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The Stockbridge and Moor's Charity missionary schools : an examination of the educational and religious indoctrination of seventeenth-century North American Indians

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THE STOCKBRIDGE AND MOOR'S CHARITY MISSIONARY SCHOOLS:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS
INDOCTRINATION OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Denise C. Schuntenhaus-Matzavinos

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ABSTRACT

THE STOCKBRIDGE AND MOOR'S CHARITY MISSIONARY SCHOOLS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS INDOCTRINATION OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

by Denise C. Schnutenhaus-Matzavinos

This thesis addresses the topic of the cultural and religious indoctrination of seventeenth-century Native Americans in the New England area through the educational process of Protestant missionary schools. It focuses specifically on two schools, both located in Massachusetts, where missionaries attempted to "civilize" the natives by encouraging them to adopt a Protestant, English cultural point of view. This was accomplished through an authoritarian educational process which was designed to teach European-style academic and vocational subjects.

This study reveals that while missionaries may have been well-intended, the effect of their work was the loss of Native American culture and identity.

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INTRODUCTION

In mid-eighteenth-century colonial America, several ambitious educational experiments were conducted by European missionaries with the intention of civilizing and Christianizing the North American Indians. These efforts were often coordinated through mission schools which sought not only to educate the North American Indians but to change their entire way of living. Protestant missionaries perceived these efforts as the best way of bettering the lives of those they sought to convert. They believed that God had ordained their culture and religion to dominate the New World. If the Indians were to obtain salvation in Christ and to endure as a cohesive group of people, they would have to adopt the English social structure and Protestant Christian beliefs. Ultimately, the loss of the Indian identity was the major cause for the failure of these experiments.¹

This thesis explains why colonial English immigrants began this difficult effort, its effects on Native American culture and Anglo-Indian relations, and the factors which led to the demise of the endeavor. This thesis assesses the

development of two missionary schools in colonial New England, the Stockbridge missionary schools, founded in 1743 by John Sergeant in Massachusetts, and Moor's Charity School, now present-day Dartmouth College, established in 1754 by Eleazar Wheelock. Established at about the same time, these institutions taught Indians with similar cultural backgrounds. Both located in the New England area, they had similar religious and educational philosophies and ultimately failed for the same reasons.

I chose Stockbridge and Moor's for this research because of their important contributions to Colonial American history. The Stockbridge Indian mission and school created a new Indian nation, now located on a reservation near Fort Knox, Wisconsin. The Stockbridge Indians supported the British during the French and Indian War and the colonists during the War for Independence as soldiers and scouts. As will be explored later in this thesis, the influential theologian and minister, Jonathan Edwards, taught at Stockbridge from 1751 to 1757. Moor's Charity School, the forerunner of Dartmouth College, produced individuals who played a significant role in colonial American history, such as the powerful Mohawk Indian chief Joseph Brant, Mohican Sachem and Presbyterian missionary and minister Samson Occom, and prominent missionary to the Oneidas and founder of Hamilton College Samuel Kirkland.

I analyzed my topic in full acknowledgement of the work

of many notable historians who have researched the subject of European immigration to the New World and its effects on native peoples. Some of the scholarly work utilized in this thesis is done by James Axtell, author of numerous books dealing with the history of the cultural, religious and political encounters between white and aboriginal people. Axtell's The Invasion Within, The Cultural Origins of North America examines the interaction among the Protestant English, Catholic French, and native cultures in the New World, especially in the former's attempt at education and conversion. Axtell's ethnohistory is an excellent examination of the cultural, social and educational impact of European and Native American cultures upon each other. Yet, I found his treatment of the Europeans and their missionary work too harsh. In Axtell's view, Christianity was an "exclusive and intolerant" religion "aimed at the conquest of the whole world" spiritually. Thus, the Catholic and Protestant Christian missions, according to Axtell, were oppressive, forcing Native Americans to accept Christianity at the expense of abandoning their own traditions. Axtell does not give enough attention to any positive motivation the European missionaries might have had. After all, these missionaries did not perceive themselves as oppressors, but concerned individuals offering the native peoples a better life.¹

Another important source focusing on the interaction

between Europeans and Native Americans is The Mohicans of Stockbridge by Patrick Frazier. Frazier's book is a thorough examination of the history of the Stockbridge nation. Several aspects analyzed by Frazier include the foundation of Stockbridge as a "praying Indian village" and the attempts of its missionaries to indoctrinate its native population in Protestant English values. In addition, the author examines the failure of the missionaries to accomplish this purpose and the mission's subsequent demise and relocation to New York in the 1780's and eventually to Wisconsin in the 1830's. Frazier presents a more balanced approach to the history of interaction between Europeans and Native Americans. He does not condemn the Europeans, Christianity, and colonial missionary work as implements of intolerance and oppression. Instead, he presents a more complete picture of the motivation behind missionary work. For the English colonists, Protestant Christianity was the ultimate truth. The religious and cultural standards of the native peoples were considered less advanced than those of European society, and indeed, sinful and uncivilized. But instead of simply condemning the native peoples "occupying the low rung on the ladder of humankind" as savages, as Frazier points out, European missionaries were interested in helping them better themselves. They believed that the righteousness of Protestantism and moral character of English culture could save the native peoples from savagery.

and ignorance.'

Another important source for my research is James Dow McCallum's biography Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College. McCallum describes the life of Eleazar Wheelock beginning with his family history, birth, and involvement in the first Great Awakening, through his pastoral work in Lebanon, Connecticut and his founding of Moor's Indian School and Dartmouth College. Throughout his biography, McCallum is even less tolerant of the religious beliefs of colonial missionaries such as Wheelock than Axtell. In his view there was little value in Wheelock's attempts to Christianize and educate the Native American students at his school. McCallum does not even attempt to appreciate Wheelock's religious beliefs or motivations. He describes Wheelock's conduct towards his students as "blustering, arrogance, stupid, tactless ... and deserves nothing but condemnation." By taking such a severe opinion of Wheelock and his work, McCallum leaves us wondering why Wheelock was compelled to take on such a difficult task and what he had hoped to accomplish by it. McCallum's biography does contain a substantial amount of primary information regarding Wheelock's relationship with his Indian students at Moor's, including portions of Wheelock's journals, sermons, and letters, including those written to Wheelock by native students and their parents, an accounting of Moor's financial expenditures, and lists of the names of white and

Indian students who attended the school.'

Another source examined for this thesis is James H. Merrell's, The Indian's New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal. Merrell's approach is similar to that of Axtell and McCallum in the sense that he does not make enough of an effort to explore any positive effect European missionaries may have had in their work among the natives in the New World. Merrell, whose history concentrates on the Catawba tribe, located in South Carolina, portrays the Catawbas as having little or no interest in Christianity, much less English culture. Merrell writes that the Catawbas expressed a "lack of enthusiasm" for mission work and that they "wanted no religious conversions" at all. He does not mention if any Catawbas ever accepted Christianity and what their experiences and beliefs regarding their conversion might have been. Merrell refers to missionary preaching and educational efforts as "garbled tales." Their attempts at converting the native population often "accomplished nothing."⁵

In contrast, another school of thought, represented in historian T. H. Breen's essay, "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures," defines the relationship between white colonists and Native Americans as a series of cultural interactions instead of a history of hardship and subjugation. According to Breen, the relationship between

white colonists and Native Americans were a "... series of mutually reciprocal relations, involving borrowing and resistance, conflict and cooperation, modifications and invention." Trading posts and missions became "creative encounters" between the two cultures where some Indians accepted the Christian faith and English values, others accepted some Christian elements while rejecting the white culture, and still others held on to their traditional way of life, rejecting Christianity and Anglo ways altogether.'

An historian who explores the positive aspects of European missionary efforts is Alden T. Vaughan in his book, New England Frontier, 1620-1675. This book explores the Puritan's treatment of Native Americans, which in Vaughan's view was "a remarkably human, considerate and just policy." Vaughan writes that the Puritans had respect for the Native Americans, believing they were descended from the ten lost tribes of Israel. According to Vaughan, the Puritans thought the Indians were actually white and darkened their skin by various methods such as dyes, ointments and soot from living in smokey houses. The task of the Puritan was not to exterminate the Natives but to educate, convert and civilize them.' In Vaughan's view, the Puritan's never forced the Native Americans to accept Christianity, they simply wanted to convince them of the "benefits of a more civilized society." Vaughan criticizes the Native Americans for their inability to change with the times. He believes

that the natives did not have the energy or initiative to culturally assimilate into the Puritan economic system. Their susceptibility to alcohol and high mortality rates as a result of exposure to European diseases also contributed to their inability to adapt. Vaughan refers to the natives in terms such as a "Neolithic," less civilized people emerging from the "Stone Age."

My contribution to this facet of American history is to explore the Stockbridge and Moor's Charity School's in light of this debate over the motivation and effect of European missionary work among native peoples and contact between the two groups in general. This thesis is an attempt to contribute to a more balanced approach to the debate as expressed by authors such as Patrick Frazier and other historians whose works I drew upon, such as Pierce R. Beaver, Henry Warner Bowden, and Robert F. Berlihofer. These historians do not justify the negative aspects of white treatment of Native Americans, but they do attempt to understand the motivations of the English and English missionaries, both positive and negative. The effects of missionary work among Native Americans during the colonial period may have been oppressive, but this was not necessarily the intent of the missionaries. They did not deliberately attempt to enslave their native converts or destroy their culture. They sought only to offer the people of the New World a more civilized way of life and the

supreme truth of Christianity. Their failure resulted not in the rejection of Christianity itself by the Native Americans, but in their refusal to accept an alien culture that was forced upon them as a part of the conversion experience. It is my belief that research in this area will contribute to a better understanding the motivation, cause and effect of European missionary efforts in the New World. There is also a great need for an examination of the contemporary implications of these attitudes, efforts and events that shaped the history of European and Native American interaction.

In researching these sources, I found that Stockbridge and Moor's Charity School to be prime examples of this conflict between the two cultures. A comparison of the purpose and work of each school provides the opportunity to explore the relevant issues of this topic and there are sufficient primary sources for an in-depth look at each school. Two primary sources of great use to me were The Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians by Samuel Hopkins who was a friend, colleague and fellow minister of John Sergeant, and A Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon by Eleazar Wheelock. Both sources not only document the actions taken, but also the spiritual motivation of these men.

The topic of this thesis can be extended to include the

study of the history of native American Christianity and the forces that contributed to its development. Centuries of exploitation of aboriginal culture, often in the name of Christ, has not destroyed the desire of many Native Americans to accept Christianity as their own spiritual belief. This thesis could be a starting point for an exploration of how Christianity has been assimilated and practiced by native peoples over the centuries.

During the age of exploration, with few exceptions, relationships between European immigrants and the native populations in the New World were profoundly negative. The native Americans, labeled "Indians" by Christopher Columbus who mistook them for the people of India, were immediately perceived by the Europeans as savage, evil and violent. European immigration to the New World created inevitable conflicts with the Indians. Not only did European settlers bring their religion, but they also brought their political structures, wars, commerce, trade and diseases with them across the Atlantic. The Indians could not absorb the onslaught of these influence, and by the seventeenth century this led toward the demise of their population.'

The clash between European and Indian cultures was most evident in the concept of land ownership on which the identities of both cultures were based. To the Indian, the land was sacred. No single individual could own the land; it belonged to the community as a whole. It was as much

everyone's as the air that was breathed. The Indians believed that they lived in harmony with nature, accepting themselves as part of it.¹⁰

Baron de Lahontan, a renown seventeenth-century French author and traveler in the New World, colorfully describes the cultural practices, lifestyles and spiritual beliefs of the Algonquians. In his book, New Voyages to North America published in 1703, he wrote that the Indians believed the world was peopled with numerous spirits, some powerful, mysterious and awe inspiring, some small and of little or no importance. "Some of these spirits they take to be Good and some Bad," stated Lahontan, "... of the latter sort are Thunder, Hail falling upon their Corn, a great Storm, and in a word everything that tends to their Prejudice, and proceeds from a cause they are ignorant of." Lahontan concluded that the spirits the Indians described were no more than personifications of the forces of a nature "working or operating" around them.¹¹

The Europeans subscribed to Western thought and religion, taking their beliefs from Bible verses such as Genesis 1:28, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." They believed that it was God's will for them to cultivate and subdue the land. The European concept of land ownership held an ideal that

each man could settle permanently on his own farmstead. Through land ownership, a European man achieved individualism and equality in his community. As a result, the Europeans thought that an agrarian society had more rights to the land than a hunting and gathering society. As European society grew in the New World, so did the need for large amounts of land for agriculture. The hunting and gathering Indian minority was pushed westward in order to accommodate the European agrarian majority.¹²

As early as the fifteenth century, the Europeans began treating the New World as a land to be conquered and added to their empire. Even though the New World was occupied by the Indian nations, the European immigrants invaded, settled and stole the lands and claimed them as their own. As the Whites were forced to deal with aboriginal culture, they began to see themselves and their civilization as superior to the native peoples'. This idea gave them the justification they needed to conquer native territory. In the opinion of most Anglos, the only viable alternative for the Indians was to become civilized, and the methods for civilizing them would be assimilation into the Anglo culture, political and economic systems.¹³

Along with imperious attitudes there was also a disturbing sense of racism. The native American was perceived by Europeans as a remnant of the savage past that had been abandoned by European society long ago. To destroy

Indian culture was to destroy savagery and protect white culture from being subverted by it. As Europeans began to see the Indians as symbols of barbarism and evil, they considered it necessary to eliminate their savage influence before it could destroy European civilization. One must have a powerful reason for dismantling a culture and killing its people.¹⁴ Daniel Gookin, a magistrate of the colony of Massachusetts in 1792, who also managed Indian affairs, described Indian culture in a prejudiced manner: "The customs and manners of these Indians were, and yet are in many places, very brutish and barbarous in several respects, ... They are very revengeful and will not be unmindful to take vengeance upon such as have injured them ... They are much addicted to idleness, especially the men who are disposed to hunting, fishing, and the war, ... They are naturally much addicted to lying and speaking untruth. And unto stealing, especially from the English."¹⁵ Gookin's attitude was a common one. It was actually the fear of Indian sin and savagery which prompted Europeans to establish the Indian schools in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁶

In a sermon to colonial soldiers in 1689, Cotton Mather, demanded the extermination of the Indians. "Turn not back till they are consumed: Wound them that they shall not be able to Arise; Tho' they Cry; Let there be none to save them; But Beat them small as the dust before the Wind,

and Cast them out, as the Dirt in the Streets." Mather accepted Christian Indians as his brothers in Christ, promoted missionary work, and even accepted a position as commissioner to the New England Company in 1698. But he hated the non-believing Indians, regarding them to be savage, ignorant and fiendish.¹¹

The relationship between whites and Indians was not always negative and corrupted by European political and economic interests. The supporters of the Indians often included powerful, high ranking men in the British government who had long personal contact with the Indians such as William Penn and Roger Williams. These individuals argued that it was not necessary for the Indians to reject their culture to achieve friendship with the Europeans.¹²

Puritan clergyman and founder of Rhode Island, Roger Williams, established an excellent relationship with nearby Indians and was tolerant and respectful of their culture. Williams made great efforts to learn Indian languages, especially Narragansett, as well as their customs and traditions. His writings were also highly critical of growing white imperialism, and Williams emphatically stated, "Boast not proud English, of thy birth and blood, Thy brother Indian is by birth a Good. Of one blood God made Him, and Thee & All, as wise, as fair, as strong, as personal."¹³ Williams suffered along with the Indians for his humanitarian beliefs including his opinion that the

government of England should not take the Indians' lands without paying for them. He was eventually banished from the colony of Massachusetts by the General Court in 1635.¹⁰

Another friend of the Indians was the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn. His fair and dignified treatment of Indian culture was one of his greatest achievements. He even sent messages of friendship before coming to the New World. Penn continuously expressed his love and appreciation for Indians throughout his life. In a letter to the Earl of Sunderland, he describes the Indians as "good, elegant and extraordinary people" and he criticized the abuse of Indian culture by the Europeans, particularly the sale of alcohol. He forbade the sale of alcohol to the Indians and instructed his commissioners to "... be tender of offending the Indians and harken by honest spes ... sell things to them honestly ... sit down lovingly among them."¹¹

During one fair land purchase between William Penn and the Delaware Indians in 1683, both responded with friendship and honor for one another. "When the Purchase was agreed, great Promises past between us of kindness and good Neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in Love, as long as the Sun gave light. Which done, another made a Speech to the Indians in the Name of all the Sachamakers or Kings ... to charge and commend them, To Love the Christians, and particularly live in Peace with me, and

the People under my Government ... At every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen, in their way."²² Penn's dealings with the Indians proved that it was possible for Whites to have positive and productive relationships with the aboriginal nations if they were conducted with sincerity and respect.

Two eighteenth-century English map makers named John Thornton and Robert Morden offered a positive description of the North American Indians. "The Natives are strong, lively, and well-sharpen People, well humored and generally kind to the English. They live a long and pleasant life, taking little care for the future."²³ Like Williams and Penn the map makers appreciated the customs and cultures of the Indians; their motives were also uncorrupted by greed and political gain.

The English who had a positive relationship with the Indians unfortunately would not be the main influence on Anglo-Indian relationships. Hunger for land was not the only motivator which encouraged Europeans to invade Indian territory. French political influence in the New World was a threat to Great Britain. By the early seventeenth century England and France competed for allies and trading partners among the Indians and sought to expand their empires into Indian territory.²⁴ Gookin in 1764 described English concern about the French influence on the natives in the Hudson river area. "We are informed," he wrote, "that some

of the fathers of the Romish religion do travel among them and have distilled some of their corrupted principles in them, and have baptised sundry of them and also taught them image worship ... besides, they have a good trade for furs with the Indians."¹⁵

The Crown, colonial governments and missionary organizations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supported missionaries who advocated British political and economic interests. By attempting to change the Indian culture into an English one, the missions and Christianity itself ultimately became political tools used to further the power and wealth of the British government.¹⁶ In a sermon preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1759, Anthony Ellis, Bishop of St. David's, spoke with great concern of the influence of the French in the New World. "As the great importance of these colonies to this kingdom is now understood," he stated, "it is easy to conceive what their loss would be to us, especially should they come into the possession of any enemy solicitous to impair and, as far as possible, ruin our commerce ..."¹⁷ Members of the English clergy actively worked with the government to encourage colonization in the New World. Spreading Protestantism to the native peoples became a powerful motivator for building the British empire and neutralizing the influence of their French Catholic adversaries.

The missionaries' efforts were wrought with difficulty from the beginning as they tried to change a people who to them seemed so unwilling to learn. It was difficult if not impossible for most missionaries to rise above the conflicts and prejudices created by their own society. They did not understand it at the time, but their attempts to transform traditional Indian values and beliefs forced the Indians to commit cultural suicide."

Most of the European missionaries could not accept teaching and preaching to the Indians without converting them to their own civilization. This was achieved through an intense educational process. Daniel Gookin stated, "For this end I propose, first that as many of their {Indian} children as may be procured, with the free consent of their parents and relations, be placed in sober and Christian families as apprentices ... the males to be instructed in the trade practiced by their masters, and the females in good housewifery ... they should be taught to read and write the English tongue at the cost of their masters ... Secondly, another way for bringing this matter to pass, is to be setting up one or two free schools, to learn them to read and write English ..." While this type of education was beneficial for European boys destined for Harvard or Yale and the European women who would marry them, it was useless to the Indian students whose lifestyles and livelihood depended on males who gathered and fished while

women performed agricultural tasks.¹⁰

For the English, the Indian schools would become the ultimate means of civilizing the "savages." Missionaries hoped that newly educated Indians would return to their native land and teach the same beliefs and customs to their people. England would then receive new trading partners and Protestant allies against the Roman Catholic French from these new, Anglicized Indians. However, removing Indian children from a familiar environment and separating them from what was considered to be the sinful influence of their people would not accomplish the task of teaching them Protestant Christian values and behavior.¹¹

The cultural indoctrination of the missionary schools ultimately proved to be the greatest detriment to the work of the missionaries among the Indians. Although the educators of the Stockbridge and Moor's Indian Schools sought to educate the Native Americans and improve their spiritual and personal well being, the loss of their unique cultural identity would prove to be a high price to pay for adopting the religion of the white man.¹²

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CHAPTER ONE

THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION SCHOOL

Among the longest operating and most important seventeenth-century attempts at North American Indian education were the Stockbridge Indian Schools established along the Housatonic River in Massachusetts. In 1734, the colony of Massachusetts purchased six square miles of land from the Housatonic Indians and built a mission town which they named the Stockbridge Nation.¹

Other Indians who lived along the Housatonic River were Mohicans and Mahicans, two tribes who belonged to the Algonquian linguistic family. The first Europeans encountered by these Indians were Dutch farmers who arrived in 1614 to build a trading post which is present-day Albany, New York. At first, relations between the two were friendly. The Dutch traded exclusively with the Mahicans until 1623 when they switched their loyalty to the Iroquois after the Iroquois defeated the Mahicans in a series of tribal wars over the fur trade. As the territory of the British included the Housatonic valley, a covenant of friendship was established between the British and Housatonic Indians in 1621 that would serve an important

Map 1. The Hudson and Connecticut River valleys. From Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), frontpiece.

political role in the future.'

The English continued to purchase lands and settle in the region throughout the seventeenth century. By the 1730's most of the land east of the Hudson River had been bought or stolen from the Indians. Not only was their territory shrinking, but close contact with the whites encouraged the Indians to rely more and more on the Europeans for trade, commerce, technology, transportation, agriculture and politics. They began to rely on European-style trades and crafts rather than hunting and gathering for their livelihood. The Indians now worked as farm laborers, owned horses, replaced bows and arrows with guns. Metalwork such as kettles, tin pans and steel hatchets replaced earthenware pots and wooden clubs. Wool and cloth were substituted for deer hides.' As the old ways of life disappeared for the Indians, they even began build European-style homes. By 1745, Hopkins reported that Stockbridge contained fifty-three Indian homes, twenty of them built in the English fashion.'

Throughout the seventeenth century, as the two groups became more interconnected through trade, Indians also began to hear about the God of the English. They credited English success to this God who was explained in a book called the Bible. This same God had made the English wealthy and given them victory over their enemies, the French and Mohawks. The Indians also saw the wisdom of siding with England

because of their military victories over the French and the Dutch in the New World. Indian territory was slowly shrinking due to the growing white population. It became clear that the Europeans were there to stay and that the Indians would have to choose an ally among them. It seemed wise for the Indians to ally themselves with the victors and learn the techniques of their success. However, some Indians including many chiefs began to adopt Christianity for personal reasons. They believed that their religion was not doing them any good. Powwows could not offer any answers or magic to solve the problems introduced by the European presence in their land. Christianity seemed a reasonable choice to replace former aboriginal religions that many Indians now considered ineffective. Their own shamans seemed to have no power over Christians. A genuine spiritual movement was evident among the Housatonic Indians throughout the 1720's and 1730's.'

In 1734, three representatives for the Commissioners for Indian Affairs at Boston, the Reverends Stephen Williams, William Williams and Samuel Hopkins, traveled to Housatonic to request the building of a mission on Indian territory. They met with Sachem Konkapot and Sachem Umpachenee, both of whom had recently expressed an interest in Christianity. According to Hopkins, they wanted "... a minister sent to them to instruct them in the Christian religion, and to teach their children to read, etc." After

several months of consideration, the Indians finally gave their consent to the mission on July 12, 1734.'

Jonathan Belcher, governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and New Jersey, and member of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America later simply called the New England Company, was delighted with the decision to build the mission. Since March of 1730, he had advocated that the New England Company appropriate land to build a mission and school designed to civilize the Indians in the Massachusetts colony.' Belcher wanted a township built, "... that should be sufficient to receive a good Number of English and Indian inhabitants, & this Town to be settled at the charge of the company ... Tradesmen of Sundry Sorts encouraged to Settle in the Town - they to take Indian Children as Apprentices ... by these means they would soon be Civilized & more easily brought into the knowledge & Esteem of the true Christian Religion."¹ Governor Belcher gave the title of Captain to Sachem Konkapot and the title of Lieutenant to Sachem Umpachenee.'

The decision to convert the Indians had been an important part of colonial charters from the beginning of English immigration. The Virginia Charter stated in 1606 that Indians should be taught the Christian faith "... according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realm of England."¹¹

However, the colonial charters tended to exclude Christian denominations which dissented from the Church of England, especially Catholicism.¹¹

The influence of the Roman Catholic French was a powerful reason for promoting Indian conversion on the part of the English. Edmund Atkin, superintendent for southern Indian affairs, expressed English concerns when he asserted: "The Importance of the Indians is now generally known and understood. A Doubt remains not, that the prosperity of our colonies on the Continent, will stand or fall with our Interest and favor among them. While they are our Friends, they are the Cheapest and strongest Barrier for the protection of our Settlements; when Enemies, they are capable by ravaging in their method of War, ... Of this the French are so sensible ... that they have employed all their Art, not only to embroil us with our Indians, and to Set at work clandestinely some of their own to scalp our People even in times of Peace, but to destroy and utterly extirpate those (Indian) Nations whose Affections they could not gain ...". Protestant Indians were an important source of protection for the English both politically and militarily.¹²

Chosen by the Boston Commission to head the Indian mission was a twenty-four-year-old, Calvinist Yale tutor named John Sergeant. Sergeant, born in Newark, New Jersey had originally wanted to be a gentleman farmer. His farming

aspirations were cut short as a boy when a scythe slashed the nerves and ligaments of his left wrist, crippling his hand. Instead he chose a liberal education, enrolling at Yale at age fifteen. While at Yale, he developed a strong desire to serve as a missionary among the Indians rather than at an English parish. Samuel Hopkins, a powerful and influential minister from Springfield, Connecticut, made the Commissioners of Boston aware of Sergeant's goal and asked him to serve at the Stockbridge mission.¹³

Sergeant visited Stockbridge in 1734 and was impressed with the Indians' desire to learn to read and accept Christianity. He also appreciated the kindness and respect shown to him by the Indians. Umpachenee and other members of the tribe arranged for Sergeant to live with a nearby English family while he preached and taught their children. Hopkins reported that the Indians, "... gave great attention and seemed well pleased" with Sergeant's preaching. He began to preach to the Indians in 1734, and although he expected to stay at Stockbridge temporarily, he worked with the Indians until his death in 1749.¹⁴

In 1734, Stephen Williams, another prominent Springfield minister, found another volunteer to teach at the Stockbridge mission. Timothy Woodbridge was a twenty-five-year-old teacher and grandson of John Eliot from Springfield who eventually took charge of one of the town schools. Sergeant was impressed with Woodbridge who was

also a Calvinist. He wrote, "I found Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, a young gentleman very well qualify'd for the business, sent up here to take care of the School and to instruct the Indians in a catechetical way ..."¹³ Woodbridge could speak Mohican and the Indians liked him immediately. He also expected to stay only for a short time at Stockbridge, but lived there until he died in 1774.¹⁴

As the mission progressed in the 1730's, the Stockbridge Indians were pleased with both Sergeant and Woodbridge as well as with Christianity. It may seem surprising at this point that the mission could fail, but it did. The problems that brought the downfall of these efforts were evident from the beginning. Some of the Indians in Massachusetts had been in contact with French Jesuits who required far less religious expression from the Indians than did the Protestants. If Indian adults refused baptism, the only requirement they needed for religious service was to recite the Creed, the Ten Commandments and make a confession to a priest. The priests paid little attention to the moral character of the Indians, regarding the baptism of their children as more important. They believed that delays in baptism could result in eternal damnation. A bottle of rum was also drunk by the Indians in celebration of the event.¹⁵

Sergeant and Woodbridge espoused a Calvinist approach to Christianity that the Indians would find difficult,

uncomfortable and designed to change their entire culture. As Sergeant himself testified, " What I propose therefore in general is to take such a method ... as shall in the most effectual manner change their whole habit of thinking and acting; and raise them as far as possible into the condition of a civil, industrious and polished people; while at the same time the principles of virtue and piety shall be carefully instilled into their minds in a way that will make the most lasting impression; and withal to introduce the English language among them instead of their own imperfect and barbarous dialect." Sergeant also stopped the custom of Indian women doing all the agricultural work while the men hunted and fished. Cultivating crops was considered the job of men in European societies, and Sergeant wanted Indian women to have enough time to learn the art of housewifery. Although Sergeant cared about the Indians and their salvation, he could not rise above his prejudices against their culture.¹¹

Sir William Johnson was another problem. As superintendent of Indian affairs for the colony of New York and eventually chief counselor for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, he did not appreciate the "Praying Indian" towns under the leadership of missionaries like Sergeant. Johnson despised the intense religious and educational indoctrination of these missions and believed that the Indians could become Christians without abandoning

their traditions and way of life. Although he sent Indians to the school at Stockbridge for a time, he eventually became critical of the Puritan "dissenters" whose educational process was designed to dismantle Indian culture. This lack of support from key British authorities involved in the evangelization of the Indians, such as Sir William Johnson, would greatly contribute to the ultimate failure of the Stockbridge mission through the loss of financial support."

Sergeant and Woodbridge's intent to force the Indians through a difficult, re-education process based on traditional European educational subjects like Greek and Latin would prove difficult if not impossible. If Sergeant and Woodbridge had accepted the opinion of individuals such as Sir William Johnson, they might have had more success. The flagrant attacks against native customs and cultural values hindered the efforts of the Stockbridge missionaries as the Indians could not abandon the only way of life they had ever known." In his memoirs, Hopkins noted that Sergeant was often troubled by "... frequent and unhappy relapses of some of the Indians to their former vices and ill-customs, after he had conceived hopes of their being truly reformed."

When Sergeant and Woodbridge first began their work among the Stockbridge Indians, they had considerable success. They were not strict Calvinists and did not insist

upon the usual stringent religious and moral demands of most Calvinist converts. They de-emphasized the more severe doctrines of predestination and the origin of evil, concentrating on faith, salvation and moral principles. Both had some tolerance for Indian customs and beliefs. The relationship between the two men and the Indians became close. They even considered someday marrying Indian women.¹²

Sergeant spent many hours preaching Christianity to the Indians and baptizing them. He even converted and baptized the powerful families of Konkapot and Umpachenee. Although Konkapot completely accepted Christianity and the mission, Umpachenee had doubts due to his resentment of the growing political influence of the Massachusetts government over his people. He refused to attend the conferences held by the Housatonics to consider Sergeant or his ordination as the minister of the Stockbridge community. Eventually, he too, was persuaded by Sergeant to overcome his fears and accept the new faith. Both Konkapot and Umpachenee encouraged other members of their tribe to accept Christianity. As the fame of the Stockbridge mission grew, Indians came from all over New England to hear Sergeant preach the new faith.¹³

In October of 1734, the Indians built a meeting house to serve as both a church and a school. It quickly became the center of town. Not only were the Stockbridgers pleased to have a church, but they now also had a school for their

children. By November of that year it had twenty-three students.²⁴ The mission and its school were supported in part by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Despite attitudes of prejudice on the part of many of its English members, it was believed that if certain cultural obstructions were removed and the necessary spiritual and moral training applied, the Indians could be persuaded to abandon what the Europeans believed to be their miserable circumstances. Even though they were considered savages, missionary organizations such as the SPG believed that Indians were capable of reason and faith. They, too, were people possessing eternal spirits and were loved by God.²⁵

Another important financial benefactor for the Stockbridge mission school was Isaac Hollis, an independently wealthy London clergyman and a nephew of Thomas Hollis, a prominent committee member of the New England Company and a Harvard benefactor. Hollis was personally dedicated to the cause of educating and civilizing Indians. He established a fund for Sergeant's Indian students which included lodging, food, clothing and supplies for the Indian students at Stockbridge.²⁶ To its benefactors like Hollis, the school served an important purpose other than the education of Indians. The Society also saw it as a way to involve the Indians in the political interests of the British Empire. Their Anglicization would not only enable the English and Indians to live in peace,

but would also promote English political and economic interests in the New World."

The town school was doing so well that Sergeant even took Konkapot's son Nugkawwat and Umpachenee's son Etowaukaum to Yale with him in November of 1734 when he returned to finish his tutoring commitment which ended in January of 1735. Sergeant was pleased with the outcome of the trip and in his journal wrote, "...The lads had a great mind to come with me and their parents were very willing they should. They bore the fatigues of the journey well, and have been very contented since they have been here. My design in bringing them is to teach them English, and to learn Indian of them as I can ..." The boys were well received at New Haven and did well at an English school they attended while there."

Despite some positive experiences, the Stockbridge Indians still had doubts about English society. One concern stemmed from the general moral hypocrisy of the Europeans who called themselves Christians. Stephen Williams described these moral shortcomings in 1728 when he wrote, "Facts: Vices abound, visible and manifest evils among us - decay of ye power and godliness - neglected by many - some unbaptized ... intemperance, much drunkenness, tavern haunting and cheating one another; breaches of the 7th command and not to insist on the abounding of adultery, how amazing dose ye sin of fornication abound, sinful company

keeping, and wanton managements."²¹ The Indians recognized a great deal of value in Christianity, accepting it as a replacement for their former beliefs. But the European society that brought them the new faith failed miserably in exemplifying high moral standards. The Indians were well aware of these shortcomings.

The sinfulness displayed by the Europeans caused some Indians to doubt accepting a culture unable to exist according to its own standards. Furthermore, many New Englanders despised the Indians and constantly cheated them in trade and commerce with the misuse of rum. Even ministers sometimes built their estates in Indian territory, such as in the Northampton, Westfield and Springfield settlements.²² Hopkins criticized "private persons" who had exploited the Indians despite the "good laws" to protect them from such abuse. "... an Indian therefore who was owner of a pack of Beaver, Deerskins or any other valuable goods," wrote Hopkins, "could buy a large quantity of rum, and might get drunk perhaps ten times or more ... their lust after drink exposes them to be cheated out of what little they have, yet this gives us no right to deal unjustly by them."²³

For over a century, corrupted traders had exploited the Indians with alcohol. The Indians had no previous experience with it. They quickly became addicted and were cheated and robbed by the traders. Although colonial

governments and missionaries tried to regulate or outlaw the sale of rum to the Indians, the laws were almost impossible to enforce. Indian Sachems also tried to prohibit the sale of alcohol among their people, but their power diminished with the coming of the Europeans and they could not enforce their authority.¹¹ Adding to this trouble were Dutch and French traders and tavern keepers who attempted to convince the Indians that the English were trying to enslave and ruin them with their strict laws outlawing the sale of rum. This added to the distrust the Indians already had for the English.¹¹

Cultural stress became a greater problem for the Indians as they found it difficult to live in an English economic system. In European cultures, most women worked at home while the men tilled the fields. However, in Mahican and Mohican cultures, women worked in the fields. The men hunted, made war and held councils not only to support their families but also to prove their manhood. Male Stockbridge Indians found cultivating fields "degrading to the character of a man." In depression, many Stockbridgers turned to idleness and drink in order to cope.¹⁴

The Stockbridge school also suffered unwanted interruptions for several weeks in the winter when Indian children left with their families to harvest maple syrup. The children would leave again for hunting expeditions in the fall and late winter. Hopkins wrote of the difficulties

Map 2. Seventeenth-century representation of Mohican villages. Detail from the map "Belgii Novi, Angliae Novi" from Patrick Frazier, The Mohicans of Stockbridge (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 17.

experienced by Woodbridge when his Indian students left in the middle of February to "... go with their families into the Woods, to make their year's stock of sugar; and the season for this business lasts till the end of March, and sometimes the middle of April." The Indian families would then return, hoping "... to receive further instruction and desir'd that their removal might not be interrupted as tho' they were disaffected to the Christian religion."¹¹ The Stockbridge Indians made a great effort to achieve a balance between the aboriginal and the English social systems, but the stress it put on their culture was enormous.¹²

By 1738, the Stockbridge School functioned on several levels. As many Indians as possible were sent abroad at the expense of Reverend Hollis to live with English families and learn their ways. Others who did not wish to leave their families stayed at Stockbridge and attended the town school. Sergeant was also aspiring to teach Indian girls. In a letter to Dr. Benjamin Coleman, a pastor of the Brattle Street Church and a firm supporter of his mission, Sergeant asserted, "... and if there open any door for teaching some Girls in women's work, as were before proposed, inform one of it, and draw upon me before the year is out, ..."

Sergeant used the Hollis fund in February of 1738 for the education of two Indian girls, one of them the daughter of Konkapot. The girls were sent abroad to live with English families, but the experience did not work well for them and

they soon returned home. "Thro' a childish fondness for home they would not be contented to stay long enough where I sent them, to obtain any good by it," wrote Sergeant to Reverend Coleman in 1738. No doubt the girls also longed for their own people and a familiar culture.'

In January of 1736, the community of Stockbridge encountered a new and important turn of events. The government of Massachusetts developed a plan to turn the Stockbridge mission into an English town. The government also wanted to settle more English families at Stockbridge to help the missionaries convert the Indians. Governor Jonathan Belcher approved, stating, "I agree ... that some English families ... be interspersed and settled among the Indians; for to civilize will be the readiest way to Christianize them.'" A committee met with the Indians in February and April, to convince them to accept the plan. The government of Massachusetts thought the idea would be attractive because the Stockbridge Indians would get a large tract of land on which to settle. This was important to the Mohican Indians in particular because many of them had been pushed out of their own territory along the Housatonic river by white encroachment.'

The Indians were reluctant, however, to accept the new English families suggested by the committee. Both the Massachusetts government and Sergeant were unhappy with the slow progress of Indian assimilation and believed that more

English families would speed up the process. The Indians, on the other hand, still preferred their own traditions and customs when dealing with tribal issues and difficulties; they were concerned that the government of Massachusetts was gaining too much power over their lives."

On June 22, 1737, Stockbridge became an official Massachusetts township. The Indians agreed to the General Court-approved act to accommodate six square miles of land for the development of the new colonial town. The General Court stated, "... that the inhabitation thereof be and hereby are vested with all powers, privileges and immunities that the inhabitants of the other towns within this province are or by law be vested with."¹¹ Two new English families arrived at Stockbridge a year later. One family was headed by Ephraim Williams. An ambitious man, he had held several civil offices in his home town of Newton. He was also a farmer and part-time real estate broker. Several years earlier, Williams had purchased 11,000 acres of Mohican territory from Konkapot and therefore already had a strong foothold in the community. The second family was headed by Ephraim's brother-in-law Josiah Jones who had been a selectman and town moderator in Weston. Jones must have had a powerful religious or secular incentive to give up his career to move his entire family to the difficult frontier region of Stockbridge. Soon more English families would arrive. Their desire for wealth and status in the

Stockbridge community ultimately contributed to the downfall of the mission efforts."²

The strong desire for land on the part of the English settlers further complicated their relationship with the Indians. Despite their genuine caring for the Indians, Sergeant and Woodbridge were not immune from the temptations of wealth and land ownership. In 1739, a group of powerful Englishmen, which included Stephen Williams, Samuel Hopkins, John Sergeant, Timothy Woodbridge, Ephraim Williams and future Stockbridge mission leader Jonathan Edwards, acquired 4,000 acres of land from the Indians. The land was bought for 450 pounds, a sum far less than it was worth. The land sold in this agreement with the Indians was not used for their evangelization or education. Instead, it was purchased only for the financial gain of the English. Sergeant, Woodbridge and Hopkins each received 480 acres, while Ephraim Williams acquired 900 acres of land plus a 130 acre pond."³

In the midst of this activity, both Sergeant and Woodbridge found time to fall in love. Woodbridge married an English woman in 1737 and she gave birth to the town's first non-Indian baby that same year. Sergeant's choice of a bride was more interesting. In August of 1739, he married Abigail Williams, the daughter of the wealthy and powerful minister Ephraim Williams, who presided over the marriage ceremony."⁴ There was no doubt Sergeant loved his new

wife. In a letter to Dr. Coleman he passionately stated, "You will forgive me, Sir, if I think that most ingenious Woman is not the smallest gift of divine bounty that I have receiv'd since undertook a life tho't to be so self denying. The more tenderly I love her the more thankful I am to Heaven ..." Wealth and power may not have been a motive for Sergeant's choice of a bride, but his marriage would ally him with one of the most powerful families in Stockbridge."

Family ties became even stronger with the arrival of two more colonial families in 1740. One family included Timothy Woodbridge's brother Joseph who arrived with his wife and eight children. The second family was that of Samuel Brown, a tailor and deacon in his church at Watertown. Brown's father had raised Ephraim Williams as his own son when Williams' parents died. Although these families came to help hasten the Anglification process of the Indians, they, too, concerned themselves with position and material gain."

By 1740, Stockbridge was beginning to resemble an English town rather than an Indian community. Stockbridgers had built a gristmill, sawmill and roads. They also adopted European-style farming techniques. The Indians were also adapting the New England social structure by becoming constables, surveyors and architects. Umpachenee and David Naunauneekekanuk, the son of a prominent Mohican Sachem,

became town surveyors. Naunauneeakanuk's father, Benjamin Kokhkewenaunaunt held office in Stockbridge. Sergeant's church had a Mohican deacon. Indian women were learning to sew and make European cloth shirts. Konkapot's wife, Mary, and Umpachenee's wife, Hannah, were enthusiastic about the mission and the new ways. As with other Christian Indian women they learned skills such as spinning, weaving and soap making. Hannah was so intent on learning to read that Woodbridge often had to turn her away in order to have time to teach others. The men of the tribe were also anxious to learn to read and write English."

The growing Anglification of the Indians did not completely please Sergeant. He still thought that the Indians had not progressed far enough in the change of their cultural values. Sergeant believed that Indian children who had been placed in English homes had made more progress than those who lived with their parents and attended the town school." He concluded that a boarding school would accomplish the goal of complete assimilation of Indian children. In a letter to Reverend Coleman in August of 1743, Sergeant ambitiously expressed his desire, "... to procure an accommodation of about two hundred acres of land in this place ... and to erect an house on it, such as shall be thought Convenient for a beginning; and in it to maintain a number of Children and Youth ... If Providence encourage and succeed this design, and a fund sufficient to carry it

on can be procured, I purpose to enlarge the Foundations so as to take in girls as well as boys to be educated in a manner suitable to the condition of their sex ..."' He had high hopes that the boarding school would work.

Sergeant expressed frustration over the failure of the town school to turn the Indians from their savage ways. Instead of trying to understand why they had so much difficulty converting Indians to Anglo ways, Sergeant chose to blame them. Sergeant declared in a letter to Reverend Coleman in August of 1743, "It may perhaps with some be an objection against attempting anything of this sort, that the Indians are a base, ungrateful people, insensible of kindnesses done them. To this I reply that though it be true that this is the base, ungrateful temper of Indians, yet I think it is rather an argument in favor of a projection calculated to promote humanity among them ..."' Sergeant refused to see that he was making the same mistake with the boarding school that he made with the town school, which was the dismantling of the Indian's culture and the attempt to make them English.'

Reverend Coleman went on a campaign in December of 1744 to collect funds for Sergeant's new boarding school. Many prominent men responded donating hundreds of pounds. Lord Chancellor the Duke of Dorset gave twenty guineas and Lord Grower contributed five guineas. Other prominent individuals, according to Hopkins, included "a certain

gentlemen in London and a lady of his acquaintance" along with bequests from Mr. Wallis and Dr. Ayscough of Boston. Hollis gave twenty pounds. However, King George's War delayed the boarding school project until 1747. Many of the potential benefactors were simply unable to donate money while others believed that Stockbridge was a bad investment due to its dangerous frontier location. Coleman responded to these contentions in a letter of June of 1744. He stated, "As for our Design here I believe it will not be tho't prudent to put anything in execution for the present, till we see a little how the affair of the war will turn."¹¹

Sergeant understood his mission's vulnerability. He wrote to Hollis in December of 1743 stating, "The war with France falls out unhappily for this design. We are situated upon the borders of Massachusetts Province, open to the French settlements, and in the road where the French Indians us'd to make their irruptions; ... I believe, it will not be tho't prudent to be at any expense in the affair of the Boarding School. My house is garrison's; a number of soldiers are sent into the town, and provisions are scarce; so that I know not what can be done for your boys just now."¹² Stockbridge's danger was furthered by the fact that it was strategically located on the primary war path to Canada.¹³

Not only did the war disrupt the school, but it also

had an unhappy effect on the Indian community. And in 1740, the Mohawks who were loyal to the French sent word to the Stockbridgers encouraging them to stay out of the war. "We only destroy ourselves," the Mohawks stated, "by meddling with their wars. They are great and strong and so tall as to reach the clouds. Let us only sit and look on as they engage in War."⁵⁵ This strategy worked for a time, but in April of 1745 the Mohawks changed their minds and allied with the French. The Mohawks threatened to kill any Mohicans they came across if they remained neutral. As Mohawk attacks on the frontier increased, the Stockbridgers found themselves forced into a commitment. On May 30, 1746, the Mohicans signed an allegiance with the English."

Claiming the ancient covenant between themselves and the English made in 1621, the Stockbridgers told the Mohawks, "The friendship we made long ago with the English we must maintain firm and unshaken. The king of England our father has put (William) Johnson here That we may By looking on him as it were see the King our Father. We Behold him as a strong tree with spreading roots standing fast having goodly limbs and leaves. Let us Gather about him and Stand around him if he falls let us fall with him."⁵⁶ The loyalty the Stockbridge Indians had to the English is remarkable considering all they had been through. The respect they had for their ancient covenant and the strong faith they had in Christianity overrode the negative

attitudes of the whites and the stress of their culture."

The boarding school was not completely forgotten during the war. Sergeant continued to raise funds for it. Several donations were received from wealthy individuals in England. According to Hopkins, a healthy sum was received from none other than the Prince of Wales. When Reverend Coleman presented the Prince with Sergeant's request he responded with enthusiasm and "... declared himself ready and free to encourage so good and laudable a design, placed his name at the head of the subscript and gave 20 guineas for the encouragement of the boarding school..."

Religion was not the only factor governing the generosity of wealthy men of England like the Prince of Wales. The war with France encouraged the English to convert the heathen Indians to Protestantism. Missionaries on the frontier were considered necessary to instruct the Indians in the English rather than French interests, making them more useful to the Crown and its war effort against France."

When the war ended in the summer of 1748, the Indians of Stockbridge were more demoralized than before. They had joined with the English in war out of loyalty and respect. Yet during the war the Indians saw the English do things that must have made them question their decision. One of the most disturbing aspects of the war was the prices put on scalps by the Massachusetts government. The province of

Massachusetts gave five pounds simply for attempting to scalp the enemy. The scalps of males over twelve brought thirty-eight pounds and an extra pound was given if the scalp was taken from a living Indian or Frenchmen. Scalps of women and boys fetched twenty pounds and prisoners nineteen."

Many Stockbridgers had been killed by fellow Indians and an expedition to Canada meant to rescue prisoners of war, some of them Mohicans, never took place. Sergeant never received the five pounds due to him for his services during the war. The powerful feelings of "discontent" were moderated when the governor of Massachusetts gave the Indians wampum belts, other gifts, and the King's gratitude for their contribution to the war effort."

After the war's end the boarding school got underway again and Sergeant decided he wanted to do more than just intensify the civilizing process of his Indians. In a letter to Sir William Johnson in July of 1749, Sergeant wrote, "For while our French neighbors are taking the utmost pains to make the Indians Papists and by that means to attach them to their Interest, certainly it must be an oversight in us to be wholly negligent in endeavoring to Our Interest. I have all along proposed in my own mind, if possible, to have some Mohawk Children (French Indians) in this school, to be educated in the manner proposed ..."

Thus Sergeant sought to extend the influence of his

Protestant mission and school into French territory." He chose Martin Kellogg, an army captain and farmer from Newington, Connecticut, to run the boarding school. Twice taken prisoner by the Caughnawagas, Kellogg knew their language and was already teaching some Stockbridge boys at the expense of the Hollis fund. He seemed, to Sergeant, to be the most likely choice."

In June of 1749, John Sergeant became dangerously ill with a fever. Sensing that he would not recover, Sergeant put his affairs in order and delivered a farewell sermon to his Indian congregation. Aware of the moral shortcomings of his community, Sergeant warned the Indians of God's punishment if they should ever stray from the faith. In his final sermon given in June of 1749, Sergeant said that he was fearful of a grave judgment from God because of their wickedness. "It may be God will take me from you, and then my mouth will be shut and I shall speak to you no more." The Indians prayed and hoped for the best, but it would be futile. On July 27, with the boarding school barely finished, the much loved and respected religious leader of Stockbridge died."

Under Sergeant, the mission and its school had been relatively productive and had grown substantially. Sergeant was only thirty-nine when he died. His accomplishments included the baptism of 182 people, a town with twenty English-style homes and a school with forty pupils." The

building for the boarding school was nearly complete but was in debt six-hundred pounds. At this time, Abigail Sergeant was contemplating a girls school. The boarding school appeared to have a bright future, potentially providing jobs, salaries and financial contracts. All this Sergeant left behind to his wife, relatives and chosen administrators."

NOTES

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CHAPTER TWO

STOCKBRIDGE FAILS

After John Sergeant's death in the summer of 1749, tensions increased between the Indian and English residents at Stockbridge. The most important problem had to do with the vast amount of Indian territory acquired by the English families without the consent of the tribe. The land was not used for educational purposes; in fact it was not used for any purpose that would benefit the Indians. In June of 1749, a committee appointed by the government of Massachusetts met with the residents of Stockbridge to investigate accusations made by the Indians regarding abuses of the English settlers. They even registered complaints against John Sergeant.¹

The Indians first criticized Timothy Woodbridge for buying a mile-square tract of land without any authorization by the Indians. He had in his possession a deed for even more land. Woodbridge claimed that the Stockbridge Indians had given him permission to buy the land so that he could build English-style homes. He also stated that they had offered him 150 more acres south of his land because the original lot had been rocky and swampy.² Although

Woodbridge's account differed sharply from the Indians, the committee believed him, stating in their report, "Mr. Woodbridge has spent the prime of his life ... in the service of the ... Indians."¹ The Indians also complained that Sergeant had given them permission to clear five acres of land for crops and a pasture. When Ephraim Williams discovered the project, he had Sergeant tell them to stop. This incident greatly discouraged the Indians, especially because they had already donated several weeks of time and effort.'

Other complaints filtered in. Samuel Brown was accused of owning nineteen acres more than had been allotted to him by the Indians and building a house on it. When confronted with the issue, Brown claimed that he had made a surveying mistake. He agreed to pay them 28 pounds for the extra land he had mistakenly acquired. The Indians were also upset with a broken promise by Williams who said that he would give them eight acres of meadow land in exchange for some upland. Williams claimed that he had not promised, but only considered the arrangement. He had also managed to obtain another 30 acres and had built a saw mill on it with these questionable acquisitions in mind. The Indians were starting to become disgruntled with the Williams clan.'

They also complained that when the town was originally established, only four English families plus the school teacher were granted permission to settle there. Now there

were about ten non-Indian families residing at Stockbridge. The committee explained that the original settlers had children who also wished to live at Stockbridge near their families. The Indians confirmed this statement as true, but they still had only agreed to the original four families and Woodbridge.'

John Sergeant's competent leadership and close relationship with the Williams family had kept the town relatively peaceful. After his death, however, the mission began to divide into two opposing camps with each side seeking to dominate the community. One faction consisted of the Williams clan. The other, headed by Woodbridge, comprised most of the Indians and remaining English who were angry over the Williamses' greed and power. With Sergeant gone, there was nothing to stop the Williams family from monopolizing the schools and the money allotted to them. They also continued to gain large amounts of land to use for their own personal benefit.' Within three years of Sergeant's death, the Williams family had moved the house for the boarding school on Abigail's land. These holdings could then be sold to the Massachusetts province at a high price.'

For two years after Sergeant's death, the Stockbridge mission operated without a resident spiritual leader, although Stephen Williams and Samuel Hopkins occasionally visited and preached.' Attempting to take advantage of the

situation, Ephraim Williams encouraged his daughter Abigail to re-marry someone who would strengthen his family's position at Stockbridge. Both Abigail and her father noticed a likely candidate in Ezra Stiles, a Yale tutor and law student. Although he had come from a humble background, Stiles developed a brilliant reputation at Yale and had been approached by Williams to lead the Stockbridge mission. At the same time, unaware of Ephraim and Abigail's scheme, Woodbridge sent a similar proposal to Stiles.¹⁰

In April of 1750, Stiles arrived at Abigail's home to investigate the possibility of running the mission. While there, he found himself not only interested in the mission but also in Abigail Sergeant. He thought the twenty-seven-year old Abigail to be intriguing, beautiful and sympathetic as well as the most intelligent woman he had ever encountered.¹¹ When Stiles returned to Yale in July, he wrote back to Abigail saying, "... the pleasant week I spent at your house: when sorrow itself appears beautiful: a Virtue in Distress supporting itself on God and Immortality, strike the Mind with Delight and Surprise."¹²

Although Stiles had a great deal of interest in the mission and the widow of its former leader, he knew his religious beliefs would cause trouble. He was an Arminian, a theology opposed to Calvinism. Stiles was unsure of his faith as a Christian, even questioning if the Bible was divinely inspired. Stiles identified with Old Light

Calvinists, but had not yet sided completely with any one theological position. Although Stiles had kept his religious doubts a secret from Abigail, Woodbridge who had also met with him noticed his lack of spiritual conviction.¹³ In July, Abigail sent Stiles a letter stating, "We have [around Stockbridge] a story that all the Principal Gentlemen at New Haven are Arminian Deists." Stiles knew she was talking about Woodbridge who had already communicated his doubts about his religious beliefs to the Boston Commissioners and Samuel Hopkins.¹⁴

In September, Stiles officially declined the position of mission leader at Stockbridge. He wrote a letter to Abigail blaming himself. "I am young," he stated, "especially in character, and unable to confront the disingenuous Calumnies of designing Mortals, unless in some inferior Station in Life ..."¹⁵ Abigail wrote him a frustrated and angry letter, accusing him of putting worldly comforts ahead of God's calling and of making his decision while he was asleep or suffering from a fit of hypochondria. "I am extremely Concerned for the Consequences of your Conclutions," she wrote, "... I have reason to fear a Certain Gentleman [Woodbridge] here would readily embrace an opportunity to Push in as indifferent a Person [Edwards] as possible ..." Stiles would not be swayed. He was already beginning to sense the animosity between the opposing factions and wanted nothing to do with Stockbridge. But he

never forgot Abigail; years later he still affectionately described her as "a woman of a most surprising Genius."¹⁰

While the Williamses courted Ezra Stiles, Woodbridge sought out another possibility: Jonathan Edwards. Similar requests had also been sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and their Commissioners at Boston. Edwards had recently been voted out of the pulpit in Northampton for his authoritarian religious beliefs. A relative of the Williams family had helped to organize the ouster. The Williamses were deeply distressed over the possibility of Edward's installment. They criticized Edwards for not knowing the Mohican language. They also stated that they did not like the minister, although they never explained exactly why. Most likely it was a fear that Edwards would strengthen Woodbridge's position in the community.¹¹

In an anguished letter to Stiles, Abigail implored him to return in order to prevent the installment of Edwards. "I cannot forebear telling you," she wrote, "that our worthy deacon [Woodbridge] is going forth with to Push Mr. Edwards immediately into to mission, although he has been entreated Sufficently for forbear My father Captain Kellogg. Mr. Jones & I are very bitterly against it ... it is shameful to mention it but he [Woodbridge] has told the Indians as they say that they must not have a young man, if they do he will likely marry into my father's family and then Be under his

Direction..."¹¹ Unfortunately for the Williams family, Edwards not only had the support of Stiles but also of Samuel Hopkins, one of the mission's most important proponents.¹²

Before making his final decision, Edwards traveled to Stockbridge in January of 1751. He observed the mission and preached with the help of an Indian interpreter. Edwards liked the assignment, especially its isolated, frontier location which gave him the quiet atmosphere he needed to write and reflect. Edwards made a good impression on the mission congregation and was voted in unanimously by both the Indians and English in attendance.¹³

This did not dissuade Abigail from promoting the girl's boarding school which had not yet been established. In April, Ephraim Williams convinced the General Court of Massachusetts to spend 150 pounds annually for seven years to educate female Indian children at the boarding school. The girls' boarding school opened on the opposite side of the boys' school building. It initially admitted twelve female Indian students, six Housatonics and six Mohawks..." adopting the plan of the late Reverend Dr. Sergeant.¹⁴ Elisha Williams, a member of the London Board and one of Ephraim's nephews, convinced the New England Company in July to pay Abigail thirty pounds per year to serve as the mistress for the girls' school. Each Indian student also received some funds for clothes and lodging while another

ten pounds was spent on the upkeep of Abigail's house. Ephraim and Abigail intended to teach the female students to become suitable housewives for the students at the boys school."

In August, Edwards and his family moved to Stockbridge. His salary as mission leader came from three different sources: the congregation at Stockbridge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Colony of Massachusetts as a part of their annual fund dedicated to the civilization of Indians. Shortly after his arrival, Edwards was approached by chiefs from the Mohawk and Oneida tribes requesting education for their children. Woodbridge's school was thriving and its reputation spread among many other Indian nations in the North East. Also, the loyalty the Mohawk and Oneida tribes had previously displayed toward the French made their request important to Edwards. The French competed with the English for the loyalty of these Indians and had also built a series of forts stretching from Canada through New York, Pennsylvania and the Mississippi wilderness. Edwards believed that the British Empire had much to gain by the conversion of these Indians. He sent several letters to the Massachusetts Assembly requesting assistance for the boarding school. In a letter addressed in August of 1751 to the Honorable Thomas Hubbard, speaker of the Assembly, Edwards explained the desire of the Stockbridge Indians to be educated in the

"... utmost good faith ..." or "... the whole plan of instructing them would be defeated." Edwards also pointed out that securing the friendship of the Six Nations "... recited the machinations of the French to seduce them from the English interest ..."¹¹

Busy with her own plans, Abigail married a merchant and Brigadier General named Joseph Dwight in 1752. Dwight was appointed by the General Court to supervise the boarding school's finances. It was not long before Edwards began to notice that most of the money for the school was being diverted to interests benefiting the Williams-Dwight clan. Edwards was sickened by the fraud and his opinion was shared by most of the Stockbridge community.¹² Edwards noticed that Dwight, with the help of his father-in-law, had plotted to bring money into his own pocket. Among his many schemes, Dwight sought to act as steward both to the boys' and girls' schools and use the funds for the maintenance of his own business. He also got his own salary from the school funds without accountability and, according to Edwards, diverted 500 pounds sterling from "the King's bounty" to the Mohawk Indians without receiving proper authorization. Edwards was also unhappy with Abigail's management of the boarding school. Although he thought she was brilliant and accomplished, he accused her of having previously used her domineering personality to manipulate Sergeant and now Dwight. For many years, Dwight had been a strong supporter

of Edwards, asserting that he was the most effective minister in New England. His opinion had obviously changed.''

The Stockbridge Indians were also displeased with Abigail. Edwards described their attitude toward Abigail in a letter in August of 1752 to Andrew Oliver, a Massachusetts government official who was supportive of the Stockbridge endeavor. According to Edwards, the Indians saw Abigail as "... proud, jealous, and untrustworthy."'' Due to her unpopular reputation, only three Stockbridgers and one Mohawk ever attended her school and those students eventually quit because of Abigail's harsh and intolerant treatment of them.' The Dwights further exploited the school by allowing their children to attend free of charge. In addition, a relative of Dwight worked as a tutor and household servants were paid as school employees. As the school was built on Ephraim Williams's land, fruits and vegetables from the students' farming lessons often wound up as the Dwights' dinner.''

The most important issue was the incompetence of the teacher, Martin Kellogg. Toward the end of his life, Sergeant realized his mistake in appointing him.' Kellogg's virtual illiteracy rendered all of his efforts to educate the Indians useless and the parents of the Indian students were beginning to complain. "When the children are taught to read," said Edwards in a letter to Reverend Hollis in

July of 1751, "they merely learn to make such and such sounds, on the sight of such and such marks, but know not the meaning of the works, and so have neither profit, nor pleasure in reading, and will therefore be apt soon to lose even what they have learned, having no benefit or entertainment in the use of it."

Another problem was the inferior living conditions at Kellogg's school. In 1750, twenty Mohawk families moved to Stockbridge to educate their children. However, a year later, they returned to their native land because their children were not properly fed and clothed. At a conference in June of 1751, commissioners from the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York met with "... almost all the heads of the families, on account of their disgust at the neglect of their children on the part of Captain Kellogg." In October of that same year, approximately a hundred Mohawks moved again to Stockbridge and settled on farmland surrounding the school. Kellogg had promised them that he had enough money from the Hollis Fund to feed and cloth all the Indian students. But what he actually meant was that he had enough money to care for the twenty-one students he already had, not the new Mohawk students moving back to Stockbridge. When the commissioners told him in January of 1752 to admit all the new students until a larger schoolhouse could be built, Kellogg refused, stating that his school was independent of the Government of

Massachusetts. Kellogg had forgotten or refused to acknowledge that the boarding school was partly built on government funds.¹¹

Furious with Kellogg's arrogance and lack of concern for his Indian students, Edwards sent Isaac Hollis a letter and a certificate containing the names of "... a large number of the most respectable people of the town." The letter strongly criticized the Kellogg and Williams-Dwight clan. It angrily condemned the ineptitude of Kellogg, the unsatisfactory condition of the Indian school, and the manner in which the school's money had been exploited. Edwards warned Hollis that "the unhappy disagreement" concerning the conflict between the powerful families "... threatened ruin to the mission, and to the Indian schools."¹²

When the Williams-Dwight group discovered the letter and certificate, they plotted to have Edwards removed. Ephraim Williams traveled to Boston and denounced Edwards to several government commissioners including the Secretary of the Province. Williams described Edwards as a man with an "... unyielding character, and unwilling to reconciled to those, from whom he had differed, and that, by this course, he was likely to ruin the Indian Mission." Furious over the accusation, Edwards wrote a barrage of letters to the commissioners in his own defense. One letter, written by Edwards in August, described the situation at Stockbridge to

be "... in a state of confusion, of which those at a distance can scarcely have any idea." The Indians, according to Edwards, were "... languishing to death. The affair of the Mohawks is, I fear, past recovery, and in a manner dead. They seem to be discouraged, are most of them gone and I do not expect will come up again ... the management of things has a great while been in the wrong hands. They ought to be conducted exclusively by the Commissioners, who had the care of Stockbridge affairs; but here are others, who seem to aim to engross all to themselves, to be indefatigably active in prosecuting their particular designs, and impatient of everything that stands in their way."¹³

Edwards convinced the New England Company's commissioners to replace Kellogg with a young Yale graduate named Gideon Hawley. He arrived at Stockbridge in February of 1752 and moved into the boarding school where he began to teach the Mohawk and Oneida students. Ephraim Williams was angry with the new pro-Edwards school teacher, especially because he had planned to install his own son, a Harvard student, a few days later.¹⁴ Edwards was pleased with Hawley describing him as "... a young man possessed of uncommon prudence and steadiness of mind, of a spirit of government and a faculty of teaching; and his heart is much in his business and he seems disposed greatly to exert himself in it ... his qualifications surpass my

expectations."¹⁵

With encouragement from the Williams and Dwight families, Kellogg refused to leave his position. Edwards, Woodbridge, and Hawley encouraged the parents of Kellogg's students to remove their children from his class on the grounds that they were not adequately instructed. Adding to the new woes of the Williams-Dwight faction was the Indians' election of Woodbridge as their representative to the Massachusetts legislature. In the fall of 1752, Woodbridge and several tribesmen traveled to Boston to present complaints to the Boston commissioners regarding the financial abuses of the Williams and Dwight families.¹⁶ Not to be outdone, Williams and Dwight also contacted the commissioners accusing Edwards of being "... not certified for his office because, on account of his age, he could not learn the language of the Indians."¹⁷ The feuding became more intense when Dwight refused to attend the town church, which was interpreted as an act of contempt by the Stockbridge community. Woodbridge accused Williams of calling Edwards a "plague to the town." Edwards claimed that Williams was attempting to force the Indian boys to sign a petition to get rid of him by making them drunk.¹⁸

Hawley's school grew to thirty-six pupils, many of whom were former students of Kellogg. Hawley was also learning the Iroquois language and specially taught some English boys sent by the government of Massachusetts who aspired to be

missionaries among the Indians. The parents of the students were pleased not only with the education their children were receiving, but also with the firm discipline they were receiving from Hawley. Enraged, Kellogg often intruded upon Hawley during his lessons and verbally berated him. Sometimes Dwight joined him. According to Edwards, Kellogg "... proceeded to treat the boys, as they were under his own care." Sometimes both Kellogg and Dwight removed the students for several hours to be taught in Kellogg's school." At one point, Hawley complained to Edwards that during one of his many tirades at the school, Kellogg struck a child who was also the son of a Sachem. In retaliation, Kellogg went to the school and verbally castigated Hawley in front of his pupils for three hours. Kellogg was so loud that several Iroquois overheard him from outside and rushed into the schoolhouse fearing for Hawley's safety."

During this time, Ephraim Williams suffered from declining mental health. Early one October morning in 1752 he awoke before dawn and with a large amount of cash attempted to buy the farms of the other English residents at exorbitant prices. When his efforts came to naught, Williams left Stockbridge and wandered through Massachusetts and Connecticut believing that he had been selected by the government of Massachusetts to negotiate Indian affairs in New Haven. Abigail, fearful her father's behavior would damage her family's fight with the Edwards-Woodbridge

faction, begged her brother (a Boston politician) to stop him before he ended up before the General Court."¹

Hollis, dismayed by the financial abuses by the Williams and Dwight clans, gave control of his school fund to Jonathan Edwards. However, by this time it was too late. The feud had damaged any further attempts by Hawley to educate the Indian children. Their parents, disgusted with the fighting between the two families, began to remove them from the school."² In February of 1753, the boarding school suspiciously burned to the ground along with Hawley's living quarters, clothing, books and furniture. Hawley believed that the fire had been set intentionally by the Williams faction. All that was left was Woodbridge's town school."³

Unwilling to give up, Hawley received permission in May of 1753 from the Boston commissioners to continue to preach to the Indians. This time Hawley wanted to preach to them in their native environment. In June, Hawley visited Sir William Johnson at his home near Johnstown, New York. Johnson promised to give Hawley financial support for the school. Hawley started back to Stockbridge accompanied by his new assistant, a Princeton graduate named Alexander Gordon. The return trip was wrought with extreme hardships, including a Dutch trader who had made an entire Indian town drunk, a guide who almost shot Hawley to death, and a lack of adequate food. Hawley and Gordon rested for a few months

at an Indian village called Oghwaga located near modern-day Binghampton. In September they continued on for Stockbridge, but the onset of winter prevented them from reaching it. Disenchanted, Gordon gave up on missionary work and returned to Johnstown. Hawley stayed at Oghwaga and preached among the Indians. When he returned to Stockbridge in June of 1754, it was only to attend an Indian conference. While Hawley spent the rest of his days traveling throughout New England preaching to Indians, he occasionally visited Stockbridge to preach."

Meanwhile, the Stockbridge mission continued to fall apart. The Mohawk, Iroquois, and even many Mohicans left Stockbridge and returned to their native lands. The Wechquadrach Indians who lived along the Housatonic were discouraged with the fighting and did not move to Stockbridge despite several invitations. The Stockbridge Indians had removed their children from the boarding school because of Kellogg's incompetency. Disillusionment and cultural decay among the Indians increased as local colonials continued to sell them rum without any reservation. After an Indian was murdered by an Englishman in an attempted horse theft, a nasty rumor circulated that several Indians were plotting to solicit the help of neighboring tribes to kill the settlers."

King George's War, 1754-63, caused even more havoc. The Stockbridge Indians sided with the British against the

French and Stockbridge was once again threatened with danger. Esther Edwards, a daughter of Edwards, wrote vividly of the stress and fear that war brought to the people at Stockbridge. Through the month of September in 1756, she wrote of being "frightened to death with dreams." Stockbridge's vulnerability was well described when she noted, "This place is in a very defenseless condition - not a soldier in it, the white people also, and this is a place that the enemy can easily get at, and if they do we cant defend ourselves. Ten Indians might with all ease destroy us entirely. There has been a number seen at about 30 miles distance from this place." Ephraim Williams, Jr. was killed in battle, Abigail Dwight fled Stockbridge and her husband, Joseph Dwight, left Stockbridge to serve as a Brigadier Colonel."

Edwards was finally able to get some peace following his victory over the Williams camp and the end of King George's War in 1756. During his service at Stockbridge, the minister had made good use of his time writing powerful religious works including the classic "Freedom of Will." Often working up to thirteen hours a day, Edwards had little time for missionary work among the Indians." In October of 1757, the Board of Trustees at Princeton University informed him of his nomination as their new president. Their former president, Aaron Burr (who was married to Edwards's daughter Esther), had died the month before.

Edwards did not want to accept the position. He knew that if he accepted the appointment, his responsibilities would prevent him from writing and meditating. This was the main reason why Edwards had come and remained at the Stockbridge mission. In an agonized letter, Edwards wrote to the board stating that he was unfit for the job. Stating that he was weak emotionally and dull, Edwards also claimed that the move would be too stressful for his family and that it would interfere with his theological research. "My heart," he said, "is so much into these studies, that I cannot find it in my heart to be unwilling to pursue them anymore in the future part of my life."¹

Edwards's objections did no good. His lack of preaching and teaching responsibilities and the little time he spent with his congregation at Stockbridge had angered both Indians and English alike. His congregation had become annoyed at the long periods of time spent on his personal studies and they wanted a new minister. On January 4, 1758, Edwards requested that a council of ministers discuss his status with the mission congregation and advise him to stay or leave. Edwards knew and trusted these ministers and was undoubtedly hoping that they would be sympathetic to his desire to remain at Stockbridge. After consulting with the congregation, the council unanimously voted him out of the pulpit. When Edwards heard the news, he was so distraught that he "fell into tears."² In February, Edwards

relocated to Princeton University. On March 22, the fifty-five-year-old theologian died of complications from a smallpox inoculation. Soon thereafter, his wife and daughter Esther also died from the same illness.⁵¹

The next leader of the floundering mission at Stockbridge was Stephen West, a Yale graduate who settled there in November of 1758. He had also married a daughter of Ephraim Williams, but with the feud ended, this had ceased to be of any importance. West worked as mission leader until 1775 when he turned his position over to John Sergeant Jr. After attempting to teach the Indian children, he also quit in discouragement in 1770. West had been receiving eighty pounds sterling a year from the Boston Commissioners, and Stiles noted that he "... questioned whether it was honest for him to receive it when he could do so little good." The Indians simply were not responding to the civilizing process of the missions.⁵²

Other personnel changes had also taken place. In May of 1762, Timothy Woodbridge retired from the town school. During his years at Stockbridge, Woodbridge had served as county justice and town representative as well as school teacher. Woodbridge asked the Boston commissioners to install his son as the new teacher of the school and the Commissioners agreed. When Woodbridge retired, his school fluctuated between sixteen and twenty-six students. Several could only attend in the summertime due to a lack of funds

to pay for firewood in the wintertime."

The town of Stockbridge was also failing. In December of 1762, several Stockbridge Indian elders traveled to Sir William Johnson's home to complain about the "Troubles and Difficulties, which come upon Us by means of the Conduct of the Kings white Subjects." The problem was the theft of more Indian lands by the growing number of white inhabitants at Stockbridge. English settlers had begun forcibly to remove Indians from their own territory, even though the settlers had not purchased the land. The elders implored Johnson to "... rectify these unjust Disorders, and Encroachments; and not Suffer People to Encroach on your Children's Right." There was little Johnson could do. The settlers refused to move from their land and actually began fighting among themselves over territory."

In 1765, some Stockbridge Indian chiefs and their wives traveled to England to obtain help for the continuous fraud and thievery of their lands by colonial settlers. They were graciously received by Londoners and even met with George III. The Lords of Trade admitted that there had been abuses of land against not only the Stockbridge Indians but Indians throughout North America. They agreed that "... frauds and abuses in respect to Indian lands ... have so notoriously prevailed and had been complained of in the American colonies in general, and in this colony in particular ... the conduct of the lieutenant governor and council in

directing prosecution against the guardian, agents and protectors of these Indians ... does carry with it the colour of great prejudice and partiality, and of an intention to intimidate these Indians from prosecuting their claims." "The Earl of Shelburne took responsibility for the situation. He asked William Johnson to continue to give the Indians his support and protection, but not much else ever came of the issue." After several years of debate between Indian and English residents, a decision was rendered in 1785. The Indians would separate from Stockbridge and start a new village elsewhere. Discouraged by high taxes in the state of Massachusetts, the loss of their lands and the unrest of frontier farmers, most of whom strongly disliked them, the Stockbridge Indians relocated to their new reservation in New York in the month of July."

New Stockbridge was situated on a six-mile tract of land adjoining an Oneida reservation and another Indian town called Brothertown which was inhabited mostly by Algonquians. The Stockbridgers were escorted to their new home by Samson Occom, a Mohican minister and resident of Brothertown who had been educated at Moor's Charity School. Later John Sergeant, Jr. and his family joined them."

In June of 1796, a committee appointed by the Board of Commissioners of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent two ministers named Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse to observe the missions at New Stockbridge and Oneida.

The content of this report was the progress of these missions since they moved to the new territory. The account given by Belknap and Morse stated that the cultures of the Stockbridge and the Oneida were now in complete ruins. These Indians had never been able fully to accept the English culture, especially when it was forced on them. Indian children who tried to enter the English world through education had been treated by whites as inferior, even if they completely assimilated. If they returned to their own people, they were regarded as outsiders who were neither Indian nor English. Trapped in this limbo, they usually turned to drinking for consolation, hastening their own personal downfall. Once valued as warriors and hunters, they now were destitute."

In 1822, territorial disputes with other local Indians and the government of New York forced the Stockbridge Indians to move again to a reservation in Wisconsin near Fort Knox. There is where the Stockbridge nation resides today, some 250 years after the first missionary arrived with a burning ambition to evangelize them and lead them down the Christian path. Surprisingly, the Stockbridge Indians today maintain a unique balance between Indian and white culture. Church attendance among them is almost universal. They also still refer to themselves as educated, meaning that they accept themselves as part of the white culture that encompasses them, but still have some degree of

separation as an Indian community."

In a strange and ironic sense, the very factors that destroyed their culture also gave them the skills to survive. The educational and spiritual indoctrination of the missionaries taught the Stockbridgers the customs, values, and beliefs of the Europeans. These skills enabled them to deal with the European invasion and the hardships of war, cultural ruin, and political oppression that came with it. By adopting or at least learning to live with European religious and political institutions, as well as with foreign customs and culture, the Stockbridge Indians not only survived, but maintained their own sense of national identity.

NOTES

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5. Ibid., 85.
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CHAPTER THREE

MOOR'S CHARITY SCHOOL

The missionary efforts to New England included another important educational endeavor called Moor's Charity School. Founded in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754, this school paralleled Stockbridge's efforts to teach Indian children Christianity all the while assimilating them into English civilization. The founder of Moor's Charity School was a stern and ambitious Calvinist named Eleazar Wheelock.¹

Wheelock was born in Windham, Connecticut, in 1711. He entered Yale University in 1729 to study mathematics and design. An intelligent and hard working student, he was the first recipient of a special academic award called Dean of Berkeley Donation. After receiving a Bachelor's degree from Yale, Wheelock continued to study theology there for another two years.² Wheelock never pursued a career in mathematics, instead he accepted a pastoral position in a parish in Lebanon, Connecticut, in June of 1735 and remained its minister for thirty-four years. At the time he began his ministerial career, New Englanders were experiencing a time of spiritual and moral apostasy which was a result of the half-way covenant philosophy, a law approved by the

Map 3. Eighteenth-century Indian and White settlements. From Molly Braun, ed., Atlas of the North American Indian (New York: Fact on File, 1985), 100.

General Court of Connecticut in 1664 which required only infant baptism, not a personal conversion experience for adult church membership. It was no longer required that one testify to a born-again experience, a personal and spiritual experience of salvation in Christ as the Savior. Many critics of the half-way covenant believed that such half-way allowances were responsible for the growth of moral corruption and spiritual apostasy that plagued colonial society in the early eighteenth century. Wheelock and many of his religious contemporaries, such as Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, believed that God was displeased with the rejection of faith and that a change in the spiritual climate of the colony was necessary.³

A year before Wheelock began his ministerial career, the Great Awakening swept through colonial America. The Great Awakening affected both European settlers and Indians as fiery preachers travelled throughout the colonies preaching the gospel and holding revivals. Along with his church duties, Wheelock joined the Great Awakening revival as one of its leading evangelists, working closely with other evangelists such as James Davenport, Gilbert Tennant and especially George Whitefield with whom Wheelock became close friends.⁴ In the fall of 1741, Wheelock travelled between Boston and Rhode Island preaching forty sermons in twenty-five days.⁵ Jonathan Edwards, then president of Princeton, wrote Wheelock a letter in June of 1741

requesting that he preach there. "May God send you hither," he wrote, "with the blessing as he has sent you to some other places; I want an opportunity to concert measures with you, for the advancement of the kingdom and Glory of the redeemer."¹

Wheelock's success in the Great Awakening was not duplicated with his own Lebanon congregation. From the beginning, Wheelock argued with his parishioners over his salary. In the spring of 1735, Wheelock's congregation voted to give him thirty cords of wood a year, twenty-five acres of farm land, two hundred pounds of bills of public credit and a salary of one hundred and forty pounds a year.¹ They had originally decided to pay his salary on March 27, but then voted to change the date to January 1 instead. Wheelock objected to the new date because provisions were not as plentiful and were more expensive in the late winter as opposed to the spring.¹

A second problem for Wheelock was the type of payment he would receive from his church. The minister was to be paid either in money or provisions. The parish members were mostly farmers -- they knew that provisions were cheaper than pounds and so did Wheelock. By 1757, Wheelock had only received sixty-six pounds and fifteen shillings and the currency he did receive was unstable. During the mid-eighteenth century, the British colonies used several different types of money: proclamation money, dating from

1704 to 1709, bills of old tender from 1709 to 1740, and bills of new tender. Finally in 1754, lawful money was established as the currency throughout the colonies.' Paid in old tender, Wheelock calculated that he lost six shillings for every pound because of the devaluation of the money. He protested and petitioned his congregation to change the date and type of payment, even instigating a church committee to examine the situation. It was all in vain. The congregation was unwilling to change the way they paid Wheelock's salary.¹⁰

Wheelock remained at the church in spite of these monetary conflicts. He had a very large family to support. Wheelock had married Sarah Maltley (the daughter of the revivalist Rev. John Davenport of Stamford) in 1735 and became the step-father to her three children. The couple had six more children, three of whom survived. Sarah died in 1746 and Wheelock remarried again in 1747. His new wife, Mary Brinsmead, bore him five more children. Wheelock's household also contained about half a dozen slaves. He had land holdings in Connecticut, two hundred acres in Lebanon, and inherited three hundred more acres in Windham from his father. Wheelock's first and second wives also owned several tracts of land.¹¹

The sole provider of a large household, Lebanon's minister desperately needed another source of income. To supplement his meager salary, Wheelock began tutoring

1740's. His tutoring eventually became a permanent part of Wheelock's work at Lebanon.¹²

In 1743, a Mohican Indian named Samson Occom visited Wheelock seeking an education. Occom was born twenty years earlier into a tribe that was an offshoot of the old Pequot nation. He became a Christian in 1741 during the Great Awakening and decided to pursue a ministerial career. Occom proved to be a highly intelligent student who studied so hard he reportedly damaged his eyesight. Benjamin Pomeroy, his brother-in-law who was also a tutor, taught him English, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. At the request of Wheelock, the London Board of Commissioners for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel helped finance Occom's education for four years.¹³

Wheelock was impressed with Occom's progress and believed he could duplicate it with other Indians. The minister had a burning desire to preach the gospel to other Indians. Concerned for the eternal souls of the Indians, Wheelock wrote to George Whitefield in 1756 stating, "My dear, dear brother, I feel in behalf of these poor, miserable, savage, perishing creatures like a covetous, carving beggar, as though I could not tell them when to ha' done, or how to leave begging for them, till the Great Desighn of their being brought to Christ can be accomplished."¹⁴ As a Christian, Wheelock believed he had a responsibility to evangelize and educate the Indians. He

dedicated twenty-six years of his life, starting with Occom, for those purposes. In a letter written in 1762 to the Marquis of Lothian, Wheelock asserted, "The great obligations lying upon us, as God's covenant-people, who have all we have better than they in a Covenant Way, and consequently are under Covenant-Bonds to improve it in the best manner for the honour and Glory of our liberal Benefactor. And can such want of Charity to those poor Creatures, as our Neglect has shown; and, our Neglect of that which God has so plainly made to be the Matter of our care and duty; ..."¹⁵

Saving the Indian's souls was not the only issue on Wheelock's mind. He was also concerned with the religious and political influence of the French Jesuits, especially in the nearby colony of New York where they were especially active. The Jesuits in the American northeast had been preaching to the Indians and living among them since the mid-seventeenth century. Although the Legislative Council had expelled the Jesuits from New York in 1700, their impact remained through the allegiance between the Mohawks and France. Wheelock also believed that the conversion of Indians to Protestantism would provide military allies of Britain.¹⁶ In his letter to the Marquis of Lothian, Wheelock speculated, "How great the Benefit which would hereby accrue to the Crown of Great-Britain, and how much the Interests of His Majesty's Dominions, especially in

America, would be promoted hereby, we can hardly conceive."¹

Wheelock was familiar with John Sergeant and the Stockbridge schools and considered their educational approach to be the best way to civilize and Christianize Indians. He also believed that missionary work at Stockbridge had kept the English safe from attacks on the frontier because it had created loyal allies out of the Indians. Even in times of war for the English, friendly Indians had helped protect Stockbridge. "Witness the consequence of sending Mr. Sergeant to Stockbridge," wrote Wheelock in his letter to the Marquis of Lothian in 1672, "which was in the very Road by which they most usually came upon our People, and by which there has never been one Attack made upon us going there; and this notless Appearance of the Loving effects of the Gospel there than in any other Place, where so much has been expended for many Years past."¹¹

Like most eighteenth-century missionaries, Wheelock believed that was necessary to remove Indian students from their native environment. Like John Sergeant, Wheelock believed that to acculturate them properly he had to protect them from what he considered to be the wicked influence of their own culture alongside the corruption of Europeans who commonly took advantage of them with the use of liquor. Wheelock discussed his educational strategy in his first of

nine Narratives, published between 1763 and 1775. In his first narrative, Wheelock described the progress of his school, writing "... and the Children taken quite away from their Parents, and the pernicious Influence of Indian Examples, there may be some good Prospect of great Advantage by Schools among them."¹⁰ As with the Stockbridge schools, Wheelock also wished to teach Indian girls whose education, "... should necessary to render them fit, to perform the Female Part, as Houswives, Schoolmistresses, Tayloresses, & c ..."¹¹ Wheelock also wanted to use his school to teach European boys to work among the Indians as missionaries. His most famous European student was Samuel Kirkland, a missionary who entered his school in 1760, and later evangelized among the Oneida Indians.¹²

Wheelock began his work as an Indian educator on December 18, 1754, when two Delaware Indian boys arrived at his home. John Brainerd, mission leader to the Indians in New Jersey, had sent them. In a letter to George Whitefield in 1756, Wheelock described his new students, John Pumshire, age fourteen, and Jacob Woolley, age eleven, who studied at his home school for two years, " ... with a view to their being fit for the Gospel ministry." Wheelock was pleased with Pumshire and Woolley's academic and religious progress stating, "... They can read and write well the inclosed is a Specimen of the Writing of ye Eldest of them. They make good Proficiency in the latin Tongue and believe themselves

decently; and are likely to answer the Design So far as we yet know or Judge them."¹²

Two years after the boys arrived at Wheelock's school, Pumshire became ill for an unknown reason. He was sent back to Brainerd's mission in November of 1756. Wheelock expected Pumshire would recover and instructed him to return with "... two more of that Nation, whom Mr. Brainerd had at my Desire provided for me." Sadly, Pumshire died shortly thereafter.¹³ Brainerd wrote a letter to Wheelock in March of 1757 recounting Pumshire's final days. "He departed this Life the 26th Day of January, and was decently buried on ye 28. His death was sudden & unexpected ... When I first saw him indeed, I did not think he would continue long; yet I thought he might probably live til some Time in the Spring ... His whole Behavior was Christian-like, and he has left us, I think, some Grounds for a comfortable Hope concerning him ..."¹⁴

In April, Brainerd sent two more Indian boys to Wheelock's school, Hezekiah Calvin and Joseph Woolley (Jacob's cousin). Wheelock was saddened by Pumshire's death, but it did not weaken his resolve to continue educating and civilizing the Indians. Instead he sought to improve the health of his students by bettering their living conditions at the school. Wheelock believed that Pumshire's death was a result of a sudden change of diet and living conditions.¹⁵ "The Decline and Death of this youth,"

stated Wheelock in his Narrative, "was an instructive Scene to me, and convinces me more fully the Necessity of Special Care respecting their Diet and that more Exercise was necessary for them."¹

In July, Wheelock's school experienced a tremendous boost. The minister persuaded a wealthy Mansfield farmer named Colonel Joshua Moor to purchase and donate an English school on a two-acre lot for the purpose of educating Indian students. The school was run by a schoolmaster named Moses Banett and he remained employed there after Colonel Moor purchased the school and Wheelock became its administrator. The school was named Moor's Charity School after the school's benefactor who died a year later.²

Enrollment at the school looked promising. Five Indian students arrived in April of 1757, five more by April of 1759, seven in November 1760, and eleven in August of 1761. By the end of 1672, Wheelock had twenty-five students in his school. The first five students were sent by Brainerd, and three more students were sent by Sir William Johnson. One of Johnson's students included the famous Mohawk Indian Chief, Joseph Brant, also called Thayendanegea, who entered the school in 1757.³

Johnson disapproved of the indoctrination process the Indian students were receiving at Moor's Charity School because it was designed to dismantle native culture. Still, he was forced to follow the dictates of the Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel which supported missionaries like Wheelock. In January of 1756, members of the Society debated about effective missionary endeavors to convert the Indians, and set forth imperialistic instructions for the missionaries. In Article V of its plan, the Society urged clergymen such as Wheelock to concentrate on "promoting the Interest of the American Colonies." The Society considered Wheelock's approach to Indian education to be an important part of promoting the interests of the British Empire in the New World along with the spreading of the gospel.¹²

Johnson, Brainerd and Joshua Moor recruited Indian students from all over New England, including the Mohegan, Pequit, Delaware, Mohawk and Montauk tribes.¹³ The first Indian girls arrived at Moor's Charity school on 1761. Following the example of John Sergeant, Wheelock taught the girls "... to perform the Female Part, as Housewives, School-mistresses, Tayloresses, & c ...". As with the male students, the girls would also return to their people "... and recommend to the Savages a more rational and decent Manner of Living ..."¹⁴ In a petition for financial assistance Wheelock sent to the Massachusetts General Assembly in November of 1761, he explained that the Indian girls were supervised by a "proper" Gentlewoman of this neighborhood who taught writing as well as the domestic skills of English women.¹⁵

Academic life for both boys and girls in the eighteenth

century was rigorous. At Moor's Charity School, the students had to be clean and decently dressed, ready for morning prayers and devotion by sunrise in the winter and six in the morning in the summer. School began with another prayer at nine and ended at five in the afternoon. The students would spend the evening studying and would attend a worship service where the Indians had their own pew. Every Sunday after church, the students had their behavior and academic progress inspected. Once or twice a week "... they hear a Descourse calculated to their Capacities upon the most important and interesting Subjects."¹³

Life at Moor's Charity School may have been harsh for the students, but there is no evidence that Wheelock ever mistreated any of his students. His concern for their personal well-being was genuine. Wheelock treated them with respect and tried to make them happy. Wheelock often told the parents of the Indian students that he treated their children as if they were his own.¹⁴ His kindness was remembered by his students long after they left his school. In March of 1757, Hezekiah Calvin wrote to Wheelock from an Indian school in Fort Hunter, New York, expressing his respect and appreciation for everything Wheelock had done for him. "Your goodness binds me in all thankfulness but how shall I express the sense of Gratitude due to your care & tenderness who have all along laid so many obligations on me ..."¹⁵ From New Jersey College, Jacob Woolley also

wrote Wheelock an affectionate letter, which also expressed a strong sense of homesickness. "Dear Sir. You cant imagine how much I want to see you, & your family. Though I expect to come & visit your family. Though I expect to come & visit you next Fall ... my Duty to Madam Wheelock & kind Love to your children & the same to the rest of your family."¹⁶

Like Stockbridge, Moor's Charity School initially was supported by people who believed it was in the Indians' best interest to become English. The school received financial assistance from private donations, the legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and the Boston and London Commissioners for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. George Whitefield was one of Wheelock's strongest supporters and often solicited help in England and the colonies. In a letter written to Wheelock in 1760, Whitefield emphatically stated, "Upon mentioning and a little enforcing your Indian affair, the Lord put it into the heart of the Marquis of Lothian to had me 50. You will not to send his Lordship a letter of thanks and some account of the school ... Hallelujah! May hearty love to the Indian lambs."¹⁷

The Marquis of Lothian gave another fifty pounds in 1761 and again in 1762. Whitefield continued to encourage people in England to donate and Wheelock received forty-five pounds from two London merchants, ten guineas from a

minister, fourteen pounds from the Countess of Huntingdon, 100 pounds from John Phillips the founder of Exeter Academy, and Whitefield himself donated a bell and a set of globes, in addition to raising 120 pounds in New York. Between 1755 and 1762, Wheelock received about eleven pounds annually from various benefactors in England, and on a trip he made to Portsmouth in 1760 brought the school over sixty pounds more. The Province of Massachusetts voted to pay Wheelock twelve pounds a year in 1761 for the education, boarding and clothing of six Indian children from the Six Nations. The colony of Connecticut raised two hundred pounds sterling throughout the 1760's. In 1763 the New Hampshire Assembly voted to grant Wheelock's school fifty pounds sterling.¹¹ The London Commissioner for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent Wheelock twelve pounds in 1756 and twenty pounds in 1758. In 1760, they gave Wheelock an annual allowance of twenty pounds; a year later they voted twelve pounds for the support of Isaiah Uncas (a student at Wheelock's school and the son of a Sachem) and another ten pounds for his support the following year.¹²

The Boston Commissioners voted in May of 1761 to maintain the missionary service of an Indian youth named David Fowler, a Moor's Charity school student and Samson Occom's brother-in-law, to the Oneida Indians for four months. Fowler traveled with Occom to the Oneidas to preach to them. He had instructions to "... Return to bring with

him a Number of Indian Boys, not exceeding three to be put under Mr. Wheelock's Care and Instruction." The Boston Commissioners added another twenty pounds to "... be put into Mr. Wheelock's Hands to carry this Design into Execution ..."¹⁰

During the first few years Wheelock was successful in his endeavor to educate, civilize and Christianize North American Indians. By 1765, Wheelock sent out ten Indian graduates from his school as missionaries and schoolmasters for the Six Nations. These former students reported back to Wheelock that 127 Indian students were attending various schools all over New England.¹¹ Samuel Kirkland attended Moor's Charity School from 1760 until 1765 when he was sent by Wheelock to the Mohawk and Seneca Indians to recruit more students for Moor's Charity School. In 1766, Kirkland travelled to the Oneidas, where he spent the rest of his life preaching and teaching them Christianity until his death in 1808. Kirkland also founded the Hamilton Oneida Academy, present day Hamilton College.¹² In addition, Samson Occom and David Fowler travelled to the Six Nations in 1765 and recruited students for Wheelock's school. Fowler was approved as a schoolmaster that same year by the Connecticut Board of Correspondence. He taught the Canajohrde Indians English civilization and agriculture. Fowler also married a former student of Wheelock's, a Pequot named Hannah Garret.¹³

Wheelock's most famous student, Samson Occom, graduated from Moor's Charity School in 1747. Two years later he settled at Montauk on Long Island to minister to the Christian Indians there.⁴⁴ Occom was successful at Montauk, reporting, "... a general reformation among these Indians and [they] renounced all their heathenish idolatry and superstitions, and many of them became true Christians in a judgement of clarity. Many of them can read, write and cypher well; and they have had gospel ministers to teach them from time to time to do this; ..."⁴⁵ In 1757, Occom passed a theological exam, but Connecticut ministers delayed giving Occom his ordination for two years because of their prejudice against him as an Indian. In 1759, Occom was ordained a minister by the Presbytery of Long Island. The English may have been prejudiced against Occom, but the Montauks and Shenecoots respected him. Occom also taught school, performed marriages and funerals, and provided leadership equal to that of a Sachem.⁴⁶

Initially, it seemed as if Moor's Charity School, like Stockbridge, could not fail in its mission to Christianize and assimilate New England Indians into European culture. Wheelock's students got off to a good start in their religious careers. Wheelock himself was a good school administrator who held firmly to his Protestant values. He had a well-defined goal of educating and civilizing the Indian students to live as model English people. Once

acquired, they would take this knowledge back to their own people. Yet Moor's Charity School failed fifteen years after it was established. Even Samson Occom, despite his initial success, came to an unhappy end, turning to liquor to deal with the stress of maintaining his native identity in the face of European dominance. Wheelock had given his Indian students the best education English society could offer: the boys were taught classical studies, art, science and agriculture, the girls were taught tailoring and housewifery, and both were taught to read and studied religion. But the Indians were not English and could not readily relinquish their cultural heritage and customs for an alien society which was so prejudiced against them."

NOTES

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10. Ibid., 43.
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12. McClure, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 16.
13. Ibid., 16.
14. Eleazar Wheelock, A Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon (New York: Rochester Reprints, 1908), 75.
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17. Eleazar Wheelock, Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 12.
18. Ibid., 11-12.

19. Ibid., 16, 25.
20. Ibid., 15.
21. Beaver, Church, State and the American Indians, 44-45, 66.
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23. Wheelock, Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 30.
24. John Brainerd, "John Brainerd to Eleazar Wheelock," in The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock, ed. James Dow McCallum (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 29-30.
25. McClure, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 23.
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27. Francis Stiles, Private Interest & Public Gain: The Dartmouth College Case (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 3.
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30. James Dow McCallum, ed. Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 16.
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34. McClure, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 24.
35. Hezekiah Calvin, "Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock," in Letters of Eleazar Wheelock, ed. James Dow McCallum (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 52.

36. Ibid., Jacob Woolley, "Jacob Woolley to Eleazar Wheelock," 251.
37. George Whitefield, "Lady Huntington and Her Friends," in The Life of George Whitefield in Two Volumes, vol. II, ed. Rev. Luke Tyerman (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1876-77), 474.
38. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 49, 147.
39. Wheelock, Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 37-38.
40. Ibid., 39.
41. Kingbery, Anglican Humanitarianism, 94.
42. Ibid., 39.
43. Beaver, Church, State and the American Indians, 45.
44. Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions, 141.
45. McCallum, Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, 85.
46. Ibid., 142.
47. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 131, 138.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FOUNDING OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

Wheelock faced many challenges during the years he struggled to evangelize and educate his Indian students at Moor's Charity School. The most important challenge of all regarded the education of his Indian students, "... to cure their savage Disposition, and form their Minds and manners to right rules of Virtue and Religion ..." as he expressed in his first Narrative.¹ He soon discovered that the process of acculturating Indian students was not an easy task. In a frustrated letter to George Whitefield in 1761, Wheelock wrote of his Indian students' inability to adjust to English culture. "None knows nor can any, without experience, well conceive of, the difficulty of educating an Indian. They will soon kill themselves with eating and sloth, if constant care were not exercised for them at least the first year ... They are used to a sordid manner of dress, and love it as well as our children to clean ... They have never been used to the furniture of an English house, and dont know but that a wine-glass is as strong as an hand iron ... they are as unpolished and uncultivated within as without. However, experience has taught us that

it may be done. And they be as open to conviction of the truth of their state, when proper matter of conviction is Communicated to them as any, and there state, when proper matter of conviction is communicated to them as any, there is much ground to hope for their conversion."¹

One of Wheelock's most important problems was his Indian students' failing health. European diseases took their toll. Although Pumshire was the only Indian student who died at Moor's Charity School, Wheelock reported in his first narrative, "There have been several long Fits of Sickness of one and another in this School with nervous Feaver, Pleurisies, Dysenteria, &c ..." Throughout his Narrative, he found himself working with his students "... as constantly as their health would allow ... in extraordinary care and trouble for several of them in sickness ..."¹ It was actually the growing number of New England Indians who were dying from European illnesses that was one of Wheelock's most important reasons for beginning his missionary work. Wheelock believed the Indians must be converted immediately before they were wiped out by disease.⁴ He had good reason to be concerned. Present-day scholars estimate that the pre-European contact Indian population of New England was about 500,000. By the eighteenth century, European diseases such as small-pox had killed tens of thousands of Indians. In the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Bay areas the death rate was as high as 90

percent.⁵

Another difficulty encountered by Wheelock was the French and Indian War between 1756 and 1763. Moor's Charity School was not as seriously affected by the war as Stockbridge because it was not located on the frontier, making it safer from French and Indian attacks. Although the war slowed or delayed contributions from some Connecticut churches, Moor's continued to receive enough financial support from its benefactors because of its location.⁶ The French and Indian war did not damage Wheelock's desire to teach the Indians or hinder his belief that God had called him to the purpose. "The War soon commenced," wrote Wheelock in his first Narrative, "and inhumanities and Butcheries committed by Savages on all Quarters raised in the Brests of great Numbers ... Many advised me to drop it [the school] but it appeared to others so probable to be the very Method which God would own, that I better to scrabble along with it, as well as I could ..."⁷

The rigorous nature of academic life in the eighteenth century was difficult enough for a European student and even more so for the Indian student who received an education that had no value in their culture. In a letter written to Wheelock in 1767, John Daniel, the father of one of Wheelock's Narragansett students, complained about the uselessness of his son's education. "I would now acquaint

You, that I always tho't Your School was free to ye Natives; not to learn them how to Farm it; but to advance in Christian knowledge, which wear ye Chief motive that caus'e me to send my son Charles to you; not that I'm anything against his Labouring some for You; When Business lies heavy on you, but to work two Years to learn to Farm it, is what I don't consent to ... I am not willing he shou'd continue with you two or three Years longer to be kept to School. For what Learning you have given him, I am very thankful for." His parents removed Charles from Wheelock's school that same month.'

Another Indian student named Daniel Simon who entered Moor's in 1768 and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1777, was similarly frustrated. He wrote an exasperated letter to Wheelock in September of 1771 complaining that husbandry, a required part of the curriculum, took too much time away from his studies. "When I came first to this School," Simon noted, " I understood that this School was for to bring up Such Indians, as was not able to bring up themselves, but the doctor is to learn them to work, but I have been to work every since i have been able; and therefore if the doctor will let me follow my Studys, I Shall be thankful ... what good will the Charity money do the Indians, which was given to them if we poor Indians Shall work as much to pay for our learning ..."

The transition from an aboriginal to a European

lifestyle was so difficult for Indian students that liquor often became a means to alleviate their despair. One student who suffered from alcohol abuse was a Mohegan named Hannah Nonesuch who entered Moor's in March of 1768. She was forced by Wheelock to write a confession that same year admitting to "... being at the tavern and tarrying there with a company of Indian boys & girls, for (what is commonly called) a frolick, where was much spirituous liquor drank, & much dancing & rude conduct & tarrying to an unseasonable time of night ...". There is no record of Hannah's graduation.¹⁰

Mary Secuter, a Narragansett student who entered Moor's in 1763, also received discipline by Wheelock for the abuse of alcohol. In December of 1767, in a confession written by Wheelock, Mary admitted to coming to school drunk, and while there "... behaved myself in a lude and very immodest manner among the School Boys, I also in a vile Manner profaned the Sacred Name of God. Whereby I have brought Reproach and Ruin upon myself, my Character and my precious Soul, have grieved the Heart of My Reverend Patron, Who has been unwearied in his Labours of Love & Care and Kindness for me and the School, ..."¹¹ Four months later, Mary was forced by Wheelock to confess again of "... going to the tavern & tarrying there with much rude & vain company ...". Mary left Moor's in July of 1768. In a letter to Wheelock on the 28th, she sadly stated, "I have been more trouble to ye

Doctor then all my mates. Dont thinkd deserve ye honor of being in your School ..."¹²

Alcohol addiction would also plague Moor's graduates. Jacob Woolley, one of Wheelock's Indian students, had a promising start when he graduated from Moor's and entered New Jersey College in 1759. Jacob became a poor student whose addiction to alcohol and desire to wander resulted in his dismissal from college in 1764. Unable to adjust to European culture, Jacob was reduced to poverty and made a living collecting scraps of firewood. He enlisted in the British army in 1765 and afterwards all records of him are lost.¹³ Hezekiah Calvin also showed signs of promise when in 1757 he was approved as a Schoolmaster by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents and received a job teaching Mohawks in New York. However, by the end of 1767, Calvin suffered from poor health and alcoholism. He wrote to Wheelock in January of 1768 that he wanted to go to sea or return to the Indian way of life. In 1769 Calvin was imprisoned for forging a negro pass. After this event, all records of him are also lost.¹⁴

Fifty-eight Indian students attended Moor's Charity School between 1755 and 1769, but only seventeen ever finished their education there. Pumshire died and the rest of the Indian students who did not graduate withdrew or were expelled by Wheelock for incorrigible behavior. Those that did finish tended to do poorly in the white man's world,

often becoming alcoholics, dying of European diseases, or returning to their native lands and the lifestyle Wheelock had tried to teach them to reject.¹⁵

Wheelock wrote despondently of his failure to civilize the Indians in his sixth Narrative, published in 1771. "The most melancholy part of the account which I have to relate and which occasioned me the greatest weight of sorrow, has been the bad conduct and behavior of such as have been educated here; after they have left the School, ... 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 who an account of their parents and learning bid the fairest for usefulness, area sunk down into as low, savage and brutish a manner of living as they were before ..."¹⁶ Wheelock's efforts were wrought with failure from the beginning. It was difficult for the Indians to convert to an entirely different culture, and the Indians graduates of Moor's did not continue with the European education and cultural assimilation Wheelock taught them. The school he believed was God's calling was failing.

To preserve the school, Wheelock knew he needed to change his scholastic approach. As early as 1763, he began to develop a plan to build a college that would teach both Indian and English students. But Wheelock wanted to shift the educational emphasis to the English students because the Indians had not learned the cultural values he tried to

teach them. At this time, he wondered whether they ever would.¹⁷ In July, Wheelock sent a proposition to England. Called the "Proposal for Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture and Manufacture," he requested a charter for a college in New Hampshire. Wheelock stated in his proposition that he wanted "... an academy for all parts of useful learning; part of it a college for the Education of Missionaries, Schoolmasters, Interpreters, etc., and part a School for reading and writing."¹⁸ The charter was denied in 1763 because the French and Indian War was well under way making the request untimely.¹⁹

Wheelock decided to move his proposed college away from Lebanon because it was too close to Yale and he feared his school would not be able to compete for students. He had received land grant offers from other colonies such as Rhode Island and Massachusetts, but there were important reasons why New Hampshire appealed to him, especially the area of Hanover. The region was one hundred miles closer to the native lands of most of Wheelock's students who were Oneidas, Narragansetts, Montauks and Mohegans. Located near the Connecticut River, Hanover gave Wheelock better access to the Canadian Indians whom he wanted to recruit for his school. The site of his future college was sealed when the governor of New Hampshire gave Wheelock the best land offer of any of the provinces, five hundred acres in western New Hampshire.²⁰

Wheelock's failure to obtain a charter was compounded by lack of support from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one of his most important financial benefactors. One conflict with the SPG arose when David Fowler traveled in May of 1761 to the Oneida nation to recruit Indians for Wheelock's school. The SPG had promised to pay for the education of three students from Oneida. When the Mohawk students arrived in July, one was desperately ill and had to be sent back immediately. He was accompanied by one of his companions. The third student, Joseph Brant, remained at the school.²¹ Two more boys were sent to Moor's in November and Wheelock assumed that the Boston Board would pay for them as originally planned. The Boston Board's chairman, Charles Chauncy, however, was an old enemy of Wheelock's. Chauncy opposed Wheelock's educational philosophy and had criticized him for his fanaticism during the Great Awakening.²² At the same time, the SPG was beginning to reject attempts by missionaries to assimilate Indians. Chauncy wrote a letter to Wheelock in February of 1762 stating, "... We imagine it will turn to much better account, if they are taught to speak, read and write English, as those who have a thorough understanding of the language. So far as the knowledge of Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew, may be proper for a missionary to the Indians we should chuse to have it in the mind of one that is not himself an Indian."²³

Wheelock wrote many angry letters to the SPG and even sent David Fowler to Sir William Johnson to ask for assistance. "And I pray Your Honour," wrote Wheelock to Johnson in June of 1762, "if you Will please to grant all that Assistance which May be needful in it ..."²⁴ The Board finally relented in the fall, giving Wheelock the fifty-eight pounds he needed to pay for the two students. The SPG never sent any more money to him.²⁵

Johnson was one of the strongest opponents in the British government of the effort to assimilate Indians into English civilization. Johnson believed that the missionaries should emulate the procedure of the French in which Jesuit priests lived among the Indian people, blending with their culture and not changing it. He believed Indians should be educated in their own country, not removed hundreds of miles away from their homes and families.²⁶

The Catholic missions enjoyed a greater success in the Great Lakes areas and all across New France in places such as Nova Scotia, Maine, Quebec, Ontario, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois. Unlike the English Protestant immigrants who came to the New World with their women and families, the French colonists came alone as hunters, fishermen and tradesmen. They did not settle on occupied Indian territory. The lack of French women encouraged marriage between French immigrants and Indian women, creating a greater tolerance for Indian culture. Indians

also found Catholicism attractive because of its emphasis on images, such as medals, rings, crucifixes, and rosaries, and ritual, such as incense, bells, hymns, and chants, some of which were translated into Indian words. This was easier for the Indians to understand than the Protestant's long admonishing sermons in English and their abstract philosophical and religious disciplines."

Johnson also turned against Wheelock for political reasons, believing that non-Anglican dissent represented rebellion against British authority in the American colonies. In a letter to Daniel Burton, the Secretary of the SPG, in October of 1766, Johnson condemned dissenters like Wheelock as much for their political beliefs as for their assimilation tactics. "The Weak State of the Church of England particularly in these parts, must give a sensible concern to all its members of the Church ... are the faithfulest subjects of the crown an Argument which may be particularly applied to America where the Number of Dissenters and measures they pursue threaten more than our Religious liberty if not timely prevented ... Mr. Wheelock's plan seems a laudable one but give me leave to remark that many of these Schemes which had their birth in North England have soon appeared calculated with a View to forming Settlements so obnoxious to the Indians who have repeatedly declared their aversion to those who acted on such interested principle ... another objection is that those

brought up under the Care of Dissenting Ministers became a Gloomy race & lose their Abilities for hunting & can spend their time in Idleness & hang upon the Inhabitants for a Wretched substance ..."¹¹ By this time, Johnson had completely rejected the assimilation and dissenting ideas of Wheelock or any other minister like him. He continued to encourage the SPG to support Indian missionaries who were members of the Church of England, especially to the Mohawk nation until his death in 1774. Johnson's influence was so powerful that the Mohawks strongly supported the British during the Revolutionary War.¹²

It was impossible for Wheelock to evangelize and Christianize without financial support. In order to gain the funds necessary, Wheelock devised a plan to send representatives of Moor's Charity School to England. The representatives had to be men of strong moral fiber familiar with missionary work among the Indians.¹³ Wheelock chose Samson Occom for this mission to England. No Indian of that time had immersed himself so completely in European culture as Occom had. He was well educated and a good speaker. Occom also had an exceptional career as an Indian teacher in New London in 1748 and as a teacher and evangelist that same year to the Indians at Long Island. While at Long Island, Occom was a respected religious leader whose preaching had caused a powerful revival.¹⁴ Wheelock's choice for Occom's companion was Nathaniel Whitaker, a Princeton graduate and

pastor of a church in Norwich, Connecticut. The energetic and industrious Whitaker was a long-time friend of Wheelock and quite familiar with his work at Moor's Charity School. Whitaker believed so strongly in Wheelock's cause that he left his pregnant wife and gave up his salary at his parish church to promote Moor's Charity School in England.¹²

When Occom and Whitaker arrived in London in February of 1766, they began a preaching tour throughout England and Scotland that lasted over two years. They were a tremendous success, preaching three to four hundred sermons and raising seven thousand pounds in England and three thousand in Scotland. Even the King of England gave two hundred pounds at the persuasion of Lord Dartmouth, who was a strong supporter of Wheelock's school.¹³ The money collected was placed under the control of a Board of Trustees in London and presided over by Lord Dartmouth.¹⁴ The money raised by Occom and Whitaker lasted Wheelock until 1774. After completing their tour, Occom and Whitaker embarked at Gravesend and sailed for home.¹⁵

With the problem of finances finally resolved, Wheelock's next step was to obtain a royal charter. This would be difficult for Wheelock because he was not a member of the Church of England and was regarded by the British trustees as a threat to British authority in the colonies. The trustees hesitated to issue a charter to a religious dissenter, but Governor Wentworth pressured them to change

their minds. Wentworth had already promised Wheelock a land grant and suggested to him the possibility of issuing a charter. After several months of petitioning the Board, Wheelock and Wentworth convinced them to grant a charter for the college.¹⁶ A royal charter was granted by the board to Wheelock on December 13, 1769, "... for the education and instruction of youths of the Indian tribes of this land, in reading, writing and all parts of learning which shall appear necessary and expedient, for civilizing and Christianizing the children of pagans in all liberal arts and sciences, and also of England youths, and any others."¹⁷

The thirty pupils who attended Moor's Charity School moved from Lebanon to Hanover in August of 1770. Accompanied by Wheelock's son-in-law, Bezaleel Woodward, the students traveled on foot over one hundred miles on rough, unfinished roads. They arrived at Hanover in September and Wheelock, who had traveled by coach ahead of the students, immediately set them to work constructing the school's buildings. By October, the students had built several log houses and a saw mill. Alongside Moor's Charity School, Wheelock also built Dartmouth College, named after his main benefactor.¹⁸

Dartmouth held its first commencement on August 28, 1771. Only four students graduated and none of them were Indians. This greatly disturbed Samson Occom who had worked

so hard and so long for Wheelock's goal of educating Indians in the Christian faith. Occom noticed that Wheelock was diverting his efforts towards white students and neglecting the Indians at Moor's. In February of 1772, Occom asked Wheelock whether Dartmouth college was for the Indians or whites, or both equally alike. Wheelock responded by insisting that his educational effort still focused on the Indians. "I thought my dear sir you had fully known by objective to be the Indians which have been invariably the same from the first. They are also the first object in the charter. These lands area all given for that purpose, and will be so used for them so long as there shall be Indians upon the continent ..."¹⁹

Occom did not believe Wheelock and broke off ties with his mentor. He returned to his pastoral position among the Long Island Indians and continued to preach and teach Christianity there the rest of his life, occasionally indulging in alcohol to deal with depression. Occom traveled among the various tribes in New York, including New Stockbridge, preaching and teaching Christianity. He was admired by his Indian congregation, as well as local whites, for living in two difficult cultures until he died in 1792.²⁰

More financial battles would be fought by Wheelock throughout the 1770's as the president of Dartmouth College. In 1774, Wheelock discovered that the English fund for the

college was overdrawn by five hundred pounds and blamed the trustees for allowing him to overspend. At this time Wheelock had twenty Indian and ten white students, four tutors, a schoolmaster, himself and his family to support.¹¹ Private benefactors came to Wheelock's assistance once again. American benefactors, such as John Phillips of Exeter, gave the college a thousand pounds. In 1778, Wheelock asked the Continental Congress to help support his thirty Charity students, which included four Canadian Indians. The Congress gave Dartmouth \$925.00 that year, but most of the college's income came from Wheelock's own personal expenses. Between 1770 and 1778, Wheelock donated 1,747.19.71/2 pounds lawful money, mortgaged his personal property eventually selling most of it for 1,250 pounds.¹²

In the last ten years of his life, Wheelock suffered from such debilitating physical ailments as asthma, eczema and painful joints. However, he worked hard as the busy administrator of his new college and Moor's Charity School, not allowing his sickly physical condition to interfere with his duties. After dedicating twenty-five years of his life to Indian education, he died at the age of sixty-eight on April 24, 1779.¹³ Upon Eleazar's death, his son John accepted the position of president of Dartmouth for which his father had nominated him in 1771.¹⁴

Not much is known about the Indian students after the

death of Eleazar Wheelock. When his son became president, Dartmouth was in debt \$1,700 and would continue to struggle with debt until the early 1900's when the college was able to raise money through private donations from alumni and wealthy, prominent individuals. An attempt was made in 1849 by the college to recruit more Indian students from St. Francis and Lorette near Quebec, but it met little success. The financial situation at Dartmouth made it impossible to support Indian students on charity, and they did not have the financial resources to pay for their education themselves." Although the Indian school still existed, it was overshadowed by the college. On March 7, 1913, the Trustees of Dartmouth College decided to dissolve Moor's Charity School in order to make its funds and buildings more available to the college. The remaining Indian students were absorbed into Dartmouth College."

Dartmouth College never lived up to Wheelock's dream of educating the aboriginal people of North America. Only one Indian ever graduated from that institution in the eighteenth century. The Indians who attended the college between 1770 and 1865 did not exceed seventy-one, and only twenty-eight attended in the next hundred years." In 1970, Dartmouth president, John Kemeny, decided to recruit Native Americans to honor Wheelock's original commitment to educate them. In that year, nineteen Native American students began their studies at Dartmouth. The students

immediately demanded change. They asked for a Native American studies program and the elimination of the college's Indian mascot symbol and traditional Indian war-cry at sporting events. The college administrators complied with the students' demands. When the Dartmouth administration enforced its new pro-Indian policies, division, protest and violence broke out on campus as different student factions fought over the heritage of the college."

Wheelock's dream had failed. But it had never been possible for it to succeed in the first place. Unlike the Stockbridgers, who had managed to adjust to European customs and culture, the vast majority of students at Moor's Charity School ultimately failed either to adapt to Wheelock's ideas or successfully pass them on to other Indian students as teachers or missionaries. Trapped between two entirely different civilizations, Indian students under Wheelock's tutelage were left culturally and spiritually alienated."

NOTES

1. Wheelock, Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 45.
2. Eleazar Wheelock, "Eleazar Wheelock to George Whitefield," quoted in James Dow McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, Founder of Dartmouth College (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1939), 84.
3. Wheelock, Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 31, 33, 45.
4. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 75.
5. Gary B. Nash, Red, White and Black: The Peoples of Early America (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1974), 17, 76.
6. McClure, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 26-27.
7. Wheelock, Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 32.
8. John Daniel, "John Daniel to Eleazar Wheelock," in The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, James Dow McCallum, ed. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 231.
9. Daniel Simon, "The Simon Children, Narragansetts" in The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, James Dow McCallum, ed. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 221.
10. Hannah Nonesuch, "Confession of Hannah Nonesuch," in The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians, James Dow McCallum, ed. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 232-233.
11. Mary Secuter, "Mary Secuter's Confession," in The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock, James Dow McCallum, ed. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 236-237.
12. Ibid., 238.

13. James Dow McCallum, ed., Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 249.
14. Ibid., 47.
15. Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions, 140-141.
16. Eleazar Wheelock, Narrative VI, tran. James Dow McCallum, quoted in James Dow McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock: Founder of Dartmouth College (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), 132-133.
17. Francis Stiles, Private Interest & Public Gain, 3, 155.
18. Ibid., 3.
19. McClur, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 25-26.
20. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 112, 118, 167.
21. Ibid., 19-20, 150-151.
22. Ibid., 150-151.
23. Johnson, Sir William Johnson Papers, vol. X, 468-469.
24. Ibid., 469.
25. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 150-151.
26. Kingbery, Anglican Humanitarianism, 23, 89, 92.
27. James Axtell, The Invasion Within, 276-278.
28. Johnson, Sir William Johnson Papers, vol. V, 389.
29. Kingbery, Anglican Humanitarianism, 87, 97-98, 103.
30. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 151-152.
31. John W. DeForest, History of the Indians of Connecticut from the Earliest Known Period to 1850 (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1851), 455-457.
32. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 73, 155.

33. DeForest, History of the Indians of Connecticut, 458-459.
34. McClure, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 45-46.
35. DeForest, History of the Indians of Connecticut, 159, 166.
36. Francis Stiles, Private Interest & Public Gain, 4.
37. McClure, Memoirs of Eleazar Wheelock, 184.
38. Ibid., 184.
39. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 190.
40. Henry Warner Bowden, Dictionary of Religious Biography (Westpoint: Greenwood Press, 1977), 337-338.
41. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 193.
42. Ibid., 193, 195, 202.
43. Ibid., 204-205.
44. Ibid., 63, 190.
45. John King Lord, A History of Dartmouth College, 1815-1909 (Concord: The Rumford Press, 1913), 100, 200, 415.
46. Ibid., 231-233.
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48. Ibid., 223-225.
49. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 131-139.

CHAPTER FIVE

INDIAN CHRISTIANITY IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

The Stockbridge and Moor's Charity Schools closed on the eve of the American Revolution. Because of the stress and upheaval caused by the Revolutionary War, missionary work suffered considerably. During the war, many local churches were unable to donate to the missions and their schools. Financial support from the SPG had been completely cut off. There was no humanitarian agency in the colonies from which to solicit funds for the evangelism of the Indians. The missionaries often saw their efforts to convert Indians thwarted by battles, occupation by British or Colonial troops and social upheaval. The Indians themselves were in a state of disarray as they took sides and fought in the war.¹

Samson Occom's flock, the Stockbridgers in New York, sided with the colonists. Not only did they send messages of friendship, but they encouraged neutrality among the Shawnees of Ohio, the Six Nations, and the Canadian Caughnawagas. The Stockbridgers enlisted as Massachusetts Minute Men and then as scouts in the Continental army. Congress also used Occom's son-in-laws, Joseph Johnson and

Jacob Fowler, as "emissaries" to the tribes mentioned above while posing as missionaries.'

Chief Joseph Brant chose to support England and received the position of secretary to Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William Johnson's successor and son-in-law. He used his position to keep the powerful Mohawks loyal to the crown. Brant was a staunch Anglican who was trusted and respected by his people, the Mohawks. His sister, Mary Brant, had a liaison with Sir William Johnson and the two had a son. The Brants and Johnsons developed close family ties and this also included a strong loyalty to the crown. Brant was also commissioned as a captain during the Revolutionary War and fought in the Battle of Long Island in August of 1776. He led the Mohawks in the Battle of Oriskany as well as other raids on the frontier.'

Samuel Kirkland supported the revolution. The Continental Congress encouraged him to persuade the Mohawks to join the colonists or stay neutral during the war. Brant, however, worked to destroy Kirkland's political influence among Mohawks and other Iroquois nations asserting that a victorious America would destroy the Indian nations. Colonel Guy Johnson harassed Kirkland by threatening him, imprisoning him for a short period of time, and finally driving him from his mission at Oneida.'

After the Revolutionary War, American missionaries reorganized their efforts. Post-Revolutionary missionaries

received new spiritual strength from the Second Great Awakening which had its earliest beginnings in the 1790's. The American missionaries continued with the work begun by their English predecessors, educating and evangelizing New England Indians.⁵

The post-Revolution missionaries were not only inspired by the altruistic ideas of Christianity, but also the Republican values of their new nation. Did the missionaries apply the new American values of freedom and individualism to their evangelism and educational efforts among the Indians? Did the American missionaries learn anything from the past failures of Indian schools such as Stockbridge and Moor's?⁶ Gideon Hawley wrote a letter in 1802 to his friend James Freeman, a minister who held a seat in the New York House of Representatives, criticizing past efforts to educate and civilize Indians. Hawley pointed out that even Wheelock had regretted his educational attempts. "Civilization according to our ideas of it, is a work of time and a great degree of it is an injury even to ourselves. To enable a young Indian and give him a will to attend an acre of corn or even a yard of potatoes will be of much more utility to him than to be able to translate Virgil or Cicero. And to teach a young female savage to spin a skein of yarn, milk a cow or even raise a brood of chickens will do more towards civilization than all the fine learning in such savage at any expense would be." Although Hawley

admitted that teaching Virgil and Cicero was useless to the Indian, he still believed that a European-style economy was superior to that of the Indians and he also continued to refer to them as "Savages."

The old ideas of civilizing the Indians which inspired Indian schools like Stockbridge and Moor's remained. As missionary work among the Indians moved into the nineteenth century, it was still considered necessary to assimilate the Indians into the white man's culture. Instead of teaching the Indians to become English, they now had to learn how to become Americans. New missionary organizations arose shortly after the Revolution to take the place of the English ones. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America (1787), the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel Among the Heathen (1787), the New York (1796), the Northern (1797), the Connecticut (1798), the Massachusetts (1799), and the Western Missionary Societies (1802), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) and the United Foreign Missionary Society (1817) all professed to spread the gospel to the Indians. Utilizing the doctrine of manifest destiny, a belief held by Americans professing the "divine right" of expanding their territory across North America, in conjunction with a growing economy and better transportation, these organizations spread missionary posts throughout the continental United States.'

The American missionaries, as with the English, were naively optimistic about their goals and foresaw a time when Indians across the nation would embrace the ideas of American Republicanism and Protestant Christianity. The United Foreign Missionary Society stated this ambition quite clearly in its records in 1823. "Let then, missionary institutions, established to convey to them the benefits of civilization and the blessings of Christianity, be efficiently supported, and with cheering hope, you may look forward to the period when the savage shall be converted into the citizen; when the hunter shall be transformed into the mechanic; when the farm, the workshop, the schoolhouse, and the church shall adorn every Indian village; ... the red man and the white man shall everywhere be found mingling in the same benevolent and friendly feelings, fellow citizens of the same civil and religious community, and fellow-heirs to a glorious inheritance in the kingdom of Immanuel." The American missionaries foolishly pursued the same Indian assimilation policies that had failed for the English.

In the post-Revolutionary period, missionary work was again jeopardized by the greed of whites as the Indians were forced by state and federal governments to move to reservations. As land-hungry Americans advanced westward, more and more Indians were forced to give up their native homelands. The removals often destroyed mission stations which resulted in the loss of church membership and the

disintegration of the Christian lifestyle for the Indians. Many missionary families settled among tribes only to discover that the Indians were soon forced to move, leaving the mission station useless. The first large-scale Indian land removal was the forced settlement of the Stockbridge Nation from Massachusetts to New York in 1783. Although the Indians agreed that a move to a new location would protect them from abuse by whites in the town of Stockbridge, the main reason for removal was the settlers' greed.¹⁰ The Stockbridge mission leaders, such as John Sergeant, Jr., approved of the move. The Massachusetts legislature appointed Sergeant, one of Timothy Woodbridge's sons, and another white Stockbridge resident as commissioners to examine any land deeds to ensure that the Indians would not be cheated when they sold their remaining property to local whites.¹¹ The settlement disrupted the Stockbridge community creating religious and political conflict and dissension. It took John Sergeant, Jr. several months to follow his congregation to New York, and when he arrived, he immediately found himself embroiled in an argument over the community's choice of head minister. Part of the community supported Sergeant, the other Samson Occom. The discord did not last long and Sergeant was eventually selected as head minister, but a more serious conflict arose over the use of land. Some Stockbridgers favored leasing their land to white farmers and thus wanted the Indians to cultivate the

lands themselves. Those who supported the latter opinion prevailed, but the argument resulted in political factions and disunity in the community that would last several decades.¹²

The Stockbridgers learned to adjust in spite of white oppression. Adjustment, indeed a precarious balance between native and white culture would be the method which most Indians in North America chose to deal with the European invasion of their lands. Most surviving Indian nations adopted white values and lifestyles without rejecting their own aboriginal identity.¹³ When the Stockbridge nation arrived at their settlement in New York, they dressed in American-style clothing, farmed and raised cattle rather than hunting and gathering, and used the white man's technology for agriculture, spinning and weaving.¹⁴ However, the Stockbridgers, then and now, retained important native values, such as a belief in a rejection of material success as proof of "the good life," harmony with nature and the communal sharing of property.¹⁵ Moor's Charity School failed to have a permanent effect on the cultural values of its students because it was located in an isolated area, not within an Indian community. But a few of Wheelock's students, most notably Samson Occom, learned enough of the white man's ways to exist within and relate to both white and native societies.¹⁶

The irony of the Stockbridge and Moor's Charity School

experiments, as well as the entire missionary effort among colonial North American Indians, is that the white missionaries never intended to destroy native American cultures. The English, and later the Americans, simply believed that any religious or political standard foreign to their own was sinful, inferior, and displeasing to God. In their attempts to teach the Indians to live as proper Christians, the missionaries had to force them to act and live like white men. Sergeant, Woodbridge and Wheelock had only the best of intentions towards the Indians to whom they sought to spread the gospel. They and other missionaries were not inspired by the hatred, greed and exploitation exhibited by the traders, tavern keepers and British, colonial (and later on American) governments. Yet the results of the missionary labors among the Indians were ultimately tragic.¹⁷

Throughout the centuries as Christianity has continued to flourish, Native American cultures have survived despite white oppression. Christian Indians have merged their religion with native traditions. God is now identified with the Great Spirit, Jesus has replaced traditional cultural heroes and angels are messenger spirits who are associated with the traditional belief of messenger winds. The Native American Church, which has more than 250,000 members, is a powerful force for promoting American Indian pride and cultural values. Spirituality has always been the basis of

American Indian cultures. Often expressed through Christianity, Indian spirituality has also been an important source of resistance against white oppression.¹⁴

Centuries ago, Christianity was brought from across the ocean by Europeans and forced upon the Indians in a racist and authoritarian manner through missionary schools. Taught to the Indians from the perspective of the white man's civilization, Christianity threatened to destroy the very core of the American Indian identity. However, the Indians utilized the values and traditions of their own culture and their spiritual strength to overcome white oppression. The failure of mission schools such as Stockbridge and Moor's Charity School was an early sign of their resistance.

NOTES

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3. Ibid., 19, 54-55.
4. Ibid.
5. Robert F. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 1.
6. Ibid., 2.
7. Gideon Hawley, "Gideon Hawley to James Freeman," Massachusetts Historical Society, (Nov. 15, 1802); trans. Clifford K. Shipton, in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, vol. XII (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1962), 407.
8. Berkhofer, Salvation and the Savage, 1-3, 6-8, 152.
9. Records of United Foreign Missions Society, May 5, 1823, ABC 24.111: 209 ff.; trans. Robert F. Berkhofer in Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 11.
10. Beaver, Church, State and the American Indians, 99, 190-191.
11. Frazier, Mohicans of Stockbridge, 234-236, 238-239.
12. Mochon, "Stockbridge-Munsee Cultural Adaptations," 112, 196-197.
13. Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions, 207-209.
14. Belknap, Indian Notes and Monographs, 12.

15. Mochon, "Stockbridge-Munsee Cultural Adaptations," 112, 181.
16. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 132-133.
17. Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions, xv, xvi, 126.
18. Ibid., 211, 215, 220.

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