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Matthew Croswhite April 10, 2024

Pedagogies of Prejudice: The Role of Early American Colleges in the Replacement of Indigenous Languages and Ways of Being 1636-1900

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Abstract

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By Matthew Croswhite

In 2022, the United States Department of the Interior released Volume I of their investigative of the Federal Boarding Schools that operated across the country in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The report concludes that these schools were not, in fact, intentioned to educate Native peoples. Rather these schools focused on teaching Native peoples they were inferior to Americans, and this was done in the interest of facilitating land concessions to the United States by pushing Native peoples to reject their ways of being and their connections to their homelands because of this bigoted education. However, the federal boarding school system was neither the first iteration of Native education nor the first iteration to use education with hopes to dispossess Native peoples of land. This thesis explores the first three centuries of Native education in the land that is now the United States and concludes with a focused look at the era the DOI report examines. This thesis explores Native education in the Harvard Indian College, Dartmouth's precursor, the Moor's Indian Charity School, and a Quaker boarding school, Tunesassa, with connections to Haverford in context of Wampanoag, Mohegan, Seneca, and Onandaga peoples and their unique histories. This further prevents an intervention in the historiography that language suppression was at the center of Native education from its inception. This project contends that colonial early American colleges used Native education to suppress language to facilitate land concession.

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Introduction

In 2021, the United States Department of the Interior (DOI) published a report about Native boarding schools and their operation during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This report explained that boarding schools used education to initiate culture change to facilitate land concessions in the United States. The DOI's report concluded that "the Federal Indian boarding school system deployed militarized and identity-alteration methodologies to assimilate American Indian, Alaskan Native, and Native Hawaiian peoples – primarily children – through education."[1] However, the history of education's use to facilitate land concession begins well before the twentieth century.

In essence, the DOI's report investigated how education coerced students to reject their Native ways of being. For the purposes of this thesis, the term, "ways of being" refers to meta-ontological systems that privilege certain kinds of knowledge and in turn reflect the values and beliefs of both societies and individuals. In encounters between colonizers and Native peoples, the colonizers privileged their own European thought and lifestyles over Native knowledge and ways of being. Native peoples linked persons to their communities and languages, valued kinship and, significantly to this paper, crafted a worldview that tied Native communities to land in a holistic way, one that even privileged an interconnectedness between human and non-human entities.[2] For instance, Wampanoag people are featured in the first chapter of this thesis. One Wampanoag way of being centered life in relation to seasons. According to Nancy Elridge, a Nauset Wampanoag and Penobscot scholar, Wampanoag people shifted town locations

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[1] Bryan Newland, *Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report* (DC, DC: Office of the Secretary, 2022), https://www.bia.gov/sites/default/files/dup/inline-files/bsi_investigative_report_may_2022_508.pdf, accessed April 9, 2024.

[2] Duane Champagne, "Centering Indigenous Nations within Indigenous Methodologies." *Wicazo Sa Review* 30, no 1 (2015): 57-81, especially 58.

seasonally. She acknowledges that in the past "[Wampanoag people lived] in the forests and valleys during the winter. During the summer, spring and fall, [they] moved to the rivers, ponds, and ocean to plant crops, fish, and gather food from the forests."[3] This is a unique way of life practiced among the Wampanoag people that was very different from the permanent settlement styles the colonial occupants wanted to force onto Native peoples. It is because Native ways of being were often so vastly different from European practices that the colonizers built schools both to facilitate culture change and dehumanize Native peoples as a tactic to entice them to accept subordination. Native scholar Waziyatawin Angela Wilson writes, "[T]he process of colonization required the complete subjection of our minds and spirits so that our lands and resources could be robbed from underneath our bodies."[4] In this sense, Native students in this thesis were often punished for speaking their own languages and for practicing their own ways of being.

Though many ways of being were devalued in schools across education's history, languages were the primary target of Native education. Because the goal of education was to facilitate land concessions, schools aimed to alter Native peoples' relationships with each other and their homelands. In many Native cultures, "[Native languages] are derived from the land. It is the [languages] of the land that make [Native peoples] live in harmony with nature," and so the explicit devaluing of Native languages occurred as a tactic to dehumanize Native peoples.[5] What this means is that Native languages are a method of understanding the land and embed within

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[3] Nancy Elridge. "Who are the Wampanoag?" *Plimoth Patuxet. Museums.* https://plimoth.org/for-students/homework-help/who-are-thewampanoag#:~:text=We%20were%20seasonal%20people%20living,live%20as%20our%20ancestors%20did.

[4] Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, "Indigenous Knowledge Recovery is Indigenous Empowerment," *American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 3 & 4 (2004): 360.

[5] Thecla Neganegijig; Mary Breunig, "Native Language Education: An Inquiry Into What Is and What Could Be," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 30 no. 2 (2007): 305-321, https://ojs.library.ubc.ca/index.php/CJNE/article/view/196417/191666, accessed April 9, 2024, 308.

them Native ways of being. Native languages use words which encode "value [systems] and how [Native peoples] ought to live and relate to each other," and therefore the teaching of English and devaluing of Native languages in early education urged Native students to reject their languages and the rich connections to land those languages embed and accept English language and culture.[6]

European colonists established the system of higher education in the American colonies in the mid-17th century. Many of the faculty at the earliest schools of what is now considered the American intellectual lineage of higher education antagonized Native identity by reproducing European ways of being on Native lands. Across the centuries since the first boarding schools and colleges began operating, countless institutions have reproduced pedagogies to spread European ideas into Native communities and silence Native voices in the process. In some instances, these attempts were oblique, deploying subtle hierarchies in curriculums while other institutions were themselves dedicated to dismissing all alternative forms of knowledge that did not match European belief structures. This thesis explores one major educational institution in each of three specific time periods, in the 17th, 18th, and late 19th centuries. They are chosen as representational examples of what went on in other schools offering Native instruction. These three institutions are: Harvard and its Indian College in the 1650s; Dartmouth College's predecessor, the Moor's Indian Academy, in the 1760s; and the Quaker run Boarding School, Tunesassa, with connections to Haverford College in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Personal Background

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[6] Heather Macfarlane, "Beyond the Divide: The Use of Native Languages in Anglo-and Franco-Indigenous Theatre," *Studies in Canadian Literatur/Études en littérature* canadienne 35, no. 2 (2010): 95–109, https://www.erudit.org/en/journals/scl/2010-v35-n2-scl35_2/scl35_2art06.pdf, accessed April 9, 2024, 98.
As a digressive sidenote, Native languages also encode Native peoples' knowledges regarding religion, gender, relationality, and essentially all aspects of nations' unique cultures and worldviews. However, those connections are beyond the scope of this these though recognized and respected. There is well enough room

I first became interested in the topic of European thought reproduction in my second year of college when I took Dr. Malinda Maynor-Lowery's course, "Legal History of Native Peoples". In this class, we covered topics of sovereignty and tensions between Native nations and the United States. One piece of legislation caught my attention. This were the Dawes Act of 1887. The legistation had direct impacts on the nature of Native education in America.

The Dawes Act attempted to sever Native peoples from their tribal associations. Earlier policies had focused on removal of Native populations and produced violent encounters. The Dawes policy sought to break up tribal lands into small parcel with the intent of awarding individual Native persons land allotments on which they were encouraged to farm. This allotment of Native land meant thrusting American notions of private property onto Native peoples. The United States government thus hoped to speed up the transformation of tribal peoples into individual farmers, practicing a worldview closer to what colonizers valued even though the land allocated was not always arable land, and in many cases, Native peoples did not have the economic means to purchase the tools required to farm.[7] Accompanying this act was an increase in Native schools, boarding schools, and educational programs antagonistic to Native ways of being, many of which deployed violent tactics like abduction to spread their influence.[8]

Studying the Dawes Act and others explorations performed in Dr. Lowery's class planted the seeds of questions in me about how universities, and specifically Native schools, came to be. The summer after my sophomore year, I attended Middlebury College's Summer Language School for Western Abenaki, an Algonquian dialect. Throughout my session at Middlebury, Jesse Bruchac, a Nulhegan Abenaki Citizen, the director of the program often remarked on the irony of

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[7] Christina Snyder, *Great Crossings: Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in the Age of Jackson* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 126. "The Dawes Act 1887," *National Archives*, Milestone Documents. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act, accessed April 5, 2024.

[8] Snyder, 126.

conducting language reclamation within the academy.[9] These exposures to incendiary interactions between colonial education and Native peoples stuck with me and led to the questions that form the backbone of this thesis. My language training also provided a curiosity about language that influenced questions I attempt to answer in this thesis. These questions are: 1) How did early American colleges interact with Native languages? 2) How central to early American colleges was language instruction? And, 3) What were the experiences of Native students in Early American colleges?

To further the research for the project, in the summer after my junior year I pursued archival research in Pennsylvania. Most notably I worked at the Haverford College Library with the Quaker Special Collections using the Native American Research Guide. I also worked in Philadelphia at the America Philosophical Society. Much of the research for the project, especially in terms of the histories of the Harvard Indian School and Moor's Indian Academy was available online. All of my research covering the period 2022-2024 was generously supported with funding from Emory University. These awards include the Loren and Gail Starr Award in Experiential Learning, the Theodore Jack Award for summer research, the James L. Roark Prize for research in American history, and the Bell I. Wiley Prize for summer research in history. The History Department at Emory University funded all of these awards, and I am profoundly grateful and humbled by such tremendous support. I was also funded in my senior year with an Undergraduate Humanities Honors Fellowship from Emory's Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry.

Chapter Layout

[9] "Jesse Bowman Bruchac," Middlebury.edu, https://www.middlebury.edu/language-schools/people/jesse-bowman-bruchac.

This Thesis is structured to explore the early eras of Native Education in the American Colonies and later in the United States. This thesis periodizes Native education based on centuries before and during the 18th century which the DOI report examines to explore how the role of Native education to facilitate land concession have roots that predate the first boarding schools in the 18th century. Each chapter investigates a specific school and specific students of different Nations with unique histories from one another. The first chapter looks at the Harvard Indian College and Wampanoag students who spoke Wampanoag, an Algonquian dialect. The second chapter examines the Moor's Indian Charity School, Dartmouth's precursor, and Mohegan students who spoke Mohegan-Pequot, an Algonquian dialect. The final chaper explores Tunesassa, a boarding school, with strong ties to Haverford college, and Seneca and Onandaga students who speek Iroquoian dialects. The nations examined in this thesis are unique with their own histories, world views, and interactions with colonizers. While it is not the aim of this thesis deeply explore these histories this thesis is still informed by National differences.

The first chapter of this thesis explores the Harvard Indian College (HIC) which began in 1654 specifically to educate Native peoples and exploit their language proficiencies.[10] This chapter builds on Native language texts printed by several Native students, Wampanoag men, Joel Iacoomes and James Printer, who attended the school and lent their Native language proficiencies in the translation and creation of new Native language missionary texts.[11] Harvard was a fresh ground of lingual diversity. Native students in the space of the HIC both learned English and taught their languages to their missionary peers so they could also preach to Native peoples; however, they did so within a complex language hierarchy.[12] The texts, I argue in this

[10] Lisa Tanya Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Phillip's War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 72-73.
[11] Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin*, 72, 84-87.
[12] Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin,* 102.

chapter, that were produced from HIC encoded colonial legal practices within them so that missionaries could deploy Native languages to spread their European religion and law systems among Native communities to assist in the process of colonization. This chapter uses these texts to build upon the historiography of language learning in colonial Massachusetts and Harvard. Notably, I rely on Lisa Brooks *Our Beloved Kin* to investigate languages at Harvard in the 1650s. Harvard is an important starting point for this thesis, for within the mythology of America, it is at the beginning of American higher education and became the model for all other schools.

The second chapter of this thesis examines Dartmouth's precursor, Moor's Indian Academy and one of its students, Aaron Occom, in the last decade before Dartmouth's chartering. In this chapter, I investigate the reduced space for Native languages in colonial institutions and how that reflects departures from the tactics of conversion and assimilation from the century prior. By the time Occom attended Moor's Indian Academy, the school's founder, Eleazer Wheelock had solidified his style of Native education and therefore, Occom's experience demonstrates both the tactics Wheelock practiced at Dartmouth's predecessor, and a Native student's direct response to those tactics. It also informs how important language was to the education and experiences of Native peoples at Moor's Indian Academy before Wheelock leveraged the school to establish Dartmouth College in 1769.[13] This chapter is influenced by Colin Calloway's monograph, *The Indian History of an American Institution* which serves as a historiographical guide. In addition, I used the letters and papers from the Occom Circle Online Archive maintained by Dartmouth College. Dartmouth's predecessor was chosen as the follow up to the Harvard example as it provides a century of change and continuity while also being the last pre-independence college founded with a charter that explicitly focused on Native education

[13] Colin G. Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth*, (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, University Press of New England, 2010), 32.

and holds a similar position to Harvard in the mythology of American education as an Ivy League school.[14]

The third and final chapter examines the Tunesassa Boarding School on the Senaca Nation Reservation of upstate New York. The boarding school had oblique yet real ties to Haverford College in Pennsylvania through one of the Quakers that oversaw the school, Jonathan Steere.[15] The chapter investigates the curriculum and expectations of Native students inside and outside of the classroom and explains that the space for Native languages was further reduced in the 19th and early 20th centuries. There is no single text which functions as the chapter's main inspiration, but Paula Palmer's article "The Quaker Indian Boarding Schools: Facing Our History and Ourselves," and Maurice Crandel's article, "Little Brother to Dartmouth Thetford Academy, Colonialism, and Dispossession," are deployed for context. Student papers from the archives at Haverford College become the main vehicle for analysis. This boarding school was chosen for the third chapter as it exemplifies the change in tactics of Native education the colonizers deployed to focus on youth education rather than adult education. Further, the school's institutional connection shows the far-reaching impact of American colleges. Taken together, the history of the Harvard Indian School, Moor's Indian Academy, and the Tunesassa Boarding School show three experiences in which colonizers developed specific pedagogies to diminish or destroy Native knowledge while Native students developed ways to retain and reassert their Native ways of being.

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[14] Calloway, *The Indian History of an American Institution*; Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Phillip's War*.

[15] Treasurer's vouchers. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838; Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

Further, significantly throughout this thesis, terms like "colonial," "colonial education," and "colonial thought," even regarding eras after American colonization is considered to have ended. These terms are notably used in "Chapter 3: Tunesassa Indian Charity School: Quaker Commitments and Resistance through Preservation 1850-1920" which focuses on a school that operated after the colonial period. This is because this thesis operates on the view that higher education reproduces tactics established at the dawn of higher education. So, these terms are meant to reflect continuity in tactics and thought pushed on students.

Statement

Devon Mihesuah and Angela Wilson argue in the *Indigenizing Academy*: *Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* that colleges in the United States are founded on ideas of replacement and reproduction. This thesis is guided by Mihesuah and Wilson's insight and examines three institutions that are emblematic of Native education across several centuries and offer a lens into understanding the process of language replacement in early American education.[16] Though Native students' experiences in education have been studied extensively before, language has not yet been the main subject of analysis. This thesis centers Native languages in early American education and argues that across the over 300 years of higher education in America history, language itself was the central force motivating Native education. This project examines how English colonizers exploited Native language proficiencies to further European acculturation among Native peoples. It also attempts to tell the story of how Native students were motivated to enter education for the language skills education provided but at the same time founds ways in their everyday lives to preserve their Native ways of being. Unlike prior scholars who locate language suppression as part of the tactics and purpose of early

[16] Devon Mihesuah, Angela Wilson, *Indigenizing the Academy Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 191.

American higher education, the ultimate intervention of this work argues that language suppression was the main purpose of early American higher education.[17] I remain aware that I am a non-Indigenous person working in the archives, looking for scattered documents that provide insight into how Native peoples asserted Native agency.[18] Finally, I wish to thank my advisor, Dr. Malinda Maynor-Lowery, and my thesis committee members, Dr. Jonathan Prude and Dr. Katrina Dickson for their help, constructive insight and criticism, and especially their encouragement which greatly influenced and grounded the production of this thesis.

[17] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*;
[18] Steven Antonellos and Jayne Rantall, "Indigenous History: A Conversation," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, 36, no. 2 (2017): 115-128, especially, 117-118.

Chapter 1: Godly Texts and Earthly Laws: How Missionary Texts Produced by the Harvard Indian College Under John Eliot Contributed to Culture Change, 1629-1690

In the seventeenth century colonists of the Massachusetts Bay Colony hungered for land and sought to dispossess Native peoples for the enrichment of themselves and the expansion of the colony. However, from the very beginning of English colonization, the difference in languages and ways of being between Native peoples and colonizers proved an impediment against the colonial desire to impose the European presence and thought on Native peoples and land. To this end, colonizers such as John Eliot (1604-1690), the founder of the Harvard Indian College and figure head of missionary work to Native peoples in Massachusetts, became proficient in Wampanoag and used it as an effective vehicle to expand the colonial presence. Eliot exploited Native labor and extended missionary work to Native peoples while producing Native language texts that suffused European legal practices into Native communities. These texts supported colonial mechanisms of dispossession and subordination. This chapter argues that English colonizers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony used Native-language missionary work to infuse English laws into Native communities for the purpose of initiating a culture shift in Native practices. The process encouraged Native peoples to accept European forms of life and ways of being.

The Native world of North America was expansive with complex, developed systems of government, communication, education, and ways of being. This was the world that European colonizers entered and struggled to survive in while participating in the American colonial objective of extraction.[19] To exist on the land colonizers were reliant on aid from Native

[19] Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early North America* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 183; Annibal Quijano, trans. by Michael Ennis, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America," *Nepantla: Views from the South* Volume 1, Issue 3 (2000), 533-580, 5. Accessed October 17, 2023, 540.

communities. Such was the case, for example, in the regions surrounding the Great Lakes where French traders, then later British, and later still American colonizers depended on pelts and supplies obtained through cooperation with Native peoples to maintain continuous habitation in the area across two centuries.[20] This reliance on Native peoples to survive was common throughout the European colonies. However, in this "middle ground" between European reliance on Native practices for survival and occupation of Native lands, colonizers transformed their reliance into domination of Native peoples.[21] Surviving was not enough, so subordinating Native peoples to colonial objectives became a central goal the colonizers pursued as they multiplied their presence on the land. Colonizers wanted to flip which community operated by the other's practices so that a new hierarchy ensured European control.

Between 1620 and 1642 the Puritans established the New England colonies based on strict Calvinist doctrine and a desire to convert Native peoples. In March of 1629 King Charles I of England granted a charter that founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony in southern New England on lands associated with the Massachusett, Nauset, Narragansett, Pequot, and Wampanoag people. Native ownership aside, the charter gave jurisdiction over the colony to govern and rule all of the subjects who lived on the land.[22] Indeed, the goal of subordinating Native peoples in the seventeenth century was at the forefront of colonizers' minds and made clear in the Massachusetts Bay Colony charter when King Charles I ordered the colonizers to "incite the Natives of [the] Country, to the [Knowledge] and Obedience of the onlie true God and

[20] Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 218-219, 269.
[21] Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations*, 34.
[22] Quoted in E. Brooks Holifield, *Era of Persuasion: American Thought and Culture: 1521-1680* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), 38.

the [savior] of mankind," for this was "the [principle end] of this [colony]."[23] This quote from the 1629 charter both displays that transforming Native culture was a central goal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from its inception and that a primary tactic of this change was the infiltration of European law into Native spaces. This is clear in Charles' mandate to introduce Native peoples to the obedience of God. In the 17th century, England saw itself as a civil, Christian nation ordained to expand by spreading Christian beliefs. In the colonizer's eyes, therefore, obedience to God entailed obedience to English laws.[24]

In April of 1629 a seal of the colony was issued and became the official representation of the authority invested in the colonial government.[25] [See Figure 1]. On the seal a depiction of a Native person appeared. The figure was shown almost naked except for leaves around his waist. The man holds his bow in one hand and an arrow in the other, a visual representation of the people the Europeans hoped to dispossess of their lands. Interestingly enough, the Native man in the picture is also standing on an open landscape, one not encumbered by civilization but rather reflective of a natural setting with two trees in the background. From his mouth a bubble appears with the statement in English, "Come Over and Help Us." With this statement the colonists legitimize their acts of possession. Here was a Native person depicted as begging for help, seemingly offering to give away his land freely for what the colonizers had to offer. Cathy Rex, author of "Indians and Images' The Massachusetts Bay Colony Seal," points out that the seal was

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[23] The Avalon Project, "The Charter of Massachusetts Bay: 1629," 2008, accessed December 12, 2023, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/mass03.asp. This is a typed facsimile of the 1629 charter preserved online.

[24] Mark McGarvie; Elizabeth Mensch, "Law and Religion in Colonial America," *The Cambridge History of Law in America* Vol. 1: Early America (1580-1815) (2008), edited by Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins, 324-64 doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521803052.011, accessed December 12, 2023, 324; Nancy Shoemaker, "Settler Colonialism: Universal Theory or English Heritage?" *The William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 76 No. 3 (July 2019), 369-374, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.76.3.0369, accessed December 12, 2023, 371.

[25] Cathy Rex, "Indians and Images: The Massachusetts Bay Colony Seal," *American Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2011), 61-93, see especially, 61.

a “useful tool for the colonial enterprise,” one that fixed the identities of Native peoples and colonizers.[26]

Figure 1: Massachusetts Bay Colony Seal 1629

Source: Wikimedia Commons: Public Domain

At the establishment of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, English law in the colony sought to maintain colonial viability by protecting and enhancing production. For example, many punitive laws punished non-productive behaviors. Such behavior included vices like gambling or

[26] Rex, “Indians and Images,” 62, see 63 as well.

drunkenness that injured the colony's supply of laborers.[27] English colonial laws also protected private, individual property rights through registration and titling, protections necessary to support the value extracted from the land.[28] European law engrained Christianity into colonial life as well. For instance, colonial laws required taxes to be sent to the church and mandated rest on Sundays to attend church services to "legitimate social control [through religious values]" in the colony that coerced subjects to contribute to its health.[29]

In the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the 17th century, adherence to the law meant a commitment to aid the goal of production and because of this, colonizers were eager to spread English Law into Native communities. In fact, the law codes passed at the birth of the colony show this commitment to production and early tactics for suffusion. A law passed in 1633 stated, "If any Indians shall be brought to civility… such Indians shall have allotments among the English [and if there is] a competent number of Indians… they shall have grants of lands undisposed of, for a plantation."[30] This law demonstrates that an early tactic to entice Native peoples to act according to English law, to be civilized under the rubric of Eurocentric ontologies, was to tempt them with the form of property the English recognized. Further, this law shows how the English legal system was significant in changing the culture of Native peoples in the interest of dispossession. The vision of life promised to Native peoples after conforming to English society entailed farming for surplus through plantations. In other words, Native peoples

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[27] Patricia Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 6.
[28] Charles Edward Smith, "Economic Liberty and the Official Law Books in Colonial Massachusetts," *Cato Journal* Vol. 27 No. 3 (Fall 2007), 411-430, https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/catoj27&i=303, accessed December 12, 2023, 41.
[29] McGarvie; Mensch, "Law and Religion in Colonial America," 326, 332, 354.
[30] *The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston: T. B. Wait and Co., 1814), 133.

were promised the chance to work toward the goal of production and participation in racialized labor where their property and time enriched the white colony economy.

The spread of European legal structures and religion in the colonies was unfruitful. Marie Balsley Taylor writes in her article, "The Sachem and the minister," the Massachusetts colony was chartered explicitly to promote conversion attempts but they were stunted by colonizer's unwillingness to listen to Native peoples.[31] In this early period missionaries were bringing to Native peoples texts and analogies that worked in England and Europe where people were born into English methods of thinking. Even so, in 1646 Eliot observed that Native peoples were interested in asking questions and having dialogue with missionaries rather than attending a sermon. This observation, "inaugurated a [new,] distinct genre of missionary writings [focused on transcribing] questions asked and answered by potential converts. Over time, the question-and-answer session became a staple of Bay Colony missionary writings."[32] However, this shift in format was only the first change Eliot undertook in the colony's missionary character. In the process of conducting question and answer sessions, he noticed issues that language differences presented and addressed them as well.[33]

However, for Native peoples to completely interface with colonial law, colonizers needed a way to communicate their laws and ontologies to them. John Eliot noticed this in 1647 when attending to a dying Native man who spoke to God in Wampanoag before he died.[34] Eliot at the time was already learning Native languages, but hearing this man speak to God in Wampanoag

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[31] Marie Balsley Taylor, "The Sachem and the Minister: Questions, Answers, and Genre Formation in the New England Missionary Project," *Early American Literature* 55, no. 1 (2020): 21–46, https://www.jstor.org/stable/26864654, accessed March 23, 2024, 22.
[32] Taylor, "The Sachem and the Minister, 22.
[33] Taylor, "The Sachem and the Minister, 25-28.
[34] John Eliot, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel Among the Indians of New England* (London: Edward Winslow, 1649), 3.

motivated him to further use language as a vehicle to access Native communities.[35] This insight was made further clear in 1649 when Eliot heard of an unfree Native laborer, Cockenoe, who was a captive of the Pequot war.[36] Regarding Cockenoe, Eliot wrote, "[He] well understood [English]…, and well understood his own language… I made him my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many texts of scripture."[37] In this position, Cockenoe was an unfree laborer placed below the command of Eliot and forced to give his language ability to Eliot since the missionary was incapable of completing this work himself. Eliot's use of forced labor put into practice a hierarchy between himself and Cockenoe in line with the labor informed by the racial triad of colonization. Moreover, Eliot exploited English law on captives of war to further his learning of Wampanoag and to spread European ontologies and legal bases through religion into Native communities.

Eliot's exploitation of Native language to spread European ways of being represented a change from the practice of creating incentives to assimilate Native peoples sixteen years prior. By the mid-17th century Eliot began deploying Native languages to aid his efforts and proactively interact with communities. To this end, he found success. Eliot wrote in 1652, "After several years preaching to [a group of Native peoples in their language], the lord hathe opened their hearts to desire… ministry, whereby to injoy cohabitation, and civile government… hence we looked out a place fit [ ] to begin a town where [they] might have subsistence together."[38] This missionary success encouraged Eliot who observed some Native peoples living by

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[35] Eliot, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel Among the Indians*, 3, 4, 10.
[36] William Wallace Tooker, *John Eliot's First Indian Interpreter: Cockenoe-de-Long Island* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896), 12
[37] John Eliot, *The Indian Grammar Begun* (Cambridge, MA: Marmaduke Johnson, 1666), 66.
[38] John Eliot, *John Eliot and the Indians 1652-1657: Being Letters Addressed to Rev. Jonathan Hanmer of Barnstaple, England, Reproduced from the Original Manuscripts in the Possession of Theodore N. Vail* (Columbia, SC: Filiquarian Publishing, 2023), 7. This is a collection of letters from Eliot reprinted together.

European laws in acceptance of subordination. Native peoples also created a town equipped with European farming techniques. By preaching to Native peoples in Native languages, Eliot thus used religion to spread European laws, or "civil government." This incited a culture shift among these Native peoples as they converted to Christianity and then adopted European understandings of private property in the town and on their farms. Eliot therefore married legal transmission with religion as a goal in his mission work. This work was not meant to spread Christianity alone, it aimed also to incite culture change in Native communities.

By the time Eliot began seeing success from preaching to Native peoples in Wampanoag, tactics for accessing Native communities expanded further, evolving over the course of the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1650, Harvard altered its charter and added that the school's mission was to facilitate "the education of the English & Indian Youth of this country."[39] Formal education was used to homogenize intellectually the land of North America and its ties to colonial myths on how Native peoples used their lands. According to these ideas, Native peoples either had not developed their lands, did not inhabit them, or took up too much space to do too little.[40] Colonial occupants therefore conceived of colleges as tools by which they could reproduce English ways of being within Native students and transform them in the process. Native education existed long before Europeans arrived on Native lands, but Europeans did not recognize it as legitimate. Native education included elders transferring knowledge to younger people based on ideas of sharing, cooperation, and the survival of the group. Tribal histories were also passed down as myths in which oral forms of communication were paramount.[41] Europeans

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[39] "The Harvard College Charter," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* https://www.colonialsociety.org/node/396#ch02.
[40] Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*, 17.
[41] Raymond Cross, "American Indian Education: The Terror of History and the Nation's Debt to the Indian People." *University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review* 21 no. 4 (1999): 941-978, see especially, 947.

believed, however, that by placing Native students in classrooms with European ontologies and European students, they would adopt European lifestyles and beliefs including religion and legal practices.[42]

Eliot took advantage of this charter and created a school at Harvard College in 1655 for the express education of Native students. Funded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and run by Eliot, The Harvard Indian College was built with the mission to educate Native students in European methods.[43] John Eliot and the missionaries of Harvard college believed language was primary to transforming native students. The dedication to make Native students proficient in European languages was codified in the school curriculum for all students, Native scholars included. According to the l1655 laws of Harvard College, "In the first yeare after admission for foure days of the weeke all students shall be exercised in the study of Greeke & Hebrew tongues."[44] As students continued their education, they were further exposed to rigorous English and Latin coursework.[45] Above all, students at Harvard were expected "to lead an honest, sober, [and] Godly life [in line with European laws]."[46] These subjects were explored with citations from what Eliot and other missionaries considered the Western Canon, meaning Greek and Latin poetry and the Bible. Eliot hoped that these students would become missionaries and further spread European beliefs to Native communities.[47] The students in the Indian College were forced to engage with European texts and obey European laws of sobriety. Thus, Native students at the Harvard Indian College were exposed to an education aimed at inciting a culture

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[42] Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States* 23
[43] Lisa Tanya Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Phillip's War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 82
[44] "The Lawes of the College Published Publiquely before the Students of Harvard College," The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, https://www.colonialsociety.org/node/429#pt07, accessed December 12, 2023.
[45] "The Lawes of the college published publiquely before the Students of Harvard college."
[46] "The Lawes of the college published publiquely before the Students of Harvard college."
[47] Craig N. Cipolla; Katherine Howlett Hayes, *Rethinking Colonialism: Comparative Archaeological* Approaches (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida), 144.

shift in their ways of being and knowing, reinforcing what Eliot witnessed in 1652. In a few short years this goal was realized by requiring students to observe English colonial laws while attending the school, a school where the values of English legal practices were now embedded in the curriculum. In the transformation of the Native experience of education, Eliot's curriculum provided the emphasis on the conveyance of European values.

In addition to Native students learning the European canon, they were expected to teach English students their language.[48] However, when Native scholars were teaching their English peers, they focused on religion rather than traditional Native understandings of the world, mimicking the privileging of European epistemologies in the process. Kathleen Bragdon explains in her article, "The Pragmatics of Language Learning," that when Natives taught their language to English people in the 17th century in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, "learning apparently took place within the context of religious services, or in small study groups."[49] She shows this by citing an undated English Bible that belonged to a Native man in Martha's Vineyard in the mid-17th century. At the bottom of several pages in this Bible there are many Algonquian sentences commenting on the above passage written in a conversational format between the Native man and the English missionaries he was teaching.[50] This method encouraged language sharing that likely occurred in the Indian College due to the temporal and physical proximity between where this happened in Martha's Vinyard and where the college was in Cambridge. This style of language sharing assisted in the creation of a script to Native languages in the Northeast through practice. It also provided English missionaries with immediate knowledge of useful phrases to

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[48] Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Phillip's War*, 84.

[49] Kathleen J. Bragdon, "The Pragmatics of Language Learning: Graphic Pluralism on Martha's Vineyard, 1660-1720," *Ethnohistory* Vol 57, No. 1 (2010), 35-50. https://read.dukeupress.edu/ethnohistory/article-abstract/57/1/35/8888/The-Pragmatics-of-Language-Learning-Graphic?redirectedFrom=fulltext, accessed December 12, 2023, 38.

[50] Bragdon, "The Pragmatics of Language Learning," 39-41.

spread their gospel and legal understandings derived from their religion. Native students in the Indian College and beyond who shared knowledge of their languages in this manner performed subservient labor to English missionaries by delivering their knowledge to missionaries in a method of instruction wrapped around European religion. This method of instruction laid the groundwork for culture change over time by normalizing and privileging the Bible in Native communities.

The impact of the hierarchies of education and language sharing developed in the Harvard Indian College and its surrounding environments is evident in the final address of Caleb Cheesahteaumuck to Harvard College in 1665. Caleb was a Wampanoag man who graduated that year from the Indian College and delivered this address to the benefactors of the Harvard Indian College in Latin.[51] In his short address, Caleb reflected on his time at Harvard and employed several allusions to Greek myths and Christianity; however, the throughline of his speech was an argument made to Native peoples to accept European languages and ways of being.[52] In his first paragraph, Caleb reflects on Orpheus' journey to the underworld and the meaning of his song. Caleb concluded his address by saying, "How powerful the force and virtue of education and refined literature are in the transformation of the barbarians' nature."[53] The subtext of this statement is the claim that Native peoples are primitive and must receive education in order to leave their disadvantaged states, an education that includes learning European languages to access the more "refined literature," an essential part of accepting subordination to Europeans and their laws. This sentiment shows Caleb's complete inculcation of European thought.

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[51] John Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, MA: Charles William Server, 1881), 201, Wolfgang Hochbruck; Beatrix Dudensing-Reichel, "'Honoratissimi Benefactores': Native American Students and Two Seventeenth-Century Texts in the University Tradition," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 4, no. 2/3 (1992): 35–47, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20736601, 39.
[52] Hochbruck; Dudensing-Reichel, "'Honoratissimi Benefactores,'" 39-40.
[53] Hochbruck; Dudensing-Reichel, "'Honoratissimi Benefactores,'" 39.

Teleological time is displayed in the "transformation" he constructs from primitive to civilized and the dualism he creates between barbarity and refinement. In both instances, Native peoples are portrayed as behind their European counterparts Caleb's rendering of Native peoples as "barbarians" supported the transfusion of English law into the school's curriculum, a process that aggrandized European ways of knowing while shaming the Native community for not behaving and ultimately assimilating like he had.

The goal of the Harvard Indian College from its beginning was to create texts for use in proselytizing to Native communities. The initial focus on creating Native texts is evident in the placement of students' studies and residences in the same building as a publishing press established at the opening of the school.[54] At this press, Native students produced language texts under missionary supervision by providing their linguistic proficiencies as Cockenoe had years prior.[55] The press itself symbolically reflected the replacement of Native orality with European written documentation, reflecting a massive transformation in the dissemination of information and the mode used to circulate knowledge. At first the works produced were direct translations of Christian texts. For instance, in 1663 the press published the Bible in Wampanoag which transfused law and Eurocentrism implicitly as a text central to the configuration of European life.[56] Yet, after 1665, the press altered the types of texts published. The books published changed from direct translations to guidebooks for use by non-Native missionaries, perhaps emphasizing an urgency in the colonizers' goals in the second half of the 17th century to transform Native culture even further.

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[54] Harvard College, Conjectural Restoration Indian College of 1655-56 to 1698 in Harvard College, photo lithograph on heavy paper; Indian College. 1934. https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/worlds-of-change/catalog/149-HUA50010C00060. Accessed October 17, 2023.
[55] Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Phillip's War,* 83-87.
[56] Eliot, John, *John Eliot and the Indians 1652-1657*, 13.

From the work done in the Harvard Indian College, Eliot and his students moved Native language toward European language practices. In 1666, eleven years after the opening of the school and three years after the Bible's translation, the press published a grammar book of Wampanoag entitled, *The Indian Grammar Begun* under Eliot's name. This book was a culmination of the efforts of the Harvard Indian College to make Native language proficiency accessible to non-Native missionaries. To realize the importance of this grammar, one must consider the audience in mind for its content. The book remapped Native words to fit into European grammatical conventions such as parts of speech and modes of talking like the optative and indefinite modes.[57] These conventions were familiar to European audiences of the time and eased their learning.

Furthermore, the book taught the language, Wampanoag, by using phrases Eliot decided were important and crucial to know for missionary work. The consistent focus of all these phrases expanded the reach of European legal systems into Native communities. For instance, two phrases used to demonstrate verbs were the different tense forms of "I wish I pay thee," and the phrases "I am white," and "thy are white."[58] These were written phonetically as "Kuppapaumunun-toh," "Noowompes," and "Koowompes," making it possible for non-Natives to speak these phrases without understanding how the language truly worked from a Wampanoag person's perspective.[59] This guide contributed to culture change by supporting once again Eliot's goal to marry missionary work with English legal values. The phrases chosen for non-Native use accomplished this by infiltrating notions of private property and title ownership entailed in the first phrase while including European understandings of race in the last two. The impact Eliot

[57] John Eliot, *The Indian Grammar Begun*, 16, 35, 42.
[58] John Eliot, *The Indian Grammar Begun*, 18, 20.
[59] John Eliot, *The Indian Grammar Begun*, 18, 20.

and his teaching practice made over time reflected the determination to shift Native perspectives. In this example, the Native peoples learned they were not white.

By 1671 Eliot laid bare his hope to enroll Native peoples into the colonial mission of the American colonies when the college press published *The Indian Dialogues for their Instruction in that Great Service of Christ, in calling home their Country-Men to the Knowledge of God, and of Themselves, and of Jesus Christ.* This source is Eliot's attempt at writing platonic dialogues arguing for the Europeanization of Native peoples. In these dialogues, he positioned Native characters who represented acculturated, literate Native peoples against the stereotype of the unacculturated Native person. The result of these dialogues was the victory of the acculturated in arguments against the unassimilated others. The former always advocated for Native peoples to do as they had done and adopt forms of life Eliot deemed superior. For instance, in the first dialogue, the character, Pium, who is acculturated is engaged against a "Kinsman" who is obstinate in his refusal to leave customary ways of life. In this section, Pium says to his Kinsman, "What houses have you built? Where be your fields of Corn, Barns and Orchards? Alas, you are not like the English," and, "Religion teacheth us to be diligent in labour six days."[60] Pium, in these quotes praised the daily manifestations of English laws that centered on property and forced rest on Sundays. Significantly, the book is printed in English. The language the text is written in combines with Eliot's forward to the publication, stating that the book is meant to provide instruction to missionaries if they encounter Native peoples who refuse to abandon "paganry."[61] In effect, this text, printed in English, likely by other Native students reproduces European ways of being and erased Native languages while devaluing Native

[60] John Eliot, *The Indian Dialogues for Their Instruction in that Great Service of Christ, in Calling Home Their Country-Men to the Knowledge of God, and of Themselves, and of Jesus Christ* (Cambridge, MA: 1671), 3,4.
[61] John Eliot, *The Indian Dialogues for their Instruction in that Great Service of Christ,* 1.

practices. This guide served culture change through the introduction of laws and by shaming Native peoples like Pium for not adopting English practices. This was a regurgitation of the shame Caleb wanted his community to feel, shame that Eliot wanted missionaries to weaponize to convince Native peoples to assimilate which included the transformation of Natives into Christians as well.

The guide and dialogues are two texts of many that were published by the press to encourage assimilation in the late 17th century. These texts display another development in the tactics of assimilation. Together these sources reflect mass culpability in maintaining colonial structures. Colonization was upheld even then through large numbers of individuals participating in the structure of colonialism. This explains the significant change over time of these sources because the very creation of these texts relates a growing popularity in deploying Eliot's methods for accessing Native communities through Native languages, specifically Wampanoag, and therefore increasing in the number of missionaries affecting bilingual ability.

The effect of the Harvard Indian College and other colonizers' work to move European life into Native spaces was also seen in the 1680s, years after the formation of the school. In the 1680s, Matthew Mayhew, the son of John Mayhew, one of Eliot's missionary peers, noticed in a Native community in a site called Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard, "There was a happy government settl'd among [Native peoples] and records kept of all actions and acts passed in their several courts, by such who, having learn'd to write fairly, were appointed thereto."[62] Bragdon explains that the "literate Natives" permanentized their laws and recorded land sales between Gay head Natives and colonizers.[63] In this example, the impact of interactions with missionaries is apparent in Native peoples using a script to record their laws and purchases, a

[62] Bragdon, "The Pragmatics of Language Learning," 44.
[63] Bragdon, "The Pragmatics of Language Learning," 44-45.

transfusion of the practices habituated in the Harvard Indian College. These Native peoples who lived close to Cambridge and in proximity to the son of one of Eliot's peers who adhered to his methods displayed culture change through practicing title purchase, accepting the European understanding of ownership associated with purchase, and codifying laws. Significantly, Mayhew's observation demonstrates a change over time from when Eliot first began language work. Before, Eliot introduced European laws and ontologies through Wampanoag language mission work on a small scale and identified individuals or small groups for conversion. This was the case with the group who converted as a result of his work in 1652. In Gay Head, adoption occurred at a larger community level. In this community Eliot's hope for culture change became widely visible. Native peoples adopted European laws by constructing a court, codifying law, and practicing title sale. This means that due to the expansion of mission work in Native languages, European forms of law proliferated in Native communities which led to culture shift when those communities appropriated the European values associated with those laws.

White colonizers in the Massachusetts Bay Colony wanted to access Native communities and change their behavior to be more like Europeans. During the span of the 17th century colonizers worked toward this change by developing among themselves methods that pushed European ideas and laws onto Native peoples. John Eliot contributed to this transference at the Harvard Indian College. At first, Eliot exploited the labor of Native students to share their language proficiencies with their English peers, a process that aided the creation of texts for missionary use through the establishment of the Harvard press. At Harvard, Eliot standardized and habituated methods for accessing Native communities through language that encoded European legal practices and worldviews. His pedagogical methods and use of English texts grew in popularity in the mid to late 1600s among missionaries and interposed European

practices onto Native communities. The proliferation of European legal customs through texts in Native languages homogenized the colonial landscape by the late 17th century and multiplied the number of people who worked toward colonial goals and maintained what they believed was the colony's health characterized by Native peoples dispossessed of their languages and lands.

Chapter 2: Aaron Occom and Refusal at Moor's Indian Charity School

Native education before the American Revolution evolved in many ways, and student experiences varied and were often dissimilar to those of students at the HIC. Aaron Occom was a Mohegan man, and his experience represents an alternative example in the history of Native education from what was discussed in Chapter 1. Occom attended the precursor to Dartmouth College, Moor's Indian Charity School, wherein he rejected English education and colonizer expectations of him. This chapter explores Native reactions to colonial minister and educator Eleazar Wheelock's (1714-1779) English indoctrination and through the example of Aaron Occom acknowledges that Native students found ways to preserve their ways of being by refusing the European values thrust upon them.

King Phillip's War (1675-1676) influenced the evolution on Native education in the 18th century. The war, also known as Matecom's war after the Wampanoag chief, Matacoment, engulfed the New England Colonies and Algonquian Nations in what is considered to have been one of the deadliest wars in American history.[64] After this conflict, Craig Yirush explains that the Algonquian Nations in New England faced constraints on their sovereignty as King Charles II complied with fewer and fewer agreements and land claims, and this change in orientation was accompanied by an energized wave of English efforts to take over Native peoples' land. One such Nation affected by these English efforts was the Mohegan Nation located today in Connecticut.[65] The Mohegan Nation already had an uneasy relationship in Connecticut after the Pequot War in the 1630s, and although allied with the colonies during King Phillip's War, faced

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[64] James David Drake, *King Philip's War: Civil War in New England, 1675-1676* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999. Craig Bryan Yirush, "Claiming the New World: Empire, Law, and Indigenous Rights in the Mohegan Case, 17004-1743," *Law and History Review* 29, no. 2 (2011): 333–373, especially 335. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23063864.

[65] Yirush, "Claiming the New World," 334.

further encroachment into their homelands by the late 17th century.[66] For instance, in 1703, Connecticut "annexed the remainder of sequestered [Mohegan] lands [designated by prior treaties] "without Mohegans or their English protectors being consulted."[67] In the 18th century, Mohegan people elected to contest these encroachments in English courts.[68] In Connecticut, the increased desire for Native peoples' lands manifested itself across colonial society. Once such result was Eleazar Wheelock's decision to expand education in the colony.

Moor's Indian Charity School was founded in North Lebanon, Connecticut in 1754 and began because of Wheelock's missionary work in New England. As is well known, Wheelock had a discriminatory view of Native peoples. He looked down on all Native nations as a whole due to the fact that large numbers were not Christian, nor had they acculturated land ownership and yeomen farming to adequate levels.[69] To this end, Wheelock and his contemporaries of the mid 1700s argued that Native education in the colonies was failing In a 1766 narrative on Native instruction, Nathaniel Whitaker, a peer of Wheelock's and a trustee at his school, wrote about the complexities missionaries faced in speaking with Native peoples. He stated that due to "the impossibility of converting [Native peoples with] an interpreter who generally being an Englishman, as well as a missionary, they are natyurally suspect [the missionary is] laying schemes unknown to them, & thyese suspiciouns [may] strengthen greatly before the missionary may learn [their] reason or [their] language."[70] What is crucial about Whitaker's 1766 narrative is that it is a direct critique of the missionary culture Eliot established with the Harvard Indian

[66] Yirush, "Claiming the New World," 334-344.
[67] Yirush, "Claiming the New World," 344.
[68] Yirush, "Claiming the New World," 350.
[69] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 2.
[70] Nathaniel Whitaker, "Nathaniel Whitaker, Narrative, 1766," 1766," *Occom Circle Project.* https://collections.dartmouth.edu/occom/html/occom/diplomatic/766900-11-diplomatic.html, accessed March 22, 2024, 1v.

College, referencing him directly on page one of this sixteen page narrative in which Whitaker advocates, on the cusp of Dartmouth's chartering in 1769, for Wheelock's method of instruction.[71] These missionaries argued that the failures of spreading Europeanization among Native peoples was due to the tactics of training missionaries in Native languages rather than creating networks of Native peoples who were themselves missionaries in their home communities. However, like the motivations for the creation of the HIC, language proficiency remained at the center of operations at Moor's Indian Charity School, only inverting which group learned which language. Wheelock and his peers agreed with the end goal of Eliot's vision of Native education which meant bringing Christianity and European culture to Native peoples. They only disagreed on the methods.[72] These missionaries articulated their argument through Wheelock's first Native student, Samson Occom who Wheelock believed would spread European values to Native peoples sand expand his missionary vision and enterprise.[73]

In 1738, the Mohegan Nation's legal defense of their homelands was seeing success, for in that year the Nation won the right to enter a claim and be heard by King George III.[74] This victory likely led to more members of the Mohegan Nation desiring to contribute to their legal battles, for just five years later, Samson Occom, a Mohegan leader, reached out to Wheelock for training in English.[75] Samson Occom was the Native student who informed Wheelock's blueprint for his expectations for Native scholars. In 1743, Wheelock was an established teacher and Presbyterian minister in Lebanon, Connecticut where he ran a grammar school.[76] In this year,

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[71] Whitaker, "Nathaniel Whitaker, Narrative, 1766," 1r.
[72] Whitaker, "Nathaniel Whitaker, Narrative, 1766," 1r-4v.
[73] "Moor's Indian Charity School," Dartmouth Libraries, https://collections.dartmouth.edu/occom/html/occom/ctx/orgography/org0098.ocp.html, accessed March 22, 2023.
[74] Yirush, "Claiming the New World," 364-365.
[75] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 5.
[76] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 5.

Samson Occom began working with Wheelock.[77] Colin Calloway writes in his monograph, *The Indian History of an American Institution*, that Occom was spurred to enter Wheelock's school because the Mohegan Nation had faced territorial encroachment and population decline over the last century, and his admission to Wheelock's school afforded him the chance to learn both European languages and European legal practices to defend his Nation's land in court as well as recover lost that had been lost.[78]

In 1743, Occom was the only Native student at the school; however, by 1746, Wheelock's grammar school became a central location in Occom's life. Occom wrote in his journal that year of his many trips to Wheelock in Lebanon among trips to neighboring Native towns and communities as well.[79] Occom's frequent mention of this school in his journal along with his visits to places like Mohegan, his hometown, implies Occom regarded the school fondly and as an extension of his home. Indeed, this affection was reflected in Occom's actions and beliefs. Though, Occom was already a Christian when he entered Wheelock's school at age twenty, his connection to the faith grew deeper during his time there, and Christianity became his primary worldview. Bythe time Occom left the school, he believed completely in Christianity. Occom wrote, "Indian people [needed] to look to Christianity to overcome the problems that beset them."[80] Calloway also references Occom expressing the wish "to live in an English Style."[81] To this end, Occom dedicated himself to Wheelock's worldview and devoted himself to spreading his newly energized belief system to other Native peoples. The records in the

[77] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 5.
[78] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 4-5, 7.
[79] Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, Journal, 1743 December 6 to 1748 November 29," 1748, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.1030, accessed March 22, 2024.
[80] Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, Journal, 1750 June 21 to 1751 February 9," 1751, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.914, accessed March 22, 2024.
[81] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 6.

Dartmouth Occom Circle Archive indicate Occom began to travel around New England to promote and locate new students for Wheelock as early as 1750.[82] By the time his formal training with Wheelock ended, moreover, Occom demonstrated a desire to participate in European legal structures. He held strong Christian religious convictions and through his quote on the "English style" life, one can assume he had inculcated an acceptance of language hierarchy that valued English and devalued Native languages. Most importantly, Samson Occom accepted subordination to English leadership by becoming a missionary under Wheelock.

In 1761, Wheelock saw the potential for Native conversion by training more Native missionaries like Samson Occom and chartered Moor's Indian Charity School, converting it from his old grammar school at Lebanon, Connecticut. At this new school, his intent was to acculturate Native students to colonial practices.[83] Notably, Wheelock pushed religious instruction, legal acculturation, and farming practices in his curriculum. Legal acculturation was accomplished implicitly through English language and religious education. This instruction was complemented through extra-curricular conversations on English colonial court procedures reflecting Occom's desire to gain an understanding of colonial courts, a primary reason for many Native students, to attend the school.[84] Unlike the experience of students at the HIC, Native education at Moor's Indian Charity School did not incorporate a blended classroom hierarchy. Students were always supervised by their teachers in the classroom.[85]

Wheelock complemented this classroom curriculum with out-of-classroom expectations. Since Wheelock's' school was also a functioning farm, the boys performed manual labor for the

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[82] Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, Journal, 1750 June 21 to 1751 February 9."
[83] Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*, 32; Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 5.
[84] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 5, 26.
[85] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 6.

upkeep of the farm and the maintenance of Wheelock's profits in that regard.[86] While Wheelock did oversee the education of girls, he separated girls and boys. Girls were not educated with boys at the school, rather they were sent to do housework with English families. Wheelock believed that they would absorb English language proficiency and ways of being through this boarding method.[87] In both these gendered positions, Native students were subservient at the bottom of a fixed hierarchy. In this capacity, Wheelock reinforced through these extracurricular positions the colonizer constructed "civilized colonizer-uncivilized Native" dichotomy that was used to justify colonization.[88]

Wheelock's education decentralized Native languages. There were expectations for Native students regarding use of their languages in the charity school. Students were encouraged to more strongly use English to communicate at the school as their primary language and were given no room in their formal or informal curriculum to practice their languages.[89] However, despite the reduction of space for Native students to practice their languages, they were still expected to share their expertise in their languages with the white English colonizers who operated the school. This expectation is clear in a letter sent by David McClure, one of Wheelock's English pupils, to Wheelock on August 5, 1766, explaining that he faced difficulty teaching his students since he did not yet know any Native languages, but "[hoped] to git a little patter of it.[90] The space for the use of Native languages in Wheelock's educational environment was less than what existed at Harvard in the prior century, although the language hierarchy was

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[86] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 26.
[87] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 7.
[88] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 10.
[89] Trumbull, Johnathan. "XXVI, 57 Trumbull, Jonathan, 1710-1785. to Benjamin Franklin." Accessed August 23, 2023. https://search.amphilsoc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.B.F85inventory06-ead.xml.
[90] David McClure, "David McClure, Letter, to Eleazer Wheelock, 1766 August 5," 1766, *Dartmouth Libraries Occom Circle, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.572.*

more solidified. In this new century, languages were spoken still in Native education, but Native peoples were dissuaded from speaking to themselves or locating it in their formal curriculums. Rather, Native languages at Moor's Indian Charity School was viewed by English missionaries as a resource that should be given liberally from Native peoples to non-Native occupants to aid missionaries in their future mission work.[91]

During the 1760s Wheelock expanded his school's operations until his move to Hanover in 1769 when his focus turned to Dartmouth College and his interest in Native education declined. In 1764, Wheelock wrote letters complaining of his lack of students, but by 1767, the year Aaron Occom attended the school, it had grown to a healthy seveny-eight students. In the late 1760s as well, the expectations for students at the school crystalized. Wheelock, his English missionaries, and his benefactors embarked on a new venture to frame Native identify. The colonial interest behind Wheelock's school now attempted to "eradicate "immoral" music, dancing, drunkenness… to rescue them from savage ignorance, superstition, and vice… to train them up into fitness for being useful members of the church, and human society."[92] In other words, Wheelock and his English colleagues promoted cultural destruction and wanted Native peoples to participate in that destruction. Wheelock believed Native peoples needed to accept western domination and contribute their labor to support colonial projects in the Americas. These commitments were reflected in Wheelock's school. The formal Biblical and English education provided students the words and religious reference to interface with New England expectations while the extra-curricular work habituated students toward the forms of manual labor and production that colonizers wished for Native peoples to perform in support of colonial powers.

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[91] Jacob Johnson, "Jacob Johnson, letter, to Eleazar Wheelock, 1769 May 14," 1769, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.1043.
[92] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 10.

What this meant for students at Wheelock's school was an alienating experience fraught with unpleasant expectations. In school rooms by the late 1760s, students were surrounded by other Native scholars, but always placed at the lower end of a power dichotomy between themselves and their, usually English professors. Students faced considerable pressure to reject their Native ways of being just as they were forced to accept a European education under threat of violence.[93]

Wheelock and his funders wanted students to matriculate through this "model" education and leave like Samson Occom, their ideal of a model Native student.[94] Natives were expected to inculcate teachings that made them comprehensible to colonial occupants and then spread this world view further into Native lands. In his eyes, Wheelock had many successful students who completed his education. Aaron Occom's father, Samson, was the most notable in the 1760s. Samson went to England to fundraise for Wheelock's school and also located and promoted Wheelock's schools within Native communities. He encouraged Native peoples to attend Moor's Indian Charity School.[95] Another notable graduate was Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan man who studied at the school between 1758 and 1766. Johnson, like Samson Occom worked for Wheelock after his time at school, and supported Wheelock's work. At times, Wheelock asked Johnson to be his agent in negotiating matters. At other times Wheelock wanted Johnson to instruct Native students in the form of education Wheelock had developed at Moor's Indian Charity School.[96] What this meant is that by the time Aaron Occom attended More's Indian Charity School, Wheelock had models of how Native peoples in his school were supposed to act, models he used to enforce an alienating education. Though Native students at the school were

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[93] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 1210; David McClure, "David McClure, Letter, to Eleazer Wheelock, 1766 August 5."
[94] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution*, 18.
[95] Calloway, *Indian History of an American Institution, 18.*
[96] Eleazar Wheelock, "Eleazar Wheelock, letter, to Joseph Johnson, 1775 January 23," 1775, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.882, accessed March 23, 2024.

not required to give up their identities as Native peoples, their nations, or their languages, students were expected fill the mold that materialized in the first decade of the school's operation emphasizing they needed to be subordinate, obedient, engage with English first, and have their differences as non-colonials drummed out of them for the sake of future colonial projects.

Samson agreed and helped facilitate the expansion of Wheelock's academy, notably, through his aforementioned mission work but also through sourcing recruits for Wheelock in his own family. Samson wanted his son, Aaron to be like him. Samson had expectations for Aaron to accept Wheelock's education, grooming him from when he was seven years old to take on a similar role to his in future as he had. Samson thus took Aaron on mission trips and introduced his son to Wheelock's education early in life without formally enrolling him in the school.[97] These expectations set the environment Aaron Occom experienced at Moor's Indian Charity School once he entered. Two years before Dartmouth was chartered, Aaron Occom enrolled at the school at the direction of his father in January 1767.[98] In many ways, this enrollment reflects the expectations of obedience the younger Occom faced at the school and the motivation for joining. At once, Samson Occom's push to enroll his son in the school fulfilled Wheelock's desire for Occom to find students for his schools and reinforced the reason Native peoples elected to follow Wheelock's form of education. This observation is clear in the letter Samson sent his wife, Mary Occom, a Montauk woman.[99] In this letter, Samson says plainly that

[97] Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, journal, 1757 June 28 to 1761 March 31," 1761, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.908, accessed March 23, 2024, 8v.
[98] "A LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN CHARITY SCHOOL AT LEBANON, 1765 SEPTEMBER 3 TO 1767 MAY 6," accessed August 23, 2023, https://collections.dartmouth.edu/occom/html/diplomatic/767306-6-diplomatic.html; Mary Occom, "Mary Occom letter to Eleazar Wheelock, 1767," 1767-01-15, Retrieved from the Digital Public Library of America, http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/ref/collection/nby_eeayer/id/15273, accessed February 27, 2023.
[99] Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, letter, to Mary Occom, 1763 June 1," 1763, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.1094, accessed March 23, 2024.

he is enrolling Aaron at the academy so that Aaron can have "a good English education."[100] This statement emphasized that English acquisition was central to the reason Native peoples sought Wheelock's colonial education. The way Occom qualified it as "good" underscored the hierarchical dichotomy experienced at the school. Aaron likely faced pressure from his father to operate similarly while living with Wheelock to access English in support of the Mohegan nation's legal battles for their land which predated Occom's attendance at the school and continued well after his death. Aaron Occom faced similar pressure from Wheelock to behave in acceptable ways under threat of potential corporal punishment and violence.[101]

Aaron Occom rejected these expectations. Aaron, had a short tenure at Moor's Indian Charity School, for he lasted only one year.[102] Unlike his father who took to Wheelock's teachings, Aaron practiced refusal at the school. As established, Wheelock's form of education demanded students listen and not question or reject his teachings of English ontological superiority. Yet, Aaron's behavior repeatedly revealed he denied such expectations. From the start, Aaron was not receptive to the demands of the school and its adherence to colonial morality. Before Aaron Occom's attendance at the school, his mother wrote to Samson, worrying about her son who was trying to marry a "very bad girl" who was not acculturated to colonial expectations. She wrote to Wheelock to thank him for taking in her "vile creature" who refused to take part in his father's missionary work.[103] Aaron's habits captured in Mary's letters did not stop in Moor's Indian Charity School. On October 12, 1767, Hezekiah Calvin, a Lenape and

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[100] Occom, "Samson Occom, letter, to Mary Occom, 1763 June 1."
[101] Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, letter, to Benoni Occom, 1791 January 17," 1791, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.1108.
[102] Aaron Occom, "Aaron Occom, letter, to Joseph Johnson, 1768 November 9," https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.832.
[103] Mary Occom, "Mary Occom letter to Eleazar Wheelock, 1767," 1767-01-15, retrieved from the Digital Public Library of America, http://collections.carli.illinois.edu/cdm/ref/collection/nby_eeayer/id/15273, accessed February 27, 2023; Samson Occom, "Samson Occom, journal, 1750 June 21 to 1751 February 9," https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.914, accessed March 23, 2024; Occom, "Samson Occom, letter, to Eleazar Wheelock, 1767 February 12."

Delaware student at the school, wrote to Wheelock and asked for Wheelock to return Hezekiah's watch to him which Aaron stole. This poor behavior compounded with Aaron's actions only four days earlier. On October 8, 1767, Aaron was caught with several other Native peoples from the school and the broader community in the nearby town, Mohegan, Aaron's hometown.[104] On that night, these men were caught with "too much drink," and Aaron in particular "was so drunk, he could not [travel]."[105] Aaron's actions in these moments along with his history of what coloials determined was bad behavior went against all expectations held for him. His intemperance, in particular ,was directly against the rules of the school.

Aaron Occom's actions demonstrate Native refusal to accept European expectations of Native students in education in the 18th century, behaviors Audra Simpson and other scholars have addressed about Native peoples practicing refusal in Native spaces.[106] Occom's poor behavior and reluctance to act as his father had before him or to sit still and allow Wheelock to ingrain his hierarchy into Aaron were acts of refusal that reflected his unwillingness to interact with the mechanisms of the colonies and adopt their values.[107] Reading Occom's actions as intentional refusal to participate in the othering mechanisms of Wheelock's education is reinforced by his night drinking. On that night, Aaron's visit to Mohegan was not incidental. Aaron's family was from Mohegan and it was the town where he would die in 1771.[108] The night Aaron drank, he was staying with Ben Uncas III, a Mohegan Sachem, and drank with fellow

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[104] Willard Hubbard, "Willard Hubbard, letter, to Eleazar Wheelock, 1767 October 8," 1767, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.586, accessed March 23, 2024.
[105] Hubbard, "Willard Hubbard, letter, to Eleazar Wheelock, 1767 October 8."
[106] Theresa Ambo, "Caregiving as refusal in the academy," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 31:3, 215-222, https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1080/09518398.2017.1401148, accessed March 23, 2024, 218.
[107] Ligia López, "Refusing Making," *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy* 16:2, 161-174, https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1080/15505170.2018.1541828, accessed March 23, 2024, 162.
[108] "Occom, Aaron, 1753 – 1771," accessed August 23, 2023. https://nativenortheastportal.com/bio/bibliography/occom-aaron-1753-1771.

Mohegan at Wheelock's school, Joseph Johnson.[109] During that night, Aaron was refusing Wheelock's morality and temperance while also maintaining Native kinship connections. Occom's refusal reached its zenith a month after that. On November 7, 1767, he left Moor's Indian Charity School and decided to begin working as a sailor. After that he is documented to have only maintained relationships with other Native peoples, namely his wife, Hezekiah Calvin, and the existing Native community in Mohegan where he moved to after leaving the school and before he died in 1771.[110]

Aaron's choice of community is interesting, for it buttresses his actions of refusal to accept Wheelock's hierarchy while underlining the significance of languages in his decision. During the whole 1700s, across New England, most Native peoples did not speak English. This fact is the case in the environment around Connecticut while Aaron lived there, evident in Wheelock's frequent urging to his English protegees to learn Native languages. It reflected missionary ineffectiveness at teaching with only English. To provide more context, in nearby Massachusetts, Native languages were the primary speech between Native peoples. Kathleen Bragdon writes of Wampanoag speakers in Martha's Vineyard, "Documents [of Sachems making decisions] continued to be recorded in Native language until the 1720s."[111] Bragdon further notes that Wampanoag dominance in Native spaces was such that in New England in the mid-1750s, Native communities had trouble working with and sometimes dismissed English traders and workers who did not speak Native languages as English proficiency was not common in that area

[109] Hubbard, "Willard Hubbard, letter, to Eleazar Wheelock, 1767 October 8."
[110] Aaron Occom, "Aaron Occom, letter, to Joseph Johnson, 1768 November 9;" Eleazar Wheelock, "Eleazar Wheelock, letter, to John Thornton, 1768 August 25," 1768, https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.929, accessed March 23, 2024.
[111] Kathleen Joan Bragdon*, Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 69.

in the 18th century.[112] What this prevalence of Native languages in New England means is that although Aaron Occom located himself in a bilingual landscape at the school and was the son of a man with considerable English proficiency, when he refused Wheelock's education he also often elected to enter areas where Native languages were primarily spoken. In these acts of refusal and decisions to maintain community with mostly other Native peoples who only spoke in their Native languages, Aaron rejected the hierarchy of language that Wheelock wanted Native students to accept and also dismissed the central reason most Native students pursued Wheelock's style education, English acquisition.

Wheelock's academy demonstrated changes and continuities from the form the Harvard Indian College (HIC) took a century prior. The schools differed in the space allowed for Native languages, showing a reduction in the room accepted over time. Yet, in both situations, Native students enacted ways to preserve their relationships with their languages whether it was through making them permanent with a script as was the case at the HIC or refusing to devalue their languages as the example of Aaron Occom reveals. Aaron Occom was not the only student to partake in refusal. Hezekiah Calvin also demonstrated refusal after Aaron, leaving Wheelock's school in 1768, defying Wheelock's desire for Native students to recruit others. Calvin spread stories of his abuse at the school, among many others who refused Wheelock's education in time, including Samson Occom, Aaron's after, after the elder Occom had a falling out with Wheelock in 1771. Even so, Aaron's refusal to adopt Wheelock's model exemplifies a push to preserve himself in face of Wheelock's dehumanizing education at Moor's Indian Charity School.

One document exists of a letter Aaron Occom wrote to Joseph Johnson in 1768. Johnson had also been a student at the school and turned to mission work, but like many others eventually

[112] Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1650-1775*, 72, 80.

became disenchanted with Wheelock. In this particular letter, one sees both the influence of English education and the Native importance on kinship. Occom reveals his literacy by writing the letter in English using a standard format. With a fixed place and date on the top of the page, documenting time in an English manner, the handwriting is quite legible. Occom writes to discuss possibly going to sea, but also to tell Johnson about his uncle, aunt, and sister. Although Aaron Occom is no longer at the school during the time he produced this letter, he tells Johnson that "I am Still your trew friend."[113] Whatever the anxieties produced in Occom over Moor's Indian Charity School, the letters reveal Occom's attempt to maintain his connections with his former Native schoolmate and keeping him informed about their Native kin connections. The short letter actually centers around their connections to their Native homeland in Mohegan. Whatever their encounters at Moor's Indian Charity School, the bonds that had tied them to Mohegan had not been broken by the difficult situations they endured under Wheelock's tutelage.

[113] Aaron Occom, "Aaron Occom, letter, to Joseph Johnson, 1768 November 9."

Chapter 3: Tunesassa Indian Charity School: Quaker Commitments and Resistance through Preservation 1850-1920

Over one hundred years after the first development in Wheelock's conversion practices, operations at the Quaker run Tunesassa Boarding School were in full swing. This school embodied notable changes from the previous eras of Native education and instituted a new reduction in tolerance of Native students practicing their customs. In this environment, Native students experienced a discriminatory education yet persisted in finding ways to maintain their Native ways of being.

Tunesassa's situation reflected a larger political reality. Half a century after President Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act, Ulysses Grant took office in 1869 and adopted a plan for the complete assimilation of Native peoples.[114] His new policy was called the "Peace Policy" and was aimed at ending the Indian Wars in the western territories, moving Native peoples to reservations, and establishing schools for Native children. These terms were documented in treaties inclusive of the federal government agreeing to annuity payments. Grant appointed men from religious organizations as "Indian agents." Even so, there were contradictions in the application of Grant's Peace Policy, especially after he moved some bureaucratic affairs under the control of military officers. At that juncture, the goal became most strongly focused on getting Native peoples to give up their lands. [115]

Grant's focus on assimilation through the Peace Policy forced western notions of private property onto Native peoples while reducing Native nations' abilities to identify themselves and

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[114] Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*, 67.

[115] Paula Palmer, "The Quaker Indian Boarding Schools: Facing Our History and Ourselves," in Quakers and Native Americans, edited by Ignacio Gallup-Diaz and Geoffrey Plank (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 297-99; Richard Levine, "Indian Fighters and Indian Reformers: Grant's Indian Peace Policy and the Conservative Consensus," *Civil War History* 31, no. 4 (1985), 329.

receive federal recognition, further amplified in 1887 with the Dawes Act.[116] Grant and the United States Government hoped these policies would lead to assimilation by straining customary kinship ties and altering agricultural practices. In the late 19th and 20th centuries, therefore, Native education thus developed a new purpose with a focus on primary education, one that also reinforced Grant's assimilationist desires. Unlike the centuries prior in which emphasis was on training Native men in Western thought, Native education in the second half of the 19th century targeted young children because it was believed that transformation in Native thought needed to begin early. This change meant the proliferation of day schools and boarding schools and engaged Native students in programs oriented towards physical labor rather than ones like the Harvard Indian College that had focused on higher level education.[117] Theologian and activist Vine Deloria Jr. explains in *Power and Place* that these new schools operated with post-Grant policy goals in mind and were meant "to [teach Native peoples] how to manage their property" and promote collaboration with colonization and land secession.[118]

In action, the boarding schools sought to accomplish assimilation by severing Native peoples from their customs. Sandy Grande explains that assimilation in boarding schools was attempted through "curriculums that… [exterminated] the use of native languages, [destroyed] Indian custom, particularly Native religions," while emphasizing colonial values of industrial production and western ways of agriculture.[119] Further, students were subjected to pressure to view themselves as part of a racial hierarchy wherein they are genetically and experientially

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[116] Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 59-60.
[117] Carney, *Native American Higher Education in the United States*, 49.
[118] Vine Deloria Jr., *Power and Place: Indian Education in America* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001), 15.
[119] Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 17-18.

inferior to white colonizers.[120] These values were thrust upon children in boarding schools as their teachers hoped they would discard their customs. In addition to assimilating children to American colonial values, the intention of this kind of education was to halt the dissemination of customary values to future Native generations and ensure that colonial ways of knowing were the only ones passed down.[121]

In 1869, Grant passed a law that religious organizations were in charge of colonial education programs in Native lands, holding that Christianity informs the American work ethic.[122] One of the most active religious groups in Native education were the Quakers who flocked enthusiastically to Grant's Peace Policy and established more than thirty boarding schools across Native territory in the west and on reservations in New York.[123] These schools were not exceptional in their treatment of Native students or in their curriculum. Quaker boarding schools emphasized assimilating to American commercial and religious values, enforcing these values through violence, which is interesting given the Quaker commitment to passivity. This chapter explores Quaker tactics of assimilation and how Native peoples persevered in assimilationist milieus to preserve their Native identities.

Although Grant's Peace Policy passed in 1869, some non-federal schools predated the policy though maintained the same goals before and after Grant's work. One such school was the Haverford-aided Tunesassa School. In 1823 Quakers from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, a Quaker aid society, established a small grade school near the Alleghany reservation and called it

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[120] Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 17; Joel Pfister, *The Yale Indian: the Education of Henry Roe Cloud* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 71.
[121] Keith R. Burich, *The Thomas Indian School and the 'Irredeemable' Children of New York* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2016), 146.
[122] Jennifer Graber, "'If a War It May be Called': The Peace Policy with American Indians." Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation 24, no. 1 (2014): 36-69, doi:10.1525/rac.2014.24.1.36, 36.
[123] Palmer, "The Quaker Indian Boarding Schools: Facing Our History and Ourselves," 299.

the Tunesassa School.[124] The purpose the Quakers wanted for this school was to "advance the improvement and moral character of Natives in every respect… and give attention to their farms" as the Quakers saw fit. The school continued servicing small cohorts of children from the reservation across the next thirty years. However, in 1852, Quakers attached to the Yearly Meeting wanted to expand the Tunesassa School. To accomplish this goal, they elicited donations from notable Quakers. One man who donated to the school's enlargement was the first president of Haverford College, Joseph Harlan.[125] Harlan donated 50 dollars to the school in 1856, considerably more than the typical 10 dollar donations more commonly received and a large, unobtainable amount by the standards of the day.[126] Later, by the turn of the century, the Tunesassa School continued operations, though the heads of the Yearly Meeting changed. The treasurer in 1889 was Jonathan Steere who began as a junior at Haverford, inspired by the white supremacist education he received there.[127] Steere also became a trustee at the school while teaching French at Haverford. Through this period and until Tunesassa closed in 1938, Steere was in charge of fundraising and allocating money for the institution.[128] In short, Tunesassa was a boarding school for Native children with backing from multiple institutions. One such

[124] "Tunesassa Echoes" essays, Undated, HC.PhY.838.05.016 (1250/AA64), Box: 23. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its Predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.
[125] Subscription lists, 1856, HC.PhY.838.05.001 (1250/AA16.1), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.
[126] Subscription Lists, 1856.
[127] Minutes, 1795-1966, HC.PhY.838.01.009 (1250/AA14), Box: 7. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.
[128] Treasurer's Reports, 1900-1921, HC.PhY.838.02.060 (1250/AA21 folder 7), Box: 15. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838. Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

institution was Haverford College, and the Native school benefitted from Haverford's donations. Tunesassa operated for over a century dedicated to the assimilation of Native students.

Although, Haverford's connection to Tunesassa is connected primarily through one man with strong ties to both the College and the Native school, Haverford's values and habits transformed Tunesassa. The most obvious of these changes apparent from the archives is that following the 1880s and Steere's increased participation in the Yearly Meetings and connection to Tunesassa, the school increasingly formalized its operations. Grades were not recorded at Tunesassa until the year Steere joined the Yearly Meetings and based on the early writings of the school, the courses recorded after 1890 became more robust than the general topics of the school's early offerings. Similarly, administration became more formalized under Steere as treasurer and trustee who instituted the practice of cataloging individual checks sent to the school.[129] In addition to an increased effort to raise funds for Tunesassa, after 1892 the school increased its commitment to education emphasizing labor. One meeting note reflects a goal to "obtain many lessons in farming and the habits of industry [to boys]." Girls were to "work in the family [and] secure valuable instruction in household duties, etc."[130] This commitment to teaching labor skills was new to the school.

The experience at Haverford was mirrored elsewhere. In historian Maurice Crandall's article, "Little Brother to Dartmouth Thetford Academy, Colonialism, and Dispossession," the author examines a boarding school, Thetford Academy, which was built near Dartmouth College

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[129] Gradebook, 1898-1938, HC.PhY.838.05.002 (1250/AA48), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College; Treasurer's vouchers. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838.

[130] Faculty lists; History, 1892; 1914-1948, HC.PhY.838.05.010 (1250/AA55 & 56), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

in 1787.[131] Crandall explains that though the school served a different age group than Dartmouth and did not have the explicit history with Native education that the College did, the Academy nonetheless adopted curriculums and practices regarding Native assimilation and land theft simply due to proximity and overlapping figures tied to the two school's operations.[132] These practices included public sermons arguing Native peoples had little claim to their land while teaching a curriculum of exclusively European sources.[133] It seems unlikely that it is not a coincidence, therefore, that during Steere's apparent formalization of record keeping and increased oversight of Tunesassa, much like Thetford Academy and Dartmouth, there was also an overlap with the dissemination of ideas at Haverford College, especially since Steere attended and later taught at Haverford concurrent to his role in the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings.

Assimilation at Tunesassa began after a student's parent or guardian enrolled them to attend.[134] However, to do this, the "parent needed to swear that their child would accept Christianity, all the education and responsibilities the school required, and that the child would adopt an English name.[135] At Tunesassa, students endured a coercive education that left no room in the formal curriculum for Native students to learn their culture. Considering how common it was for students to also be denied their traditional food and to be heinously beaten if they were caught "talking Indian" at other schools, it is likely that there was also little room for students to

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[131] Maurice S. Crandall, "Little Brother to Dartmouth Thetford Academy, Colonialism, and Dispossession in New England," *The New England Quarterly* 2022; 95 (1): 39–65, doi: https://doi-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1162/tneq_a_00929, accessed March 23, 2024, 44.
[132] Crandall; "Little Brother to Dartmouth Thetford Academy, Colonialism, and Dispossession in New England," 54.
[133] Crandall; "Little Brother to Dartmouth Thetford Academy, Colonialism, and Dispossession in New England," 44-45, 50.
[134] Student applications, 1933-1938, HC.PhY.838.05.007 (1250/AA53), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its Predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.
[135] Student applications, 1933-1938.

engage in their cultural practices outside the class.[136] In other words, Tunesassa alienated Native students from their home communities, their parents, their culture, and their languages. Paula Palmer states, "The Quakers saw it as an either/or situation: you are Indian, or you are civilized. These were mutually exclusive categories."[137]

The formal curriculum at Tunesassa at first glance was unexceptional for a boarding school at the time though it was intentionally designed to sever Native students from their customs. Students at the school took courses in math, English grammar, English writing, geography, United States history, and botany among other subjects.[138] Some of these courses have obvious commitments to replacing Native thought. For instance, although the Haverford archives do not house the textbooks and lesson plans students worked out of at the school, considering the express interest of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to eradicate Native ways of being, it is easy to undertand that the history these students were taught favored colonial accounts of the past rather than Native ones. If they mentioned Native peoples at all they likely portrayed them as uncivilized and further behind colonists in teleological understanding of development. This Quaker education was no doubt aided by a European geographical education that advocated for strict, territorialized understandings of borders and private property.[139] Furthermore, courses like botany antagonized Native thought obliquely.[140] Unrecognized by colonial thought and education is the concept of more-than-human kin. This Native belief identified kinship within the natural world and was an idea held within Seneca

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[136] Burich, *The Thomas Indian School and the 'Irredeemable' Children of New York*, 4, 97.
[137] Palmer, "The Quaker Indian Boarding Schools: Facing Our History and Ourselves, 302.
[138] Gradebook, 1898-1938, HC.PhY.838.05.002 (1250/AA48).
[139] Unangst, Matthew. "(De)Colonial Historical Geography and Historical GIS." Journal of historical geography 79 (2023): 76–86," 78-80.
[140] Laura Harjo, *Spiral to the Stars: Mvskoke Tools of Futurity* (Tucson, AZ. University of Arizona Press, 2019), 193-194. The citation used for this is from a Mvskoke scholar as this was the text which exposed me to the concept; however, it is a concept present through Native North America.

nations that the Tunesassa school targeted.[141] Through teaching botany, as the subtitle to the course in the grade ledger, "How Plants Grow," indicates, Quakers at the school antagonized Native perspectives by presenting European scientific rendering of plant development. The Quakers very likely stripped the natural world of these Native more-than-human-kin connections out of the courses or prevented any such inclusion.[142] However, the coercive education at Tunesassa extended beyond the classroom.

At Tunesassa students had responsibilities outside their courses as well. These responsibilities were chores that were divided along gender lines.[143] Boys handled physical tasks while the girls took care of domestic work such as cooking cleaning turning beds and most importantly looking after the younger children.[144] Beyond reducing operational costs at the school by eliminating the need to hire labor, these practices also reinforced European ontologies. Chores separated students based on European understandings of gendered work. In Native communities and specifically the Iroquois Nations to which the Seneca belonged, men and women were viewed as equals and women could farm, own property and were respected by governing councils.[145] Tunesassa education thus acculturated Native students to an emphasis on European patriarchy with strictly defined gender roles. Tunesassa also operated on a schedule divided by days and times. The purpose of scheduling in this manner was to inculcate in these students a fidelity to European industrial clock-based time, supporting the aim of schools to emphasize labor among students. Reading against the grain, it's not hard to imagine that chores

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[141] Jacqueline Shea Murphy, *Dancing Indigenous Worlds: Choreographies of Relation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2023), 304.
[142] Gradebook, 1898-1938, HC.PhY.838.05.002.
[143] Lists of duties, HC.PhY.838.05.009 (1250/AA54), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.
[144] Lists of duties, HC.PhY.838.05.009.
[145] Barbara Graymont and Frank Porter, *The Iroquois* (New. York: Chelsea House, 1988), 41-45.

were also intended to enhance the students' English abilities through teamwork and teach students how to give and receive orders. They also professionalized the students' relationships with each other, discounting and even harming their Native community connections.[146] In short, education at Tunesassa focused on divorcing Native students from their customs through a formal education that manufactured ignorance of Native ways of being by habituating students to European labor norms.

The content of the education students received at Tunnesassa is crucial to the study of languages. Sandy Grande states in *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought*, "Language serves as a source and symbol of nationhood."[147] What this means is that Native languages are unique to the nations that speak them. Native languages are from the land and describe the land. In this way, they connect Native peoples to their land and their idiosyncrasies in a dialect that created sonic identifiers of kinship and belonging. Crucially, the entire curriculum at Tunesassa was in English. When the Native students who matriculated at the school between 1823 and 1938 attended classes, they were forced to speak English to each other. Their Native methods of connecting to their land and each other were thus suppressed. When Native students studied geography, for example, they were told to replace their names for their homes with English ones and acknowledge colonial territories were not their homelands. When these students sat in botany classes, they were told to replace the words they used to refer to their more-than-human-kin that were birthed from their land with scientific colonial terms. When Native students were given gendered tasks, they were expected to reject their Native understanding of gendered work, and even their own words for each other.

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[146] Lists of duties, HC.PhY.838.05.009.
[147] Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 71.

Forcing students to adopt the English language was at the center of their education at Tunesassa. The classes and student life were crafted to suppress Native ways of being significantly through language. Forcing Native students into a hierarchy of language where their words were inferior to English and needed to be discarded coerced Native students to alter their ways of viewing the world away from anything approximating their customs. These pedagogical strategies were all employed in the interest of forcing Native students to accept subordination to America and its values.

The effectiveness of the approach of this school is visible in student work. An 1895 student paper by William C. Hoag of the Seneca Nation entitled, "The Effects of Temperance," sheds light on what students were inculcating from their new education.[148] In this paper, the student writes of the negative effects of alcohol and in so doing reveals how his Tunesassa education has altered his world views. Hoag writes, "When a person gets on a drunken spree they often keep on for many days and will not stop until their money is all gone then they will sell anything they have for whiskey."[149] This quotation indicates a heightened view of work, labor and property. This interpretation is apparent because in writing that the truest dangers of alcohol are that people lose the ability to govern themselves, Hoag reveals that he is operating within a world view wherein the valorization of labor is the lead reason for temperance. The implication is that if a person is unable to operate, they are unable to work and their ability to participate in the owning of private property and wealth accumulation is hindered. In another part of this paper, Hoag writes, "When men are drunk they abuse their wives and children, often drive them out of

[148] "The Effects of Temperance," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008 (1250/AA65), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, 3.
[149] "The Effects of Temperance."

the house."[150] This quotation further displays the impact of the Quaker education, acknowledging and accepting a traditional colonial image of life, structured around a single family unit and a private home along with patriarchal gender roles wherein men have power over women and children. Together, these quotations from Hoag's speech display his ability to repeat the values he learned at Tunesassa. These values are sober, productive labor, private property, and patriarchy. Together, the thoughts marry well to the values of individualism that Grant's Peace Policy, the later Dawes Act, and colonial occupants hoped to thrust onto Native peoples to facilitate a transition to assimilation and eventually the ceding of their lands through the adoption of post-assimilationist values.

The assimilationist values the Tunesassa education taught extended past work ethic however. In a 1901 paper by an unidentified student at Tunesassa entitled, "Alcohol Talks," the Native student writes from the perspective of alcohol, boasting of its power over men. In this essay, the student exhibits the same patriarchal worldview, reverence for private property, and labor that Hoag extolled in his essay. However, "Alcohol Talks" includes additional evidence of forced culture shift. At the end of the paper, the student writes as Alcohol, "Without having gone to school for years and studied the rules in mathematics; I am able to add to a man's nervous trouble; I can subtract from his physical energy; I can multiply his aches and pains and divide his mental powers."[151] This is a significant quotation as evidence of the assimilation that occurred at Tunesassa. Sandy Grande writes, "In Native languages, there is no word for science as there is no word for art or philosophy, psychology, or any of the other labels for foundational "ways of

[150] "The Effects of Temperence."
[151] "Alcohol Talks," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008 (1250/AA65), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

coming to know;" however, this student deploys math and mathematical functions as metaphors to communicate fears of alcohol.[152] These are ways of knowing that this student must have learned at the Tunesassa school, and the deployment of these concepts is evidence of a foundational shift in the methods of interrogating the world.

The final crucial dimension of Tunesassa's education regarding its commitments to ushering Native peoples to accept subordination is the pressure to accept a racial hierarchy. This dimension is explicit in a speech by student, Felix Scott. In 1902, Scott, whose Native identity could not be determined in the Haverford archives, delivered a graduation speech entitled, "The Outlook for the Indian." In this speech, Scott commented on a history of Native peoples and his hopes for their future. Scott's history of Native peoples began chronologically in what he was told was the beginning of his history at that school. He states, "When our ancestors came to this continent they dispersed to all parts of America and formed different tribes, and each tribe spoke a language of its own… [because of] the different conditions of the atmosphere in which they lived, their skin became different."[153] Scott continues, "Nature is working to bring all tribes and nations of the world together, to speak the same language, to have the same mode of thought, life and customs… the only thing left for us to do so that we may live happily in the years to come, is to prepare ourselves so that we can live as the white people." These are rich quotations that demonstrate the racial hierarchy students at Tunnesassa were expected to accept.

To begin, Scott's understanding of racial differences is rooted in bigotry. His reference of different climates causing gradation in skin tones originates from 19th-century racial science

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[152] Grande, *Red Pedagogy*, 122.

[153] "Outlook for the Indian," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008 (1250/AA65), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, 2.

used to justify colonization and oppression across the world.[154] Under this pseudo-scientific view, people with darker skin tones were darker as they lived supposedly closer to the sun and these harsher climates also caused impediment in their mental and physical development compared to white populations.[155] This justification for colonization and exploitation of people of color by white populations articulated itself through the construction of racial hierarchies where white men were placed on top and all others below. This sort of hierarchy informs the whole body of Scott's speech. For instance, Scott's reflection on languages tells of the position of languages at Tunesassa and his understanding of racial hierarchies. Scott emphasized the multiplicity of languages spoken by people in the Native world, one for each group, and contrasted it against the lingual homogeneity of white colonists. The conclusion that Scott comes to in his speech is that Native peoples ought to discard their ways of being and fidelity to one another and accept citizenship in the United States. In doing so they will inevitably be below white people but must work towards American goals, not Native ones.[156] He created a duality between Natives and colonists where on one side, Native peoples are discordant and unable to be organized resulting from their many languages while white people are the opposite, homogenous and prosperous because of their similarities and their focus on English. The duality expressed shows the colonizers' belief that Native languages were barriers to assimilation. Native languages were too complicated to traverse and contained complexities that were hard to understand. They required an expertise that white colonizers lacked even though students were taught whites were superior and above them in the racial hierarchy.

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[154] Bronwen Douglas, "Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference," in *Foreign Bodies: Oceania and the Science of Race 1750-1940*, edited by Bronwen Douglas and Chris Ballard, 33–96 (ANU Press), 200
[155] Douglas, "Climate to Crania: Science and the Racialization of Human Difference," 45
[156] "Outlook for the Indian," "The Effects of Temperance," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008.

What these three papers collectively show is that the thrust of education at the Tunesassa School was to "manufacture ignorance." Colonizers located ways of knowing that disagreed with the Native world views and taught students their knowledge was inferior and wrong.[157] In Hoag's "The Effects of Temperance," the systems of power he illustrated, patriarchy and property, are transplanted from colonial America; the reference to mathematics in "Alcohol Talks" is a concept introduced to the student exclusively through their education at Tunesassa; and the hierarchy and dismissal of languages Scott presented is a rearticulation of colonial beliefs of Native peoples. These examples prove that students at Tunesassa, beyond being taught their ways were wrong, were taught they were ignorant, and their knowledge had no value. This Native ignorance was what Quakers could "educate" against. The education at Tunesassa centered around Quakers identifying how Native ways of being disagreed with colonizers' identity. Students were told to discard them and replace those ways of being with new languages and concepts to interact with the world. As such, Native languages were targeted for elimination as Native ways of being were encoded into their languages and thus needed to be terminated. Grande's citation about foundational ways of knowing is crucial evidence to understanding this transformation. It is impossible to detangle Native being from Native language. Since assimilation was the goal of Tunesassa, English was supported as the only language students were allowed to speak to promote integration into American society and lessen friction between Native peoples and white colonizers who neither knew Native languages nor the ways of being they entailed.

Tunesassa thus presented a formal and informal regime that aimed at eliminating Native ways of being from students. Even so, some students found ways of preserving their knowledge through their education in spite of the draconian tactics to destroy Native knowledge in these

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[157] Robert Proctor, *Agnotology: The Making and Unmaking of Ignorance* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2008), 10.

students. One such student was Lydia Jackson, an Onandaga girl.[158] Jackson's final paper at Tunesassa entitled, "Memory of our Fathers" at once demonstrated the same shaming of Native tradition as the other papers preserved from the Tunesassa School, but it also retains Native knowledge.[159] Jackson begins, "Few of the Indians in former days knew how to read or write."[160] She continues with two crucial sentences. "They did not have their corn ground by grist mills but the women pounded them with mortar and pestle and made squaw bread." She interjects, "They also made moccasins of the skins. They would take the quills of porcupine or hedgehog and color them with blue, yellow, or red."[161] These are important sentences that demonstrate Jackson referencing customary ways of being while portraying them as developmentally behind practices of the colonizer society. This understanding is clear in the contrast she creates between grist mills and pestles along with the first sentence that displays a language hierarchy where English and written languages are above her Native language, Onandaga. Jackson continues her paper with reference to traditional spiritual beliefs. She writes, "They [Native peoples] believe also that spirits of persons remain ten days after they die. But the former days of our fathers have passed away."[162] In this recollection of traditional beliefs, she argues throughout the paper, that the time has come for Native peoples to change and similar to Scott, the change she advocates aligns with low-level industrial and agricultural work that Native education in this era extolled. This observation is evident on the final page of her paper where

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[158] "Tunesassa List of Children," https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b9337ac75f9ee5fa8f6f2cd/t/601f3836b4eb9322e885e0da/1612658747%20%20195/Sch_Tunesassa+List+of+Children+1860s-1938.pdf, accessed March 23, 2024, 4.

[159] "Memory of Our Fathers," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008 (1250/AA65), Box: 22. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Records: Quaker Fund for Indigenous Communities and its predecessors (Indian Committee, Friendly Association) (1795-), QM-Phy-838, Quaker Meeting Records at Haverford College Quaker & Special Collections and Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

[160] "Memory of Our Fathers," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008, 1.

[161] "Memory of Our Fathers," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008, 2.

[162] "Memory of Our Fathers," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008, 2-3.

she lists names of Native peoples in her community and beyond who have taken well to this form of labor, such as "John White of the Onandaga Reservation [who] is a good farmer, and there are many others."[163]

Jackson's mention of "squaw bread" and "Moccasins" cannot be overlooked. Tunesassa was a school, like other boarding schools, were children were isolated from traditional images of Native homelands and life. As aforementioned, students were not allowed to eat traditional meals, wear traditional clothes, and certainly could not call items like those referenced by their traditional names. However, Jackson mentions these items directly in her paper. These sentences are transgressive in the context of Native boardings because, though she is directly admonishing these images as uncivilized, yet she is also preserving on record through a paper written for her school the names of her traditional symbols and the knowledge of how they are made. Jackson in these sentences might be textually saying what Quakers want to hear, but is sub-textually preserving her knowledge, the words for her traditional items, and writing about the home she is forbade from seeing at Tunesassa. Jackson also includes other preservations of Native knowledge in her paper. The mention of the belief that spirits linger after death and her praise of John White indicate respect for her kin. In addition to preserving her traditional spiritual beliefs in the first sentence, Jackson is also engaging the memory of her ancestors who have already passed. The sentence on John White is important as well, for though she is again writing what her Quaker audience wanted to read, her praise of White's acceptance of private property and colonial agriculture, is still praising a person within her community network as John White is an Onandaga community member as well. Jackson's paper is pure genius because it ensures that she is safe from admonishment from her Quaker teachers by 'saying the right things' but still

[163] "Memory of Our Fathers," student essays, 1876-1902, HC.PhY.838.05.008, 4.

preserves the very traditional knowledges and kinship relations that the Tunesassa education was developed to destroy.

Reading Jackson's paper as furtively preserving her ways of being informs re-readings of the other Tunesassa papers with an understanding of what it meant to practice one's customs at the school. The practice needed to be indirect as there was no quarter given to direct attempts to do so. Therefore, when students like Hoag, Scott, and the unnamed author of "Alcohol Talks" wrote their papers, it is possible that these students had total devotion to the ideas they shared, but it is just as likely that they were intelligent students traversing the difficulties of a suppressive education at Tunesassa which privileged one narrative and disadvantaged others. Students wrote what they had to in order to succeed and survive in that space.

Education at Tunesassa demonstrates significant change over time from the prior two eras of Native eduction, primarily regarding the space for Native languages. At the Harvard Indian College, Native languages were expected to be spoken and maintained among the Native students to give their proficiencies to others and as a means of later acting as ambassadors themselves. At Dartmouth and the Moore's Indian Academy, Native Languages antagonized, but students were still expected to give their proficiencies to their teachers but not to practice it with one another. However, at Tunesassa, the antagonism reached new heights as the school attempted to totally isolate students from both their Native practices and their languages that in turn informed their Native ways of being. Further, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when Native education centered less on adult education, it is important that Haverford had an institutional connection to the Tunesassa School as it indicates a change in tactics from direct interaction to indirect methods that supported conversion education, and a pedagogical method that forced assimilation.

The Tunesassa School is thus one of many Native boarding schools that operated in the 18th and 19th centuries, but this school is exceptional as it lasted longer than most. It had a tangible institutional connection that was vital to the maintenance of the school which in terms of historiography places it in the same category as Dartmouth and Harvard. At Tunesassa, Native languages were targeted in all aspects to facilitate assimilation to American ideals. Yet, students still found ways to preserve customs in the face of this punitive and exclusionary education.

Conclusion: Further Relevance

The experiences of students in early American colleges and their adjacent institutions reveal an inescapable reality that education in the United States from its beginning, and reaffirmed through each subsequent era, operated to replace Native ways of being on Native lands. The assault on languages and its connection to land discussed in this thesis echoes the observation of Choctaw historian Devon Mihesuah and Wahpetunwan Dakota historian Waziyatawin Angela Wilson who recognize that American higher education, even today, habituated assimilationist outlooks on Native language which reproduce colonial tactics through the reproduction of European thought. This thesis provides texture to their argument. As revealed in this study, languages were at the core of motivations for replacement. The three schools examined here tied their goals to languages and managing ways of bridging the language gap between Native and non-Native communities. Languages were the explicit reason John Eliot sought Native students to work his press, it was the primary motivator for students like Samson Occom to acquire English education. Native languages were also what Aaron Occom preserved by rejecting colonial education. Languages were the direct target of the epistemological attacks boarding school students like Lydia Jackson faced.

Further, the temporal arc that these three schools demonstrate across the early years of the development of American education reveal an escalating antagonism towards Native languages and Native peoples within the schools. At Harvard, Native languages were expected to be spoken along with European languages, albeit in a hierarchy that privileged English. At Dartmouth, students were not afforded formal opportunities to speak their languages with each other, but they were still expected to share their languages with the colonial occupants at the head of the school. Students at Tunesassa lived on the end of the arc with the least space available for the use

of Native languages. At Tunesassa, students were not allowed to speak to each other, family, or teachers in their Native languages and were taught that their lifestyles and ways of being were not only inferior, but worthy of destruction.

The history of treatment of Native students and Native languages did not end with the formal creation of the modern United States. Language history continues to evolve. For example, a decade after Lydia Jackson presented her paper at Tunesassa, Henry Roe Cloud, a member of the Winnebago Bear Clan, graduated from Yale. While there he inculcated racial hierarchies and went on to establish his own preparatory school where he put into practice the enactment of language hierarchies he learned at Yale.[164] The 20th century is filled with comparable stories following a similar trajectory established in the years after the founding of Harvard.

Today, however, the outlook for generative and productive language reclamation programs in higher education is brighter, perhaps for the first time. The Middlebury Abenaki school was in its first official fully operational year the summer I attended. My own school, Emory University, is working towards Mvskoke language reclamation programs on our campus.[165] Moving forward, the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act passed in 1990 continues to call on universities to reexamine their physical collections and return them to Native peoples.[166] In this context, the history of Native languages should remind colleges throughout the United States that the very tradition of higher education itself has been built off commitments to replace Native languages. Native peoples tell stories very different from Europeans, especially in

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[164] Pfister, *The Yale Indian: the Education of Henry Roe Cloud*, 40-45.
[165] Jessanya Holness, "Emory Report "Muscogee Nation Members to conduct teach-in and Indigenous Language Path listening session," *Native American Indigenous Engagement at Emory.* October 19, 2022, https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/nae/2022/10/19/emory-report-muscogee-nation-members-to-conduct-teach-in-and-indigenous-language-path-listening-sessions/.
[166] Julia A. Cryne, "NAGPRA REVISITED: A TWENTY-YEAR REVIEW OF REPATRIATION EFFORTS," *American Indian Law Review* 34, no. 1 (2009): 99–122. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25684264, 105.

terms of their experience of education. It is hoped this thesis opens up an avenue of communication to listen to more of those stories.

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