



Piety, politics, and profit : American Indian missions in the colonial colleges
by Irvin Lee Wright

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education
Montana State University

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Abstract:

The royal charters which sanctioned the settlement of the American colonies invariably expressed as their primary purpose the propagation of Christianity among the American Indians. Throughout the colonial period, the English viewed education as a primary means to accomplish this pious mission. The purpose of this study was to examine critically the educational Indian missions in the colonial colleges. In doing so, this investigation employed ethnohistorical perspectives and methodology in examining the institutional experiments at Henrico, Virginia, Harvard College, the College of William and Mary, and Dartmouth College, spanning a period from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries.

The study found that, while the colonial educators professed their own piety as if this were their singular motivation, they capitalized on the charitable impulses of the pious English and on the opportunities which the charity presented in furthering other political and economic interests. This investigation also established that mixed motives led to diversions from the purposes for which money had been collected and further that this was a primary cause of the ultimate failure of these/ educational experiments. In revealing that missions in the colonial colleges were not expressions of unblemished piety, this study has confronted the declarations espoused in the early records and much of the later historical literature, thus enhancing the growing body of ethnohistorical scholarship on Indian-white relations during the colonial period, while simultaneously offering a fresh insight into the origins of higher education in America.

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
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of

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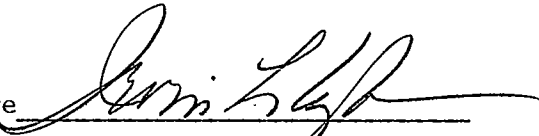
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ABSTRACT

The royal charters which sanctioned the settlement of the American colonies invariably expressed as their primary purpose the propagation of Christianity among the American Indians. Throughout the colonial period, the English viewed education as a primary means to accomplish this pious mission. The purpose of this study was to examine critically the educational Indian missions in the colonial colleges. In doing so, this investigation employed ethnohistorical perspectives and methodology in examining the institutional experiments at Henrico, Virginia, Harvard College, the College of William and Mary, and Dartmouth College, spanning a period from the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries.

The study found that, while the colonial educators professed their own piety as if this were their singular motivation, they capitalized on the charitable impulses of the pious English and on the opportunities which the charity presented in furthering other political and economic interests. This investigation also established that mixed motives led to diversions from the purposes for which money had been collected and further that this was a primary cause of the ultimate failure of these educational experiments. In revealing that missions in the colonial colleges were not expressions of unblemished piety, this study has confronted the declarations espoused in the early records and much of the later historical literature, thus enhancing the growing body of ethnohistorical scholarship on Indian-white relations during the colonial period, while simultaneously offering a fresh insight into the origins of higher education in America.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the late 1960s and early 1970s--incited by the climate of the times and encouraged by the Johnson Administration's "War on Poverty"--American Indians joined other minority students who entered colleges and universities in growing and, for the first time, noticeable numbers. The dramatic increase in the enrollment of Indian students during this period is evidenced by the increase in the numbers of students receiving Bureau of Indian Affairs Scholarship Grants, the primary source of federal aid to Indian students. Between 1965 and 1972 the number of grantees grew from 1,718 to 12,748, a 642 percent increase.¹

Such data suggest that the doors to higher education for American Indians opened belatedly during the 1960s. This, however, is not the case. Although their presence has gone largely unnoticed, American Indians have enjoyed access to institutions of higher learning for over three centuries; indeed, for as long as colleges have existed in America. In fact, within a decade of the first permanent European settlement in America, plans were underway for an Indian college. Although the period since 1961 has witnessed more progress for Indian higher education than the entire period from 1619 to 1960,² the colonial period, while achieving very little success, is nevertheless a significant era in the education of American Indians.

Historical Overview of Colonial Higher Education
of American Indians

The earliest efforts to provide Indians with higher education were aimed at Christianizing and "civilizing" the native peoples, thus rescuing them from the folly of their "heathenish" and "savage" ways. The initial attempt commenced in 1617, when King James I called upon the Anglican clergymen to collect money for "the erecting of some Churches and Schools for ye education of ye children of those Barbarians" of Virginia. The following year, 10,000 acres were set aside at Henrico for the construction of a "college for children of the infidels."³ In 1622, however, an Indian attack on the unsuspecting Henrico colonists ended for many years the scheme for an Indian college.

In New England, the first educational effort came with the 1650 charter of Harvard College, which provided for the "education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge." Funds donated in England financed the work of John Eliot (later known as "the Apostle to the Indians"), as well as the construction of the Indian College building, completed in 1656 with a capacity for twenty students.⁴ A decade later, however, after efforts to educate Indians ceased, Harvard converted the structure into a dormitory for white students.⁵ By 1692 "the Indian College became," according to Samuel Eliot Morison, "merely a deserted and unsightly reminder of a noble experiment that failed."⁶

In Virginia, the Indian attack in 1622 put an end to the scheme for the founding of a college until an act for the provision of "a College of students of the liberal arts and sciences" was passed by the Grand Assembly of Virginia on March 23, 1661. The plan remained in abeyance

until 1693, when a Royal Charter was granted for the establishment at Williamsburg, Virginia, "of a certain place of universal study, or perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages and other good arts and sciences" for various reasons, one of which was "that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians."⁷ Thus, the Royal Charter of William and Mary College reflected a renewed interest in propagating the gospel among the Indians, aroused by a generous endowment bequeathed specifically for pious purposes. Instruction began after 1705 in a curriculum which included "the simple rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic, the catechism and the principles of Christian religion."⁸ In 1724, with proceeds from the Boyle fund, the Brafferton Building for Indians was erected on its campus. When the American Revolution stopped the flow of funds from England, the school was abruptly closed.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Eleazar Wheelock, a Congregational minister, concerned himself with the academic training of Indian youth. In 1754, he founded Moor's Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, which operated until the nineteenth century, enrolling as many as 150 Indian students during its founder's life. The curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, English, Greek, and Latin.⁹ Wheelock carried his passion for education to New Hampshire where he founded Dartmouth College, chartered for "the education and instruction of youth of Indian tribes of this land in reading, writing, and all parts of learning which shall appear necessary and expedient in civilizing and Christianizing children of pagans, as in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of English youth and others."¹⁰ The College was built largely with

charitable funds collected through the efforts of a converted Indian scholar, Samson Occum, who solicited donations in Europe to fund educational endeavors among his people. Indian education at Dartmouth was not altogether a private enterprise, however, as public funds were also allocated for this purpose. The 1775 Journals of the Continental Congress reported a \$500 appropriation to support education of "nine or ten Indian youth" at Dartmouth.¹¹ Five years later, this support had grown tenfold.¹²

These isolated efforts, dispersed throughout colonial America, represent a unique period in the history of Indian education--efforts unequaled in kind until recent decades. However, with the birth of the new nation, this era came to a sudden close. The religious fervor with which higher learning had been carried to American Indians during the colonial period was immediately replaced after the American Revolution by federal domination of Indian education, resulting in a much diminished emphasis on higher learning. The new emphasis, advocating manual and domestic training rather than higher learning, is reflected in the sentiments of George Washington:

I am fully of the opinion that this mode of education which has hitherto been pursued with respect to these young Indians who have been sent to our colleges is not such as can be productive of any good to their nations. It is perhaps productive of evil. Humanity and good policy must make it the wish of every good citizen of the United States that husbandry, and consequently, civilization, should be introduced among the Indians.¹³

This statement, implemented in subsequent federal Indian education policy, sets forth the philosophy that was to prevail well into the twentieth century.

The justification for the change in educational policy was found in the general failure of the Indian education enterprise. Despite considerable effort and funds expended before the American Revolution, the colonial experiments in Indian higher education proved, for the most part, unsuccessful. For example, despite Eliot's efforts, only "one Indian was ever graduated from Harvard College, though students of that race appear to have entered from time to time."¹⁴ Likewise, although originally established for the education of Indians, Dartmouth graduated only three Indians in the eighteenth century.¹⁵

The failure in this early educational effort is often attributed to the tenacity with which Indians clung to and reverted back to their traditional life ways, as well as to their physical inability to survive in an alien environment. Hugh Jones, in The Present State Of Virginia (1724) wrote that

hitherto but little good has been done therein, though abundance of money has been laid out, and a great many endeavours have been used. . . . The young Indians, procured from the tributary or foreign nations with much difficulty, were formerly boarded and lodged in the town; where abundance of them used to die. . . . Those of them that have escaped well, and have been taught to read and write, have for the most part returned to their home, some with and some without baptism, where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites.¹⁶

In the mid-eighteenth century, another observer noted that, among students of William and Mary, it was "common for them to elope several hundred miles to their native country, and there to resume their skins and savage way of life, making no further use of their learning."¹⁷

William Byrd expressed similar disillusionment:

Many of the children of our neighboring Indians have been brought up in the College of William and Mary. They have

been carefully instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion until they came to be men. Yet after they return'd home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves.¹⁷

Relatively few records are available which express the Indian sentiment and reactions to the colonial efforts to Christianize and educate their people. However, the Iroquois response, recorded when treaty commissioners from Maryland and Virginia invited some of their sons to William and Mary College in 1744, is revealing. "We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those Colleges," the Six Nations delegation responded,

((and that the Maintenance of our young Men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced, that you mean to do us Good by your Proposal; and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise must know that different Nations have different Conceptions of things and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our Ideas of this kind of Education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some Experience of it. Several of our young People were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your Sciences; but, when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods . . . neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less oblig'd by your kind Offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful Sense of it, if the Gentlemen of Virginia will send us a Dozen of their Sons, we will take Care of their Education, instruct them in all we know, and make Men of))
them.¹⁸

The Iroquois obviously were not the "voice crying in the wilderness," as the Dartmouth College motto led its benefactors to believe.

Historiography of the Colonial Indian Missions

Despite the importance of the colonial era in the higher education of American Indians, very little research is apparent in the literature.

Brewton Berry's review of the literature on Indian education revealed that most studies have been conducted by graduate students and still reside primarily in unpublished theses. Despite the substantial amount of literature on American Indian education, virtually no research surveyed by Berry deals specifically with Indian higher education.¹⁹ Likewise, published histories of American higher education make only passing, if any, reference to the American Indian. Frederick Rudolph's landmark history of the American college, for example, fails to consider Indian participation in the colonial colleges.²⁰ While histories of American higher education make only limited reference to the Indian, relevant and useful sources are available in accounts of the colonial Indian missions, since many leaders viewed education as a primary means to propagate Christianity among "infidels." These investigations precipitated two distinct views in the historiography of Indian missions: the "traditional view," which dominated the literature to the 1960s, and the "ethnohistorical view," which emerged with the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946 and developed more fully during the past two decades. The difference in the two historical perspectives is evident in the distinctively opposing treatments of missions in the colonial colleges.

The Traditional Historical View

While admitting the failure of the colonial efforts at conversion, traditional historians generally romanticize the attempts to avail Indians of higher learning as "a noble experiment that failed."²¹ Pious motivations of the colonists remain substantially unquestioned. Perry

Miller, for example, states that "religion, in short, was the really energizing power in this [Virginia] settlement, as in others."²²

"Conversion to Christianity of the natives of America," W. Stitt Robinson agreed, "was one of the impelling motives in the founding of Virginia."²³ Similarly, in his study of the education of New England Indians during the colonial period, Arthur Allen concluded that "the design was prudent and noble but in the end it proved ineffectual."²⁴

Traditional historians frequently blame the failure of Native American education on the Indians. Allen concluded that the Native American physique was too "brittle." Adopting a somewhat racist position, he maintained that "in . . . concentrated study the Indian was worthless," and he argued that the Indian's mental characteristics were "a peculiar phenomenon. . . . He was never receptive to secondary or higher education. Lack of initiative and inability of sustained effort were his handicaps. . . . Except for isolated instances the Indian scholar was a failure in all the institutions of higher learning."²⁵

Robinson reached a similar conclusion:

These efforts, it is true, were not always crowned with success. But they weremade, and much of the cause for the meager results can be attributed to the apparent failure of the Indians to retain permanent benefits from their education and to the frustration²⁶ of the English efforts by Indian massacres and wars.

Many of these arguments were adopted wholesale from the opinions of the European colonists, as evidenced in the literature of the period. For example, Daniel Gookin in the Historical Collections of the Indians of New England (1674) reported that "in truth the design was prudent, noble and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed."²⁷

Placing blame on the Indians for the failure in their educational attainment is not uncommon in the writing of American history. Critical questions regarding the motives of the founding fathers has certainly not been a primary concern of traditional American historians. However, during the last two decades, a new group of historians have begun to reexamine critically many of the traditional assumptions in American history, although questions did arise even earlier--cautious though they were.

The Ethnohistorical View

Among the first to question the motives in the colonial efforts was George Winship, who in 1946 raised an issue concerning the apparent misuse of the Indian College building at Harvard, a diversion from the purposes for which it was originally funded:

There is nothing in the records to show how the proposed second story room for six hopeful Indians became "one small house unfinished" in December 1654 and eight months later was a brick building on whose ground floor, twenty by thirty feet, was a printing shop which interrupted its work on the GOSPEL OF MATTHEW in Indian to turn off the College Commencement programs and the President's first Commencement sermon. In another year there was room to lodge twenty²⁸ Harvard students of English lineage on the floor above.

In 1952, Roy Harvey Pearce expressed skepticism about the integrity of colonial records, referring to them as "the faintly optimistic (and propagandistic?) reports about Indian religion which were published in London in the seventeenth century."²⁹

This emerging revisionist interpretation of colonial history--particularly with regard to Indian-white relations--is more strikingly evident in the works of such contemporary ethnohistorians as

Francis Jennings, Gary B. Nash, and James Axtell. These scholars more openly and critically questioned the sincerity of the purported concern for the conversion of the native peoples. Nash called attention to "the remarkable gap between announced intentions concerning the conversion of Indian peoples to Christianity and the attempts that were actually made."³⁰ Jennings, assuming a more incriminating stand, denounced the English concern as a "missionary racket," clarifying that "both in Virginia and New England missions were organized to extract from pious Englishmen--Anglicans in the one case, Puritans in the other--donations that were diverted to ends other than pious." With particular reference to political goals, Jennings pointed out that "for the colonists in general...the purpose of proselytizing was to create firm allies among the natives."³¹ Similarly, Axtell found incriminating evidence of other motives. On the founding of Dartmouth College, he said,

What was generally not known . . . was that Wheelock had designs upon a large piece of Iroquois territory, allegedly to support his school; and that he was so unsuccessful in educating Indians, especially the Iroquois, that he diverted funds to found Dartmouth not to create an Indian college, as myth would have it, but to get out of the Indian business by preparing white scholars for missions and the ministry.³²

Thus, Wheelock exhausted his ample treasury--amidst the protest of his English trustees and benefactors--on a liberal arts college for English scholars that graduated only three Indians in the eighteenth century.

Clearly, then, two streams of thought have emerged among scholars examining the efforts of the colonial educators as well as their motives.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate, detail, and interpret the higher education of American Indians during the colonial period. More specifically, the study critically examined the motives which encouraged these educational efforts. In doing so, it focused primarily on the period from 1617 to 1779, the year which effectively marked the end of these missions and nearly two centuries of promises for higher learning among American Indians. During this period, the Virginia and New England colonies engaged in the higher education of Indians, and so these constitute the geographic focus of the investigation. Accordingly, the study concentrated on the institutional efforts at Henrico (Virginia), Harvard College, William and Mary College, and Dartmouth College, sites of proposed agencies of higher learning for American Indians.³³

Recent ethnohistorical assumptions stimulated and influenced this investigation of American Indian higher education. The study, which examined and interpreted the motivations underlying these higher education efforts, therefore drew heavily on ethnohistorical perspectives and methodology. In doing so, several research questions were posed: Were the missionizing "apostles" sincere in their efforts to provide higher education to Indians? Were their efforts based solely on pious motives, or did other motives supercede the piety? Did the failure to educate Indians according to original designs result from subverted intentions or from the lack of sincere intentions? To what extent did Indian resistance account for the failure of these efforts, and what was the nature of this resistance?

In addressing these questions, this investigation incorporated an ethnohistorical perspective on the motives underlying colonial higher education of American Indians. Thus, it examined the Indian response to the colonial efforts, which in turn illuminated the colonists' motives. Moreover, in its examination of historical data, the study critically questioned the professed piety of these colonial missions, because although pious motives aimed at educating and Christianizing the Indians were clearly espoused in the colonial literature, other evidence suggests that these religious motives frequently served to justify political and economic favors from the English crown and from its philanthropic subjects in England, as well as from the Indians themselves. In reaching its conclusions, however, the intention of this study was not to impose a value judgement on the colonial ventures into Indian education or to remove the mixed motives of the promoters from their proper historical and cultural contexts. While the experiments proved misguided in methodology and although they ultimately failed to serve the ends proposed, they were not inconsistent with prevailing English educational policy and religious thought regarding the conversion of "heathens" to Christian civility; and further, while mixed motives among the promoters of Indian education operated indiscriminately within these efforts, among the English of the period, religion did not function outside the bounds of the political and economic arenas, and indeed to a great degree the Church dominated these affairs. Consequently, to cast judgements on the appropriateness and righteousness of the English missions in the colonial colleges would serve no significant end. In this light, therefore, conclusions

regarding the sincerity of the professed piety as a primary motivation were determined only by the extent to which the announced goals were attempted or realized through actual efforts. Among the proposed institutional experiments in which efforts served other than the purposes for which funds had been committed, then, piety as a singular and dominating motive was critically questioned in this study.

Among the most important unpublished primary sources for this research are the letters to and from Eleazar Wheelock and other related manuscripts housed in the Dartmouth College Library and the William and Mary College Papers, located in the College archives. In addition, numerous printed materials originating before 1800 are contained in such contemporary works as the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, and the William and Mary Quarterly.

To convey the Indian reaction and perspective in this matter, it was necessary to examine such secondary works as Leon Burr Richardson, An Indian Preacher in England: Being Letters and Diaries Relating to the Mission of the Reverend Samson Occum and the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker to Collect Funds in England for the Benefit of Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School, from Which Grew Dartmouth College, James P. Ronda, "We Are Well As We Are": An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions" in the William and Mary Quarterly, and Carl Van Doren, Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762, in addition to observations of Indians recorded in the early literature.

Limitations

Although ample primary materials are available for this study, several factors limited the extent of their use in this investigation. First, a number of important records are missing. Records of the early history of the College of William and Mary, for example, are incomplete, including minutes of faculty meetings and nearly all records of the Board of Visitors during the colonial period. In addition, some available records were inaccessible for the purposes of this study by virtue of the exorbitant time and cost involved in a thorough examination of all related collections which are dispersed throughout the eastern United States and England. For the purposes of this study, then, two major repositories, Dartmouth College and William and Mary College, were examined for primary sources. For other historical data, this investigation relied on reprinted primary sources and secondary sources.

With the exception of such rare collections of reprinted manuscripts as James Dow McCallum's Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians³⁴, available information on the higher education of Indians comes exclusively from non-Indian sources, a problem that has consistently plagued efforts to write ethnohistory. Although it benefited from the new ethnohistorical perspectives and methodology, this study reflects what James Axtell, in his review of pioneering ethnohistorical works, called a limitation:

Though it made good use of the ethnological literature of the day, it focused more sharply on the colonial side of the frontier, partly because of the author's predilection for "purely historical sources" and partly because of his greater interest in European aims than in Indian results.³⁵

Unable to overcome this restriction because of the preponderance of the written record, the study of necessity relied primarily upon colonial documents and later historical works originating from the pens of non-native Western observers.

Further, this study was limited to a treatment of Indian missions which took place in an educational setting. Since education was purported to be a practical plan for bringing Christian civility to the Indians, higher education of American Indians constituted a significant product but only a portion of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial Indian missions. Therefore, although colonial higher education of Indians can be viewed only within the larger context of the Indian missions, this study offers no exhaustive treatment of colonial Indian missions as a topic unto itself. Several scholars have already done so.³⁶

Definition of Terms

"American Indian" and "Indian" were terms used in this study to refer to the indigenous peoples of North America and their descendents. The less commonly used and recognized terms "Native American" and "native people" were used synonymously. Value-laden terms which reflect a judgmental connotation--"savage," "barbarian," "primitive," "heathen," and "infidel"--were used only to exemplify their original use by the colonists and Europeans.

For the sake of convenience, the generalized terms were used to describe American Indians. While conforming to this convention, this study acknowledged the diversity and integrity of the multitudinous

native cultures in America, each with a unique identity. Accordingly, where possible, the integrity and identity of the individual tribal groups were affirmed by the use of their respective tribal names.

"Higher education," as used in this investigation, refers to the academic training provided in the nine colonial colleges established before 1770. Such training, inspired by the English tradition at Oxford and Cambridge, emphasized the classical liberal arts curriculum, which included Greek and Latin languages, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, rhetoric, and other classical scholarship.³⁷ This education stood in sharp contrast to the practical, manual training which was imposed upon Indians in the Early Republic.

"Ethnohistory" is a hybrid method, process, and approach used to address the historical questions posed in this study. The term was employed consistent with Axtell's consensual definition as "the use of historical methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories." Although ethnohistory makes no claims to special techniques independent of history and has no theory independent of those in cultural anthropology, it does seek to incorporate all possible types of evidence: maps, music, paintings, photographs, folklore, oral tradition, ecology, site explorations, archaeological artifacts, museum collections, enduring customs, languages, and place names, as well as a rich variety of written sources.³⁸

Significance of Study

The colonial period is particularly significant in the history of American Indian higher education, because the end of this era witnessed a coterminus and dramatic conclusion to the grandiose plans of almost two centuries. To replace the lofty aspirations for higher learning among Indians, the Early Republic reversed the policy advanced by missionary zeal and instituted instead an educational program for Indians which excluded higher education. The failure of efforts previously expended was used to justify training for manual labor, rather than training in the liberal arts. Thus, with the end of the colonial period, gone were the promises to bring higher learning to the Indians. Ironically and perhaps significant was the simultaneous end of the need to pursue political and economic sanctions from the natives, for they had become subjugated and dispersed peoples. Gone, too, were the motives which once prompted some to educate the Indians. "One might well speculate," Terry P. Wilson wrote, "that as Indians gradually ceased to pose an authentic threat to the advancement of white settlement there was a concomitant lessening of any previously felt imperative to enter them into the new nation's colleges and universities."³⁹

At the present time, there is no thorough and detailed study of American Indian higher education during the colonial period. Nevertheless, the value of this study rests not only in its attempt to unify and integrate fragmented details into a comprehensive account of the colonial efforts to provide higher education to Indians, but also in its ethnohistorical analysis of motives associated with these efforts.

A leading ethnohistorian, James Axtell, identified as a topic which needs to be explored, "philanthropy toward Indians, especially with regard to methods and results as well as goals."⁴⁰ This need has yet to be met.

As a unified and comprehensive treatment of the Indian in colonial higher education, this study contributes significantly to several fields of scholarly endeavor. It offers an important addition to the historical works on Indian-white relations during the colonial period, a topic which has been significantly and radically revised during the past two decades. In doing so, this study enhances the growing body of scholarship in the ethnohistory of Early America. It also suggests new insights to the history and foundations of American higher education. Moreover, in addition to contributing to the general history of colonial America, this research adds to the understanding of Indian missions and educational work during this era. Finally, it is hoped that this work may incite new research and new interpretations in social, political, and economic histories of colonial America--particularly contributions which affirm the concern of ethnohistorians for providing "a documentary history of the concealed and officially inarticulate ethnic groups" of America.⁴¹

CHAPTER 1 NOTES

¹Helen Maynor Scheirbeck et al., Report on Indian Education: Final Report to the American Indian Policy Review Commission (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976), p. 271.

²Jack Harrison Haymond, "The American Indian and Higher Education: From the College for the Children of the Infidels (1619) to Navajo Community College (1969)," (Ph.D. diss., Washington State University, 1982), p. 153.

³Cited by Peter Walne, "The Collections for Henrico, 1616-1618," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 30 (1922): 141; Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of Virginia, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1906-35), 3:102.

⁴Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 343.

⁵Scheirbeck, Report on Indian Education, p. 267.

⁶Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 359.

⁷Robert Fitzgibbon Young, Comenius in England: The Visit of Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius) The Czech Philosopher and Educationist to London in 1641-1642; Its Bearing on the Origins of the Royal Society, on the Development of the Encyclopaedia, and on Plans for the Higher Education of the Indians of New England and Virginia (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 267.

⁸Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia: From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954).

⁹Harold E. Fey and D'Arcy McNickle, Indians and Other Americans: Two Ways of Life Meet (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), p. 107.

¹⁰Brewton Berry, The Education of the American Indian: A Survey of the Literature (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), p. 13.

¹¹Scheirbeck, Report on Indian Education, p. 267.

¹²Berry, The Education of the American Indian, p. 14.

¹³Cited by Ibid., p. 88.

¹⁴ Alice C. Fletcher, Indian Education and Civilization: A Report Prepared in Answer to Senate Resolution of February 23, 1885 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1888), p. 55.

¹⁵ James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 87-88.

¹⁶ Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 12.

¹⁷ Mark Catesby, The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, 2 vols. (London: C. Marsh, T. Wilcox, and B. Stitchall, 1754), p. xii.

¹⁸ William Byrd, Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (1841; reprint ed., Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), p. 118.

¹⁹ T.C. McCluhan, Touch the Earth: A Self-Portrait of Indian Existence (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1971), pp. 57, 180.

²⁰ Berry, The Education of the American Indian. Of 703 research documents included in Berry's bibliography, only one deals specifically with this topic: Marie H. Smith's master's thesis, "Higher Education for Indians in the American Colonies," (p. 166; no longer available on loan from New York University). Frederick J. Dockstader, The American Indian in Graduate Studies: A Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations (New York: Museum of the American Indian, 1957, 1974), lists research presented for graduate degree requirements at colleges and universities in the United States, Canada, and Mexico from 1890 to 1974 and reveals only one additionally relevant title, Arthur Everett Allen's master's thesis, "The Education of the New England Indians during the Colonial Period." Conducted in November, 1983, a DIALOG Information Services, Inc., search from the "America: History and Life" database provided no useful listings of relevant bibliographic titles. A search from Comprehensive Dissertation Abstracts through November, 1983 resulted in one useful listing: "The American Indian and Higher Education: From the College for the Children of the Infidels (1619) to Navajo Community College (1982)." However, its treatment of Indians in the colonial colleges is simplistic. Moreover, comprehensive histories of Indian education--for example, Martha Elizabeth Layman's 1942 dissertation, "A History of Indian Education in the United States," and the more recent 1981 dissertation "Indian Education: An Ethnological Analysis" by Laurence Armand French--offer no detailed treatment of colonial higher education. Further, none of these works examines the motives for the higher education efforts among American Indians.

²⁰ Frederic Rudolph, The American College and University: A History (New York: Random House, 1962).

²¹ Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, p. 359.

²²Perry Miller, "The Religious Impulse in the Founding of Virginia: Religion and Society in the Early Literature," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d. ser. 5 (1948): 493.

²³W. Stitt Robinson, "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952): 152.

²⁴Arthur Everett Allen, "The Education of the New England Indians during the Colonial Period" (M.A. thesis, Brown University, 1962), p. 31.

²⁵Ibid., p. 42.

²⁶Robinson, "Indian Education and Missions": 152.

²⁷Daniel Gookin, Historical Collections of the Indians in New England (1674) in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1792, 1st. ser. 1 (1792): 172.

²⁸George Parker Winship, The Cambridge Press, 1638-1692: A Reexamination of the Evidence concerning the Bay Psalm Book and the Eliot Indian Bible as well as Other Contemporary Books and People (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), p. 166.

²⁹Roy Harvey Pearce, "The 'Ruines of Mankind': The Indian and the Puritan Mind," Journal of the History of Ideas 13 (1952): 204.

³⁰Gary B. Nash, "Notes on the History of 17th Century Missionization in Colonial America," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 2, no. 2 (1978): 3.

³¹Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (New York: W.W. Morton, 1976), p. 53.

³²James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 87-88, 108.

³³Nine colleges in total were established before 1790. Princeton was the only other college to enroll an Indian student during the colonial period. However, since the education of Indians was not expressed in its mission, Princeton will not be treated in detail in this study.

³⁴James Dow McCallum, Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, no. 1 (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932).

³⁵James Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America: A Review Essay," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d. ser. 25 (1978): 123.

³⁶ See, for example, Arlyn Mark Conard, "The Christianization of Indians in Colonial Virginia" (Th.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1979); Neal Emerson Salisbury, "Conquest of the 'Savage': Puritans, Puritan Missionaries, and Indians, 1620-1680" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1972); Norman Lewis, "English Missionary Interest in the Indians of North America, 1578-1700" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1968).

³⁷ Although education of Indians took place in the colonial colleges, much of it was of a preparatory nature, fitting young scholars for collegiate study. Comparatively few Indians advanced beyond this point.

³⁸ Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America": 113.

³⁹ Terry P. Wilson, "Custer Never Would Have Believed It: Native American Studies in Academia," American Indian Quarterly 5 (1971): 209.

⁴⁰ Axtell, "The Ethnohistory of Early America": 142.

⁴¹ Richard Dorson, "Ethnohistory and Ethnic Folklore," Ethnohistory 8 (1961): 17.

CHAPTER 2

HENRICO: THE COLLEGE FOR "CHILDREN OF THOSE BARBARIANS"

Within a decade of the first permanent European settlement at Jamestown, the English had set into motion plans to educate Indians at a college to be built at Henrico, a settlement eighty miles upriver from Jamestown. Although they never established the college, the efforts expended toward its founding are significant in the history of colonial higher education. Henrico represents not only the first attempt to establish an institution of higher learning in America but, in addition, the methods employed to implement such a project, particularly its financing, paved the way for similar approaches later promoted in New England and again in Virginia.

The promise of economic gain motivated the first English settlers, as well as the fledgling Virginia Company of London, which fully financed and administered the new arrivals. To realize a profit, while wavering on the verge of bankruptcy, the Company relied heavily on trade and concomitant political domination over the indigenous peoples. Later, as the tobacco industry became a sudden path to instant riches, Indian land became an object of insatiable desire among the English settler. Toward these ends, education and conversion of the Virginia Indians offered a decided advantage on which the English readily capitalized, since they viewed education as a means not only for conversion but also for political domination. Acting on this

assumption, the Company instructed the governor of Virginia in 1609: "educate those wch are younge and to succede in the government in yor Manners and Religion, their people will easily obey you and become in time Civill and Christian."¹

Meanwhile, the Virginia tribes, recently consolidated under Chief Powhatan's domination, eagerly attempted to use the English to their own best advantage. Powhatan viewed the English as a means to extend his control in the tidewater area, while neutralizing the power of his western enemies, who also posed a barrier to trade for the highly coveted commodity, copper. Although readily accepting the advantages of trade and military alliance with the English, the Powhatans found very little need for Christianity, the white man's way of life, or the kind of education which the Henrico College promised. Much to the dismay of the English, "the Spiritual vine . . . [could] not so sodaynly be planted as it may be desired."² For several millenia Native Americans had adapted comfortably to their environment, developing a deep-rooted culture which gave dignity and meaning to their lives. The Indians of Tidewater Virginia, as anthropologist Nancy Oestriech Lurie demonstrated, found

little to emulate in European culture. . . . Their primary technique of adjustment to European civilization . . . was, with few exceptions, one of rigid resistance to alien ways which held no particular attractions, except for disparate items.

Viewed in this light, then, the Henrico College scheme appears even more incongruous, as the Virginia Indians continued to embrace an ancient way of life which gave them meaning as a people.

American Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia

At the turn of the seventeenth-century, when the English arrived in the land they called Virginia, they encountered an Algonquian-speaking people whose culture was deeply rooted in the ancient past of America, where their way of life had evolved over some 10,000 years.⁴ At the time of contact, these people occupied most of the Virginia tidewater region, as well as northeastern North Carolina as far south as the Neuse River.⁵ Anthropologist James Mooney estimated this Indian population at about 8,500 in 1607, approximately one inhabitant per square mile--although more recent estimates place the figure much higher.⁶

The advent of European colonialism found the Indians of Virginia living in a highly complex society.⁷ Having domesticated and cultivated a rich variety of corn, beans, peas, squash, and other vegetation, they developed a sophisticated economy based primarily on agriculture, supplemented by hunting and fishing. They exhibited extraordinary skills harvesting nature's animals, supplying themselves with clothing, tools, and food. They were a people who had developed powers of endurance, dexterity, and patience, a keen sense of direction, a remarkable ability to track, and expert skills in archery. The implements and utensils they contrived, although not made of metal, were sophisticated, efficient, and quite similar in form and function to contemporary European tools. Thomas Hariot wrote in 1587 that "they seeme very ingenious; For although they have no such tooles, nor any such craftes, sciences and artes as wee; yet in those things they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit."⁸ The Virginia Indians also exhibited fine workmanship in arts and crafts, including pottery, basketry, and

pipes. Likewise, they displayed a keen appreciation of music and dance in their use of traditional drums, rattles, and flutes or flageolets.

Very little is known of the religious life of the Virginia Indians. The paucity of information in the early records resulted from the guarded, secretive nature of the religion which prevented the English from gathering first-hand knowledge. What little was reported was expectedly colored by the European disdain for a "heathen" religion. Scattered references in the early narratives, however, provide sufficient information to document that religion played a vital role in the life of the Indians. Their religious life included a priesthood, complex ceremonialism, and a belief system characterized as a form of pantheism.⁹

A distinguishing feature of Indian society in the Chesapeake region was its socio-political system. Shortly before the establishment of Jamestown, Powhatan had brought under his control some thirty tribes, which loosely formed what is commonly called the Powhatan Confederacy.¹⁰ Each of the principal towns held an allotted land base which was ruled by a local chief or werowance. The tribal members knew the land apportioned to them and upon which they could hunt and fish. Each werowance may have had one or more towns under his jurisdiction, but ultimately all were subject to Powhatan's supremacy.

Historians have painted quite different portraits of Powhatan's rule. Ben C. McCary, for example, described Powhatan's government as arbitrary and tyrannical. . . . [Powhatan] had the power of life and death over his subjects, and instilled great fear in them. Severe beatings were given for ordinary corrections, and horrible death by fire, by piecemeal

amputation, or by clubbing constituted the punishment for more serious offenses.

In contrast, John Daly Burk, the nineteenth-century historian of Virginia, pointed out that

NOTWITHSTANDING the general charge of barbarism and treachery against the Indians of Virginia, and of cruelty and tyranny against Powhatan, with which the early historians abound, not a single fact is brought in support of this accusation; and in several instances, with an inconsistency for which it is difficult to account, the same writers speak with admiration of the exact order, which prevailed among all the tribes of which this empire was composed; and confess at the same time, that this order and security arose from the inviolable observance of customs, which time had consecrated as law and which were equally binding on the King and the people.¹²

Powhatan's subjects probably enjoyed more freedom than was apparent to early English observers, and his dominion was ruthless only in its enforcement of customary practices. Captain John Smith, the most astute (although contemptuous) English observer of Indian life, noted that "the lawes whereby he [Powhatan] ruleth is custom." The power of the chiefs, or kings, or werowances, as they were variously called, stemmed primarily from the leader's personal dignity and prestige. The obedience of the subjects may well have depended on the quality of leadership and on its conformity to well-rooted customary practices.¹³

Indian-White Relations in Early Virginia

In addition to encountering a sophisticated, powerful confederacy of Indians, the Jamestown colonists, according to Mooney, "landed among a people who already knew and hated the whites." Through direct contact or from information relayed to them by other tribes, the Virginia Indians had earlier opportunities to form their opinions of Europeans.

In 1524 Giovanni da Verrazzano, and a year later Estevan Gomez, are believed to have landed in the Chesapeake Bay region. Throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century, Spanish slave hunters from the West Indies frequently raided the Virginia coast. But the most significant contact resulted from the establishment of a Spanish Jesuit mission, founded on the York River in 1570. Indians destroyed the mission after its brief existence, precipitating the Spaniards' retaliation in 1572. Finally, Sir Walter Raleigh's abortive attempts to settle at Roanoke Island during the late sixteenth century were known to the tribes of the Chesapeake region. (One early historian even claims that Powhatan himself was responsible for the destruction of Raleigh's colony.) Thus, the earliest native images of the white man, formed throughout much of the sixteenth century, were colored by European violence.¹⁴

It is not surprising, then, that when the Jamestown colonists landed at Cape Henry on April 26, 1607 they did not receive a warm reception. During the night, the Chesapeake Indians attacked the landing party, and within a month, the Paspahegh tribe assaulted the settlement.¹⁵ Although Powhatan had not led these attacks, the message was clear that the justifiably suspicious owners of the country would not take lightly the English intrusion.

Once settled, the Jamestown colonists did little to enhance their image in the eyes of the Indians. Within two years, the colonists seized several Indian settlements, forcing Powhatan to withdraw from his home near Jamestown to a remote town at the head of the Chickahominy river.¹⁶ Powhatan, a cunning and capable man, was surely aware of English intentions, which were clearly expressed in the Virginia

Company's instructions to the new governor in 1609: "if you find it not best to make him your Prisoner yet you must make him your tributary".¹⁷ In the same year, Powhatan revealed his realization of such intentions: "some doubt I have of your comming hither . . . for many do informe me, your comming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possesse my Country."¹⁸ The Company realized, too, that Indian religious leaders could prove just as "dangerous" as the chiefs. Recognizing the political influence exerted by the Indian priests, the company advised the colonists accordingly: "we thinke it reasonable you first remove from them their Iniocasockes or Priestes by a surprise of them all and detayninge them prisoners."¹⁹ Arriving in May 12, 1611 to assume the duties of deputy governor, Sir Thomas Dale advocated a more expedient plan in dealing with the Indians. He wrote a member of the Virginia Company, Lord Treasurer Salisbury, that with two thousand prisoners released from the jails of England he could clear the Virginia peninsula of Powhatan's people or bring them into permanent subjection.²⁰

Although much of the sixteenth-century promotional literature had advocated peaceful and humane dealings with the Indians, very little was done to cultivate peaceful relations. This apparent paradox is not, however, inconsistent with prevailing English thought. In 1583 Sir George Peckham offered a sophisticated rationale for the use of force against the Indians, as long as the ultimate goal was to bring them to Christianity. The Church of England fully endorsed the concept of a "just war" for the purpose of vindicating justice and restoring peace, while upholding a code of good faith and humanity.²¹

In view of English hostility, the generally peaceful, hospitable behavior of the Indians toward the colonists appears equally paradoxical. According to one historian, "nothing is so frequently recorded in the early chronicles as the warmth of the reception accorded the first colonists."²² Arthur Barlowe, during the first of the Roanoke voyages in 1584-85, "found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age."²³ Two decades later, following the arrival of the Jamestown colonists, Captain Christopher Newport reported on his 1607 excursion up the James River that the Indians "are naturally given to treachery, howbeit we could not finde it in o'r travell up the river, but rather a most kind and loving people."²⁴

The relatively peaceful, indulgent nature of the Powhatans, however, should not be construed as an indication of weakness or naivete. At the time Jamestown was founded the recently established confederacy was enjoying a period of expansion, and Powhatan considered the English more a potential ally than a serious threat. Indeed, by aboriginal standards, the Confederacy was populous, powerful, and secure.²⁵ With superior numbers, it is likely that the Indians could have militarily destroyed the handful of English; or, by withholding their ample supplies of corn, they could have starved the settlers. Fortunately for the colonists, the Indians took a more humane, but calculated approach in their dealings with the English. In September 1607, the natives rescued the colonists, then devastated by famine and disease. As John Smith wrote, "it pleased God (in our extremity) to move the Indians to bring us Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh

us, when we rather expected when they would destroy us."²⁶ Clearly, although wary of the English, Powhatan saw the whites in his territory as potential allies in the familiar business of warfare and trade. Accordingly, the Indians maintained a policy of uneasy peace in the midst of intense suspicion.²⁷

The English were equally suspicious of the Indians. During the course of early contact, they had developed a curiously ambivalent image of the native people. On one hand, the English perceived the Indians as savage, hostile, wild men, whose appearance and behavior resembled that of brutes rather than humans.²⁸ Some sixteenth-century accounts portrayed the natives not only as primitive but as bestial, cannibalistic, and in general, moved entirely by passion rather than reason.²⁹ Simultaneously another vision of Indians entered the English consciousness. Columbus initially wrote of the hospitality he encountered among the natives, describing the generous, pastoral people living in childlike innocence. Since that time, many English accounts adopted a romanticized image of Indians. Barlowe, for example, described the Indians he encountered in 1584 as "very handsome, and goodly people, and in their behaviour as mannerly, and civill, as any of Europe. . . . A more kinde and loving people, there can not be found in the world."³⁰

Robert Johnson's description of the Virginia natives captures the ambivalent perception among the English. As "wild and savage people," he described the Indians in 1609,

that live and lay up and down in troups like heards of deer in a forest. They have no law but nature; their apparel, skins of beasts, but most go naked. The better sort have

houses, but poor ones. They have no arts nor science, yet they live under superior command, such as it is; they are generally very loving and gentle, and do entertain and relieve our people with great kindness. They are easy to be brought to good, and would fain embrace a better condition.³¹

Similarly, in the same year, Robert Gray reported that they

wander up and downe like beasts, and in manners and conditions differ very little from beasts; having no art nor science, nor trade to imploy themselves, or give themselves unto; yet by nature loving and gentle and desirous to imbrace a better condition.³²

These images were closely linked to intentions and desires, which formed the basis of colonial policy and relations with the native peoples. "This vocabulary of abuse reflects . . .," according to Gary B. Nash, "an inner need to provide justification for colonial policy for generations to come."³³ Thus, so long as Indians catered to the needs and wishes of the white man, the colonists viewed them in a positive light. However, when they resisted, demonstrating a will to protect their lands, as well as their cultural integrity, a negative image emerged in the minds of the Europeans.

Perhaps the most significant feature evident in the early literature is the perception of Indians as tractable, capable of receiving the "benefits" of English civilization and Christianity:

though simple and rude in manners, and destitute of the knowledge of God or any good lawes, yet of nature gentle and tractable, and most apt. to receive the Christian Religion, and to subject themselves to some good government.³⁴

It is this notion which generated the interest in establishing a college "for the children of the infidels."

Missions and Education

The image of Indians as tractable reinforced a sense of mission among the pious of England, which was reflected in official policy. Accordingly, a proclaimed purpose of English colonization was to bring the "heathens" of America to Christian "civility." In the 1606 Charter of the Virginia Company of London, King James I affirmed the ultimate aim of the proposed Virginia settlement and its promoters:

We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those Parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government; DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires.³⁵

The colonists found occasion to reiterate time and again in the first years of the colony this hope of advancing Christian religion. The second charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1609 repeated that "the principal Effect, which we can desire or expect of this Action, is the Conversion and Reduction of the People in those Parts unto the true Worship of God and Christian Religion."³⁶ In A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation (1609), the Company declared that its principal aim was:

to preach and baptize into Christian Religion, and by propagation of the Gospell, to recover out of the armes of the Divell, a number of poore and miserable soules, wrapt up unto death, in almost invincible ignorance; to endeavour the fulfilling, and accomplishment of the number of the elect, which shall be gathered from out all corners of³⁷ the earth; and to add our myte to the Treasury of Heaven.

Even John Smith, although usually contemptuous of Indians, characterized the purpose of the Virginia enterprise as

the high glory of God, to the erecting of true religion among Infidells, to the overthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many thousands of wandring sheepe, unto Christs fold, who now, and till now have strayed in the unknowne paths of Paganisme, Idolatrie, and superstition.³⁸

In executing their mission, the early Virginians viewed education as a primary means to Christianize the Indians. Beginning with the Roanoke settlement, the methods proposed "that they may in short time be brought to civilitie, and the imbracing of true religion" were "education, friendship, obedience, civilization, [and] Christianity."³⁹ In A Good Speed to Virginia, Robert Gray advocated this means since "it is not the nature of men, but the education of men, which makes them barbarous and uncivll, and therefore chaunge the education of men, and you shall see that their nature will be greatly rectified and corrected."⁴⁰

Although the precise reasons are debatable--whether by virtue of early hardships and internal strife or from the lack of concerted effort and intentions--the English made very little progress towards conversion of the Indians in the first years of the colony.⁴¹ A dissenting faction in the Virginia Company noted that "conversion of those Infidells did not happen in those first 12 years duringe wch time the English were allmost allso in continuall Hostilitie wth ye Infidells."⁴² Before its dissolution in 1624, however, the Virginia Company issued instructions and took certain steps towards realization of the professed goal. By

far the most ambitious and elaborate plan included the establishment of a college to educate the "infidels."

The Plan for the College at Henrico

The Henrico chronicle began on May 12, 1611 with the arrival in Jamestown of Sir Thomas Dale, high marshall of Virginia. Dale proceeded almost immediately to the upper James River region in search of a suitable location for a new town less vulnerable to enemy attack than Jamestown. In September he chose the site of Henrico on a peninsula eighty miles upriver from Jamestown. With three hundred men under his command, Dale set out to build the town.

The native inhabitants of these lands persistently contested the inland excursion. Reported to have been sent by Powhatan, they intermittently attacked the company.⁴³ Powhatan's opposition to English expansion inland, confirming his earlier suspicions, is revealed in a letter written by the Reverend Alexander Whitaker, who accompanied Dale on his expedition:

Our governour, Sir Thomas Dale pretended an expedition to a place call'd the fals, 7 or 8 dayes before his going the king of the Indians, Powhatan by his Messengers forbids him those quarters and demaines of them 2 Indian Prisoners which hee had taken of them otherwise he threatened to destroy us after a strange manner.

Powhatan's warnings were not taken seriously. "Sir Thomas was very merry at this message and returned them with the like answer."⁴⁴ Dale's threat proved to be much more serious than Powhatan's. By late 1613, he had seized the land and town belonging to the Appomattox Indians, located on a large land base below Henrico and bounded by the James and Appomattox Rivers. The town of Henrico was thus founded. As described

by Captain Ralph Hamor in 1614, Henrico presented a pleasant appearance. It had "three streets of well-framed houses, a handsome Church, the foundation of a better laid (to bee built of Bricke), besides store-houses, watch-houses and such like."⁴⁵

When Dale returned to England in 1616, he brought with him John Rolfe and his wife, Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of Powhatan. Several Indian youth who were to be educated in England accompanied them. Pocahontas, called "the first fruit of Virginia," was baptized by the Reverend Alexander Whitaker at the Henrico Church and thus became the first Indian officially converted to Christianity in early Virginia.⁴⁶ The favorable impression made upon the English by Pocahontas was the single most important factor in advancing the cause of the Indian college. Received by the queen and other high-ranking English nobility, she "carried herself as the daughter of a King," and was "accordingly respected not only by the [Virginia] Company, but of divers particular persons of Honour in the hopeful zeal by her to advance Christianitie."⁴⁷

The Virginia Company effectively contrived Pocahontas' visit to arouse popular interest in the colony and in the college. Her presence in England climaxed and brought credence to a preceding act of the king. In 1616 King James had issued a letter to the archbishops of the realm which placed in motion the plans for a college at Henrico. He instructed that two special collections be made each year for the next two years and given to the bishops from time to time, who were to deliver them to the Virginia Company. The king clearly set forth the purpose of the collections:

Yow have heard ere this tyme of the attempt of divers worthy men, our Subjectes to plant in Virginia (under the warrant of our letters Patentes) people of this Kingdome, as well for the inlarging of our Dominions, as for the propogacion of the gospell amongst Infidells; wherein there is good progresse made and hope of further increase; So as the Undertakers of that Plantacion are now in hand, with the erecting of some Churches and Schooles, for the education of the children of those Barbarians.⁴⁸

In the instructions given to Governor-elect George Yeardley in the fall of 1618, the Virginia Company made provisions for the college:

And Whereas by a special Grant and licence from his Majesty a general Contribution over this Realm hath been made for the building and planting of a college for the training up of the Children of those Infidels in true Religion moral virtue and Civility and for other godly uses We do therefore according to a former Grant and order hereby ratifie confirm and ordain that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of a University at the said Henrico in time to come and that in the mean time preparation be there made for the building of the said College for the Children of the Infidels according to such Instructions as we shall deliver And we will and ordain that ten thousand acres partly of the Lands they impaled and partly of other Land within the territory of the said Henrico be allotted and set out for the endowing of ⁴⁹the said University and College with convenient possessions.

In 1619 the governor established the boundaries of the "college" lands. The treasurer of the Virginia Company described the land granted as ten thousand acres, of which a thousand were allotted for the Indian College. With mention of a university and a large land allotment apart from the college lands, it became clear that the college for "the Children of those Infidels" had evolved into a much grander plan than was originally proposed.

In that same year, the Quarter Court of the Virginia Company appointed a committee for management of the college, it "being a waighty busines, and so greate, that an Account of their proceedings therein

must be given to the State." The following year the Company made provisions for the annual appointment of a governing board

to take into their care and charge the matter of the College to be erected in Virginia for the conversion of Infidels: which Comittie shall take a course for the recovering of the mony that hath beene collected for that worke.

Thus, the committee assumed responsibilities much in the manner of a board of trustees, providing an organization for the Indian college.⁵⁰

Five months after Governor Yeardley received his instructions, the Virginia Company revealed further progress towards the college effort. The treasurer of the Company, Sir Edwin Sandys, reported in 1619 that the bishops' collection had already netted 1,500 pounds "or thereabouts, besides the likelihood of more to come in." (However, only about half of that sum was available in cash, since the Company saw fit to borrow the rest.) In 1620 Nicholas Ferrar bequeathed three hundred pounds for the conversion of "infidel" children, to be paid when "ten of said Infidels Children shalbe placed in the Colledge." By May of that year, receipts for the college totaled 2,043 pounds.⁵¹ The most intriguing donation, although not specifically directed at the College effort, was a sum of 550 pounds "for the educatinge and bringinge upp Infidell Children in Christianytie."⁵² The donor, who mysteriously signed himself "Dust and Ashes" and chose to remain anonymous, chastised the Virginia Company a year later for its failure to carry out his intentions.⁵³

In addition to monetary donations, the College received other benefactions. In 1619 the Bona Nova delivered to the colony an anonymous donation--a silver communion cup and two chalices in a gold

cloth cover, a silver plate, a crimson velvet carpet, and a linen damask table cloth, all valued at thirty pounds.⁵⁴ Over a two-year period, an anonymous donor presented to the college several books, including a large Church Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Upon his death in 1621, Thomas Bargrave, a minister at Henrico, bequeathed his entire library to the College, a benefaction valued at one hundred pounds.⁵⁵

Despite a significant and growing benefaction and "considering what publique notice may be taken in foreslowing to sett forward the accon," Sandys nevertheless advised a delay in building the college. Instead, he recommended a plan to establish an annual revenue from which the college could then be constructed. To do this, Sandys proposed using sufficient funds from the bishops' collection to send fifty tenants to cultivate the college land at Henrico. These men were to be tenants-at-halves; that is, they were to retain half the profits of their labor, while returning the other half for support of tutors and scholars.⁵⁶

The Company acted favorably on the Treasurer's proposal. On November 4, 1619, the Bona Nova arrived in Virginia with the fifty college tenants. Contrary to the original scheme, however, thirty of these men were hired out to established planters for one year, because purportedly provisions and shelter were insufficient. The benefits of such an arrangement were to be not only housing and provisions for the tenants, but also payment of three barrels of Indian corn and fifty-five pounds of tobacco for each man's year of service. This remuneration was to be sufficient to feed and clothe the tenants during the following year when they would begin their service to the college. Captain

William Weldon settled with the remaining men under his command at Arrohattoc, three miles beyond Henrico.⁵⁷

The Virginia Company of London was "much offended" when it heard that Captain Weldon had hired out thirty college tenants to serve other masters. Responding to charges that provisions for the tenants were inadequate, the Company claimed that it had allowed these men as much meat as usually granted to others and that, with just cause, provisions could have been furnished them on short notice. It also charged that Weldon's parting with his men was a result of his own weakness.⁵⁸

Following this incident, in the spring of 1620, Sir Edwin Sandys engaged George Thorpe to serve as deputy in charge of the college lands.⁵⁹

Thorpe diligently pursued his duties. He had fifty additional men sent from England, reunited the other scattered tenants, and began preparing for the opening of the college. The substantial labor force built homes on the college lands, tilled the soil, planted grapevines and mulberry trees, and began constructing a house for the rector of the college.⁶⁰

In the meantime, the London Company developed plans for an educational system in Virginia, more complex than the original proposal for which funds initially had been committed and expended. Two preparatory schools were to be built, one at Henrico for Indians and one, the East India School at Charles City, for English youth. The East India School originated from the solicitations of the Reverend Patrick Copland, who "out of an earnest desire to give some furtherance unto the Plantacon in Virginia," persuaded the gentlemen and mariners aboard an East India Company ship to contribute toward some good works in Virginia. At a meeting with a Virginia Company committee, appointed to

oversee these contributions, Copland indicated that the donors desired that the money be used to build a church or school, as the Company saw fit. With Copland's promise of further solicitations from the East India Company, the Committee "conceived it most fitt to resolve for the erectinge of a publique free school," since for want of schools the Virginia planters had been "hitherto constrained to their great costs to send their Children from thence hither [to England] to be taught."

Further, the committee believed that the East India School as

a Collegiate or free schoole should have dependance upon the Colledge in Virginia whc should be made capable to receive Schollers from the Schoole into such Scollershipps and fellowships as the said Colledge shalbe endowed withall for the advancement of schollers as they arise by degree and deserts in learninge.⁶¹

Clearly, the College was being planned for the education of English as well as Indians. Although the Henrico College continued to be spoken of as the college for "infidels," references to a university and the generous allocation of lands apart from the lesser college acreage, as well as the plans for the East India School, indicated an extension of the original purpose. Culminating the efforts towards the free school, on June 3, 1622, the Company appointed Copeland the rector of the college for "the conversion of the Infidells," gave him pastoral charge of the college tenants, and admitted him to the "Counsell of State in Virginia."⁶² Copland never assumed his exalted position in Virginia, for several months earlier on March 22, 1622, disaster struck the Henrico colony. The incident of this date so devastated the college effort that it never regained its previous momentum, and the college

"for the children of those Barbarians," consequently, never materialized.

The Uprising of 1622 and Its Aftermath

Hostilities on both sides characterized the first years of Indian-white relations in Virginia until 1614, when Governor Dale extorted a peace treaty from Powhatan. The chief relented in order to obtain the release of Pocahontas, his favorite daughter, whom the English had seized aboard a ship and held hostage in Jamestown. Powhatan succumbed to demands for his release of English captives, the return of all English weapons taken by his warriors, and a lasting peace. Despite the settlement, however, Pocahontas did not return to Powhatan. Instead, she married John Rolfe in April 1614, and later, she sailed to England, where she died in 1617.

The peace that followed was unsettled at best. In the midst of the colonists' perjorative attitude toward Indian life and their growing demand for native lands, fed by the increasing tobacco industry, the Indians resisted English encroachment on their lands. Reporting on the 1622 Uprising, colonist Edward Waterhouse perceptively ascribed the violence to "the dayly feare that possest them, that in time we by our growing continually upon them, would dispossesse them of this Country."⁶³ Tensions mounted following the death of Powhatan in 1618 as tribal leadership passed to Powhatan's younger and bolder brothers, first to Itopan, and on his death, to Opechancanough.

Lulling the colonists with expressions of love and peace, Opechancanough proceeded with a plan devised to rid his lands of the

English forever. On March 22, 1622 the Indians under his command attacked the unsuspecting English settlements and outlying plantations. Several communities, including Jamestown, survived by virtue of a timely warning from a converted Indian. By the end of the day, the toll reached 347, more than one-fourth of the colony's population.⁶⁴ In the weeks that followed, the Indians continued their attacks on stragglers and small parties of settlers.⁶⁵

In mid-June the Seaflower arrived in England with news of the "massacre." The reaction of the Virginia Company set in motion a policy of revenge that aimed at complete extermination of the Indians--one with little thought for conversion. In August 1622 the Company called for "a perpetuall warre without peace or truce." In October the Company advocated "rooting them out for being longer a people upon the face of the Earth."⁶⁶ The policy which followed proved effective. Perpetual enmity ensued, climaxing with an almost equally devastating attack by Opechancanough in 1644 and finally with the Peace of 1646. During this same year, Opechancanough was taken prisoner and shot. By 1666 only nineteen of the more than thirty original Powhatan tribes remained, and of the pre-contact population of some 8,500, no more than 2,000 Powhatan Indians were left.⁶⁷

The Henrico College in the Aftermath

The Virginia Company made every attempt to contain the adverse reaction aroused by the uprising, feigning business as usual as if nothing had happened. The news was kept quiet until a month after the arrival of the Seaflower, July 13, when the Lords of His Majesty's Privy

Council were informed.⁶⁸ Once the news was made public, the Company attempted to belittle its significance by publishing in 1622 A Declaration of the State of the Colonie and Affaires in Virginia, in which the massacre is referred to as no more than a temporary setback; in fact, it "must rather be beneficial to the Plantation then impaire it."⁶⁹ From the colony came Good Newes from Virginia, a ballad published by the Company in 1623 to demonstrate that not only had the colony survived, but that it had also taken steps to strengthen the colony, facing the future with hope and courage:

No English heart, but heard with grieffe,
 the massacre here done:
 And how by savage trecheries,
 full many a mothers sonne:
 But God that gave them power and leave,
 their cruelties to use,
 Hath given them up into our hands,
 who English did abuse.

.....
 The Iron Workes and silk workes both,
 and vines shall be replanted:
 Great store will be of every thing,
 that we so long have wanted.
 Indico seed, and Suger Canes,
 and Figtrees prosper well:
 With every thing particuler,
 that beares true tast or smell.

.....
 Thus wishing God will turne the mindes,
 of many for to come:
 And not to live like dormise still,
 continuall keeping home.
 Who euer sees Virginia,
 this shall he surely find:
 What fits for men, and more⁷⁰ and than
 a Country man most kind.

The Indian uprising severely disrupted, but did not immediately terminate the college effort. George Thorpe and seventeen college tenants lost their lives;⁷¹ the remaining tenants fled, and the college

rector postponed his departure for Virginia. Nevertheless, the affairs of the College progressed. The Virginia Company wrote to the Virginia council: "We esteeme the Colledge affaires, wch wee pray you to take into yor considerations not only as a publique, but a sacred bussines."⁷² The Company further requested that George Sandys, brother of Sir Edwin Sandys, gather the college tenants. In March 1623 George Sandys reported that there were sixty college tenants to return to Henrico, and that he had "hired a ship to cary ye Colledge Men to their plantation, wch is now under sayle, I pray God it succeed well; but I like not this stragelinge: & if all had beene of my minde, I would rather have disobayed your comaunds."⁷³

Conditions were made much more favorable for the tenants. They were permitted to work for themselves under the conditions that each would pay rent of twenty bushels of corn, sixty pounds weight of good leaf tobacco, and one pound of silk yearly; that each would labor six days annually on public works and be bound to build houses and plant gardens and orchards on the college land; and that three or four of them would work and live together. The artisans were offered a similar arrangement provided they followed their trades and lived on the college land. The Company also wrote: "as for the Brick-makers, we desire they may be held to their Contract made wth mr Thorpe, to the intent that when opportunitie shalbe for the erecting of the fabricke of the Colledge, the materialls be not wanting." Early in 1624, there were twenty-nine people living on the college land; a year later, a census revealed that there were twenty-two.⁷⁴

The final blow to Henrico College came with the revocation of the charter of the Virginia Company of London on June 16, 1624. When the colony became a royal province, nothing was done to advance the cause of Indian education, and references to the college are sparsely scattered throughout records of later years. At a court held at Jamestown in February, 1627, Lady Temperance Yeardley, the widow of the former governor, delivered to the governor and council of Virginia the communion set and four divinity books, gifts which had been intended for the College.⁷⁵ As late as 1630 General Assembly, the "Plantation of the College" was represented in the House of Burgesses.⁷⁶ However, the hope for a college for Indian or English scholars died for the next seven decades.

A Discussion of Motives

The failure of the Henrico College effort has raised serious questions regarding the sincerity of the professed motive to use education as a means for converting the Virginia Indians. Historians have taken divergent views on the issue. For example, in his 1922 treatment of Henrico, W. Gordon McCabe, former President of the Virginia Historical Society, refers to "the noble enterprise that pure religion and undefiled purposed to dedicate to the service and the glory of Almighty God."⁷⁷ This sentimental, romanticized perspective is characteristic of traditional historians who neglect to consider other than pious motives among the English and colonists alike. However, Wilcomb E. Washburn, like most ethnohistorians, took issue with such notions among the traditional historians, who

give what seems to me excessive credit for motives which seem to me to lack the degree of integrity required to make one accept them at full faith. . . . The failure of historians even to comprehend that philanthropic funds were misapplied is too evident in books on Virginia history.⁷⁸

Likewise stemming this traditional tide are such contemporary ethnohistorians as Francis Jennings who maintains that although "the Virginia Company followed the standard pattern by stressing conversion. . . . the Indians were irrelevant to the whole business except as a pretext to extract money from the gullible English faithful."⁷⁹ The weight of evidence rests most heavily on the side of the ethnohistorians.

Diversion of Funds

In considering the motives of those responsible for advancing the interests of the college--the Virginia Company of London and the colonists under its charge--one must remember that, in spite of its declared and chartered purpose, the Company was above all else an economic enterprise. Throughout its existence, the Company's activities were aimed at turning a profit for its investors. The college effort was, at best, ancillary to the general profit-seeking activities. More likely, the College offered a source of badly needed funds to finance the Company's economic projects in Virginia under the guise of advancing Christianity.

Ample documentation reveals several cases of funds appropriated specifically for Indian education being diverted from that purpose. In 1619 the Virginia Company treasurer reported that the bishops' collection entrusted to the Company amounted to 1500 pounds. At the

same time, he revealed that the Company had borrowed almost half that amount to finance the Company's business--this, in spite of the fact that the king had designated these funds "to be employed for the godly purposes intended and no other."⁸⁰

At the same time, Sandys convinced the Company to delay building the College, at which time he announced his scheme for sending tenants for the college lands--"a device to divert the college fund to pay for the company's annual supply ship to Virginia."⁸¹ Upon arrival of the tenants in Virginia, the pious work of the college was once again thwarted, as the Virginia governor and council seized the opportunity to apprentice thirty tenants to preestablished planters. The excuse was given that provisions were not adequate to sustain the tenants through the year. Notwithstanding this justification, however, it is noteworthy that the college tenant scheme, in fact, fit well into the Virginia Company's new economic program, which was designed and advanced by the treasurer, Sir Edwin Sandys. In aiding the financing of several projects under a new economic program of expansion and development--namely, large scale colonization and the production of new staples--the college effort was invaluable to the Virginia Company, especially as it continued to waver on the verge of bankruptcy.⁸²

When Sandys assumed office in 1619, he declared that, of 400 colonists counted in the preceding year, only 200 were capable of farming. The primary aim of his new economic policy was to rapidly increase the population for settlement of the public lands and to stimulate the production of new commodities. When the college tenants arrived in 1619, they were among 1,261 persons sent that year under

Sandy's administration, nearly half of whom went not to the public lands, but to private plantations.⁸³ Consequently, the sending of these tenants and their subsequent assignment to private plantations was not significantly extraneous to the Virginia Company's and the colony's general economic operations.

In addition to abetting the colonization effort, the college tenants were used in the production of new commodities advocated under Sandy's economic program. Next in importance to the ironworks, new efforts under the plan included the silk and wine industries. Towards this effort, George Thorpe, deputy of the college lands, reunited the scattered college tenants and engaged them in the planting of grapevines and mulberry trees.⁸⁴ In May 1621 Thorpe was able to report that 10,000 vines had been planted for the wine industry.⁸⁵ Such efforts were in keeping with the most important of the Virginia Company's economic goals. Certainly, the tenants were not engaged in the building of a college.

Among the colonists, the college tenants likewise met a strong economic demand, in this case, for servants whose labor enriched the aggressive and enterprising planters, even in the wake of scarce provisions.⁸⁶ Thus, the colonists, like the Virginia Company itself, profited from the college tenants. In assigning the tenants to private planters, the colonial leaders justified this action on the lack of provisions for the tenants, although 1619, the year of their arrival, was reported as an unprecedented year of abundance.⁸⁷ Furthermore, in the following year, Governor George Yeardley complained about settlers arriving without adequate provisions, and he begged the Company to send

men before Christmas with six months' provisions. Yet, the college tenants' arrival had basically met these stipulations before Yeardley made the request. They had arrived in November with five and a half months' provisions. Yeardley's complaints and his disposal of the Company tenants at a time when Virginians were well fed, suggest that the problem did not altogether stem from the lack of provisions.⁸⁸

At this time, the demand for labor in Virginia was high, even in the face of food scarcity. In the burgeoning tobacco industry, a planter in control of a few servants could make more in a year than he was likely to make in several in England; if he could get a large number, he might indeed amass a fortune.⁸⁹ Thus, according to Edmund S. Morgan,

men rushed to stake out claims to men, stole them, lured them, fought over them--and bought and sold them, bidding up the prices four, five, and six times the initial cost. The company's program obligingly poured men into Virginia for the scramble. . . .

Among the worst offenders were the company's own officials in the colony. In Sandys' shipments of men bound to the company, they had perceived an opportunity for exploiting not only the tenants but the company itself. The fact that the men arrived without adequate provisions⁹⁰ furnished an excuse for treating tenants as servants.

Although the Company promised a thousand-pound profit annually for the college endowment, two years later the college tenants' labor had not rendered a single penny's profit toward the college effort.⁹¹ In utilizing college resources, however, the financial purposes of the Virginia Company and the colonists were served.

A similar diversion occurred with the Dust and Ashes contribution of 550 pounds "for the educatinge and bringinge upp Infidelle Children in Christianytie." Dust and Ashes, the anonymous donor, rendered a

prophetic warning to the Virginia Company as he advised them "that guiftes devoted to Gods service cannott be diverted to pryvate and secular advantages without sacriledge."⁹² Through the Southhampton Hundred in Virginia, a private plantation led by Sandys and another Company leader, the Company invested the funds not in education, but in an ironworks. Profits from the ironworks were to be used to educate Indian children, but two years later, Dust and Ashes was prompted to complain to the Company:

whereas the gentlemen of Southampton Hundred have undertaken the disposing of the said 550li I have longe attended to see the erectinge of some Schoole or other waye whereby some of the children of the Virginians might haue bin taught and brought up in Christian religion and good manners wch not beinge donne accordinge to my intent but the money deteyned by a priuate hundred all this while contrary to my minde.⁹³

In the uprising of 1622, the ironworks was completely demolished. Little was mentioned of the Dust and Ashes benefaction after this, but in 1623, a faction of the Company "confessed that the greatest parte of the stocke belonginge to the colledge was wasted in this projecte."⁹⁴ While the ironworks reaped no benefits for the College, they fit well into Sandys' efforts to establish new industries and products for profit in Virginia. Further, Sandys' questionable dealings with the Dust and Ashes donation aroused further suspicions, and he was accused of stealing half of the money.⁹⁵

Dust and Ashes and many other well-intentioned donors lost their money. By the summer of 1620 more than two thousand pounds had been raised in England to educate Indians. Although nearly three-fourths of that sum had already been disbursed, "only slight progress was made in 1620 toward establishing the college at Henrico."⁹⁶ In the early

eighteenth century, the English historian, John Oldmixon, concluded that "we do not find that the money was employed as those Religious Persons would have had it."⁹⁷

Many historians have excused the diversion of funds as mismanagement, failing to question the intentions or motives for promoting the educational mission and soliciting funds for this purpose. Alden T. Vaughan concedes, for example, "that philanthropic funds were unwisely and ineptly used. . . , but the surviving evidence does not, I think, support such a cynical and conspiratorial interpretation."⁹⁸ However, in his exhaustive study of missionization in early Virginia, Arlyn Mark Conard explains that

such a situation was, in part, a reflection of contemporary English business practices, which did not always maintain the highest standards of honesty. . . . Christianization of the Indians came to be regarded as an incidental, though allegedly inevitable, by-product of colonization. Toward the end of this period, the deteriorating financial situation of the Virginia Company compelled Company officials to procure funds from whatever sources were available, including funds for the education ⁹⁹ of Indians, in order to keep their other projects under way.

This possibility becomes more clearly defined when one considers that receipts for the college were approximately one-fifth as large as receipts from all other sources for the general business activities of the Company, thus representing a substantial portion of the available capital.¹⁰⁰ Clearly, the profit motive took precedence over the pious motive. Even Virginia's first historian, Captain John Smith, observed the hypocrisy of the Virginia Company's leaders who made "religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit."¹⁰¹

To be sure, the investment of college funds in the general economic activities of the Virginia Company suffered no greater loss than the company funds. One can only surmise the possible outcome had the company activities flourished and turned a profit from its investments. Whether the college would have profited as well will never be known. "The proceeds of an iron furnace and of ten thousand acres of land in tidewater Virginia," John Flory argued, "when brought under proper cultivation, would have produced an unfailing revenue for support of the first American University."¹⁰² Whether the proceeds would have benefited the education of Indians is quite another question.

Convenient Confusion of Purpose

Perhaps another clue to the Company's intentions is found in their own records with regard to use of the bishops' collection. While the king had ordered that these funds "be employed for the godly purposes intended and no other"¹⁰³, the Company loosely and conveniently interpreted:

Whereas by a special Grant and licence from his Majesty a general contribution over this Realm hath been made for the building and planting of a college for the training up of the Children of those Infidels in true Religion moral virtue and Civility and for other godly uses.¹⁰⁴

The "other godly uses" for which funds were targeted included a plan for a complex university system in the Oxford and Cambridge tradition, which was intended for English scholars, as well as Indians. Several other events would indicate that the colonists were much more committed to the education of their own race than that of the Indians. Principally, although substantial funds had been raised for the Indian college,

considerably more resources and effort were expended toward the education of English youth, as "the godly purposes intended" were enlarged to include a University and preparatory schools.

The Virginia Company's Instructions to Governor-elect George Yeardley in 1618, the same document which refers to the collections for the Indian college and "for other godly uses," contained the first reference to the University. The Company, in this instance, ordained "that ten thousand acres partly of the Lands they impaled and partly of other Land within the territory of the said Henrico be allotted and set out for the endowing of the said University and College with convenient possessions."¹⁰⁵ In this action, too, it is evident that the primary emphasis was on the university, as evidenced by the disproportionately large allocation of land.

Included in this grandiose plan was the establishment of two preparatory schools--one at Henrico for Indians and one at Charles City for English youth. Both were to prepare scholars for the college which was to be built at Henrico. In due time, as the colony prospered and the population grew, the educational demands would be met through a great university, organized on the English collegiate pattern.¹⁰⁶

The Reverend Patrick Copland, seventeenth-century educator and missionary, collected "seventy pound eight shillings sixe pence" for what would become the East India School in Virginia, the preparatory school for English youth.¹⁰⁷ Considering evidence that Mr. Copland and Sir Thomas Dale, founder of Henrico, earlier had discussed the Virginia enterprise in Japan and the West Indies, his solicitations may have been prompted by the promise of an important post in Virginia. Whether or

not Copland's efforts were self-serving, his philanthropic gestures were followed by his admission as a "free Brother of the Company in 1621," by his appointment on June 3, 1622 as rector of the college, and by his being given pastoral charge of the college tenants.¹⁰⁸

By the end of 1621, other contributions for the East India School brought the total collections to nearly 200 pounds.¹⁰⁹ Despite the fact that receipts for the college totaled 2,043 pounds and that 1,477 pounds had been disbursed,¹¹⁰ progress in behalf of the East India School was considerably more significant than was tangible progress towards the Indian college. The Virginia Company allotted 1,000 acres and an overseer for the free school, appointed a scholar as usher, and offered free passage to any expert writer who could teach the basics of arithmetic. In addition, the company offered to furnish the usher with books for the school and its students.¹¹¹ Even more significantly, according to historian J.E. Morpurgo, "it is probable that two buildings were begun--one for the Rector of the College and one to house the school for the settlers' children."¹¹² No buildings for the Indian College, however, were contemplated at this time.

If such significant moves towards an English free school could be advanced with so few funds, why not the Indian college which already had amassed a comparatively large financial base?¹¹³ Morpurgo has concluded that

in Virginia, pious intentions wilted before the pressure of crisis while the more self-centered desire scarcely faltered: the desire to educate the children of the settlers themselves. For the Virginian Colony, certainly, the suspicion must remain that those who had ultimate responsibility for implementing the plans were by no means innocent of casuistry.¹¹⁴

Such circumstantial evidence is not sufficient to condemn either the Virginia Company or the colonists, nor to entirely discount their pious intentions. Had the king not dissolved the Virginia Company, had mismanagement not left the Company and its college fund investments bankrupt, had the college tenants and the ironworks realized a profit, would the English have carried out their professed pious goal to create a college for the education of Indians? In light of the evidence, one might reasonably speculate that Indians would not have been party to higher education, for in this case, the evidence strongly suggests that economic motives operated in--perhaps dominated--the Henrico College enterprise. Even given the construction of a college building, the probability of Indian exposure to higher learning remains questionable. A similar "pious" enterprise in New England, the Indian college at Harvard, offers the background for this speculation.

CHAPTER 2 NOTES

¹ Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1906-35), 3:19.

² Ibid., 3:128, 228.

³ Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. Richard Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 44, 60.

⁴ For a discussion of the cultural evolution of prehistoric Virginia Indians, see Ben C. McCary, Indians in Seventeenth Century Virginia, Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets (Williamsburg: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), pp. 91-93.

⁵ The Tidewater Algonquians occupied about one-fifth of the present state of Virginia. The remainder was occupied by Iroquoian and Siouan tribes whose total population was equal to that of the Algonquians.

⁶ James Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy, Past and Present," American Anthropologist, 2d ser. 9 (1907): 130. In 1928, Mooney reported an adjusted figure of 9,000. However, the lower figure more closely compares with John Smith's early data and probably most nearly reflects the aboriginal population at the time of contact. (Maurice A. Mook, "The Aboriginal Population of Tidewater Virginia," American Anthropologist, 2d ser. 46 (1944): 198.) Several more contemporary historians have questioned the accuracy of Mooney's population estimates. See, for example, Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), pp. 16-31; and Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 22-30.

⁷ The description of the nature of a civilization is relative and arbitrary, based on the standard employed by the evaluator. This writer's qualitative assessment of Virginia Indian society is not in agreement with that of most anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians. Evaluating native society using European technology, political systems, and/or economic values as the standard, most colonial and contemporary historians describe the Indians as "primitive" and "savage." See, for example, Maxwell Ford Taylor, Jr., "The Influence of Religion on White Attitudes Toward Indians in the Early Settlement of Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1970), p. 139. For a contrasting perspective on the sophistication of Indian society similar to the view reflected in the present study, see Wesley Frank Craven,

White, Red, and Black (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), p. 53. Notwithstanding the pejorative attitude of most, few historians fail to recognize that the Native Americans viewed their society as equal or superior to that of the whites. Nancy Oestreich Lurie adds another perspective: "From the viewpoint of the twentieth century, it is difficult to realize that the material differences between the Indians and the European colonists, who lived before the full development of the industrial revolution, were equalled if not outweighed by the similarities of culture" (Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment," p. 38).

⁸David Beers Quinn, ed., The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1955), 1:371.

⁹McCary, Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia, passim; Craven, White, Red, and Black, pp. 48-49, 53; Charles C. Willoughby, "The Virginia Indians in the Seventeenth Century," American Anthropologist 2d. ser. 9 (1907), passim.

¹⁰John Smith (1607) identified 28 tribes in the Confederacy, but shows on his map 36 "king's houses," or tribal capitals. A manuscript of 1622 reports "32 Kingdomes." Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that Powhatan had more than 30 provinces or tribes under his rule; (David I. Bushnell, "Virginia--From Early Records," American Anthropologist, 2d. ser. 9 (1907): 32; Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy": 133; McCary, Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia, p. 1.)

¹¹McCary, Indians in Seventeenth-Century Virginia, p. 11. By comparison, the English colonists vindicated justice and maintained order with equal tyranny and severity. For a description of justice at Henrico under Sir Thomas Dale, see Robert Hunt Land, "Henrico and Its College," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d. ser. 8 (1938): 466-7.

¹²John Daly Burk, The History of Virginia from its first Settlement to the Commencement of the Revolution, 2 vols. (Petersburg, Va., 1804-5), 1:308-09.

¹³Cited by Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975), p. 50.

¹⁴Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy": 129; Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment," p. 34-35.

¹⁵Captain John Smith, A True Relation (London: W.W. in Paules-Church-yard, 1608); reprinted in Philip L. Barbour, ed., The Jamestown Voyages Under the First Charter, 1606-1609, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press for the Hakluyt Society, 1969), 1:170, 172.

¹⁶Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy": 137.

¹⁷ Instructions, Orders and Constitutions by Way of Advise Set Downe, Declared and Propounded to Sir Tho. Gates, Knight Governour of Virginia, British Museum Manuscript Collection, vol. 21993, fol. 178, cited by Bushnell, "Virginia--From Early Records": 34.

¹⁸ Edward Arber and A.G. Bradley, eds., Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631 (Edinburgh, 1910); cited by Alden T. Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages: English Policy and the Virginia Massacre of 1622," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser. 35 (1978): 65.

¹⁹ Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:14-15, 18-19.

²⁰ Wesley Frank Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689, vol. 1, A History of the South, eds. Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter ([Baton Rouge]: Louisiana State University Press, 1949), p. 104.

²¹ See, for example, [Robert Gray], A Good Speed to Virginia (London: Felix Kyngston, 1609); reprinted in J. Payne Collier, ed., Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature, 2 vols. (London: Privately Printed, 1864), 2:13-14; and [Robert Johnson], Nova Britannia (London: Printed for Samuel Macham, 1609); reprinted in American Colonial Tracts Monthly 1 (1897): 21-25. For a further discussion and references on this topic, see Arlyn Mark Conard, "The Christianization of Indians in Colonial Virginia" (Th.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1979), pp. 62-70.

²² Wilcomb E. Washburn, "The Moral and Legal Justifications for Dispossessing the Indians," Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 19-20.

²³ Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1:108.

²⁴ Cited by Washburn, "Moral and Legal Justifications," pp. 19-20.

²⁵ Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment," p. 44.

²⁶ Smith, A True Relation: 173.

²⁷ Craven argues that Powhatan never regarded an alliance with the English as advantageous and plotted their destruction from the beginning. (Wesley Frank Craven, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d. ser. 1 (1944): 68-70.)

²⁸ On this basis, Robert Gray, in 1609, justified colonization of America and the taking of lands from Indians, "which have no interest in it, because they participate rather of the nature of beasts than men." ([Gray], A Good Speed, p. 6.)

²⁹ Gary B. Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser. 29 (1972): 201.

³⁰ Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1:98,110.

³¹ [Johnson], Nova Britannia, p. 10.

³² [Gray], A Good Speed, p. 19. Note the similarity between the two quotations. Referring to Nova Britannia several times, Gray was obviously influenced by Johnson's earlier writings, including his description of Indians. For those in England who had never seen Indians, this promotional literature played a significant role in forming images in the English mind.

³³ Nash, "The Image of the Indian": 197-98.

³⁴ Jacques Cartier, A Shorte and briefe Narration of the two Navigations and Discoveries to the Northwest Partes called Newe France (1580), cited by Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 75.

³⁵ William MacDonald, ed., Select Charters and other Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1775 (New York: MacMillan Co., 1906), pp. 2-3.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁷ Cited by Land, "Henrico and Its College": 470-1.

³⁸ Smith, A True Relation, 1:167-68.

³⁹ Quinn, The Roanoke Voyages, 1:372.

⁴⁰ [Gray], A Good Speed, p. 18.

⁴¹ For contrasting views of the colonial missions, see W. Stitt Robinson, "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1952); and James P. Ronda and James Axtell, Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

⁴² Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 2:395.

⁴³ Land, "Henrico and Its College": 463.

⁴⁴ Cited by Bushnell, "Virginia--From Early Records": 36.

⁴⁵ Captain Ralph Hamor, cited by W. Gordon McCabe, "The First University in America, 1619-1622," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 30 (1922): 141.

⁴⁶Land, "Henrico and Its College": 474; J.E. Morpugo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Washington, D.C.: Hennage Creative Printers, 1976), p. 5.

⁴⁷Cited by McCabe, "The First University": 145.

⁴⁸Cited by Peter Walne, "The Collections for Henrico, 1616-1618," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 80 (1972): 260.

⁴⁹Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:102.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1:231, 3:363.

⁵¹Ibid., 1:220, 263, 335, 3:117, 576.

⁵²Ibid., 1:307, 314, 3:576.

⁵³Ibid., 1:586.

⁵⁴Alexander Brown, The First Republic in America (New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1898), p. 370; Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:247-48; 3:117, 575.

⁵⁵Morpugo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 5

⁵⁶Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:220.

⁵⁷Ibid., 3:226, 245-46, 263.

⁵⁸Ibid., 1:602.

⁵⁹Ibid., 1:332, 340.

⁶⁰Governor Yeardley wrote favorably of Thorpe, recommending him as his successor as governor. (Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:124-25, 452-53; Land, "Henrico and Its College": 481).

⁶¹Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:532, 538-40, 3:540.

⁶²Morpugo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 7.

⁶³Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:556.

⁶⁴Although some 3,570 Europeans arrived between 1619 and 1622, raising the colonial total to approximately 4,370, only 1,240 were alive on the eve of the massacre. (Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages": 75; Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:537, 4:158-59.)

⁶⁵My discussion of the uprising of 1622 is derived largely from Vaughan's concise, but thorough study of Indian-white relations and

resultant English policy, as well as events leading to and following the massacre. (Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages".)

⁶⁶ Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages": 77-78, Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:683.

⁶⁷ Stephen R. Potter, "Indian-White Relations in Virginia: 1607-1646," Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin 27 (June 1973): 186; Mooney, "The Powhatan Confederacy": 139; Craven, White, Red, and Black, pp. 59-60.

⁶⁸ Brown, The First Republic, p. 481.

⁶⁹ Wesley Frank Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 208; Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:541-71.

⁷⁰ Good Newes from Virginia, 1623; reprinted in William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser. 5 (1948): 351-358.

⁷¹ Burk, The History of Virginia, 1:240-41.

⁷² Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:671.

⁷³ Ibid., 4:24.

⁷⁴ Land, "Henrico and Its College": 495.

⁷⁵ Brown, The First Republic, p. 307.

⁷⁶ Land, "Henrico and Its College": 497.

⁷⁷ McCabe, "The First University in America": 135.

⁷⁸ Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Philanthropy and the American Indian: The Need for a Model," Ethnohistory 15 (1963): 54.

⁷⁹ Jennings, Invasion of America, pp. 53-55.

⁸⁰ Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company 3:220; Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 54.

⁸¹ Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 55. When presenting this plan, Sandys discussed its practicality and ancillary benefits: "first for the Colledge there was mony in Cash, and besides it may save the Joint stock the sending out a Shipp this yeare." (Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:220-21.)

⁸² For a detailed discussion of Sandys' new economic program, see Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company, pp. 94-104, and Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 92-107.

- ⁸³ Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company, pp. 94, 96-97.
- ⁸⁴ Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 6.
- ⁸⁵ Craven, Dissolution, pp. 101-02.
- ⁸⁶ Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, pp. 108, 115.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 102.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 105.
- ⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 110; Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:221.
- ⁹⁰ Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, p. 114-117.
- ⁹¹ Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:593, 3:217-18; Craven, Dissolution of the Virginia Company, p. 151.
- ⁹² Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:307-08.
- ⁹³ Ibid., 1:586.
- ⁹⁴ Ibid., 1:593-94, 601-04, 4:141.
- ⁹⁵ Land, "Henrico and Its College": 485.
- ⁹⁶ Conard, "Christianization of Indians," p. 200; Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:355.
- ⁹⁷ John Oldmixon, The British Empire in America, Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America, 2 vols. (London: John Nicholson, Benjamin Tooke, Richard Parker, and Ralph Smith, 1708), 1:300, cited by Conard, "Christianization of Indians," p. 224.
- ⁹⁸ Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages": 71.
- ⁹⁹ Conard, "Christianization of Indians," p. 225-26.
- ¹⁰⁰ Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 1:355.
- ¹⁰¹ Edward Arber and A.G. Bradley, eds., Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631 (Edinburgh, 1910), 2:928, cited by Vaughan, "Expulsion of the Salvages": 62.
- ¹⁰² John S. Flory, "The University of Henrico," Southern History Association Publications 7 (1904).
- ¹⁰³ Walne, "The Collections for Henrico": 260.

- 104 Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:102. Italics mine.
- 105 Ibid., 3:102.
- 106 Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 5
- 107 Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:537-540.
- 108 Ibid., 1:559, 2:75-76, 91. Morpurgo poses that "it is probable that it was [Sir Thomas] Dale who first interested Copland in the projected college at Henrico." (Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 7.)
- 109 Kingsbury, Records of Virginia Company, 3:576-77.
- 110 Ibid., 1:355.
- 111 Ibid., 1:540, 550, 600, 606-07, 616-17, 3:540; Land, "Henrico and Its College," pp. 488-89.
- 112 Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 6.
- 113 The amount collected for the Indian College was almost five times the original grant to Harvard College. (Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 412.)
- 114 Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 9.

CHAPTER 3

"COME OVER AND HELP US": THE INDIAN COLLEGE AT HARVARD

The English experience in Virginia set an example for the colonists in New England. From the uprising of 1622, the Puritans concluded that the Indians could not be trusted to accept intrusions into their lands docilely and were to be dealt with in a forcible manner, while news of the conflict reaffirmed their image of the Indians as "savage" and "heathen." Thus, their avowed purpose to rescue these "devil worshipers" from the grip of Satan was likewise consecrated. Accordingly, the Massachusetts Bay Colony adopted an official seal which portrayed an Indian pleading "Come Over and Help Us," suggesting that the natives were eager to accept the gospel. To some extent, this plea was real. Decimated by war and disease, the natives welcomed the English--but for political, not necessarily religious reasons. From the Virginians the Puritans also learned to manipulate the charitable impulses of pious Englishmen. This strategy enabled them to obtain money to finance their proposed missions to the Indians. One such mission was undertaken at Harvard College, resulting in the first Indian college in America.

American Indians in Seventeenth-Century New England

Settlement of New England began around 10,000 B.C., when the "Paleo-Indian," large game hunters entered from the north and west. Encountering a congenial environment, these peoples established patterns

of subsistence, settlement, and social organization that grew in stability and complexity over several millenia.¹ At the time of the Europeans' arrival, the native population, according to the most recent estimates, numbered between 126,000 and 144,000 inhabitants, settled in small villages along the coast and river valleys.² Southern New England, particularly the coast, was more densely populated than the northern regions, because of its greater suitability to agriculture.

Although divided into distinct tribes displaying unique cultural features, the New England Indians shared a common heritage in the Algonquian language family. When the Pilgrims arrived in 1620, ten principal tribes or groups of sub-tribes lived in New England, the largest being the Abenaki, Massachusetts, Narragansetts, and Wampanoags. Northernmost were the Abenaki, who inhabited what is now western Maine and adjacent parts of New Hampshire. Southwest of them lived the Pennacooks of southern and central New Hampshire, northeastern Massachusetts, and southeastern Maine. Inhabiting eastern Massachusetts was the tribe of that name, while on the western shore of Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and on Martha's Vineyard lived the Wampanoags. The Narragansetts occupied Rhode Island, and to the west lived their western adversaries, the Pequots of eastern Connecticut. The Pequots, although formidable participants in later Indian-white conflicts, had recently arrived in southern New England, as had a related neighboring tribe, the Mohegans. The four remaining tribes--the Nipmucs, Pocumtucks, the "River Indians," and the Nausets--were smaller, less formidable, and were to play less significant roles in subsequent New England history.³

By the seventeenth century, agriculture had replaced hunting as the primary basis for the economy in southern New England. The natives had domesticated and cultivated a rich variety of corn, beans, and squash, as well as pumpkins, cucumbers, Jerusalem artichokes, and tobacco. Their agricultural methods produced abundant harvests, much of which were dried and stored for winter use.⁴ Although the Indians of southern New England relied on their crops for the bulk of their sustenance, their subsistence was supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering, the forests and oceans also contributing to their abundance.

A complex sequence of elaborate rituals characterized the religious life of the New England Indians. At the forefront of their spiritual life were the shamans or pow-wows, who had the power to invoke supernatural beings for assistance in counsel and healing.⁵ Historian Alden T. Vaughan characterized Algonquian theology as "polytheistic and anthropomorphic," a somewhat misleading description.⁶ Indeed, their world was inhabited by a host of supernatural powers often manifested in animals, as well as in inanimate objects. Roger Williams, who began his study of Indian culture shortly after his arrival in 1631, identified the names of thirty-seven "Gods" among the Narragansetts. Yet, he also recognized that "God" to the natives was a pervasive force manifested in all that was perceived as good, such was the "strong Conviction naturall in the soule of man," Williams believed, "that God is filling all things, and places, and that all Excellencies dwell in God, and proceed from Him".⁷ Although not considered monotheists, the Indians did worship a paramount deity, Cautantowwit or Kietan.⁸ A century after Williams' observations, John Sergeant still found the Mohegans

"generally possess with the belief of One Supreme Being, the Maker and Governor of all things."⁹

Just as a spiritual bond maintained the Indians in good relationship with their environment and the supernatural world, so kinship formed the basic bond within their communities. The village-bands in which the natives grouped themselves consisted of extended lineal families, living in well-defined territories.¹⁰ "The Natives," observed Williams, "are very exact and punctual in the bounds of their Lands, belonging to this or that Prince or People".¹¹ At the head of each band was one or, in some cases, two individuals called "sachems" or "sagamos," who initially inherited their positions, but retained them by consent of their followers. Their authority thus relied as much on leadership ability and charisma as on lineage. "Although they have an absolute Monarchie over the people," Roger Williams explained, "yet they will not conclude of ought that concerns all, either Lawes or Subsidies, or warres, unto which the People are averse, and by gentle perswasion cannot be brought."¹² If a sachem's "fair carriage bear him not out the better," observed another early chronicler, William Wood, "they will soon unsceptor him". Primary among the sachem's responsibilities were the coordination of hunting, assignment of garden plots, supervision of inter-band trade and diplomacy, and the administration of justice. In carrying out their duties, they depended on a corps of counselors chosen for their ability to use spiritual power for the band's welfare. Likewise, the shamans or pow-wows, in addition to their religious responsibilities, served as political and military advisors. The sachems and their counselors

enjoyed a distinct social status and lived quite comfortably on the tribute exacted from their followers.¹³

The society of New England's Indians appeared to some early observers relatively well-ordered. Williams reported that he

could never discern that excesse of scandalous sins amongst them, which Europe aboundeth with. Drunkennesse and gluttony, generally they know not what sinnes they be; and although they have not so much to restraine them (both in respect of knowledge of God and Lawes of Men) as the English have, yet a man shall never heare of such crimes amongst them of robberies, murthers, adulteries, &c. as amongst the English.

While intertribal conflicts were frequent, "their Warres are farre lesse bloody, and devouring then the cruell Warres of Europe."¹⁴

While the culture of the New England natives shared many characteristics, distinctions between tribes should not be overlooked. Not only did they differ geographically, but also in number, character, custom, and dialect. Notwithstanding cultural differences, one might confidently describe native life, as did historian Neal Salisbury, by "economic abundance, physical health, and general social harmony. . . . [reflecting] a degree of communal organization and material comfort that in turn suggests a very secure relationship with the physical environment."¹⁵ This secure relationship was to change rapidly, however, with the intrusion of Western civilization.

Indian-Puritan Relations

Like the natives of Virginia, New England Indians had interacted with the white man long before permanent European settlement, this contact preparing the climate for later relations with the English. As early as 1480, even before John Cabot's "discovery" of Newfoundland in

1497, European fishermen began working the north Atlantic. European contacts with the natives began shortly after Cabot's explorations. Between 1501 and 1509, for example, European explorers kidnapped dozens of Micmacs of the St. Lawrence Gulf region. Sailing north from Carolina in 1524, Giovanni da Verrazzano encountered natives at Narragansett Bay, whom he found to be "the most beautiful and [to] have the most civil customs that we have found on this voyage." Proceeding north, Verrazzano found the Abenaki less courteous--perhaps because they had experienced more unpleasant interaction with the Europeans.¹⁶

For most of the sixteenth century, although influence from the active European fur trade touched this region, the New England coast was not familiar or of great interest to the Europeans. Not until Sir Humphrey Gilbert's fruitless colonizing ventures in the 1580s did the English express a real interest in New England.¹⁷ Bartholomew Godnold, a veteran of Sir Walter Raleigh's ill-fated enterprise at Roanoke, commanded the first expedition to have prolonged contact with the New England Indians. His voyage in 1602 was the first to bring back extensive information on the people and the natural resources of this region. In 1605, George Waymouth kidnapped and brought to England five Indians, who were to serve as guides and interpreters in future colonial ventures. One year later, the Plymouth Company obtained a charter and in 1607 financed a settlement in New England. The short-lived Sagadahoc colony, as it became known, was abandoned in the spring of 1608, the result of growing hostilities between the natives and the colonists.¹⁸ Samuel Argall's venture north from Jamestown in 1613, followed by John Smith's three-month expedition in 1614, signaled the increasing

attraction New England held for English entrepreneurs interested not so much in trade as in settlement.¹⁹ However, it was not until six years later that the first permanent colony was established. By then, a long sequence of kidnapping and other hostile actions had hardened the natives' position against the English. Henceforth, many New England Indians counted the English among their enemies.

Ironically, the English themselves did not pose the greatest threat to these people. Their greatest enemy came from the European diseases, a biological force which wrought more devastation than any subsequent conflict with the English. This "enemy" appeared in the epidemic of 1616 to 1618, resulting in such catastrophic death that, in some cases, the living were too few to bury the dead. Estimates of population decline range from seventy five to ninety percent.²⁰ Not only did the sudden depopulation upset the intertribal balance of power, but even more critically, the epidemic enabled the previously inept English to gain a foothold for settlement. In 1654 an early New England historian described the aftermath of this epidemic:

About the Year 1618, a little before the Removal of the Church of CHRIST to New-England, as the ancient Indians report, there befel a great Mortality among them, the greatest that ever the Memory of Father to Son took Notice of; chiefly desolating those Places where the English afterward planted the County of Pockanochy Agiffawang, it was almost wholly deserted, insomuch that the Neighbour Indians did abandon those Places for Fear of Death, fleeing more West and by South, observing that the East and by Northern Parts were most smit with the Contagion. The Aborginny Men, consisting of Mattachusetts, Whippanaps, and Tarratines, were greatly weakened, and more especially the three Kingdoms or Saggamore ships of the Mattachusetts, who were before this Mortality most populous, having under them seven Dukedoms, or petty Saggamores. The Niantics and Narragansetts, who before this Time were but of little Note, yet were they now much increased by such as fled thither for

Fear of Death. The Pecods (who retained the Name of a Warlike People, till afterwards conquered by the English) were also smitten at this Time. Their Disease being a fore Consumption, sweeping away whole Families, chiefly young Men and Children, the very Seeds of Increase. Their Powwows, which are their Doctors, working partly by Charm, partly by Medicine, were much amazed to see their Wigwams (Houses) lie full of dead Corpses, and now that neither Squantum nor Abomocho could help, which are their good and bad God. By this Means, CHRIST--not only made Room for his People to plant, but also tamed the cruel Hearts of these barbarous Indians, insomuch that half an Handful of his People, landing not long after in Plymouth Plantation, found little Resistance.²¹

When the 102 passengers aboard the Mayflower disembarked at Plymouth in 1620, though they suspected that when "we should find or meet with any Indians, . . . it [would] be to do us a mischief," they landed among a people not only decimated by disease, but a people who welcomed the potential benefits of the English presence. An alliance with Plymouth, reasoned the Wampanoags, would enable them to break from the hold of the Narragansetts, who had escaped the devastation of the epidemic. In March 1621, the Plymouth colony negotiated a treaty with the Wampanoags. The Pilgrims used the treaty to extract deference from the natives, and continued to display a militaristic bearing towards them. Plymouth attempted to undermine band autonomy by enforcing political and economic subordination to the colony.²² In the meantime, another group of colonists established a competing settlement at Wessagussett. In a move to reassert and expand its control of the surrounding territory, Miles Standish, the military leader of the Plymouth Colony, waged a series of surprise attacks designed to temper an Indian "conspiracy."²³

Despite efforts to maintain control, Plymouth's hegemony in New England came to an end in 1628, when the New England Company, a joint-stock company, obtained a patent to settle the area between the Merrimac and Charles rivers.²⁴ The following year the Massachusetts Bay Company received a charter. These events heralded the "Great Migration" of the 1630s during which thousands of English flooded New England. Correspondingly, the colonial economy shifted the demand for furs to the demand for land. Despite ever increasing encroachment, many Indians still welcomed the English presence. The Indians living in the Salem area "do generally profess to like well of our comming and planting here;" wrote Francis Higginson, "partly because . . . our being here will be a means both of relief to them when they want, and also a defence from their enemies, wherewith (I say) before this Plantation began, they were often endangered." Similarly, John Eliot reported in 1633 that

we are at good peace with the the [sic] natives & they doe gladly intertaine us & give us possession, for we are as walls to them, from theire bloody enemies, & they are sensible of it, & also they have many more comforts by us.²⁵

Thus, the doors to New England opened to the English emigrants. Between 1630 and 1633, some three thousand settlers poured into Massachusetts Bay.²⁶ By 1632 the colony had a population of two thousand; it doubled during the next two years, and by 1637 had increased to almost eight thousand. Plymouth by that time had nearly six hundred settlers,²⁷ and the total New England population was approximately twelve thousand.²⁸ Meanwhile, only two hundred Massachusetts and Pawtucket survivors remained in three villages.²⁹

Mass migration created power in numbers, which allowed Massachusetts Bay to regulate the lives of the local Indians. Migration was aided by a second major epidemic, this time of smallpox in 1633, which further decimated the native population. Like the epidemic of a decade and a half earlier, immunity spared the English, though "most" of the Indians around Massachusetts Bay died. It also struck the Abenaki to the north and east and the Narragansetts and other groups south and west.³⁰ By the time the epidemic had run its course, the Pequot and the Narragansetts were the only remaining tribes which figured politically in the minds of the colonists. By this time, too, the two colonies--Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay--focused their interests on the more fertile, less rocky soil of the Connecticut River Valley, for which no royal patent had been issued.

The way to the Valley was paved by the Pequot Conquest of 1637. Having isolated the Pequot from an alliance with the Narragansetts, Massachusetts Bay employed overtly military means to bring about their submission. Resistance by the Pequot legitimized the final blow which ended the war. In a pre-dawn surprise attack on the Pequot's Mystic River village, between three hundred and seven hundred Pequots--mostly women, children, and old men--were slaughtered. The remaining Pequots scattered and were later captured, enslaved, or killed. The resulting 1638 Treaty of Hartford declared the Pequot nation dissolved.³¹

For the next several years, English settlers flooded the Connecticut River Valley and the west coast of Long Island unobstructed, raising the total population from 800 to 5,500. Massachusetts Bay's own population during those years doubled.³² By 1643 there were four

colonies--Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth--forming the United Colonies of New England. In their Articles of Confederation, they were authorized "to frame and establish agreements . . . how all the Jurisdictions may carry it towards the Indians; that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction."³³ Another aspect of Indian affairs was added to the responsibilities of the Commissioners of the United Colonies after 1649--the administration of the missionary activities of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. Thus, against the backdrop of European and Indian competition for trade advantages, epidemics and depopulation among the Indian tribes, dispossession of Indian lands, and expansion of the English settlements, the Puritans tackled the issue of converting the Indians--belatedly and half-heartedly, as many accused.

The Puritan Mission to the New England Indians

Despite a noticeable indifference to the pious task throughout the early years of New England settlement, conversion of the Indians remained an avowed purpose of the Puritan colonists. The 1629 Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company proclaimed its purpose to "wynn and incite the natives . . . to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Saviour of mankinde." To further this mission, the members of the Company charged the Governor to "doe your best endeavor to draw on the natives of this country . . . to the true God," and in February 1628/29 wrote to its agent in New England, "Wee trust you will not be unmindful of the mayne end of our plantacon by indevoringe to bringe ye

Indians to the knowledge of the gospell." Indeed, in granting the charter, King Charles had affirmed the royal intention that conversion be "the principall ende of this plantacon."³⁴

Despite this professed aim, the Puritans were often criticized for their observable lack of effort. "It is a scandale to our Religion," Governor John Winthrop himself charged, "that we shewe not as much zeale in seekinge the conversion of the heathen, as the Papists doe."³⁵ In England and elsewhere, criticism was even more widespread. Pastor John Robinson, for one, severely admonished the Pilgrims in 1623, "Concerning ye killing of those poor Indeans, . . . oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any."³⁶ Thomas Lechford revealed that as of 1642 "there hath not been any sent forth by any Church to learne the Natives language, or to instruct them in the Religion."³⁷

Before 1643 the New England colonists could claim only signs of acceptance from some natives, but no converts. The colonists spent more effort in seeking funds for their missions than in spreading the gospel. Beginning in the early 1640s, the New England Puritans solicited contributions from their brethren in the mother country. In 1641 the Bay Colony sent Hugh Peter, Thomas Weld, and William Hibkins to England, in part to raise funds for the missionary effort. The scanty return from their solicitations--only several hundred pounds, little of it designated for conversion of Indians--led Peter and Weld to publish in 1643 their pamphlet, New England's First Fruits. This tract, designed to create a climate of favorable support in England, was based on information provided primarily by President Dunster of Harvard College.

The hope for support of both the missions and the college was realized in Harvard's first scholarship and in some support for the missionaries.³⁸ Lady Mary Armine, wealthy widow of a former member of Parliament, provided with "pious zeal" a twenty-pound annuity to support "ye preacher to ye poor Indians in n. Engl."³⁹ With this benefaction, then, began the active partnership between missions and education in colonial New England.

Missionary activity itself preceded the educational efforts and immediately followed the Peter-Weld ventures. The earliest and most successful efforts resulted from the work of Thomas Mayhew, a Congregational preacher, and his father, who claimed in 1643 their first convert, Hiacoomes. By 1650 Mayhew claimed twenty-two converts to Christianity, with many more in preparation.⁴⁰ Less successful, but more widely acclaimed, John Eliot, "Apostle to the Indians," entered the mission scene in 1646, under the auspices of the Armine annuity. Born in Essex County, England, in 1604, he was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and there became imbued with Puritan doctrines. After a year of teaching, Eliot emigrated to America in November 1631. Following a brief temporary position as substitute teacher to the Boston congregation, Eliot assumed a pastorate in Roxbury, where he remained the rest of his life.

In the early 1640s, Eliot took an interest in Cockenoe, a Long Island Indian taken captive in the Pequot War. Eliot held a regard for Cockenoe, commenting that "this Indian is ingenious, can read, and I taught him to write [English], which he quickly learnt, though I know not or what use he now makes of it. He was the first I made use of to

teach me words and to be my interpreter." With Cockenoe's tutoring, Eliot by 1646 was sufficiently fluent in the Algonquian language to converse on theological topics with the Indians of eastern Massachusetts.⁴¹

Until the fall of 1646, Eliot had intermittently visited the neighboring tribes. His first major triumph though took place among the Nonantum band. The leader, Waban, welcomed the missionary and gave his eldest son to be educated at a Puritan school at Dedham. At Waban's village, Eliot conducted his first service in the Algonquian language. One of the four English observers, probably John Wilson, minister of the Boston Church, wrote an account of the proceedings in The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England. This promotional tract was printed in London to further New England's active solicitations of financial assistance.

Over the next several years, the Roxbury pastor continued biweekly visits to Waban's village, usually on Thursdays. Eliot's preachings fell on receptive ears; indeed, he held a captive audience in the decimated remnants of a people whose culture was vanishing as quickly as its numbers. Soon he was making visits to Cutshamekin's village of Neponset on alternate Thursdays. His audience grew when the sachem of Concord invited Eliot to preach in his village. The Indian leader also requested land be granted within the bounds of the English town where the Indians might live as well as believe like white men. Bowing to the wishes of the Indians, the English, in January 1647, established a "praying town", as well as a set of "Rules for the Praying Indians at

Concord," prohibiting liquor, pow-wows, polygamy, and pride, among other curious prohibitions.

During the summer of 1647, Eliot caught the attention of English on both sides of the Atlantic when at a synod in Cambridge he displayed his ability to preach in the native language. This demonstration led to another promotional pamphlet by Thomas Shepard, The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel, Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New-England.⁴²

The tracts published between 1643 and 1648 glorified the works of Eliot, and all except First Fruits made direct appeals for financial support of these efforts. These were a prelude to a grander scheme which was accomplished shortly after Edward Winslow's arrival in England as agent of the Bay Colony. After seeing that the two latest promotional tracts were printed, Winslow began lobbying members of Parliament to create a private eleemosynary corporation for the support of New England missions.

In March 1648 the House of Commons began to debate the chartering of the new philanthropic corporation. One of the debates focused on an amendment to alter fundamentally the character of the bill, allocating collected funds "for the maintaining of the universities of Cambridge in New-England, and other schools and nurseries of learning there, and for the preaching and propagating of the Gospel among the natives."⁴³ This was not the first effort to couple collections for the Indians with those of the College. New Englands First Fruits had suggested the same, while The Day-Breaking had recommended that contributions for the Indian work be sent to the President of the College. Amidst delays and revisions of the bill, Winslow published still another tract in 1649,

The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England.

Consisting of letters by Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, the pamphlet was strategically dedicated to Parliament and the Council of State. The results, although not all that was desired, included that same year a charter creating "The President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in New England." However, the attempt to include assistance for the College was thwarted, as Parliament approved the final amendment designating funds solely for "the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the natives, and also for maintaining of schools and nurseries of learning, for the better educating of the children of the natives."⁴⁴ Under the authority of a president, a treasurer, and fourteen assistants, the society's primary function was to raise funds. Disbursement, however, was charged to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.⁴⁵ Thus, the financial impetus for more active missions, as well as for educational efforts, was established.

The investment of time and effort in establishing the Society rendered profitable returns. Within the first few years, the corporation collected 511 pounds from the army, nearly twice as much from the London parishes, and smaller amounts from the rural areas and individual donors. By 1653, receipts were in excess of 4,500 pounds; by the end of the first decade, they totaled some 16,000 pounds. Of the original collections, one-third was disbursed to New England. Most of the remainder was invested in English land to create an endowment to ensure future income.⁴⁶ As early as 1650, the society began to fund the New England missionaries. The first entry in the ledger reports the purchase of Reverend Thomas Jenner's library for Thomas Mayhew, in

accordance with Eliot's request. The Society also acquired Thomas Welde's library for Eliot. Several years later, when Eliot was prepared to publish his translation of the Bible, the corporation purchased a printing press, type, paper, and the services of a skilled printer.⁴⁷

The Restoration of Charles II brought an end to the brief life of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. Its members, however, soon petitioned for a new charter which, after some delay, was sealed on February 7, 1661. Thus, a new eleemosynary corporation was created, "The Company for Propagation of the Gospell in New England and the parts adjacent in America," commonly called the New England Company. Since nine of the Society's members were among the forty-five who comprised the new corporation, disruption did not occur. For all practical purposes, it was the same organization which for more than a hundred and twenty years; indeed until the American Revolution, financed missions in New England. Among their most significant projects were the Indian College at Harvard and the Indian Library.

The Indian College at Harvard

Puritanism was no religion for the illiterate or the undisciplined. Religious practice demanded a literate laity and an educated ministry, while regeneration required the complete transformation of potential converts. In the Puritan mind, for the Indian to become a Christian, he must first become a "civilized" person, remade in the image of the European.⁴⁸ In his Day-Breaking pamphlet (1647), John Wilson justified the paucity of effort towards Indian conversion. "Such as are so extremely degenerate, must bee brought to some civility before religion

can prosper. . . .," he wrote, "I confesse I thinke no great good will be done till they bee more civilized."⁴⁹ Such requirements of Puritan religion gave rise to specific methods in the Indian missions. As Eliot reported in The Cleare Sun-shine of the Gospel (1648), "that which I first aymed at was to declare & deliver unto them the Law of God, . . . to convince, bridle, restrain, and civilize them."⁵⁰ Indian converts thus received the gospel and were nurtured in the faith by means of grace, pastoral care, strict discipline, and education. In remaking the Indian convert into the image of the Puritan, education was to have played a major role.⁵¹

Correspondence related to the Massachusetts Bay Company expressed early concern for the education of Indians. In addition to effecting conversion of the Indians by the example of civil and "unblameable" living, the Governor of the Company also instructed the colony to "endeavour to gett some of their children to trayne up to readinge, & consequentlye to religion, whilest they are yonge."⁵² Richard Saltonstall proposed that either "the generall state" or "some large harted men" should contribute to "the educating of our poore Indians."⁵³ Little was done, however, to comply with these instructions, although Indians at Nonantum were willing to submit all their children to Puritan education.⁵⁴

Some time between 1634 and 1636, plans for an Indian college in New England were drawn up by Dr. John Stoughton, Rector of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London, and promoter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.⁵⁵ Stoughton proposed as a means for "propagating the Knowledge and Kingdome of Christ. . . . erecting a place where Some may be maintained

for learninge the language and instructing heathen and our owne and breeding up as many of the Indians children as providence shall bringe into our hands." His subscription paper was to be signed by donors willing to contribute to this cause. Nothing became of Stoughton's plan, however, perhaps because he was brought to charges before the Court of High Commission in 1635.⁵⁶

Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, was also an early advocate of Indian education, although what aroused his interest is not known. The "Schoolmaster of Cambridge," wrote Thomas Lechford in 1642, "deserves commendations above many; he hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, . . . and much studies the same . . . He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skill in the Tongues."⁵⁷ It is not known whether Dunster was proficient in an Indian language, but he did assume (and later relinquish) the responsibility for a pair of "hopeful young plants" sent by Eliot. Dunster lamented in 1646, "Whereas the Indians with mee bee so small as that they are uncapable of the benefit of such learning as was my desire to impart to them, and therefore they being an hindrance to mee and I no furtherance to them, I desire they may be somewhere else disposed of with all convenient speed."⁵⁸

Despite such an unsuccessful beginning, the first tract describing Eliot's work, The Day-Breaking, proposed President Dunster as the recipient, and Harvard College as the trustee of funds contributed in England for Indian conversion and education--perhaps a recommendation influenced by the authors' relationship to the College as members of the first Board of Overseers.⁵⁹ Having observed that previous donations for

Indian conversion solicited during the earlier Weld-Peter mission had not been used accordingly, benefactors chose instead to submit their donations through another agent, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.⁶⁰

President Dunster, however, was adamant. In 1651 he inquired of the Commissioners of the United Colonies whether the Society's funds might in some measure benefit the College. The Commissioners responded with a letter to their London agent suggesting that "an eye may bee had in the destrebutions to the enlargement of the Colledge at Cambridge wherof there is great need and furtherance of learning not soe Imediately Respecting the Indian Designe."⁶¹ The effort proved fruitful and eventually led to establishment of the Indian College at Harvard.

In 1653 the trustees of the Society desired the Commissioners to "order the building of one Intyre Rome att the College for the Conveniencye of six hopfull Indians youthes . . . which Rome may bee two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable." In September of that year, the United Colonies authorized the College to proceed with the construction at a cost not exceeding 120 pounds, "besides glasse." A year later, the College was reported to be "in hand for some Scollers." Meanwhile, the Commissioners approved a proposal from Dunster for a larger building, providing it "exceed not thirty foot in length and twenty in breadth." No evidence indicates that the Indian College was completed before 1656, when then President Chauncy proposed that its vacant rooms be used "to accomodate some English Students."⁶² Subsequently the college underwent still another enlargement to about

twice the size of the twenty by thirty structure, for a total cost of some 400 pounds.⁶³ Daniel Gookin described it in 1674 as

a structure strong and substantial. . . . large enough to receive and accomodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accomodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college.⁶⁴

Indian Students at Harvard

Gookin's description indicates that the college, while providing adequate facilities for Indian scholars, was not used primarily for that purpose. Indeed, only five Indian students attended the Harvard Indian College during the second half of the seventeenth century, prior to its demise in 1693.⁶⁵

The first Indian student, John Sassamon, came to Harvard too early to occupy the Indian College. Sassamon was John Eliot's protege, who eventually became secretary and interpreter to King Philip of the Wampanoags. Born at the praying town of Ponkapoag, he served the English in the Pequot War, assisted Eliot in the translation of the Bible, and taught for a time at Natick, before entering the service of King Philip's brother, Alexander. In the College Steward's accounts, under the debits of John Eliot, Jr., is found an entry for the quarter ending December, 1653: "by Sasaman," 7s 7d 1q. Considering the small charge, it is likely that Sassaman attended Harvard only a few weeks in 1653, probably sent by Eliot to refine his divinity studies.⁶⁶ Further evidence of Sassaman's study at Harvard is found in a pamphlet published in London, The Present State of New England (1675), which relates that :

"there was brought up (amongst others) an Indian in the Colledg at Cambridg, named Sosoman." It also describe details of his treachery and murder.⁶⁷ Sassamon was allegedly murdered under orders of his chief, after betraying the Indian conspiracy against the English, events which precipitated King Philip's War of 1675.⁶⁸

By the time the Indian College was ready for occupancy, the Commissioners of the United Colonies had already sent "hopeful young plants" to Cambridge. Most, if not all, of these scholars studied under Elijah Corlet, master of the Cambridge grammar school, probably with the intention of entering Harvard. Between 1655 and 1672, twenty Indian youths were taught by Corlet at Cambridge or by Daniel Weld at Roxbury. At the 1659 Commencement, President Chauncy examined Corlet's students, who "gave good Satisfaction" to him and the Overseers "conserning their growth in the knowlidge of the lattin tounge."⁶⁹

There are no records of Indians entering the college for study towards the A.B. degree before 1660, and only four attended before the Indian College was razed in 1693. The first of this small cadre of Indian scholars was Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, son of the sachem of Martha's Vineyard and the only Indian graduate of colonial Harvard. The second was Caleb's classmate, Joel Iacoomis, also from Martha's Vineyard. Both were freshmen in the 1661-62 academic year. The Commissioners in a report to the Society described these two students in the College as "very dilligent in their studdies." In light of this very limited success, they were quick to add encouragingly that there were five potential college students at "Inferior Schooles," as well.⁷⁰ Governor Winthrop of Connecticut in 1663 sent to Robert Boyle, Governor

of the New England Company, complimentary addresses from Cheeshahteaumuck and Iacoomes, written in their own hand, with assurances that these scholars could provide "ready answers from them in latin to many questions . . . propounded to them in that language," as well as "expresse several sentences in Greek also."⁷¹

By May, 1665, the commissioners reported eight Indians at Cambridge, only "one whereof is in the colledg, and ready to commence batchiler of art, besides another . . . murdered by the Indians at Nantucket; and at other schools some ready to come into the colledge." Iacoomis was the tragic victim reported by the United Colonies. Shortly before his commencement, he visited his parents at Martha's Vineyard. On his return, he was shipwrecked and drowned or was murdered by the natives of Nantucket.⁷² Cheeshahteaumuck, Class of 1665, was no more fortunate than Iacoomis. He contracted tuberculosis the first winter after his graduation and died within a few months.⁷³

In correspondence to the Society regarding the fates of Iacoomis and Cheeshahteaumuck, the Commissioners also reported that six Indians were in school with Weld and Corlet, and "one is lately entred into the Colledge a towardly lad and apt witt for a scholler."⁷⁴ A copy of Cicero de Officies (1629), formerly in the possession of Eliot's family, contains the inscription "John Wompowess His Booke 1665," suggesting that Wompowess was the freshman scholar. If the identification is correct, this Nipmuc sagamore from Hassanamesit (Grafton, Massachusetts) did not remain long at Harvard, for in September, 1666, Wompowess bought a house facing Boston Common, on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁷⁵

By 1675 there was but one student at the College and one at the grammar school at Cambridge. The last Indian student to attend Harvard during the life of the Indian College was Eleazar of the Class of 1679. He died before graduation, after composing an elegiac poem on the death of Reverend Thoma Thatcher, written in Latin and Greek.⁷⁶

Thus, the Indian College did not render the results intended, despite considerable expense born by the New England Company, which clearly was not satisfied with the return on its educational investments. By 1660 they were prompted to warn that "wee shalbee slow to take many more English or Indian youthes upon our charge for education till wee have some experience of those on whom soe much hath bine bestowed."⁷⁷

A major reason for the failure was that Harvard President Chauncy was less concerned with educating Indian scholars than he was with capitalizing on Indian funds. He seized the opportunity to use the Indian College building for other than the purpose intended. As early as 1656, when the Indian College was less than a year old, he began to suggest that it could be used for needs other than housing Indians. In September of that year, the Commissioners of the United Colonies granted Chauncy permission to "Improve the said building to accomodate some English Students." The "like libertie for one year to make use of the Indian buildings" was renewed in 1657.⁷⁸

In addition to housing English scholars, President Chauncy used the available building to house the Cambridge printing press, probably in 1659, when a new printing press and outfit arrived for another New

England Company venture--the production of Eliot's Bible and other works translated into an Indian language.⁷⁹

The Cambridge Indian Press

Of all John Eliot's works, the most reknowned was his translation of the Bible into the Algonquian language, printed with the financial support of the New England Company. Only three years after he began his missionary work, in 1649, Eliot wrote, "I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read."⁸⁰ During 1654, Eliot's catechism or Indian Primer was printed by Samuel Green, printer to Harvard College. Eliot's translation of the Book of Genesis appeared the following year, evidence that such an ambitious undertaking was indeed feasible. Three years later, Eliot wrote to the Corporation that his translation of the entire Bible was complete and ready for printing. In 1659, the Society responded to Eliot's and the Commissioners' requests and sent over a new press and enough brevier type to set up four pages of the Old Testament and four of the New. In the Summer of 1660, after Green had printed one sheet of the Indian Bible, the Company sent Marmaduke Johnson, a competent printer from England, to assist in this effort. Even so, the production was slow, proceeding at a rate of eight pages per week. Within a year of Johnson's arrival, the New Testament was finished, and the entire Bible of 1,200 pages was completed in 1663.⁸¹

The typography and workmanship of the Indian Bible are credits to the Cambridge Press. As to the quality of Eliot's translation, a

competent scholar in Indian languages, J.H. Trumbell, expressed the opinion two centuries later that "on the whole, his version was probably as good as any first version that has been made, from his time to ours, in a previously unwritten and so-called 'barbarous' language." Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard historian, reports that the dialect used

was understood by Indians throughout central and eastern Massachusetts, in the Plymouth Colony, and on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, where, a hundred years ago [about 1836], some of the ancients were still reading their Mumusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God.⁸²

After Eliot's monumental task was completed, the Indian College presses were put to uses other than publishing books and pamphlets for Indian conversion. Once again, President Chauncy found an opportunity to benefit Harvard College. Of the Indian Bible, he wrote to the Company in 1669

Surely they have been printed with the Press, & supplied to the Necessity of the Indians. So we now give you to know that there is no more need to issue yet further books from the Press for the use of the Indians.

He proceeded with an impassioned plea for a "free gift" of the printing equipment.⁸³ The Company responded favorably and "ordered their Printing presse, letters. & Utensils to be delivered . . . for ye Colledge use & Improvement."⁸⁴ Consequently, during the years 1655 through 1672, of some one hundred books and pamphlets issued from the Indian College presses, only fifteen were in the Indian language.⁸⁵ By 1680 very little activity was seen in the printing room of the now dilapidated Indian College, although the press that same year ran off the second edition of the Wusku Wutttestamentum or New Testament. The entire Bible reappeared in 1685, the final Indian production. With the

publishing of Cotton Mather's "Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion" in 1692, the College press folded, having served as the only press in the English colonies for nearly forty years.

After completion of Old Harvard Hall in 1677, accommodations for English students were not as scarce as in earlier years, when the Indian College was improved for them. Following this date, only the printing room appears to have been occupied. When the Indian College over a decade before had outlived its usefulness to Harvard and to would-be Indian scholars, its governing board ordered in 1693 "that ye Indian Colledge be taken down, provided the Charges of taking it down amount not to more than five pounds."⁸⁶ Still, the Harvard President and Fellows were to conceive one more benefit to their institution.

Accordingly, on September 19, 1695, the New England Company ordered that

Whereas the President & Fellows of ye Colledge In Cambridge have Proposed & Desired that ye Bricks belonging to ye Indian Colledge wch is gone to decay & become altogether Uselesse may be Removed & Used for an Additional Building to Harvard Colledge, We do Hereby signifye to ye Corporation our Consent to their Proposall; Provided that in case any Indians should hereafter be sent to ye Colledge,⁸⁷ they should enjoy their studies rent free in said building.

In 1698, "in the beginning of this Moneth of May, the old Brick Colledge, comonly called the Indian Colledge, is pull'd down to the ground, being sold to Mr. Willis the builder of Mr. Stoughton's colledge."⁸⁸ So ended the life of the Indian College--a story more tragic than productive for the Indians whom it purported to serve. Yet, at every turn throughout the life of the Indian College, Harvard took full advantage of this "noble experiment that failed."⁸⁹

A Discussion of Motives

In 1641, the year of the Peter-Weld mission to England, William Castell in a petition "for the propagating of the Gospel in America," informed Pariliament that

indeed the undertaking of the worke is (in the generall) acknowledged pious and charitable; but the small prosecution that hath hitherto beene made of it, either by us, or others, having as yet) never beene generally undertaken in pittty to mens soules, but in hope to possesse land of those Infidels, or of gaine by Commerce, may well make this and all other Christian Kingdomes confess, they have beene exceeding remisse in performing this so religious, so great, so necessary a worke.

Despite the professed aim of the Puritan colonies, missionary work among the Indians was not begun until 1643, though Boston had been founded in 1630 and Plymouth a decade earlier. When efforts did begin in Massachusetts Bay, they were not advanced without financial support from England, as the colonies were willing (or financially able, they claimed) to contribute neither missionaries nor funds to convert Indians. When the Massachusetts General Court did provide for purchase of land for a missionary reservation in 1646, they also added that "the charge this purchase shall amount unto shalbe deducted out of the first gift that shalbe brought over [from England] as given for the good of the Indians."⁹¹ And even when substantial contributions for this purchase were raised and expended, very little success resulted from the meager efforts. "The apostle" Eliot reported near the end of his life that his own results had been disappointingly meagre. From his account, Indian communicants in 1671--twenty five years after he began his missions--numbered less than one hundred.⁹² Further, expenditures of funds designated for Indian missions and education were often of a

questionable nature. These issues raise serious questions regarding the Puritan motives, suggesting that conversion of natives was merely a camouflage in the solicitation of English charity, so that contributions might benefit other efforts--such as the struggling College at Cambridge.

Convenient Confusion of Purpose

Upon his return from Massachusetts to England, Thomas Lechford, critical of his former colleagues in Boston, wrote that "they have nothing to excuse themselves in this point of not laboring with the Indians to instruct them but their want of a staple trade, and other businesses taking them up."⁹³ Lechford's comment suggests that the Puritans had matters in mind other than conversion of natives. So it was in the case of the Indian College at Harvard, when, from the first solicitations for the Indian cause, another underlying purpose proved the more important motivating factor, as evidenced by funds being diverted to further the advancement of the College itself and not to the purposes for which they were intended.

From the outset, attempts were made to mingle the cause of the College with that of Indian conversion. From the lucrative results of the Indian College mission in Virginia, the Puritan leaders realized the potential benefits of missions to the natives. The Reverend Patrick Copland, who claimed to have initiated the Virginia enterprise, later advised the New England leaders on missionary methods.⁹⁴ Consequently, projected Indian missions were used to justify an appeal for English donations to Harvard College, under the rationale that "some of our

godly active young schollars" would "make it there worke to studie their [the Indians'] language, converse with them, and carry light amongst them."⁹⁵

In 1643 during their mission to England and their active collections for charitable purposes there, Hugh Peter and Thomas Weld published New England's First Fruits, a pamphlet designed to stimulate giving. Two topics dominated the tract. Strategically, the first part reported the conversion of "some" Indians, while emphasizing the promise of converting a multitude. The second part focused on Harvard College, attempting to convince potential donors that, unlike the abortive college plan at Henrico to which so much had been previously contributed, the College at Cambridge already existed. This was the first device linking the pious Indian cause with that of the College--at least publicly in England. At this juncture, it is noteworthy that both Peter and Weld were on Harvard's Board of Overseers, perhaps explaining their active pursuits in behalf of the College.⁹⁶

Amidst charges made principally by the Presbyterians, critics reminded the New England leaders of the principal end of their charter and the duty it imposed to convert the Indians. Accordingly, the General Court of Massachusetts made provisions for this effort and appointed an agent, Edward Winslow, to answer charges by publicizing the work of John Eliot, although it had begun only a few months earlier. Under Winslow's supervision, an anonymous tract was published in 1647, The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-rising of the Gospel with the Indians in New-England. The tract recounted four meetings during which John Eliot preached to the Indians in their native language. The writer also

stressed the Indians' further desire to receive the gospel--a wish which could not be fulfilled without financial assistance from England.

Therefore, those who wished to send contributions to this pious cause, the pamphlet advised, should send them directly to the President of the College at Cambridge--the next link of the Indian cause with Harvard.⁹⁷

A third tract published in 1647 under the name of Thomas Shepard, entitled The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England again called upon "the Godly and well-affected" to contribute towards the work of conversion. This tract and the advocacy of Winslow gained the attention of Parliament. In March 1647 the House of Commons ordered that "the consideration of affording some encouragement and charity to the inhabitants now in New-England for the promoting of piety and learning in that plantation" should be resumed. The House charged the Committee for Foreign Plantations with drafting a bill, a process in which Winslow exerted significant influence. Amidst postponements, elimination of the bill, and redrafting of a second bill, Winslow published in May 1649 a tract entitled The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England, which he tactfully dedicated to Parliament and the Council of State. The effect was successful in reawakening the efforts in Parliament.⁹⁸

At this point the primary motives of the Puritans, manifested through their agent Winslow, most clearly surfaced. Undoubtedly at this critical juncture, Winslow played an influential role in drafting an amendment to the "act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New-England." The amendment was designed to alter the fundamental character of the bill, placing Indian conversion in a

postion secondary to the support of the College. As amended, the bill designated the collections "for the maintaining of the universities of Cambridge in New-England, and other schools and nurseries of learning there, and for the preaching and propagating of the Gospel among the natives."⁹⁹ So, while New Englands First Fruits had placed collections for the Indians and collections for the College side by side, and while The Day-breaking if not the Sun-rising suggested that the funds for Indian work be appropriated through the College, the amendment which culminated the preceding propaganda suggested that the College would receive primary attention in the authorized collections. The calculated sequence of events and the timely release of promotional tracts suggest, at best, a well-planned design to "piggy-back" the cause of the College on that of Indian conversion, capitalizing strategically on the religious impulses of pious Englishmen.

Despite the sophisticated exercise of political prowess, propaganda, and persuasion, the scheme was not immediately successful. The amendment was rejected, so that the final bill designated the funds collected solely for "the preaching and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ amongst the natives, and also for maintaining of schools and nurseries of learning, for the better educating of the children of the natives."¹⁰⁰ In spite of this serious setback, the Puritans were not easily discouraged, and they continued to seek ways in which the pious purpose might serve other ends. It was the bill's provision for Indian education that provided an opportunity to capitalize on the forthcoming charity.

Diversion of Funds

Charitable contributions for mission work among the Indians were from the onset a source of controversy and scandal. Charges of inadequate accountability, mismanagement, and outright theft continually crossed the Atlantic, inhibiting further generosity from pious Englishmen. Such accusations were not altogether unfounded.

The Peter-Weld mission rendered some 335 pounds in charitable gifts made "for pious uses in n. Eng. viz Some, for the advancement of Learning in the Colledge and schools: some for ye Godly-poore; and others towards the conversion of ye natives &c." Although Weld sent the remittances to New England, he could not explain how the money was expended after it left his hands. George Parker Winship concluded that

there can be no doubt that the proceeds were put to much needed uses in a time of great stringency. What the uses were, however, nobody in England knew at the time, and apparently no one since has found out satisfactorily.¹⁰¹

Raymond Phineas Stearns, biographer of Hugh Peter, confirmed this conclusion:

The records of English contributions and of how they were disbursed are not complete, but enough remains to show that the Massachusetts General Court failed to honor contracts made by its agents [Peter and Weld] in England with donors to the colony. The misuse of funds occurred with money earmarked for the orphans, the college, and the Indians.¹⁰²

Further, enough evidence remains to conclude that none of this initial charity was used "towards the conversion of ye natives." The first gift specifically designated for the Indian missions was Lady Armine's annuity of 20 pounds, given in 1643 "for ye preacher to ye poor Indians in n. Engl." As late as 1649, Thomas Weld, New England agent responsible for the early collections, believed that the annual gift

"hath bene ever since and is yeerly paid for ye use of Mr Eliot."

However, from John Eliot he later learned that the annuity had not been applied for that purpose until 1647. Forced to defend his integrity as agent for the collections and angered by the Bay Colony's treatment of him, of Weld, and of Eliot, he finally denounced the missionary project as "a plaine cheate, and that there was no such thing as gospel conversion amongst the Indians."¹⁰³

Rumors of questionable disposal of charitable funds weakened the New England cause. "Those who had given the money," explained Winship, "when they were asked to give more for the same objects, expressed a desire to be informed, adding that the reports which reached them were to the effect that those for whom they had intended the money, had seen very little of it."¹⁰⁴ In 1647 Edward Winslow, New England's new agent in London, began his efforts to overcome the slander which threatened further charity. He proved equal to the task. Shrewdly he assured a continued flow of promotional literature, while he effectively lobbied Parliament for a license to solicit funds in England. However, skepticism about financial accountability led to establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to collect and manage the charitable funds. In authorizing the collections, Parliament rejected the amendment which provided aid to Harvard College and strictly designated funds for conversion and education of the natives. This restriction, however, did not prevent the Commissioners of the United Colonies from devising other tactics to tap the funds collected by the Society.

When the charter of Harvard College was drafted in 1650, among other purposes, the college resources were designated for "all other provisions that may conduce to the education of the English & Indian Youth of this Country in knowledge: and godlines."¹⁰⁵ Since the college had heretofore allocated none of its resources for the education of "Indian Youth" and had made no efforts to fulfill this chartered purpose prior to receiving the Society's assistance, the charter's provision for Indian education may be viewed as opportunist.¹⁰⁶

In September 1651 the Commissioners wrote to Winslow in England:

It is apprehended by som that according to the entent of ye Act of Parliament an eye may bee had in the distrebutions to the enlargement of the Colledge at Cambridge wherof there is great need and furtherance of learning not soe Imeadiately Respecting the Indian Designe though wee fully Concure not, yet desire to know what the apprehensions of the honored Corporacion are heerin.¹⁰⁷

The Society, however, was not convinced that general assistance to the College would benefit the Indian work, and consequently would not allow such a diversion of the funds from the authorized purpose.

Nevertheless, the Society was interested in promoting education of Indian youth, and later suggested that six Indians might be placed in the College. The Commissioners reply of 1653 indicated their full approval of the proposal, but clarified that insufficient accommodations for the English students forced them "to raise some building there for the conveniencye of such Indians." For a building "stronge and durable though plaine," they estimated a cost of one hundred pounds.¹⁰⁸

In this use of charitable funds, several factors arouse suspicions regarding the Commissioners intentions for the Indian College. First, the building did not cost one hundred pounds as initially proposed.

Twice enlarged beyond the original design--this, to accommodate English, not additional Indian students--the total cost was some four hundred pounds. Such a sum would have supported ten missionaries for four years at the twenty-pound annual rate paid to Mayhew and Eliot through 1656.¹⁰⁹

Second, there were no Indian students identified to occupy the Indian College, a situation which was surely known to the Massachusetts Commissioners. Three years after its construction, the Society wanted to know

what number of Indians there are att the university and what progresse and profisiensiy they make in their learning; and to what degree and measure therin they have attained; which we hope wilbee such as will give good satisfacion unto divers well affected heerunto.

Although the Commissioners encouragingly reported that "there are five Indian youthes att Cambridge in the lattin Scoole," no mention was made of any at the Indian College.¹¹⁰ Not before 1660 did an Indian student enter Harvard for the bachelor's degree, and never did more than two occupy the Indian College at any given time. Indeed, during the nearly four decades of its existence, the Indian College housed only four Indian scholars.

Nevertheless, the building did not stand vacant. As soon as it was completed, Harvard President Dunster proposed that rooms be used to accommodate English students. Later, Daniel Gookin described the Indian College as "large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended. . . . It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars."¹¹¹

Despite encouraging reports and testimony, the Commissioners could not convince the Society that the education of the Indians was progressing satisfactorily according to hopes of benefactors. In 1660, responding to the report of five Indian students in the grammar school, the Society with formal protocol praised the progress made by these students, and added, "But it is wondered by some heer that in all this time there are noe more in regard it appeers by the account sent; that there are about twenty Teachers under sallary; we desire therefore that . . . you would please to bee more particular in youer next accounts." They also warned that "we shalbee slow to take many more English or Indian youthes upon our charge for education till wee have some experience of those on whom soe much hath bine bestowed."¹¹²

If the Society was suspicious of the Puritan effort by 1660, certainly the negligible progress through the remainder of the Indian College's life to 1693 affords no evidence to discount such suspicions. Likewise, the New England Commissioners left little evidence of earnest efforts to educate Indians. The efforts more clearly indicate the desire to use the Indian cause to exact English funds for the education of their own. This was a lesson learned from the Virginia enterprise and it was once again destined to be employed in that colony. Ironically, in 1693 when the Indian College was razed, a charter was granted to the College of William and Mary in Virginia, purportedly for the education of Indian youth.

CHAPTER 3 NOTES

¹ Neal Salisbury, Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 14.

² Ibid., pp. 26, 30; Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976), p. 28. Both sources strongly contest James Mooney's long-accepted 1928 population figure of 25,000 New England Indians in 1600. Harold S. Russell offers a figure of 60,000 in Indian New England Before the Mayflower (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1980), p. 27.

³ Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), pp. 51-56.

⁴ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, pp. 30-31.

⁵ Ibid., p. 44; Vaughan, New England Frontier, pp. 34-36.

⁶ Vaughan, New England Frontier, p. 36.

⁷ Roger Williams, A Key into the Language of America (London: Gregory Dexter, 1643); reprinted in Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society (Providence: John Miller, 1827), pp. 110-11.

⁸ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, p. 35.

⁹ John Sargeant, "Letter to the Hon. Adam Winthrop, Sec. of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs, Dec. 1734;" cited by R. Pierce Beaver, "Methods in American Missions to the Indians in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Calvinist Models for Protestant Foreign Missions," Journal of Presbyterian History 47 (1979): 128-129. For a perceptive discussion of English conceptions and misconceptions of native religion, see Frank Shuffelton, "Indian Devils and Pilgrim Fathers: Squanto, Hobomok, and the English Conception of Indian Religion," New England Quarterly 49 (1976): 108-16.

¹⁰ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, p. 41; Vaughan, New England Frontier, pp. 32-33.

¹¹ Williams, Key into the Language, p. 89.

¹² Ibid., p. 121.

- ¹³ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, p. 42-43.
- ¹⁴ Williams, Key into the Language, pp. 121, 151.
- ¹⁵ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, p. 13.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 51-53.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 86.
- ¹⁸ Vaughan, New England Frontier, pp. 6-7, 12-13; Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, pp. 88-93.
- ¹⁹ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, pp. 96-97.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 105; Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 22.
- ²¹ David Humphreys, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (London: Joseph Downing, 1730), pp. 280-82.
- ²² Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, pp. 114-15, 123-24.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 139.
- ²⁴ Ibid., p. 164.
- ²⁵ Alexander Young, Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay from 1623 to 1636 (Boston: n.p., 1846), p. 397; cited by Franklin M. Wright, "A College First Proposed, 1633: Unpublished Letters of Apostle Eliot and William Hammond to Sir Simonds D'Ewes," Harvard Library Bulletin 8 (1954): 272.
- ²⁶ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, p. 183.
- ²⁷ Vaughan, New England Frontier, p. 97.
- ²⁸ Gary B. Nash, Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 72.
- ²⁹ Salisbury, Manitou and Providence, p. 183.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p. 191, 209.
- ³¹ Ibid., p. 218-222.
- ³² Ibid., p. 225.
- ³³ David Pulsifer, ed., Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England: Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, 2 vols. (Boston: n.p., 1859), 1:6.

³⁴ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 5 vols. (Boston: William White Press, 1853-54), 1:17, 384.

³⁵ Cited by Vaughan, New England Frontier, p. 235.

³⁶ William Bradford, Bradford's History "Of Plimoth Plantation" (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1901), p. 197.

³⁷ Thomas Lechford, Plain Dealing: or Newes from New England (London: n.p., 1642); reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3rd. ser. 3 (1833): 80.

³⁸ Vaughan, New England Frontier, p. 253; Raymond Phineas Stearns, The Strenuous Puritan, Hugh Peter, 1598-1660 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1954), p. 182.

³⁹ "Rev. Thomas Welde's Innocency Cleared," New England Historical and Genealogical Register 36 (1882): 68.

⁴⁰ Vaughan, New England Frontier, p. 244.

⁴¹ Ibid., pp. 245-46; Walter T. Meserve, "English Works of Seventeenth-Century Indians," American Quarterly 8 (1956): 226. For a more detailed treatment of Cockenoe's life, see William Wallace Tooker, Cockenoe-de-Long Island and the Story of His Career from the Early Records (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896).

⁴² Vaughan, New England Frontier, pp. 247-252.

⁴³ Leo Francis Stock, ed., Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament respecting North America, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1924), 1:209.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Vaughan, New England Frontier, pp. 254-55. For a more detailed discussion of the Winslow mission and the chartering of the Society, see William Kellaway, The New England Company, 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians (1961; reprint ed., Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975), pp. 10-16.

⁴⁶ Kellaway, The New England Company, pp. 30, 36. Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morison reports that 16,000 pounds were collected by the end of 1654 (Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 341.) See also Samuel Eliot Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), p. 299.

⁴⁷ Vaughan, New England Frontier, pp. 273-74.

⁴⁸"Virtually all Protestant Indian missionaries in North America from the founding of the British colonies through the middle of the nineteenth century answered that the Christianization of the American Indian did indeed require his adoption of Western culture." (Gerald J. Goodwin, "Christianity, Civilization and the Savage: The Anglican Mission to the American Indian," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church 42 (1973): 93.

⁴⁹[John Wilson], The Day-Breaking, If Not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England (London: Rich Cotes, 1647); reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d. ser. 4 (1834): 15.

⁵⁰Thomas Shepard, The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth Upon the Indians in New-England (London: R. Cotes, 1648); reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d. ser. 4 (1834): 49-50.

⁵¹R. Pierce Beaver, "Methods in American Missions to the Indians in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Calvinist Models for Protestant Foreign Missions," Journal of Presbyterian History 47 (1979): 126.

⁵²Shurtleff, Records of Massachusetts, 1:384.

⁵³Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 2d ser. 8 (1894): 209; cited by Kellaway, The New England Company, p. 8.

⁵⁴Vaughan, New England Frontier, p. 250.

⁵⁵Thirteen years before he began his work with Indians and three years before the earliest known reference to a college in New England, John Eliot in 1633 proposed a college project and requested a benefaction from Sir Simonds D'Ewes. Although Eliot expressed hope that the Indians might in time "larn Christ," there is no evidence that he had resolved to undertake such a work, nor that the College was proposed to assist in this effort. (Wright, "A College First Proposed, 1633": passim.)

⁵⁶Samuel Eliot Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (1935; reprint ed., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 161, 415.

⁵⁷Lechford, Plain Dealing: 105.

⁵⁸Morison, Founding of Harvard College, pp. 313-14.

⁵⁹Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony, p. 189.

⁶⁰Stearns, The Strenuous Puritan, pp. 175, 179-80.

⁶¹ Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:198.

⁶² Ibid., 2:107, 120, 128, 168.

⁶³ Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 345.

⁶⁴ Daniel Gookin, "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1 (1792): 176.

⁶⁵ "Only one other Indian is known to have entered Harvard in the colonial period--Benjamin Larnel of the Class of 1716, 'An Acute Grammarian, an Extraordinary Latin Poet, and a good Greek one,' according to President Leverett. He, too, died in college." (Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 357.)

⁶⁶ Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:368; Harvard College Records, 31:149-50; Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 352-53.

⁶⁷ The Present State of New England (London, 1676); reprinted in Charles H. Lincoln, ed., Narratives of the Indian Wars (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), p. 24.

⁶⁸ Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:362; Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 352-53. For a discussion of the conflicting historical reports and interpretations of Sassamon's death and the trial of his alleged murderers, see James P. and Jeanne Ronda, "The Death of John Sassamon: An Exploration in Writing New England Indian History," American Indian Quarterly 1 (1974): 91-102.

⁶⁹ Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:217, 262-63.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 2:314, 316-17.

⁷¹ Cited by Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 354-55.

⁷² John W. Ford, ed., Some Correspondence Between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company in London and the Commissioners of the United Colonies in America (1896; reprint ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), pp. 13-14.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 14; Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 356.

⁷⁴ Ford, Some Correspondence, p. 14.

⁷⁵ Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 356.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 357. According to Kellaway, as late as 1685 the Society noted that there was one Indian at the College. This conflicts

with Morison's finding that the last student was Eleazar of the class of 1679. (Kellaway, The New England Company, p. 113.)

⁷⁷ Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:242.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 2:168,190.

⁷⁹ Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 345.

⁸⁰ Henry Whitfield, The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day (London: Printed for John Bartlet, 1651); reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d ser. 4 (1834): 121.

⁸¹ Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 346-47.

⁸² J.H. Trumbell, The Memorial History of Boston, ed. Justin Winson (Boston: n.p., 1882), 1:473; cited by Beaver, "Methods in American Missions": 146; Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 347.

⁸³ Ford, Some Correspondence, p. 64.

⁸⁴ Harvard College Records, p. 52.

⁸⁵ Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 349.

⁸⁶ Harvard College Records, 15:346.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 15:352.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 15:lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

⁸⁹ Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, p. 359.

⁹⁰ "The Humble Petition of William Castell, Parson of Courtenhall in Northhamptonshire, for the Propagating of the Gospel in America," (1641); reprinted in Peter Force, comp., Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776, 4. vols. (Washington, D.C.: Peter Force, 1836-38; Wm. Q. Force, 1844-46), 1, no. 13: 3-9.

⁹¹ Shurtleff, ed., Records of Massachusetts Bay, 2:178-79; cited by Francis Jennings, "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions to the Indians," Ethnohistory 18 (1971): 206.

⁹² John Eliot, A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel (London: n.p., 1671), p. 6; cited by Jennings, "Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions": 198.

⁹³ Lechford, Plain Dealing: 80.

⁹⁴Copeland to John Winthrop, Sr., December 4, 1639, in Massachusetts Historical Society, Winthrop Papers (Boston: n.p., 1929-1947) 4:157-159; cited by Jennings, Invasion of America, p. 56.

⁹⁵Thomas Weld and Hugh Peter, New England's First Fruits (London: n.p., 1643); reprinted in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st. ser. 1 (1792): 249.

⁹⁶Kellaway, The New England Company, pp. 8-10.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 10-12.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 12-14.

⁹⁹L.F. Stock, ed., Proceedings and Debates, 1:209.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁰¹"Rev. Thomas Welde's 'Innocency Cleared'," : 68; George Parker Winship, The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot (Boston: The Prince Society, 1920), pp. xii-xiii.

¹⁰²Stearns, The Strenuous Puritan, p. 175.

¹⁰³"Welde's 'Innocency Cleared'," : 68; Stearns, The Strenuous Puritan, pp. 179-80.

¹⁰⁴Winship, The New England Company, p. xii.

¹⁰⁵Harvard College Records 31 (1935).

¹⁰⁶Kellaway, The New England Company, p. 109.

¹⁰⁷Cited by Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁰⁸Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:105.

¹⁰⁹Winship, The New England Company, p. 17.

¹¹⁰Kellaway, The New England Company, p. 110; Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:216-17.

¹¹¹Gookin, Historical Collections: 176.

¹¹²Pulsifer, Acts of the Commissioners, 2:242.

CHAPTER 4

FOR "PIOUS AND GOOD USES"?: THE BRAFFERTON SCHOOL
AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY IN VIRGINIA

From the Indian uprising in 1622 to 1690, the Virginia colonists paid little attention to the conversion and education of Indians. They were rather more interested in exterminating and subjugating the native people than in Christianizing them. However, between 1690 and 1730, colonial leaders expressed renewed interest in bringing Christian civility to the Indians, and they initiated efforts to educate them at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. But by 1730 the Brafferton Indian School at William and Mary was in a state of decline. From that time through the American Revolution, the Virginians again neglected Indian conversion and education, although the Brafferton School continued to enroll small numbers of Indians until 1777.¹

Certainly the hostile climate of frequent war and the prevailing pejorative image of the Indians which followed, coupled with the colonists' struggle to establish themselves firmly in their New World and their prevailing indifference to the Church, account for the neglect of Indian conversion.² Stemming this tide of indifference, there was a brief revival of interest in the Indians' spiritual welfare after 1690, occasioned by the sudden opportunity to capitalize on charitable funds designated for this pious purpose.

The Virginia Indians after the 1622 Uprising

Fierce and constant reprisals against the native people followed the Indian Uprising of 1622. Although the Indians may well have anticipated retaliation, they were totally unprepared for the utter devastation of their lands and the wholesale slaughter of their people which fed the English thirst for revenge. They became the targets of constant attack and in 1631-32 were declared "unreconcilable enemies." The tribes scattered, some far beyond their original homelands, and several smaller groups simply ceased to exist as distinct entities. Meanwhile, the English fortified their settlements between Chesiac and Jamestown, avoiding settlement of the north and west--at least for the time being. As the fury of revenge subsided, the remnants of the Powhatan Confederacy regrouped and began to resettle their traditional territories. Time, however, could not constrain the expansion of white settlement, and tensions between the two adversaries resurfaced on the frontier. Intermittent skirmishes continued for two decades until large-scale hostilities again erupted.

In the midst of constant enmity, Opechancanough in 1644 launched another attack as devastating to the English as the first, and like its predecessor, this uprising incited equal retaliation. Within a few months, the natives had been so thoroughly subdued that in October 1646 the Assembly repealed the acts of 1643 prohibiting trade with the Indians, for cutting down their corn, and for making war upon the Nansemonds. At the same session, a peace treaty was negotiated with Nectowance, the successor of Opechancanough and chief of neighboring tribes on both sides of the James River. The treaty established a

boundary separating Indian and white lands, providing certain Indian rights and protection in their remaining holdings. It also established the tribes as English allies and tributaries, requiring them to pay an annual tribute in beaver skins.³

War erupted again briefly in 1676, precipitated by Bacon's Rebellion of 1675. A general peace was negotiated on May 29, 1677. By this time, only dwindling remnants of the Virginia tribes remained. A census taken in 1669 revealed that only eleven of the twenty-eight tribes described by John Smith in 1608 and only about two thousand of the original thirty thousand Indians remained in the colony.⁴ In 1670, the numbers of tributary Indians were reported to be forty-five hunters in Nansemond County; thirty "Pawchayick hunters in Surry;" fifteen "Wayanokes and Menheyricks," ninety Nottoways, and fifty Appomattox.⁵ By 1700 the total Indian population of Tidewater Virginia fell to less than a thousand, remnants of war and sickness who were restricted to tiny reservations by the English whose numbers had swelled to more than 55,000.⁶ Writing of their fallen state in 1705, Robert Beverly noted that

the Indians of Virginia are almost wasted. . . . all which together can't raise five hundred fighting men. . . . They have on several accounts reason to lament the arrival of the Europeans, by whose means they seem to have lost their Felicity, as well as their Innocence. The English have taken away great part of their Country, and consequently made every thing less plenty amongst them.⁷

Having declared the Indians irreconcilable enemies, the colonists expressed little interest in converting or educating them during the remainder of the seventeenth century. The prevailing negative image of the Indians which followed the Indian uprisings militated against any

sentiments among the English to Christianize the "heathens." The literature of the period describes the native people as "perfidious," "barbarous," "sloathful," and "brutish," among other unambiguously pejorative terms. "This vocabulary of abuse," according to Gary B. Nash,

reflects not only the rage of the decimated colony but an inner need to provide a justification for colonial policy for generations to come. Hereafter, the elimination of the Indians could be rationalized far more easily, for they were seen as vicious, cultureless, unreconstructable savages rather than merely as hostile and primitive men, though men with an integral culture and a way of life worthy of notice.⁸

The prevailing negative image dominated Indian-white relations not only through the seventeenth, but through most of the eighteenth century as well. No longer were the Indians viewed as tractable, a perception which mitigated efforts to bring them to Christianity.

A few meager platitudes, however, were expressed during this period, despite the general enmity which prevailed. Sir George Yeardley in his "Propositions touching Virginia, 1625" reminded the royal council in England of "the importance of the worke intending the conversion of the Heathen."⁹ Four years later, the records show three Indians residing within an English settlement and, by act of the General Assembly, maintained at the expense of the entire colony: "To defray all the charges above said the whole Assembly concluded that there should be five pounds of tobacco per pol levied through the colony."¹⁰ The Nicholas Ferrar bequest of 1619¹¹ was still being used to instruct Indian children in 1640, when George Menifye presented a boy of Tappahannock to the General Court of the Colony. The Indian child had

been taken to England in 1624, christened, and for ten years had lived among the English. Menifye requested an allowance from the Ferrar bequest, which the court granted, having found the youth "to have been well instructed in the principles of religion, taught to read, instructed to writing."¹²

The General Assembly enacted no favorable legislation regarding the Indians until the English fury over the 1644 uprising had subsided. In 1655, the Assembly "provided that due respect and care be had that . . . Indian servants be educated and brought up in the Christian religion."¹³ Other laws were also enacted to protect the interests of apprenticed Indian children and their parents.¹⁴

Other than these meager efforts, no evidence of missionary or educational activity is recorded. Morgan Godwyn, Pastor of Marston Parish near Williamsburg, characterized Virginia's prevailing attitude toward conversion in The Negro's and Indians Advocate (1680):

To propagate Christianity among the heathen, . . . although (as must piously be supposed) it were the only end of God's discovering these countries to us, yet is that lookt upon by our new race of Christians, so idle and ridiculous, so utterly needless and unnecessary, that no man can forfeit his judgment more, than by any proposal looking or tending that way.¹⁵

The Reverend John Clayton in "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," published in 1689, reported that "no great matter has been done there, as yet towards the conversion of the Indians."¹⁶ When Governor Edmund Andros was asked in 1697 about the conversion of Indians, he replied, "No endeavors to convert the Indians to Christianity have ever been heard of."¹⁷

With no interest in propagating Christianity among the Indians during this period, there was certainly no educational efforts promoted in their behalf. In 1663 the General Assembly made a provision for the maintenance and education of Indian hostages with an annual allowance of 1200 pounds of tobacco. However, no record survives of its subsequent use for the benefit of Indian education. William Stith, the eighteenth-century historian of Virginia, wrote that, since the dissolution of the Virginia Company in 1624, "there was no publick Attempt, nor any School or Institution, purposely designed for their Education and Conversion, before the Benefaction of the late Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq."¹⁸

The Revival of Interest in Indian Education

As was the case in other missionary enterprises, the promise of funds incited greater concern for the spiritual welfare of the Indians. Soliciting contributions from the merchants of London for the founding of a college in Virginia, Commissary James Blair proposed in 1690 the possibility of "perhaps" creating "a foundation for ye Conversion of our neighbouring Heathen to ye Christian Faith."¹⁹ Since no indication that the College of William and Mary was intended for Indians exists in other official records, it is likely that the mention of conversion was a play on the merchants' pious impulses. In January 1691 while Blair was in London seeking a royal charter for the College of William and Mary, Robert Boyle, Governor of the New England Company, died, leaving 5,400 pounds for unspecified "Charitable and other pious and good uses." He recommended "the Laying out of the greatest part of the same for the

Advance or propagation of the Christian religion amongst Infidells."²⁰ Through Bishop of Salisbury Burnet, Dr. Blair obtained an introduction to the Earl of Burlington, Boyle's nephew and executor of his estate, and prevailed upon him to direct the fund toward the support of an Indian school at the prospective college in Virginia. Reporting the outcome of his efforts in a letter to Governor Francis Nicholson, dated February 27, 1691-92, Blair wrote from London that "Mr. Boyle died about the beginning of last month, & left a considerable Legacy for pious uses, which, when I understood, I made my interest with his executors by means of the Bishop of Salisbury, and I am promised 200 l. of it for our college."²¹

Even more of the estate was to accrue to William and Mary. Burlington invested funds in an English manor called the "Brafferton," in the north riding of Yorkshire. The rents from the estate were to go to the college in Virginia, after payments of forty five pounds for Harvard College and forty five pounds for the New England Company were made. The executors were clear in specifying that the Boyle funds be used in Virginia to

keep att the said Colledge soe many Indian Children in Sicknesse and health in Meat drink Washing Lodgeing Cloathes Medicines bookes and Educacon from the first beginning of Letters till they are ready to receive Orders and be thought Sufficent to be sent abroad to preach and Convert the Indians.

Considering the Indian parents' reluctance to part with their children, who had previously been sold into slavery, the Boyle fund rules also provided for "buying or procureing Such Children."²² Such a provision was indeed appropriate since the English encountered great difficulty in

obtaining children from the tributary tribes who were experienced in the deception of previous educational schemes. Such was the case at least until Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Spotswood was able to regain their confidence after his arrival in 1710.

Evidence of initial attempts to obtain Indian students for William and Mary are found in the records. In 1697 James Blair recommended

that as many Indian children be educated at the Colledge as may be; and these well instructed in the Christian Faith, (but with all keeping their own language) and made fit to Evangelize others of their nation and language.²³

In his letter of February, 1700 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Commissary Blair expressed his hope that the college would be completed by the following winter and that his proposition "for the encouragement of the Christian Education of our Negro & Indian children" would be embodied in a prospective revision of the laws.²⁴ Also in 1700, Governor Francis Nicholson enlisted two Indian traders, Robert Hicks and John Evans, to inform the tribal leaders of the western villages that a "great & good man . . . having a great love for the Indians" had provided the college with money to teach their children "to know their great Almighty God who is able to do every thing for them" and to "read, write & all other arts & sciences, that the best Englishmen's sons do learn." The traders were to further inform the Indians that the following summer rooms would be ready to receive nine or ten youth from the several nations, who would receive "good, valuable clothes, books & learning & shall be well look'd after both in health & sickness & when they are good scholars, shall be sent back to teach the same things to their own people." Every assurance was to be given the Indian leaders

to convince them of the integrity of Nicholson's offer.²⁵

Unfortunately, no record survives of the Hicks and Evans mission, nor any evidence that even one Indian enrolled at William and Mary as a result.²⁶

No evidence remains of Indian enrollment at William and Mary prior to 1705, since the early college records were destroyed when the only building was gutted by fire in October of that year. Neither is there evidence that the College issued a list of students during these or any other years to verify the enrollment, a requirement set forth by the executors of the Boyle estate.²⁷ In The History and Present State of Virginia (1722), Robert Beverly reported that, to make use of the Boyle charity, the College "formerly bought half a Dozen captive Indian Children Slaves and put them to the College."²⁸ Perhaps these were the "4 Indians brought by the College some years ago," mentioned by Alexander Spotswood in 1712.²⁹ In any case, until Spotswood's arrival in 1710, no serious attempt was made to fulfill the intent of the Boyle legacy.

The 1711 uprising of the Tuscaroras in North Carolina afforded Virginia a much better opportunity to obtain students for the Indian school. With a show of great military strength, acting Governor Spotswood marched to the southern border and assembled several heads of the neutral Tuscarora towns, as well as those of the tributary tribes of Virginia. In the treaty which followed, Spotswood "proposed that two of the Chief men's sons of each of their Towns should be delivered to this Government as Hostages and to be educated at our college." This was to "not only be the surest means to keep them in friendship with her

Majesty's Subjects, but . . . prove a good step towards the Conversion of that whole Nation."³⁰ In return for this assurance of their fidelity, the neutral Tuscaroras were to be free from Virginia's military retribution, and the tributaries were forgiven their annual tribute of twenty beaver pelts "as long as they kept their Children at the College."³¹ The results were encouraging. In December, 1711, Spotswood reported that

the Pamunkys and Chickahoninys have delivered their Hostages, and the former more than was desired, for the queen of Pamunky has not only sent her son to the College with a boy to attend him, but also two of the Chief men's sons of that Nation, all handsomely Cloathed after the English manner, So that there are Hostages from all our Tributary Indians now at the College, who all seem as much desirous of a Liberal education as can be expressed.³²

In July, 1712, Spotswood was pleased to announce that "there are now (together with the 4 Indians brought by the College some years ago) about twenty Indian Children at the College."³³

Despite the success of Spotswood's political maneuvers, the plan to educate friendly Indians received no support from the Governors of the College or from the House of Burgesses. The College Governors inexplicably preferred "to buy at a great expense, Children of remote Nations, taken in war," finding Spotswood's plan to enlist Indian scholars from the Virginia tribes "impracticable."³⁴ Robert Beverly wrote that in order to make use of the Boyle fund, the Virginia colonists "had formerly bought half a Dozen captive Indian Children Slaves and put them to the College; this Method did not satisfy this Governor [Spotswood], as not answering the Intent of the Donor."³⁵

"Being already owned as slaves by the Indian School," historian George

MacLaren Brydon questioned, "were they after graduation sold into domestic slavery or apprenticed to some master for a number of years?"³⁶ Indeed, making slaves of Indian children was not new to the colonists. Spotswood reported that the Indian parents' reluctance to submit their children to education was the result of a breach of a former agreement made "by this Government, when instead of their children receiving the promised education they were transported (as they say) to other Countrys and sold as Slaves." At any rate, despite Spotwood's success in convincing the parents "that there is no such intention now," the College remained disinterested in scholars from the tributary tribes.³⁷

Meanwhile, "such a violent disposition prevail[ed] among the Burgesses for exterpating all Indians without distinction of Friends or Enemyes," Spotswood lamented, "that a project I laid before them for assisting the College to support the charge of these Hostages, tho' proposed on such a foot as would not have cost the Country one farthing, has been thrown aside without allowing it a debate in their House." Instead, the Burgesses passed a bill to raise 20,000 pounds for a war against the Tuscaroras "in general," failing to distinguish between friendly and enemy tribes.³⁸

In the wake of insufficient funds from the Boyle bequest and no support from the colony, Spotswood appealed to crown officials, the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel--all to no avail.³⁹ To otherwise obtain the needed resources, the governor created in 1714 the Virginia Indian Company, an organization for the regulation of Indian trade, for the security of the southwestern frontier, and for Indian education--all at

the expense of the traders who profited from the Indian traffic. Upon completion of its organization, the Virginia Indian Company erected an Indian school at Fort Christanna on the Meherren River. Spotswood engaged Charles Griffin as schoolmaster, paying him fifty pounds of his own money until the Company was operational. Griffin's management of the school, according to early historian Hugh Jones, was such that "the Indians so loved and adored him, that I have seen them hug him and lift him up in their arms, and fain would have chosen him for a king of the Saponi nation."⁴⁰ By October 1715 Spotswood wrote that there were seventy Indian children under Griffin's charge, most of whom "can already say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed," and in February, 1716, the number reported was one hundred.⁴¹ A letter of July 4, 1716 described the success of Spotswood's work:

I am just returned from Virginia where I was informed that the fort built at Christ Anna by Col. Spotswood was finished it lyes on Meherrin River about a small daies march from Moratoke and about 50 or 60 miles from some part of James River and Appamatocks River. The fort consists of five large pentagonal log-houses which serve for bastions, and a curtain of mault wood with earth on the inside from one house to another, etc. Each house has a great gun about 1400 lb. each, etc. The Honble. Mr. Boyle gave a considerable sum to pious uses one of which is the conversion of Indians and at his charge are taught several of the youth of the Tributary Indians at Williamsburg one of which that can read and write is to be Usher to ye School at Christanna.⁴²

This successful enterprise, however, was abandoned in 1717 when crown officials dissolved the Virginia Indian Company. In the spring of 1718, the eleven student hostages were sent home to the western Carolina tribes, the tributaries had their privileges and protection withdrawn, and Charles Griffin moved to the College as the Indian School master.

While it operated, the Fort Christanna school had been draining the College of its native scholars. By 1716 Indian students were so few that their master requested "the liberty of teaching such English Children as shall be put to him" and that a partition be erected to separate them from the Indians.⁴³ The College by 1721 had no Indian students and an "Indian Master" whose services were rendered exclusively on English scholars.⁴⁴ Moreover, nothing is known of the instruction of Indians at the College in the later 1720s. In 1732 an English visitor to Virginia, William Hugh Grove, recorded in his diary that William and Mary was known to have enrolled "7 or 8 at a time, but They can now get very few to Live there."⁴⁵ Perhaps he referred to Indian enrollment in the 1720s, but attendance during this decade cannot otherwise be verified.

In the face of an untapped and rapidly accumulating Boyle fund, President Blair began to devise further uses for the account which might revitalize the then dying College. In 1723 reviving the appearance of commitment to Indian education, Blair had a building constructed for an Indian school which did not in fact exist. Built opposite the future site of the President's house at a cost of five hundred pounds, the structure was a handsome two-and-a-half story brick house, fifty two feet long, thirty four feet deep, and fifty two feet high.⁴⁶ It was shrewdly named the "Brafferton," for the Yorkshire estate which financed its construction.

This accomplished, Blair devised yet another tactic to capitalize on the Boyle fund to aid the College--this time, its severely deficient library. In 1732 he authorized a London agent to spend between 250

pounds and 300 pounds on books for the general use of William and Mary scholars. Blair rationalized this diversion of Boyle funds in two ways. First, he noted sarcastically that "as we do not live in an age of miracles, it is not to be doubted that Indian scholars will want the help of many books to qualifie them to become good Pastours and Teachers." He then promised that, although the library was for the general use of the College, each book would bear a special inscription and be housed in the Brafferton. The library purchased from the Indian fund was fair consideration, Blair argued, for the services of the College professors which would accrue to future Indian scholars.⁴⁷ Little did it matter that there would be no Indian scholars at William and Mary for over a decade.

Through the remainder of President Blair's administration, efforts to engage Indian students were negligible. Upon Blair's death in 1643, William Dawson became the new College president and Commissary of Virginia. That same year, the college received perhaps half a dozen Indians.⁴⁸ In doing so, following a period of neglect, the College of William and Mary once more became a tool of Indian policy--as in the days of Spotswood's administration. In the interests of English expansion and trade, the colonists again courted the friendship and alliance of Indian tribes, hoping to gain a significant advantage over the French. Important treaty conferences were held with the powerful Six Nations Iroquois in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, and at Logg's Town, Pennsylvania, in 1752. At both conferences, the treaty commissioners informed the Iroquois delegation "of a large House built among us for the educating of Indian Children, & desired that you would

send some of Yours."⁴⁹ Both offers were politely declined.

Canassatego, an Iroquois speaker at the Lancaster Treaty in 1744, expressed the attitude of his people towards an invitation from the Commissioners to send some of their boys to William and Mary. "We must let you know," he informed the Virginia Commissioners,

we love our Children too well to send them so great a Way, and the Indians are not inclined to give their Children Learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us.⁵⁰

During August 1751 official Cherokee representatives visited Williamsburg to seek trade agreements and to confirm Virginia's friendship with the Cherokee nation. In a "private Conversation" with them, acting governor Lewis Burwell

explain'd to them the Happiness and Advantages the Christians enjoy, in the Hopes and Assurance of a blessed Immortality; and from thence persuaded them to be educated at the College, that by their Means they might be instructed in the Principles of Christian Religion, and be Partakers of the same Happiness with the English. They heartily thank'd his Honour for this instance of his Affection, and assured him, that his offer was very agreeable to them, but that they could return no Answer without consulting their Emperor.⁵¹

The offer must have been well-received by the Cherokee "emperor," since eight Indians of a total seventy five students were enrolled at the College by March, 1754: Jno. Sampson, Chs. Murphey, Gid: Langston, Wm. Cooke, John Langston, Thos. Sampson, Wm. Squirrel, and John Montour.⁵² These students attended William and Mary from 1753 to 1755, with the exception of Cooke and Langston who were not listed for the final year and were likely the runaways of whom Governor Dinwiddie complained in 1756.⁵³

In the 1756 treaty negotiations between Virginia and the Catawbas and Cherokees, the commissioners again broached the subject of the Brafferton School:

We would fain have you send some of your Boys to Virginia, where we have a School erected for their Education. We promise you that all due care shall be taken of them, both with Respect to their Cloaths and Learning. When they have come to be Men, they will be acquainted with the Manners and Customs of us both, and our Children will naturally place such Confidnnc [sic] in them as to employ them in settling any Disputes that may hereafter arise.⁵⁴

Increasingly after this time, the Virginia government no longer viewed education as an effective means of advancing its political and economic goals. In dealing with frontier issues, the government had to deal with so-called "foreign nations" who bargained from a position of greater strength than had the tributaries of Spotswood's time. Likewise, the Church leadership in England showed little interest in promoting Christianity among the Virginia Indians. After 1748, the Bishops of London generally upheld a laissez-faire policy regarding the ecclesiastical affairs of the American colonies.⁵⁵

Despite the dearth of government and Church support and encouragement, the Brafferton School maintained a small, but steady enrollment of students from the mid-1750s through the American Revolution. According to the College bursar's records, "Brafferton Manor" charges accrued for the board of from three to five Indian students--at an annual cost of 12.10 pounds per student. In addition to board, expenses for Indian students at the College in the 1760s and 1770s included shoes, clothing, medical care, repairs on the Brafferton, and miscellaneous expenditures, as well as the salary of the Indian

master.⁵⁶ In 1765 John Blair, Jr., the College bursar, reported that board and other expenses for Indian students averaged over the previous six years 33.6.8 pounds. This would have maintained probably two, but no more than three students per year.⁵⁷ Five students boarded during most of the 1770s.⁵⁸

Very little is known of the Indians who attended the college during the later years of the Brafferton School. The names and years of attendance are known for only a few of them: John Tauhaw (1765), George Sampson (1769), George Sampson (1775), Rueben Sampson (1775), Mons. Baubee (1776), James Gunn (1776), and Edmund Sampson (1776).⁵⁹ J.F.D. Smyth, an English visitor to Virginia in the early 1770s, described the Indians at William and Mary as "bright, and they receive any branch of education with great facility."⁶⁰

Failure and Demise of the Brafferton School

By all accounts, the educational design for Indian education at the Brafferton School was a failure. When sickness and death among the Indians did not frustrate these efforts, runaways did. "The young Indians procured from the tributary or foreign nations with much difficulty," Hugh Jones wrote in 1724,

were formerly boarded and lodged in the town; where abundance of them used to die, either through sickness, change of provision, and way of life; or as some will have it, often for want of proper necessaries and due care taken with them. Those of them that have escaped well, and have been taught to read and write, have for the most part returned to their home, some with and some without baptism, where they follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites.⁶¹

Governor Dinwiddie expressed equal disillusionment in 1756, when he lamented to a Cherokee chief,

The Young Men that came here for Education at our College did not like Confinement, and, in Course, no Inclination to Learning. . . . Those that came here were well cloath'd and properly taken Care of, but they co'd not be reconcil'd to their Books; they went away of their own accord, with't leave.⁶²

Perhaps more significantly, the tenacity with which the Indians held on to their native culture and resisted outside pressures to change was also a reason for the failure of the educational schemes.

Responding to the failure of the Indian School at William and Mary, Mark Catesby unknowingly paid tribute to the cultural persistence among the Indians:

And so innate an affection have they to their barbarous customs, that tho' from their infancy they have been bred, and fared well with the English, yet as they approach towards manhood, it is common for them to elope several hundred miles to their native country, and there to resume their skins, and savage way of life, making no further use of their learning so unworthily bestowed upon them.⁶³

And contrary to hopes for the educated Indians upon their return to their native homes, "instead of civilizeing and converting the rest," complained William Byrd II, they "immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves."⁶⁴ William Hugh Grove agreed with Byrd, that "most return to their old way of Life and Carry more Vices away with them than they [their?] fellows ever knew. They have sometimes 7 or 8 at a time, but They can now get very few to Live there."⁶⁵ As late as 1773, the complaint remained unchanged:

Some experiments have evinced that those Indians who have been educated at this college, and thereby brought to civilized and polished manners, have always embraced the first opportunity of returning to their former wild habits,

and uninformed state, into which they immediately plunged, forgetting and totally losing every trace of their former civilization, and of all they had been taught.⁶⁶

Thus, to Indians in Virginia, education rendered only a thin veneer of civilization, which was easily cast aside.

Perhaps nothing speaks more of the failure of the Brafferton School than the story of its final Indian student, Baubee, a half-breed who came to Williamsburg in 1775. The Virginia Gazette reported in 1775 that

Dr. Thomas Walker, one of the Gentlemen appointed by the Convention to treat with the Indians, is returned to this city. . . . Mr. Walker has brought with him a young Indian (son of the famous Bawbee) to be educated at the college.⁶⁷

When he returned to the native world, he spread bitter reports about the treatment he had received and used the benefits of his education to persuade the tribes to war against the Americans. "This story of Baubee," according to J.E. Morpurgo, "writes a sad but not uncharacteristic final chapter to the pathetic, muddled, generally uncaring and not infrequently discreditable record of William and Mary's efforts to educate the Indians, and the end of the Indian School."⁶⁸

With the advent of the American Revolution, economic ties with England were severed, causing a disruption in the flow of money to the colonies. The sequence of events leading to the final disruption in the Boyle funds are explained by Bishop Beilby Porteus, who engineered the diversion of the Boyle estate to other "pious and charitable uses":

The charity continued to be so applied till the breaking out of the American war, soon after which the then Bishop of London forbid the Agent of the College to remit any more money to Virginia. After the peace, the College claimed the rents of the estate, and all the arrears that had accumulated, which, with the sale of some timber, amounted

to a very large sum. This was resisted by Bishop Lowth; and on my succeeding to the See of London, a regular suit in Chancery was commenced between me and the College in Virginia. The question was, whether they, being now separated from this kingdom, and become a foreign, independent state, were entitled to the benefit of this charity. It was the first question of the kind, that had occurred in this country since the American revolution, and was therefore in the highest degree curious and important. The Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, decided against the College. He excluded them from all share in the charity, and directed that the Trustees should offer a plan for the appropriation of the charity to some other purpose. In consequence of this decree, I gave in to the Master in Chancery, Mr. Orde, my plan for the application of Mr. Boyle's charity, and proposed for its object, 'the conversion and religious instruction of the Negroes in the British West-India Islands.' This has been subsequently approved by the Lord Chancellor, and there will now be a revenue of near 1,000 l. per annum, applied to that purpose.⁶⁹

The last payment from the Boyle fund was recorded by the bursar on March 25, 1776. Without further support, the Brafferton School soon ceased to function by 1777.⁷⁰

The Brafferton building, nonetheless, continued to serve the College of William and Mary, although it ceased to serve Indian students after the Revolution. In 1782, the President and Masters decided to rent the Brafferton for 50 pounds per year.⁷¹ A century later, the building was used as a dormitory for students.⁷² Today, the historic Brafferton Hall survives as the administration building on the William and Mary campus, which is conspicuous still in its absence of Indian scholars.

A Discussion of Motives

Referring to the pious language of the William and Mary College charter, a nineteenth-century government publication cautiously admitted that

it is useless to arrogate any peculiar or particular piety in the educational establishments of any part of this country. . . . The propagation of the Christian faith among the Indians was perhaps a secondary consideration.

The circular explains further that the motives of the Virginia colonists were no different from those of Englishmen everywhere, being "a healthy union of public spirit and private interest, of measured philanthropy and enlightened selfishness." While reflecting the mixed motives inherent in the founding of William and Mary, this publication also insisted that the propagation of the gospel among the natives "was honestly attempted in Virginia."⁷³ Indeed, it was. The degree of honesty, however, depended on the individuals behind the attempts.

Governor Spotswood, in spite of his unquestionably mixed motives, "was genuine and energetic in his dedication to Indian affairs. This dedication persuaded him to take an immediate and continuing interest in the development of the Indian School at the College."⁷⁴ However, as Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, his concern for Indian education was also motivated by the political interests of the colony.

James Blair, on the other hand,

true to the pragmatism which had informed the College project since its beginnings in the early seventeenth century, recognized the proclamation of a will to educate Indians . . . as little more than a bait with which to lure benefactions out of gullible stay-at-home Englishmen.⁷⁵

For fifty years the president of William and Mary College, Blair vehemently and successfully opposed the administration of Spotswood, who had made conscious efforts to fulfill the intentions of the Boyle will. As founder and first president of the College and as Commissary of Virginia,

James Blair who had been so vociferous about what would be done for the Indians when seeking the charter and again when courting the executors of Boyle's will, now demonstrated no more interest in caring for Indian bodies than did the President of the College in improving their minds or the Commissary in saving their souls.⁷⁶

Accordingly,

though William and Mary had indeed made some effort to fulfill its obligations and thus to justify taking a Blair's share of the funds, the effort had been at best lackadaisical and by any normal assessment unprincipled to the point of viciousness.⁷⁷

Considering the endeavors of nearly a century, Arlyn Mark Conard concluded that "the major reason for the failure of attempts to Christianize the Indians of Virginia . . . was the general apathy, if not antipathy, of most colonists and colonial authorities."⁷⁸

Pious and Political Motives in Spotswood's Indian Policy

Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Spotswood undoubtedly possessed mixed motives in his conduct of Indian affairs. Nonetheless, in his exhaustive study of Virginia's Mother Church, George MacLaren Brydon concluded that

he was more deeply and more genuinely interested in the moral and spiritual welfare of the tributary Indian tribes and in their advancement in civilization than any other colonial governor, either before or after him, and the only one who proposed a definite and workable plan to accomplish these ends.⁷⁹

Under his guidance and administration, Indian education flourished with unprecedented success.

For Spotswood's economic interests and motives, one might look suspiciously at his founding of the Virginia Indian Company, whose primary purpose, of course, was trade and profit. The governor held

shares in the Company and was therefore financially interested, a circumstance which later led to accusations that he used his public office for personal gain.⁸⁰ However, although Spotswood was not indifferent to his private fortune, in this case, the desire to support a cherished enterprise, in dire need of capital, prompted his investment. His paying Master Griffin's salary from his own resources certainly would not indicate self-aggrandizement. Other, more worthy motives, then, must be explored.⁸¹

In promoting Indian education, Spotswood was interested in more than the propagation of the gospel; he was just as concerned with securing the peace and security of the colony, accomplished by extracting the friendship and fidelity of the tributary tribes.⁸² Spotswood used the College of William and Mary to confine young Indian hostages. "The obtaining some of their Children to be educated at our College will not only be the surest means to keep them in friendship with her Majesty's Subjects," he wrote of his dual motives, "but may (I hope) prove a good step towards the Conversion of that whole Nation."⁸³ He further elaborated his hope that the arrangement

will not only secure us against any danger from them, but prevent all the roving partys of strange Indians from coming near our Inhabitants. The several partys of men that are to be settled among the Tuscaruros and ye other Tributarys, will be as so many Spyes upon all their actions. The trade carryed to their Towns and settled upon a just and equal footing, and a due administration of Justice in all controversys arising between them and ye English will create in them a liking to our Laws and Governm't and secure a necessary dependence on this Colony for supply of all their wants, as the instructing their Youth in the principles of Christianity, will, in a generation or two, banish their present savage Customs and bind them by the Obligations of Religion to be good Subjects and useful Neighbours⁸⁴

Moreover, Spotswood had the foresight to realize that the English colonies in America inevitably would expand westward, thus arousing a struggle for supremacy with New France. In this struggle, the friendship and fidelity of the Indians would be a great, if not a decisive, factor.

Thus, Spotswood was motivated not only by genuinely pious interests, but also by the political security of the colony under his charge. According to his biographer, Leonidas Dodson, "to Spotswood the interests of the Indian were always secondary to those of the English," despite his unusual concern for their welfare.⁸⁵

Blair's Diversion of Funds

In contrast to Spotswood's machinations, James Blair concerned himself little with the education of Indians. Despite an avowed interest expressed from 1690 to 1699,⁸⁶ there are reasons to suspect his expressions of interest in Indian conversion were opportunistic appeals to English piety. First, this was a period of intense fundraising for the establishment of the College. The most significant donation to the College at the time was the Boyle endowment. Although by 1693, Blair was aware that the fund was obligated to William and Mary, the rules and methods for the settlement of Boyle's estate were not decreed until June 9, 1698.⁸⁷ Once the endowment was officially confirmed for the benefit of William and Mary, Blair uttered no further exhortations regarding Indian conversion. Neither did he issue the reports with a list of Indians enrolled and a report on their progress, as required by the rules of the Boyle estate.

Notwithstanding his early professed concern, if the sincerity of his pious intentions is measured by effort, then Blair fails miserably. Prior to Spotswood's work beginning in 1711, the only Indians to attend William and Mary were the "half a Dozen captive Indian Children Slaves," mentioned by early historian Robert Beverly, which, according to Spotswood, was "not answering the Intent of the Donor."⁸⁸ "Propagating the true Knowledge of the Christian Religion to all Pagans . . .," Francis Makemie wrote in 1705, "has been lamentably neglected, even by such as have pretended to the highest pitch of zeal."⁸⁹

When Spotswood was realizing unprecedented success in his educational ventures, Blair could not have cared less. After 1717, when the Virginia Indian Company's dissolution destroyed the governor's drive for Indian education, the College of William and Mary under his presidency was bereft of Indian students, and there is no clear evidence of further enrollment through the remainder of Blair's presidency. Yet, it is known that, while Spotswood readily depleted the Boyle annuity for its stated purpose, Blair found a large surplus of up to 500 pounds on two separate occasions.⁹⁰ Obviously, the endowment was not being fully, if at all, administered on behalf of Indian scholars.

Blair found other uses for the Boyle fund. In 1705 the College burned to the ground, and during the following decades, Blair busied himself in an attempt to revive the then dying College. Foregoing the masters' and president's salary, he hoarded revenue to begin a building program. By 1719 the new Wren building was ready for occupancy, although it was not fully completed until 1723. To further his building plan, Blair conceivably hoarded the Boyle fund in addition to salaries,

for five hundred pounds had accumulated to finance the construction of the Brafferton Building. Morpurgo described Blair's scheme aptly:

With cunning that is not unusual among college presidents he realized that building programs have better publicity value than pious declarations of educational intent but only a man of Blair's magnificent impertinence could have made up his mind to deny the logic of recent events by founding his revival, in part at least, upon that very area in William and Mary's development in which he had hitherto been most remiss and his rival [Spotswood] most frustrated: the education of the Indians. After decades given to subverting funds dedicated to this purpose and years passed in opposition to the men who had done most for the Indians it took a man gifted as Blair with superlative cynicism to choose this moment of nadir in Indian education to announce that he was going to build for the Indian School a building all to itself.⁹²

Ironically, but more likely intentionally, the Brafferton building did not immediately house Indian scholars. At least, none are recorded at William and Mary for two decades following its completion in 1723. Its contemplated use for general college purposes might be inferred from William Dawson's 1732 letter to the Bishop of London, in which he reported that "we have a very convenient room for a library over the Indian school." Even so, the College was "not compleat," he wrote, "for Want of the most Useful and Ornamental Furniture, Books."⁹³

Dawson's letter must have been an afterthought, obviously intended to engage the support of the Bishop, because the previous day Blair and the William and Mary faculty had already devised a plan to furnish the College library, which was to be submitted to the the trustees of the Boyle fund. It began with a recitation of the College's good works:

We have been so good Husbands of our Share of that Revenue, that tho' we have built an handsome house for the Indian School with other good Conveniencies for the Lodging of the Master and Scholars, and have defrayed all the other charges incident to that pious undertaking in the constant cloathing

and boarding the Indian Scholars and paying the Masters salary; yet we have now in bank upon that fund about 500 lb.⁹⁴

Their self-serving praise ignores the fact that the surplus in the Boyle account owed more to disinterest and neglect of Indian education than to careful management of the fund.

What was lacking in this enterprise, the College continued, was a library:

indeed the most necessary thing that is now wanted towards the finishing their Education, & fitting them for what was always intended, the being put in orders, and sent out Pastours, to preach in their own Country language & instruct and convert their own people. As we do not live in an Age of miracles, it is not to be doubted but that Indian Scholars will want the help of many Books to qualifie them to become good Pastours & Teachers as well as others. And the fund allotted for their Education being able to supply them, what reason can be given why part of it may not be employed that way?⁹⁵

Karen Stuart, in her recent study of the Brafferton School, expressed exasperation at such a statement:

An age of miracles indeed--that "Indian scholars" could be fostered by the rudimentary level of teaching in the Brafferton school, notwithstanding the exaggerated claim in another section of the proposal that the College had furnished "Masters and Professors to teach them latine, Greek and Hebrew, and Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Divinity."⁹⁶

Almost indignant, the faculty asked, "What can be more reasonable than that, since their fund is able to do it, and ours is not able, they should contribute their share towards so necessary means of Education?"⁹⁷

Anticipating that the plan might be correctly construed as specious and deceptive, the faculty was prepared with a response:

Some perhaps will be apt to object that by this means we think to make a considerable addition to the College Library at their Expenditure. And if it were so, there would be no great harm to it, since the college Library is to be a common Library to them and us. But the Case will be really much better on their Side; for whatever Books are bought with their money shall be not only repositied in distinct presses marked with the name of Boyle or Brafferton, and at their own house, being within the College; but every particular Book shall have that Inscription on the back of it. So that although as to the use we shall have the benefit of their books, as they shall of ours, yet really the property shall not be altered; every one shall know his own.⁹⁸

Blair was so certain that the proposal would be accepted that he issued a letter of credit for an amount of up to three hundred pounds to the College's emissary, John Randolph, authorizing him to purchase books for the College--with the cavalier stipulation that the Bishop of London be consulted in the selection of titles. No record survives of the final outcome, although it is very likely that the proposal was approved and carried out.⁹⁹

Through these two projects--the construction of the Brafferton Building and the Library--Blair was able to divert some 750 to 800 pounds from the Boyle annuity. Considering that the income from the Brafferton estate ranged from 76 to 121 pounds annually through 1764 and that most years the Indian master was paid as much as fifty pounds,¹⁰⁰ an annual surplus of between twenty six and seventy one pounds was accumulated when no expenses were incurred for Indian students. Therefore, the money spent extraneously in 1723 and 1732 represents from one to three decades of hoarding Boyle funds. This would certainly explain the absence of Indian students during the 1720s and early

1730s.¹⁰¹ The amount spent on the library alone would have provided room and board for ten students at the 1764 cost.¹⁰²

Thus, throughout the course of James Blair's presidency, the Indian School at the College of William and Mary was, in the words of J.E. Morpurgo, "an entry in the ledgers through which charitable funds could be funnelled to extraneous activities."¹⁰³ Accordingly, Blair's interest in the school was motivated only by the handsome Boyle endowment and the opportunities the fund presented for the College during its financially trying years. While Governor Spotswood attempted to fulfill the intent of the Boyle will, he was motivated by other interests, as well; in this case, the desire to secure their borders against Indian attacks, to promote trade with allied Indian tribes, and to maintain, through alliances with Indian tribes, England's supremacy in the European-colonial balance of power. In the works of these key individuals who engaged in the education of Indians at William and Mary College, then, are found a curious mixture of piety, politics, and profit.

CHAPTER 4 NOTES

¹Arlyn Mark Conard, "The Christianization of Indians in Colonial Virginia" (Th.D. diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1979), pp. 1-2.

²Norman Lewis, "English Missionary Interest in the Indians of North America, 1578-1700" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1968), pp. 126, 130.

³Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization" in Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. Richard Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), p. 50; "The Indians of Southern Virginia, 1650-1711: Depositions in the Virginia and North Carolina Boundary Case," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7 (1900): 338.

⁴Gary B. Nash, Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 65.

⁵"Indians of Southern Virginia": 338-40.

⁶James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America [typescript copy; in press] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 22. When Lieutenant-Governor Spotswood arrived in 1710, he found the remnants of nine conquered and tributary tribes of Indians living in the colony, a total of some 700 persons, of whom 250 were hunters and warriors. (R. A. Brock, ed., The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722, 2 vols., Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, NS, (Richmond: n.p., 1882-85), 1:167.)

⁷Robert Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), pp. 232-33.

⁸Gary B. Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd. ser. 29 (1972): 220. For a detailed discussion of the prevailing negative image of Indians in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Virginia, as reflected in the literature of the period, see Conard, "The Christianization of Indians in Colonial Virginia," pp. 248-57, 311-17, 405-412.

⁹Sir George Yeardley, "Propositions touching Virginia, 1625," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d ser. 8 (1928): 163.

¹⁰ William W. Hening, ed. The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619, 13 vols. (Richmond: Franklin Press, 1809-1823), 1:143.

¹¹ See Chapter 2, p. 38.

¹² "Virginia Council and General Court Records, 1640-41," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 11 (1904): 281-82.

¹³ Hening, Statutes at Large, 1:410.

¹⁴ Ibid., 1:395, 455-56.

¹⁵ Cited by Bell, The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia (New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 24.

¹⁶ Stanley Pargellis, ed., "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser. 16 (1959): 242.

¹⁷ J.W. Fortescue, ed. Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 15 May 1696-31 October, 1697 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1904), p. 456.

¹⁸ Hening, Statutes at Large, 2:194; William Stith, The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia: Being an Essay Towards a General History of this Colony, (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1647), p. 217.

¹⁹ "Papers Relating to the Founding of the College," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 7 (1898-99): 161.

²⁰ A Contemporary Copy of the Will of Robert Boyle, 18 July 1691, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 7.

²¹ Herbert Lawrence Ganter, "Some Notes on 'The Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased,'" William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd. ser. 15 (1935): 14.

²² "Supplementary Documents Giving Additional Information Concerning the Four Forms of the Oldest Building of William & Mary College," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d ser. 10 (1930): 68.

²³ Michael G. Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 74 (1906): 167. See also William S. Perry, ed., Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, 5 vols. (Hartford: Church Press, 1870-78), 1:344.

²⁴ Cited by Bell, The Church, the State, and Education in Virginia, p. 29.

²⁵ Perry, Historical Collections, 1:123.

²⁶ J.E. Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Washington, D.C.: Hennage Creative Printers, 1976), p. 56.

²⁷ "The Said President and Masters . . . shall once every yeare transmitt . . . the number and names of the Indian Children that shall be hereafter brought into the said Colledge together with their Progresse or proficiency in their Studies." ("Supplementary Documents Giving Additional Information Concerning the Oldest Building": 69.)

²⁸ Robert Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, 2d. rev. ed. (London: Royal Exchange, 1722), p. 232. It is important to note that these captive students were mentioned in the 1722 edition of Beverly's book, but not in the original 1705 edition. This would suggest that these students were not present at the time of Beverly's first writing.

²⁹ Brock, Letters of Spotswood, 1:174.

³⁰ Ibid., 1:121-2, 124.

³¹ Ibid., 1:122, 125.

³² Ibid., 1:134.

³³ Ibid., 1:174.

³⁴ Ibid., 1:122, 124.

³⁵ Beverly, History and Present State of Virginia, p. 232.

³⁶ George MacLaren Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952), 1:341.

³⁷ Brock, Letters of Spotswood, 1:125.

³⁸ Ibid., 1:134-35.

³⁹ Ibid., 1:123-27, 174-77.

⁴⁰ Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton (1754; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 59.

⁴¹ Robinson, "Indian Education and Missions in Colonial Virginia," Journal of Southern History 18 (1959): 163-64; Brock, Letters of Spotswood, 2:90, 138, 141.

⁴²Cecil Headlam, ed., Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: America and West Indies, January, 1716-July, 1717 (1930; reprint ed., Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964), p. 142.

⁴³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1897): 172.

⁴⁴Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 69.

⁴⁵Gregory A. Stiverson and Patrick H. Butler, III, eds., "Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 85 (1977): 25.

⁴⁶Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁷"Instructions from the President and Masters of William & Mary College in Virginia, to John Randolph Esq.," William and Mary College Papers, Folder 12.

⁴⁸Axtell, Invasion Within, p. 29; Stuart lists a minimum of four students that year, and three from 1736 to 1742. (Karen Stuart, "'So Good a Work': The Brafferton School, 1691-1777," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984), p.85.

⁴⁹"The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 13 (1905-06): 172-73.

⁵⁰Carl Van Doren, Indian Treaties Printed by Benjamin Franklin, 1736-1762 (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1938), p. 36. See also Leonard W. Labaree et al., eds., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 12 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 4:482.

⁵¹Virginia Gazette, August 16, 1751.

⁵²Bursar's Book (1754-70), William and Mary College Papers, p. 1. See also "Students in 1754 at William and Mary College," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 6 (1897-98): 187-88.

⁵³See page 126.

⁵⁴"A Treaty Between Virginia and the Catawbas and Cherokees, 1756," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 13 (1906): 250.

⁵⁵Stuart, "'So Good A Work,'" pp. 62, 85; Conard, "The Christianization of Indians," pp. 464-69.

⁵⁶"Cloathing for the Ingen Boys," William and Mary College Papers, Folder 260; also reprinted in "Papers Relating to the College," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 16 (1908): 172-73; 1765 Brafferton Account, William and Mary College Papers, Folder 288; Bursar's Book (1763-1770), William and Mary College Papers, Bursar's Book (1770-1777); Conard, "The Christianization of Indians," pp. 484-85.

⁵⁷"Finances of the College in 1755-1765," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 11 (1903): 152.

⁵⁸Bursar's Book (1770-1777), William and Mary College Papers, p. 32.

⁵⁹A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, From 1693 to 1888 (Richmond: n.p., 1941), pp. 7, 14, 20, 25, 29, 30, 35, 38, 39.

⁶⁰"Smyth's Travels in Virginia, in 1773," Virginia Historical Register 6 (1853): 146.

⁶¹Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 114.

⁶²R.A. Brock, ed., The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1751-1758, 2 vols. in Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, NS (Richmond: n.p., 1884), 2:446.

⁶³Mark Catesby, The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, 2 vols. (London: C. Marsh, T. Wilcox, and B. Stitchall, 1754), p. xii.

⁶⁴William Byrd, Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (1841; reprint ed., Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), p. 118.

⁶⁵Stiverson and Butler, "Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove": 25.

⁶⁶"Smyth's Travels in Virginia": 25.

⁶⁷Virginia Gazette, November 18, 1775.

⁶⁸Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 180.

⁶⁹Robert Hodgson, The Life of the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D.D., Late Bishop of London (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811), pp. 111-14.

⁷⁰Stuart, "So Good A Work," p. 70.

⁷¹"Journal of the President and Masters or Professors of William and Mary College," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 16 (1907): 73.

⁷²Lyon G. Tyler, The Making of the Union: Contributions of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (Richmond: Whitlet and Shepperson, 1899), p. 22.

⁷³Herbert Baxter Adams, The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education, With Suggestions for its National Promotion (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), p. 17.

⁷⁴Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 66.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 56.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 67.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 66.

⁷⁸Conard, "The Christianization of Indians in Colonial Virginia," p. 385.

⁷⁹George MacLaren Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1952), 1:330.

⁸⁰Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 68.

⁸¹Leonidas Dodson, Alexander Spotswood, Governor of Colonial Virginia, 1710-1722 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), pp. 110-11.

⁸²Spotswood's was not the first attempt to use Indian education for political ends. An act of the General Assembly in 1663 declared

as we have endeavoured for the future to provide for the safety of the country that such hostages be delivered as shalbe required, soe it is alsoe enacted that the hostages to be delivered shalbe civilly used and treated by the English to whose charge they shalbe delivered, and that they be brought up in the English literature.

Twelve hundred pounds of tobacco annually was provided for each hostage's "maintenance and education." (Hening, Statutes at Large, 2:194.)

⁸³Brock, Letters of Spotswood, 1:122, 124.

⁸⁴Ibid., 2:57.

⁸⁵Dodson, Alexander Spotswood, p. 111.

⁸⁶"Papers Relating to the Founding of the College," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 7 (1898-99): 161; Perry, Historical Collections, 1:112; 2:167.

⁸⁷ Herbert Lawrence Ganter, "Some Notes on 'The Charity of the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., of the City of London, Deceased,'" William and Mary Quarterly, 2d. ser. 15 (1935): 16.

⁸⁸ Beverly, The History and Present State of Virginia, p. 232. Spotswood mentioned four Indians attending before his coming. (Brock, Letters of Spotswood, 1:174.)

⁸⁹ "A Plain and Friendly Perswasive to the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland for Promoting Towns and Cohabitation," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1897): 256.

⁹⁰ Although Blair had a surplus of Boyle charity, the General Assembly decried a "decay of the revenue" in 1726, pleading for royal authorization to impose duties on distilled liquors. They capitalized on the avowed pious mission of the college:

Being likewise piously affected to the furtherance of the College of William and Mary, founded in this colony, by your Majesty's roial predecessors King William and Queen Mary, of blessed memory, for the education of our youth in the liberal arts and sciences, and propagating the gospel among the western Indians; the progress of which good work, by a long series of misfortunes and accidents, and by the decay of the revenue thereof, hath been so much obstructed, that the charitable design of the founders hath not hitherto been fulfilled.

From the duties proposed to be collected, two hundred pounds were to be paid to the trustees of the College, none of which were earmarked for Indian education, which appeared merely as an opportunistic justification for a plea for funds. (Hening, Statutes at Large, 4:143-48.)

⁹¹ Perry, Historical Collections, 1:183-84; William Stevens Perry, History of the American Episcopal Church, 2 vols. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1885), 1:123-24.

⁹² Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 69.

⁹³ William Dawson to the Bishop of London, August 11, 1732, Fulham Papers, 1:168; cited by Stuart, "'So Good A Work,'" p. 26, 38.

⁹⁴ "Instructions from the President and Masters, August 10, 1732."

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Stuart, "'So Good A Work,'" pp. 38-39.

⁹⁷ "Instructions from the President and Masters, August 10, 1732."

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Stuart, "So Good A Work," p. 40.

¹⁰⁰ "Finances of the College in 1755-1765," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 11 (1903): 152; "Brafferton Manor," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st. ser. 19 (1910): 43.

¹⁰¹ Stuart, "So Good A Work," p. 85.

¹⁰² Bursar's Book (1763-1770), William and Mary College Papers, p. 19.

¹⁰³ Morpurgo, Their Majesties' Royall Colledge, p. 67.

CHAPTER 5

"A VOICE CRYING IN THE WILDERNESS": AMERICAN INDIANS
IN THE FOUNDING OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

The seal of Dartmouth College bears the motto, "A Voice Crying in the Wilderness," emanating from the mouth of an American Indian. The seal leaves the impression that the college was a response to pleas from a desperate people seeking the light of Christian "civilization." Indeed, it was this image which incited pious benefactors, who made possible the founding of Dartmouth College. Nonetheless, it is pure myth that the college was established from unadulterated pious concern for the spiritual welfare of native "heathens" and that it benefited the education and civilization of American Indians.

New England Indians in the Eighteenth Century

By 1743, when Samson Occum went to live and study with the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, his people, the Mohegans, had become a scattered and rapidly dwindling remnant of a once powerful tribe. A century before, under the leadership of their great chief Uncas, the Mohegans played shrewd politics with the English to the Indians' advantage--at first over the powerful and aggressive Pequots and eventually over their only other rivals, the Narragansetts. By placating the English, Uncas had risen to power among the southern New England tribes. At the height of their power in the mid-seventeenth century, the Mohegans numbered some 2,000 tribal members, of whom 400 were warriors.¹ Pressured by the

expanding English settlements during the second half of the seventeenth century, however, Uncas and his sons began transferring their lands to the English. By the end of the century, they had lost their independence, and the Mohegans' remaining history speaks only of further decline. By 1725 the tribe had dwindled to 351 members.

A similar fate befell the other New England tribes. The Mantauks of Long Island declined by 1741 to 34 families, with a total population of 162.² The colony of New Plymouth in 1685 contained 1,439 Indians; by 1763 these had decreased to 905. Following King Philip's War in 1675, the fourteen towns of "praying Indians" in Massachusetts Bay, established through the efforts of John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew diminished by 1684 to four towns. In the following century, disease, war, and removal to other colonies diminished further the number of Indians in Massachusetts Bay. Thus, much of the success with converting Indians in the seventeenth century was reversed in the first half of the eighteenth century.³ A generation later, the Stockbridge Indians who included the remnants of the Mohegans addressed the New York Baptist Association on their fate:

In the first place, we will remind you, that we believe it was the will of the great good Spirit, that your forefathers were brought over the great waters to this island for a certain good purpose. Our forefathers, then appeared like tall trees, but were under the dark clouds, yet they contended well in it. Brothers, with sorrowful heart we now desire you to look back a little, and view the ruins of our mighty trees; you can scarcely find where they have fallen,--scarcely find any stumps or roots remaining; but if you look down near your feet, you will see the remnant of your brethren like small bushes, who are now looking up speak to you, for you are become very great; you reach to the clouds, you can see all over this island, but we can scarcely reach to your ankles.⁴

Despite the efforts of such ministers as James Fitch, working in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, and Jonathan Barber, who succeeded in converting chief Ben Uncas, the Mohegans remained staunchly resistant to Christian influence. "There has been something done to Christianize the Mohegans, and other Indians in the colony of Connecticut;" wrote Cotton Mather in 1715, "but, Lord, who has believed! They have been obstinate in their Paganism; however, their obstinancy has not put an End unto our Endeavours."⁵ In spite of the resistance, missionary efforts among the Mohegans were to bear fruit through the success of Samson Occum, the Indian preacher largely accountable for the founding of Dartmouth College.

The Founding of Dartmouth College

Eleazar Wheelock, the Congregational minister at Lebanon, Connecticut, was a major figure in the education of Indians in the second half of the eighteenth century. When the Great Awakening incited its religious fervor in Wheelock, he aroused the ire of his congregation for his itinerant preaching and neglect of his parish. His salary often withheld for this reason, Wheelock was driven to supplement his meager income by tutoring youth in preparation for college. Nothing suggests that the Reverend had Indians in mind when he commenced this work, and not until a young Mohegan came to him in 1643 with a request to further his studies did Wheelock embark upon the education of Indian youth. The Indian student, Samson Occum, remained with Wheelock for six years, proving himself a bright and capable student. Encouraged by the successful education of Occum and by charitable support from the New

England Company, Wheelock recognized the potential to supplement his income by instructing Indians and extending his educational services beyond the few English youth whom he had instructed up to this time.⁶ At his request, on December 18, 1754, two Delawares arrived, John Pumshire, aged fourteen, and Jacob Woolley, aged eleven.⁷ With these first two students, the Moor's Charity School began, aided by Colonel Joshua More's⁸ donation of several buildings and two acres of land "for the founding and supporting of a charity school in said Lebanon for the educating of natives of any or all the Indian tribes in North America, or other poor persons."⁹

Pumshire demonstrated an uncommon proficiency in writing and made considerable progress in Latin and Greek. His further progress was prevented by ill health, and he was sent home where he died in 1756. By July, 1758, Wheelock had three students who had "almost wholly shaken off the Indian," and Woolley could "read Virgil and Tully and the Greek Testament very handsomely." Woolley attended Princeton College in 1759, but left during his senior year, after being expelled for drinking and rowdy behavior.¹⁰

By the summer of 1761, Moor's Charity School had accepted ten Indian students from the remnant tribes of the northeastern seaboard. That year, when the Society in Scotland expressed a preference to direct their aid towards the Six Nations, Wheelock attempted to obtain Iroquois Indian boys with the assistance of Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. By 1765 twenty nine Indian boys and ten Indian girls, as well as seven white boys, were attending the charity school. During that year, the Connecticut Board of Correspondents, acting as the

School's trustees, examined and approved two whites as missionaries, three Indians as schoolmasters, and six other Indians as ushers.¹¹

As early as 1760, Wheelock began to set his sights on a new location, one more accessible to the Iroquois, in whom he developed a strong, abiding interest. Not only the Scotch Society's preference for the Six Nations fueled his interest, but also a bequest of 750 pounds from Sir Peter Warren for the education of Iroquois children.¹² He originally hoped to obtain land in Iroquois country, "near the Bowells of the Pagan Settlements," to support a model Christian community, including a home for Moor's Indian Charity School and a college for English missionaries.¹³ In 1763, Wheelock, seeking a land grant of thirty to thirty five square miles on the west side of the Susquehanna River, sent to England "A Proposal for Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture, and Manufacture among the Pagans in America," suggesting "that a large farm of several thousand acres of and within said grant be given to this Indian school [and] that the school be an academy for all parts of useful learning: part of it a College for the Education of Missionaries, Schoolmasters, Interpreters, etc., and part of it a School for reading and writing, etc."¹⁴ Although originally accommodating Wheelock's requests for Iroquois students, Sir William Johnson resisted his later efforts to obtain land among the Six Nations, writing in 1766 that

Mr. Wheelock's plan seems a laudable one but give me leave to remark that many of these Schemes which had their birth in N England have soon appeared calculated with a View to forming Settlements so obnoxious to the Ind^s who have repeatedly declared their aversion to those who acted on such interested principles; All the good Lands in N Eng^d being thick Settled they are extremely desirous of Migrating

& have created much disturbance by attempting it, another objection is that those brought up under the Care of Dissenting Ministers become a Gloomy race & lose their Abilities for hunting &ca spend their time in Idleness & hang^s upon the Inhabit^s for a Wretched subsistence.¹⁵

Consequently, without Johnson's support in obtaining the land grant, Wheelock was forced to consider inducements of land and capital from Ohio, New York, Pennsylvania, and several New England colonies, including Massachusetts. He finally accepted Hanover, New Hampshire's favorable offer and moved the school to Hanover in 1770. By this time, the reverend had cemented his plans to establish a college in the new location. In 1768 he had already organized a collegiate branch of the charity school and employed a tutor "for those who were of college standing."¹⁶

In Hanover, Wheelock's waning interest in the schooling of Indians and his growing preoccupation with the education of English students surfaced. This change of plan, however, was by no means new. As early as 1760, he had expressed his wish to take "poor & promising Youth of the English" into his school "in case of a failure of Indians."¹⁷ By the time he moved the school to New Hampshire, as Wheelock explained in his 1771 Narrative, he

had the fullest evidence that a greater proportion of English youths must be fitted for missionaries; and enough of them to take the lead intirely, and conduct the whole affair of christianizing and civilizing the savages, without any dependence upon their own sons, as leaders, in this matter.

He continued with a detail of the "evidence," which consisted of an account of his scholars' failings:

Among those whom I have educated, there have been nearly forty who were good readers, and writers, and were

instructed in the principles of the christian religion, as their age, and time would admit, and were sufficiently masters of English grammar, arithmetic, and a number of them considerably advanced in the knowledge of Greek and Latin, and one of them carried through college, and was a good scholar. . . . [but] of all the number beforementioned, I dont hear of more than half who have preserved their characters unstain'd, either by a course of intemperance or uncleanness, or both; and some who on account of their parts, and learning, bid the fairest for usefulness, are sunk down into as low, savage, and brutish a manner of living as they were in before any endeavours were used with them to raise them up. . . . And six of those who did preserve a good character, are now dead.¹⁸

Increasingly disillusioned with the failure--in his eyes--of his Indian scholars, Wheelock needed only one more excuse to complete his educational shift to white students. The Oneidas served Wheelock's purpose when, in the winter of 1769, they abruptly withdrew their six children from school.¹⁹ Wheelock then sent the other Iroquois students home, reporting to his English benefactors that he was convinced "Indians may not have the lead in the Affair, 'till they are made new [spiritual] Creatures." Their "Sloth," "want of Fortitude [and] Stability," and "doleful Apostasy" disqualified them.²⁰ With the defection of Iroquois students, the number of Indian students at the school was quickly reduced from twenty to six. In the year of Wheelock's resettlement, Indian attendance at the Charity School dwindled to three, while the number of English charity students increased to sixteen, these in addition to paying scholars whose numbers are not recorded.²¹

Just as the poor showing of his Indian students provided the excuse for shifting Wheelock's emphasis, so did the overwhelming success of an Indian scholar provide the means to complete his scheme. Samson Occum,

Wheelock's "black son," had successfully raised over 12,000 pounds in the mistaken belief that Wheelock's "Institution was Intended Purely for the poor Indians."²² Occum, the most successful of Wheelock's pupils, an ordained minister and itinerant missionary, sailed for England in 1765, accompanied by the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker. Their purpose was to solicit funds for Wheelock's "great design." Sending a living example of the success of Wheelock's work proved profitable, as an early historian of the Scotch Society attested:

The employing of Mr. Occum, on this service, evinced the sagacity of Dr. Wheelock, and produced all the effect which could reasonably be expected from it. It was a highly interesting object to the good people of Scotland, to see and to hear a copper-coloured man, not only himself illuminated with the knowledge of gospel truth, but exalted into a teacher of it to others; leading their devotions in the family, in the pulpit; preaching, in polished Europe, "the unsearchable riches of Christ." Wherever he was received as a guest, men pressed into the company, to enjoy the pleasure of his conversation: whenever he preached, the Church was crowded; every ear was attentive, every heart and hand open to the purpose of his Mission.²³

During the first four months of his tour, Occum reported collections of nearly 5,000 pounds. By December, 1767, Whitaker could report a total of 11,000 pounds collected in England and Scotland;²⁴ and by March, 1768, when the mission ended, Wheelock's agents had secured 9,497 pounds in England and in Scotland, 2,529 pounds, to be used "towards building and endowing an Indian academy for cloathing, boarding, maintaining, and educating such Indians as are designed for missionaries and schoolmasters, and for maintaining those who are, or hereafter shall be employed on this glorious errand."²⁵ These funds, larger than any college up to that time had been able to raise by direct solicitation

abroad, provided Wheelock with the necessary resources to complete his plan.

The funds were not directly under Wheelock's control, however. On October 2, 1766, Reverend Whitaker had relinquished management of the funds donated in England to a board of trustees, commonly called the English Trust, of which Lord Dartmouth was president. The Trust administered these donations until the fund was exhausted in 1774. Because the Connecticut Board of Correspondents of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge had sanctioned the Scotland solicitations, these funds remained under their control.

With an ample treasury at his disposal, Wheelock's next task was to obtain a royal charter for the "Indian achademy."²⁶ On December 13, 1769, Wheelock secured the charter for Dartmouth College, named after William, Earl of Dartmouth and President of the English Trust. The following year Wheelock, as the first President of Dartmouth College, moved and relocated Moor's Charity School to Hanover, New Hampshire. Conveniently that year the number of Indian students in Lebanon had diminished to three.²⁷ The school continued to admit Indians after the move, although with an increasing influx of white students. After losing influence among the Six Nations, Wheelock found his school lacking Indian students. In the spring of 1772, he had only five, all from New England, although by this time he preferred native students from the Indian reserves of Canada--Saint Francis, Lorette, Caughnawaga--those who had already succumbed to the white man's religion and way of life. These Anglo-Indians, Wheelock maintained, were "by far the most promising set of youths, I have ever yet had from the Indian Country."²⁸

That summer he sent out recruiting parties to Canada. His agents returned in September with eight Indians from Caughnawaga and two Hurons from Lorette. The December 3, 1772 Virginia Gazette reported that,

on the 21st of September Mr. Silvanus Ripley, and his companion and interpreter Lieut. Joseph Taylor, returned to Dartmouth college from their mission to the Indian tribes of Canada, and brought with them ten children from those tribes, to receive an education at that school; two of them are children of English captives, who were taken by the Indians in former wars.²⁹

By the end of the year Wheelock reported that, of the seventy students in the school and college, seventeen Indians and twenty two whites were attending on charity. In 1773, other parties were sent to Canada, and by the spring of 1775, Wheelock was caring for twenty Canadian and New England Indians.³⁰ During the entire decade, the reverend was responsible for educating some forty Indians, while during the same time he had over 120 white students at Dartmouth College and many others at the charity school.

Meanwhile, the fund collected in England was totally exhausted in 1774, and Wheelock was forced to seek alternative resources to support his charity school. In 1775 Nathaniel Whitaker addressed the Continental Congress on behalf of Wheelock's educational mission. The following year as a result, Congress resolved that

as it may be a means of conciliating the friendship of the Canadian Indians, or at least of preventing hostilities from them in some measure, to assist the President of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire in maintaining their youth who are now there under his tuition, and whom the revenues of the College are not at this time sufficient to support, that for this purpose five hundred dollars be paid to the Rev. Dr. Eleazar Wheelock, President of said College.³¹

In 1778 Wheelock sent a memorial to the Congress reporting that thirty charity students were under his supervision, and that four of them were Canadian Indians, two of whom were in Dartmouth College. He further petitioned for congressional support, arguing his long-held belief that converted Indians were a "far better defense than all our expensive fortresses." His petition was successful and in December of that year he was granted \$925.³²

In November 1777 Wheelock experienced the second withdrawal of Iroquois students, which divested his institution of what special character as an Indian school it had retained. This blow was such that Moor's Charity School never regained its former identity. Only five Indians remained after the Iroquois defection. As the interests of Moor's Charity School became increasingly involved with those of the College and continued to lose its identity as an Indian school, the founder of Dartmouth College died. For all practical purposes, the death of Wheelock on April 24, 1779 marked the demise of Moor's Indian Charity School. After 1782 only a single Indian student remained, and for fifteen years, from 1785 on, none attended.

Following Wheelock's death, even less concern was shown for Indian education. In 1815, Elijah Parish chastised the College:

This seminary, as its name imports, was founded expressly for the benefit of Indians; but our Trustees, seeming to forget its design and name, have voted, "That for the present, no part of the funds, of which this board has control, shall be applied to the education of Indians" Moors' School was the germ whence the College sprang; like the luminaries of heaven, they had shone in concert; one had borrowed lustre from the other; the same Trustees were Legislators of both; the same man was President of both; both rested on the same base. Why then, this unnatural and violent desertion of their child?³³

Upon succeeding his father as president of Dartmouth College, John Wheelock viewed the pious mission only with an eye to the Scotch Fund. After the reverend's death, the issue of jurisdiction and rights to this money flared. The Society in Scotland contested John Wheelock's claim for control of the fund and recommended in 1817 the dismissal of the four Indians on the fund. Accordingly, they were sent home and no other Indian students attended until President Tyler's time.³⁴ Although the college continued to admit Indian scholars, the emphasis on Indian education had already by this time ceased to be the justification for its existence. Lost in the lengthening shadow of the college, Moor's Charity School suspended operations in 1829 in order to accumulate its income to pay debts; it reopened in 1837, and finally closed its doors in 1850.

The Failing of Reverend Wheelock's Missions

It is impossible to gauge the extent of the success or failure of Wheelock's missions. If the measure used is the number of students successfully educated for the intended role they were to play in converting their brethren, then the effort failed miserably. Before Wheelock's death, during a quarter century of Moor's Charity School's existence, a mere eighty nine Indian students attended.³⁵ Most of these died, ran away, were sent home, or otherwise did not fulfill the purpose of their education. McClure and Parish could only report that "several were reputable and useful preachers of the gospel among their countrymen. . . . [but] all of them died in early life except Mr. Occum."³⁶ Of those "who were good readers, and writers, and were

instructed in the principles of the christian religion. . . .," reported Wheelock himself,

I don't hear of more than half who have preserved their characters unstain'd, either by a course of intemperance or uncleanness, or both; and some . . . are sunk down into as low, savage, and brutish a manner of living as they were before any endeavours.³⁷

Thus, as M'Clure and Parish wrote, "he saw his kindest purposes towards them frustrated, and the benevolent projects he had formed with fairest hopes of success, at once completely blasted."³⁸

After the founding of Dartmouth College, the results are even more dismal, especially after Wheelock's death. From 1782 to 1800, only one Indian student attended the Charity School. From 1803 to 1810, there were three to four each year, and in 1814, only one was attending.³⁹ The record of Dartmouth College fares no better. Only three Indians graduated in the final three decades of the eighteenth century.⁴⁰

If the impact of Wheelock's graduates on the education and conversion of Indians is the measure of the missions' success, the achievements are more difficult to determine. In total, Wheelock sent eight whites and between thirteen and fifteen Indian scholars from Moor's Charity School to be missionaries, schoolmasters, and assistants.⁴¹ White and Indian scholars alike who attended Moor's Charity School and Dartmouth college committed themselves upon graduation to become ministers and teachers among the Indians. Before 1765, Wheelock's distant missions were sent out for special purposes and brief periods. Among his early and most successful agents were Samson Occum, Samuel Ashpo, a Mohegan, and Samuel Kirkland, the first white charity student. On March 12, 1765, the Board of Correspondents met to

send out their first regular mission. They examined and approved two white missionaries, three Indians (Joseph Wooley, David Fowler, and Hezekiah Calvin) as schoolmasters, and five to be assistants. The schools kept by the Indian alumni were for a time quite prosperous. The total attendance reported in October, 1765 was 127.⁴²

But numbers alone are not indicative of success. There were several problems in these attempts to impart Christian knowledge and religion. After twelve days among the Mohawk, Fowler reported to Wheelock that "the Number of my Scholars is twenty-six when they are all together, but it is difficult I can't keep them together; they are often always roving about from Place to Place to get something to live upon. Provision is very scarce with them."⁴³ Calvin expressed similar disillusionment, despite having a successful enrollment in his school:

I have now eighteen schollars which come very steady, but it is very hard to bring them too I do my best that I can
 Oh! how glad should I be if I could do but a little good among these savages, but yet I think Indians will be Indians they will still follow their evill practices. &c.⁴⁴

Apparently the exigencies of Indian life would not accommodate the patterns and structures of "civilized" education.

If the resistance of "untrained" Indians did not inhibit the effectiveness of Wheelock's missions, the "relapse" of his trained scholars did. Of the Indian preachers and teachers mentioned, only one, David Fowler, led an "exemplary" life. The others, including Occum, Wheelock's most promising student, fell into periods of drunkenness, waywardness, and apostasy.⁴⁵

By 1771, Wheelock's disillusionment was such that he lamented,

the most melancholly part of the account which I have here to relate, and which has occasioned me the greatest weight of sorrow, has been the bad conduct, and behavior of such as have been educated here, after they left the school, and been put into business abroad.⁴⁶

The white missionaries sent into the field fared no better in their pious work. Those who went among the Indians found them so staunchly resistant to missionary work, that for over a decade they had no access to the Indian country, except to a certain extent in Oneida. An Iroquois spokesman expressed in 1772 the sentiments of many Indians:

English schools we do not approve of here, as serviceable to our spiritual interest, and almost all those who have been instructed in English are a reproach to us. . . . Our father [Wheelock] does not know the mind of Indians: their minds are invincible; they are strongly attached to other things. . . . of this we are confident, that they are not disposed to embrace the Gospel.⁴⁷

This attitude provided the excuse the white missionaries needed to relieve themselves of their duties. "As the chief object of their pursuit seemed thus interdicted by Providence, they generally became settled in the ministry in various parts of the country, and considered themselves exonerated from their bonds."⁴⁸

Thus, the history of Wheelock's missions is one of general failure--failure in that Indians frequently refused to embrace the white man's education and religious teachings, or, when they did, were all too likely to acquire the vices of the whites with whom they dealt. Disease and alcohol, too, killed off many promising students, adding to the failure of Wheelock's "great design."

A Discussion of Motives

As with all designs for Indian education, historians have taken divergent stands on the integrity and sincerity of Wheelock's mission which culminated in the founding of Dartmouth College. Expressing one perspective, David McClure--Wheelock's favorite student, intimate friend, and first biographer--with Elijah Parish, co-author of Memoirs of the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, wrote that

few have accomplished more for the benefit of mankind, than this great and good man. By the favor of heaven, on his individual exertions, he established a charitable institution, for the purpose of christianizing the Indians in North America, and bringing them to the knowledge of civilized life. By this means, those wandering children of depraved nature, have been illuminated with science and religion.

"This he did," they added, "from no other motive than to be useful to mankind. This instance of disinterested zeal is rarely equalled."⁴⁹

Another early memoir of Wheelock, published in 1837, sings a similar praise of Wheelock:

For enlarged views and indomitable energy, and persevering and most arduous toils, and for the great results of his labors in the cause of religion and learning, perhaps no man in America is more worthy of being held in honor than Eleazar Wheelock. . . . He had large and extensive views for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. The wretched condition of the American Indians, ignorant, though in the neighborhood of Christians, of the gospel of salvation, affected his heart, and he formed the plan of giving them the light of heaven.⁵⁰

In more recent years, those who have had greater access to a fuller range of surviving records of Wheelock's mission, depending less on sentiment than early biographers, have added a quite different perspective. According to ethnohistorian James Axtell, for example, Wheelock

was so unsuccessful in educating Indians . . . that he diverted [Moor's Charity] school funds to found Dartmouth, not to create an Indian college, as myth would have it, but to get out of the Indian business by preparing white scholars for missions and the ministry.⁵¹

Similarly, Jere R. Daniell concluded that "he used careful planning, hard work, the influence of friends and relatives, opportunism, and outright deception to obtain a charter for the college he wanted to establish."⁵²

In spite of other doubts regarding the reverend, few disagree with the observation in James McCallum's 1939 biography that "Eleazar Wheelock was a very pious man." Certainly too much evidence exists to question his devotion to Christian duty.

But to think of Wheelock as one who considered himself compelled by the commands of the Deity, and by those commands only, is to limit the extent of his reasoning on the problem. His mind was not so centered on the distant Judgment Day when savages would be accepted as of the elect that he failed to appreciate the immediate economic and political advantages of converting them [the Indians] to Christianity.⁵³

Thus, while none dispute Wheelock's piety, misguided though it might have been, the more recent assessments strongly suggest that other considerations--economic and political--motivated Wheelock's schemes in Indian education. Indeed, careful examination of the available records renders such an interpretation. On the basis of his schooling of Indian youth, the reverend legitimized the solicitation and expenditure of huge sums of money, which, although donated expressly for that purpose, were diverted to the founding of Dartmouth College--a major goal which consumed the last two decades of his life. As for the political advantage, Wheelock frequently capitalized on the English and colonies'

interests in securing the friendship and alliance of the Indians, particularly the Iroquois, frequently using this political justification for educating Indians and soliciting funds.

Convenient Confusion of Purpose

None can doubt Wheelock's original interest in and enthusiasm for his "great design." However, by 1769 Wheelock

had the fullest evidence that a greater proportion of English youths must be fitted for missionaries; and enough of them to take the lead intirely, and conduct the whole affair of christianizing and civilizing the savages, without any dependance upon their own sons, as leaders, in this matter.³⁰

The chartering of Dartmouth College which culminated this conviction affords the best evidence of the founder's diversion of funds to a project more dear to his heart, but one not ultimately intended to educate Indians. Dartmouth would become an English college, divested of any particular devotion to Indians, while Moor's Charity School would fall into obscurity by the turn of the century, existing only to avail the president of a moderate income from the Scotch fund. In truth, these two institutions were one, and their purposes were conveniently and purposely confused. From this confusion, only Dartmouth College, an institution for English scholars, emerged and endured.

The founding of Dartmouth College was not a new idea, suddenly occasioned by the failure and relapse of Indian scholars. As early as July, 1763, Wheelock openly expressed an interest in a college. In a bid for a tract of land on the west side of the Susquehanna, the Reverend submitted "A Proposal for Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture, and Manufacture among the Pagans in America," in which he

mentioned an Indian "academy," "part of it a College for the Education of Missionaries, School Masters, Interpreters, &c., and part of it a School for reading and writing, &c."⁵⁵ In 1765 he secured the counsel of William Smith, a leading New York attorney, who advised him to seek a charter.⁵⁶ After several attempts to obtain a royal charter in England, he decided in November, 1767, to solicit a charter in the colonies, one which left control of the school in his hands through a local board of trustees, while the English trust would only distribute funds. Formal incorporation would not only ensure institutional integrity now demanded by prospective donors, but would also prevent interference from the trust and thus ensure Wheelock's control.⁵⁷

The reverend's determination to obtain a charter was a primary consideration in his decision to move to New Hampshire. The state's governor John Wentworth had already in 1766 expressed his support of Wheelock's enterprise, testifying "that the said Indian school appears to me to be formed upon principles of extensive benevolence and unfeigned piety. . . . applied to civilize and recover the savages of America from their present barbarous paganism."⁵⁸ Two years later, to entice Wheelock to relocate his school in New Hampshire, he offered a township as an endowment for the school.⁵⁹ Still, in spite of the governor's obvious favor, Wheelock was unsure of Wentworth's reaction to a request for a charter. He did know, however, that the English Trust would object to a separate incorporation in America, as well as to his plans for a college. From this juncture, the reverend exhibited what has been called his "penchant for clandestine maneuvering."⁶⁰ To obtain his charter, Reverend Wheelock manipulated both Wentworth and the

English Trust, revealing to neither his relationship and dealings with the other--hoping to induce the governor to grant the charter, while concealing his intentions from the Trust. Wheelock, in a cavalier move, reserved to the Trust the right to determine the new site for his charity school, while he assured that the reports to the trustees on the several proposed locations would lead inevitably to a decision in favor of New Hampshire. Before the Trust reported its recommendation, Wheelock wrote to Wentworth on October 6, 1768, strongly implying that the choice would be New Hampshire: "As soon as the place to fix the school shall be determined in favour of your Province, I will appoint your Excellency as the Governor for the time being to be one" of "the Trustees on this side of the water," adding as if an afterthought, "till a legal incorporation may be obtained."⁶¹ This was the reverend's first mention of a charter to Wentworth, although he had been quick to dispatch agents to Portsmouth to directly elicit the governor's reaction to such a proposal. Wentworth, desirous of having the charity school in his state, responded favorably to Wheelock's first mention of a charter, and accordingly, it was granted in 1769.

The English Trust, however, was not informed until after the fact. In a calculated move designed in advance to placate the Trust, Wheelock included in the final draft of the charter patronizing provisions which offered inconsequential flattery and power to the English Trust. He began with a lengthy passage extolling the past services of the trustees. The charter also clearly noted that the Trust had been given legal authority to determine the new school site, and accordingly had freely chosen western New Hampshire. In providing for their further

involvement, Wheelock allowed that the trustees would be "vested with all the power therein which can consist with their distance from the [school]," which in effect meant no power at all. He also eliminated their role in choosing future presidents and ignored their wish to control expenditures, although the reverend promised that he and his successors would "transmit to the Right honorable & worthy Gentlemen of the Trust in England . . . a faithful account of the improvements & disbursements of the several Sums he shall receive from the Donations & bequests made in England through the hands of said Trustees & also to advise them of the general plans laid & prospects exhibited."⁶²

In writing the charter, Wheelock had to deal with several other potentially volatile matters. One centered on defining the purpose of the school. On one hand, he had to assure the English Trust that their funds would be employed solely for the education of Indians; on the other hand, he had to deal with the expectation among the people of New Hampshire, including Governor Wentworth, that the school would supply local ministers. He had, of course, already decided that Dartmouth would emphasize the education of English scholars, but in writing the charter, Wheelock disguised his intentions well. The first charter draft defined the school's purpose to provide "for the education & instruction of Youths of the English and also of the Indian Tribes." After carefully considering that numerous English benefactors had contributed thousands of pounds to a school for Indians--not white colonists--he revised the reference to English youth as if to indicate their subordinate position in his scheme. Accordingly, the final draft of the charter read that the college would exist

for the education & instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading wrighting and all parts of Learning which shall appear necessary and expedient for civilizing and christianizing Children of Pagans as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences; and also of English Youth & any others.⁶³

An equally troublesome matter emerged which required the full measure of Wheelock's "penchant for clandestine maneuvering": defining the character of the institution to be chartered. The English Trust would certainly object to a diversion of money and effort from the charity school to the founding of a college, and Wentworth had negotiated on the assumption that Wheelock intended only to move the school. Thus, while the reverend wanted and intended to establish a college, he realized the need to proceed cautiously with his plans.

Accordingly, the charter sent for Wentworth's approval referred to the institution as an "academy", although it also revealed Wheelock's intentions for a college. He had used the College of New Jersey's charter as a model, and his version included a provision under which the "academy" received diploma-granting privileges normally associated only with colleges. In case these subliminal suggestions were not enough and so that there was no misunderstanding as to his wishes, Wheelock added a postscript to the note informing the Governor that the charter was soon forthcoming. "Sir," he wrote, "if you think proper to use the word College instead of Achademy in the Charter I shall be well pleased with it."⁶⁴ Although understandably surprised with this new development, Wentworth complied, realizing that a college would benefit his state even more than an academy.

Throughout his dealings with the governor in obtaining a charter, Wheelock made every attempt to conceal his intentions from the Trust. In April 1769, writing of his progress in drafting the charter, the reverend reminded a friend that

the affair is very delicate, and as such must be conducted, or it will disgust those worthy gentlemen & upset all. Their Sentiments of an Incorporation have been differing from mine. They have insisted that I should conduct the whole affair without one.⁶⁵

Wheelock by no means wanted to "disgust" the English trustees. In a first draft of his agent Ebenezer Cleaveland's report on New Hampshire's suitability for the new school site, which was destined for the Trust's review, Wheelock prudently omitted Cleaveland's opinion that this state would answer "every valuable purpose there, which it is not likely to do in other proposed places, or even where it now is, namely, to be formed into a Public Seminary or College."⁶⁶ In informing the English trustees of his preference for New Hampshire and in extolling all the state's favorable circumstances, Wheelock failed to mention that the governor had promised a charter, which was the ultimate inducement in his own mind.

Thus, Wheelock successfully kept the Trust in the dark, while devising means to disarm their objections to his plan. In another obvious attempt to conciliate the trustees, he named the college for Lord Dartmouth, President of the English Trust, hoping "that some advantage on that side of the Water might accrue by manifesting my desire to do him honor."⁶⁷ In first disclosing news of the charter, Wheelock wrote to Dartmouth that

Governor Wentworth thought best to reject that clause in my draft of the charter which gave the Honorable Trust in England equal power with the trustees here to nominate and appoint the President from time to time, apprehending it would make the body too unwieldy; but he cheerfully consented I should express my gratitude and duty in your Lordship by christianizing it after your name. And as there seemed to be danger of many embarrassments in my way in the present ruffled and distempered state of the kingdom, I thought prudent to embrace the first opportunity to accomplish it; and by that means could have no time to know your Lordship's pleasure in that matter before it should be accomplished, which I hope you will accept as an excuse for that neglect.⁶⁸

After finally receiving a copy of the charter, the Trust members were incensed. In 1770 Robert Keen, Secretary, wrote that the trustees considered he had taken "a very wrong step" in not consulting them and saw "clearly that by the affair of the charter the trust here is meant to be annihilated." Despite their objections, Keen informed him that the Trust would continue their duties until the fund was expended.⁶⁹ However, they never regained full confidence in Wheelock's intentions and henceforth demanded a rigid accounting of funds to ensure that he would not blend them with those of the College. The following year the Trustees elaborated on their position with regard to the disclosed charter:

When we consider that the money collected here was given for the express purpose of "creating, establishing, endowing, and maintaining an Indian Charity School and a suitable number of missionaries to be employed in the Indian country for the instruction of Indians in the Christian religion," and for no other purpose whatever, we cannot but look upon the charter you have obtained and your intention of building a college and educating English youth, as going beyond the line by which both you and we are circumscribed. . . . We think ourselves bound to adhere invariably to this original plan, and must therefore insist upon it that you do not deviate from it. . . . We are desirous of strengthening your hands and furthering the design while it appears to be well executed, and no longer.⁷⁰

Diversion of Funds

Even before Occum and Whitaker had completed their mission, the affair was surrounded with controversy. On March 25, 1767, Robert Keen, Secretary, reported an alleged misuse of funds. The Trust suspected that Whitaker and the Reverend Eells in Stonington, Connecticut, were in collusion to utilize the money collected for trading purposes and personal profit. About seven hundred pounds sent over to Wheelock were being used in trading, Eells having obtained one hundred pounds and a Connecticut trader, five hundred. The trustees demanded that Wheelock certify to the honest use of the fund, threatening to resign unless the fraudulent dealings ceased. Whitaker claimed ignorance of the scheme to Secretary Keen, though he solicited Wheelock's assistance in his defense: "If you can give a reason why you have drawn for so much without saying anything of my giving leave for Mr. Breed [the Connecticut trader] to obtain draughts for L500 I shall be glad." Eells rested his defense on the promise that half of the profits were to go to the charity school. Wheelock was able to exonerate himself to the satisfaction of the Trust, who expressed their wish that there would

be no more occasion to suspect or so much as mention any iniquitous scheme carrying on by Messrs. Eells and Whitaker, as now we take it for granted if any such scheme was intended by them, by your being fully apprized of it, you have and will effectively quash it.⁷⁰

The Society in Scotland also took issue with Wheelock's proposed use of funds collected in their country for "an Indian academy for . . . such Indians as are designed for missionaries and schoolmasters, . . . and for maintaining those . . . who shall be employed on this glorious end." The reverend assumed that the expenses of white students who were

to teach Indians could be charged to the Scotch fund. The Society did not accept this liberal interpretation, considering it a perversion of funds to the college, and refused to approve most later claims for educating Indian scholars. Efforts to tap the Scotch fund continued into the nineteenth century with minimal success. Finally, in 1922, still in possession of the fund, the Society, through court action, decreed that Moor's Charity School had failed to provide for the education of Indians and any claims to the fund were dishonored.⁷²

Certainly, Wheelock's plans for Dartmouth College involved the expenditure of a substantial sum of money. The English and Scotch funds afforded the only available sources of capital, and Wheelock did not hesitate to use them for immediate needs.⁷³ In doing so, his founding of Dartmouth College at the expense of the Indian Charity School aroused strong objections and suspicions from the Boston Correspondents for the Society in Scotland. Professor Wigglesworth charged "that the principal part of the money collected in England was spent in procuring accommodations for the officers and English youth in Dartmouth College," and that the Scotch fund was in danger of the same subversion. "The Indian School since it was removed to New Hampshire," wrote another critic, Dr. Charles Chauncey, "has answered scarce any other end than to enrich the President's family, and that the Indians have received little advantage of it." William Hyslop of the Board of Correspondents for the Scottish Society expressed similar sentiments: "I did some time before Dr. Wheelock's death look upon him as a designing man, and do not to this day think that the money collected in England and Scotland was ever applied according to the intention of the donors." Even Samuel

Kirkland, who had been among the first to be educated at Moor's Charity School, had "great reason to apprehend that the funds have been applied to the use of Dartmouth College."⁷⁴ Another critic was even more harsh in his comments:

He by a persevering importunity and address caught the attention of the public to is favority plan of an Indian School and an English College, and by Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Occom solicited benefactions in Britain, to be deposited with a board. . . . It is all expended; and excepting in new lands, Dartmouth College is without funds. It was intended that only the interest should be annually spent, but the fund itself is consumed. Though this was primarily designed for Indians, yet the only Indian that has graduated there was obliged to beg elsewhere towards supporting him the last year of his college residence. . . . Such a mixture of apparent piety and eminent holiness, together with the love of riches, dominion, and family aggrandizement, is seldom seen.⁷⁵

The most vehement objections, however, came from Wheelock's own "black son," Samson Occum. The reverend first became aware of Occum's grievances in a letter dated May 21, 1770 from David McClure, one of Wheelock's favorite students. "The Gentlemen of the Trust engaged Mr. Occum," McClure reported, "to write particularly of the School & the Disposal of the Monies collected in England." He further explained that

the only Reason for his not writing was because if he wrote he must not be silent concerning the State of the School as Friends there would expect that from him if he wrote, and as the School is at present constituted he imagined that an Accot of it would not be agreeable to Gentlemen at home nor answer their Expectations. He complained, but in a friendly Manner, that the Indian was converted into an English School & that the English had crouded out the Indian Youths--he instanced in one Symons a likely Indian who came to git admittance but could not be admitted because the School was full. He supposed that Gentlemen in England tho't the School at present was made up chiefly of Indian Youth & that should he write & inform them to the contrary as he must if he wrote, it wou'd give them a disgust & Jealosity that the Charities were not applied in a way agreeable to the

Intentions of the Donors & Benefactors which was to educate Indians chiefly.⁷⁶

A year later, Occum expressed his sentiments to Wheelock directly. He charged that the college was too grand for Indians, who would reap no benefits from it for

instead of your Semenary Becoming alma Mater, she will be too alba mater [white mother] to Suckle the Tawnees, for She is already a Dorned up too much like the Popish Virgin Mary. She'll be Naturally ashamed to Suckle the Tawnees for she is already equal in Power, Honor, and Authority to any College in Europe.

He maintained that the English funds were raised solely for the Indians as "we told them that we were Beging for poor Miserable Indians,--as for my part I went, purely for the poor helpless Indians, but as long as you have no Indians, I am full of Doubts." The replacement of Indian students with whites, he believed, was "quite contrary to the Minds of the Donors." He further complained that he had been duped, having previously been warned in England: "You have been a fine Tool to get Money for them, and when you get home, they won't Regard you the'll set you a Drift,--I am ready to believe it Now," he wrote.⁷⁷

Despite Wheelock's assertion that "the Plan is such that all the Benefit done or proposed to be done to the English is Subservient in the Best Manner to the Indian Cause," Occum continued to doubt the integrity of the reverend's intentions.⁷⁸ "In my apprehention," he wrote on June 1, 1773, "your present Plan is not calculated to benefit the poor Indians."⁷⁹ He was apparently interminable in his conviction of Wheelock's wrongdoing, for there is no record that Occum continued an exchange with Wheelock after 1774 or that he ever saw him again.

Dartmouth College, for him, remained a fraudulent diversion of the endowment from the Indians to the English.⁸⁰

The extent to which funds were diverted from Moor's Charity School to the building of Dartmouth College is indeterminate. The confusion of accounts between the school and college in the early years makes an assignment of funds impossible. What is certain, however, is that the founding of a college was in the minds of neither the agents responsible for raising the funds, nor of the numerous donors who understood only that their contributions would be used "toward the building and endowing of an Indian academy." Whitaker never mentioned a college for whites in his appeals, nor did Occum have the remotest inkling of such an institution at this time. Equally certain, the pious benefactors had no suspicion that their money might be used for any other purpose than the education and Christianizing of "heathens," and the caretakers of the charitable funds were conveniently kept in the dark until after the fact. In spite of Wheelock's clandestine maneuvers, Leon Burr Richardson, a Dartmouth historian, who nevertheless links his works with "hackneyed piety" and "true sincerity of purpose," rendered a credible conclusion. It is true, he maintained,

that the fund of 10,000 pounds, raised solely for Indian education, was the reliance which enabled Wheelock to add a college to his other undertakings, it was the inducement which made possible the award of a college charter by Governor Wentworth, it was through the prestige of such an endowment that the college became almost at once a success. Without it, Dartmouth College would never have been.⁸¹

Moreover, if Wheelock's efforts had matched his professed intentions, if his actions had been directed at his announced purpose, Dartmouth College would never have been.

CHAPTER 5 NOTES

¹Harold Blodgett, Samson Occom, Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, no. 3 (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1935), p. 22

²Ibid., p. 38.

³James Dow McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College, Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, no. 4 (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1939), p. 77.

⁴William Brown, The History of Missions; or, of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen, since the Reformation, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: M'Carty & Davis, 1820), 1:150-51. Following his relation of the Stockbridge Indians' address, Brown explained that

this is no exaggerated picture, it is a simple representation of facts. In New-England, . . . there is scarcely a collection of Indians sufficiently numerous to be denominated a tribe. The Massachusetts, the Pennakooks, the Agawomes, the Naumkeeks, the Piscataways, the Wampanoags, the Saconets, the Nipmugs, and many other tribes, are now totally extinct.

His population figures for surviving Indians included 162 Montauks and 85 Neantics in 1761, 140 Pequots in 1762, and 84 Mohegans in 1803.

⁵Blodgett, Samson Occom, p. 24.

⁶McCallum expressed doubt that Wheelock assumed he could supplement his income by educating Indians, as Wheelock's first biographers David McClure and Elijah Parish maintain. (James Dow McCallum, ed., The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, Dartmouth College Manuscript Series, no. 1 (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), p. 14.) However, James Axtell emphatically states that "his initial design was simply to supplement his income." (James Axtell, The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America [typescript copy; in press] (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 46.) Wheelock did in fact already know the benefits of the London Society's patronage, which had supported the education of Samson Occum (Eleazar Wheelock, A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity-School at Lebanon in Connecticut (Boston: n.p., 1763), pp. 20, 29.

⁷Wheelock, A Plain and Faithful Narrative, p. 11.

⁸The Charity School, although named for its chief benefactor who spelled his name "More," was spelled "Moore" and later "Moor."

⁹Frederick Chase, A History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, 2 vols., ed. John K. Lord (Cambridge: John Wilson & Sons, 1891), 1:10-11.

¹⁰Ibid., 1:16-17.

¹¹McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 17; Axtell, Invasion Within, p. 47.

¹²Chase, History of Dartmouth, 1:23.

¹³Wheelock Papers 761129.1, 763204, 763407.2.

¹⁴Wheelock Papers 763427.2; Chase, A History of Dartmouth, 1:32.

¹⁵Johnson Papers, October 8, 1766; cited by McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 21.

¹⁶David M'Clure and Elijah Parish, Memoirs of the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock (Newburyport: Edward Little & Co., 1811), p. 47.

¹⁷Wheelock Papers 760566.

¹⁸Eleazar Wheelock, A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-School in Lebanon, in Connecticut; From the Year 1768, to the Incorporation of it with Dartmouth-College, and Removal and Settlement of it in Hanover, in the Province of New-Hampshire, 1771 (n.p.: n.p., 1771), pp. 19-20.

¹⁹Wheelock Papers 769274.2, 769255; Wheelock, A Continuation of the Narrative, 1771, pp. 15-17.

²⁰Wheelock Papers 769255, 769274.2; Eleazar Wheelock, Continuation of the Narrative, 1771, p. 16.

²¹Blodgett, Samson Occum, p. 122; Chase, History of Dartmouth College, p. 88.

²²Blodgett, Samson Occum, p. 123.

²³Henry Hunter, A Brief History of the Society in Scotland, for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands; and of the Correspondent Board in London; from the Establishment of the Society in the Year 1701, Down to the Present Time (London: n.p., 1795), pp. 35-36.

²⁴Blodgett, Samson Occum, p. 98,102.

²⁵ McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 305; McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, pp. 164-65; Chase, History of Dartmouth College, p. 59. Wheelock freely interpreted the Scottish Fund's purpose to include the cost of educating white students who were to teach Indians. Not only did the Society in Scotland refuse to accept this interpretation, but they also refused to approve most of Wheelock's later claims for educating Indians. Consequently, of the funds raised in Scotland, he received only 190 pounds. For a discussion of the rift between Wheelock and the Scotch Society, see Chase, History of Dartmouth College, pp. 282-286.

²⁶ As late as 1769, despite his intention to serve white students, Wheelock deceptively referred to his institution as "my Indian achademy." Further, in outlining the main points of a charter, Wheelock suggested to New Hampshire Governor Wentworth, "Sir, if you think proper to use the word college instead of achademy I shall be well pleased with it." (McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 170.)

²⁷ Blodgett, Samson Occom, pp. 121-22.

²⁸ Eleazar Wheelock, A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-School, Begun in Lebanon, in Connecticut; now Incorporated with Dartmouth-College, in Hanover, in the Province of New-Hampshire (Hartford: Printed by Ebenezer Watson, 1775), pp. 14.

²⁹ Virginia Gazette (Rind), December 3, 1772.

³⁰ McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 26.

³¹ Cited by Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 365.

³² McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, p. 202, 204.

³³ [Elijah Parish], A Candid, Analytical Review of the "Sketches of the History of Dartmouth and Moor's Charity School, with a Particular Account of Some Late Remarkable Proceedings of the Board of Trustees, From the Year 1779 to the Year 1815" (n.p.: n.p., [1815]), pp. 19-20.

³⁴ John King Lord, A History of Dartmouth College, 1815-1909; Being the Second Volume of a History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire Begun by Frederick Chase (Concord: Rumford Press, 1913), p. 229; Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 528; McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 307.

³⁵ McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 297. M'Clure and Parish credit Wheelock with the education of 150 Indian students, but no record survives with the names or other mention of students other than those eighty nine identified by McCallum (M'Clure and Parish, Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 64.)

³⁶ M'Clure and Parish, Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 64.

- ³⁷ Wheelock, Continuation of the Narrative, 1771, pp. 19-20.
- ³⁸ McClure and Parish, Memoirs of Wheelock, p. 64.
- ³⁹ Chase, History of Dartmouth, pp. 528, 634-35.
- ⁴⁰ McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 298.
- ⁴¹ McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, p. 110.
- ⁴² Chase, History of Dartmouth, pp. 43-44.
- ⁴³ Wheelock Papers 765365.
- ⁴⁴ Cited by McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, p. 50.
- ⁴⁵ For a more detailed account of the lives of these and other Moor's Charity School students, see McCallum, Letters of Wheelock's Indians, pp. 33, 47, 75, 85, 263, 293-98; Blodgett, Samson Occom, passim; W. DeLoss Love, Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1899), passim.
- ⁴⁶ Wheelock, Continuation of the Narrative, 1771, pp. 18-19.
- ⁴⁷ McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, p. 127.
- ⁴⁸ Cited by Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 529.
- ⁴⁹ McClure and Parish, Memoirs of Wheelock, pp. 11, 53.
- ⁵⁰ William Allen, "Memoir of Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, D.D.," American Quarterly Register 10 (1837): 28.
- ⁵¹ James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 88.
- ⁵² Jere R. Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter," Historical New Hampshire 24 (Winter, 1969): 3.
- ⁵³ McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, p. 75.
- ⁵⁴ Wheelock, Continuation of the Narrative (1771), p. 19.
- ⁵⁵ Wheelock Papers 763427.2; also reprinted in Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 32.
- ⁵⁶ Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter": 9.

⁵⁷"He had never desired the creation of a board of trust," Chase wrote, "nor the erection of a corporation for the management of the School, but as the only expedients whereby it might be perpetuated,--as aids to his enterprise, as his servants, not his masters." (Chase, History of Dartmouth College, p. 557.)

⁵⁸Wheelock Papers 766666.1, 766666.2; also reprinted in Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 55.

⁵⁹Chase, History of Dartmouth College, p. 100.

⁶⁰Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter": 18.

⁶¹Wheelock Papers 768556.

⁶²Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter": 24.

⁶³Wheelock Papers 769663.2; Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter": 28-29.

⁶⁴Cited by Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter": 30.

⁶⁵Wheelock Papers 769257.3; Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 112.

⁶⁶Wheelock Papers 768667.1; Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 107.

⁶⁷Cited by Daniell, "Eleazar Wheelock and the Dartmouth College Charter": 30.

⁶⁸Cited by Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 125.

⁶⁹Wheelock Papers 770430; also reprinted in Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 241.

⁷⁰Wheelock Papers 771275; also reprinted in Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 243-44.

⁷¹McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, pp. 160-64.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 164-65.

⁷³Chase, History of Dartmouth, p. 239.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 593-94.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 559.

⁷⁶ Wheelock Papers 770321; also reprinted in Leon Burr Richardson, An Indian Preacher in England, Being Letters and Diaries Relating to the Mission of the Reverend Samsom Occum and the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker to Collect Funds in England for the Benefit of Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School, From Which Grew Dartmouth College, Dartmouth Manuscript Series no. 2 (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1933), pp. 354-55.

⁷⁷ Wheelock Papers 771424; also reprinted in Blodgett, Samson Occom, pp. 122-24.

⁷⁸ Cited by Blodgett, Samson Occom, pp. 126-27.

⁷⁹ Wheelock Papers 773351; also reprinted in Blodgett, Samson Occom, p. 135.

⁸⁰ Richardson, An Indian Preacher in England, pp. 349-50.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 10, 17.

CHAPTER 6

"BUT LITTLE GOOD HAS BEEN DONE": CONCLUSIONS

By all accounts, the Indian missions in the colonial colleges were a tragic failure. Henrico College, despite a substantial endowment of land and capital, was never established. The Indian College at Harvard, during its four decades of existence, graduated only a single Indian, and he died within a year of receiving his bachelor's degree. At the College of William and Mary, the results were equally meager. Although the Boyle estate endowed the Brafferton School generously, the College neglected Indian conversion and education for more than eight decades--making only small overtures in this direction when political and economic ends could be served. And at Dartmouth College, despite some earlier success at Moor's Charity School, the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock had no strong inclinations to continue the education of Indians. Consequently, the most significant endowment available at that time rendered only three Indian graduates of Dartmouth in the eighteenth century. When these educational experiments did produce a small cadre of Indian scholars--interpreters, ushers, schoolmasters, and ministers--they had no significant impact in realizing the ultimate goal, the propagation of the gospel among their brethren.

An attempt has been made in this study to revise the record which placed the blame for the failure on the Indians' "obstinace," "mental incapacities," and "physical inferiority," while simultaneously exalting

the pious "apostles." Although this study focused on the colonial educators' failure to fulfill their avowed missions, suggesting a subversion of pious motivation, it also acknowledged other forces which contributed to the failing. Perhaps a major reason for the defeat of these experiments was the misguided methodology employed. "A persistent delusion of English colonists," Samuel Eliot Morison concluded, "from the early days of Virginia to the founding of Dartmouth College, was the notion that the proper way to civilize an Indian was to catch him and send him to college."¹ Ignorance is not the only excuse, however. There are other reasons for the failure of these educational missions: the Indians' cultural persistence and resistance to change, their inability to adapt and survive in an alien environment, and perhaps most significantly, the paucity of efforts expended to fulfill the pious purposes which were professed in the colonial and college charters.

Indian Cultural Persistence

In most cases, Indians did not respond favorably to the white man's expressions of interest in their spiritual welfare. Among the seventeenth-century Virginia natives, the Reverend Clayton, like many white observers imbued with concepts of Christian superiority, was surprised to note that among the most persistent native cultural patterns was religion. Nancy Oestreich Lurie concluded from Clayton's observations and comparable data that Virginia Indians' "adjustment to European civilization in the late seventeenth century continued to take the form of resistance whenever there remained any possibility of retaining essential elements of the old culture."²

The same is true of other regions in colonial America up to the time of the American Revolution. In New England, as long as tribes maintained any semblance of political independence--as among the Narragansetts, for example, and most notably among the Iroquois--the primary response to European civilization was, with few exceptions, one of rigid resistance.

Only when war and disease had disintegrated tribal integrity and left Indian communities vulnerable to English domination did Indians readily embrace Christianity. Such was the case among the tributary nations of eighteenth-century Virginia, as well as among the remnants of the southern New England tribes. Among these people, when the efforts and commitment matched the pious rhetoric, educators such as John Eliot, Alexander Spotswood, and Reverend Wheelock held a captive audience. They therefore enjoyed relative success among these desperate peoples.

Cultural persistence was evident even among those who succumbed temporarily to the white man's Christian civility. Of those who survived English education, few left with more than a thin veneer of civilization and most, upon returning to their tribal communities, cast even this aside and "immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism," as William Byrd noted.³ This observation was noted again and again throughout the period of these colonial missions. As late as 1784, seven years after the demise of the Brafferton School, Winslow C. Watson encountered "savage warriors, and among them one who had been educated at William and Mary College, a sensible and well-informed; but a perfect Indian in his appearance and habits."⁴

These were the fortunate ones, those who were able to shed the ornamental veneer of civilization. Less fortunate were those who found themselves caught hopelessly between two worlds, marginal men, accepted fully by neither the white man nor the Indian. A 1796 Report of the Board of Correspondents for the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge made clear this tragic outcome. "Some experiments of what is called civilization and a polite education, which have been made upon individuals," the Committee reported,

have served rather to disgust the Indians, and retard the progress of improvement. The following picture, however highly coloured, may yet be considered as drawn from life. "An Indian youth has been taken from his friends, and conducted to a new people, whose modes of thinking and living, whose pleasures and pursuits are totally dissimilar to those of his own nation. His new friends profess love to him, and a desire for his improvement in human and divine knowledge, and for his eternal salvation; but at the same time endeavour to make him sensible of his inferiority to themselves. To treat him as an equal would mortify their own pride, and degrade themselves in the view of their neighbours. He is put to school; but his fellow students look on him as a being of an inferior species. He acquires some knowledge, and is taught some ornamental, and perhaps useful accomplishments; but the degrading memorials of his inferiority, which are continually before his eyes, remind him of the manners and habits of his own country, where he was once free and equal to his associates. He sighs to return to his friends; but there he meets with the most bitter mortification. He is neither a white man nor an Indian; as he had no character with us, he has none with them. If he has strength of mind sufficient to renounce all his acquirements, and resume the savage life and manners, he may possibly be again received by his countrymen; but the greater probability is, that he will take refuge from their contempt in the inebriating draught; and when this becomes habitual, he will be guarded from no vice, and secure from no crime. His downward progress will be rapid, and his death premature." Such has been the fate of several Indians who have had the opportunity of enjoying an English or a French education, and have returned to their native country. Such persons must either entirely renounce their acquired habits, and resume the savage life; or, if they live among

their countrymen, they must be despised, and their death will be unlamented.⁵

Even the most successful and reknowned Indian scholar, Samson Occum, was a victim of this tragic phenomenon. Despite the fact that he was more learned and genteel than most colonists and though highly regarded among Englishmen abroad, Occum never found a place as an equal among the colonists. A group of colonial Englishmen exemplified the prevailing racist attitude which prevented Occum's transition to white society. In a conversation reported to Wheelock, they spoke openly of the hopelessness of converting Indians by anything but "Powder & Ball." One of them denounced Wheelock's experiment as "absurd & fruitlis" because of the "ireconsilable aversion, that white people must ever have to black. . . . So long as the Indians are dispised by the English we may never expect success in Christianizing of them." They further related that

they could never respect an Indian, Christian or no Christian so as to put him on a level with white people on any account especially to eat at the same Table, no--not with Mr. Ocham himself be he ever so much a Christian or ever so Learned.⁶

Occum felt betrayed even by Wheelock after discovering that his "Beging for poor Miserable Indians" had resulted in establishing a college for English youth.⁷ Heightening Occum's tragedy, his adoption of the white man's ways left him bereft of any comfort from his native culture. Thus, while his preaching to Indians was relatively successful, he never found a secure home with Indian people or among the white man.

Native Inability to Adapt and Survive

Another major cause of the failing of Indians in the colonial colleges was their inability to adapt and survive in an alien environment, resulting in the untimely death of many prospective scholars. Writing of the failure of Harvard College, Daniel Gookin concluded that

the design. . . proved ineffectual to the end proposed. For several of the said youth died, after they had sundry years at learning. . . . Of this disease consumption sundry of those Indian youths died that were bred up to school among the English. . . . I know some have apprehended other causes of the mortality of these Indian scholars. Some have attributed it unto the great changes upon their bodies, in respect of their diet, lodging, apparel, studies; so much different from what they were inured to among their countrymen.⁸

Similarly, Hugh Jones, writing of the Indians at William and Mary College, lamented that "hitherto but little good has been done therein, . . . where abundance of them used to die, either through sickness, change of provision, and way of life."⁹ Removed often several hundred miles from their homelands, Indian youth were subjected to a sudden change of climate, diet, clothing, and other environmental conditions.

In 1761 Wheelock explained some of the problems involved:

They would soon kill themselves with Eating and Sloth, if constant care were not exercised for them at least the first year. They are used to set upon the Ground, and it is as natural for them as a seat to our Children. They are not wont to have any Cloaths but what they wear, nor will without much Pains be brot to take care of any. They are used to a Sordid Manner of Dress, and love it as well as our Children to be clean. They are not used to any Regular Government, the sad consequences of which you may a little guess at. They are used to live from Hand to Mouth (as we speak) and have no care for Futurity. They have never been used to the Furniture of as English House, and dont know but that a Wineglass is as strong as an Hand Iron. Our Language when they seem to have got it is not their Mother Tongue and

they cannot receive nor communicate in that as in their own . . . And they are as unpolished & uncultivated within as without.¹⁰

Apparently these cultural differences were more than problematic in Wheelock's educational goal to "purge all the Indian out" of his students.¹¹ By 1771, although he boasted that he had produced forty "good readers, and writers," six of the most accomplished were dead.¹² As for Harvard College, it fared no better in this regard. Three of four students who engaged in collegiate study at Harvard died before or within a year of graduation.

Paucity of Colonial Efforts

In discussing reasons for the failure of Indian missions in the colonial colleges, perhaps nothing stands out so much as the role of colonial leaders in that failure. The early literature is rife with criticism of the colonists for their observable lack of effort in fulfilling the purpose so clearly expressed in their colonial charters--to propagate the gospel among the Indians. "In all Royall Charters, and proprietary Grants of Colonies in British North America," wrote William Douglass in 1753,

one of the principal Designs is said, to be the Conversion of the Indians by good Instruction. . . . The Religion Missionaries neglect the Conversion of the Indians, and take no further Care than with relation to their Sallaries or Livings, and of being stationed in the most oppulent Towns which have no more Communication with the Savage Indians, than the City of London has.¹³

The lack of effort becomes even more obvious in light of the thousands of pounds contributed in Europe for educational missions, a relatively small portion of which was actually spent on Indians in the colleges.

The nearly 2,600 pounds collected for the Indian College at Henrico was "invested" in an iron works and a shipment of tenants. Not a penny went towards the education of the Virginia natives. At Harvard, charitable funds dispensed by the New England Company were spent on an Indian College building at a cost of four hundred pounds, which during nearly four decades housed no more than two Indians at a time and admitted only four for the bachelor's degree. Similarly, William and Mary College frittered away the substantial Boyle endowment on the Brafferton School building and the college library, while for at least two decades there is no evidence of Indians attending the College. A similar diversion of funds occurred with the twelve thousand pounds collected by Samson Occum for Indian education under Wheelock. Much of the money was subverted for the establishment of Dartmouth College, an institution intended primarily for education of the English. Consequently, a substantial portion of charitable funds intended to benefit the Indians were transferred to the English side of the ledger, advancing the development of the struggling colleges themselves or promoting the education of English scholars.

The Question of Motives

These circumstances raise again the initial questions which were the basis for this study: Were the missionizing educators sincere in their efforts to provide higher education to Indians? Were their efforts based solely on pious motives, or did other motives supercede the piety? Did the failure to educate Indians according to original

designs result from subverted intentions or from lack of sincere intentions?

When the sincerity of the professed pious missions is measured by comparing the announced intentions against the actual effort and money expended, even allowing for the reluctance of Indian recruits, then there is reason to cast serious doubts regarding the sincerity in motivation. While the presence, in part, of pious concern for the Indians' spiritual welfare is not in question, it is clear that, in the educational enterprises, other factors motivated the major figures responsible for the advancement of Indian education and conversion. Certainly the colonists learned to play on the pious impulses of Englishmen and to capitalize on the image of "a voice crying in the wilderness," beseeching "come over and help us." In doing so, they were able to further their own economic and political interests, while professing their own piety as if it was the singular motivation. The Virginia Company leaders were thus able to invest charitable funds in their new economic program intended more to revitalize the untried colonial venture than to establish the Henrico Indian College. College presidents Henry Dunster and James Blair were able to capitalize on pious charity to enhance the growth of their struggling and financially strapped colleges. So, too, was the pious Reverend Wheelock able to "turn a buck" and so fulfill his desire to found Dartmouth College. Moreover, Alexander Spotswood, with sincere interest in the spiritual welfare of his Indian charges, saw the Indian school at William and Mary as an opportunity to ensure the political alliance and friendship of neighboring tribes. This, too, was the motive in contributions from the

Continental Congress to Dartmouth College. Thus, the colonial experiments in Indian higher education were not merely expressions of unblemished piety. Rather, they reflect the discordant threads of piety, politics, and profit, woven into a fabric of failure.

In reaching this conclusion, the intention of this study has not been to impose a value judgement on the colonial ventures into Indian education or to remove the mixed motives of the promoters from their proper historical and cultural contexts. While the experiments were misguided in methodology and although they ultimately failed to serve the ends proposed, they were not inconsistent with prevailing English educational policy and religious thought regarding the conversion of "heathens" to Christian civility; and further, while mixed motives among the promoters of Indian education operated indiscriminately within these efforts, among the English of the period, religion did not function outside the bounds of the political and economic arenas, and indeed to a great degree, the Church dominated these affairs. Consequently, to cast judgements on the appropriateness and righteousness of the English missions in the colonial college would serve no significant end.

However, the findings of this investigation are significant in their revelation that, although the English expressed a singular motive for colonizing the "New World," the conversion of Indians was at best only one motive. In the educational missions, piety proved to be just one of several motives; it was not even the most important. Perhaps more significantly, the study has illuminated the striking consistency in this pattern over place and time--from Virginia to New England, from the early seventeenth through the late eighteenth centuries.

Moreover, the significance is heightened by its potential implications within broader contexts. It reveals, for example, much about the origins and missions of higher education in America and particularly of some of the most enduring and prestigious institutions of higher learning. It intimates the beginnings of access and commitment in the education of the "disadvantaged." Moreover, this study implies much about the motives underlying the conduct of Indian-white relations in America.

This research not only offers new insights and perspectives on Indian missions in the colonial colleges, but it suggests new questions for further research in the foundations of higher education: How did the pattern of mixed motivations in the founding of these colleges affect the later development of American higher education? What impact did the failure of the colonial efforts have on Native American access to higher education in later historical periods? To what extent were the original missions of these colonial colleges preserved in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? While this study contributes to the growing body of scholarship in the ethnohistory of Indian-white relations in the colonial period, it is hoped that its impact will be enlarged by inciting further research.

CHAPTER 6 NOTES

¹Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), p. 38.

²Nancy Oestreich Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization," in Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. Richard Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 56, 58.

³William Byrd, Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (1841; reprint ed., Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), p. 118.

⁴Winslow C. Watson, ed., Men and Times of the Revolution, or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson (New York: Dana and Co., 1856), p. 257.

⁵Jeremy Belknap and Jeremiah Morse, "The Report of a Committee of the Board of Correspondents of the Scots Society for the Propagating Christian Knowledge, Who Visited the Oneida and Mohekunuh Indians in 1796," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for the Year 1798, 1st. ser. 5 (1798): 29-30.

⁶Wheelock Papers 767604.1.

⁷Wheelock Papers 771424.

⁸Daniel Gookin, "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1st. ser. 1 (1792): 172-73.

⁹Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton (1724; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), p. 114.

¹⁰Wheelock Papers 761404.

¹¹Wheelock Papers 764560.1.

¹²Eleazar Wheelock, A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-School, in Lebanon, in Connecticut; From the Year 1768, to the Incorporation of it with Dartmouth-College, and Removal and Settlement of it in Hanover, in the Province of New-Hampshire, 1771 (n.p.: n.p., 1771), pp. 19-20.

¹³William Douglass, A Summary, Historical and Political, of the first Planting, progressive Improvements, and present State of the British Settlements in North-America, 2 vols. (Boston: D. Fowle, 1753), 1:118-19.

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