



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

Doctor of Education

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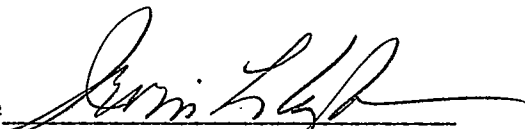
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ABSTRACT

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 laws 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

