered in the boarding school at Cherokee because there the children could be influenced more thoroughly than in the schools which they attended only during school hours. The routine of study and work in the boarding school was arranged to give intellectual training, practice in domestic and industrial pursuits, and religious instruction. The girls were trained in all branches of domestic industry with special practice in cutting and fitting clothes. The boys were employed outside of school hours in garden and field work, cultivating fruit trees, fence and road making, care of live-stock, and the making of shoes.

Every evening the school assembled for Bible read-

ing, song and prayer. On Sundays Bible lessons were given and a meeting for worship held.

The Indian children were easily governed and very affectionate. They were industrious and obedient and always seemed contented and happy. Many of them yielded to the Christian influences thrown about them and seemed to be genuinely converted to Christianity.⁸

As in so many other instances the way of Friends in this piece of work was not always smooth. There were petty jealousies and suspicions to be overcome among the Indians. There were white people in the vicinity who coveted the government positions and funds available for the work. This opposition became so active about 1885 that Barnabas Hobbs found it necessary to go to Washington to meet charges that were preferred against Friends' management of their trust. About 1890 similar difficulties arose again and in addition a misunderstanding arose with Henry W. Spray who had been Superintendent of the Boarding School since 1884. With the various difficulties hampering the work it seemed best to Friends to withdraw from the field. An arrangement was made for the government to repay Friends a portion of the money that had been expended by them in buildings and other improvements and in the fall of 1892 the premises of the boarding school were handed over to the government.⁹

Thus ended the decade of work done by Friends for the Eastern Cherokees. It was a difficult piece of work, it met many obstacles throughout the period, and came to a close under unfortunate circumstances.

⁸ Western Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1888, pp. 61-62.

⁹ *Same*, 1892, p. 71; 1893, p. 75.

Yet as in many similar instances Friends did their work faithfully and well while "the way was open." When the way closed they withdrew quietly and turned their minds and hands to other fields of Indian service. Yet the results obtained in the lives of many Indian children who were trained in the Friends' schools made it seem that the labor and care and money expended had been well invested.¹⁰

SOUTHEASTERN ALASKA.

The work among the Indians of Alaska, while classified as foreign mission work and not usually connected in people's minds with that among the tribes of the United States proper, is nevertheless a work among American Indians. The earlier missionary effort of Friends in this region was carried on in southeastern Alaska among the Indians of the Kuluschan linguistic stock, while the present work is among Eskimauan Indians in far northern Alaska.

The work in southeastern Alaska was established as the result of a "concern" that arose in the mind of Elwood W. Weesner, of Timbered Hills Monthly Meeting, Kansas, the same meeting from which Jeremiah Hubbard went out to his work in the Indian Territory.¹¹ This concern was laid before Kansas Yearly Meeting at its session of 1886 and was endorsed by the meeting. As a result Elwood Weesner, having William F. Bangham, of Ohio, associated with

¹⁰ An account by Barnabas C. Hobbs of the early years of the work for the Eastern Cherokees is to be found in Alice C. Fletcher, *Indian Education and Civilization*, pp. 686-688 (48 Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Exec. Doc. 95).

¹¹ Elwood Weesner accompanied Jeremiah Hubbard on some of his earliest journeys among the Indians.

him, settled at Douglas Island, Alaska, in the early summer of 1887.

Elwood Weesner soon made an arduous trip on foot to nearly all the camps and villages on the island in order to study the situation and needs of the natives. He found them all living in log or frame houses, and dressed in citizens' clothing. Usually two or three families lived in the same house. Many were filthy in their habits but some were of cleanly dress and intelligent countenance. There were many orphan children who were in great need, the girls often being sold into lives of abuse and shame while yet at a very tender age. These and the natives generally needed protection from a rough element of whites who were coming upon the island in large numbers on account of the recent discovery of rich gold deposits in the vicinity

The two Friends lost no time in beginning a work of Christian ministrations and teaching that was destined to continue under the care of Friends for twenty-five years and then be passed on to other faithful hands.

Elwood Weesner and William Bangham lived for some weeks in a small rented cabin and then moved to a larger frame building in which they conducted a school with an average attendance of 18 scholars.¹²

The following year Silas and Anna Moon, who had been engaged formerly in work among the Indians of Oklahoma, entered the Alaska field at Douglas in association with Elwood Weesner and family. William F. Bangham at the same time returned to his home in Ohio.

¹² Kansas Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1887, pp. 54-55.

A new mission home was soon completed largely by the labor of Elwood Weesner and Silas Moon, who carried 2,000 feet of lumber nearly one-half mile and 100 logs about half that distance on their shoulders. Anna Moon conducted the school for the Indian children.

During the vacation period the Friends spent much time visiting among the natives, ministering to the sick,—talking, reading, and praying with them. One man about to die asked to be baptized and it was necessary to explain to him Friends' belief in the efficacy of a spiritual baptism alone. Several of the natives were aided by simple remedies given to them in their illness and were thus won to a confidence in the aims and message of the missionaries.

A Sunday School was opened with encouraging results, nearly 50 Indians being present at times. After the Sunday School a meeting for worship was held and in the evening a prayer meeting. The Indians responded to the message of the Gospel and at times, with tears streaming down their faces, would testify to God's goodness to them.¹³

The work of the following years was carried on largely along the lines thus laid down by the pioneer missionaries in the field. The school work was looked upon as one of the most important labors because it would influence permanently the rising generation. For many years the government paid a salary to the Friend who taught the school, and thus the task of financing the mission was lightened. For a long period several Indian children were boarded in the mission home where they could have the special care

¹³ Kansas Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1888, pp. 28-33.

of those whose lives were devoted to their physical and spiritual nurture. Aside from the work of the school at Douglas, Friends were instrumental in having many of the Indian children placed in government or in Friends' schools in the home land.

The purely religious work prospered greatly as the years passed and in 1894 a Friends' meeting of 42 members was organized at Douglas and this membership was largely increased in the following years. One of the most encouraging results of the religious efforts was the development of several efficient native workers who helped greatly in spreading the Gospel message among their own people.

As the years passed the religious work developed both extensively and intensively. A mission launch was provided and the workers were thus enabled to visit various outlying settlements and go to the help of needy Indians in isolated places. At the same time the religious work in and about Douglas City became more varied and interesting. A view of the work in the later years is contained in the following excerpt from the report of 1907: "Annis Peebles continued visiting native homes, teaching the older people to read in primers, Bibles and hymn-books; also taking turns with leaders from other churches in conducting meetings for native women on alternate weeks along the plan of the W. C. T. U. with pledge signing and discussion of how to uplift womanhood, better society, protect the homes, and kindred subjects. She also holds weekly meetings for the children, teaching Bible lessons and temperance facts, following the plan of Junior C. E. Societies. She also superintends the

native Sunday School, and through an interpreter teaches the entire school in one class."¹⁴

Aside from the work on Douglas Island the other station maintained by Friends in southeastern Alaska was among the Kake Indians on Kupreanoff Island about 100 miles south of Douglas.

Friends of Oregon, especially those at Newberg, had been interested in the work at Douglas from its early years and had often given aid to it. In 1892 they had sent Frances E. Leiter of Kansas to take up the work of field matron on Douglas Island. So it came about that soon after Oregon Yearly Meeting was organized (1893) the way opened for Friends of the new Yearly Meeting to start a separate mission at Kake village.

The attention of Friends was especially directed to Kupreanoff Island by the martyrdom there of Charles H. Edwards. He was a young Friend who had been for a time Principal of Hesper Academy, Kansas. He went to Douglas, Alaska, in 1889 under appointment of the Committee of Kansas Yearly Meeting and did splendid work teaching and preaching.

In the fall of 1891 he took a position under the government to teach a school among the Kake Indians on Kupreanoff Island. In the following January he

¹⁴ Kansas Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1907, p. 39.—It is impossible in this brief sketch even to mention the names of all the faithful workers who labored on Douglas Island. Especially notable in the capacity of Superintendents were Silas and Anna Moon, Dr. James E. Connett, Charles and Mary Repogle, Samuel A. and Lula Jackson, and J. Perry and Martha Hadley. Among the other workers were Charles H. Edwards, Frances E. Leiter, Sibyl J. Hansen, Jennie Lawrence, Mida Lawrence, Annis Peebles, and for a short time Josiah Dillon. Dr. W. V. Coffin, Francis A. Wright, and others, made helpful visits to the mission field.

attempted to prevent two white men from bringing liquor illicitly upon the island to sell to the Indians and one of the men shot him.¹⁵

Stirred by the martyrdom of Charles Edwards, Friends of Oregon Yearly Meeting decided to carry on the work begun by him among the Kake Indians. As a result Silas and Anna Moon and Frances E. Leiter, who had previously been engaged in the work at Douglas, went to Kake village in 1894 and began a similar work among the Indians there.

They found the Kake Indians in a very low state of civilization, and in dire need of physical as well as spiritual help. To these needs the missionaries set themselves to minister in ways similar to those that had proved effective on Douglas Island. A day school was opened for the Indian children, a meeting for worship, Sunday School and prayer-meetings were regularly held, and as opportunity offered the Indians were visited and helped in their homes. Soon they began to respond to the Gospel message and many became members of the Society of Friends.

As the years passed these labors of love began to tell unmistakably in the general advancement of the natives. After Silas and Anna Moon had been laboring on the island for ten years the progress of the Indians had been so marked that the Foreign Missionary Board of Oregon Yearly Meeting could report as follows: "The object lesson of a well conducted Chris-

¹⁵ Charles Edwards did not live to tell his version of the shooting but apparently he tried to arrest the two smugglers although having no legal warrant for such procedure. Therefore on their own testimony, confirmed by that of the natives, the murderers escaped punishment on a plea of self-defense.—*Friends' Review*, 45 (1892): 477-478, 508-509, 526.

tian home is a powerful factor in successful missionary enterprises. Ten years ago only one house on the island had windows, and the glass was mostly broken in them; a few had lanterns—no stoves, no chairs, no bed-steads, no sewing machines. Now many homes possess these and sundry other comforts. A most laudable desire is begotten in the hearts of many to have little homes of their own, with a small garden and a few domestic animals, such as cows and chickens. . . . The neat, white cottage of the missionaries, the garden and small orchard of apple and cherry trees, with their beautiful bloom, are silent but powerful influences for good—a practical lesson in good citizenship.”¹⁶

The close of the work of Friends in southeastern Alaska was brought about through a general reorganization of a large part of the mission work of American Friends. For some years under the devoted and efficient leadership of its General Secretary, Charles E. Tebbetts, The American Friends' Board of Foreign Missions, of the Five Years' Meeting, endeavored to get the various yearly meetings to place their foreign missionary work under the care of the Board. Two of the great objects in view were, first to centralize and unify the missionary efforts of Friends, and second to bring these efforts into har-

¹⁶ Oregon Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1904, p. 13.—Except for an occasional short visit to the states Silas and Anna Moon served for about twelve years among the Kake Indians. Among other workers who served on the island were Frances Leiter, Anna Hunnicutt (later Foster), Lizzie Morris (later Gooden), Harlan and Melinda Smith, Anna Bell Gardner, Jay Mills, Levert Bray, Calva and Frankie Martin. Alpheus and Seth Mills and other Friends made helpful visits to the mission.

monious coöperation with the work of other evangelical denominations.

As the work for the Alaska Indians was classed as foreign mission work, it was directly affected when the yearly meetings in charge of it placed their work under the care of the American Board. During the years 1909 and 1910 the foreign mission work of Kansas and Oregon Yearly Meetings was placed under the care of the American Board and a joint Field Committee composed of members of the two yearly meetings was appointed to have the immediate direction of the missions at Douglas and Kake. Since the Oregon Friends were so much nearer to the field of operations it was decided that they should bear the chief burdens of administering the work at the missions, although Kansas Friends would continue their financial support.¹⁷

The work of Friends in southeastern Alaska was however drawing to a close. With the missions under the general oversight of the American Friends' Board it was inevitable that more regard should be paid to a proper apoprtionment of the mission field among the various denominations. Viewed from this standpoint it seemed clear that the field in the vicinity of Douglas and Kake would be better served by the Presbyterians. They had preceded Friends in the mission work of southeastern Alaska, and their missions were more

¹⁷ Kansas Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1908, p. 30; 1909, p. 34. Oregon Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1909, pp. 24-27; 1910, p. 25.—It should be stated that for some years Wilmington Yearly Meeting aided financially in support of the work at Douglas, and many individual Friends of eastern yearly meetings contributed. A part of the work at Kake village was supported for a short time by the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor of California Yearly Meeting.

extensive and better equipped for educational and religious work than those of Friends. Consequently it was decided by Kansas and Oregon Yearly Meetings in 1911 to hand over their work to the Presbyterian Board and during the following months this transfer was accomplished. Thus the missions of Friends among the Indians of southeastern Alaska passed for further care and development into other devoted hands.

NORTHERN ALASKA.

The missions established and still maintained by California Yearly Meeting in northern Alaska are a direct outgrowth of the work so long maintained in southeastern Alaska by Friends of Kansas and Oregon.

Kotzebue Sound lies more than a thousand miles in a direct line northwest of Douglas Island and much farther than that by the roundabout boat passage. In the fall of 1896 two Eskimo Indian men came from this far northern point to the Friends' mission at Douglas seeking for a missionary who would settle among them and teach them the way of light. Their people had heard something of the Gospel story through missions at other places in the north land, and Dr. Sheldon Jackson of the Presbyterian Church had told them on a recent visit to their settlement that perhaps the Friends could send a missionary to them. So the two men had been sent on their far quest. Since it was too late in the fall to hope for a passing vessel in the northern waters the men had made the first stage of their journey, about 250 miles, in an open canoe. Arrived at Cape Prince of Wales they

took passage in a boat for Sitka and after many delays and perplexities arrived at the Friends' mission on Douglas Island and made their plea to Charles Replogle who was in charge there. He and Anna Hunnicutt, who was also located at Douglas, took the opening very much upon their hearts and each in turn journeyed to California to lay the matter before Friends there.

As a result of this unique call to a new field of service Anna Hunnicutt (later Foster) and Robert and Carrie Samms were sent northward in the early summer of 1897 to carry the Gospel message to those who had sought it so diligently. After a stormy voyage of six weeks they landed upon the open, wind-swept shores of Cape Blossom and there, almost under the Arctic Circle, began the great missionary enterprise still maintained by Friends of California Yearly Meeting.

The details of how the work was founded and how it developed cannot be given in this brief sketch. The hardships of the early years, the sacrifices at home and in the field were truly heroic. Gradually new opportunities came to open other stations at various places on the open shore or up the rivers that empty into Kotzebue Sound. In 1898 there was a great influx of miners and this brought new problems and new opportunities for service. As the years have passed Friends have served as missionaries or teachers at Kotzebue, Deering, Noatuk, Kivalina, Oksik, Shungnak, Selawik, and Buckland. Meetings have been established at six of these places.

The hardships often suffered by the missionaries at these far northern stations are unique in the history

of Friends' work for the American Indians. The story of the work and suffering of Alfred and Priscilla Walton at Kivalina is typical. Their station was 100 miles northwest of Kotzebue, away in the Arctic night. On one occasion their supplies ran low and no medical help was at hand when a little child was born to them. The other children were crying for food and for days the wife was in a delirium. At last she revived somewhat and, as the ice had formed sufficient for travel, Alfred Walton made the journey with dogs and sledge through the Arctic night 160 miles and back, to procure food and other supplies for the suffering family. Then after a few months the angel of death visited them and the little child was taken away. So far from home and friends, away from the sunshine and flowers, their burden of grief was indeed heavy as they placed the body in the cold, frozen ground. Yet in the darkness and loneliness of their surroundings the mother could write that the light of God broke in upon their sorrow, and they could see their little one in the sunshine of His presence, "the first sunshine the little darling had ever seen."¹⁸

Yet the labor and sacrifice and suffering have not been in vain. The Eskimos of the Kotzebue region when Friends first went among them lived largely on the products of hunting and fishing. They moved up and down the coast-lines and rivers establishing temporary camps and living in igloos, several families together. These conditions have been largely changed by the work of the missionaries and the government. The settlements are larger and more permanent. Comfortable houses have been built with many modern im-

¹⁸ California Y. M. printed *Minutes*, 1908, pp. 77-78.

provements. The Eskimos are able to trade their reindeer meat, hides, furs and fish at the stores for canned goods, dried fruit, flour, and house-furnishings.¹⁹ As a result of this more settled life the government is now helping to establish the Eskimos of the region in a few well-planned, well-located, model villages, and Friends are having an important part in carrying out this plan.

In a religious way the results of the missionary work have been hardly short of marvelous. There has been practically a transformation of the whole people. Many of the natives have become earnest consistent Christians and effective religious workers. They superintend Bible Schools, teach classes, and hold various church offices. Out of a population of about 1,400 there are 679 believing church members enrolled in four organized Monthly Meetings. There are five church buildings, six mission homes, and one hospital.

Such in brief statement are the results of 19 years of labor among the Eskimos of the Kotzebue Sound region. They sat in darkness but they found the light when they sought it. They lived in ignorance and degradation. They are to-day a hopeful, progressive, redeemed people. The story of the work done among them is one of the finest chapters in the history of Friends' Indian missions.²⁰

¹⁹ The government has aided in establishing reindeer herds as a live-stock industry.

²⁰ This sketch is based largely upon the pamphlet entitled *Mission Work of California Friends*, issued by the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions, Richmond, Ind., 1912; and articles by Benjamin S. Coppock and Rhoda M. Hare in the *Friends' Missionary Advocate*, August, 1916. The *Minutes* of California

VARIOUS ACTIVITIES.

Aside from the missionary activities thus far recounted Friends have been connected with various organizations for the uplift of the Indians.

The Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia was organized in 1882 and has done splendid service in securing beneficial legislation and improved administration for the Indian service.²¹

Friends have been prominently connected with this organization from the time it was established.

At the present time (1917) seven Friends are members of the Board of Directors and Samuel M. Brosius, a Friend, is the Agent of the Association at the seat of government in Washington, D. C.

Since 1883 the Mohonk Indian Conferences have brought together annually many philanthropic people for the discussion of Indian problems and the promotion of Indian welfare.

These conferences were originated by a Friend, Albert K. Smiley, who was a member of the United

Yearly Meeting have also been used. Interesting accounts of personal experiences are to be found in Charles Replogle, *Among the Indians of Alaska*. London. 1904.—Among those, not mentioned above, who have done missionary or teaching work in the Kotzebue region are the following: Martha E. Hadley (later Trueblood), Richard Glover, Dana and Otha Thomas, Bertha Cox (later King), William T. and Lizzie Gooden, James V. and Eva Geary, Eli and Minnie Myers, Herbert York and wife, Elmer Harnden and wife, Leslie Sickles and wife, Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin Newsome, Wilson H. and Lucy Cox, Rhoda M. Hare, Martha Hunnicutt, Milton and Margaret White, Elizabeth Stratton, Charles and May Replogle, Clinton S. and Nora Replogle, Ashugak Taber.

²¹ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 608-609. See also M. K. Sniffen, *Record of Thirty Years*. Drexel Bldg., Phila. 1913. Also *Annual Reports of Indian Rights Association*. Phila.

States Board of Indian Commissioners. At his hotel overlooking Lake Mohonk, New York, the members of the Conference became his personal guests for several days in the fall of each year.

Alfred H. Smiley, a brother of Albert K. Smiley, was for many years actively interested in the work of the Monhonk Conferences and since the decease of both men the work has been carried forward by their brother, Daniel Smiley.

The Mohonk Conferences have done much to facilitate the intelligent discussion of and agitation for desirable reforms in the Indian service.²²

Friends have been actively connected from the beginning with the work of the Northern California Indian Association which was organized in 1894. This association has done great service in promoting missionary and philanthropic work among the California Indians and in securing beneficial legislation from the federal government. One of its most important activities was the agitation that resulted in the purchase of lands by the government for the landless Indians of California.²³

Various individual Friends not mentioned in con-

²² Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1: 928-929. See also *Annual Reports of Lake Mohonk Indian Conferences*. Lake Mohonk, N. Y. Various pamphlets on the origin and objects of the Conference may be had by addressing The Indian Conference, Lake Mohonk, N. Y.

²³ Among the Friends who have taken an active part in the work of the Northern California Indian Assoc. may be mentioned Joel and Hannah E. Bean, James Bean, Augustus and Anna F. Taber, and Cornelia Taber. Pliny Earle Goddard and wife were for a time in charge of a mission among the Hupa Indians in northern California.—See Cornelia Taber, *California and Her Indian Children*. San José, Cal., 1911. Also *Annual Reports of the National Indian Association*, N. Y.

nection with any of the above activities have yet been engaged in some form of Indian service.

Guion Miller, an attorney of Washington, D. C., was for many years a legal representative of the Seneca Indians and other New York tribes in pressing their claims upon the federal government. Aside from this he was on two occasions appointed a Special Agent by the government for the distribution of large sums of money granted to the Indians in response to their claims.

Philip C. Garrett, of Philadelphia, was for many years engaged in various activities for the help of the Indians. He was appointed by President Harrison on the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, was a Special Commissioner to the Seneca Indians in 1885, was at one time President of the Indian Rights Association, and was appointed Chairman of a special commission on the New York Indians.

At the present time George Vaux, Jr., of Philadelphia, Chairman of the United States Board of Indian Commissioners, is arduously engaged in directing the many beneficent activities of that body.

Many other Friends in various capacities have served the Indians in recent times and so have helped to carry on the old tradition of Quaker service for the native inhabitants of America.²⁴

²⁴ Among the members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting who have been much devoted to the religious welfare of the Indians in recent years may be mentioned Joseph S. Elkinton, George J. Scattergood, Zebedee Haines, and Joseph Elkinton, the two first named now deceased.—See *Selections from the Diary and Correspondence of Joseph S. Elkinton*. Phila., 1913.—At an earlier period Christopher Healy (died 1851) made several interesting religious pilgrimages among the Indians.—See *Memoir of Christopher Healy*. Phila., 1886.

ENGLISH FRIENDS.

A phase of this whole story that is worthy of recapitulation and special emphasis is the interest always shown by English Friends in the efforts to civilize and Christianize the American Indians.

As was recounted at the beginning of this volume, many of the earliest apostles of Quakerism that came from England to the American continent felt a deep "concern" to carry the Gospel message to the Indians. Josiah Coale, John Taylor, John Richardson, Thomas Story, and George Fox himself were in the van of a long line of English Friends reaching to the present time, who have come to America bearing a special message of peace and good-will to the natives of the country.

In time of crisis or of new opportunity English Friends have always come to the aid of the Indian work carried on by American Friends.

In the dark days following 1750 when the French and Indian War was approaching, Samuel Fothergill and other English Friends counseled and encouraged American Friends to preserve unsullied their ancient testimony of peace with the Indians, and John Hunt and Christopher Wilson brought over seas the official advice of London Yearly Meeting to the same effect.

When the new policy of establishing permanent mission stations among the Indian tribes was being worked out in the early years of the nineteenth century English Friends provided a fund of more than \$31,000 to help support the work, and later contributions were made for the same purpose by English and Irish Friends.²⁵

²⁵ See above, p. 139 and note.—English Friends also encouraged

Again when a great new field of opportunity for Friends was opened by President Grant in 1869 and as the subsequent missionary efforts of the Associated Executive Committee developed, the renewed interest of English Friends was manifested by the Indian pilgrimages of Stanley Pumphrey, Isaac Sharp, Henry Stanley Newman and his wife Mary Anna Newman, and Harriet Green.²⁶

Such has been the interest of English Friends in the American natives. There have been many common interests uniting English and American Friends at various times, some indeed for long periods, but perhaps no other single interest in a definite program of Christian effort has bound them together throughout the whole period of Quaker history as has the work for the American Indians.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

For more than two centuries and a half Friends have labored for the civilization and Christianization

Canadian Friends to help the Indians and some work was done by an Indian Committee of Pelham Quarterly Meeting. Aid was also extended in this case, as in others, by the Murray Fund, administered by New York Friends.—*Extracts from Minutes of London Yearly Meeting, 1858*, pp. 33-34. *Friends' Review, 19 (1865): 187-188.*

²⁶ For references to fuller details of the work of English Friends see Index.—London Yearly Meeting in 1845 established a Negro and Aborigine's Fund. This appears to have been primarily for the benefit of British subjects in the West Indies, New Zealand and elsewhere, but some help was extended to needy Indians in the United States and Canada.—Several English Friends, including William Allen, Josiah Forster, William Forster, S. Gurney, Jun., Joseph Pease, and the late Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, were prominent members of the Aborigines Protection Society, organized 1837 in England. This organization included the American Indians within the scope of its interests.—Notes by Norman Penney, Devonshire House, London.

of the Indians. It would be difficult, indeed impossible, to measure accurately the results. At the best progress has been slow, while at the worst there has always been some reward of effort.

For a period of seventy-five years in colonial history Friends lived at peace with the Indians and undoubtedly won a unique place in the hearts of their dusky friends.

In the later mission period thousands of Indians have received the Christian message as spoken and exemplified by missionaries of the Society of Friends, and as a result many a child of the forest has died with triumphant faith in the Gospel promises.

Throughout the whole period the Indians in various localities have been taught the arts, customs, and handicrafts of civilized life.

At the time of Grant's Peace Policy Friends succeeded in drawing from the war-path into settled pursuits and often into the Christian faith some of the most savage and bloodthirsty Indians of the western plains.

At the present time (1917) mission establishments are maintained in Oklahoma and Alaska and a boarding school at Tunesassa, New York.

Such has been the answer of Friends to the injunction of George Fox, their founder, which he sent in a message to America shortly before his death: "Let your light shine among the Indians . . . that ye may answer the truth in them, and bring them to the standard and ensign that God hath set up, Christ Jesus."

Or, in the picturesque imagery of Indian oratory, repeated around many a forest council fire, the long

line of Quaker apostles to the Indians have been bright links in the covenant chain of friendship that has bound Friends and the Indians together,—“a chain that will never rust nor break; but will remain bright and strong as long as the sun shines in the heavens.”

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

On account of the miscellaneous nature of the subjects covered in the above chapter a combined bibliography is not given. See footnotes in each section, especially notes 6, 10, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

It seemed best to give in a general note the location of the principal repositories of Quaker records. The records and libraries of yearly meetings not mentioned in this note can be located by addressing the central offices of Liberal and Orthodox Friends, as noted below under Philadelphia and Richmond respectively.

BALTIMORE

Liberal Friends. Manuscript records of Baltimore Yearly Meeting and Indian Committee are in vault of Meeting House, Park Avenue and Laurens Street. In the same Meeting House is a good collection of printed source materials and secondary works, including a nearly complete file of the printed *Minutes* of the Yearly Meeting since 1828.

Orthodox Friends. Manuscript records of Baltimore Yearly Meeting and Indian Committee in vault of Meeting House at Eutaw and Monument Streets. Some printed materials at same place.

BARNESVILLE, OHIO

Orthodox Friends, Conservative. In the vault of the Friends' Boarding School are the manuscript *Minutes* of Ohio Yearly Meeting, conservative branch.

GERMANTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

Orthodox Friends. The records and reports of the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs are kept in the vault of the Friends' Free Library.

GUILFORD COLLEGE, NORTH CAROLINA

Orthodox Friends. The manuscript *Minutes* of North Carolina Yearly Meeting and of various local meetings are in the vault of the college library.

HAVERFORD, PENNSYLVANIA

Orthodox Friends. In the library of Haverford College is a very large and valuable collection of printed materials on Quaker history. Among these are secondary works, files of Friends' periodicals, printed *Minutes* of Yearly Meetings and the William H. Jenks collection of Friends' tracts, mostly of the seventeenth century. There are also some manuscript materials.

LONDON, ENGLAND

In Devonshire House, 138 Bishopsgate, London, E. C., is the most extensive collection of manuscript and printed materials on Quaker history in existence. There is a large amount of material on the Indian work of American and English Friends.

NEW YORK

Liberal and Orthodox Friends. Manuscript *Minutes* of both New York Yearly Meetings and of Genessee Yearly Meeting (Liberal), also of Indian Committees and of Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, at 226 East Sixteenth Street. This is probably the most extensive collection of manuscript Quaker records in America.

OSKALOOSA, IOWA

Orthodox Friends. In the vault of Penn College are the manuscript *Minutes* of Iowa Yearly Meeting and in the college library is a collection of books on Quaker history.

PHILADELPHIA

Liberal Friends. Manuscript records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, some local meetings, and of the Indian Committee (incomplete) in vault of Meeting House, Fifteenth and Race Streets. Apply at Central Bureau, 150 North Fifteenth Street.

For information as to location of Liberal Yearly Meetings throughout America, address Advancement Committee of General Conference, 140 North Fifteenth Street.

Orthodox Friends. Manuscript records of Philadelphia Meeting and Indian Committee in vault of Meeting House, Fourth and Arch Streets.

At Friends' Book Store, 302 Arch Street, are to be found many publications dealing with the Indian work and other activities of Friends, especially of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

At 142 North Sixteenth Street, is a collection of manuscript records of various Quarterly and Monthly Meetings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The library at this place also contains a large number books on Quaker history.

(While, of course, the library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is not especially a repository of Quaker records, it may be mentioned in this connection as containing a very large collection of manuscript and printed materials on the activities of Friends in the early history of Pennsylvania.)

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

Orthodox Friends. The manuscript *Minutes* of New England Yearly Meeting are in the vault of Moses Brown School. In the library of the school are some printed materials, including a set of *Minutes* of the Yearly Meeting since 1847.

RICHMOND, INDIANA

Orthodox Friends. The manuscript *Minutes* of Indiana Yearly Meeting and of the Indian Committee (incomplete) are in the vault of the East Main Street Meeting House. There are also some secondary materials in the library of the Meeting House.

At Earlham College is a good collection of printed materials, including files of Friends' periodicals and printed *Minutes* of various Yearly Meetings.

For information as to location of Orthodox Yearly Meetings throughout America, address Central Office, Five Years' Meeting of Friends in America, Richmond, Indiana. The General Secretary (1917) is Dr. W. C. Woodward.

SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA

Liberal Friends. In the library of Swarthmore College is a valuable collection of books on Quaker history and files of the printed *Minutes* of various Yearly Meetings.

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