Crimson Missionaries: Harvard College and the Robert Boyle Trust

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CRIMSON MISSIONARIES:
HARVARD COLLEGE AND THE ROBERT BOYLE TRUST

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Presented to
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The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
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Master of Arts

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
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Quotations from the Harvard Corporation Records are included by permission of the Harvard University Archives.
This thesis examines the missionary activities of Harvard College supported by the Robert Boyle trust for the training and support of Indian missionaries in New England. The training and support of missionaries is discussed as a cooperative venture of the New England Company (a missionary society) and Harvard College.

First the missionary activities of Robert Boyle as Governor of the New England Company are examined as well as the New England Company's involvement with Indian mission work at Harvard College in the late seventeenth century. The provisions in Boyle's will for missionary activities are described and the ultimate allocation of part of the revenues from his estate to Harvard College.

From 1712 to 1732, Harvard College used the Boyle Trust as a scholarship fund to support five students interested in becoming missionaries to the Indians: Calvin Galpin, Benjamin Larnell, Oliver Peabody, Othniel Campbell and Nathan Mayhew. The social background, student life and subsequent activities of these students is discussed in light of the Boyle trust's provisions for training future Indian missionaries. The discussion focuses primarily on Oliver Peabody as the only successfully trained missionary supported by the fund in this period.

Harvard's use of the fund changed in the 1730s. Harvard reallocated the revenues from scholarships for future missionaries to the support of current missionaries. Harvard's financial support of Oliver Peabody in the 1730s and 1740s is examined as a part of this transition. Harvard's subsequent support from of Stephen Badger and Gideon Hawley from the 1750s to 1770s is examined in light of their activities as active missionaries.

The thesis concludes with the disruption in the flow of funds to Harvard in 1770s due to the Revolutionary War and the redirection of the New England Company's activities from the independent American colonies to Canada. Harvard's attempt to recover the fund and the effects of the loss of the fund is discussed as well as its attempt to continue support for missionaries after the loss of English financial support.
CRIMSON MISSIONARIES:
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Chapter 1
The Armchair Missionary:
Robert Boyle and the New England Company

The name of Robert Boyle conjures up a man of the enlightenment busy in his laboratory, surrounded by the trappings of the chemist and physicist. But Robert Boyle was a man of complex interests. He was foremost a scientist and leader of England's chief learned organization, the Royal Society. He was also an Anglican theologian who grappled with the issues of science and God in an Enlightenment world view. And as president of a missionary society he was a kind of armchair missionary. Although he had never seen the New World, he dedicated himself to those who took "the Gospel to the Infidels". At his death the bulk of his estate went to support not scientific or theological study but Indian missionary work in the American colonies.

Boyle's dedication to missionary work stemmed from his own theological works which included treatises reconciling science and scripture. He was also interested in the translation of the Bible into newly encountered languages. His first involvement in missionary activities came in 1661. In 1660 Parliament had revoked the charter of the Society for the Propagation for the Gospel, a missionary society to the Indians in New England, along with all other charters issued by the Commonwealth and Protectorate. Supporters of the old society asked Robert Boyle to assist in petitioning the king for a new charter. Boyle became interested, and when the new
charter was issued on February 7, 1661/2 Boyle was named Governor for life; he retained the governorship until 1689, when he resigned due to ill health.\(^1\) The new organization, the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (or more commonly the New England Company) was one of two organizations in which Boyle was heavily involved during his lifetime; the other was more predictably the Royal Society. Boyle took his responsibilities seriously; he was a conscientious administrator and attended meetings regularly. Boyle "had every question referred to him for his consideration." He also helped to bring the activities of the society to the attention of the crown. For example, he personally presented the king with a copy of the Reverend John Eliot's translation of the Bible into the Natick dialect of Algonquian.\(^2\)

In addition to his administrative abilities, Boyle brought religious respectability to the New England Company. The Company was predominately a nonconformist organization but Boyle was an Anglican. However, he was not a dogmatic Anglican and was "very tolerant in his religious outlook; he gave financial assistance to necessitous non-conformist divines and to many protestant refugee ministers from the continent".\(^3\) His own commitment to the established church and his connections to the crown helped to "obscure the Company's true religious complexion and helped to make it more widely acceptable."\(^4\)
The New England Company's involvement with Harvard College predated Boyle's assumption of the governorship. In the seventeenth century, the relationship between the two organizations enabled Harvard to garner buildings, books and equipment, but did little to help the Company convert Indians. The old society, the Commonwealth predecessor to the company, had provided Harvard with 120 pounds to build an Indian College in 1653. The building was constructed but because no Indians were attending Harvard, white students were housed in the building for the first year. The Society, and later the Company, hoped that Harvard would train ten Indians a year; however, collegiate Indian students did not appear at Harvard until after 1660 and only totaled four students through 1700. The Indian school building continued to be used for non-Indian purposes until it was demolished in 1698. The New England Company Commissioners agreed to the demolition of the building and the reuse of the bricks in a new building "provided that in case any Indians should hereafter be sent to the College, they shall enjoy their studys rent free in sayd building." With the low enrollment of Indian students this was an inexpensive promise for Harvard to make. The college also received the donation of a printing press from the company. The company had purchased printing equipment for the production of John Eliot's Indian Bible and for other works in Indian languages. In 1669 Harvard's President Chauncy and the Fellows asked the company to donate its press to the college because "there is no more need to
issue yet further books from the press for the use of the Indians. The company agreed on condition that the press could continue to be used occasionally for the publication of Indian works. The college took possession of the press and installed it in the old Indian School. In spite of Harvard's lack of success in Indian work, it was to receive a still larger endowment for missionary work from the estate of the governor of the New England Company, Robert Boyle.

On his death in 1691, Boyle left the bulk of his estate for "the Advance or Propagation of the Christian Religion amongst Infidells". Beyond small donations to friends and family members Boyle did not specify beyond this directive exactly how the executors should use the money. The New England Company also received a specific donation of 100 pounds "to bee sett aside and employ'd as a Stock for the Reliefe of poore Indian Converts". The trustees appeared to have been negligent in their responsibilities to the estate because one of the trustees, Richard, Earl of Burlington, took action in 1693 against the other two, Sir Henry Ashurst and John Warr. Burlington claimed that Warr, with the approval of Ashurst, had failed in his responsibility to give a proper account of the estate. In response to the suit, the trustees agreed to the purchase of the Manor of Brafferton in Yorkshire for the sum of 5,400 pounds, the rents to be devoted to missionary activities. The trustees had fulfilled their obligation because the 5,400 pounds represented more than fifty percent of the estate. The Lord Chancellor confirmed
the trustees' instructions for the proper disposal of the income from the Brafferton estate on June 9, 1698. The directives stated that "the said executors should grant out of the said manor a rent-charge in perpetuity of 90 l. per ann. unto the Company for propagating the Gospel in New England". One half of the money was to be spent on the salaries of two ministers by the New England Company and the other forty-five pounds were to be sent by the Company to the Corporation of Harvard College. The college was to use the money "for the salary of two other ministers, to teach the natives in or near the college there the Christian religion". The residual from the rents was allocated to the College of William and Mary in Virginia for the establishment of an Indian School.¹¹

In securing the Boyle Trust money, Harvard benefited not only from its own earlier relationship with the New England Company but also from the position of its president, Increase Mather, as one of the Commissioners of the New England Company. The Commissioners were the colonial arm of the New England Company, supervising the expenditures of funds in the colonies and sending regular reports back to the trustees in England.¹² Mather had been made a Commissioner in 1690. He also knew one of the trustees of the Boyle estate, Sir Henry Ashurst; Ashurst was also treasure of the New England Company. While in London in the 1680s to secure a new charter for the colony of Massachusetts, Mather and Ashurst had been joint agents for the colony. While in London, Mather had stayed with Major Robert Thompson who would succeeded to the
governorship of the New England Company in 1692. Mather had become acquainted also with Robert Boyle during his stay in London.13

The instructions from Sir William Ashurst for the use of the money was sent to the New England Company Commissioners and the Harvard Corporation on July 16, 1697. The money was to be paid to the New England Company who were then to pay Harvard College £45. Ashurst was Governor of the New England Company and brother of Sir Henry Ashurst, the Boyle estate trustee. The money was to be employed by the College "for ye Salary of two other Ministers, to teach ye Natives, in or near His Majts Colonies there, in ye Christian Religion." Increase Mather acknowledged the donation in a letter to Sir William Ashurst dated July 20, 1698. Mather returned "great Thanks to yor Honorable Corporation for ye respect shewed to o[u]r Colledge" but adds that "We have not as yet received any part of it."14 This became a regular complaint from Harvard for the next fourteen years.

Although the trustees and the New England Company were tardy in sending payments from the trust, Harvard was having its own problems. In 1685 the charter of the colony of Massachusetts was annulled and the colony was incorporated into the Dominion of New England. Because Massachusetts had issued Harvard's 1650 charter, the college's charter was also annulled. What followed was perhaps the most complex chartering episode for any college in America. Five proposed charter were written between 1692 and 1700; four were rejected
by either the crown or the royal governor and one was lost in the administrative bureaucracy in London. Between the proposed charters Harvard operated under various temporary legislative acts. While the question of Harvard's survival was not in question—enrollments remained steady throughout the period—the exact nature of the college was in doubt. President Mather was kept busy fending off possible Anglican and liberal Congregational takeovers of his college. Ultimately he was unsuccessful and he resigned in 1701. Although the college was returned to its 1650 charter in 1707, the Corporation was dominated by liberals. The return to a more stable footing allowed the trustees to return to the question of the Boyle legacy.

In its March 21, 1708 meeting, the Harvard Corporation ordered that separate books be opened for the Boyle income; but money was still not forthcoming. In January 1709/10 former Harvard President Mather wrote again to William Ashurst that "The Colledge has not as yet received anything." But Mather did not urge the New England Company trustees to send the money because

that Society [Harvard] is in other kind of hands than it was when the Corporation in London ordered that Legacy for them. D[udley, Governor of Massachusetts,] has put in a Lawyer to be the President, who is his creature. And the professors of the same stamp.

Mather was still bitter about losing the presidency of Harvard and its subsequent takeover by liberals. He blamed Governor Joseph Dudley and President John Leverett and believed that
Harvard had fallen fully under the sway of Anglicanism and liberal Congregationalism.

The trustees of the New England Company in London were not at fault for Harvard's neglect in receiving its funds. The Commissioners of the New England Company in the colonies had created the problem. In July 1710, the London trustees reported to the commissioners in New England that they "were not a little surprised to understand by this letter [from the Harvard Corporation] as well as by our perusall of your Accounts, That this money has not been paid to the Colledge from year to year". The arrears had become so large that the New England Company was unable to repay it. Although the trustees in London had ordered the Commissioners in July 1697 to pay the 45 pounds per year to Harvard, the Commissioners had not done so. Instead they had spent the money themselves "tho they have faithfully applyed the Money to the same Uses".18

Increase Mather, one of the Commissioners, may have tried to stall the payments to his former college. Mather claimed that he had given the Commissioners a copy of the order of 1697 but "They did not well understand the meaning of it, and thought that when money was remitted there should be something particularly [mentioned?] about that due to the Colledge". Mather now stated that "I shall use my best endeavours that as to the Arrears, matters may be accomodated."19 The Commissioners were instructed by Sir William Ashurst "That for the Future they pay you [Harvard] Annualy fourty five pounds
with Currt Excha". Ashurst also ordered that in light of the arrears of the past twelve years, "wee have directed them [the Commissioners of the New England Company] to accomodate the Matter to the College's Satisfacon". The Commissioners of the New England Company met with President Leverett and Treasurer Thomas Brattle of Harvard in the Council Chamber in Boston on November 28, 1710 and came to an agreement. The Commissioners asked that Harvard not demand the entire arrears as "'tis impossible for th[e] Company to advance so much as the Arrears com[e] to with out diminishing other neccesary allowances." The Commissioners agreed that for the next six years the College would receive £90 and after that £45 per year. The first payment was to be received by July 13, 1711. Robert Boyle had died in 1691; twenty years later his legacy would finally reach the school chosen by his executors.

2. Ibid., 48, 133.


9. The text of the complaint is included in Maddison, Life of Robert Boyle, 207-208.

10. The trustees had agreed among themselves that each would have a portion of the remainder of the estate to devote to charitable causes of their choice. The Earl of Burlington and John Warr both devoted their portion to founding charitable schools in England. Sir Henry Ashurst devoted the bulk of his portion to supporting poor freemen and freemen's widows in Oxford. All three charities continue to exist although in modified forms. See R.E.W. Maddison, "The Charitable Disposal of Robert Boyle's Residuary Estate" Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, 10 (October 1952):15-25; Maddison, Life of Robert Boyle, 212-218.


Chapter 2

From Missionaries to Fellowships:

The Boyle Trust as a Scholarship Fund, 1712 - 1732

The Boyle Trust money was put to a new use when it finally started to flow into Harvard's treasury. The original directives from the trustees of the Boyle estate stated that Harvard's portion of the fund was to be "employed and bestowed for the salary of two . . . ministers, to teach the said natives in or near the college . . . the Christian religion". As one of the New England Company Commissions, Increase Mather felt a better use could be made of the legacy. Mather first questioned the purpose of the fund in a letter to Sir William Ashurst in January 1709/10: "It is disputed whether it was intended that the Corporation should improve the money for education of some to preach to the Natives, or only determin which of those that are employed in that service should have benefit of that Legacy." Mather repeated his concerns in another letter to Sir William Ashurst in November 1710; Mather reported that Peter Sergeant, one of the other Commissioners, "says that Mr. Boyles Legacy is not worth two pence to the Colledge who he says will have no more benefit by it than your Commissioners have by disposing the other moyety of 45 pounds annually." The college wanted some additional benefit from the fund beyond simply paying missionaries to Indian tribes. Mather believed the purpose of the legacy was "that 2 scholars
shall be educated in that Society [Harvard] who shall with
gratitude instruct the Indians in Christianity. And that will
be a great benefit to the College when two of the members
therein shall be so priviledged". Mather asks Ashurst to
"inform me if I am mistaken" in reinterpreting the
instructions. Mather did not want Harvard to be only the
intermediary for supporting missionary activity; Mather wanted
Harvard to be paid for training missionaries. The money would
be employed by Harvard as a scholarship fund.  

Mather tried to dilute the aim of the trust still
further. In his January 1710/11 letter to Ashurst, Mather
urged that the missionary activity not be confined to Indians.
"Some pretend that the young scholars who shall have the
benefit of this charity for their education, must engage to
devote themselves wholly and solely to the service of Indians."
If the ministries were modeled on the mixed Indian-and-white
congregations of Eliot, Danforth, and Rawson, "the design of
this charity will be truly complied with." The money was to
be used for scholarships, not paying ministers, and the
missionaries were to preach to mixed congregations, not just
Indians.

In April 1712 the Harvard Corporation drew up a set of
rules to govern the use of the Boyle trust money. For the
next six years, while the college received 90 pounds a year,
the college intended to educate four students annually for
propagating the gospel among Indians in the "Province of
Massachusetts Bay, or the Neighbouring Provinces." The college
designed the curriculum and required the study of an Indian language if the "Corporacon shall judge the Circumstances of the Natives require it". If judged to be competent by the Corporation, students receiving the scholarships were required to "wholly devote themselves to ye Work of the Gospel among the Natives". If the students were minors, their parents had to sign this agreement for them. The Harvard Corporation intended that the Commissioners of the New England Company would undertake the support of the missionaries after graduation.5

The students who received the Boyle scholarships and trained for the missionary ministry followed the same curriculum as other Harvard students with the additional study of Indian languages. According to Samuel Eliot Morison, the Harvard curriculum reproduced the content and method of the Cambridge University Arts course. The three main parts of the curriculum were "the medieval Arts and Philosophies; the serious renaissance study of the Learned Tongues; [and] the lighter renaissance study of such classical belles-lettres as were deemed suitable for a gentleman's education." The course left out much of the Cambridge program in the medieval Arts and Philosophies and stressed the study of classical languages. A Harvard education was book-oriented in style and approach: "The students compile systems or outlines of the arts, hear books read by their tutors, read the same books themselves and recite upon them, dispute on questions drawn from those books, and declaim orations." The laboratory
sciences were not taught as such but Robert Boyle would not have been shocked at the sciences the students did learn from books. Much of the Aristotelian science had been abandoned in the mid-seventeenth century and 'Neoteric' or the new sciences had been introduced. Even Increase Mather had stressed that students should "above all find a friend in TRUTH." However, this stress on free inquiry had its limits; the college did not extend free inquiry to the study of theology. While praising free inquiry in the natural sciences, President Leverett directed that "the same license is not permissible to Theologians." Harvard in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was in transition from a classical curriculum with a clear Puritan stamp to a college of the Enlightenment breaking from conservative Congregationalism.

Harvard also adopted from English universities the system of 'placings'. Colleges were hierarchical institutions. Not only were the Masters ranked above the students but the students were ranked among themselves. Students were provisionally placed in order at entrance and were officially placed at the end of their freshmen year. The official rankings appeared to be based largely on the parent's social rank, with adjustments made for "a combination of youthful piety and intellectual promise." The initial rankings were adjusted according to the students' academic performance and behavior in college. The graduation ranks were permanently recorded in the college's Triannual, a list of alumni, and only rarely adjusted. These ranks determined much of
student's life at college including "the order of seating and serving in Commons, assignment of rooms, order of Commencement processions, conferment of degrees, and all occasions of ceremony." The ranking were even used in the college account books.8

Calvin Galpin

The first of the Boyle Scholars was Calvin Galpin, class of 1715. At his entrance, Galpin ranked in the middle of his class, tenth out of twenty students and his rank was unchanged at graduation. The Harvard Corporation first awarded Galpin money from the Boyle Fund on April 28, 1712, the same meeting that established guidelines for the trust fund. Galpin received payments from the fund each year until April 1716, a year after his graduation. Although the exchange to colonial currency varied, each award was for one quarter part of the 90 pounds (English currency) the college was receiving each year or £22-10-0.9 At the time of the first award the Corporation required Galpin to sign a bond and because he was a minor, his father co-signed. The bond was a vague contract in which Galpin acknowledged he had read the regulations and freely consented to them but did not outline Galpin's responsibilities directly.10

After graduation Galpin left for England where Henry Newman, secretary of the London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge reported that he pursued "those studies which might qualify him for the Ministry among the
Dissenters”. Unfortunately for the dissenters, Galpin’s studies drew him instead to the established Church of England and he refused to be ordained by the Presbyterians. Galpin attended Oxford and was then ordained an Anglican minister and sent to Jamaica where he died in 1749. In an attempt to regain the money the college had spent for Galpin’s education, the Harvard Corporation voted on April 4, 1726 that the President and the Treasurer should attempt to reclaim the money. The College was unsuccessful in its first attempt and in October 1729 the Corporation voted that the Treasurer be desired to discourse with mr Calvin Galpin of Boston, & to write to his Son ye Revnd mr Calvin Galpin of Jamaica, about refunding ye money expended for his Education at College, the condition of which, viz. yt he should preach ye Gospel to ye Indians, not having been fulfill’d by him.

The Corporation records do not show that Harvard ever recovered the money from either Galpin. The scholarship program was not starting well; the first student Harvard had trained not only refused to serve the Indian community but had left the colony.

Benjamin Larnell

The scholarship program fared little better with its second recipient, Benjamin Larnell. Larnell had the dubious distinction of being the last American Indian to attend Harvard in the eighteenth century. Larnell as a youth attracted the attention of the Reverend Grindall Rawson, a New England Company missionary in Tauton, Massachusetts. Larnell was sent to Boston to work in Judge Samuel Sewall’s household
and to attend the Boston Latin School. In December 1712 Larnell entered Harvard, and in April 1713 the Corporation awarded him a quarter part of the Boyle fund or £22-10-0. Larnell was ranked at the bottom of his freshmen class; whether because he was an Indian or because he was late in starting the year is not clear.\(^{15}\)

Larnell had problems adjusting to the white man’s world; he had drinking problems at both the Latin School and Harvard. After six months at Harvard he was expelled and sent home to Tauton. Rawson sent him back to Boston in August 1713 and secured permission for him to return to the college in the spring. Larnell did public penance for his past actions. Sewall reported that “Larnel made his publick Confession, and was restored to his Standing in the College. . . . [He] Presented his Confession to Mr. Pemberton [the minister of Sewall’s church] who [there]upon became his Intercessor”. Sewall went on to report that “In the publick reading his Confession, the flowing of his passions were extraordinarily timed, and accented his Expressions, and most peculiarly and Emphaticaly those of the grace of God to him.”\(^{16}\) After this public ordeal, the young Indian boy was allowed to to return to the college.

However, Larnell’s return to Harvard was short-lived. The following summer Larnell fell ill with fever and died at Judge Sewall’s house on July 21, 1714. His pall-bearers were Harvard students, each of whom received white scarves and gloves for the occasion. The Harvard Corporation voted the
following September to pay the costs of the funeral, probably including the gloves, out of the Boyle fund. The trust had paid for two students' educations and had been thwarted by death and disinterest from putting a missionary in the field.

Oliver Peabody

Harvard finally struck paydirt in the third Boyle scholar. Oliver Peabody probably did not enter Harvard intending to become a missionary. One of his biographers suspects that "It was as much financial necessity as missionary zeal which led him in his junior year to apply for the Boyle scholarship." Oliver Peabody was the youngest son of eight children and his father had died when he was young; his resources must have been limited. His limited means was confirmed by his low class rank; he was ranked thirty-fifth of thirty-six students his first year. The bond Peabody signed for his first grant was more explicit than that of Calvin Galpin. Harvard wanted to make clear what Peabody's responsibilities were. Oliver Peabody and Steven Peabody (probably Oliver's brother) were "holden, and stand firmly bound, and obliged" to the college for full payment of the trust funds expended on behalf of Oliver. Oliver was "to Qualifie himself to preach the Gospel among the Indians, and to devote himself to that service, provided that he continuing his inclination so to do". If he were to change his mind, he was to repay the grant in full. The bond left no question
what the requirements were for completion. In return Peabody received his first grant of £22-10-0.\textsuperscript{18}

After graduating in 1721, Peabody was appointed to the church at Natick, the former congregation of the seventeenth century missionary, John Eliot. Peabody was awarded an extra grant of £45 from the Boyle trust on April 4, 1721 "for the first year of his performing that Service as a Consideration toward reimbursing the Charge of his Education in his Sophimorship". He was given another grant from the trust later in the same month "as a Consideration of his Education in his Freshmanship".\textsuperscript{19}

When Peabody arrived in Natick in August 1721, the congregation included only two white families and no Indians. Peabody delivered one sermon and returned to Harvard for two more years of study. He was granted another award from the Boyle trust to support his graduate studies. He received his Master's degree in 1723 and returned to Natick. In order to secure his services, the Natick Indians requested that Peabody be granted one hundred acres of land in Natick. The church developed as a mixed congregation of Indians and whites; special legislation was passed by the general court that encouraged white families to settle near Peabody on the reservation. The resources for the ministry were slight; the white residents of the town were taxed for neighboring churches and the Indian resources were probably insufficient to support the ministry. Peabody turned to his alma mater for support.\textsuperscript{20}
The college had awarded Peabody £90 in February 1722/3 and another £50 in April from the Boyle trust. The Harvard Corporation in 1722 had appointed a committee to meet with the Commissioners of the New England Company "About Sr Peabodys Settlmt in the Ministry among the Indians at Natick". The most important issue was to find a source of financial support for his ministry. Harvard appeared to have undertaken the support of Peabody's ministry for at least one year; in September 1723 the corporation voted "That the Reverend Mr Oliver Peabody's Annuall Salary, that is to Say, That part of it, which is to be paid out of the College Treasury, being out of Mr Boyle's Donation", should be paid to Peabody quarterly.21

Some question arose whether Oliver Peabody had received all the money to which he was entitled. In August 1724 the Corporation examined the records related to Peabody's accounts and determined that he had received all the money voted to him. At the October 1724 meeting the Corporation determined that "not having allowed him more Support for his freshmanship than for one half of that year & No Support for one other year of his being Undergraduate" the corporation voted an additional £50 from the trust fund.22 The college had already voted him money for three and one half years of undergraduate expenses; the "one other year" might have referred to one year of work on his Master's degree or perhaps the Corporation was just being generous.
The following year, 1726, Peabody was back again petitioning the Harvard Corporation for financial assistance. The record is unclear whether Harvard was paying him a regular salary during this period, but the Corporation granted him "as a Present" £15 from the Boyle trust, a donation repeated the next year. In April 1728 the Corporation confirmed Peabody's annual salary of forty pounds (probably in colonial currency) and advanced him an additional twenty pounds for the current year. Peabody continued to receive his salary until his death in 1752 and occasionally received additional grants voted by the Corporation. By 1741 Peabody was receiving one half of the Boyle trust income per year or £22-10-0. With Peabody receiving regular awards, the ability of the fund to support the training of additional missionaries was becoming severely limited.

Harvard did more than support Peabody's ministry financially; the Corporation took an active interest in his activities at Natick. In response to Peabody's 1723 request for "Advice & direction about his settlmt & Ordinacon to the Ministry at Natick", Harvard characteristically formed a committee to study the matter. The committee was to work with the Commissioners of the New England Company to come to some settlement. Harvard may have been trying to get the New England Company to assume the expenses of the Natick ministry. In April 1728 the Corporation once again approached the Commissioners "about what measures may further be taken, for promoting ye Interest of Religion among ye Indians at Natick".
In the margin of the college records it was noted, "this Interview was had at ye Council Chamber, on May. 21. 1728. much was said, nothing determined."24

In April 1729 a new committee was formed that went to Natick with the Commissioners "to Inquire into ye State of Religion there [Natick], and whether it be proper to gather a Church & ordain Mr Peabody, or to ordain him without gathering a Church." The committee visited Natick in October and criticized the ministry. The committee reported "That there are 29 or 30 Families of Indians whereof 16 adult Persons and 12 minors are baptized. . . . they don't Catechize their Children nor send them to Mr Peabody to be catechized so constantly as they should". Education was also lacking; "That the Indians cant generally read and are negligent in sending their Children to School Severall have began to learn but left off and forgat what they Learnt." However, the committee went on to report that "they [the Indians] generally uphold the worship of God in their familys praying and reading the Scriptures". Furthermore, the church was developing as a mixed Congregation: "the English & Indians agree well together in their attendance on publick Worship and the Indians are willing [that] the English should attend with them." The church probably included more English families than Indians; there were eight English families in Natick who attended the church and thirteen from nearby. The committee agreed with the Natick community in its recommendation that Oliver Peabody
Peabody was ordained to the ministry and a church gathered at Natick. 25 Peabody was ordained on December 17, 1729.

Peabody was successful with both his Indian and his English church members. Peabody helped foster an educated Indian congregation. When Samuel Moody, missionary in Maine, came to preach at Natick he "used low expressions for the sake of being understood by them, they [the Indians] observed that if Mr. Peabody should preach in such a low language they should think him crazy and leave the meeting-house." 26 Peabody was popular with his white congregation as well, probably helped by the fact that the English church members did not have to pay to support their own minister; Harvard paid the bills instead. In fact, the lack of financial support from English members became a divisive issue later in Peabody's tenure. By the 1740s the congregation became increasingly white; white inhabitants outnumbered the Indians three to one and less than a dozen Indians attended services. Furthermore, the whites wanted to move the church-house to a more convenient location while still refusing to pay for its upkeep or its minister. The Commissioners of the New England Company refused to allow the removal. Peabody honorably refused to minister to the white congregation so long as they refused to pay for part of the ministry; the white congregation in turn put up £100 in depreciated colonial currency for the construction of a church. About the same time that the parish was formed, Peabody died. 27 Harvard's involvement in the Natick ministry caused the college to
redirect the Boyle money to active missionary work as the Boyle trustees had originally directed.

Othniel Campbell

Oliver Peabody graduated in 1721; three years later the next Boyle Scholar, Othniel Campbell, entered Harvard College at the age of thirty. He was "at first bro't up a Mechanick, but meeting with a happy disappointment in matrimony diverted to learning". Campbell probably had limited means; he was ranked thirty-seventh of forty-nine students his first year. He applied for the Boyle scholarship in 1724 and the Harvard Corporation voted that "he be admitted upon Tryal for half a year he residing at College and that he be allowed 15 pounds out of said Mr Boyles Donation". If at the end of the half year the Corporation approved of Campbell he was to post bond for any further money provided for his education. The following year the Corporation "accepted his bond wth Suretys and also his own personal obligation referring thereto" and voted another twenty-five pounds for his freshmen year. Campbell’s bond was similar to Oliver Peabody’s. Campbell put up a bond of £500 New England money and agreed to serve as a missionary after his graduation. He pledged to

"Diligently and Carefully pursue his studies in the College. . .and to Devote himself to Preach the Gospel among the Indians in any part of this Province. . .Provided also that a Support and maintenance suitable to the Difficulty and Importance of the Service be by them [the College and the New England Company] Provided and Afforded."
A rider was attached to the pledge that in addition to serving in Massachusetts, Campbell would also agree to serve in Rhode Island or Connecticut.\(^{31}\) Campbell received £40 out of the Boyle trust in each of the next three years. This level of award was a "princely sum for a student".\(^{32}\)

Campbell graduated in 1728 and the Harvard Corporation awarded him an additional £10 to defray "his Expences at ye Commencement"; Campbell was given a speaking part at his commencement, probably to highlight his future missionary work. However, the job market for missionaries in Massachusetts was abysmal at the time so Harvard voted him an additional £40 "provided he forthwith return to College, & reside here to ye end of ye year or until ye Corporation appoint some service for him in ye Instructing the Indians." Campbell received a call the following June from a congregation at Uxbridge; unfortunately Uxbridge was not an Indian congregation. Campbell wrote to the Harvard Corporation asking to be released from his bond, but the Corporation voted in September 1729 to defer an answer until "there has been further Inquiry made, about some suitable place in Nantucket, or elsewhere, for his being Imployed in preaching to ye Indians." In October the Corporation got back word from Nantucket that "there is no Door open there for his being Imploy'd in ye Indian Service." In December the Corporation directed that Mr. Nathan Prince, one of Harvard's tutors, and Oliver Peabody "be desired to go to Little Compton, and to Inquire into ye State & condition of ye
Indians there, & thereabout, to see whether it may be adviseable to send mr Campbel to preach among them". The response appears to have been negative. In March 1729/30 the Harvard Corporation "considering how long Sr Campbel had waited to be resolv'd and what Indeavours had been us'd to find Imployment for him among ye Indians, tho without Success, Voted, that Sr Campbell be wholly releas'd & discharg'd from his Bonds or obligations to the Corporation."  

After being released from his bond, Campbell went on to take his Master's degree in 1731, received a call to the south precinct of Plympton and was ordained in 1733. He never preached to Indians but did become involved in the Great Awakening as a New Light. His congregation split over the controversy and he eventually resigned to head the new congregation in Tiverton. Harvard had successfully trained a missionary for a career without job openings in Massachusetts. Harvard may have learned from this experience because the last student granted a scholarship by the Corporation was already assured of a missionary position.

Nathan Mayhew

The Harvard Corporation did not have to search for a missionary position for Nathan Mayhew. Mayhew was the son and chosen successor of the Reverend Experience Mayhew, missionary to the Indians on Martha's Vineyard. In order to prepare for college, the Harvard Corporation in March 1726/7 granted Nathan a Hopkins fellowship to study at the Cambridge Latin
School. He then went on to Harvard where he received the Boyle scholarship. His father's status as a minister and missionary may have played a part in his class rank of tenth out of thirty-seven students. In February 1730/1 the Corporation voted Mayhew £20 and in April of 1732 a second £20 "provided his Father first give Bond for refunding ye said Summ to ye Treasurer of ye College, in case his Son should live & decline preaching to ye Indians in a stated way". Mayhew was granted an additional £20 in April 1732 with the proviso that his father again sign a bond for refunding the money if his son did not enter the Indian ministry.

After graduation, Nathan went to Martha's Vineyard to be trained in Indian languages by his father. According to his father, "he was almost ready to begin to preach, but... He dyed much lamented by all that knew him Oct. 15, 1733 being newly entred into the 22nd year of his Age." In April 1735, the Harvard Corporation canceled the bond signed by his father "as God in his Providence has removed his son by death." The next year the Corporation voted Experience Mayhew £25 from the Boyle trust "for the care & pains he took in teaching his son (now deceased) ye Indian Language, in order to qualify him for ye Indian Ministry; and also for maintaining him ye time yt he lived after his Degree in Learning said Language." Harvard failed again in getting a Boyle scholar out in the field; Nathan Mayhew, guaranteed a position as an Indian missionary, died before he could accept the post.
Harvard's use of the Boyle trust money as a scholarship fund was not successful in training missionaries. Of the five students awarded scholarships to pay for most of their education between 1712 and 1732 only one student actually became a practicing missionary. Two of the students died before assuming their ministerial duties and two students either refused to serve or were released from serving as missionaries. Furthermore, Harvard never enrolled the number of students the fund actually allowed. During the 1710s, a period when Harvard was receiving sufficient money to provide four scholarships, the college never had more than two Boyle scholars enrolled at the same time. In the 1720s the college usually only had one Boyle scholar enrolled, although Harvard was receiving enough money to support two students.

The program was more successful in providing opportunities to attend college for students from lower socio-economic classes. Of the five students, at least three of the students (Larnell, Peabody, and Campbell) were ranked close to the bottom of their classes in socio-economic status according to the Harvard ranking system. Nathan Mayhew's high rank was probably due more to his father's position as a missionary than to the family's financial resources. Although not the primary aim of the scholarships, the college did appear to spend the money on those students most in need of financial assistance. Although at least one student petitioned for funding as a future missionary in the 1770s, Harvard stopped
using the Boyle trust a scholarship fund by 1732 and found a new use for it as a fund for missionary's salaries.\textsuperscript{41}
Notes for Chapter 2


14. Samuel Elliot Morison mistakenly lists Larnell as the first student to receive a Boyle Scholarship. Galpin received his first award in April 1712 and was one class ahead of Larnell. Larnell did not enter Harvard until December 1712 and received his first award the following April. See Morison, Harvard in the Seventeenth Century, 2:486.


17. Pub. of the Col. Soc. of MA, 16:423; Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 6:144.


22. Ibid. 515.

23. Ibid. 540, 558, 560-561.

24. Ibid. 500, 560-561.

23. Ibid. 572, 575-77.


34. Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 8:370-374.


37. Pub. of the Col. Soc. of MA, 16:590-591, 599. Unlike the other bonds, copies of Nathan Mayhew's Bonds are not included in the published Harvard Corporation Records; they may have been destroyed at Nathan's death.


40. Joseph Bourne, a sixth student to receive funds from the Boyle trust was not discussed in this paper. He only received three pounds to pay for his commencement expenses for his Master's degree. See *Pub. of the Col. Soc. of MA*, 16:523.

41. In 1771, William Crosby was "recommended to the Corporation to be taken under their patronage for Indian service" but refused money until he agreed to sign a bond to serve as a missionary. Crosby must have agreed because when he left college in 1775 the college agreed to reduce his bond from £55 to £18 because he only had attended three-fourths of a year. However, the source of this money is not mentioned. *Harvard College, Corporation Records II*, I.5.15, Harvard Archives, 355, 430.
Chapter 3

Harvard on the Reservation:

The Boyle Trust as a Missionary Fund, 1732 - 1774

In the 1710s and 1720s Harvard's use of the Boyle trust as a scholarship fund had been a mixed success. Five students had received a paid education to Harvard but only one had become a successful missionary. The 1730s saw Harvard return to the original directives of the Boyle trustees and the college started spending the money on the salaries of active missionaries. The records of the Harvard Corporation do not show any overt signs of a policy change respecting the fund; however, the failure to find a position for Othniel Campbell, combined with the college's increased commitment to the ministry of Oliver Peabody probably mandated the change. During the 1730s and 1740s virtually all of the income from the trust was spent on Oliver Peabody's ministry at Natick, with the Harvard Corporation also making several small grants to other Massachusetts missionaries.

The first of these small grants went to the Reverend Experience Mayhew, a well-established Indian missionary on Martha's Vineyard. Mayhew had not attended college but in 1723 Harvard had recognized his missionary work with an honorary master's degree. In June 1731 the Harvard Corporation awarded him £20 "out of mr Boyle's Donation, on ye account of his faithfull Services in preaching to ye Indians." At first he had declined the degree but Harvard "forced" it
upon him. At the same time Harvard was also providing for the education of his son, Nathan, from the income of the Boyle fund. After Nathan died in 1747, Experience Mayhew received an additional £50 in recompense for the cost of Nathan's education in Indian languages.¹

In February 1746 the Harvard Corporation responded to the petition of another missionary, the Reverend John Sergeant, "for some Addition to... his Allowance from that Part of the Honble Mr Boyle's Donation wch is in the Hands of the Comissioners of the Indian Corporation". Sergeant was a graduate of Yale, a missionary to the Housatonic Indians and the founder of the Indian school at Stockbridge. His ministry was supported by the New England Company out of the £45 they received from the Boyle legacy. The college voted to defer consideration "til Enquiry be made of the said Comissioners" as to whether the commissioners or the college should pay the addition and the college could learn how much the commissioners had paid Sergeant in the current year. The next month, the Corporation answered Sergeant's petition and allowed Sergeant "the Sum of fifty pounds old tenr for this Year" from the Boyle fund "to incourage him in going on wth the difficult work of Preaching the Gospel to The Indians".² John Sergeant and Experience Mayhew continued to receive occasional grants from the college not only from the Boyle trust but also from the college's new trust fund for missionary activities.
The Williams Trust

In 1748 Harvard College received a bequest from the estate of Dr. Daniel Williams of London for the support of Indian missionaries. Like the Boyle bequest, the fund was administered through the New England Company. Williams himself had died in 1716, but the bequest did not become operative until 1745 after the death of his last heir. According to his will, he left an estate called Tolleshunt-Beckenham manor to the New England Company, with the first £60 annually to be paid to the company and the residual sent to Harvard College for "the blessed work of converting the poor Indians there."³

The New England Company had advised the college of the gift in 1722, and in June 1740 the Harvard Corporation had instructed the treasurer to

make Enquiry, of the Gentlemen, Comissioners for the Indian Affairs, at Boston, in wt Manner it may be best to apply, to the Corporation in England, for the propagating the Gosple among the Indians in N-England, with respect to the Bequest made to Harvard-College by the late Revd Dr Daniel Williams.

In 1747, after the death of the last heir, the college made further inquiries of Andrew Oliver, the Williams fund trustee, "wth respect to his [Dr. William's] Legacy to the College". The trustees in London reported that the manor house at Tolleshunt was in disrepair. In October the college agreed to defer its receipt of the legacy until the house was repaired and referred the matter to the New England Company for the appropriate action.⁴
In September 1748 the college distributed the first money from the trust fund. The money was allocated to many of the same men who had already received support from the Boyle fund. Experience Mayhew, Oliver Peabody and John Sergeant each received £94 and Thomas West, Experience Mayhew's assistant on Martha’s Vineyard, received £68. In April 1749 Mayhew, Peabody, and Sergeant split the £101 on hand in the fund. However, in spite of additional distributions from the fund, Harvard was in the embarrassing situation of being unable to spend the money as fast as it arrived. With the reserves in the fund growing, the Harvard Corporation agreed in 1762 to a three-year cooperative venture with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians in North America, during which time the income from the Williams fund not committed to Harvard’s own missionary activities would be used to propagate "the gospel among the western tribes of Indians". However, the surplus continued to grow. In 1755 the Williams fund had a surplus of £767.19.10 and by 1772 the surplus had grown to £1740.0.3. Despite the obvious temptation, the college continued to keep a separate record for the fund and did not appropriate the fund for other uses. The Harvard Corporation ordered an accounting of both the Williams and Boyle funds in 1751 and 1755 and the Trustees in London ordered an accounting in 1769.

Transition in the Natick Ministry

The primary focus for Harvard’s missionary activities, the Natick ministry, went through a transition in the early
1750s due to the death of Oliver Peabody. For the last several years of his life, Peabody was in poor health, and in May 1751 the Harvard Corporation recorded Peabody's petition for relief "as he is in a very weak state of body, whereby he is obliged frequently to get help in preaching, & obligd also to make some contribution wth respect to the new Meeting-house now building at Natick". The Corporation voted Peabody £100 from the Williams legacy. After Peabody's death in 1752, the college paid Peabody's heirs £16 "wth respect to the extraordinary charges of the family, in regard of his long sickness & his funeral." Harvard had an extraordinarily paternal feeling for the Natick ministry, even paying Peabody's family for his care during his illness. The college also paid for several interim ministers, each receiving 10 shillings from the Boyle fund for each sermon preached at Natick. All three of the substitutes were Harvard graduates. The Reverend John Angier was the pastor of the third church of Bridgewater and William Fessenden was a master at the Cambridge Grammar School. However, it was the third substitute, Stephen Badger, who caught the eye of the Natick congregation and eventually became the congregation's new minister.

Stephen Badger

Stephen Badger was the son of a potter and had been a charity student during his stay at Harvard; he received money from various trust funds, none of them the Boyle trust. The college ranked Badger at the bottom of his entering class and
he graduated from Harvard in 1747. In 1749 Badger received his Master's degree in absentia because he was in the Carolinas. He may have been a candidate for the pulpit of the Congregational Church in Charleston. In 1751 Badger returned to Harvard as the "library keeper", with his "modest stipend being supplemented by the grant of a Saltonstall Fellowship for graduate study." In 1752 he started preaching at Natick and in May the congregation requested the Harvard Corporation to issue him a call on their behalf.8

Badger's call required the consent of a number of parties. The Indian and English inhabitants had formed a committee to communicate to the Harvard Corporation "their desire to have Mr Stephen Badger settled among them as their minister", and the Harvard Corporation also consulted the Commissioners of the New England Company because the ministry at Natick was under their joint sponsorship. In January 1753 the Harvard Corporation received the approval of all parties and issued the call to Badger. He had also received a call at this time to the more prosperous Brookline Church, but he decided instead to accept the call to Natick. However, by giving up the call to Brookline, Badger did not go to Natick empty handed. Each of the parties made a financial commitment to the ministry. The College awarded Badger "yearly and every year one moiety of the Honble Mr Boyle's donation, vis two & twenty pounds, ten shillings sterl." The Commissioners of the New England Company had agreed to vote a like sum and the Indians at Natick had donated thirteen or fourteen acres of
land. The English inhabitants agreed to form a poll-parish and levy taxes for the church at a rate nearly "twice as much per head as the people of Needham".

The next month, the Harvard Corporation voted additional money for Badger's support. The college gave "the sd Mr Badger, upon his ordination there [Natick], the sum of forty pounds out of Mr. Boyle's donation toward building his house." Like the earlier students receiving money from the Boyle trust, Badger gave "his personal obligation" to refund the money for the house if "he shou'd remove elsewhere, or quit his ministerial charge (otherwise than by death)". Unlike the earlier student bonds, however, Badger's pledge was not a lifelong obligation but only for ten years. Like the other donations, this sum was to be matched by the Commissioners of the New England Company and the white families pledged to provide timber for his house, "sawed & hewen fit to frame" and to "cart it to his house lott". The English inhabitants also agreed to transport thirty cords of wood cut by the Indians.

In a letter dated February 20, 1753, Badger asked the Harvard Corporation for their continued support of his ministry:

I hope you will pray for me, and also afford me all that assistance and Direction by your Cautions, Advice and Information, which my youthful Age, and Inexperience, together with my Want of a larger Extent of Knowledge both in Men and Things, may many Times make them needful, and advantageous to me.

Badger especially asked for the Harvard Corporation's support because of the problems facing the congregation due to the construction of a new meeting house. This issue had divided
the congregation during the last years of Oliver Peabody's tenure at Natick and the issue was not yet resolved. Badger had already met some opposition over this issue and had made enemies who "have already manifested to my Face, their Disaffection, and Disregard to me as a Minister in Natick, and by their Insinuations have threaten'd to disturb my Peace". Badger asked Harvard "not [to] leave me alone to combat with them."\(^{11}\)

In May 1753 the Harvard Corporation received a petition from the Indians at Natick for assistance in building a new meeting house. The Corporation agreed to provide assistance once "they have finish'd the sd house, as to the whole outside work, & also glaz'd it". In October the Corporation received word from Natick that the new meeting-house "is all boarded & also clapboarded to a few hundreds & that the glass for the sd meeting house is purchas'd & the sashes for the glass in a good readyness" and so the corporation voted £40 from the Boyle fund for the church's completion.\(^{12}\) Stephen Badger seemed well on his way to successfully continuing Oliver Peabody's mission to the Natick Indians.

However, the Indian community at Natick was gradually disappearing. Stephen Badger later discussed this in his work "Historical and Characteristic Traits of the American Indians in General, and those of the Natick in Particular" written in 1797. The decline in the Indian population in Natick followed the larger trend Badger saw when "the white people have been either intermixed with them [the Indians], or have been
settled in their vicinity". Badger believed the Indian population's decline was not due to "the effect of a limited and less refined civilization, of regular industry, [or] of christianity" but due to cultural conflict. Whereas the white settlers in New England did not need to adjust their "religious rites, customs, and practices", the Indians were required to make "an almost total change of their old customs and manners, to substitute others in their stead, some of which are directly opposite to their ancient usages". White neighbors did not support the Indians in their efforts to assimilate and instead encouraged "their Indian neighbours in idleness, intemperance and needless expenses, and thereby to involve them in debt for the sake of preparing the way for the sale and purchase of their lands," probably at low rates. Badge noted the success of the Indians in forming a "civil society", including the establishment of a militia and civil offices during the early part of the century, but the community had broken down when the white inhabitants had increased in numbers and had gained control of the civil offices. The 1750s and 1760s were especially difficult years, during which the Indian population declined because of service in the Seven Years' War and from illnesses brought back to the community by the Indian veterans. Only a handful of Indians continued to attend services in Natick "and none are remarkable for the genuine influence of the principles and prospects of that religion which is from above". During his tenure as the missionary at Natick, Stephen Badger had watched
the relatively successful Indian mission dissolve and disappear.\textsuperscript{13} Furthermore, the white congregation was also unsettled. White members of the congregation "adopted as many of the Indian manners and habits, as the Indians had of theirs". The attempt to raise money for the church through the poll had not worked and in 1754 the congregation was incorporated as a precinct "so that it might levy taxes for the minister's support." White members of the congregation objected to the location of church, which further divided the community, and "many families entirely abandoned public worship in that house [the Natick church], and seldom attended in any other."\textsuperscript{14} Badger also became involved in the theological controversies of his time and became an Arminian and a supporter of Jonathan Edwards. He was also accused of being a Universalist, and John Adams listed Badger as one of New England's first Unitarians. After Badger's death in 1799, the mission was abandoned and the congregation constructed a new building, more convenient for the white church members.\textsuperscript{15} Gideon Hawley

In 1754, Harvard College began to support the efforts of a second missionary, Gideon Hawley. Hawley's activities were farther ranging and more successful than Stephen Badger's. In fact, one historian described Hawley as "The most astute and certainly the most successful English missionary in the colonial period." Hawley was originally from Connecticut and both his parents died while he was an infant. He was raised
by foster parents, and his brother helped to support his preparation for Yale College. Later in life Hawley also received a degree from Harvard College and was added to the role of its alumni for the year 1749.16

Hawley next entered the service of the New England Company and was assigned in 1752 to the Housatonic Indian mission at Stockbridge. The Stockbridge mission was directed at that time by Jonathan Edwards. Edwards assigned Hawley to teach Indian families who visited Stockbridge and Hawley also started to learn Housatonic. Although Jonathan Edwards was pleased with his work, Hawley was up against a rival mission school in Stockbridge run by Captain Martin Kellogg. The disagreement between the two schoolmasters came to a head when Kellogg came to Hawley's school and "chastised" him in front of his pupils for three hours. After the public confrontation, Hawley's students gradually disappeared and Hawley decided to travel to Mohawk country to win them back. After a difficult trip, during which his native guide deserted, Hawley met up with some of his students and managed to convince them to return to Stockbridge. However, in the meantime his school had burned, probably at the hands of the supporters of the rival school. Hawley decided that instead of returning to Stockbridge, he would to go into the field directly as a missionary to the Iroquois. Harvard provided money from the Williams fund for Hawley's assistant on this mission.17
After his ordination in July 1754, Harvard began to make regular awards to Hawley from the Williams fund. He returned to the Susquehanna and established his mission, returning occasionally to Stockbridge. At the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, the Iroquois protected the mission with their hunting parties, but as the war worsened, the Indians stopped attending his services. In 1756 Hawley escaped from the region dressed as an Indian and returned to Harvard to wait for the end of hostilities. Later that year Hawley returned to New York with the British army at the urging of the Harvard treasurer, Thomas Hubbard. However, Hawley resented his use by the army as a decoy and stated "I wont go among Indians in the Character of a Christian Missionary, except I can go upon Christian Principals." He criticized the expedition's leaders: "Those who talk about the propagation of Christianity among the Indians, don't much care whether any of them go to Heaven." Hawley returned to Stockbridge and in 1757 went to visit his future flock, the Mashpees.  

In May 1757 Hawley returned to the Iroquois, but in November the Harvard Corporation awarded Hawley the sum of £30 from the Boyle fund to match a sum of £50 awarded by the New England Company for the establishment of his mission with the Mashpees. Thereafter, Hawley received an annual salary from the Boyle fund as well as regular grants from the Williams fund. In 1758 he was called by the Mashpees to be their minister, with the approval of the Harvard Corporation and the New England Company, and in September 1759 the Harvard
Corporation voted Hawley £50 for the construction of his house. Like the earlier students who received money from the Boyle trust, Hawley gave

his personal security to our [Harvard's] Treasurer, to repay us the sd fifty pounds, in case he shou'd remove, or quit his ministerial charge at Mashpee (otherwise than by death) before the expiration of ten years from his time of his installment there.

In July 1764 the Harvard Corporation awarded Hawley £15 from the Boyle fund to match an award of £35 from the New England Company for the completion of his house. Just as Harvard supported Hawley's ministry, Hawley was a supporter of Harvard. He contributed both books and "philosophical apparatus" to the school after the burning of Old Harvard, as well as buying Harvard lottery tickets. 19

However, Hawley's real missionary interest at this time was the Iroquois, and in September 1761 the Commissioners of the New England Company and the Harvard Corporation voted him money for another visit. The Commissioners voted £60 and the Harvard Corporation £20 from the William's fund to await him in credit at Albany. However, during Hawley's absence, the Mashpee congregation started to fall apart. On returning, Hawley feared that if he did not remain with the Mashpees, the growing political unrest in the 1760s among the English would lead to the break-up of the congregation and so he turned the Iroquois part of his mission over to Ebenezer Moseley. 20

Thereafter, Hawley remained with the Mashpees. Until 1775, Hawley's ministry to the Mashpees was a joint endeavor with the Reverend Solomon Briant. Briant was more accepting
of the Mashpees' native customs and often prayed with his flock in Algonquian. Hawley, on the other hand, attempted to anglicize the Mashpees and conducted church services in English. Hawley believed that Briant was too lax in admitting members to the congregation and not firm enough in moral instruction. According to Hawley "A people similar to these Indians, must have line upon line, and precept upon precept, and be taught in season and out of season, in the house and by the way." 21

If Hawley was autocratic, he was also a strong, paternal advocate for the Mashpee community. He fought for the rights of his flock against the encroachments of the white community. Hawley resisted attempts by the surrounding English to get hold of Indian land by lifting the English restrictions on Indian land sales. After a review of the English reservation system in 1763, the Mashpee reservation was incorporated as a district, "a town in all but the right to send Representatives to the General Court." Hawley had bitter words to describe the English government's actions respecting the Indians. The laws meant to support the rights of Indians were used instead to take away their rights. Hawley explained that "to my certain knowledge, these salutary laws have often been used as the means of oppression and greater injustice than could well have been committed had there been no such laws for their defence." Hawley also objected to the fining of Indians for small infractions because they had no means of paying the fines except by selling their cattle or indenturing their
children. Instead he urged that physical punishments be substituted. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Hawley believed that the Indians would benefit more from a practical education in agriculture than a theoretical one in the classics.  

During the American Revolution, Hawley became embroiled unwittingly in some of its controversies. Hawley probably had Tory sympathies; he was a friend of the royal governor, Thomas Hutchinson and he continued discreetly to write to him in exile. He also assisted with an appeal for a Tory friend who was in jail. Although Hawley was not an active Loyalist himself, he feared the tyranny of the majority in a democracy. However, because the war had brought Hawley financial problems, after the Revolution he became a strong advocate of federal union. Also after the war he fought to have the Mashpee district returned to reservation status and supervised by dedicated, if autocratic, overseers. Hawley spent much of the rest of his life resisting the encroachments of white and black neighbors intent on taking Indian land. However in the 1770s, the major blow for Hawley, as well as for Stephen Badger, Harvard's other missionary, was the loss of the English funds supporting their ministries.
Notes for Chapter 3


5. Harvard College, Corporation Records II, I.5.15, Harvard Archives, 155; Beginning in 1770, the Harvard Corporation voted £50 per year from the Williams trust to support the missionary activities of the Reverend John Kirkland. The New England Society also voted £50 and £10 was awarded Kirkland’s Indian assistant, Thomas. Because these sums were larger than the actual income for the fund, "the remainder be allowed and paid out of the monies which have been received into the College Treasury by the former remittances and have not been expended in the Indian service." Harvard College, Corporation Records II, 355.


17. Axtell, *The Invasion Within*, 203; Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 12:393-6. This award appears in Shipton's biography of Hawley but does not appear in the account of the Williams fund in the Harvard Archives. However, the account for the Williams fund in the Harvard Archives is less complete than that for the Boyle fund.


The outbreak of the American revolution disrupted not only the life of the missionaries but also the flow of money from England to America. The last Boyle trust payment from the New England Company arrived in November 1774. In 1775 the American Commissioners of the New England Company stopped meeting because of the "Present disturb'd Scituation of Affairs in America" and authorized the treasurer to continue to make payments on his own authority. In 1776 Gideon Hawley wrote Professor Wigglesworth that "My salary was sufficient and I lived upon it in an easy and hospitable manner and now to have it cut off at once is a singular trial." By October 1776 Hawley was two quarters in arrears and the Harvard Corporation awarded him £15 from the surplus that existed in the Boyle fund. No further allowances are recorded in the minutes of the Harvard trustees in the 1770s.1

Some relief came to Hawley in the middle of the war; in 1778 he married a rich widow whose income helped him to continue his mission work. In April 1779 the New England Company in London resolved that it would also stop payments to the Commissioners in America "until the State of Affairs in America shall admitt of the Meeting of the Company's Commissioners there." Gideon Hawley had usually drawn up drafts on his allowances from the New England Company, and by
1781 the drafts had started to bounce. The company did pay some of the drafts in 1783.²

By 1783, three of the American commissioners were dead and two had stopped attending meetings. In London, the Company sought advice on the legality of continuing payments to missionaries in the now independent states in America. Because the charter of the New England Company authorized its activities only within the British Empire, and the Commissioners in America were no longer subjects of the British king and therefore not subject to British control, the company decided to stop payments to America. In 1786 the company resolved to discontinue operations in the United States and move its activities to New Brunswick. A number of the American missionaries, including Gideon Hawley and John Sergeant, petitioned the Company to resume payments; in May 1786 Hawley received £200 and Sergeant £450, but they were told to expect no further money. Zachariah Mayhew, son of Experience Mayhew, was granted the farm owned by the New England Company on Gay Head Neck but received no cash.³

The last contact the New England Company had with its American missionaries was with Stephen Badger, who sued the company for his salary. The case reached the Massachusetts Supreme Court in 1796 but the action was terminated the next year for being a "non-suit". It was impossible for the American courts to force the New England Company to pay the American missionaries. Although the New England Company's operations in the United States were at an end, the Company
continued as a missionary society and by the end of the century it had moved it operations north to Canada.4

During the dispute with the New England Company, Harvard tried to provide for its missionaries. In 1782 Stephen Badger was awarded £100 from the surplus of the Boyle trust, and the next year both Badger and Hawley were presented with negotiable certificates for the salaries due them from the Boyle trust from 1775 to 1782 with the agreement that when their salaries were recovered the college would be paid back. Unfortunately the college never received further payment from the New England Company. In 1785 the college provided Hawley and Badger with another year's salary "as they are now in immediate want of the sums due to them, and there is a prospect of the ballance due on said legacy being soon paid." The large surplus in the William's fund helped to provide for the now patronless missionaries. The following year, Badger and Hawley were granted regular salaries from the surplus of the Williams fund. In 1787 John Sergeant petitioned the college to "take him under their patronage". Action on the petition was postponed pending word from the New England Company on the status of the American missions. Later that year Sergeant was granted £60 from the Williams fund, and in September of 1789 he was granted a regular salary of £33.6.8 from the surplus of the Williams fund.5 Although it petitioned to recover the Boyle fund, the college received word from its London representative in 1798 that Lord Chancellor Thurlow had ruled against the college. After
seventy-five years, the Boyle legacy had come to an end at Harvard College. 6

During the period Harvard had access to the Boyle fund, it was able to act as a provincial leader in the missionary enterprise. In spite of the doctrinal battles of the eighteenth century, the rise of Unitarianism, and the overall breakdown in its denominational character, Harvard was able to remain one of the church's instruments for encouraging the spread of the gospel to the infidel. However, the history of the Boyle fund was one of mixed success. The establishment of the Boyle scholarship fund in the 1720s had created a partnership between the college, the New England Company, and local congregations for the sponsorship of missionary activities with the college taking responsibility for the missionaries' training. However, the opportunities presented by this partnership were not realized. Like many scholarship funds tied to service today, Harvard found that providing scholarship money was not the same as putting missionaries in the field. Death and disinterest took its toll, and eventually only one student out of the five trained became an active missionary.

The program had greater success after 1730 in supporting active missionaries. The college made a long-term commitment to the Natick and Mashpee ministries. Oliver Peabody, Stephen Badger and Gideon Hawley were all active supporters of their Indian congregations. However, in the case of the Natick ministry, death, disease and economic exploitation helped to
undermine the Indian community, and even the goodwill of their ministers could not ultimately preserve the Indian congregation. Hawley's ministry was more successful but was weakened by the Revolutionary War. Furthermore, by the late eighteenth century, the missionary enterprise was moving away from the Harvard environs and into Maine to the east, New York to the west, and Canada to the north. Although Harvard continued to make some grants for missionaries into the nineteenth century, its days as a leader in the missionary enterprise had come to a close.
Notes for Chapter 4


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