"The tawnee family": The life course of Indian value adaptation for Eleazar Wheelock's Indian scholars

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Abstract
This dissertation is a study of value adaptation by the southern New England Indians who attended Moor's Charity School, in Lebanon, Connecticut, between 1743 and 1770. These Indians were part of New Light Minister Eleazar Wheelock's extended household, dubbed by one student, the "tawnee family." This designation distinguished these Indian scholars as surrogate members of the Wheelock family. I analyzed how the Indian students adapted to, resisted and reformed the values taught at Moor's as they grew to adulthood.

I drew my analysis from letters collected in the Eleazar Wheelock Papers housed at Dartmouth College. My arguments are drawn principally from Indian-authored texts preserved in the Wheelock Papers. Wheelock and the students' correspondence allow one to examine lifelong relationships, particularly with respect to the meaning of family. One of my arguments is that family--as an ideological construct, as the defining places of gender roles and as a defender of rights to the broader society--is essential to understanding racial relations at the time. The easily identifiable and the less recognizable families formed under the auspices of Wheelock functioned within one Anglo-American family.

One result of the education Indians received at Moor's was a newly created perception of what constituted appropriate values within those Anglo-American and Indian households that interacted extensively. Some Moor's students became Wheelock's proteges and went on missions to convert the Iroquois to Christianity. They also served as leaders in their own tribes. The correspondence demonstrates that belonging, as a perceived sense of place or comfort whether within a family or faith in colonial southern New England, was a central concern of the correspondents. Importantly, Wheelock and the Indian students debated the conditional and fluid set of circumstances that created an amorphous sense of longing in the Indian students, for community, for a place to belong and for acceptance.

My study concludes that following a lifetime of disillusionment the adult proteges found it necessary to create a new, intentional community in upstate New York. They felt physical removal was necessary to preserving their adapted values, and ultimately finding a place to belong.

Keywords
History, United States, Sociology, Ethnic and Racial Studies, Sociology, Individual and Family Studies

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"THE TAWNEE FAMILY":  
THE LIFE COURSE OF INDIAN VALUE ADAPTATION FOR  
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIAN SCHOLARS  

BY  

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DISSERTATION  

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in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  

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in  

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April 30, 1998
Date
DEDICATION

To my family – thank you.
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ABSTRACT

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FOR ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIAN SCHOLARS

by

Stacy L. S. Hogsett
University of New Hampshire, May, 1998

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I drew my analysis from letters collected in the Eleazar Wheelock Papers housed at Dartmouth College. My arguments are drawn principally from Indian-authored texts preserved in the Wheelock Papers. Wheelock and the students' correspondence allow one to examine lifelong relationships, particularly with respect to the meaning of family. One of my arguments is that family – as an ideological construct, as the defining places of gender
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One result of the education Indians received at Moor's was a newly created perception of what constituted appropriate values within those Anglo-American and Indian households that interacted extensively. Some Moor's students became Wheelock's proteges and went on missions to convert the Iroquois to Christianity. They also served as leaders in their own tribes. The correspondence demonstrates that belonging, as a perceived sense of place or comfort whether within a family or faith in colonial southern New England, was a central concern of the correspondents. Importantly, Wheelock and the Indian students debated the conditional and fluid set of circumstances that created an amorphous sense of longing in the Indian students, for community, for a place to belong and for acceptance.

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INTRODUCTION

The Reverend Doctor Eleazar Wheelock’s tenure as a minister at the Second Congregational Church in Lebanon, Connecticut during the eighteenth century might have passed with little historical notice except for two occurrences. The first was the series of religious revivals in New England commonly known as the Great Awakening, in which Wheelock participated zealously. As a New Light, Wheelock thought it important to preach throughout New England and gather converts. He also took part in some of this period’s most radical experiments in ministerial training. The second occurrence resulted from the first. In 1743, Sarah Occom, a Christian Mohegan mother, came to the Wheelock home and asked Eleazar to take in

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her son, Samson, to train him for the ministry.²

Samson Occom, along with many southern New England Indians in the 1740's, was converted to Christianity during a series of Connecticut Valley religious revivals. Occom taught himself to read, but he needed the help of a minister to become one. In assuming responsibility for Samson's ministerial education, Wheelock was following the English tradition of ministers preparing youth for college, so they too could in turn become ministers. Wheelock had for years taken in white boarders for just this purpose. Occom's tutoring, however, proved significant. This tutoring signaled for both men the beginning of a lifelong commitment to the cause of Christian Indian education, and training Indians for the ministry. Occom became the first published Indian in New England and gained an intercontinental reputation for preaching. By 1743 Wheelock had founded a

school for Indians that nearly one hundred Indians would attend by 1779.\(^3\)

In 1769 Wheelock would leave his Lebanon, Connecticut, congregation to establish Dartmouth College, whose charter promised the further education of Indian youth, in New Hampshire.\(^4\) Wheelock and his Indian students necessarily had an unusual relationship for the time, as there were few whites who sought to educate Indians, much less in their own homes and relatively few instances of Indians choosing to accept.

By the mid-eighteenth century many Indians from southern New

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\(^3\) Figuring out the number of students Wheelock had is difficult because he did not always record when an Indian became a student, there are students referred to in letters that do not appear in school records, etc. James Dow McCallum, *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indian* (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), Appendix A, reports that between 1754 and 1779 eighty-nine students attended Moor's. James Axtell, in *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 207, reports enrollment of ninety students but finds three more female students than McCallum. McCallum's *Letters* is an invaluable compilation of almost all known letters written by or concerning the Indian students who attended Moor's and Dartmouth during Wheelock's lifetime. I have cited McCallum's *Letters* throughout this dissertation as the source for transcribed letters. I include the letter's author and date of composition to aid in locating the document in the Wheelock Papers, a collection more fully described in footnote 13. Moor's operated under the direction of Wheelock for nearly thirty years. Wheelock continued his plans to Christianize and educate Indians by founding Dartmouth College in 1769, although Moor's remained open after his family's departure. Because the mission of both schools was ostensibly the same, it is sometimes difficult to determine to which school he is referring. My analysis centers on the Moor's campus, the Wheelock household in Lebanon, and the public relations done on its behalf. Sometimes I have brought in examples from the early Dartmouth experience to illustrate a broad point about Anglo-American expectations of Indian students that applied equally to either campus.

\(^4\) I have chosen to use the term Indians to generally describe the native peoples living in New England during the eighteenth century. I have used the term Indians because this is how they referred to themselves in these sources. Whenever possible, I refer to a particular student's tribe. There is no clearly correct way to refer to the indigenous peoples of North America. Any nomenclature is problematic for the modern historian because they are European inventions.
England tribes were servants in Anglo-American households such as the Wheelock's. Indian servants sometimes lived with their families in small dwellings on their master's land; their children old enough to serve, worked the land or as domestic help. Single adolescent southern New England Indians also served as apprentices learning a trade in Anglo-American households. Yet some historians have contended that much of what has been described as servitude was actually slavery.5

The difference between slave labor and apprenticed Indian labor within an Anglo-American colonial home was often indistinct. The terms of servitude were vague and lengthy, often approximating slavery. Indian children's service, for example, could be for sale between white masters. The vagaries of social roles Indians held in Anglo-American households, and by extension in eighteenth-century Anglo-American society, are puzzling circumstances for historians to consider.

Historian John Sainsbury has argued that by the mid-eighteenth century nearly all of some southern New England Indian tribal members lived as servants within Anglo-American homes. To understand the social history

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of Indians who despite living within Anglo-American homes nevertheless continued to have a distinct cultural, religious, ethnic, and racial identity, we must come to understand how their social roles were being redefined in the colonial era. One object of this study is to understand how living and working in subjection to Wheelock influenced these students' perceptions of self and the values they would come to hold as adults.

The racial diversity of colonial New England was not numerically profound, but the psychological and intellectual presence of racial differences was. The hatred and suspicion exacerbated by cultural and racial difference

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were, by extremely conservative measure, at least a century old tradition by
the beginning of the eighteenth century. There are considerably more
studies about how Anglo-American colonists viewed Native Americans than
there are about how their Indian neighbors and servants or African-
American slaves, viewed Anglo-Americans. Consequently, we know a great
deal more about Anglo-American categories of analysis than we do about
other groups living in eighteenth-century colonial New England.

Historians have written little about Indian perceptions of race or
place in eighteenth-century New England. In her 1997 article, "How Indians
Got to Be Red," historian Nancy Shoemaker plainly labeled the study of race
in early America as a process of categorization, ostensibly related to
biological differences, created by Europeans. However, Shoemaker argues
that Indians as well as Europeans engaged in the process of drawing
distinctions between peoples based on race. She writes that "Indians and


\[8\text{ See footnote 27.}\]
Europeans were engaged in the same mental processes. They experimented with notions of biological difference in an attempt to develop methods for discerning individual allegiances.\(^9\) While her study is of southeastern Indian groups, my research supports her conclusions. As investigations of colonial notions of racial identity reflect more of the diversity of the population in New England, more nuances remain to uncover. This will be especially true as historians move toward reconstructing the distinctions between Indian groups, recognizing efforts to blend into or exist apart from Anglo-American society. Recent scholarship suggests that particularly as the eighteenth century wore on, native peoples discriminated against mulattoes, and African-Americans - preserving the "purity" of their lineage and reserving economic resources for their own people. The Mohegans, for example, made it a crime in 1763 to marry outside the tribe. This action came from a desire to give the best economic opportunities to those people most racially like themselves.\(^10\)

Wheelock depended upon Indian service besides slave labor and other

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hired white household help to create opportunities for Indian students to be educated in a classical tradition. The Indian students defrayed the cost of their education by working on school property, or in nearby homes. Wheelock broadly defined an education to include doing chores, mending clothes, making clothes, blacksmithing, tending fields and other work done within colonial families. Wheelock's expectations of the roles these Indians would assume within his household were not articulated in writing. Although servitude was considered an important part of these students' educations by white educators, but as we will see, these students' parents thought that their children needed no more "education" in Anglo-American household service. Disputes arising from differences in opinions about what roles Indian "students" should take within this amalgamated household, help historians to define issues concerning value adaptation for southern New England Indians.

By 1754 Wheelock and Occom's individual experiment in Indian education had become Moor's Charity School with a small campus located adjacent to the Wheelock's home. Run by Wheelock with the help of tutors and his household help, the school remained under his personal direction. At Moor's, the Indian students began their educations as early as age three or in one instance, as late as age forty-four. Many students were formally enrolled
at Moor's for years at a time, in essence being raised as children within the Wheelock household. Some students came only for a few months. Many of those who stayed just a few months, were adult students training for the ministry, unwilling to abandon their responsibilities at home for an extended time. Some students are barely identifiable at all, being withdrawn by their parents before they arrived at Moor's, or ran away shortly after arrival. Others were simply thrown out, or "rusticated." It would be nearly impossible to identify some of the students from the school records if they had not left confessions of misdeeds as permanent records at the school. Historian James Axtell has been particularly critical of Wheelock's ability to keep Indians as students and the most thorough in assessing "sustainable conversion rates." Axtell calculates that Eleazar Wheelock had a conversion rate that optimistically approached only thirty percent in "the short run." This conclusion leads him to dismiss English missions "as two centuries of Indian schooling with a sad scenario of failure."

The most important fluctuation in enrollment for this study was due to a population of Wheelock's charges who left the school and yet remained in contact with him, sometimes returning to Moor's. Some of these students enrolled first as children, left as adolescents to go on missions, returned later

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11 See particularly, Axtell, Invasion Within, 207, 216; emphasis is Axtell's.
to teach the younger Moor's students, or waited at the Wheelock's to assume studies at college.

Indian children came to Moor's first as Wheelock's charges, grew to young adulthood as his students, and as adults worked to further what became labeled by Wheelock and his followers as "the cause" and "the design." The cause was to Christianize Indians. The design was to raise Indian children as English children to take on the cause by becoming ministers, missionaries and teachers. Enduring relationships stemming from their efforts are preserved in letters and trace a life course of value adaptation. Letters from the tenacious adult proteges of Wheelock demonstrate a lifelong commitment to defining, examining and adapting the secular and religious morals taught to them by Wheelock. This dissertation is principally a study of value adaptation by the Indians who were part of the extended Eleazar Wheelock household in eighteenth-century Lebanon, Connecticut.

I have focused my analysis on the experiences of those students who corresponded with Wheelock over a period of at least ten years. As adults Wheelock counseled these select proteges well into their middle age, as the proteges became missionaries, teachers and ministers. This designation of protege for some students is mine alone. Wheelock tended to refer to all of
his students as students, long after they had left Moor's. He considered any Indian youth who had agreed to come to Moor's as a lifelong charge, a personal responsibility and to consider their behavior as a reflection upon him.

I use "protege" in this dissertation to differentiate those adult students whose adult work was related to "the cause" and who continued their correspondence with Wheelock from the "students" who attended Moor's but did not make "the cause" their lives too. Sometimes years after Wheelock had ceased to provide or help secure any financial support, after the "students" had families and schools of their own, they deferentially called themselves his pupils. Included in this category of protege are students: Hezekiah Calvin, Amy Johnson, Joseph Johnson, Samson Occom, David Fowler and Jacob Fowler, and Mary Sequetass. Wheelock featured the male proteges in his writing as key figures in the cause. Important in a different way were his loyal female students, charged by Wheelock to become the helpmates of these men. They too were proteges, and their writing often informs my argument.

While these students were the most prolific letter writers, nearly all of the existing letters or partial letters left by Indian students, address similar themes. I have drawn my analysis, principally from the eighty-eight
Indian authored letters preserved in the Wheelock Papers collection. This dissertation is arranged chronologically to highlight the ways students' relationship with Wheelock changed over time. My analysis begins in the 1740's, in the youth of the first generation of Moor's students. It assesses their response to important crises related to their coming of age, follows them as they become young adult missionaries and adults working for the cause. The dissertation ends with the protege-led exodus of southern New England Indians to upstate New York in the early 1770's.

Thus by terming this dissertation a study in the "life course of value adaptation," I mean to show how these specific Indians adapted to Wheelock's values and by extension to colonization, and how that response changed over time. It is my contention that the manner by which Indians responded to cultural conflict was dependent on their age and life's experience. Following these select students from childhood through adulthood, enables one to more fully understand their choices as individuals. Neither purely "Indians" nor "Englishmen," the Indian students make choices best understood by modern readers when the students' lifelong relationships are examined. This dissertation is organized to show this continuum.

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I have meant to include all letters written by Indian authors in my analysis. Because nearly all of the Indian students from southern New England who corresponded with Wheelock had English first and last names, it is possible that some correspondence by an Indian author was overlooked.
Moor's also accepted Anglo-American male students willing to become ministers who also agreed to serve as ministers and teachers in Indian missions. One of Wheelock's Anglo-American graduates, who co-authored Wheelock's memoirs, referred to the student body of Moor's and Wheelock's family as the "tawnee family." David McClure meant by this expression that the Indian students were a part of a dualistic family. There was Wheelock's own family, created from both of his marriages. The Wheelock family was like many Anglo-American families in composition: father, mother, children, servants, African-American slaves and all other relatives. The notion of family dovetailed with the notion of household extending the protection and incurring the sanctions of family governance to the larger world of anyone in a familial head's care. Wheelock's family included students in this definition as they did other unrelated family members such as apprentices, servants and slaves.

Arguably, Wheelock's "tawnee family" is an additional familial grouping that fit within the hierarchy of a typical Anglo-American family. His tawnee family included all of the Indian students, recognizing them as his charges. In one sense the tawnee family was a religious and rhetorical way for the Anglo-Americans in charge of educating these Indian students to think about the social positions the Indian students should have in the greater
Wheelock household. The students would learn to act as "his children" and he would act as "a kind father." The "tawnee family" moniker was therefore meant to be prescriptive – setting the behavioral standards to which the children should adhere – with the aspiration they would become like English children. Having joined this prescriptive family, the Indian students would learn and accept the roles, or their parts as Wheelock described them, both in their mutual public cause to convert Indians and in their private lives.

In service to the Lord as missionaries and eventual educators of native peoples, the tawny family is also a useful way of understanding the familial roles available in the southern New England eighteenth-century missionary movement to convert Indians. These Indians were members of Wheelock's family, but they were also members of the family of God, with its equally well defined roles. Moor's trained Indian scholars to become Christian religious leaders. Yet the rhetorical roles ascribed them by Wheelock was most often servile, according to common contemporary religious forms of salutation. Wheelock extended the familial model for his mission to name Anglo-American women involved in the cause either as donors or teachers, as "mothers" to the cause. Wheelock was this family's father, and his male peers who took up his cause were his brothers. These forms of address were part of the Christian tradition of understanding religious hierarchy in
familial terms. When Indian students called themselves "humble servants" as Wheelock did when he addressed his superiors in this movement, original personal expression was not intended. Formal expressions of Christian familial roles in the mission to convert and then educate Indians predominate in the Indians' correspondence with Wheelock.

Yet I will argue that the Indian students and Wheelock stretched these salutations to incorporate how they had come to function as a fictive family. Samson Occom and other Indian students provided the analogies and descriptions. In creating a fictive tawny family, the Indian students sometimes sought the benefits of being included as extended family members as in, "Your Indian son," or "your humble servant." The Indian students referred to themselves in ways that highlight their fearful uncertainty of the developing racial hierarchy of the time. Comparing their treatment to slavery was a literary device sometimes used to point out their unfair treatment as servants of the Lord and Wheelock. "Your good for nothing black Indian," one student closed his letter. Another wrote he had been treated as "your slave."13 Their letters accent the familial dimensions of the relationship between Indian students and masters. Evident in their correspondence and their public addresses, was the thought that familial

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13 These designations and where they occurred in print are discussed in chapter four.
designations were not limited to rhetorical expressions of the hierarchical arrangement of a religious movement.

Between 1743 and 1769, Moor's Indian students came from at least thirty-six different families. Some of these families – the Occoms, the Fowlers, and the Simons – left a rich and diverse documentary history of their Moor's education and family life with the Wheelocks. Their papers are in a collection, somewhat misguidedly named "The Wheelock Papers" housed at Dartmouth College. Included in this collection, for example, are Occom's diaries, dozens of letters and his important ethnographic account of Mohegan life. Southern New England Indian women's letters are also an important part of the collection. There is writing left by thirty Indian students or their parents in the Wheelock Papers. Their writing, particularly

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14 "The Wheelock Papers" is a collection gathered by Dartmouth College of all known documents that relate to Eleazar Wheelock's role in the founding of Dartmouth College. The collection contains thousands of letters written to and from Wheelock and diaries, account books, maps, town meeting notes, genealogical information and other information. Many letters from Indian students were preserved simply because they attended Moor's Charity School, but the content is not necessarily related to Dartmouth College. As such, "The Wheelock Papers," is a narrow title for a broad collection. The collection encompasses the years 1728-1779 and is available on microfilm. I have abbreviated references to letters within "The Wheelock Papers" as WP, followed by the reference number assigned each letter. There are many other documents that do not carry a specific reference number; I have cited those as WP and have provided the microfilm reel number or title of the document. A full explanation of the reference number assigned each document is given in A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Papers of Eleazar Wheelock: The Early Archives of Dartmouth College &c. (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1971). Generally each letter is identified by the date it was written using a code for each month. An abbreviated year is given first, followed by the month code and the date, so a letter written 23 March 1761 becomes 761223: 761 for 1761, 200 for the month of March, and 23 for the date. Where possible I have cited letters giving both the WP code and a longer description to help clarify authorship and chronology.
the eighty-eight letters authored by Indian scholars other than Samson Occom, frames my argument and is the principal source for my dissertation. While Occom has not received all of the scholarly treatment that his historical importance deserves, the many other considerably less well-known Indian students have received even less. I elected to focus primarily on their experiences to elicit a broader spectrum of Indian views concerning Anglo-American values than we have often seen.

These other letters are particularly rare sources of colonial Indian history, clearly expressing Indian perspectives, in response to but without, the filters of interpreters, missionaries, or ministers. The guarded nature of many of these letters makes these difficult sources to interpret definitively, but they do reveal the careful mechanisms by which cultural interaction took place.

The Wheelock Papers and the Narrative series Wheelock wrote about his cause are extremely important, voluminous and nearly unique sources. There are thousands of letters written to and from Wheelock by hundreds of correspondents preserved in the Wheelock Papers. The Wheelock Papers also include account books, town meeting notes, genealogical information, receipts and poetry. Wheelock's "yearly" Narrative, published nine times between 1763 and 1779 supplements this voluminous collection. The
*Narratives* indeed provide a narrative of progress and include printed collections of all material Wheelock thought pertinent to those who might donate money to "the cause." Comprised of fund raising tracts, testimonials, accounts and anecdotes that Wheelock thought explained "the remarkable progress" of Moor's and Dartmouth, the *Narratives* offer yet another perspective on the education of Indian youth.

We are fortunate that the students wrote to Wheelock about their internal struggles. Their letters yield information about New England Indian life that is otherwise available only in scattered documents, lacking the continuity and personal expression that the Wheelock letters and other writing contain. There are other records authored by or including southern New England Indians such as court documents, but the Wheelock Papers are importantly different because they chronicle decades' long relationships between the same Indian families and Anglo-American colonists. Because Wheelock saved correspondence from everyone, it is often possible to view events from many perspectives. A story may unfold in the letters of two adolescent Indian suitors, their parents, Wheelock, and friends of the Indian students. This correspondence is also revelatory because it gives us evidence of eighteenth-century colonial Indian culture well beyond the confines of two small campuses. The diversity of Indian authors, all influenced by the same
master makes the Wheelock Papers especially valuable in evaluating questions of how southern New England Indians interpreted the values being conveyed to them.

My sources eventually dictated my methods. By this I mean that I began this project by reading widely from Wheelock's correspondence, hoping to identify quantitatively broad patterns of the means by which Indians gained social acceptability. I sought answers to a variety of questions. Was there a hierarchy of characteristics that a convert must adopt for conversion to be complete? How much was the fluidity of racial identity influenced by familial relationships? To learn the answers I gathered data from individual letters, for example, on race, sex, forms of salutation, closure and subject matter. I took complete samples from three hundred eighty-four letters related to Indian education. This data proved useful when comparing the similarities and differences between Indian students' and English master's authored letter forms. I noted information from many more letters and documents that helped to shore up my conclusions and broadened my understanding of the letters contents that I did completely sample.

I eventually decided that my collection of quantitative material missed the strengths of these documents, that is, detail and interrelatedness. In
acknowledgment of those strengths I began to focus on close qualitative analysis, especially in respect to the letters composed by Indians. I have not entirely abandoned my quantitative approach, but I have tried to let my close reading of the material allow stories to unfold and analyses come from an awareness of many perspectives on the same dilemmas.

An example of one such dilemma was the place female students were to have in the cause. The Indian students recognized the significance of altering their traditional gender roles to become more like Anglo-Americans and used their knowledge of how Anglo-American women and men were supposed to behave to further their own goals. Issues of identity and the ability to belong were clearly affected by issues related to gender. The Wheelock Papers is a particularly useful collection for studying attitudes toward gender role adaptation as part of a questioning of values at Moor's because the correspondence is both prescriptive and responsive. Scholars have used the Wheelock Papers profitably, but this will be the first study to use them to show how Indians in eighteenth-century New England recreated an Indian identity for themselves based on their familial ties. My dissertation's more general significance is as the first full scholarly treatment of the cultural and religious values coming to be held in these same New England Indian families.
In 1993, historian Daniel Richter called for historians to integrate the study of Indians along new "plot lines" as part of understanding American history, rather than forever treating Indian history as a series of inconsequential cameo appearances. Richter urged historians to stress "not the barriers that divided Indian and European Americans in the colonial period, but the cultural forms that evolved to foster communication between them." My research began in response to this challenge, as I thought about the potential for analyzing family life in this era as one such important cultural form.

Initially the question I posed was: could we learn about colonial southern New England family history if we studied it in the context of English missionary conversion efforts? This question has an important, if unorthodox historiographical perspective. Colonial historians have not typically studied Indians from this area and in this period in familial historical terms. Stemming from a question of how to classify confidently Indian kinship groups, Indian family history could at first blush be thought of as an unrealistic approach to Indian social history. Southern New England Indians lived as bands, formed from families that lived cooperatively for

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much of the colonial period. Their social organization makes the notion of Indian family history somewhat of a methodological oxymoron. Yet the southern New England Indians in this study repeatedly refer to their families in terms commonly used by their white counterparts. The distinction in their writing is subtle and in daily life may have suggested little difference in the way they lived as compared to their recent ancestors.

The Indian students who came from southern New England Indian families to attend Moor's most frequently referred to their families in terms very similar to their Anglo-American counterparts. Family loyalty, the roles of husband and wife, the roles a servant or slave should have in a family, and the ability to care for one's own nuclear family's needs, are all themes addressed in their writing. Some decisions continued to be made by tribal consensus and with strong reference to band factions well into the eighteenth century. However, an investigation about southern New England Indians and their participation in colonization requires evaluating the changing ways in which southern New England Indians functioned socially. These groups underwent important changes related to family organization and role adaptation. Assessing the familial dimensions of Indian social and intellectual history during the eighteenth century is an intriguing place to begin a study of these social changes.
Another important social shift was underway also in terms of the meaning of community among Indians in southern New England during the eighteenth century. There is a growing consensus among historians that there are continuously identifiable Indian settlements, or communities, in the region despite disease and warfare. I take from the work of scholars such as Colin Calloway and Daniel Mandell that this existence was predicated on an ability to adapt and change some characteristics of Indian life and to persevere in retaining others.\textsuperscript{16} There is also significant scholarship showing that a primary way "Indian" as an identity flourished was by establishing networks between previously distinct groups. The Indians who attended Wheelock's schools shared common academic interests that fueled a sense of "Indian" community. My use of the word community and exploration of its meaning to these students is deeply related then to the role of shared religious and secular values that created a sense of belonging or connection among people. The role of intellectual fellowship among the students was a signal feature of an important intellectual and religious

community created from shared values and with a renewed sense of Indian identity.

Moor's was a physical community as well as an intellectual and spiritual one where Indian students, Anglo-American students, their instructors, house mother, Wheelock, other teachers, Wheelock's family, servants and slaves all lived, worked and worshiped together. It was a community that was in part formed by a desire to be physically close, to learn together. For Wheelock an important part of the students' education was isolation from other Indians. In learning dependence upon one another they created a boarding school community, and a fictive family as well.

The Indian students, most notably Wheelock's proteges, maintained and reinforced their familial connections in a sense by crafting their own extended "tawnee family." This family, or intentional community, was a group of families headed by men who as children or young adults were educated by Wheelock. Some became related by marriage as when Samson Occom married Joseph Johnson's sister. Through a lifetime of adaptation, fervent commitment to Christianity, and continuous frustration with their treatment as people, these proteges realized they would have to separate from Anglo-American influence. These intellectuals and Christian ministers fostered a shared sense of Indian identity based upon two principles -
educational elitism and evangelism.

Forging a sense of Indian identity based upon their own ideas of the values an "Indian community" should hold, I contend, these spiritual leaders judged acceptability within their Christian Indian community by the following seven criteria:

1. receipt of an Anglo-American religious education,
2. literacy - the ability to read, write and communicate through writing,
3. church attendance,
4. demonstrated suspicion of "Indian principles,"
5. living as nuclear families,
6. acceptance of Anglo-American gender roles, and
7. physical removal from Anglo-American society.

They learned or had reinforced the first six values while growing to adulthood under the direction of Wheelock. When they left Moor's they found years of defeat as they worked to find ways to earn livelihoods as ministers, missionaries and teachers. These men came to the conclusion that only the seventh criteria, physical removal, would ensure their ability to live as they wished and considered religiously acceptable. Much of my dissertation presents an effort to understand how these leaders came to think the following criteria were important.

My dissertation broadly described then is a study of values imparted and the foundation for new forms of intentional community within southern
New England Indian groups. Much of my analysis is devoted to articulating and exploring the importance of the above values to both educators and students alike. It is meant to help us consider the complexities of identifying "Indianness" and what it was like to be an Indian in eighteenth-century Anglo-American dominated southern New England. It is a study that blends the historical methods of ethnohistory, women's and family history to better understand the family as an institution of colonization in eighteenth-century southern New England.

Approaching the Wheelock Papers with this perspective creates an opportunity to study cultural adaptation within a familial context. By this I mean that when Wheelock, or students David Fowler and Samson Occom, placed Indian converts in familial roles, they dictated social roles. Knowing one's place in society, then, was in part decided not just by race or ethnicity, but by the proclivities of the people naming the familial roles one can have in a society. Family historians have examined a variety of aspects concerning seventeenth and eighteenth-century Anglo-American New England families: the demographic composition of families, inheritance laws, child rearing methods, and role definitions.17 Virtually no scholarly work has

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been done on the family as the principle social institution for the colonization of native peoples, and an institution that could foster its resistance.\textsuperscript{18} One of my arguments is that family – as an ideological construct, as the focus of daily life, as the purveyor of values, as the defining place of gender roles and as a defender of rights to the broader society – is essential to understanding racial relations at the time. It is a time ripe for an analysis of how southern New England Indians functioned within, what they learned from and rejected about Anglo-American family life, in colonial New England.

The easily identifiable and the less recognizable families formed

\textsuperscript{18} Some historians have studied various tribes\textapos; social histories during the colonial era, including Mandell, \textit{Behind the Frontier}; Robert S. Grumet, ed., \textit{Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632-1816} (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996); and James H. Merrell, \textit{The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal} (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
under the auspices of Wheelock's missions provide excellent fodder for considering this subject. Throughout this dissertation I have used words that carried specific connotations in eighteenth-century New England – words such as servant, family and parents. Some terms used currently in the historical literature about groups of people are controversial, and might also cause the reader some difficulty if not adequately described. These terms include tribe, band, and Indian. Also, I have grouped the people in this study according to their religious beliefs and family values in ways they might not have identified themselves.

My intent in using the word "family" is to capture the broadly descriptive meaning appropriate to eighteenth-century New England. An Anglo-American family model typically encompassed everyone subject to the same head-of-household. Servants, slaves, children and wife all belonged to the same family. A widow could also be a head-of-household until she remarried. The Indian students were subject to Wheelock, and therefore, members of his family, although they may not always have provided service to the family. Wheelock's "tawnee family" continued to be family after the students left school and as long as they were under his patronage.

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Consequently, Occom could be Wheelock's son because they shared in a mission to Christianize Indians. Indian families from southern New England included in this study lived as nuclear families. The husband was the head-of-household, although none of these families were wealthy enough to hire servants, nor did any of the Indian families studied own slaves.

An enduring theme of New England family history is that families were steadying, a conservative institution that served to preserve societal order. New England families are reconstituted as cohesive, paternally-directed families. As John Demos so forcefully argued, families were "little commonwealths" that mimicked the goals and structures of English government. In Wheelock's tawny family, we find that true as well. However, the existence, persistence and singularity of the Anglo-American family detract from a full understanding of New England family history.

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21 It is important to assess New England family life in this region with the same careful consideration of mutual influence that Mechal Sobel has fruitfully explored. In Wheelock's tawny family, for example, the Indian students influenced how and whether Moor's could operate, and how work got done. With persistence, it may be possible to fully recognize those aspects of New English culture and social forms that formed from a multicultural colonial society. See Mechal Sobel, *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in*
An important ramification of cultural, racial and religious interaction was a newly created perception of what acceptable and appropriate values were within those Anglo-American and Indian households that had extensive social interaction. This correspondence affirms the conclusion that belonging, as a perceived sense of place or comfort whether within a family or faith in colonial southern New England, was a central concern of the correspondents. Importantly, Wheelock and the Indian students debated the conditional and fluid set of circumstances that created an amorphous sense of longing in the Indian students, for community, for a place to belong and for acceptance.

A small school for Indians, one patriarch, perhaps several dozen correspondents; this study of Wheelock and southern New England Indian scholars who adopted or adapted values from within an Anglo-American family could appear appealingly manageable in its dimensions. However, there are several circumstances that complicate our understanding of even this small group of Indians and this school, which rarely educated more than

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*Sobel argues that views of the natural world were particularly rife for seeing mutual influence, "In this area of perceptions and values the possibility of confluence and melding was strong." 78. Sobel's earlier book, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), details important ways in which slaves recreated a world view which incorporated both African and Anglo-American beliefs. The blending described by Sobel is analogous to many changes occurring to the north in Indian religious expression. See, in particular, the introduction and 227-247.*
a handful of pupils at a time. There remains correspondence from students, because they were often away from the campus - on missions, visiting home, or having started their own ministerial careers and families. This means that Indians from as many as fifteen different tribes writing from at least ten locations, corresponded regularly with Wheelock. Add to this confusion that classes were held in several locations, mission students ran their own mission schools, and then Wheelock founded Dartmouth College in 1769. This tawny family was often far flung and together only in writing.

The diversity of the Indian student population also makes it difficult to generalize about their Moor's tenure. School records are surprisingly scant and sometimes refer only to students by their first names or only in passing in a letter. Some students arrived and simply "went away soon after" without even their names being recorded. The Iroquois students who were the focus of Wheelock's recruiting efforts in the 1760's left virtually no personal writing and came from cultural groups that shared little with the southern New England groups. The first generation of southern New England students, however, was by then missionaries, whose mission it was to recruit these Iroquois students. To mitigate these complexities and construct a coherent narrative, I have, as I have mentioned, elected to concentrate on

22 WP, "Moors Charity School List of Pupils."
the experience of the students who came from southern New England.

I have approached Wheelock's missionary schools with an understanding that Christian, Anglo-American educated New England Indians were undergoing their own cultural evolution. These Indians' responses to colonization were an internal response to cultural shock within the historical context of all the changes that had taken place within their tribes. I use the word evolution cautiously. Too often it is misunderstood as meaning progress and I do not intend that here. Instead, I mean that through selective adaptation of various cultural attributes, some New England Indian groups crafted a new culture that bore a strong resemblance to Anglo-American New England colonial culture but was distinct and to them identifiable Indian.

Pioneered by scholars such as Francis Jennings and James Axtell, colonial Indian scholarship of the last twenty years was meant to be corrective. Axtell, for example, argued in 1980 that white women captives from New England stayed with their captors and forsook Anglo-American life, because Indians provided a better life for women than whites and their

ways were more egalitarian. This was a novel conclusion at the time and an important one for historians to begin to see the humanity of Indians in colonial history. Historians were not yet ready to see adoption also as an effort to rid whites of their racial identity. Native American adoption practices can also show that Indians in eighteenth-century North America saw personal identity as malleable, but not less important than their Anglo-American counterparts.

Historians Alden Vaughan and Daniel Richter continued the trend to study cultural conversion from the perspective of white captives. They emphasized the categorization of peoples in terms of their cultural alignment with the French, Indians or English. Importantly, they concluded that there was a considerable cultural chasm to cross in taking on a new cultural identity. Richard White's analysis of the Metis and European interaction (people of mixed Canadian Indian or Great Lakes region Indians and French parents) called for a more tempered approach. His notion of


"the middle ground" has become a paradigm used to point to an abundance of instances where Indians and Anglo-Americans were for a time an equal match and their respective societies adapted to each other's presence. My study builds on these earlier efforts to examine cultural allegiance and racial identity.

More recent studies of New England Indians and their response to colonization whether by adaptation or acculturation have focused on particular tribes or the writings of New England's most well-known male Indian authors. Perhaps my study and approach are closest to Jean O'Brien's study of Natick, Massachusetts. In *Dispossession by Degrees*, O'Brien sought to understand "the paradox of Indian Resistance and change under an imposed social order through forms of adaptation that [ ] rendered them

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invisible to Euro-Americans."28 I have drawn from their detailed research, but my questions and source material have led to different questions, especially with respect to gender which is still nearly an unmined field in New England Indian studies.

The dissertation is divided into three parts. The first three chapters define and examine the values that Wheelock and the Christian southern New England parents who sent their children to Wheelock in the 1740's and 1750's. Chapter three begins the shift toward assessing how the proteges worked to show their acceptance of these values.

The second part of this dissertation looks at how the Indian students, particularly the protege's, received these lessons in Christian, Anglo-American values. Sometimes they challenged Wheelock and sometimes they acquiesced. These chapters are meant to detail their responses to important decisions such as whom to marry and when to rebel. Chapter Four "A Sensual Course of Living," for example, deepens our understanding of the maturation process these young Indian students undertook and the strategies available to those Indian students' who were relegated to servants' or slaves' roles. In particular, the female Indian students used what little

there was of their agency often to identify themselves as Wheelock's servants, to receive at least the obligatory care that was expected for servants. Their maneuvering help us to better understand the institutions of childhood, servitude and slavery at the time.29

Part three considers the rejection and reinterpretation of the values learned from Wheelock. Even in their frustration and desertion of Wheelock we can discern patterns of values and acceptance, along with powerful expressions of Indian autonomy. Wheelock's prescriptive identity for Indian converts which was so aligned with Anglo-American expectations of community and familial roles, furthering our understanding of the identity of New England Indians in eighteenth-century New England and the meaning of belonging in their culturally diverse society.

29 Even the distinction between men and women, which was to Europeans a immutable fact, was not always so among Indians. For example, the Yuma "had a tradition of gender designation based on dreams, a female who dreamed of weapons became a male for all practical purposes," Paula Gunn Allen, The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Tradition (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 196-197. See also Richard Trexler's account of gender role ascription through the needs of families. Trexler theorizes that in much the same way the Zuni 'make girls' when the household was short on female labor, Spaniards in Latin America "committed their young, or even unborn, male children to an effeminate or 'female' way of life years before they envisaged entrance into the tribal exchange system." See Sex and Conquest: Gendered Violence, Political Order, and the European Conquest of the Americas (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995), 87, 179-180.
CHAPTER I

THE DESIGN

Some heavenly power soft whispering to my heart,
Inspire my soul and light divine impart;
Teach me to sing how Dartmouth first arose,
In spite of mortal and immortal foes...

Beheld the murdering savage mad with spite,
Reel to the regions of eternal night;
And feeling god-like pity in his breast,
His glorious grace he thus with smiles address'd.

"Go grace triumphant, spread thy gifts abroad;
On savage mortals who despise their God;
From heaven's bright world descend to humble earth
There give an Indian seminary birth,
Where heathen youth from many a distant tribe,
The seeds of truth and science shall imbibe...

A Pupil of Dr. Wheelock, 1771

Eleazar Wheelock's "design" to educate Indians at a small school in the eighteenth-century Connecticut countryside seems to present to historians an irreconcilable paradox of purpose. Historian James Axtell has emphasized those aspects of Wheelock's design that were discriminatory and cruel. He

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has argued that Wheelock had "unhappy relations with his Indian students" and conducted himself with a "racial attitude that placed Indians... on the lowest shelf of humanity."² Axtell has also described Wheelock's approach to Indian education as filled with "beetle-browed piety" and "little more than an elaborate ruse for getting the master's chores done at no expense."³ This characterization is arguably accurate.

Wheelock can be described as a man who favored simple truths, a minister, father, and schoolmaster who embraced the established social order. In his known writing there is no questioning of eighteenth-century racial categorization. He referred to people as white, Negroe, or Indian. To the extent these were racial distinctions as eighteenth-century Europeans understood differences between peoples, Wheelock believed in them. He adhered to the idea that African-Americans and Indians should be in subjection to him, filling their God-given roles of slaves and servants. Wheelock also subscribed to a religious hierarchy that was inseparable from his understanding of social roles. As he preached to his congregation one morning, "Man is filled up with diverse kinds of Creatures, rising one over

² Axtell, Invasion Within, 211.
³ Ibid., 208, 209.
another," by "such a gentle and easy ascent."4

As the paternal leader of his congregation, family and school Wheelock never questioned his moral authority which included his moral responsibility to teach his values. Yet in taking on the education of Indians, training them to become ministers and designing their cultural conversions, he longed also to change the social order. Therefore, Wheelock can also be accurately described as a man who wished, in near futility, to change the simple truths – the social, religious and racial distinctions of his society. Through education Wheelock wanted to display the flexibility of these distinctions, thereby altering the common perception of Indians as base and savage creatures.

His contemporaries viewed Wheelock quite differently from Axtell. In David McClure's account of Wheelock's leadership skills, the obvious markings for Moor's success were embodied in Wheelock. McClure, one of Wheelock's favored English students, compared the Doctor to "the light of the sun," so many sacrifices had he made for "the perishing Indians of North America."5 Even his voice was "that if [sic] the angels."6 Dr. Benjamin

4 WP, Eleazar Wheelock, Box 3 of Sermons.

5 McClure and Parish, Memoirs, 116.

6 Ibid., 120.
Trumbull described him similarly,

He was a gentleman of a comely figure, of a mild and winning aspect; his voice smooth and harmonious. - the best by far that I ever heard. He had the entire command of it... His preaching and addresses were close and pungent, and yet winning beyond almost all compassion.7

These characterizations of Wheelock imbued the character of a man with the cause for which he worked. By personifying a religious movement and the foundation of two schools, historians have necessarily focused on what sort of man Wheelock was to assess what sorts of institutions he created. In this paradigm, Indians were influenced to become "good" by their contact with a good man, or to resist his teachings because he was "bad." Perhaps without the hyperbole of his contemporaries, Wheelock is also adequately described as a man who welcomed change in the social order and devoted his life to uplifting Indians.

This chapter seeks to reconcile this paradox of Wheelock's. The differences in how his "design" and the way it was executed are not just accounted for by changes in historiography. Instead, there is an inherent paradox in his mind - Indians are both worthless savages and intellectual Christian schoolmasters and college educated ministers waiting to be trained. This chapter will examine the expectations that Wheelock crafted

7 Dr. Benjamin Trumbull as quoted by Rev. William Allen in Sprague, Annals, 398.
for his Indian students, to bolster his cause and his understanding of the place of Indians in society. It focuses on public expectations, those expectations which he shared with Anglo-Americans he wished to convince. His intended audience were donors, fellow Christians interested in his cause, and people he hoped would donate money. His defensive writing posture could lead one to conclude also that he was writing to a doubting public at large. In his writing Wheelock often employed the most tried means of raising money by categorizing Indians as heathens in need of complete religious and cultural conversion.

Educating Indians in an Anglo-American school was a public endeavor in eighteenth-century New England meant to change the broader society's perceptions of "Indian" nature and what they could become. At Moor's, for example, students' academic progress or change of habits was publishable news in yearly reports sent to individual donors and congregations throughout New England and England. In 1762, for example, twenty-five Connecticut ministers sent a testimonial letter to a convention of Congregational ministers that outlined their support for Wheelock's "design of spreading the Gospel among the Natives in the wilds of our America." Based on this letter that was eventually read into the records of the Journal of the House in the Province of New Hampshire, the New Hampshire
members concluded that "Aboriginal Natives" were now ready to receive "Christian Instruction." One critical aspect of colonization, of becoming a dominant culture, lay in the ability to shape perceptions about people in subordinate cultures, in this case Native Americans.

Indian conversions were necessarily part promotional. Missionaries wanted the public to believe that they could and did change native people's fundamental beliefs. However, because conversion is not empirical and does not conform to a definable standard it is hard to know when someone is a "successful" convert. Converting to an Anglo-American religion through a revelatory experience was a religious marker Anglo-Americans at least recognized, because it was a formal requirement of church membership. But the sincerity of an Indian's conversion could always be questioned. In eighteenth-century New England enumerating Indians conversions was a public act influenced by a motivation to see English culture as superior to Indian culture. Conversion to a religion, or way of life, was an act, or series of acts, which could bolster the notion of cultural superiority and entitlement to patronize "the heathen."

Through his writing, Wheelock encouraged two, only apparently

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dichotomous perceptions, to gain support for educating Indians. First, he wanted readers and potential donors to believe that Indians could become well-educated Christian leaders. Yet, he wanted his readers to perceive that Indians were also murderous savages "mad with spite" who could never divorce their Indianness. Essentially, Wheelock supposed their culture and religion worth deserting, in part because there were "heathen" willing to become Anglicized.

The poet's account was the "seed" of the truth as Wheelock's Anglo-American supporters understood the events which led to the founding of Dartmouth. This narrative is appealingly simple and progressive. That Wheelock and his contemporaries saw the creation of these two schools as a fact of God's will is important because it explains their inability to see these educational experiments as anything less than God-inspired, Anglo-American-created successes. Believing their cause ordained, and Wheelock being the causes' leader, his character had to be exemplary and instructive. Anglo-American historians were ready to give Wheelock all the credit for the creation and success of both Moor's and Dartmouth. Most early accounts of these schools' histories fashion a lineage of progress synonymous with the person of Eleazar Wheelock. In describing Wheelock as good or bad, and centering the debate about this series of educational experiments around his
"success" or "failure," the principal expectation of historians has been that Wheelock controlled the experience of schooling for the students. Historians argue that his temperament, and his ideas about race and gender determined how the students perceived and received their education.9 This framework emphasizes Wheelock's importance and plays down the students' involvement in creating these institutions and determining their success.10 While this approach fails to acknowledge the contributions of many, it does point to the importance of Wheelock in executing his design. That Wheelock's role was critical in the founding of schools, the running of his household and his importance as a spokesman for Indians in eighteenth-century Connecticut is undeniably and obviously important.

Historical representations of Wheelock have helped to maintain the


10 Even James McCallum, who published many letters written by Indian students because he thought they were important documents, referred to the students as dullards, drunkards, and consumptives who were "simple, and simple-minded." By way of introduction to the letters McCallum cautioned his readers, "The reader who is not accustomed to such material will be amused at first as though he were watching some captive animal performing his tricks," Letters, 11.
stringent, and false categorization of people as Indian and savage or English and civil. In defining the values to which Wheelock wished his students to subscribe, and explaining the historical precedence for those ideas, it becomes possible to more clearly understand Wheelock's conflicting aspirations, motives for behaving as he did, and the opportunity to see the environment in which the Indian students found themselves.

**Historical Precedents**

Eleazar Wheelock, the man the poet described in a fundraising tract as the man with "god-like pity in his breast," is considerably more well-known for founding Dartmouth College than the establishment of Moor's Charity School for Indians in Lebanon, Connecticut.11 A Connecticut New Light minister, Wheelock spent most of his adult life overcoming disbelievers and a lack of funds to create educational opportunities for Indians.12 At first he tutored Indians in his home, then he founded Moor's,

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11 Wheelock's biographers portray him as the sole founder of Moor's Charity School and Dartmouth College. See McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock*. McCallum's title alone suggests his belief that Wheelock founded Dartmouth. See also his references to Wheelock's work at Moor's, 90, 95, 99, and especially 110-111. For references to Dartmouth and Moors being Wheelock's vision, see McClure and Parish, *Memoirs*, 26, 51, 54, 76, and 77. Refer also to Chase, *A History of Dartmouth College*; Dexter, *Biographical Sketches*, 493-499; and Sprague, *Annals*, 397-403.

12 Wheelock solicited funds from individuals, British royalty, the London Society, the Scotch Society, whomever he thought might contribute. For the clearest account of funding both Moor's and Dartmouth see McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock*, chapters 10 and 11. See also Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 213.
which could train about twenty Indian scholars at a time. His work at
Moor's led to the establishment of Dartmouth College, founded to ensure
the availability of a higher education for Indians.\textsuperscript{13} The common perception
of "the Indian" as "the murdering savage" "mad with spite" did little to
nominate him or her for an education.\textsuperscript{14} However, converting savage
heathens, especially giving them a college education, was thought by
Wheelock and his followers to be God's work.\textsuperscript{15} Wheelock's approach to
Indian education was in part a reaction to the efforts other Englishmen had
made before him.

Despite the often stated object of English colonization to convert
Indians to Christianity, very few formal efforts were made to induce New
England Indians to a Puritan view of religion.\textsuperscript{16} There were but three formal
organizations in the 1600's whose cause was to support Indian missions

\textsuperscript{13} Baxter Perry Smith, \textit{The History of Dartmouth College} (Boston: Houghton, Osgood and
Co., 1878), 23-27.


\textsuperscript{15} Many correspondents commented on Wheelock's endeavors as God's work. Some of
the most interesting examples of this are included in McClure and Parish, \textit{Memoirs}, as
testimony to his worth. See "From the Reverend Timothy Pitkin," 166-167; "To the
Honorable Society in Scotland," 203; "From John Thornton, Esquire," 315; and WP 762557.

\textsuperscript{16} See E. Brooks Holifield, \textit{Era of Persuasion: American Thought and Culture, 1521-1680}
financially. The Long Parliament started the first organization, the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. After the Restoration, a newly reconstituted Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America was formed. In 1685 a Boston branch began raising and distributing funds for the Company. Calling themselves "The London Society," the New England Society funded many individuals' missions and was a frequent target of Wheelock's solicitations. The second funding group started in Scotland in the early 1700's. Similar in orientation to the London Society, they too appointed a Board of Correspondents in Boston. The Scotch Society was also approached by Wheelock for financial support. Their Connecticut Board of Correspondents did send several of Wheelock's students on missions to the Oneida in 1765. Less ambitious than the Scotch and London Societies was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Their good works were limited to the distribution of some books for the Indian missions started in 17—

17 The Scotch Society and Wheelock had many conflicts over how funds should be disbursed. These difficulties continued under the tenure of John Wheelock during his presidency of Dartmouth College. For an explanation of these disparities consult McCallum, Letters, Appendix B. The history of the Scotch Society is discussed in A short state of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (Edinburgh: Printed for William Brown, 1732), by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. The Scotch Society supported Wheelock's missions, including outfitting missionary David Fowler for four months of recruiting Indian boys, Wheelock, Narrative, 39.
New England.¹⁸

There were arguably even fewer Englishmen than there were funding Board members willing to preach to the heathens. Beginning in the mid 1600's, two Puritan missions were founded in Massachusetts. The Reverend John Eliot settled among the Massachusetts people, while the Reverend Thomas Mayhew, Jr. began his mission on Martha's Vineyard.¹⁹ The Eliot and Mayhew families continued their missions for generations, helping to establish what became known as "praying towns." Their hope was to establish towns for Indians as Christian Indian sanctuaries and by that "civilize" the Indians. Some New England Indians, particularly those on Martha's Vineyard, did respond to missionaries.

By 1670 there were seven such praying towns. Praying towns were settlements laid out like English villages with a meeting house as the centerpiece surrounded by nuclear family lots. The English missionaries'¹⁸

¹⁸ W.O.B. Allen and Edmund McClure, Two hundred years: the history of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898 (1898; reprint, New York: B. Franklin, 1970). This organization did not support Wheelock's schools although individuals within the society donated goods and monies. See as an example WP 774422, John Thornton to Eleazar Wheelock, July 22, 1774. Of course, donations were sometimes a bit unusual, as when Sippie Townsend sent cod, WP 762629.2. See also McCallum, Letters, 299-301, and William Kellaway, The New England Company, 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians (London: Longmans, 1961). For a succinct discussion of the goals and differences between these missionary groups, consult Love, Samson Occom, 12.

approach was to live among the peoples they thought needed converting, not only preaching to them, but teaching them to read, govern themselves as the English did, raise English crops and learn English trades. The governing principle was to create towns where burgeoning faith and ascription to Anglo-American ways would be free to happen unfettered by the interference of incredulous Englishmen.

In part, because of the work of several generations of the Mayhew and Eliot families' efforts, Christianity did gain a foothold among some New England Indians. By the mid 1600's, it is estimated that as many as twenty percent of New England Indians were Christian. It is, of course, impossible to count true believers from among the native populations. These people had Christianity foisted upon them and at least those who lived in praying towns had incentives to lie, for example to secure goods, leadership roles in the community and better land. Nevertheless it is accurate to say that some

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22 See Elise M. Brenner, "To Pray or to be Prey, That is the Question: Strategies for Cultural Autonomy of Massachusetts Praying Town Indians." Ethnohistory 27 (2): 140-141 (1980). Acceptance of Christianity and some new laws failed to disrupt the traditional transfer of power to subsequent generations of Christianized Indians.
Indians accepted the colonial social and religious order introduced to them by missionaries on a more than cursory level. If changes in southern New England Indian culture did occur in praying towns, it was because at least some Indians thought this influence was positive or harmless.

English and then Anglo-American missionaries thought if they could make Native Americans behave as Anglo-Americans that they would be serving society.23 This type of wholesale conversion was thought to be a route to social harmony by many Anglo-Americans, a way to stop physical warfare. To native peoples this hope for "education" was often and perhaps more rightly seen as a sharp prong in the assault on their societies. Frequently the Indians in northern North America recognized English missionaries' teachings as little more than unwelcome visits which undermined their efforts to persist culturally and prosper in a European colonized continent.

However, by the late 1600's a stalwart group of Indian converts ran many churches and small schools started by the English. On Martha's Vineyard, in particular, Indians ran their own churches, and taught Christian

Despite the creation of these congregations and small schools, Wheelock wrote only of savage Indians, misguided by fellow heathens. As a result, Wheelock disagreed with the praying town model; he believed Indians needed to be removed from their environment to learn adequately. Wheelock viewed their sequestration necessary for the Indian students to keep them from all "Indian" influence. One anonymous correspondent wrote to Wheelock in 1762 apologizing for doubting Wheelock's design. He claimed that now even he knew that "the Indians" preferred having their schools located away from their villages.

John Eliot, a century before, had also actually shared the goal of isolation when he petitioned English officials for land to put the praying town of Natick. He wanted land, "some what remote from the English" so that his lessons could take hold. By the 1740's these praying towns were no longer in any sense isolated, as the English population had grown tremendously. The more substantial difference between the two approaches to conversion was in determining from whom the Indians needed protection.


25 WP 762601. Whether the Indians to which he referred sought to have the schools far away because they did not want the education being offered, or whether they agreed with Wheelock's design cannot be gleaned from this letter. See the possibility of this in Chapter Two. For agreement on this point see also, WP 762566.3.
Beginning in the eighteenth-century, a handful of Anglo-American missionaries including Wheelock responded to the perceived problem of "sordidness" among colored people living among them by trying to "convert" Indians to "Anglo" cultural and spiritual ways.

These English missions and funding groups had perhaps no conversions that resulted in Indian converts completely renouncing Indian life. That requirement presupposes that there was a discrete categorization in eighteenth-century New England between "Europeans" and "Indians." If one thinks of conversion wholly as cultural alignment, then there can be only sides, or adversaries. The interaction created by interest or necessity in one another's cultures was often religious in character. Conversion and missionization were tangible markers of this process. Often, as we will see in the writings of the Indians who attended Moor's and Wheelock's, people at the time wished to perpetuate this notion of strict categorization. Yet in experimenting in education and changing ways and changing perceptions, it becomes possible to view these relations as just that - relationships - rather than warfare. In closely examining cultural conversion as a form of cultural

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26 For examples of literature which argues from the standpoint that conversion is either a success or a failure see Axtell, Invasion Within, passim; Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo, Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), particularly 33-35; and Szasz, Indian Education, chapter nine.
interaction that was supposed to alienate Indians, we can hold a different view of conversion. Conversion was only *an* important event in a lifetime of interaction between southeastern New England Indians and Anglo-Americans.

**Wheelock's First Calling**

Seventeen thirty-five was a memorable year for Wheelock; not only did he become a minister, but he also married Sarah Maltby. Sarah was a widow, making Wheelock the step-father to her three children: John, Sarah and Betty. Together, Eleazar and Sarah had six additional children, although three of their children died in infancy.\(^{27}\) Their marriage ended barely a decade later in 1746, when Sarah died at age forty-three.

The Moor's campus represented a cultural crossroads, but the daily lives and habits of New Englanders intersected more often than Anglo-Americans, including the Wheelocks, might readily have recognized. In two instances, for example, the Wheelocks sought out Indian medical help. Wheelock wrote to a missionary asking what Indian women used to ease the pain of childbirth and in another letter his wife Sarah sought out a "squaw

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\(^{27}\) Wheelock's marriage and his family life are discussed in McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock*, 57-60.
doctor” to cure her of the "king's evil" from which she eventually died.28

When Sarah died Wheelock wrote, “She is gone, the dear wife of my boosom, my lover and friend, the desire of my eyes, the dearest enjoyment on earth, the dear partner of all my joys and sorrows, hopes and fears.” Describing himself as sore and broken, Wheelock finished this letter writing, "Oh! that the Lord would now fill up this vacancy."29 A year later, the Lord provided, Wheelock was married to Mary Brinsmead of Milford.30 They had five children, some of whom became involved with the cause to educate Indians.

Their son Ralph became a missionary; another son, John, held the presidency of Dartmouth College for nearly forty years following his father's death. Two of his daughters brought their husbands to the cause. Mary's husband Professor Bezaleel Woodward served as an assistant to Wheelock and Dartmouth's first professor of mathematics. Daughter Abigail married


29 Wheelock as quoted in McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 60-61.

30 Wheelock's marriage to Mary Brinsmead was celebrated in the poetry of Martha Brewster, who included her poem dedicated to them in Poems on Divers Subjects (1757; reprint, with an introduction by Kenneth N. Requa, Delmar, N.Y.: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1979).
Professor Sylvanus Ripley, another trusted advisor to Wheelock who had once been a scholar at Moor's. The Wheelocks depended upon their slaves, servants, children and sometimes gratis work of teachers to keep their missionary cause and household afloat. Funding Moor's, and members of "the tawnee family" in their later missions took a great many people's contributions in labor, money, and dedication.

Wheelock's interest in teaching likely stemmed from his economic and emotional difficulties. As minister of the Second Church in Lebanon, Wheelock tended to his flock with a heavy hand. His authoritarian approach is evident in the way he dealt with wayward church members. Wheelock alone received accusations about church members' behavior. He decided whether summons would be sent and heard the cases in his own home. A panel of church members whom Wheelock selected did assist him. While

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31 Mary's marriage to Bezaleel in 1771 was the first recorded in Hanover. Sylvanus Ripley was a member of the first graduating class at Dartmouth, after which he recruited Indians from Quebec. See McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 190-192. A full genealogical record of the Wheelocks is available on microfilm at the Dartmouth College Microtext Center.

32 As an example of gratis teaching consider James Lesley, who taught at Moor's for nine months without recompense; so to did the Reverend Mr. Charles Jeffrey Smith, for three months, and an anonymous educator. They did receive board and a month's horsekeeping. Wheelock, Narrative, 60.

33 Born in Windham, Connecticut to a deacon's family, Wheelock eventually went to Yale to prepare for the ministry. Having graduated in 1733, he took a year to study theology and in 1735 was ordained as pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Lebanon, Connecticut. McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 8.
there were no strict rules concerning discipline to which a minister had to adhere, Wheelock's approach to church discipline was unusually personal. Even when he dismissed church members, Wheelock did not advise the congregation or consult the church elders. In contrast to Wheelock's approach, at the First Church of Lebanon there was a regularly appointed church council that aided minister Solomon Williams. In cases of excommunication the minister and council referred "without decision or comment, to the assembled congregation." Wheelock's actions in disciplining church members foreshadowed his autocratic approach toward disciplining Indian scholars.

Wheelock's relationship with his own congregation was as fraught with dispute as his relationship would be with the Indian scholars. According to one of Wheelock's biographers, Wheelock struck a particularly poor deal when negotiating his salary. He agreed to receive his salary either as money or as goods, and over the ensuing years Wheelock complained readily about his choice. The uncertainty of what would constitute payment and when it might be received caused him "continual uneasiness." Wheelock cited one instance where a hog was brought to his house when he was not home and

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so unable to take delivery. The hog was "not worth much more than half the
market price." How would the congregation account for this?35 His family's
continuous financial concerns led him to take "a few English boys to prepare
for college."36

About the time of Wheelock's appointment to Lebanon, the Rev.
Jonathan Edwards and his emphasis on personal religious revelation began to
draw attention from Wheelock's congregation. As one biographer phrased it,
"Mr. Wheelock's congregation partook largely of that divine visitation, to the
great joy of their pastor."37 Wheelock, too, quickly gained a reputation for
his fierce commitment to the enthusiastic religious expressions of the New
Lights.38 He preached throughout Connecticut on an almost daily basis to
many congregations. The early years of Wheelock's correspondence are full of
frequent invitations to preach.39 As were so many of his peers, Wheelock

35 As quoted in McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 40-41.

36 Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois," 52.

37 McClure and Parish, Memoirs, 14.

38 Ibid., 15. Yet Wheelock did not wish to be counted a Separatist. He thought many
Separatist ministers were "enthusiastic and unlearned teachers" who were preaching under
"wild torrents of delusion."

39 These invitations to preach came from women including Hannah Huntington, WP
741353, and Sarah Rogers, WP 763568.2. More often invitations came from male
parishioners or ministers. See for example Solomon William's letter, WP 74147; Jonathan
was particularly taken with the preaching of George Whitefield. He and Whitefield corresponded occasionally, and Whitefield fervently supported Wheelock's educational aspirations for converted Indians.\textsuperscript{40} The early moral and sometimes financial support of famed ministers and common people fueled his desire to succeed. Donor Mary Denny explained why she supported Wheelock's mission, and why she thought others should as well, "...when I heard how the indians was wandering I would but fancy them the cry of your heart was Christianize them, Christianize them - spend your money that way."\textsuperscript{41} A letter from Benagali Case is illustrative of the reinforcing tenets of the Great Awakening and Indian education. Case noted that he had seen Wheelock preach and was sufficiently inspired that he wanted Wheelock to come to Contoocook and preach to a number of Indians.\textsuperscript{42}

The Great Awakening was consequently a fervent religious movement

\textsuperscript{40} Eleazar Wheelock wrote to George Whitefield forty times between 1756 and 1770. Whitefield wrote to Wheelock eighteen times between 1756 and 1770. Their correspondence frequently detailed the needs of Indians. See, for example, WP 766424.

\textsuperscript{41} WP 765279.3, Mary Denny to Mr. and Mrs. Wheelock, April 29, 1765.

\textsuperscript{42} WP 741575.
whose purpose was to garner converts and share authority within Christian congregations. As the colonists reached out to one another, gathering converts from among those populations whose interest in Anglo-American religious expression was waning or had never developed at all, it began to fit within the ethos of the time to convert blacks and Indians. In at least one instance a correspondent drew the parallel between the nature of blacks' and Indians' perceived ignorance and need for "sensitive" handling as required by racial difference. One Anglo-American father recommended his son to Wheelock particularly because he was good at working with "our blacks" and was "well turned by nature to forward your great and good design."\textsuperscript{43}

While Anglo-American colonists viewing their religion as the one true religion was nothing new, appealing to and then inspiring many southern New England Indians to accept and then remake their Christian doctrine was. Historian William Simmons has argued that southern New England Indians responded enthusiastically to the Anglo-American itinerant preachers because the "performance style" of New Light preachers resembled seventeenth-century Shamanistic performances. Perhaps their receptiveness was also a response to a new atmosphere of excitement about including

\textsuperscript{43} WP 770110.1.
Indians and Blacks in the broader society.\textsuperscript{44} Whitefield himself perceived the Great Awakening as a socially leveling movement, one that would afford everyone the opportunity to express their Christian zeal. Even a physical church might prove too constraining for the faithful, leading to bigotry. Indians, blacks, poor women and servants were some of the groups Whitefield welcomed to speak on religious matters at religious revivals usually held outdoors to accommodate the large crowds they drew.\textsuperscript{45}

Noteworthy participation at revivals was fueled by people who believed that those previously excluded from the ministry should be allowed to preach as well. Questioning the efficacy of the traditional preparation for the ministry reopened the door to the idea that Indians would make good ministers to their own people. In this respect, revivalism heightened interest in Anglo-American religion among some Connecticut Indians, which in turn raised the New Light's interest in them.

This questioning of whom to educate and to what purpose in an era of

\textsuperscript{44} William Simmons cites three additional reasons for conversion: the new religion was a novelty, acceptance or approximation of religious symbols from dominant culture was necessary, and conversion gave them "inner resources to survive in the world as it was, and not as their ancestors thought it should be." See "The Great Awakening and Indian Conversion in Southern New England," in \textit{Papers of the Tenth Algonquian Conference}, ed. William Cowan (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1979), 33.

revival based upon enthusiasm had wide-reaching implications for eighteenth-century institutions of higher learning. Some colleges, such as the College of Rhode Island and the College of New Jersey were founded from a desire to change the preparation for the ministry, and religious expression while in college. As itineracy grew, New Lights such as Wheelock felt compelled not only to join in this radical religious expression, but to propose new institutions where true piety would be expected of students and teachers alike.

Two of Wheelock's fellow enthusiasts from Yale helped to found perhaps the most radical "school" started because of the religious fervor, the Shepherd's Tent in New London, Connecticut. This school was just a short distance from his home, and it was as controversial as his own educational experiments. Started just a year before Moor's, the Shepherd's Tent was described by the founders, as "a nursery of True converts." To newspaper publishers in Boston, however, the new school was "a modest proposal for the destruction of reason." Importantly, the plans for the Shepherd's Tent were denounced in the Boston Weekly Post-Boy as a place that would accept "Whites and Blacks, Young and Old... and the People, particularly the good Women." The writer was being facetious, so unlikely would a college be that accepted such scholars in eighteenth-century New England; and yet the
writer's concern spoke to social anxiety about religious authority. Religious authority as embodied in ministers trained in American colleges was a privilege reserved for white men. That students left the Shepherd's Tent because women and men attended the school together was only proof that even the revivalists were concerned about the results of revivalism.46

Wheelock was at his most radical when he questioned this basic social covenant of who should serve as a minister to a Christian community by educating Indians for the ministry. Wheelock thought that a Christian community was criminal when ignoring any one he perceived to be "barbarous" from "ignorance and vice " and he thought that the surest way to reach Indian heathens was to send Indians to convert them.47

In 1743, a Mohegan mother initiated Wheelock's design by bringing her son to him. She was Sarah Occom, mother of Samson. When Samson arrived at the Wheelock's, he was a recently converted teenager pestering his mother for "more education." It was Sarah Occom who went to Wheelock and asked on her son's behalf that Wheelock take him in as a pupil. Following the prescribed course of study for Anglo-American youth, she


47 McClure and Parish, Memoirs, 15.
wanted Samson instructed in Latin and English grammar.\textsuperscript{48} There is no indication of why Sarah or Samson chose Wheelock except that he had trained Anglo-American students for the ministry, like many ministers at the time. No record exists of how Sarah and Eleazar worked this out so that her Indian boy would be tutored by the New Light minister, but Sarah's work at the Wheelock household to earn his keep is noted in Samson's diary.\textsuperscript{49} Eventually Occom became a very successful fundraiser, a well-known minister in America and England, an author, and a Mohegan leader. Because of Samson Occom, Wheelock's ambition became the education and acculturation of local Indians, to send them out to the "wilds" of North America to convert their less "civilized" brethren of the Iroquois Nations. It was an ambitious scheme, one he frequently called the "Great Design."\textsuperscript{50} Wheelock never viewed the founding of Moor's Charity School as a joint endeavor between Indians and Anglo-Americans. It was always his cause, his ambitions.

In 1760 wrote a letter to Andrew Oliver who represented the Boston

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  \item \textsuperscript{48} Blodgett, \textit{Samson Occom}, 31.
  \item \textsuperscript{49} WP 744123, Samson Occom, diary entry February 23, 1744.
  \item \textsuperscript{50} Importantly, Wheelock referred to his plans as a design in his yearly \textit{Narrative}, 59, 75, 133, 136, 139.
\end{itemize}
Board of the New England Company. He was writing to thank the board for their most recent donation, and in the course of explaining the cost of educating an Indian, Wheelock revealed the most basic ideas of what the goals of an Indian education should be and why these goals were important. With humility Wheelock suggested it was not even necessary that the boys go to his school, what was important was that they "study the languages or are removed to college." Although he added that the Indian students were "so much so pleased with living with me and so much attach[ed] to this school that I apprehend there would be danger in removing them at present." He touted the ability of five Indian boys' ability to read difficult scholarly texts, including Virgil and Castalio. Their ability to read Greek and the English Bible were also cited, but Wheelock put the most emphasis on their changed values.

The elder ones have now almost wholly put off the Indian, and appear seriously tho'tful about their eternal salvation and behave with so much decency humility and good manners that I am constrained to love them.51

Wheelock wrote in this same letter to Oliver that he had taken up this cause because of "the criminal neglect of them [the Indians] by Gods professing people in this land." Apparently referring here to all English

51 As quoted in McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 142.
Christians living in America, he invoked the by-then frayed notion of a covenant between good Christians and "those poor creatures," the Indians. Good Christians were "laid under many and strong obligations to exert themselves far beyond what they have yet done."

The success of Moor's mission appeared to be fulfilling Wheelock's expectations in the early 1750's. Between 1754 and 1769, Wheelock educated nearly one hundred Indians from at least fifteen different tribes at Moor's. The students' extant writings reflect the momentous nature of their going to school, of a cultural encounter that shaped their lives to come. For some students this arrival and the expectation that they would fully embrace the life of an Anglo-American colonial congregationalist was described as a rebirth, a defining moment in their lives.

When Indian students arrived at Moor's they had traveled a few or perhaps a few hundred miles to join a student body intent on becoming ministers or minister's wives. This journey began in their own families where Christian values were first imported. We can imagine much as Anglo-American adolescent's parents were members of a church and waited, prayed,

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52 For an account of the number of students see McCallum, Letters, Appendix A, and Axtell, Invasion Within, 207.

53 WP [nd], Joseph Johnson to Inquiring Friends, 1768, goes so far as to judge age by conversion: "I am but one year and three months old properly."
and hoped that their children would become church members, so too did their Mohegan, Narragansett or Pequot peers. Having converted or having come to a spiritual understanding of their place in the church, the next step was to receive enough education to read the Bible and understand an English minister's sermon. For some Indians in southern New England, such as Samson Occom, the desire for even more education was coupled to a calling to become a minister of God. Occom and others like him became ministers or missionaries after training with Wheelock.\textsuperscript{54}

Moor's accepted Indians of all ages, though the average student attending was probably between eleven and fourteen years of age. The majority of prospective Indian students came to Wheelock as young adolescents and spent at least three years at Wheelock's schools.\textsuperscript{55} There were exceptions as in the case of Joseph Johnson, a Mohegan recruit who eventually became a missionary to the Oneidas, was raised by Wheelock from infancy. At first Wheelock's Indian students shared quarters with the Wheelock family. Samson Occom, for example, lived with the Wheelocks

\textsuperscript{54} Wheelock once claimed that eight of the Indian male students became missionaries, \textit{Narrative}, 106. By 1771 his estimates of who could be counted as a missionary or minister numbered nine. He continued to think, however, that the Indians only behaved properly while under his direct supervision, \textit{Narrative}, 361, 373.

\textsuperscript{55} Axtell, \textit{Invasion Within}, 163 and McCallum, \textit{Letters}, 227. Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, October, 1767, mentions sending a very young child, possibly an infant.
when he first arrived. The male charity students lived together in what was known as the Barrett dwelling house with their schoolmasters. Some of these charity students were English. David McClure left one of the few accounts of dormitory life. "We reposed on Straw Beds in Bunks and generally dined on a boiled dish & an Indian pudding." All of the Indian students received scholarships, and so Wheelock illustrated his belief in equality between the races by making the English charity students do the same work as the Indian students. As Wheelock preached equality, however, he held the English students up as role models for the Indian youth. Wheelock once wrote that manual labor for the English scholars was important to

> draw the Indian children of the school, to the love, esteem, and understanding of that which will be necessary for them in civilized life; . . . [and] effectually remove the deep prejudices, so universally in the minds of the Indians, against their men's cultivating lands, or going into the business of husbandry.

As good role models for the Indians, the Anglo-American students were also to "treat" the Indian children "with care, tenderness, and kindness, as younger brethren, and as may be most conducive to the great ends

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56 However, Harold Blodgett wrote in his biography of Occom in 1935, "there is a tradition that he built a hut for himself in the woods near the Wheelock home," Samson Occom, 32.

57 David McClure as quoted in Love, Samson Occom, 61.

58 Wheelock, Narrative, 374-375.
proposed.\textsuperscript{59} This first rule underscored, as the rules concerning husbandry had, that every action could sway an Indian child toward "civilization."

In one fundraising tract Wheelock clearly explained his need to Christianize Indians as part of a covenant with God. It was evident to him that the English had failed in their obligation to convert Indians simply by observing the English history of relations with Indians. God had permitted "the Savages to be such a sore Scourge to our Land," and "make such Depradation on our Frontiers, inhumanly butchering and captivating our People," because the English had failed them.\textsuperscript{60} As such, Wheelock's efforts to instruct the "savage mortals who despise their god" could be characterized as good finally addressing evil. His work was also evidence that English colonists could displace heathen ways with God's truths. Peeling away the husk of heathenism to expose the kernel of a Christian man or woman, in the least likely of humankind, made Wheelock a savior to some of his Anglo-American devotees.\textsuperscript{61} For thousands of Englishmen and Anglo-American
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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{59} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Wheelock, \textit{Narrative}, 11.
\item \textsuperscript{61} WP 756605. To my knowledge no correspondent directly compared Wheelock to Christ. However, that he was saving Indians by converting them was clearly conveyed. See Wheelock, \textit{Narrative}, "William Johnson's Recommendation of Reverend Mr. Wheelock," 139; and "Recommendations from Ministers from Chelsea," 145-147.
\end{itemize}
colonists who donated money to this social experiment, Wheelock was not only saving Indians from themselves but saving them from the Indians. They believed "the cause" to convert and then educate "the Indians" had begun again with Wheelock.

**Wheelock's Second Calling**

A savvy promoter of his cause, Wheelock's financial appeals to garner donations were written for particular audiences. In fact, the preponderance of documents left relating to the history of the Wheelock schools were written to get funding, justify expenditures. Wheelock's promotional tracts expounded his position on educating "the Indian."62 Joined by his family, fellow educators, and prominent donors, Wheelock portrays a New England wherein all Indians were suspected savages, but could also become cowed members of civilized society.63 Wheelock wanted the Indian students to

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63 Wheelock, *Narrative*, 135-138. This section of Wheelock's *Narrative* not only assures English colonists that the Indians can be civilized, but suggests to "Britons" who "are naturally led to form a more despicable idea of them" that Indians can make "speedy" improvements, 137. Jenny Hale Pulsipher fruitfully explores this tension a century earlier in "Massacre at Hurtleberry Hill: Christian Indians and English Authority in Metacom's War," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 53 (3): 466-468, 473, 476-478 (1996).
write, speak, dress, and earn their livelihoods as Englishmen did. He wanted his mission's appeal to spread throughout the North American continent, gathering Indian converts as it grew. Significantly, he also wanted financial contributions to support his pursuit of these goals. In one such appeal to possible donors, Wheelock outlined his mission, educating Indians so that they might be worthy of "the highest esteem." However, Wheelock went on to explain that his motivations were not so much grounded in a desire to achieve social equality as they were to enhance the British empire.

The project of enabling their own Children to do this, falls in with their Taste; it will be thought by them an Advancement of the Family, and they will go into it passionately. And if it pleases God to inspire them with the genuine Spirit of Christianity, it will soon appear that the best way to civilize, will be to Christianize them. If the Latter succeed, what a

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64 Wheelock thought Indians should learn to grasp and hold a great many Anglo-American values. On needing rules, see Wheelock, Narrative, 25. On manual labor and benefits of husbandry see Smith, History of Dartmouth College, 49. On the need for women to learn to sew see Wheelock, Narrative, 34. For a list of reasons why and how Indians should be educated see Wheelock, Narrative, 135.

65 In her discussion of Cotton Mather's racial attitudes as expressed in The Negro Christianized, published in 1738, Dana Nelson argues that no discussion of Christianizing colonial subjects can ever discount the economic motives that spur their righteous actions. Because the slave stands for the master, "Mather's slaves have no meaning of themselves but rather are an index to white superiority." Thus as Mather states "Yea the Pious Masters, that have instituted their Servants in Christian Piety, will even in this life have Recompense." I would argue that the relationship between the convert and the missionary is not all that different. See Dana D. Nelson, "Economies of Morality and Power: Reading 'Race' in Two Colonial Contexts," in A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America, ed. Frank Shuffleton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 24.
triumph over Darkness! If they can be civilized, what a prospect of important consequences open to View! How many in the train that can not be forseen! How great the addition of Hundreds of Thousands of Subjects! What an increase of our settlements! How great the augmentation of the Staple of these Dominions! What the Increase of the Demand for British Manufactories to cloath the new subjects! How important this to the Commerce of Great Britain and the Colonies! And what a source of Opulence to the whole Empire! FIAT! FIAT!66

This account offers only the barest of reasons why the Indians in question might have found conversion desirable. Wheelock alluded to the benefits of conversion to the Indians' families, but he made it evident to his readers that their conversion was not really the point of conversion after all. The point of conversion, at least when soliciting this audience, was to glorify English missionaries, boost the economy and assist the British Empire in subjugating native peoples. However, his rhetoric in promoting the cause of Indian education was often recast. The above account was written to convince British donors. The following excerpt, from a letter to a Reverend Andrew Gifford who donated to Moor's a "neat Pair of Globes, and a valuable Collection of Books," was far more personal and religious.

I must say however liable I am to be suspected of Partiality I never before Saw Such a School in my Life, in which Such a number of Youth were So orderly, Sober, Studious, governable, peaceble, & religious. There is even seldom Occasion for a Frown, but they are often in Tears upon hearing the things

which do most nearly concern them.67

Enabling, advancement, source of opulence, civilizing: these were the words Wheelock used to describe his motivations for his students’ educations and conversions.

Wheelock, the self-styled friend of southern New England Indians, was a paternal benefactor unable to reconcile his evangelism with his prejudice. At times he raved publicly about the Indians for whom he created schools, calling the students "swarming, poor and miserable creatures."68 Yet, he begged influential men, such as King George III and the Earl of Dartmouth to ensure that North American Indians would receive exposure to Congregationalism and an Anglo-American education.69 He matched his rhetoric to his audience in explaining the need to educate Indians. Their, “manner of living is savage, almost to a level with the brutal Creation, but fierce & terrible in war...”

And on every Consideration of their State is, perhaps, the most wretched and piteous of all the human Race. They have been from the first plantings of these colonies, been a scourge and Terror to their English neighbors; often ravaging and laying

67 McCallum, Letters, 70, Eleazar Wheelock to Andrew Gifford, February 24, 1763.

68 This description is from his first letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, March 1, 1764, printed in Wheelock, Narrative, 427.

69 McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 140.
waste their Frontiers; butchering, torturing, and captivating their Sons; dashing their Children against the Stones; skilfully devising, and proudly glorying in, all possible Methods of Torture & Cruelty within their Power. 70

While it was Wheelock, who could himself be cruel, he expected the Indian students to ingratiate themselves to him, especially, and to all other Anglo-Americans, generally. 71 Yet, Wheelock possessed a charisma that drew his colleagues, students, and friends to his ambitious schemes.

Wheelock most clearly explained his plan to teach Indians by example late in his design. Published Dartmouth College rules, which read not unlike a modern day health care plan, proposed that properly cultivating the land would "preserve the health of all both Indian and English -- lessen the expence of an education, and make way that a greater number may partake of the benefit." Another benefit of husbandry was that students would be kept from "playing with balls, bowls, and other 'puerile' ways of diversion." The English scholars were not "at any time" to "speak diminutively of the practice of labor." The punishment was to perform whatever labor the students derided. 72 By necessity, Dartmouth's living quarters were

70 WP, Fundraising Tract, 1763.
71 Chapter Four includes a discussion of punishment meted out by Wheelock.
72 Wheelock, Narrative, 435.
constructed for proximity between the students and the educators. Wheelock noted in 1771 he had erected a building 80 by 32 feet to "accomodate my students" that included "sixteen comfortable rooms besides a kitchen, hall and storeroom." These close quarters were not always to the liking of the Indian students. Four Indian students lodged a petition in 1773 to complain about other Indians living in the next room. They wanted to "acquaint the Doctor with the injury That is done to our Studies by the Indians that Lives in the room against us..." Apparently their next door neighbors were constantly howling, made "all manner" of noise and prevented the petitioners from even practicing their recitations. Students at both schools, no doubt, suffered the adjustments required of boarding school.

The female students did not add to the crowding at Moor's or Dartmouth. At Dartmouth there were no female Indian students and at Moor's they lived in neighborhood homes learning, "all the arts of good Housewifery." They were to be released one day a week for formal training.


74 McCallum, *Letters*, 222. Daniel Simon, Daniel Babbit, Benjamin Burt and Peter Pohquonnoppeet to Eleazar Wheelock, January 16, 1773. Considering that Wheelock once described Hanover as a howling wilderness, it was at least ironic that it was the student body providing the howls.

75 Wheelock, *Narrative*, 24. Szasz argues in *Indian Education*, 223, that the girls received limited instruction and dinner one day a week to minimize costs. However, considering that Anglo-American girls also received limited education, one can argue that the female Indians'...
at the school.\textsuperscript{76} Going to school one day a week was thought sufficient, because their most important training was for performing the female part of the cause. Wheelock described the female part as "whatever should be necessary to rend them fit, to perform the Female Part, as Housewives, school mistresses, tayloresses, & c and to go and be with these youth."\textsuperscript{77} He elaborated upon these duties in his solicitation of the Boston Board of the New England Company. In 1761 he suggested that their contribution of twelve pounds per annum would not support students "unless they be female," which struck Wheelock as a possibility.

And perhaps it will be expedient to take some female.. to be educated in all parts of good housewifery, tending a da[i]ry, spin[n]ing, the use of their needle & c.\textsuperscript{78}

The females were also expected to practice writing, "each day they are absent, the necessity of which, in order to introduce, the English, or any

\textsuperscript{76} Wheelock wrote in his 1763 \textit{Narrative} that he had "hired women in this Neighborhood to instruct in all the Acts of good Housewifery," 15 and 34.

\textsuperscript{77} Wheelock, \textit{Narrative}, 15.

\textsuperscript{78} Eleazar Wheelock as quoted in McCallum, \textit{Eleazar Wheelock}, 144-145.
more decent and easier manner of living."\(^{79}\)

For Moor’s educators, Indian education went far beyond ensuring that the students accepted Christ, it was a process of socialization and acculturation drawn from colonial child rearing practices. The only description of the Indian girls’ educational experience in neighborhood homes that I have been able to find, confirms the prevailing sentiment that an Anglo-American master might help to tame “savage” ways. Boston merchant John Smith noted on his way out of Lebanon that one of the Indian girls was brought by her master, “into our Sight & the pleasure was exquisite to see the Savageness of an Indian moulded into the Sweetness of a follower of the Lamb."\(^{80}\) This approach to education mirrored the indentured servant system in place at the time in Anglo-American society, especially for that of poor people. Selectmen were frequently responsible for placing children in situations where they would learn a trade to which they were well-suited. Boys were indentured to tradesmen, girls to housewives who could teach them housewifery and other female arts.\(^{81}\)

\(^{79}\) Ibid.

\(^{80}\) McCallum, Letters, 73-75, John Smith’s Letter to a Friend.


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Wheelock expected to immerse the Indian students in Anglo-American culture and English academic traditions. The students formally studied English and learned Latin and Greek. The younger children began by learning their letters and reciting simple passages from the Bible. All of the older male students followed a regimented daily schedule. The male students, who stayed on campus, were "obliged to be clean and decently dressed and be ready to attend Prayers by six a.m." every week day. After reciting their catechism, they attended school from nine in the morning until noon and resumed studies from two until five. Then they attended evening prayers and on Sundays went to public worship. In their "spare" time they worked the fields or plied other trades such as blacksmithing. Eventually some students became missionaries to the Iroquois. Ultimately, few students became missionaries, perhaps only seven of the seventy-four males who came to study with Wheelock.

While the male students followed a strict academic schedule, Wheelock also expected them to fend for themselves when not in class. In 1771 David Towsey, a Stockbridge, wrote asking Wheelock to take his indentures are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

82 Wheelock, Narrative, 36.

83 Ibid., 19, 36.
children. He was going on an ocean voyage and could not reasonably take along the children. Towsey wrote that he intended to send his two boys, aged three and seven, unless Wheelock avoided his requests. The response he received was telling. "I now inform you," Wheelock began, "that I am willing to take them both, provided that of three years old be not too young - I am afraid he will be expos'd to suffer, as I have so many that it is difficult to take so particular care of individuals..." It wasn't that the Anglo-American students would harm "Indian boys," explained Wheelock. Rather, "...among so many it will be necessary sometimes that he should take care of & shirk for himself, or he will be in danger of being forgotten & so neglected."

Interestingly, the rest of Wheelock's letter is filled with assurances of how well Towsey's older son would be treated. Wheelock promised to cloath the child and he assured Towsey he had "two Stockbridge Indians now with me so there will be no danger that your son will loose his language." Wheelock presumed that his cautionary words would deter Towsey from sending the three year old, although the seven year old apparently had nothing to fear. He even noted that in an additional few months, the three year old would also be welcome, "if you can't do better with him." The

84 WP 772179, David Towsey to Eleazar Wheelock, December 17, 1771.
85 WP 772112.2, Eleazar Wheelock to David Towsey, January 12, 1772.
older child did begin studies with Wheelock, but there is no record of little David joining his brother.

The students were also expected to work in support of the school family. These supportive roles filled by the Indian students, however, were poorly related to their abilities or interests. An Indian students dictated place in the school family, was determined by Wheelock's perception of what roles were appropriate for an Indian. Wheelock's perception of appropriate roles for members of his household to take was strictly related to his religious beliefs. Consequently the establishment of Moor's and then Dartmouth was based upon everyone knowing their God-given place in the cause to convert, and then educate even more Indians. This was not an educational mission meant to foster equality among the races or sexes; rather it was a cause built on family as Anglo-Americans in eighteenth-century New England understood it. As a consequence, Wheelock saw himself as a father and the Indian students as his children.

For his part, Wheelock emphasized a parental style of governance at Moor's. His "maxim with the natives was that those who take the direction of others' children should treat them as their own." McClure acknowledged that this custom of treating all children as if one's own was how, "they [the Indians] treat the captives whom they adopt." While other teachers strove
to be "scrupulous legislators or stern judges," Wheelock was "always the gentle and affectionate father."\textsuperscript{86} McClure stands alone in his entirely benevolent characterization of Wheelock's paternalism, but the important point remains that Wheelock regarded himself the head of a family, both "tawnee" and white.

Usually the designation of Indians as children was meant as a comment upon the culturally understood intellectual inferiority of Indians. The only way to cure "savage and sordid" practices was to "form their minds and manners to proper rules of virtue, decency & humanity," which was difficult to accomplish because "they have been inured to from their Mother's Womb," and because "they are daily under the pernicious influence of their Parents Example, and their many vices made familiar thereby."\textsuperscript{87} This was perceived as true when Indian or Anglo-American missionaries encountered Indians in the wild and it was true within the confines of both Moor's and Dartmouth. In the greater world the Indian graduates felt themselves adults, at school their teachers and benefactors thought them children who had never received sufficient discipline from their parents. Wheelock regarded all of the Indian students as children, and he treated

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item McClure, \textit{Memoirs}, 116.
\item Wheelock, \textit{Narrative}, 25.
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them as *his* own. Making these students feel at home as they would in a father's house was the goal; what that entailed for the students and the educators was the problem.

Creating a home for the Indians was difficult at first, because Moor's and Dartmouth began as small, struggling institutions and circumstances of schooling changed often. Samson Occom, for example, studied with Wheelock personally when it was first arranged that he come to study. In 1744 and 1745, however, Occom studied with Alexandar Phelps in Hebron, under Wheelock's direction. In 1747 he went home for the winter and the next Spring returned to Hebron to study with Wheelock's brother-in-law Benjamin Pomeroy. This was due, in part, to the fact that there was as yet no school building erected to house Moor's students. While students attended the school as early as 1743, it was not until 1754 that a schoolhouse was available. Classes were held in a variety of homes the first few years. There was no prescribed length of study, and the curriculum was adapted to what Wheelock felt a student needed. Wheelock described the Indians' education as one where they "were instructed in the principles of

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89 Blodgett, *Samson Occom*, 33-34.
the Christian religion, as their age, and time would admit." His hope was for them to become sufficient "masters" of English grammar, arithmetic, Greek and Latin. In 1761 Wheelock reported for example that Hezekiah Calvin, a so and so and so, "will now read Tally, Virgil and the Greek testament very handsomely." As a result Moor's was a dynamic institution, with no ready way to classify students or predict what lessons they would learn or how long they might take to learn them.

Modelled after the Orphan House at Hall in Germany and American colleges, Moor's was conceived of as an institution to prepare Indian youth for the ministry and help guide their missions. In turn, the Indian missionaries were to seek out other, less "civilized" Indians to convert. At times, Moor's did create Indian missionaries and did function as a traditional school with students receiving appointments and gaining employment in their field of study. Thinking of Moor's and then Dartmouth

90 Wheelock, Narrative, 361.

91 WP 761404.

92 Wheelock stated that Moor's Charity School "was begun in the same spirit with which the late Rev. and Eminent Professor Francke founded the present famous Orphan House at Hall in Germany," Narrative, 135. While Wheelock did not directly compare Moor's to Yale, his experience their likely influenced his curriculum development and housing arrangements. See Christopher Jedry's description of Yale in 1717-1718 in The World of John Cleaveland: Family and Community in Eighteenth Century New England (New York: Norton, 1979), 23. The school had a library, chapel, kitchen, "the hall," which served as a dining room, and rooms for students and teachers, although many students lived in approved houses off-campus.
principally as schools, as institutions created for Indians, however, does not fully describe their educational environment. The Indian students were thought to be part of the extended Wheelock household. As Wheelock warned the Continental Congress on the eve of the American Revolution, he would need about 100 guns to protect his family; as his family was composed of all that attended "the College."  

If we look at the Wheelock household in 1757, we get some idea of how daunting and busy it may have appeared to new Indian students. Living with the Wheelocks were the children from his first marriage; Theodora, 21, and Ruth, 17. From the second marriage there was Mary, nine, Abigail, six, John, three, and Eleazar, one. The Wheelocks also by then owned one slave named Fortune, who would have been in his late twenties. In addition, the Wheelock's often hired servants, one of whom was even courted by a student. Four Delaware students arrived that year as well. By the end of the 1760's the Wheelock owned two other male slaves, Ishmael and Sippy, a

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female slave, Chloe, and her child, Hercules.\textsuperscript{95} However, it was the Indian scholars who constituted the largest number of Wheelock's extended family; between 1760 and 1770, eighty-three students received their education under Wheelock's tutelage.

The Moor's "campus," was by the late 1750's, a group of buildings including the Meeting House, the Barrett dwelling house, the school house, and the Wheelock home. Moor's not only provided a cultural intersection, but a physical one as well. The Meeting House sat at the crossroads of the routes going from Hartford to Norwich and the other from Middletown to Providence. In the middle of the green, stood the small sky blue church which measured only forty-six by sixty-four feet. The parish at one time voted to allow the Indian boys "the pew in the gallery over the west stairs" and the "Indian girls liberty to sit in the hind seat on the woman's side below."\textsuperscript{96} The student were always on display.

At times Wheelock and the missionaries who helped to recruit students for the school expressed genuine affection for Indian students

\textsuperscript{95} It is difficult to determine how many slaves the Wheelocks owned and for what duration of time. There are six surviving bills of sale, however, and Wheelock refers to additional slaves in his will. For the easiest access to these records, see McCallum, \textit{Eleazar Wheelock}, 58-67.

\textsuperscript{96} Love, \textit{Samson Occom}, 61.
within this family, and the Indian students reciprocated. The idea that the school was encompassed by the Wheelock household, and thus a "school family" is in some senses a rhetorical designation. Yet this rhetorical school family, which spawned a style of writing by these students and their educators which was familial in tone, was also a functioning family in the most pragmatic sense. Religious convention called for the acknowledgement of those working within the missionary movement as brothers, sisters, fathers and mothers. These peers recognized that their terms of endearment or respect were conventional; that they were related only in their work for God.

The School Family

The school had to function as a household. Institutions such as church and state underwent tremendous changes in the eighteenth century, but the words of men such as William Gouge still rang true.

"A family is a little Church, and a little Commonwealth," or

at least a lively representation thereof, whereby tryall may be made of such as are fit for any place of authority, or of subjection in Church or Commonwealth. Or rather it is a schoole wherein the first principles and grounds of government and subjection are learned.97

97 William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties (London, 1634), 17, as quoted in Axtell, The School Upon a Hill, 53.
Moor's, in particular, was an overgrown household, a family where instructing children, servants and slaves took place in conventional Anglo-American household ways. Examples of this include when adolescent Indian girls were sent to neighborhood homes to learn housewifery, or when adolescent Indian boys were expected to do chores and to take their schooling for the ministry seriously. It was self-evident to Wheelock that he was the paternal leader/father of this family, which he described as "numbering between fifty and eighty members."

There were, however, a complement of other educators and parents who guided the Indian students as well. Once Moor's had a dormitory, the boys were overseen by a dorm mother, who insured their well being and with whom some of the students grew close. really should include the letter. Later at Dartmouth, Jacob Fowler and his family came to Dartmouth to be the caretakers of some Canadian Indian boys who were recruited by Wheelock in 1771. The goal was to make an Indian headed Anglo-American "home away from home" by providing the young men with caretakers who could spiritually, morally, and physically guide them in their lives outside the classroom. The Fowlers' return was dubbed a "Kind Providence" and

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Wheelock elaborated on the care the children received that year in the *Narrative*. The Fowlers had come to Dartmouth "in distress" because of the debt he incurred attempting to support his family.

According to Wheelock, the Fowlers took charge of these new recruits and "the rest of the Indians in the School." Dean was "the Master and Instructor of the Latin Scholars. And thus they are furnished with Means of an Education most agreeable to my Mind, as well as to theirs." In a rare admission of Indian virtue Wheelock concluded his account remarking that the Fowlers were serving as "proper Inspectors." They did so by serving as houseparents to the students, in a "Small but convenient House," which was at this, "Juncture vacant and at Liberty, in which Mr. Fowler and his Wife has a convenient Room at one End." At the other end of the house, the woman appointed to look after the Indian students, "Mrs. Walcott and her Daughter [had] a Room, and Bed Chamber at the other."99 The Indian children, when they "retired" from school, stayed in "a Lodging Room under the same Roof," and "so are under the Eyes of their proper Inspectors, both in, and out of School."100 While students and educators both knew that this boarding school was not a biological family, their care mimicked that they

99 *Wheelock, Narrative*, 66.

would have received in an eighteenth-century Anglo-American family.

Wheelock related to his *Narrative* readers that the poor health, and even death, of Indian students while in his care were "instructive." Anticipating the criticisms of his peers who thought that the weak constitutions of Indians made them unsuitable for education, Wheelock defended here the possibilities of Indian education. Yet even as he articulated a belief in the students' abilities, he failed to grasp that it was his treatment of the students that resulted in their death. This peculiar mix of defensiveness and assurance fit well with his self-image as a master and father-figure. He thought he could protect their health. He understood their academic potential as much as he did "our own children." In one letter he rather gently added, "I find much need of care and prudence in conducting and governing them."101 Wheelock's boarding school life had resulted in the death of at least one Oneida child. Although he hastened to note that if one observed special care respecting their diet, and exercise needs, "there is no more Danger of their Studies being fatal to them, than to our own Children."102 His defensiveness then perhaps came from a realization that there was some merit to the criticisms he feared. He


evidently did not know best, but Wheelock would never admit that the "tawnee" children could know what was best for themselves either. To admit this fallibility would be to question his own authority as their father.

His feelings concerning school discipline were similarly simplistic, and closely tied to the notion that wise parental government was all that was needed to keep Indian students successfully at their studies.

This seminary yet remains under parental government, and I find no need of any other at present I have found nothing more necessary to maintain good order and regularity among all my students hitherto than to show them what is the law & mind of Christ; what will please God, and what will not. 103

Wheelock would only admit to one student taking exception to this rule of discipline. This unidentified student contended that he or she did not have to follow Wheelock's rules because, "a great and important friend would place him elsewhere."104

Indian students who had attended school before coming to Moor's were familiar with the paternal method, but living away from home made Moor's a different, more intensive experience. The students who had been exposed to Anglo-American educational techniques, had attended small mission schools with their peers and at their families convenience. When

103 Wheelock, Narrative, 434.
104 Ibid. My discussion of Indian student rebellion can be found in Chapter four.
missionaries gathered children to learn their letters, sing or recite passages from the Bible, they did so in that child's language as best they could.\textsuperscript{105} At Moor's and Dartmouth, even though some of their relatives were present, the instruction was mostly at the hands of English schoolmasters who wanted the children to become as Anglo-American as they could become in as short order as was possible. There was no daily regime such as the one Wheelock constructed.

In 1769, Wheelock wrote that in part because of the financial crises caused by uncertain funding for Indian students, he was forced to accept more English students.\textsuperscript{106} Almost by the time Wheelock switched his interest from Moor's to Dartmouth he had fully compromised his original mission to educate Indians as missionaries. Only two Indians accompanied Wheelock to Hanover, New Hampshire. What was supposed to be a college for Indians became a college for English people whose concern was Indians. The purpose of their education was to "let virtuous English youth,

\textsuperscript{105} See the accounts of small mission schools among the Iroquois run by Wheelock Indian missionaries in WP 765365, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, June 15, 1765; WP 765374.2, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, June 24, 1765; and WP 766461.2, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 11, 1766. The earliest mission schools for southern New England Indians were in place more than a century earlier; by the 1750's generations of Indians had been exposed to education by missionaries. For a discussion of these efforts see Szasz, \textit{Indian Education}, chapter 7.

\textsuperscript{106} Wheelock, \textit{Narrative}, 361-365.
bosoms glow with piety and truth," to devote their lives to this glorious cause, "of snatching captive souls from satan's paws."107

In 1771 Wheelock considered providential Dartmouth's creation and his family's move up the Connecticut River from Lebanon to Hanover.108 It was a sign that his mission had fully succeeded. At the same time his most famous graduates started their pan-Indian movement because Anglo-Americans such as Wheelock had failed them so bitterly. Hundreds of New England Indian men and women had contributed significantly to the creation, maintenance, and sometimes failure of these institutions. Wheelock alienated some of them so completely that Occom's descendants severed all ties to the College for more than two hundred years.109 Mohegan, Montauk, Pequot and Narragansett families that had endured the effects of colonization for hundreds of years finally deserted their lands to create a Christian colony apart from the pernicious influence of Anglo-Americans.110

It should have resonated deeply with Wheelock that his most loyal followers

107 Ibid., 397.

108 Ibid., 367-368.


110 For an early account of the reasons to separate from Anglo-American society see Joseph Johnson' speech to the Oneida, McCallum, Letters, 81-82.
felt themselves betrayed enough to sever all relations with Anglo-Americans. The Brothertown Indian Movement was not solely a response to Wheelock's actions. It was Wheelock-trained scholars, however, that led the way.

Wheelock's diverse perceptions of how Indians should be educated fostered a climate of discontent, where the scholars could never quite succeed. His ambitions for educating Indians failed, at first, to acknowledge the difficulty of his undertaking. Yet Wheelock's work did lead to the creation of one of the premier academic institutions in America. His perceptions are historically acknowledged because Dartmouth College sits just off the Connecticut river today, cloaked from easy view by dark and cooling pine trees. Wheelock brought his ambitions up the Connecticut River with the continued faith that his mission was appropriately defined. As the Charter of Dartmouth College proclaimed its mission,

for the education and instruction of youths of the Indian tribes in the land, in reading, writing, and all parts of learning, which shall appear necessary and expedient, for civilizing and christianizing the children of pagans as well as in all liberal arts and sciences...¹¹¹

When the anonymous pupil's poem was published in Wheelock's 1771 *Narrative*, Moor's had educated but a handful of students and Dartmouth's

¹¹¹ WP 769663.2, "Charter of Dartmouth College."
ability to exist was in serious question. At the time, no Anglo-Americans acknowledged that the difficulties stemmed from Wheelock's estrangement from Indian tribes that might have sent students and alienation of the Indian graduates who were his principal recruiters. Samson Occom often quoted criticism of Wheelock's new plans, summarized the criticisms coming from Moor's Indian graduates.

I am very jealous that instead of your Semenary Becoming alma Mater, She will be too alba mater to Suckle the Tawnees, for She is already a Dorned up too much like the Popish Virgin Mary. She'll be Naturally ashamed to Suckle the Tawnees for she is already equal in Power, Honor, and Authority to any College in Europe.. In so Saying I speak the general Sentiment of Indians and English too these parts... In retrospect, the alienation and estrangement appear to have their roots in how Wheelock represented his mission and the Indians he thought needed his education.

To the anonymous poet and Wheelock, however, Wheelock's mission continued to be appropriate even after there were almost no Indians

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112 Wheelock described his overdrafts and debt accrued in the establishment of Dartmouth College as "outrunning the constable," in McCallum, *Eleazar Wheelock*, 193.

113 Samson Occom in particular complained about the shift away from teaching Indian missionaries at Dartmouth. He thought that by favoring the admission of whites, Wheelock betrayed Indians as well as the English donors who donated funds with the intention that the monies be used for Indian students. Blodgett, *Samson Occom*, 122-124.

114 WP 774156.2, Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock, July 24, 1774.
involved directly with his design. That Wheelock was able to maintain a
dichotomous perception of Indians as murderous savages and accomplished
scholars, allowed him and many who would judge his accomplishments to see
only success in a mission that was ignored by Indians. In saving Indians
from themselves, Wheelock isolated himself from the Indians most willing to
save others. To the poet, however, Wheelock's righteous fame was secured.

Thus Dartmouth, happy in her sylvan feat,
Drinks the pure pleasures of her fair retreat;
Her songs of praise, in notes melodious rise,
Like clouds of incense to the listening skies;
Her God protects her with paternal Care,
From ills destructive, and each fatal snare;
And may He still protect, and She adore,
'Till heaven, and earth, and time shall be no more.'

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CHAPTER II

"KEEP HIM IN SUBJECTION"

Narragansett widow Sarah Simon had high aspirations for her children. She wanted her children to be worthy, religious, and dutiful; she wanted them prepared for a prosperous life. To ensure this, Sarah sent five of her children from her home in Charlestown, Rhode Island to Lebanon Connecticut, site of Moor's Charity School. Moor's was founded to educate children like her's, poor but promising Christian Indians. She considered the promised education at Moor's a privilege for her children and a form of charity. Sarah wrote to the school's founder, Eleazar Wheelock, "I Never shall be able to Reward you for it for I Cannot be t[h]ankful eno[u]gh..."1 Beyond this letter, there are few traces of Sarah's motivations. As noteworthy as it was that Sarah sent five of her children away to school; it is at least as extraordinary that any written record of her thoughts survives. Her two letters and those of other Indian students' parents convey a host of expectations for their children in the care of Wheelock's family and

schoolmasters.

Just eight letters remain which detail parents' expectations for the students from southern New England tribes. These letters illustrate how their aspirations followed from their value systems, a blend of both Indian and European traditions. The letters considered in this chapter were composed by or for southern New England Indian parents between 1755 and 1770. During this period the Moor's student body came principally from Christian families within southern New England tribes and were often the children of political or religious leaders.

Several of these students became missionaries to the Oneida and the Mohawk, whom they in turn recruited. This phase of recruitment for Moor's could be called the second of Wheelock's designs. He used his Indian proteges to recruit children from the Iroquois because he did not have as much success as he had hoped with southern New England Indians. This despite that the men he sent to recruit from Oneida and Mohawk bands were successful southern New England recruits. In the last decade of Wheelock's life he employed a third "design," to recruit from Canadian groups living on reserves, often the children of English captives. The parents

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of the students recruited from the north had their own concerns and expectations of Wheelock's offers to educate their children which were pointedly different from parents in southern New England. Their concerns are addressed in Chapter Six.

The central argument of this chapter is that southern New England Indian parents wanted their children educated by Wheelock because he could provide their children with religious, economic, and social opportunities that otherwise would be unavailable to them. Whether they expected their children to become ordained, college-educated ministers or teachers in missionary schools, they wanted their children educated by Wheelock as long as he was affording them the education promised. Students' parents' expectations were tied to their understanding of Anglo-American family roles. They expected their children to become members of Wheelock's family serving as apprentices, servants, or charity cases. These roles approximated those for Anglo-American colonists' indentured children. The idea was that children were to be "used" or "kept in subjection" so that they might learn a trade, or in the case of Moor's, accept a calling.

I will argue further that these expectations were just that, merely

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3 For two recent treatments of servitude in Anglo-American homes of the time see Gundersen, _To be Useful to the World_, 58-71, and Wall, _Fierce Communion_, 102-105, 116-118.
expectations. Importantly, the parents retained the ability to end their child's education. Yet, the parents could do little to impress upon Wheelock the direction they wished their children's education to take. For example, formal written agreements were not part of these parents' experience, with the tenure of apprenticeship agreed upon in advance as with indentured servitude. Nor was there any available recourse against Wheelock for failing to instruct their children suitably. The parents' letters do not explain social contracts well understood by both parties; nor do they delineate terms of indenture. The letters do not always even give clear information on the mechanics of the education they wanted Wheelock to provide.

Still, the parents' letters provide an abundance of details and share common characteristics which help us to understand their perspective by providing a counterpoint to Wheelock's grand proclamations about his design, a design that could not succeed without the cooperation of Indian parents. The letters were all unsolicited. The parents all wrote about wanting Wheelock to take their children in, although none of them mentioned who had given them this idea. For the Narragansett, the missionary Joseph Fish served as a go-between, as did Edward Deake. The presence of these men among Christian Indian congregations most likely served to promote the idea of sending children to Wheelock and provided an avenue for written
communication.

There is an argument to be made that this is part of the reason their letters are unclear, and often self-deprecating. In deference to Wheelock, a man who held considerable authority and cared for their children, these letters contain few ultimatums. For the parents who sent their children to Moor's in the 1750 and 1760's, that their children would become literate was marked change. None of the identifiable Indian parents who during this time sent children to Moor's and letters to Wheelock could write. They had their letters written for them by missionaries such as Edward Deake and Samuel Kirkland. It was, no doubt, a useful medium for them, making it possible to communicate with Wheelock despite the physical distance between them. One can read and interpret their letters as expressions of blended Anglo-American and Indian values, reflecting expectations of and demands made upon Anglo-American educators and missionaries responsible for their children's schooling. As such, it is important first to understand why historians can responsibly rely upon so few letters.

This chapter is divided into three parts to help demonstrate the significance of these letters. The first part of this chapter is a discussion that

4 See for example, McCallum, Letters, 204-205, 227, 228, 247. Another letter from a parent that was also written with the help of a missionary is Joseph Fish and John Shattock, Sr.'s letter to Eleazar Wheelock concerning the death of John Shattock, Jr. while in England on a fundraising tour, McCallum, Letters, 214-215.
outlines some of the problems historians have faced in trying to resurrect southern New England Indian history from the vantage of Indian-authored texts. The difficulties help to illustrate the pronounced importance of the remaining eight letters we have from southern New England Indian parents who sent their children to Wheelock. In even these few letters we discover the dilemmas the parents had to address, living as marginal members of colonial society.

The second part of this chapter is a sketch of southern New England Indian culture in the mid-eighteenth century which is intended to provide a social framework for understanding the parents' mentality and the environment from which the students came. Obviously, one could devote volumes to such a discussion; my modest ambition is to provide enough context to elicit a sense of the extent to which values had melded. By providing a small piece of cultural history, this part of my analysis is meant only to provide an outline, albeit an important one, for helping us consider the Christian Indian parent's expectations as expressed in their letters. It is my intention to show how difficult and often woefully inaccurate it is for historians to make distinctions between that which was reputedly "Indian" and that which was reputedly "English." The third part of this chapter is an analysis of the parents' letters within this historical context.
Historians studying native peoples have not often used the words of a woman such as Sarah Simon. The difficulty of determining native peoples' experience in eighteenth-century New England begins with this substantial handicap: few known Indian authored sources. Instead of having access to writing by women such as Sarah Simon, historians have relied upon documents written by observers of Indian life: explorers' journals, captives' accounts, and missionaries' letters. Translated, edited, selective and notoriously ethnocentric, these accounts are sometimes the only existing historical records, especially during early contact periods. The documentation available from the eighteenth century, while considerably more voluminous, was still written primarily by observers of Indian life. There is sufficient motivation for using documents created from the colonizers' point of view. For example, often Native Americans written perspective is unavailable, either because it never existed, or it was not

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preserved.\textsuperscript{6} Although literacy presumably rose among Indians, few personal written records from the eighteenth century have been identified by New England historians to study.

What historians have relied upon to craft a revised Indian history are official or public documents. There was little motivation for literate Anglo-Americans to document the thoughts of native peoples, who were presumed to have nothing to contribute to society. However, legal rights, which were furiously contested throughout this period are plentifully documented. Historians such as Jean O'Brien, Ann Plane and Daniel Mandell have used the many legal documents which concern Indians, or note what Indians said, or record what was agreed upon between negotiators, to reconstruct Native American perspectives in specific regions or tribes.\textsuperscript{7}

From this class of documents persuasive and complex arguments have been

\textsuperscript{6} The literature of how Native Americans preserved their heritage without writing is rich and diversified. I have incorporated those examples that are part of the oral heritage available to the historian today to help shape my arguments. At the same time, I am interested in demonstrating that there does remain a compelling written record of the Indian students' history for historians use. Two sources for southern New England oral tradition include William S. Simmons, \textit{Spirit of the New England Tribes Spirit of the New England Tribes: History and Folklore, 1620-1984} (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986) and Richard Erodes and Alfonso Ortiz, eds., \textit{American Indian Myths and Legends} (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984). Researcher Gladys Tontaquidgeon was an early oral historian of the Wampanoog, collecting information on their material culture. See "Newly Discovered Straw Basketry of the Wampanoog Indians of Massachusetts," \textit{Indian Notes} 7 (1930): 475-484.

\textsuperscript{7} I refer here especially to Mandell's discussion of legal rights and guardianship in \textit{Behind the Frontier}, chapters 1, 2 and 3; O'Brien, \textit{Dispossession by Degree}, chapters 5 and 6; and Plane's discussion of legal rights and lawful marriage in, "Colonizing the Family," chapters 1, 4 and 5.
constructed.

However, historians remain fortunate that Indian students attended Moor's because Wheelock saved personal correspondence, literary expression, diaries, and religious writing by southern New England Indians. The advantage of studying Moor's is that there are clusters of written documents written by Native Americans. Some of the best-known Indian-authored documents from the eighteenth-century were composed by students who attended Moor's. Joseph Johnson's diary, Hezekiah Calvin's letters and David Fowler's letters have, for example, received scholarly attention. However, even when historians have used personal written expression, rather than official documents, the scholarly attention has tended to focus on well-educated Indian authors who were famous in their day.

The best example of this approach is in the study of Samson Occom's writing and life. Since the 1700's, Samson Occom's writing has been studied by historians anxious to understand this unique individual. Biographies,

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scholarly articles, and entries in biographical dictionaries abound. Occom's fame was in part secured by the rarity of such writing, his easily understood prose, and contemporary fame among Anglo-American colonists. Occom's *Execution Sermon for Moses Paul* published in 1772 was probably the first book printed in English written by an Indian. This sermon alone went through at least nineteen separate editions, and is still the subject of contemporary Indian studies. I suspect that the novelty of such writing came partly from contemporary Anglo-American ignorance that Indians could be eloquent.

The Indians who became highly literate at Wheelock's schools were probably exceptional. It was unusual for Indians to receive effective lessons in writing or reading, but this does not necessarily indicate a cultural disinterest in literacy. In southern New England many Indian children

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11 Occom intended this sermon to be read by "poor Negroes" and to his "poor kindred the Indians." For a selection from this sermon and a discussion of its publication history, see McCallum, *Oجسم*, 142-144.
attended small missionary schools begun in the praying towns of the seventeenth century. There they learned the alphabet, biblical lessons, and rudimentary academic skills. Southern New England Indians did take the opportunity to write to one another, and we have some remaining examples. One letter to Samson Occom from his sister Sarah Wyacks, a rusticated student from Moor's, suggests that personal Indian correspondence is not as uncommon as one might presume. In August of 1763 she wrote Occom in her own hand about her mother's and her own spiritual state and how they needed help getting the crops planted. Perhaps most important, she sent well wishes on the birth of the Occoms' new child. There is nothing to indicate that it was unusual for her to write. In fact, the letter's closing in her even writing anticipates a response, "I hope you will favour me with a few lines & some good wholesome councils and advices ...." This letter would probably not have been preserved if it had not been written to a famous brother; surely much Indian writing is lost to us.

It is a misperception that New England Indian history is irretrievable today because such paltry evidence is left. The idea that southern New

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12 Szasz, Indian Education, 133-141.

England Indians disappeared has encouraged generations of scholars to ignore colonial New England's cultural and racial diversity. Historians have recently shown that this disappearance was false but locating documents written by ordinary Indians is difficult. Part of this difficulty is in the broader task of identifying personal documents written by Indians. The now controversial question in New England colonial history of whether Indians engaged in changing their identity raises the question of whether historians have simply assumed that all writing was left by white people, because there is nothing indicated in the name of a person to identify them as Indian.14

Historian Thomas Doughton takes historians to task for suggesting that Indians are at all difficult to identify. They are difficult to identify in official historical sources, he contends because white people have been intent on making Indians disappear from the historical records. Importantly, he argues that historians have accepted this representation of disappearance by then claiming that disappearance was a strategy of Indians to be ignored, blended in or assimilated into the broader society. "Failure to see Indians," Doughton concludes, "refers only to the vision of a Eurocentric observer."15

14 See Herndon and Sekatau, "The Right to a Name," 114-144.

The question of identity and who was understood to be Indian in the eighteenth century and who was doing the understanding qualifies whether historians can ever adequately describe people's differences without becoming racial essentialists. This problem is at the crux of identity studies. If historians stay close to eighteenth-century New England designations of identity we find at least two means of personal identification. There was a legal or lawful identification, determined by Anglo-Americans according to Anglo-American laws. This type of identification could be altered by census takers or Indian agents as circumstances arose. Sometimes these changes were made simply by whim as Anglo-American town officials changed Indians' lawful identity from mixed breed, to black, to Indian without any apparent cause. New England Indians joined in this process of racial obfuscation by changing their identities as it suited their needs. Taxation, land ownership, and inheritance rights were some of the circumstances that led people to change, or try to change, their racial identity for official purposes. Economic motivations for claiming a particular identity, for

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16 It is beyond the scope of this study to determine why such changes occurred, but these racial categories carried significance in their culture so there is a strong likelihood that there are patterns to the identification process. Baron, Hood and Izard provide some compelling examples of this apparently hapless change in identification in "They Were Here All Along," 566.
example, show the adaptability of colonial peoples with mixed ancestry.¹⁷

Demonstrating identity for official purposes however should not be confused with how Indians viewed themselves. As I will argue later, Moor's students worked actively to prove to Wheelock that they had foregone their Indian identity, by avoiding all behavior associated with Indianness - eating habits, beliefs, gendered division of labor, etc. At the same time they raised funds, wrote letters for missionary audiences, and preached publicly as exemplary Indians, as the epitome of what a civilized Indian could be. To be, or not to be, was often their question.

The problems historians have faced in trying to reconstruct southern New England Indian history using Indian-authored texts are inherently related to questions of identity. Coupled with questions of external identity are questions raised by self-identification. Self-identification was an arguably important feature of Indian identity in eighteenth-century southern New England life. Racial identity for some New England Indians was flexible, in part, because of intermarriage with African Americans.¹⁸ If one is trying to avoid being identified as an Indian, then surely writing left by such a person


¹⁸ See also Baron, Hood, and Izard, in "They Were Here All Along," 566-67.
becomes difficult to identify. For example, if one had a European name, and wrote a personal letter, there is no need to identify oneself as Indian. Many historians have recently shown the absolute importance of the ability to become invisible to Anglo-Americans. Blending in was important to Indians in the eighteenth-century because they were able to escape notice in a hostile Anglo-American society.\textsuperscript{19} This fluid and flexible ability to self-identify proves important to this study because interaction with and withdrawal from Anglo-American society was a recurring feature of New England Indian life, and certainly of Wheelock's students. All of these conditions, few known sources, catering to exceptionalism, and difficulty in determining identity, help to foster an unnecessary absence of Indians in the scholarly social history of colonial New England.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{19} For examples of Indians blending in to escape notice and asserting their identity to gain legal rights, see Calloway's discussion of the Abenaki strategy for survival in \textit{The Western Abenaki}, 233-237, 240-243.

\textsuperscript{20} Since the mid-1980's, historians such as William Cronon and Neal Salisbury have demonstrated that New England Indians were significant actors in colonial New England's history. The pathbreaking studies here are Neal Salisbury, \textit{Manitou and Providence}, William Cronon, \textit{Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists and the Ecology of New England} (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) and Calloway, \textit{The Western Abenaki}. Calloway offers primarily an analysis of war and migration of the Abenaki, yet contends that the family was the center of Indian life, Calloway in particular argues that the family band "became the basic unit of survival" for the Abenaki and "continued to function as the basic unit of community and survival for hundreds of Abenaki in dozens of remote locations," 33, 235. James Merrell has argued that by using Native American's experience as a venue for looking at broad questions of economic and political systems, historians can better understand colonization, in "Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, 3d ser., 46 (1): 117-119 (1989).
That is why letters from common, poorly educated, Indians such as the parents who sent their children to Wheelock from southern New England provide important missing words from our current understanding of Indian life in eighteenth-century New England. First, the authors identify themselves as Indians. Second, the letters are powerful remaining evidence of personal expression, unfettered to the legal system or questions of rights. Third, they include female writers. Poor, illiterate Indian women such as Sarah Simon are nearly undocumented. Simon and her fellow correspondents lend their few words to a field of study ordinarily dominated by the volumes of writing by Anglo-American missionaries and famous, well-educated male Indian authors.

Cultural Sketch

There is still far too little known about the status of New England Indians in the eighteenth century to make confident conclusions about the extent to which the Indians who attended Moor's to receive an English education were Christianized, acculturated or subjugated. If one were to reconstruct what values these southern New England groups held and in turn what they might expect of an Anglo-American education, one might have difficulty drawing any distinction from their Anglo-American counterparts.
An examination of the intellectual and social aspirations of the Indians educated by Wheelock entails a thorough examination of the expectations held by those educated and those educating. It would be easiest to label these expectations and perceptions as Anglo-American goals. Yet one of the consequences of two hundred years of contact is that these goals are no longer neatly divided as Indian and English. In fact an essentialist racial distinction ascribed to values held in much of southern New England, particularly in the eighteenth century, is woefully inaccurate. There are far too many factions among tribes, individual examples of differences of opinion, and a constantly changing set of criteria by which to judge "Indianness" to make confident conclusions about the values of Indian parents who sent their children to Wheelock.

Indian proteges, as well as their Anglo-American educators, perceived and persisted in unearthing and articulating the profound differences among peoples that they described as "Indian" and "white." They freely used strict categorization for Indianness, easily and casually identifying those attributes "Indian" and those attributes "English." As Wheelock's protege and a Delaware, Hezekiah Calvin once expressed the paradoxical desire to educate coupled with the inevitability of failure, "Oh how glad should I be if I could do but a Little good among these Savages, but yet I think Indians will be
This map of southern New England shows approximately where Algonquian Indian students came from during much of the period studied here. The Delaware students were not included in this map.

Indians[.] they will still follow their evil Practices. &c."

On another occasion Samson Occom wrote about a student, "I have taken much Pains to purge all the Indian out of him, but after all a little of it will sometimes

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McCallum, *Letters*, 51, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 11, 1766.
The degree to which these designations were considered innate, immutable, behavioral differences or merely bad habits readily reformed, changed with circumstance and time. Both Wheelock and his Indian students had moments of clarity when people's behavior made sense and fit their understanding of how "Indian" and "English" people should behave.

Figure 2.1 shows the tribal groupings of Indians living in what today is southern New England and Long Island. When Europeans first made contact with the Indians in the present-day vicinity of New England and Long Island they found Indians who shared cultural characteristics, principal among them being language, religious beliefs and a reliance upon fixed agriculture combined with seasonal camps for fishing and hunting. These Indians are identified as Algonquian Indians. As the table below illustrates, the Indians who came to Moor's Charity School came from many tribes, although most were from Algonquian tribes. Of this group, the greatest number of Algonquians were Narragansetts. The Narragansett lived within a 64 square mile region near Charlestown, Rhode Island, allotted them in 1709.23

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22 WP, 764560.1, Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock, October 10, 1764.

Table 2.1
Tribal Identification of Indian Students Tutored by Eleazar Wheelock or Attending Moor's Charity School, 1748 - 1781.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iroquois</th>
<th>Algonquian</th>
<th>Canadian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>Cape Cod</td>
<td>Caughnawga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oneida</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>Huron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohegan</td>
<td>St. Francis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Montauk</td>
<td>Undesignated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niantic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pequot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stockbridge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tunxis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 30</td>
<td>Total 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N = 101. Excludes seven students for whom no tribal designation is available and Indians identified as students, but who do not appear in school rolls. Sources: Wheelock Papers, Dartmouth College, esp. "Moor's Charity School List of Students," and McCallum, Letters.

Table 2.1 also shows Moor's drew students from the Pequot, Mohegan and Niantic tribes. The Mohegans and Pequots were Connecticut Indian tribes. The Mohegan Indians lived on several thousand acres along the Thames river, which was not legally a reservation, but which was under the jurisdiction of colonial government. By the 1720's the tribe numbered 351, who were separated into two opposing bands one-half mile apart between New London and Norwich The Pequots lived on two reservations, the smaller Stonington reservation occupying 280 acres and the much larger Mushantuxet reservation covering nearly 2,000 acres near New London. The
Mushantuxet Pequots lived in the vicinity of Moor's.\textsuperscript{24} Moor's students also came from the Western Niantics, a tribe who in 1761 had a population of 85 living in six wigwams and eleven houses. The Niantics were later absorbed by the Mohegans.\textsuperscript{25} Far less documented are the Tunxis who lived near present day Farmington, Connecticut and who sent one scholar to Moor's.\textsuperscript{26}

Moor's drew students from a variety of disparate tribes in Massachusetts. In western Massachusetts and northwestern Connecticut, in an area known as Stockbridge, a group of Indians known as the Housatonic retained part of the land determined to be their's by the Massachusetts General Assembly. In 1734 the missionary John Sergeant began his missionary work among that faction of the Housatonic that came to be known as Stockbridges. Eight Stockbridges eventually attended Moor's, the largest contingent from Massachusetts. The lone "Cape Cod" Indian to attend was Nathan Clap, who tribal membership in the Moor's records is never described beyond the region. There were a number of Indian towns on

\textsuperscript{24} For an introduction to Pequot history see Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., \textit{The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation} (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990).

\textsuperscript{25} Conkey, Boissevain and Goddard, "Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Late Period," 181-182.

the Cape, with many vestiges of the praying town model still in place.  

To the west and south of Moor's came students from the Delaware and Montauk tribes. The Delaware who came to Moor's were most likely speakers of the Munsee dialect who lived in the vicinity of present day Jersey City, New Jersey. There were Delawares dispersed throughout portions of New York, Delaware and possibly Long Island. As is the case with nearly all of Algonquian tribes, documentation is often sparse and most of the information available for the colonial period dates from the seventeenth century. Estimates indicate that in the eighteenth century the total population of Delaware Indians was around 3,000 people.  

John Brainerd, a missionary among the Delaware and friend of Wheelock, brought promising Delaware youth to Moor's. The Montauk lived on eastern Long Island and often were linked to the Pequots, Narragansetts and Niantics across the sound through extended kinship networks, and occasionally war. In the late 1700's Samson Occom estimated their population to be several

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27 For the most thorough study of Massachusetts Indians in the eighteenth century see, Mandell, *Behind the Frontier*.


No matter how different the tribes were from which the students came, there is evidence that the Indians who attended Moor's from Algonquian groups came from families who embraced Christianity and who identified with Anglo-American ways. For example, the Occom family's naming pattern shows the steady influence of European culture upon native peoples. Samson's grandfather, who settled at Mohegan in the late seventeenth century, was called "Tomockham alias Ashenon." His sons were named Tomocham Junior, John Tomocham and Joshua. Joshua married Sarah, with whom he had at least three children: Lucy, Jonathan and Samson. The Occoms may well have considered these "family" or "traditional" names by the time they had been in use for two generations. Nearly all of the students had European first names and surnames.


31 Blodgett, Samson Occom, 28.

32 The naming patterns of New England Indian groups awaits further study. I would theorize that adoption within tribes, economic relationship with whites including servitude in their homes, and Christianization were influential in the acceptance of European names among the Mohegan, Pequot and Narragansett for example. In one study of naming among the Cherokee, Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr., and Lonnie E. Underhill, found that 21,000 of the 28,000 had European names in 1902. See, "Renaming the American Indian: 1890-1913," American Studies 12 (2): 34 (1971).
Conversion efforts made by educators at Moor's to "introduce" Christianity to the Indian students failed to note the impact that a century and a half of contact had made. English missionaries, even in the middle of the eighteenth century, consistently assumed that Indian minds were *tabula rasa*, as far as European spiritual knowledge and material culture was concerned.

Whether untouched or simply unmoved by contact with English colonists, the descriptions of southern New England Indian villages suggest that pre-contact Indian ways could at the same time be tenacious and change little. As late as 1779, Indiantown around present day Yarmouth, Massachusetts was "still a cluster of wigwams." Other accounts indicate that southern New England Indians continued to migrate seasonally and gain their livelihood about the countryside. In middle age Samson Occom reflected that his parents had led "a wandering Life, as did all the Indians at Mohegan; they Chiefly depended upon Hunting, Fishing, and Fowling for their living and had no connections with the English, excepting to traffic with them." While varying seasonal economic activity was a feature of

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33 Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes*, 78.

34 Samson Occom, "Account of Mohegan life," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 10 (Boston, 1805), 105-110. Research done on the dismantling of northeastern Indian society through economic contact with whites focuses on their experience in the 16th and 17th centuries. See for example, Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, in passim and chapter seven in particular. See also Calvin Martin, "The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe: An Ecological Interpretation," *William and Mary Quarterly*,
colonial life for both southern New England Indians and Anglo-American colonists, migration was decidedly more associable with Indian ways. Historians and tribal members have argued effectively that pre-contact ways such as seasonal migration persisted and even flourished despite the cultural onslaught of colonization. As such, the extent to which certain New England Indian populations, or individual Indians from within the populations, accepted, rejected, assimilated, or adapted Anglo-American concepts is a valuable, if troublesome, measure by which to assess the notion of Indian identity.

In his diary of his mission among the Narragansett, Joseph Fish described a mixture of Narragansett and English architectural and social traditions. Definitive English influence was in evidence when Fish observed


the Narragansett building chimneys, fencing in livestock with hedges, and getting drunk. Yet, he wrote in his diary that his associate Mr. Edward Deake and Samuel Niles, a student at Moor's, told him not to visit the Narragansett one July day because "the busy season calld them abrod." Pursuing their seasonally mobile lifestyle was difficult in the eighteenth-century because of the encroachment of Anglo-American homesteads. Fish's observations suggest that the Narragansett were tied to the seasonal ways of their ancestors, but had adopted many English practices. Archaeological evidence points to the conclusion that many New England Indians were farming in the English manner, eating a more European diet and using European tools to live that way. On another occasion Fish witnessed the Narragansett singing "a hymn in their way; And then several of them, very


37 The habits of seventeenth century praying town inhabitants have received far more scholarly attention than have the Christian Indians living in the following century. Brenner, in particular, has argued that those Christian Indians living on Martha's Vineyard in the seventeenth century were employing a strategy of self-determination, and not falling "prey" to missionaries. She marshals significant evidence of political and religious autonomy. "That is, the praying Indian could play the game externally while still maintaining traditional cultural behavior." See "To Pray or to be Prey," 144. For an examination of various scholarly arguments concerning the praying Indians consult Harold W. Van Lonkuyzen, "A Reappraisal of the Praying Indians: Acculturation, Conversion, and Identity at Natick, Massachusetts, 1646-1730," New England Quarterly 63 (3): 396-397 (1990).
devoutly Exhorted and Stirred up one another."38

Historian Kathleen Bragdon, in her study of Nantucket Christian Indian probate records, found in the middle of the eighteenth century many probate listings of housing materials needed to build in the English manner. Nails and clapboards were needed to build the Indian houses that stood next to wigwams in the Natick Indian community of twenty-five families.39 As early as the mid-seventeenth century Indians at Natick had partitions in their wigwams, fencing, a whipping tree, town stocks, a sawmill and forges.40

Wheelock also recruited from tribes such as the Abenaki, Montauk, Mohegan and Pequot who, to differing degrees, also used a variety of European tools, techniques, and clothing.41 Evidence of ownership, as historians have noted, does not necessarily signal acceptance of cultural values and practices that Europeans assigned to these tools, food, and

38 Simmons and Simmons, Old Light on Separate Ways, 31.


41 For examples in Montauk society see Suffolk County Archaeological Association Readings in Long Island Archaeology and Ethnohistory, The History and Archaeology of the Montauk Indians (Lexington, Mass.: Suffolk County Archaeological Association, 1979), 13-126. According to Calloway, The Western Abenakis, 18, by the eighteenth century many Western Abenaki had French names, wore French clothing, considered themselves Catholics, and were buried in French cemeteries.
architectural designs. Nor does acculturation necessarily imply a steady inundation resulting in a cumulative, permanent change in cultural behavior. As Thomas Sowell has written, culture must necessarily re-invent itself. In the aftermath of King Philip's War, for example, the Christian Indians at Natick who had in 1669 between 30 and forty members, by 1698 had only ten. That same year, according to members of the New England Company, only one Indian child at Natick under the age of sixteen could read, and they no longer hired a schoolmaster. As one historian has argued the "process of constant redefinition was neither smooth nor linear." Despite the near decimation of southern New England Indians and their culture, they coupled continuity with innovation and created new expressions of Indian identity.

Archaeological studies of pre-contact New England coastal groups support Fish's observations about the blending of cultural practices. The Mashantucket Pequots, who by the middle of the eighteenth century lived on a Massachusetts reservation, left physical evidence of two communities within their borders. One of those communities, Indiantown, was a place

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where some Indians who attended Moor's sometimes took refuge when the pressures of schooling overwhelmed them.\textsuperscript{45} Indiantown was small, probably no more than 200 people called it home, but the archaeological remains of their lives suggest that Indiantown residents lived in framed houses, had barns, root cellars, wells and fields marked off by stone fencing. A cemetery and a meeting house helped to make Indiantown fit in with colonial Anglo-American New England cultural practices.\textsuperscript{46}

Importantly, archaeological evidence also suggests that the other community, for which there is no known name, retained more of its native Pequot practices.\textsuperscript{47} Colonization had permanently divided Indian communities, with some factions identifying more closely with Anglo-Americans while others worked diligently to insulate themselves from European influence and preserve indigenous values. This pattern of identification was true for the Mohegan, Narragansett, and Montauk people

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\textsuperscript{45} An example of this includes Jacob Wooley's departure for Moor's in 1764. See WP 764120.2, Joseph Fish to Eleazar Wheelock, January 20, 1764. My discussion of this incident is discussed in chapter five.

\textsuperscript{46} These generalizations are drawn from the archeological findings of Kevin McBride, "The Historical Archaeology of the Mashantucket Pequots, 1637-1900: A Preliminary Analysis." In \textit{The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation}, eds. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 111-113.

\textsuperscript{47} Kevin McBride, "Desirous to Improve," 10.
as well. This division is also important because it illustrates how decisions made about conforming to colonizers' ways or staying true to one's natal culture, can be a false distinction. Both ways by the eighteenth century were "Indian." Sarah Simon sent her children away to be raised by Eleazar Wheelock, in part, because she already agreed with his religious values and advocated at least some of his approach to educating children.

Sometimes "English" ways were rejected only after careful consideration of the concepts presented. "A Mother of Children," reported a shocked Fish, said "She never had any conviction "of her lost estate, her need of Christ, etc., nor ever had any concern about her Soul, etc." It was to Fish, "one of the most remarkable Instances of total Security and Insensibility that I ever met with."48 Although this woman rejected Christianity, it is unclear whether she did so mainly because it was a religion introduced by Europeans. Her "total security and Insensibility" may have had its roots in disliking the faction of Narragansetts who were Christian. As much as Fish might have wished that it was his religious values that were being rejected, the fact was that the advent of the Great Awakening meant many

48 Simmons and Simmons, Old Light on Separate Ways, 50. Carol Devens argues that Indian women in the Great Lakes region during this time period were the vanguards of traditional ways and were noted often in the missionary records for being resentful toward missionary efforts. See Countering Colonization:Native American Women and Great Lakes Missions, 1630-1900. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 22-23, 77-78, 80, 106-108.

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Narragansetts converted to Christianity before he could exert influence.

By 1720, the Reverend James MacSparran served as minister to the English settlement in Narragansett. His Episcopalian church served a congregation composed of black slaves, Indian servants, and English masters. According to another minister from the area, MacSparran's congregation included seventy blacks and Indians. Reportedly these Indian converts were those Indians who lived as servants in Anglo-American households away from the tribal community. These Indian converts were possibly picking up "English ways" from slaves or former slaves. MacSparran himself had slaves whom he punished for having liaisons with other slaves or servants, and for running away. His colored congregation's acceptance of "his" religious values may have been superficial. These Narragansett servants may have differentiated between African-American Christian religious values and expressions; accepting a composite religion, not simply that of Anglo-Americans. Or as historian William Simmons has argued, the Narragansett

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50 For a detailed study of Narragansett experience during the Great Awakening, see William S. Simmons, "Red Yankees: Narragansett Conversion in the Great Awakening," *American Ethnologist* 10 (1983): 253-271. Simmons views the Great Awakening as fostering a new moral cohesiveness for the Narragansett and that the Great Awakening led to the foundation of a Christian community at Narragansett that even today aids tribal cohesiveness that would not otherwise have occurred. Peter Onuf provides a detailed account of the composition of the New Light membership in a town close to Moor's location, though
also influenced religious expression during the Great Awakening, as when Separatists danced, entered into trances, believed in revelatory dreams, and signs from nature.\textsuperscript{51} It appears likely that the Great Awakening, in particular, was fueled by cultural interaction rather than being a movement of strict cultural imposition.

Since interspersion of peoples in colonial America led to a mixing of ways, it is difficult at times to discern clear roots of traditions. At one time Fish missed an opportunity "of preaching to 200 People, Indians, Negro's and White, who gathered to hear me Yesterday, at John Shattock's as the Indians tell me."\textsuperscript{52} This intermingling of people gathered to hear an English missionary at an Indian leader's home speaks to the blending of cultural identity taking place in daily Narragansett life as well as in institutions such as Moor's Charity School. Two hundred people, black, white and Indian, were

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he does not address racial diversity in his treatment, see "New Lights in New London: A Group Portrait of the Separatists," \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, 3d ser., 37 (4): 627-643 (1980). Onuf's conclusion that in New London, Connecticut, New Lights tended to be in their twenties and that adolescents whose families became New Lights were more likely to become enthusiasts is interesting because it would appear that the same tendencies were true for the Indian converts who came to study with Wheelock.
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\textsuperscript{52} Simmons and Simmons, \textit{Old Light on Separate Ways}, 40-41.
\end{flushright}
gathered at Narragansett possibly to hear Fish speak, but it was also the July weekend when a Pow-wow was held there.\textsuperscript{53} This inter-tribal gathering was a custom well predating any English settlement, yet by the 1740’s it was also an occasion to hear a missionary preach and witness the racial diversity of New England. Wheelock’s most successful recruits from the Narragansett, Mohegan and Montauk, had no need to be "converted," having embraced Christianity before they ever crossed Wheelock’s threshold. Wheelock assumed he needed to teach Indians how to fit into a foreign society, failing to recognize that his culture was theirs in part. This was part of the process of change occurring within New England Indian groups at the time.\textsuperscript{54}

What is interesting in part about the written material left by Wheelock’s students and their parents is the extent to which they thought a strict separation between Indianness and Englishness existed. One definite measure to these students was who was converted. Unfortunately for

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{54} In the late 1980’s Indian religious history began to emphasize, as Colin Calloway phrased it in \textit{New Directions in American Indian History} (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 223, "the process of change within native belief systems." The hope was that by abandoning strict categories of analysis historians would be encouraged to think of conversion as a continuously changing distinction. Some of these categories include "Christian" and "traditional." Anthropologist Robert Brightman, in the essay "Toward a History of Indian Religion," in \textit{New Directions in American Indian History}, ed. Colin G. Calloway (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 245, has argued that "Understanding religious change in terms of semiotic reordering of culture can show how religiously motivated behavior reciprocally reacts with and constrains other analytically distinguishable spheres of action."
historians, who could be considered "converted" and what that entailed changed over time. The questioning of categories ascribed by historians or observers of unfamiliar cultures is useful and has benefitted the study of Indian religions in New England. Yet I think it important to understand that Indians who attended Moor's used categories such as "Christian," and "wild" to help explain where they fit in society as well as to argue why others should not be accepted. Perhaps they did not mean what they wrote or believe what they espoused, but they did use categories which are uncomfortably rigid for historians today. Their categorizations are important because when reconstructed they can relate the historical significance of these categories. Knowing what people have meant by "slave," "servant," "Christian," and "convert" is important, because otherwise we impose our understanding of these terms and obscure their historical meaning.

An excellent example of how a conversion could be considered a defining moment which altered one's identification is the account of Joseph Johnson. Yet Johnson's words relate his conversion to becoming a man, to accepting responsibility, as a stage in life, not as changing him from "Indian" to "Christian." A conversion began as a singular moment where a young adult chose to become a Christian. By his own account, Johnson's conversion happened at age twenty-one. "But let me tell you, before I let you go," he
wrote, "I am but one year and three months old properly. and my friend, you can't expect that, in such a short time, I have arrived to manhood." His conversion served as a signal to follow tenets of Christianity, and he tells "the inquiring friends" for whom this piece is written that he is only a "babe in Understanding."55

From what we know of the parent's expectations for their children's education and the adult students' expectations, conversion was also a pathway to building "character" that would lead to becoming a minister, minister's wife or a well-educated farmer. Although conversion is written about as a religious event that had daily relevance only in a spiritual sense, conversion for Indians was also an economic and social opportunity for betterment. Joseph Johnson "proved" the sincerity of his conversion by becoming a teacher. He referred to teaching as his "Great Undertaking," and explained that he was employed by the Board of Commissioners in Boston, kept a school for Indian children in Farmington and maintained "a Good Character both among the English and also among my brethern...you might easily be satisfied, if you Enquire of my Character, where I am known."56

One way to analyze these distinctions is to see how the parents who sent

55 McCallum, Letters, 146-147, Joseph Johnson to Enquiring Friends, n.d.

56 Ibid.
their children to Wheelock understood them.

**Parental Expectations**

Recovering the role of Indian mothers' and fathers' aspirations for their children is an important part of understanding eighteenth-century Indian values and notions of education, acculturation, and identity. Conversion, while important in the students' writing, does not appear in their parents' writing. For Samson Occom, at least, conversion to Christianity provided the impetus to study with Wheelock. The parents allude to their own faith, but their concerns are often far more temporal. The educations may have begun with conversion, but their children's educations were also part of a process that demanded long separations from family and the sharing of parental authority with Eleazar Wheelock. The parents' choices, expectations and sacrifices provided students for Moor's and enabled the school to flourish.

The many accounts of Samson Occom's arrival at the Wheelock home reveal one family's commitment to an Anglo-American education. In several accounts, the familial context of Occom's decision to study under Wheelock is left out, as if Samson had simply stepped out of a Connecticut mist one morning. However, ignoring the familial contexts in which decisions were
made by Indians impoverishes our understanding of colonial family and racial history. Samson himself added to this tendency to erase parental influence. Making Latin notation of his mother's work in support of his education, "Mater mea et Duo Libri Ejus Venierunt as Dominum Wheelock manere ibi Tempori," Occom underscored his Anglo-American accomplishments, pointing away and encoding his mother's much needed financial support.\(^{57}\) The historical erasure of familial context does not alter the crucial fact that Sarah Occom and Sarah Simon wanted their children educated in an Anglo-American household. It was their guidance in part that determined how their children experienced colonial culture.

Typically, in the beginning years of Moor's Charity School, students arrived in groups of two or three having been identified as among the most promising of a particular band's Christian youth. In 1754 two Delaware boys arrived, in 1757 two more followed. Frequently students came from the same families, recruited in part by one another. This pattern of bringing Indian youth in small familial groups continued throughout the school's history. The parents who dictated letters to Wheelock are representative of this trend. Sarah Simon sent five of her children, John Shaddock sent two boys and Mary and Samson Occom were part of an extended family that sent many

\(^{57}\) As quoted in Love, *Samson Occom*, 38.
Table 2.2
Letters from Southern New England Indian Moor's Charity School Students' Parents to Eleazar Wheelock, 1766-1772.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author/Parent</th>
<th>Tribal Affiliation</th>
<th>Student/Children</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Simon</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>Emmanuel, Sarah, James,</td>
<td>10/9/1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abraham, Simon</td>
<td>10/12/1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Shattock</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>Tobias</td>
<td>12/30/1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Niles</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>Toby</td>
<td>1/15/1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Towsey</td>
<td>Stockbridge</td>
<td>David, Benjamin</td>
<td>12/17/1771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2/29/1772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Occom</td>
<td>Montauk</td>
<td>Aaron</td>
<td>11/8/1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7/15/1767</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=8. Sources: Wheelock Papers, Dartmouth College, also Wheelock Papers, Index.38

It took commitment for Sarah Simon to send her children to be educated at Moor's. They could be students for several years, and if they stayed on to become missionaries, her children would be hundreds of miles from home, proselytizing to foreign Indians. Despite the separation from her children that this education entailed, Sarah sent her children to Moor's. She expected to "wholy give" her son James, "up to You, to be altogether under

58 David Towsey's letters are discussed in Chapter 1.
your wise Instruction," until he turned twenty-one, "begging this favour only, that You wou'd at proper seasons, allow him ye privilege of visiting me."

Raising her children was forfeited for "Visits," a "privilege" of Wheelock's to withhold or grant. Sarah sent Emmanuel first in 1763, Sarah in 1765, James in 1767, and Abraham and Simon in 1768 or 1769. Sarah was particularly pleased by her daughter's reports of the "pious care of those children," at Moor's.59 No one family sent more children, Indian or Anglo-American, to Moor's. Her sustained faith in Moor's is evidenced by her willingness to send many, if not all, of her children.60

None of Sarah Simon's few remaining words hint at other, less pious, reasons for sending them to Moor's. She mentioned no economic or social pressures, nor fear of raising her children by herself. It is uncertain in what year Sarah became a widow, and it is possible that her husband was still alive in 1761. We do know she did not send any children to Wheelock until 1763. Her only articulated reasons for sending her children to Wheelock's school were her faith in God and the thought this was what was best for them. Of

59 McCallum, Letters, 227, written by Edward Deake for Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, October 9, 1767.

60 There is no evidence in the Wheelock Papers of whether she had other children who did attend Moor's. One study of Natick demographics suggest that Indian women in 1749 typically had seven live births, with an average of 2.5 children surviving to adulthood. For a discussion of this demography see Daniel Mandell, "Christian English Neighbors," 564-566.
course, just because she did not state any economic or social pressures to send her children to Wheelock, is no proof that she did not have those concerns. Yet these letters, at least as Deake recorded it, emphasize her faithfulness. This faithfulness was evidently what other Narragansetts remembered about her as she was recognized as "one of the most faithful Christian Indians in this tribe."\(^{61}\) Her children's education made her "Glad" and she hoped the Lord would "reward" Wheelock "for your paines and Laber - for I Never shall be abel to Reward you for it for I Cannot be tankful enogh for thes preveloges."\(^{62}\)

Finding a place for their children to belong in a colonial society increasingly dominated by Anglo-Americans, was an aspect of child rearing that mothers such as Sarah Simon and Sarah Occom wished to direct.\(^{63}\) Both Simon and Occom worked diligently to insure that their sons were prepared for life as Christian Indians. Sarah Simon sent her "little" son James

\(^{61}\) Love, Samson Occom, 360.

\(^{62}\) McCallum, Letters, 228, written by Edward Deake for Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, October 12, 1767.

\(^{63}\) Further study awaits the maternal cultural influence of Native Americans on Anglo-American child-rearing practices as in Alice Morse Earle's provocative suggestion that whites learned to use swinging cradles from Indians, and purchased woven cradles from Indians, Child Life in Colonial Days (1899; reprint, Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1973), 21. See also her discussion of Anglo-Americans using anodyne necklaces and fawn's teeth for infants' teething pain, 10.
so that Wheelock might "keep him in Subjection[,] keep him as long as you pleastel [sic] you think that he shall be Capabel of Bisness." She also noted that her son Emmanuel thought learning was necessary because he was called to become a "public man." Sarah's, Emmanuel's and possibly James's career expectations make no mention of the difficulties one might face as a classically trained Indian pursuing the ministry in eighteenth-century New England.

In 1766, Sarah Occom's daughter-in-law Mary Occom would send her own son to Wheelock after consulting with husband Samson through letters while he was in London for an extended fundraising tour. Mary and Samson's appeal to Wheelock to change Aaron's behavior is particularly important because it shows the extent to which they thought a Moor's education was helpful. Having been instructed by Wheelock himself, the man who would refer to himself as Wheelock's Indian son, now sent his own son to be raised by Wheelock. As Mary wrote to Eleazar, they needed his help to keep him from immoral behavior, to direct him toward good behavior and for the

64 It is difficult to know what Sarah meant by teaching James to become capable of business. The English used the word business in two ways during this period. It could mean an occupation or a trade, but it could also mean leading an active life, with many official or public engagements. See the Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 1205.

65 McCallum, Letters, 227, written by Edward Deake for Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, October 12, 1767.
economic well-being of the family. She explained,

he is trying to get married to a very bad girl, he has made one attempt to run off with her, but was disappointed, and he is out from home night and day half his time and trys to run me in debt by forging orders.66

The complaints were surely familiar to Wheelock and he did take Aaron in, as Mary wrote, “to use him as you think best.”67

One student's parents expressed their expectations that Wheelock would keep their young son William "closely to his books now, yt he may make ye greatest speed." By their accounts William was a good child, in fact "much better" since he came to stay with Wheelock. William's parents also sent another son, Peter, who according to them was "something of a bad child, rough temper and not wise." They hoped Wheelock would "exert" himself in forming "[Peter's] temper and mind straight and making him wise." Peter's parents acknowledged the difficulty of this task by assuring Wheelock that if he couldn't "master it - and are quite discouraged" that he could send them word.68 These were Oneida parents, who nevertheless shared concerns with southern New England parents about the moral

66 WP 766608.2, Mary Occom to Eleazar Wheelock, November 8, 1766.
67 Ibid.
upbringing of their son.

Toby Niles' father echoed the concerns of the other parents and added a hint of why an education at Moor's would help all Indians. Samuel Niles, wrote Wheelock a letter in January of 1767 stating that he hoped his son would "receive instruction in your school. I hope "twill be for his good, and his fellow-tures." As the tribally selected minister of the Narragansett, ordained to preach, administer communion, baptize and marry the Christians in his community, his choice to send his son to Wheelock for the improvement of his and fellow Narragansett's characters was significant.

The Indian parents who sent their sons to Moor's wanted Wheelock to mold their characters for life.

Clearly in the case of Samuel Niles, sending his son Toby could also signal a marriage of purpose. After praising Wheelock for his good work

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69 McCallum, Letters, 204-205, Samuel Niles to Eleazar Wheelock, January 15, 1767. I understand the reference to "fellow-tures" to be a shortened form of fellow creatures, as Indians were frequently referred to as creatures by missionaries in this period.

70 Simmons and Simmons, Old Light on Separate Ways, 4. Joseph Fish uses the phrase "ordained" to describe Sam Niles' ministry.

71 Another instance of this is Mary Occom sending Aaron Occom to Moor's while Samson Occom was in England. In an appendix to his yearly solicitation for money, Wheelock acknowledged that there were "Numbers of Indians who were desirous of having their Children so educated, and instructed" that the number was "Daily increased." This nod to the Indian parents' role in seeking out an education, rather than Wheelock's role in convincing them, was rarely admitted. See Wheelock, Narrative, 273.
with his son, he added, "I shou'd esteem it a favour, cou[l]d I groe into
acquaintance with You, and all other Good Men," especially those "that are
Concern'd for the well-fare of My Nation." Recruitment of some students
called for broad-based tribal approval, at least in the case of the
Narragansett. In 1767 Tobias Shattock, a Narragansett student who had
become a missionary and returned home, accounted for his band's
involvement as it related to Wheelock's hopes and parental responsibility for
promising students. Shattock wrote,

I now Inform you that I've got a boy according to your request,
who appears to be a promising youth. The council is of opinion
twou'd be best for Mr. Wheelock to take him upon trial three
months by that time you'll be able to make some judgement
what sort of man he will make.

Shattock reassured Wheelock that his influence among the Indians was
increasing, but cautioned him that this would remain true only if he kept "to
the agreement to take from our tribe none but such as are recommended by
the council."

Shattock, however, wanted an abiding commitment from the parents
as well, saying that he disliked the behavior "of boys that goes from the
school, and it gives it a bad character." He wanted the boys "given up" by

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their parents to Wheelock until they were twenty one. Shattock eventually left the affair to Edward Deake, a friend of Wheelock's and the Narragansett Council. And in 1768 one Narragansett boy was sent to Wheelock. In this instance, despite the suspicious nature in their dealings, an agreement was reached. Shattock emphasized the parents' role in keeping the children at the school while the practice of tribal consensus also continued.

Precisely what Indian parents who sent their girls to Moor's expected is difficult to discern. Moor's did welcome Indian girls at a time when only a handful of schools offered such an opportunity. English missionaries in Connecticut had historically included girls in the mission to educate, or recreate Indians, in the image of Englishmen. Governor Talcott wrote of the Mohegan, Pequot and Niantic that the girls should be sent to dame schools to prevent newly converted young men from marrying pagan girls. If providing service to a household where one lived meant that one was a servant, then at least all of the female students could be considered servants in an Anglo-American household. Conversely, if learning to read and write

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74 Patrick Frazier notes an effort to start a boarding school for girls for the Mohicans at Stockbridge in the 1750's in The Mohicans of Stockbridge, 97-101. See WP 768302, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, May 2, 1768, which describes Oneida girls being motivated to attend Moor's because they would become "bewitched" if they stayed at home.

meant one was in school, than these servants were also students. The
distinction between servant and student in eighteenth century terms is often
indistinct. These girls did learn, or perhaps more correctly, practiced skills
that would ready them for lives as teachers, tailoresses and missionaries'
wives. As such, learning housewifery was an utterly appropriate education.

No historian has yet made a detailed study of Indian servitude in
Anglo-American homes, particularly in New England, much beyond
establishing that Indians were servants or indentured help.76 There are many
recorded examples of Indian children being taken in by Anglo-Americans as
servants or slaves in cases where Indian families had trouble supporting
themselves. Historian John Sainsbury has argued that in some Rhode Island
towns in the mid-eighteenth century, all known Indians were living in Anglo-
American homes as servants. Sainsbury contends that legislation regulating

76 The fullest treatments of Indian servitude in New England are Sainsbury's "Indian
argues that in Nantucket Indians served two year apprenticeships as deep sea fishermen and
in return the employers assisted them in building houses and getting them fuel. Most of these
arrangements were "informal." Daniel Mandell cites an example of Natick Indians reportedly
setting unreasonable terms for their servitude in "My Christian English Neighbors," 558. See
also Kathleen Bragdon, "Crime and Punishment Among the Indians of Massachusetts, 1675-
1750," Ethnohistory, 28 (1): 27-29 (1981). See also Szasz, Indian Education, 222, which argues
that Wheelock"settled them as servants or possibly even as slaves," and William Cronon,
Changes in the Land, 100, who mentions Indian servants used to hunt food for colonists in the
late 1600's. Jack Campisi suggests that Indians were driven off the Pequot reservation and
into servitude by the forces of poverty, "The Emergence of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe,
Nation, eds. Laurence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry (Norman, Okla.: University of
Oklahoma Press, 1990), 125.
Indian servitude had to be passed to protect Rhode Island Indians from widespread abuses. Because he relied primarily on census figures and vital records, Sainsbury found no evidence of Indian and African-American intermarriage that might mitigate those numbers.\(^{77}\) William Apess, the renowned Pequot Methodist minister, wrote of having been sold to a white family, though he was led to believe as a child that he was an apprentice and not property.\(^{78}\)

Sarah Simon was vague about her specific expectations for her daughter's education. She wrote only "if you want a garl" she had one who would be fourteen the following month.\(^{79}\) Did she mean that this younger daughter would be sent to learn the same things as her older daughter or as the boys and young men did? Or did she mean that she had a girl old enough for servitude in another house?

Her older daughter's comments are inconclusive as well. Daughter

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\(^{78}\) In his 1829 autobiography, A Son of the Forest, Methodist minister William Apess speaks of his indentured servitude at first in familial terms, having been allowed to call his mistress' mother, "mother," but later realized that he was to be sold (his emphasis) to another local family after having run away. See Barry O'Connell, ed., On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, A Pequot (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 13-20.

\(^{79}\) McCallum, Letters, 228, written by Edward Deake for Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, October 12, 1767.
Sarah wrote that she was "willing to devote myselfe to the Cause that is if I thought I Ever should do any good in the world." Importantly she concluded this letter to Wheelock that "there should be nothing in this life [that] Should discourage me." If she aspired to servitude in an Anglo-American house, she needed the education provided by Wheelock. Learning housewifery, sewing and other female arts were necessary to becoming a valued servant. Sarah left no accounting of her reasons for believing that she should be able to do "anything," or even what anything might be. Wheelock's expectations for his female students were seldom stated and generally vague. He published only three scattered reports of what he expected the female students learn. In the longest description of female education, Wheelock dedicated a paragraph long list of how the female Indians should be trained as seamstresses and teachers. How students such as Samson Occom and Sarah Simon came to Wheelock, however, is identifiable. Their educational aspirations were in part a familial response to the prolonged presence of colonists. These students expected to serve "the cause," which was identified by Anglo-American missionaries, but which became their own. The cause they served was to proselytize for the acceptance of Christianity and the acceptance of Anglo-American gender roles.

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80 McCallum, Letters, 228, Sarah Simon (daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock, May 27, 1768.
Because Indians in colonial New England were disenfranchised, enslaved, or indentured to Anglo-Americans one might assume that families such as the Simons had little ability to change their status. But in seeking out an education, Indian students and their parents openly challenged this sort of discrimination. These sources indicate that both Indian men and women in eighteenth-century colonial Connecticut sometimes believed that their children could become ministers, farmers, community leaders, teachers and missionaries. Their expressed belief that they could hold these positions belies the often held assumption that eighteenth-century New England Indians could barely earn a living, so dependent had they become on whites to provide their very subsistence.

Parental expectations encouraged students to go to Moor's. Yet parental involvement plagued Wheelock, as Indian parents sometimes complained about the Anglo-American education their children received. In

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81 See for example Jedrey's discussion of John Cleaveland's choices in chapter three of *The World of John Cleveland*. While much research remain to be done on the employment of Indians in eighteenth century New England, many men in coastal tribes made their living as sailors, whalers, and fishermen. See also Vickers, "The First Whaleman of Nantucket."

82 Francis Paul Prucha, in *The Indians in American Society: From the Revolutionary War to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 35, cites the southern New England Indians as one of three examples of how contact with Europeans resulted in dependency "as their traditional means of survival disappeared." Sainsbury, in "Indian Labor," 378, contends that "The disintegration of the Narragansetts continued throughout the eighteenth-century and increased Indian dependence on whites for employment."
1768, Wheelock wrote an angry letter to Sarah Simon which showed his frustration with the Indian parents' meddling. He wrote that he thought she had understood the terms of their agreement, that he was "to bring up and despose of" her son James as he would his "own." Finding James "wholly ignorant" of husbandry he had first hired a man to teach James how to farm. Then he planned to "fit him as fast as I can for a School Master, & when he is fit for it I designed to put him into good business as I would a Child of my own." This education in husbandry was not what Sarah desired and she was vehement about her feelings in her written protests. Her complaints so angered Wheelock that he threatened to remove James from the school, so that he could quit throwing away "money upon him." "There were," he noted "hundreds who would be glad to come into his Room and be at my dispose as much as my own Children are." Wheelock's pronouncement was passionate but false, as there were not hundreds of Indian children waiting to take James' place. What is evident from this conflict is that Sarah Simon expected an Anglo-American education would teach her children skills they could not learn elsewhere.

For the parents who left a written record of why they wanted their children educated by Wheelock, the cultural conversion an Anglo-American education would teach her children skills they could not learn elsewhere.

education worked to create was a way to insure a better place in society than their racial identity might suggest. Indians in southern New England in the mid-eighteenth century who sent their children to Wheelock wanted the education he promised them. This simple distinction, that these parents sought out this education, is important because it illustrates their hopes for their children and shows how they effected change for their family. Battling the full force of Wheelock's delusions and racial prejudices was probably an unwinnable contest. The parents did at least enjoy the latent power of halting Wheelock's designs by withdrawing their children.

In conclusion, what we gain from reading these parent's letters is a way to see how Indians were negotiating a place for themselves in colonial society. These letters illustrate a concern principally with the economic future of their children which was tied to their status in this colonial society. Thus, one can see the desire of parents not to send their children to learn skills they already possessed, or to merely serve Wheelock as domestic help. Instead they focused their ambitions for their children on positions in society that would gain them stature, underscore their claims to leadership roles within their own tribes – as ministers or teachers – and promote their ability to be effectively incorporated into the broader society. Seeking higher education for their children was often riddled with contention and the
difficulties of relating to men such as Wheelock who did not always admit to their students' full humanity. Yet interestingly, their parents' concerns would become the grown children's concerns as they continued to find they were unable to make a living as Indian missionaries, teachers or ministers.
CHAPTER III

SONS AND SERVANTS

Samson Occom concluded a letter written to Eleazar Wheelock in 1761 with a request. "Please to remember us in your Fatherly Prayers Continually, accept Duty, and Suitable Regards to the Family from Your Most Obedient Indian Son."\(^1\) Eleazar Wheelock, in kind, referred to Samson Occom as his son, so close had grown their attachment through schooling and Occom's later efforts to keep Moor's financially afloat.\(^2\) When southern New England Indian parents sent their children to Moor's in the mid-eighteenth century, they did so with the expectation that their children would be trained by Wheelock. They sent their children knowing that doing so would entail sacrifices, such as prolonged absences. As we have seen, such sacrifice was an expression of their Christian values and their hopes that through Wheelock's care and tutelage, their children futures' would be brighter.

The attachments formed between Indian students, Wheelock, and his

\(^1\) WP 761374.3. I have corrected the spelling in this quote for clarity.

family were sometimes more evident once students left Moor's. Often the young, southern New England Indian proteges who followed their studies at Moor's with missionary work, articulated their understanding of allegiance and what they thought should be the standards for acceptance into Wheelock's household.

One way in which they communicated these ideas was by placing themselves in one of two familial roles. They identified themselves to Wheelock as children or servants. Sometimes they closed their letters as "your Indian son," "your humble servant," or as Wheelock's "Child" who would receive favor from his "kind father." Missionary David Fowler was even more forthright, closing one letter to Wheelock as "your affectionate Indian son." Of all the Indian students Wheelock only referred to Occom as his son; just a few students referred to themselves as sons or servants in letters to Wheelock. When those students used inclusive, familial Christian language in their writing, they may have hoped to approximate Occom and Wheelock's closeness.

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3 McCallum, *Letters*, 67, 68, 102. Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock, November 16, 1768; Nathan Clap to Eleazar Wheelock, June 28, 1768; and David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.

4 WP 766167.1, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, February 17, 1766.

5 WP 761625.1, Eleazar Wheelock to George Whitefield, November 25, 1761.
The questions answered in this chapter are which students engaged Wheelock in this manner? Why did they call themselves sons and servants and what can their forms of address tell us about their values? This chapter explores the dimensions of these questions primarily by examining letters written by the male Indian proteges who envisioned their own acceptance as children within the "tawnee family" during the 1760's. They forged a fit into the family by becoming missionaries to unconverted Indians, but they also used persuasive letter writing, often from their missionary outposts.

The female Indian students also acknowledged Wheelock as a father figure. However, since no female students were advanced to candidacy, they could not become missionaries. This included such students as Sarah Simon who memorably wrote that she was willing to go anywhere and do anything for the cause.6 Instead, she worked at the school, presumably making apparel to support the school. It is difficult to discern what female Indian students envisioned as their place in this same "tawnee family." There remain only the slightest of documentary hints in the two letters written by female graduates. The religious familial rhetoric called for them to serve the Lord and their master Wheelock. Everyone was metaphorically a servant in house of the Lord. Yet only the female Indian students were servants in local

6 McCallum, Letters, 228, Sarah Simon (daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock, May 27, 1768.
households. In the next chapter I discuss some of the ways in which female students negotiated their treatment while at Moor's.

**The First Indian Son**

Indians referring to white male leaders as "Father" and to themselves as "children" was nothing unusual in eighteenth-century New England. Paternalism was an undeniable attribute of Indian and Anglo-American relationships that would grow into a significant political doctrine by the Revolutionary War. As historian Francis Paul Prucha has forcefully argued, this paternalism was a pervasive political stance expressed as benevolence, oppression, and exploitation. To be sure, there was political paternalism even in Wheelock's time. In fact we can easily see how political paternalism grew out of the "charitable" paternalism that was the basis of missionary work with Indians. Paternalism was fostered by a sense in Anglo-American culture that Indians were wayward souls in need of parental, particularly fatherly control. Yet before the Revolutionary War, the balance of power had

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7 Francis Paul Prucha argues that paternalism as federal policy began after the Revolutionary War, as soon as a federal policy could exist. A useful overview of paternalism and its relationship to Indian policy is in chapter one of his book, *The Indians in American Society*, and in much greater detail in the most thorough examination of federal Indian policy and paternalism, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). The other policies which were sometimes encompassed under the umbrella of paternalism were termination and removal. For the connection between eighteenth century Indian policy and twentieth century Indian policy see, Donald L. Fixico, *Termination and Relocation, Federal Indian Policy 1945 - 1969* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), ix.
not shifted so completely in favor of the English that all northeastern Indians were considered subjugated children, or wards of the state. Some of the Indians who walked "the middle ground" were Wheelock's adult proteges and their writing provides evidence of how they thought "children" should be treated. As the adult children of God in Christian rhetoric and the adult children in the design, Wheelock's Indian students expressed their belief that their social standing was malleable and that they could become worthy of esteem.

Occom's and Wheelock's writing was substantially different from later paternalistic, diplomatic rhetoric. It differed because as the students became adults and eager proteges, they wanted to become Wheelock's ministerial colleagues. It is only superficially contradictory that a person could expect to be both someone's "child" and someone's "colleague." As students who had graduated and taken on the adult work of the cause, they would have reason to believe that they might more rightly be treated as peers. Some of the men who referred to themselves as sons were approved ministers who by most measures would be considered Wheelock's colleagues. However, the racial hierarchy of the time did not allow for true leadership in the conversion movement to be held by Indians. It is in the complexity of the Indian students' and Wheelock's relationships that we discern some of the modes in
which colonization occurred within families.

As we have already seen, Wheelock wrote about the students as being family members. For example, when Wheelock explained how Occom had come to his attention as a tutee, he wrote, "the Reverend Mr. Samson Occom, of Mohegan, came to live with me soon after he emerged out of gross paganism, and was a member in my family." Wheelock also once proudly reported to potential donors that he had "two hundred of the poor wretched children at school under the instruction of my boys in the wilderness." Wheelock conveyed here both pride in and inclusion of the Indian student missionaries, the young men who had been "brought up" to be "his boys." It is not surprising then, that "the boys" had came to the conclusion that having been raised by Wheelock and in service to his cause, that they were members of his family.

I do not mean to imply that because they regarded each other as family, that the Indian students were treated well, were somehow coddled, or were favored with Wheelock's love. Instead, I would argue that they expected

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8 Wheelock, *Narrative*, 154 and 429. For a more inclusive definition of who his family was see, Wheelock, *Narrative*, 412, "The number of my family has generally been from 50-80, including labourers. My students belonging to the college and school from 40 to 50, of which from 5 to 9, have been Indians."

that fathers might be harsh masters, but still worthy of admiration and allegiance. Some of the male and female students' natal parents also supported this paternalistic relationship and sought Wheelock's influence on their children's behavior.\textsuperscript{10} It is important to remember here that slaves, servants, and sons were all members of Wheelock's family. Familial relationships were foremost governed by mutual reliance and secondarily based upon affection. Wheelock demonstrated some of the dimensions of this relationship in a letter written during Occom's missionary work at Montauk.

Lebanon, Apr. 3, A.D. 1750.

[My Dear] Samson

Yours by the Bearer [came] to my Hand the night before last. I've wrote to Mr. Norton what I know in ye case of your continuance in yr school 6 months longer. I perceive the Honorable Commissioners are very unwilling to give up the purpose of your being fitted for the ministry if it may be & so is Mr. Williams - & my own disposition you have Known has all along been so. If you are well to persue your studies I cant but think it is advisable to return to them, if otherwise you may safely continue in the school. Dr Child, watch against pride & self esteem. Pray much. Accept Love from me & all my family. I am

Your Affectionately,

\textsuperscript{10} WP 767231, John Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock, March 31, 1767. Also illustrating this acknowledgement of Wheelock's paternal role is Mary Occom's (Samson Occom's wife) decision to send her son to Wheelock "to do as he saw fit," after causing her a great deal of trouble by forging signatures, and associating with the wrong kind of girls. WP 766608.2, 767415.
Eleazar Wheelock\textsuperscript{11} 

This letter contains the repeated signatures of Wheelock's paternalism: duty and ministerial obligations first, love coupled with affection second.

Importantly and oddly to the modern reader, Wheelock warned Occom against having "pride" and "self esteem." By no means are the Indian students singled out for these admonitions, but their meaning must have weighed heavily upon them. How was Occom to live among Indians, to change their way of life and fundamental religious belief, without a full measure of self and an equal measure of esteem? In his early twenties, Occom had only begun to face this question, one which followed his entire career as a minister to Indian peoples. However, as a young adult Occom, like the other students who became missionaries, he placed his trust in Wheelock's familial formula.

Ocomm's and Wheelock's father/son relationship was meant to express a unity of Christian purpose.\textsuperscript{12} They had lived together for four years during Occom's adolescence and founded a school together. By 1761, Occom had become the model Christian Indian for Wheelock to praise. Many of the

\textsuperscript{11} As quoted in Love, \textit{Samson Occom}, 48. I have spelled out some abbreviations and added punctuation for clarity.

\textsuperscript{12} Murray in "Pray Sir, Consider A Little," 48-53, argues that this familial relationship was purely rhetorical and that this fact diminished the possible emotional connection they shared.
students who were effectively raised by Wheelock, and who had little contact with their natal families, understandably felt a connection to Wheelock that was genuine, not merely prescriptive. Occom, for example, sent his own son Aaron to Moor's to receive fatherly correction. Occom's and Wheelock's relationship was based upon family intimacy but within society's prescriptions. Duty, loyalty, affection: all these were meant to be conveyed when Occom closed this letter as his "Indian son".

When Occom asked Wheelock, "Please to remember us in your Fatherly Prayers Continually, except Duty, and Suitable Regards to the Family from Your Most Obedient Indian Son," Occom revealed how their familial relationship, though genuinely felt, was complicated by education, race, and biology. Occom was, after all, not Wheelock's own son. He was an Indian son because of his schooling with Wheelock. The words highlight the difficulty of such a relationship. Occom was both a member of the Wheelock family and an Indian. The ideas he and Wheelock recognized concerning racial identity meant he needed to seek out suitable words to describe his affection for the Wheelock family, and propriety called for an acknowledgement of their racial difference.

Put another way, what were "suitable regards" that an Indian student

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13 WP 761374.3.
could give to Wheelock? Central to Indian students' Christian beliefs, as they saw them expressed in Anglo-American culture, was the idea that they were part of a family directed by a strong paternal leader. Much as Carol Shammas described in her analysis of colonial household governance, the Indian students considered themselves a part of Wheelock's household and thought of the school as part of a family unit.\textsuperscript{14} An Anglo-American household was understood by these Indians as composed of a father, or a paternal head-of-household, a mother, or a maternal head-of-household, children, servants and slaves.

Wheelock's authoritarian presence unified school, church, household and family to create a complex household. One thing that complicated these household relationships, relationships that extended to students who no longer resided within Moor's or the household, was the rather unique relationship shared by Occom and Wheelock, a relationship built upon shared beliefs. Wheelock wrote often of Occom's accomplishments and his concern for Occom's family's welfare.\textsuperscript{15} The other students did not, perhaps could not, enjoy a similar bond.


\textsuperscript{15} See for example Wheelock quoted in Blodgett, \textit{Samson Occom}, 41.
Student Jacob Wooley illustrated some of the parameters of the Wheelock household when he had to beg forgiveness from "the whole family and school" for "drinking strong drink."\textsuperscript{16} It would be easiest to argue that the rhetoric of familial relationships was just a way for everyone involved in these households to understand hierarchal authority. However, beneath the acknowledgement of place in Anglo-American society was an Indian's glimmering chance to change, or at least articulate for themselves, what belonging to this tawnee family should mean.

\textbf{Fellow Creatures}

By the late 1760's, the Moor's experiment in Indian education had affected the lives of the southern New England Indian children and adolescents in attendance. They were, or shortly would become, adults with the freedom to return home. In 1765, eleven years after Wheelock first accepted students at Moor's, three Indian students were approved as schoolmasters and six more as "ushers," qualified to work as teaching assistants. These nine "graduates" left Moor's for mission work between 1765 and 1767.\textsuperscript{17} Some students were appointed as schoolmasters during their

\textsuperscript{16} McCallum, \textit{Letters}, 254.

\textsuperscript{17} McCallum, \textit{Eleazar Wheelock}, 97-99.
missions, while others who lacked sufficient education were sent to missions among the Iroquois as teachers or "ushers." Students Abraham Minor and Abraham Major were appointed as ushers only when missionaries were urgently needed among the Mohawk. Ushers were qualified as teachers, but not yet "masters." The two Abrahams were barely adolescents and had little formal training when they took on their mission. While the Abrahams were perhaps uniquely underqualified, Wheelock's missionaries were a youthful group by design. One reason for the youthfulness was that most adult men with families were considered by Wheelock as having too many responsibilities for missionary work. When adult Indians with household responsibilities did go on missions, such as Samson Occom, they commented on the sacrifices the work entailed. For emerging youth, however, missions were both a testing ground for conversion and an opportunity for maturation.

The qualifications of the male missionaries were examined by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents, representing the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. Sponsored in part by the Connecticut Board, the newly minted missionaries were outfitted for missions among the

18 Ibid., 98.

19 For a succinct discussion of this issue see McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 158-166.
Iroquois. After leaving Moor's, these graduates remained loyal to Wheelock's design. David and Jacob Fowler, Samson Occom, Hezekiah Calvin, Joseph Johnson and Jacob Wooley all went on missions. Securing funding for these missions was difficult, but they were dedicated to becoming sponsored ministers or teachers among so called "savage" or "heathen" Indians.

The female students were not trained to become missionaries. This undoubtedly impacted their ability to become favored "children," in part because they did not have the same opportunities as the male missionaries to create and sustain this type of relationship. Arguably, their being bound to Moor's in support of men afield mirrored the role played by Wheelock's daughters and daughters-in-laws. Sometimes the female students served in the Wheelock household sewing clothes for the school while under a female instructor's guidance. As a result, the female students were asked to contribute different skills to the design, because their roles were defined according to Anglo-American gender role expectations. Wheelock recognized

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20 McCallum provides a clear overview of this phase of Wheelock's design in his introduction to *Letters*, especially 17-18. The difficulty in counting even these few "missionaries" is that first all students were emissaries for the cause, and in a sense missionaries. Also, a student was sent on a mission only when there was sufficient funding to do so. As a result there were students who probably would have gone on missions, and perhaps been more successful, had Wheelock's funding for missions been adequate. Without necessary funds, the act of going on any mission was perhaps an unreachable goal for students.
women as helpmates at best, not as potential leaders in the eighteenth-century conversion movement.

It is difficult to ascertain if these female students expected to be at the missions themselves, or whether they expected to lend assistance from afar in the effort to convert Indians. One female student, Hannah Garret, did marry missionary David Fowler, although there is no remaining documentary evidence of why she chose to marry him.\(^2\)\(^1\) As was argued in the last chapter, even the girls' own parents' expectations for them seem inconclusive.

There remains, as far as I have been able to determine, only one possible reference to a female student using her education to instruct other Indians. Tobias Shattock, the Narragansett student of Wheelock's who negotiated with the tribal council to secure recruits for Moor's, wrote of Sarah Simon in a postscript. "Sareh Simon she has behav'd very well since She has been at home[.] I believe our Indians find Som raframations in her."\(^2\)\(^2\) Unfortunately Shattock failed to note what she had reaffirmed for them, although one could reasonably conclude that she had shared her

\(^1\) In Chapter Five, the courtship and marriage of David Fowler and Hannah is discussed in detail.

\(^2\) McCallum, *Letters*, 206, Tobias Shattock to Eleazar Wheelock, October 2, 1767.
religious training. Whether this role was a diminishment in expectations for these girls is difficult to determine.

The measure of women's religious and political influence in pre-contact southern New England Indian societies is, of course, difficult to know. Moreover, such understanding may not be germane when considering the motives of eighteenth-century New England, Christian Indian women. Scholars continue to debate the degree to which women held power in political matters, inheritance laws, and social mores in northeast tribes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Historically, Indian women in the northeast held considerable influence in their respective cultures. The preponderance of scholarly research done on this topic however, concerns power relations in the Iroquois tribes. Very little work has been done on the religious power held by women in New England tribes.

Anthropologist Robert Grumet has argued that women from the Algonquian coastal tribes held considerable and continuing authority in "political, religious and economic contexts" throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He found numerous examples of women serving as shamans, and that sometimes women served in these roles to the exclusion of men. If we can say that the young women who came to Moor's sought religious revitalization for themselves and other Indians through religious training, then we might see these young female students as part of a tradition of spiritual leadership. Christianity and an Anglo-American education might have been their chosen way out of the expectation that they would forever be unlettered domestic help in Anglo-American homes.

Both female and male students seem to have accepted, in large part, the direction their parents and Wheelock wanted for them. They had attended Moor's, developed qualifications to teach, minister, or be housewives and were ready to accept the challenges of converting Indians or


25 Ibid., 53.

26 For examples of this motivation among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, see Ronda, "Generations of Faith," 372-378.
ministering to their own people. In accepting this direction for their lives, they had also learned to espouse, if not believe, that they were members of Wheelock's family. The "tawnee" members of this family expressed their ideas about what this membership meant in letters written while they were away on missions.

Moor's students David Fowler, Jacob Fowler, Hezekiah Calvin, Joseph Johnson and Jacob Wooley all went on missions under Wheelock's direction in the 1760's. These students went to convert, teach, and bring new recruits to Moor's. As evidenced in Figure 3.1, many more Indian students wrote to Wheelock during the mid-1760's than at any other time in Moor's history. This can be accounted for partially because the Indian proteges were away from the school for extended periods of time and writing more frequently.

Nearly fifty-five percent of all letters written by Indian students were composed by the five students who went on Wheelock sponsored missions while attending, or having just completed their studied at Moor's. Hezekiah Calvin worked among the Mohawk and yet did not always indicate from where he was writing his letters, so it is difficult to definitely state if any of his remaining letters were written while on his missions. Four of the missionaries, however, did write to Wheelock and from missionary outposts sixteen letters remain in the Wheelock Papers. These same proteges wrote
to Wheelock a total of thirty-seven times and so fully forty-three percent of their writing to Wheelock was done while on missions.

There is no doubt that these letters written by the proteges who were closest to Wheelock are important sources, the problem for the historian becomes a question of motivation and whether one can rely upon what was written by these students. In one letter Joseph Johnson wrote that he was attempting to write to Wheelock for the third time since he had left Wheelock's, because "it is not only your order, but my Indispensable Duty to write to you at every opportunity." In this same letter, written apparently at
Wheelock's behest, Johnson informs Wheelock that he is not "yet capable of managing himself," and closes his letter as "your faithful and Obedient pupil, and good for nothing not quite Old Indian." Is his supplication heartfelt? Is it possibly meant to be humorous? At what point are Johnson's words conveyed with sincerity and cannot there be parts of a letter which are perfunctory and parts which seek to communicate original thought? These are some of the questions that must be considered when analyzing these letters.

Complaining was no mere pastime to these missionaries; it was a practical requirement of their placement in Indian camps, because Indian missionaries knew their letters would be used as evidence to support the funding of Indian education and missions. These letters had to have been composed self-consciously and with concern over the wide audience who might read them.

The students also had to gauge Wheelock's response to their writing. Because their letters were read closely by their mentor to analyze their religious state of mind, letter writing was a way to tinker with, if not engineer, how Wheelock thought of them. The knowledge that their letters might be published in addition to undergoing Wheelock's scrutiny probably

27 WP 768160, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, February 10, 1768.
means that many of the letters from missionaries were composed with a distinct awareness of Anglo-American expectations. Joseph Johnson once apologetically asked Wheelock, "please sir to overlook my hast, and the many Blunders which I suppose are in this paper. I have no time to write it over or correct it. Don't Expose it." Apologies were common in letter writing of the time, but few ordinary correspondents had their letters distributed throughout America and England as part of fundraising efforts.

The reverse of this circumstance occurred when the missionaries challenged Wheelock to behave differently. In challenging Wheelock, they risked his wrath as well as their connection to the eminent Reverend. An argument can consequently be made that these letters offer a heightened opportunity to evaluate beliefs and intentions precisely because they were in all likelihood meant to be highly persuasive writing. These letters then, can reveal what ideals and expectations the proteges felt comfortable reflecting back to a waiting, critical audience.

**Defining Roles**

Having survived the rigors of recruitment and early education; the

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28 WP 768302, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.

29 See also David Fowler's desire to keep a letter secret in McCallum, *Letters*, 102, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.
students who would become missionaries, or who stayed involved with Wheelock's design for years had proven many times over their desire to promote the Christianization of Indians. Distinguishing oneself in letters written from missions was part of that taxing journey for only a few of the Indian students. The idea that the students were part of a family was intended as an aid in "civilizing" Indians as it further removed them from Indian ways as they were commonly conceived of by educators at Moor's. In trying to determine why some students appear to have wanted to cement those familial and Christian obligations owed to family members, we may also reveal how they had come to appreciate values taught at Moor's.

Civilizing the Indian was part of the force of colonization, meant to ensure the subjugation of Indians to the English. Christianizing Indians from within Anglo-American homes was one way in which Anglo-American families played a dominant part in acculturating Indians. Yet importantly in the letters written by Indian missionaries, there is abundant evidence that the Indians used their understanding of roles to highlight the ways they were mistreated.

One explanation for why some of the students emphasized their parental relationship with Wheelock was to better their status within missionary spheres of influence and incur benefits from their loyalty to
Anglo-Americans. These benefits, such as receiving clothes, books, or promised stipends are reasonably described as what was owed them. Still, the missionary Indian students did not receive what was due them and they needed to demonstrate their allegiance in a way that was acceptable to Wheelock to even increase the likelihood of receiving bare necessities. As David Fowler wrote to Wheelock from Canawarohare in the winter of 1766, "Sir, I am almost nacked, my Cloaths are coming all to pieces, I shall be very glad all the Cloth that is intended for me..." and then closed his letter, "I have nothing New to acquaint you, I am well and h[e]arty also contented. I am Rev'd Sir[,] your affectionate Indian Son."30 Here his tangible needs are placed just sentences away from naming himself as a son. While we can not know how intentional his terms of closure were, we can at least say that Fowler has associated these ideas and was quite likely making the point that sons should be treated better.

A sure understanding of how Anglo-American families functioned helped missionaries to argue for better treatment than they typically received. The art of writing effectively to a missionary audience, such as Wheelock, who then shared their letters with other missionaries, was made possible only if everyone shared a common cultural understanding of the

30 McCallum, Letters, 101, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, February 17, 1766.
familial roles an Indian could assume within God's and Wheelock's "tawnee" family. Consequently the Anglo-American familial roles they described themselves as performing, were not always literally meant. Indian "sons" were not biological children, "obedient servants" in the field were following their callings, not orders about the Wheelock home.

A result of this is that Christian salutations and closures obscured the roles Indian students filled within the "tawnee family." Christian terminology often broadened the meaning of family, to be entirely inclusive as in the brotherhood of man, or God's children. Invoking familial roles in their writing then can be interpreted as actually diluting the relationship between Wheelock and the missionaries. Indian students referred to the Indians they were sent to convert as "brethren," as was Christian missionary practice. Whenever they identified themselves in familial roles, they may have merely been practicing the style of writing common in Wheelock's correspondence.

And it was not just Indians who used familial rhetoric in the tradition of Christian fellowship. It was an extremely common practice among those involved in the eighteenth-century Indian missionary movement. Some believers were particularly dramatic. Correspondent Susanna Anthony, for example, wrote to Wheelock in just one letter, that her faith was so questionable that she should be considered a "mean contemplative child," "a
poor ignorant babe," and "let me have a line form you and grant me the freedom of a child in writing to you." The use of familial terminology was often coupled with a required expression of supplication to the Lord and often to Wheelock himself.

In the data gathered for this study, correspondents frequently referred to themselves in various combinations of closures to indicate their humility and deference to the recipient of the letter. This practice is illustrated in another of Susanna's letters where she unfavorably compared herself to Mary Magdalene, remarking that she was even "more vile." A few paragraphs later she added, "I long to be nothing." She closes this letter in her usual overstated style, and by underscoring her unworthiness as a Christian compared to Wheelock, "with Jesus forever is the desire of a worthless wom[a]n who is sire your unworthy friend." The following words were those most commonly used to close letters between correspondents of similar social rank, for example when a fellow minister wrote to Wheelock: "humble" "obedient" and "servant." Brother was used both by Wheelock's brothers, or brothers-in-law, and between fellow ministers.

When Wheelock wished to demonstrate his gratefulness for a sizeable contribution or to acknowledge deference to someone who had higher social

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31 WP 743115, Susanna Anthony to Eleazar Wheelock, January 15, 1743.
standing than he, Wheelock called himself a humble servant. In nearly half of the letters written by him for which a complete sample was taken, he referred to himself as someone's servant. If that person was known to him as a friend, then he most often referred to himself as their friend and humble servant. If not, he signed his letters more formally and decidedly deferentially as when he closed letters to Andrew Oliver as "Your honor's most obliged and proper obedient humble servant."32

The rhetoric used by Indian students is telling in that it demonstrates how the Indian students represented their place in the Wheelock household, showing how they communicated with symbolic language that made sense to their missionary audiences. It shows too, how these Indians conceived of the Anglo-American roles they sometimes wished to fill. The words students used to close their letters, or the words they used to refer themselves were part of the symbolism of belonging and exclusion; symbolism that they could manipulate and signify meaning with as white correspondents did.

It is Christian rhetoric that lent the possibility that the Indian students could even become family members. In essence the notion of a

32 WP 762667.2, Eleazar Wheelock to Andrew Oliver. Wheelock closes all three letters to Oliver in my database with similar phrasing. Someone was designated as a friend in my database only if the correspondent used the word friend in the text of the letter or in signing off. I have full database entries for forty-three letters written by Wheelock, in twenty of these he referred to himself when signing off as someone's servant.
family of God leads the way to considering the notion of a "tawnee family" whose children can come from a student body. This effort to define their allegiance to Wheelock himself and his design, extended the familial relationship beyond their tenure at Moor's. It also created a new place within Anglo-American household hierarchy, that of surrogate Indian children. The students who became proteges capitalized on the rhetorical possibilities of referring to themselves as children while serving in missionary posts and by becoming missionaries to unconverted Indians.

For recent historians the troubling issue that emerges from studying the Indian missionaries' relationships with Wheelock is how to ascribe autonomy and agency to Indian students' behavior. Historians have tended to assign autonomy only to those actions taken by Indians which were resistant to Wheelock's often belittling and dismissive treatment of them. Historian Laura Murray, for example, draws from the scholarship of slavery and resistance of colonization to show how those students who were closest to Wheelock, who even begged Wheelock to write to them, were resisting his power over their lives. Murray argues that the best proof of the falsity of their relationship is that the students who considered themselves family left Wheelock's sphere of influence and created a community of their own.

33 Murray, "Pray Sir, Consider A Little," 65.
"Did we not know that both Calvin and Fowler ultimately broke away from Wheelock's authority, we might not be able to read resistance in so much of their writing."\textsuperscript{34} Yet, breaking away necessarily implies attachment.

When these "students" broke away from Wheelock's paternal influence, they did so in their late forties because he failed to support them in their calling to convert and educate other Indians. Before Occom, Johnson and others established an inspirational, separatist Christian town for Indians hundreds of miles north of Connecticut, these proteges contended with many threats by Wheelock. Especially during the 1760's when most of these chosen missionaries attempted to become paid ministers or missionaries, Wheelock would threaten to withdraw his support, to demand money from their families that they could never repay, and to berate them. Coupled with the barrage of daily difficulties they faced as missionaries including a lack of school supplies, communication, adequate shelter, food or clothing; one can reasonably argue that these men were the most committed to Wheelock's ideals.

These proteges expressed their autonomy, or the force of their convictions, by embracing evangelical Christianity. They did not indicate in later letters that they resented Wheelock for his attempts to educate their

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
peoples or for being oppressively involved in their own lives. Their sense of disillusionment came from being deserted, ignored and for being judged insincere in their religion. Two examples of the missionaries' anger at receiving no word from Wheelock after leaving his school illustrate their frustration. Joseph Johnson admonished Wheelock for not writing to him about some debts he needed paid, "all I desire from you my Honoured Patron, is that you would be pleased to give me an Answer to the full, to that Letter I sent to you by Jacob Fowler." Johnson was adamant in his need for an answer and "I do not know how I shall get along this winter. I have nothing to live upon hardly. and I am in no way to pursue a Study of Divine Truth...the chiefest of my Enquiry is what shall I eat?"35

David Fowler had similar complaints, and in his frustration articulated the relationship necessitated between willing proteges and Wheelock's ability to raise money. He began a letter written while at Canawarohare with his wife on a mission, "I think all that tender Affection which I used to have from you is quite gone." Fowler was angry with Wheelock for forgetting him, while writing to the white missionary Samuel Kirkland who was only making "the Indians angry." "I take it very hard," he explained "That I have not receiv'd one Line when others have received Folio's after Folio's." Then he

35 McCallum, Letters, 183-184, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, December 4, 1774.
But since I am forsaken - I now beg favour of you to bury my Name entirely and never mention it no more to any one abroad but bury it into oblivion though you may hear of my good Behaviour my Managements and my Prospects and what soever you may hear from me never go out off you doors...36

He did not indicate that he wanted to end their relationship. In fact, in the same letter he asked for books for his students, reported on their progress and in a postscript his wife gave her "duty" to Wheelock as well.

The next month, perhaps buoyed by Spring's appearance he apologized for his "very bad frame of mind" and offered the explanation that he had only lashed out because Kirkland was ordering him about. He wrote to Wheelock that he hardly remembered what he wrote, that he was in the midst of "his passion," that he sincerely wanted Wheelock's forgiveness. 'I spoke very ungratefully and improperly to a Benefactor, yea more a Father who has been at so much Trouble for me..." He apologized further through self-effacement, "I am such [a] foolish Creature as to trouble myself when others receive a Letter."37 His apology may have been driven by the concerns of a man who was about to become a father himself and so in even more need of Wheelock's financial support. Still Fowler seemed genuinely offended that

36 Ibid., 107-108, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, February 26, 1767.

37 Ibid., 108-109, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, March 17, 1767.
Wheelock failed to acknowledge him personally or his contributions to the cause.

We can only begin to determine the complexity of the relationship between Wheelock and his proteges when we understand that the bond stemmed from a truthful dedication to Christian beliefs. It is important first to view their belief in Christianity as sincerely as they did and to suspend our twentieth century understanding of colonization's impact on Indian cultures. It is easy to understand that these students would resist horrendous treatment; what is far more difficult to grasp is why some openly embraced it. Still, they could have remained loyal to their benefactor without the hyperbole of family. The proteges did not necessarily begin defining their place in the "tawnee family" by calling themselves sons or servants. Instead, they often merely compared themselves to other Indians.

The proteges' most direct attempts to define themselves in writing was to contrast their own behavior with the Indians they were sent to convert. They distinguished themselves from the Mohawk and Oneida by denying that they had any relationship with the Indians they were sent to convert or sometimes even that they were Indians at all by habit, manner or
dress. To be Indian was to behave as one.\textsuperscript{38} In letters reporting back from their missions, Indian missionaries commonly expressed sentiments which distanced themselves from their students. Jacob Fowler, a Montauk teacher at Dartmouth who emigrated to the Oneida nation to serve as a messenger commented, "I am well contented to live here amongst these Indians in this place" where he was "set so much above my Fellow Creatures."\textsuperscript{39} David Fowler attributed his superiority to being "capable to teach a school," because Wheelock "chuse me out from my stupid brethere[n]."\textsuperscript{40} Mere difference was important to these missionaries, because they were anxious to be labeled as loyal followers.

Following efforts to remark on their superiority, Johnson and Fowler, would often write about the foreignness of where they had been sent. Well

\textsuperscript{38} This construction of racial identity is hardly unique to Moor's Charity School and Dartmouth students. However, it is unusual for the Indians to be doing the critiquing of fellow Indians rather than Europeans taking that role. In the early 1600's, English descriptions of Indian identity were based on evaluating behavior. Discovery, was after all, a process of looking for that which was different, or hopefully unique to the new lands. See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, "Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization," \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, 3d ser., 54 (2): 193-202 (1997). My research builds specifically upon those evaluations of Indian identity as tied to gender prescribed behavior - one might say gender as race. The essence of eighteenth century missionary work and colonial policy was to remove "Indianness" by changing their charge's, or their perceived charges, behavior.

\textsuperscript{39} McCallum, \textit{Letters}, 115.

\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Ibid.}, 117 and 188; Jacob Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, November 28, 1766, and Jacob Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, January 31, 1767.
adapted to colonial English life, the Indian students found life among the Indians they were sent to convert lacking. Their accounts of life in the initial days in their new surroundings are notably like captivity narratives left by whites. Both captives of the Indians and Indian missionaries were stunned by the conditions under which northeastern Indian tribes lived. They complained about the food, or lack thereof, feared for their safety, prayed to God to deliver them, and wondered at their ability to survive. They were put off by their surroundings, complaining about the lack of refinement and the abundance of "filthy talk." In the same letter in which Johnson expressed concern over God deserting the heathens, he wrote of how hungry he was "sometimes glutted to the full at other times half starved never steady." Though even when he was fed, he complained about the "good dried guts of dear and what is in it. (Dung if I may so call it). to season the corn; likewise some rotten fish...rottener the better they say as it will season more


broth." His almost total lack of familiarity with Iroquois food preparation is indicative of his and other missionaries general ignorance concerning Iroquois practices.

Finding the Indians they were sent to convert foreign, their food inedible, and manners deplorable, Wheelock's students soundly dismissed at least Iroquois culture as having no characteristics of value. At every turn they distinguished themselves as living wholly apart from the life of their wild "brethren." Some of this distancing reflected the substantial differences between the cultures they encountered and their own, differences they emphasized in letters to Wheelock or their natural families.

David Fowler's language was harsh in his description of Mohawk life. He distinguished himself from the Indians he is sent to convert by first demonstrating his knowledge of how people should behave. Then he denigrated those who behaved differently from himself. In doing so he was able to reinforce the understood Christian hierarchy that places converted Indians above the unconverted who may as well be beasts of burden, or wild forest animals. Intentionally or not, he also skillfully placed converted Indian women in this same hierarchy as necessary helpmeets and yet still objectify them. In just one letter, Fowler reported to Wheelock that he was doing the

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43 Ibid., 128, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, December 29, 1767.
best he could considering how his charges "are often always roving about." Fowler wrote that part of the solution to bringing students into his missionary school would be to have a wife he refers to as "the other rib." Having this nameless, though biblically understood as Eve's help, in the wilderness would eliminate his need to "eat with dogs because they are continually liking water out of their pales and kettles; yea I have often seen dogs eating their victuals." Without his second comment about actual dogs stealing food from his hosts' plates, it would be unclear that his hosts were dogs in his eyes as well. Likewise, the Indians who cooked his food "are nasty as hogs" their "hands are as dirty as my feet, but they cleanse them by kneading bread." Sarcastically, Fowler added that his hosts' hands "will be very clean after they have kneaded three of four loaves of bread."

Not all of the criticisms recorded were as harsh. Often Indian missionaries were merely aloof and discouraged as in this letter from Joseph Johnson: "I fear that God is about to give up these poor ignorant heathen to walk after their own hearts, and cut them off [f] entirely from his Earth." To date I have found no accounts of missionary life left by Wheelock's missionary Indian students that indicates any sense of commonality based

44 Ibid., 93-94, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, June 15, 1765.

45 Ibid., 125, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, December 29, 1767.
on race.

In part this is because these missions were not forays into the forests to find cultural commonalities and mutual understanding. Missionaries were missionaries because they believed they needed to save these Indians from themselves and show them enlightened ways to accept Christianity. They were not above brutalizing their students. As Hezekiah Calvin lamented to Wheelock in August of 1766, "I hate forever to be a whipping, whipping to much won't do." He added that "thrashing them continually," would only keep his new converts "from God." 46 These were men who had not only personally experienced conversion, but who now felt it their duty to convert others who were still heathen. The Indian student missionaries regarded themselves as distinct from and superior to the large body of "uncivilized" Mohawks and Oneidas. As David Fowler expressed it, the Iroquois were nothing but a "lazy and inhuman pack of creatures as I ever saw in the World." 47 Wheelock's proteges believed that they had already made the commitment to adopting English ways and were engaged in the same permanent lifelong challenge of all eighteenth-century Christian missionaries, regardless of race: living up to God's will. For them conversion was an

46 Ibid., 51, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 11, 1766.

47 Ibid., 99, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, January 21, 1766.
accomplished task and they had difficulty understanding outside challenges to the sincerity of their actions and beliefs.

In one of Wheelock's earlier pleas for money to fund his educational projects, he assured his readers that Indians were worth educating because they communicated much better with their own kind than did white missionaries. Wheelock argued that the language and customs they were to have held in common would aid the cause. Letters "home" to Wheelock show his Indian students unable and unwilling to call the Indian customs they encountered their own. Hezekiah Calvin wrote from his missionary post among the Mohawks, that it was time for him to go home to learn his native tongue to "be the better fitted for the design you have in view, that I might be able to carry on a free discourse with the Indians if no more. And not be a dumb stump that has no tongue to use."

In attempting to contrast their own behavior with that of the Indians they were sent to convert, they undoubtedly reinforced Anglo-American prejudices concerning "Indian" behavior thereby emphasizing an artificial dichotomy between Anglo-American and Indian identities. Their definitions of identity were actually notions of behavioral characteristics by which an

48  Wheelock, Narrative, 14.

49  McCallum, Letters, 58, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 14, 1767.
individual could be identified as "Indian" or "English." They only delineated
two categories. For example, Indian students David Fowler and Joseph
Johnson described Indians by various attributes: drunkards, abusive to
animals and women, ignorant, and directed in life by dreams. The
Anglo-Americans, conversely, were identifiable by their manners, refined way
of dress, and Christian charity.

Having labelled, or categorized behavior as either Indian behavior or
English behavior, then Fowler was ready to suggest in writing how the
Indians should change this behavior. Fowler's suggestion for changing life at
Canawarohare was to, "let men labor and work as the English do." After all,
he had worked hard to build a house and secure provisions. "Now," his letter
concluded, "I live like a gentleman." This pronouncement is noteworthy
because of the audience with whom he was corresponding. Fowler had no

50 WP 765406.2 and McCallum, Letters, 93-94.

51 For an interesting example of this sort of ethnic categorization reportedly related by an
Indian peddler, Chepa Rose, see Earle, Home Life in Colonial Days, 300-304. Earle reports that
he claimed to be "half Injun, half French, and half Yankee." Rose apparently told Earle, from
"his Indian half he has his love of tramping which made him choose the wandering trade of
trunk peddler."

52 McCallum, Letters, 57-58, WP 767131, and WP 773480.

53 McCallum, Letters, 99, and WP 765365, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, January
21, 1766.
real need to explain to Wheelock or people who would contribute money
that the "Indians" needed to labor as the "English" did to secure their future.
This was obviously why he had been sent on a mission, to teach other
Indians these ways. His and the other missionaries writing is relentlessly
anxious to illustrate knowledge, difference and adequacy.

As a consequence one can interpret Fowler's criticism of that which
was "Indian" and endorsement of that which was "English" was at the heart of
his strategy to gain acceptance by Wheelock. These epistolary forms of self-
identification suited the purposes of missionaries who needed the financial
support of the men Wheelock could influence. In addition to ignoring
their own acculturation, they set up this division by ignoring blending
between the groups making no references to interracial marriages or other
intercultural exchange such as building styles, diet, or dress.

The Indian missionary students rarely acknowledged that they were
Indians. When they did so, it was to apologize for not having been able to
root out their "Indianness." As Joseph Johnson said to Wheelock, "I have

54 Once adults (and separated from Wheelock) some of his former students formed the
Brothertown Indian Movement that encouraged Mohegan, Montauk, and Pequot peoples to
emigrate to Oneida, New York. Samson Occom and Joseph Johnson in particular played
leadership roles. The purpose of the emigration was to establish a Christian community away
from the influence of Euro-Americans. In 1775 the settlement was started, but the
Revolutionary War interrupted settlement and it was not until 1784 that Samson Occom was
able to lead a group of settlers back.
been much troubled in dreams concerning you of late. I fear you are not well. but," he added, "this is too much of my Indian principles." Here Johnson referred to the common belief among Native Americans in the eighteenth century of the power of visions, or ways of seeing beyond the temporal world. In the same letter he described "Indianness" as "deep rooted appetites," and apologized for his own "Indian behavior." Johnson's admission of having any Indian principles is nearly unique to this collection of letters, because the Indian students ignored their own acculturation as examples of how identities could sometimes blend. Moreover, the clear implication of Johnson's statement is that Indianness was behavioral, although deeply ingrained.

In judging racial identity as mutable rather than immutable, the male and female Indian students attempted to free themselves from their eighteenth-century New England racial distinction by simply modifying their behavior. By ignoring questions of racial origin, they created the possibility for their own acceptance in Wheelock's world. To become Christians, to be identified as converted, and to be closely associated with Anglo-Americans, these Indians knew they would have to forsake their Indianness and embrace

55 WP 768302.
the values espoused by Wheelock.\(^{56}\)

Having addressed in every letter, in some way, that they were wholly unlike their brethren, it must have seemed prudent to define how they should be treated as family members. Spelling out how their benefactor should treat them was, in retrospect, their first efforts to argue about their treatment as Christian Indians. The question of why they were treated so poorly if they were such faithful servants of the Lord and Wheelock would lead them repeatedly to the same simple conclusion – they were treated poorly because they were Indians.

**Sons and Servants**

In return for their obedience and service, the students expected Wheelock's protection, benefaction, and guidance as they attempted to gain financial and spiritual security through their association with him. References to Wheelock's fatherhood were nearly always followed by requests for goods or guidance.\(^{57}\)

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56 The essence of 'Indianness' is fruitfully explored by the contributors in James A. Clifton's, *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989). His introductory chapter, "Alternate Identities and Cultural Frontiers," maps the historical changes in the meaning of Indian identity, especially 9-12.

57 WP 768378, 766121, 766167, 766313, 768270: Nathan Clap to Eleazar Wheelock, June 28, 1768; David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, January 21, 1766; David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, February 17, 1766; David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766; and Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, April 20, 1768.
These requests illustrate the Indian students' understanding of Anglo-American familia order as a reciprocal relationship wherein good behavior was worthy of reward. David Fowler followed this formula in his letter to Wheelock in February of 1766. He first tells Wheelock that he is "pursuing my Business with all Courage and Resolution that lies in my Power or Capacity." Fowler then reminded Wheelock that he was "almost nacked," and needed the cloth intended for him. Only then did he close his brief letter as "Wheelock's affectionate Indian Son." 58

Joseph Johnson also shored up his reputation and usefulness to the cause when he flattered Wheelock in one letter. In describing his own efforts to start a missionary school, Johnson writes Wheelock that "your paternal care excites in me a kind of gratitude." 59 Here Johnson did not ask for tangible goods, but he made sure to mention that starting his school was delayed because of Ralph Wheelock's visit. While flattering Wheelock senior, he also complemented Wheelock's son for his success gaining recruits from the Indians. In his next letter to Wheelock, Johnson had returned to making

58 WP 766167, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, February 17, 1766. See also WP 7661212. Wheelock's role in Fowler's wedding proposal is discussed in Chapter Five. Fowler also solicits Wheelock's help in WP 766313, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.

59 WP 768420, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, April 20, 1768.
requests of his benefactor. These proteges had to be assertive and communicate well their needs to ensure Wheelock's benefaction.

While not a missionary, student Nathan Clap's appeal to Wheelock to marry his maid extends this argument. Clap is described only as a Cape Cod Indian when he confessed in 1768 that he had been drinking again. "I must confess with shame that I have sinned[.] I have done foolishly and am not worthy to be rec[k]oned into your family or to be tr[e]ated as such." Expressing his desire to be treated as a family member, Clap suggested the following course of action. First, Clap says he must humble himself. He does this by characterizing himself as a lustful Indian, one of the "poor despised brethren" so in need of Wheelock's guidance. Second, Clap promised conversion. How can he guarantee such promises will be kept? Clap contended that his only means of salvation would be to allow him to marry Wheelock's maid, Mary, who "had been exhorting of me about the things that concern my soul." If this marriage would not be possible, Clap concluded, "vanish me away from the school."60

No other male Indian missionary tried to literally marry into Wheelock's extended family, but Clap nevertheless demonstrated his

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60 McCallum, Letters, 68, Nathan Clap to Eleazar Wheelock, June 28, 1768. I have edited Clap's text for clarity.
knowledge of the full gamut of appeals to gain favor from Wheelock. First he points out that he understands how an "Indian" would behave. Then he illustrated personal knowledge of what need to be changed and how he could achieve this. Unlike the missionaries Clap did not write this way about other Indians, he wrote about self-improvement and the need for personal salvation. But the pattern still emerges that he wishes to be in Wheelock's favor, and behave properly, but that he would need Wheelock's support to accomplish this. Finally he makes a threat that he will leave, and apparently he did because there is no evidence that he married maid Mary, leaving the historian to wonder if he would have been permanently considered a servant as well.

Did the fact that male students became missionaries and female students did not mean that the female Indian students saw less opportunity in remaining a member of Wheelock's immediate rhetorical "tawnee family"? It is difficult to know because there are far fewer letters written by the female students. Also, when the female students had the chance to write Wheelock, it was only after they were no longer members of his household, no longer associated with him in the same way that the missionary students were.

The one letter remaining from student Miriam Storrs contains a few
tantalizing clues that suggests at least to her that a females’ hope for acceptance lay in remaining a “virtuous” Christian woman. While in New York City in 1768, ousted student Miriam Storrs wrote her only known letter to Wheelock. She claimed, “Heavy temptations” had pressed her “down to the dust” since she had left Wheelock’s care. She said she had feared a certain man’s intentions, admitting she desired him as well. “But,” she wrote proudly, “I did keep clear of him.” In this same letter she also wrote about being offended by the profane language of New Yorkers. Unlike the missionaries’ letters which often focus on the poor behavior of others, this letters commented on her own behavior.61

Wheelock’s female Indian students, by virtue of Anglo-American expectations of their sex, were unable to become missionaries and possibly by extension Wheelock’s children. Instead they remained members of Wheelock’s tawnee family only as long as they were servants supporting the missionaries. Though many male students experienced difficulty gaining favor from Wheelock, their sex at least allowed for the possibility of better treatment. Female students, conversely, attained an arguably diminished status at Moor’s. Consequently, gender played a significant role in the ability to be accepted as a converted Indian.

61 Ibid., 239, Miriam Storrs to Eleazar Wheelock, November 24, 1768.
In conclusion, the Indian proteges used a variety of techniques to extend their paternal relationship with Eleazar Wheelock. The most loyal students consulted him as they would a father and took care to use the appropriate language to ensure he understood his role in their lives. The male missionaries in particular denied an Indian identity as commonly defined in their society, and distanced themselves from uneducated and unconverted Indians. They worked to erase Indian-held beliefs and customs as part of their proof. Yet in doing so they allowed an Anglo-American understanding of appropriate gender roles to take hold. The female students were most impacted by this distinction as their non-negotiable role as servants in the family became clear. Once student Hannah Garrett married David Fowler, he never again referred to her by name. Servants, not daughters, or daughters-in-law, the young female students either left Moor's or married male missionaries to silently, at least in terms of written evidence, further their work.

However, before withdrawing from Moor's or accepting their place, the female students and those male students who had difficulty with Wheelock openly rebelled. Conversely, Wheelock's most loyal male students learned their lessons well at the side of their patriarchal leader. When some of the female students began to decide who they should marry, the young
women were faced with a decision of whether to accept their place in Wheelock's design as helpmates who would live in subjection to their Wheelock trained missionary husbands. These were young adults whose parents wished them in subjection to Wheelock. Before they could decide whether they would remain in subjection, many of the students first tested the prescribed limits imposed on their behavior.
The year 1761 found Delaware Jacob Wooley apparently homesick during his studies at the College of New Jersey. Seven years after he arrived at Moor's at age eleven, Wooley and Wheelock had grown close. From college he wrote, "I am very glad of embracing every Oppertunity of Writing to you, & Conversing with you, though in a silent Language." Letter writing would have to suffice, but Wooley added, "Dear Sr. you can't imagine how much I want to see you, & your Family." He assured Wheelock, "I like College as well as ever," though he found it too confining, and the instruction limited to "the Languages and Sciences." Wooley ended his "broken letter" with good wishes for "Madam Wheelock & Kind Love to your Children, & the same to the rest of your Family."\(^1\)

Just two years later Jacob was back at Moor's, finding it necessary to declare himself "scandalously guilty of several gross Breaches of the Law of God," to the "whole family and School." In just one night he had drunk to "excess," flailed about "doubling and swinging my Fists, stamping with my

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\(^1\) McCallum, *Letters*, 251.
Feet," and then attempted to "throw the Bed and Bed Cloathes out of the Chamber Window." Frustrated by his inability to throw the bed out the window, an enraged Wooley used "very vile and prophane language, daring God Almighty to damn me." Wooley then ranted about being "damned, threatening vengeance upon the boy who had reported what he had of me."2

While we do not know what this "boy" said or even who he was, we do know that Wooley's anger that evening persisted. Wooley's confession relates that Wheelock and the school's tutor, James Lesley, found Wooley in this agitated state and begged him to stop his irreverent and "abusive Use & Treatment of the Sacred Name." Their attempts only made Wooley more angry: "I increased in it with the more Fury & Violence." Next, Wooley attempted to leave the school without Wheelock's permission and, according to Wooley, pursued this "design in a very tumultuous manner which was aggravated by the circumstance that it was on Saturday evening." Despite it being Saturday evening, the beginning of the Sabbath, Wooley managed to keep them all in "a ruffle" till late in the night. He capped off the scene with many "undutiful, proud and ungrateful expressions towards Mr. Wheelock."3

In contrast to this wild scene was his humble request for forgiveness:

2 McCallum, Letters, 254-255; Confession of Jacob Wooley, July 25, 1763.

3 Ibid.
I ask for forgiveness of Mr. Wheelock & Mr. ______ & of the whole family & school & of all my kind benefactors who shall hear of it & desire they will pray to God for me that ______ after all endeavors used with me ______ & I do solemnly warn all the members of this school against pride apart & an essential course of living & that they take warning by my fall not to imitate my example.4

Jacob Wooley's behavior, his misdeeds and repentance, brings up several questions. Why did Wooley feel the need to rage against reports made about him by a boy? Why would an adult graduate who had returned to school be compelled to make a confession to everyone at Moor's? What was the purpose of these confessions? The answers to these questions are not straightforward. However, while none of documented incidents of student defiance at Moor's is representative of them all, the Wooley episode highlights some of the characteristics defiant episodes shared.

Perhaps, to the historian, the most important characteristic is that there remains a written description of an event that warranted censure by Wheelock and the school. In the five examples of defiant behavior that follow, there are signed confessions much as the one Wooley signed. All of these confessions were meant to be instructive to the student body of proper conduct and of Wheelock's authority. The content was also similar. Formal confessions began with an emphasis on the unworthiness of the

4 _Ibid._
student, followed by the regrettable nature of their actions and ended with an acknowledgement of their duty to the school. None was written in the handwriting of the accused, even though at least four of the five students knew how to write. Signed in the presence of at least two witnesses, the confessions addressed the educators' fears.

The confessions consequently shared common themes. Composed by the admonishers, they share a theme of conformity and a wish to be taken back into Wheelock's good graces. Importantly, sometimes the admonishers were fellow students, as in Wooley's case where his cousin Joseph Wooley and David Fowler witnessed his confession. The confessions highlighted the need to recognize the broader implications of their rebellious acts and an awareness of the need for individual responsibility. One lesson for the Indian students was that any rebellious act reflected poorly upon the whole school. These formal confessions were also another way in which English educators presumed to speak for Indian converts. It was evidently important to Wheelock that the confessions mirror the concerns of Moor's benefactors, rather than noting the details and remorse in the language of the students.

This chapter relies principally upon these confessions to investigate acts of defiance made by the young adult southern New England Indian students who, otherwise, had become loyal members of Wheelock's family.
while receiving their education at Moor's. However, also analyzed are several unsolicited letters that contain apologies for defiant acts. These letters, written to Wheelock, recount defiance or misdeeds and sometimes address an incident for which there is also a signed confession. The availability of letters, which address some of the same events that were written about in formal confessions, gives us additional perspectives by which to analyze the importance of these defiant acts. These confessions and other remorseful letters can also reveal what constituted bad behavior and was worthy of confessing at Moor's Charity School. The letters suggest that the students and missionaries repeatedly tested the tolerable limits of acceptable behavior. Significantly, some of these letters written described Wheelock defiant acts about which he would otherwise have never known. All of the letters and confessions described in this chapter were written during the 1760's.

The mid to late 1760's were a particularly tumultuous time at Moor's for two demonstrable reasons. First, Wheelock was growing short of patience with his "design." His mission was failing in some important ways. Hundreds of Indians were not descending on Lebanon to be educated at his school. Those who studied with him did not impress him with their conduct in the greater society. By the beginning of the 1770's, Wheelock had turned
his attention to educating Anglo-Americans. A purpose of this chapter is to examine defiance so that we might better understand one mechanism available to students for questioning the values espoused by Wheelock and their natal families. I have focused on the defiant acts that took place at Moor's to provide a counterpoint to the protege's efforts to reify Christian family values. The written descriptions of these incidents yield an array of considerations about the place students should have in the tawnee family, particularly as it related to racial distinctions.

Where the missionary proteges often endorsed and promoted the values Wheelock espoused, students at Moor's sometimes openly questioned Wheelock's authority in the form of behaving defiantly. Confronting Wheelock's authority did not necessarily mean these rebellious students rejected his design, or did not have the desire to be educated. Instead their defiance was sometimes meant to garner better treatment from Wheelock. It was sometimes resistance that gave meaning to how they wished to belong to the family.

The second cause for tumult in the mid 1760's was the approximately ten students who had reached adolescence and early adulthood by that times and were still living directly under Wheelock's care. As will be evident, the students were at a stage in their young lives when they fully realized the
difficulties they would face as Anglo-American educated Indians. These students openly defied Wheelock in a manner that garnered enough attention that they were forced to compose written confessions and publicly apologize. In defying Wheelock's rules and sensibilities, these students asserted their ability to supplant Wheelock's authority and define their independence. During this phase in their life course of value adaptation, many of the students questioned their treatment by the authoritarian Wheelock.

These defiant acts are instructive partially because they contain many complaints and reactions the Indian students had to the pressures of living under Wheelock's authority. All of the incidents discussed here were those written about, either in letters or in confessions. Surely many more, less documented, incidents occurred which were never recorded. Running a boarding school for children as young as age three guarantees that students misbehaved in ways that are not discussed in this chapter. This chapter will highlight indiscretions which are known to have warranted Wheelock's formal attention: dressing improperly, leaving school to visit relatives, drinking alcohol, behaving lewdly, and acting with pride. Table 4.1 shows the range of offenses and the documentation available to analyze defiant occurrences.
Table 4.1
Documented Rebellious Acts by Indian Students at Moor's Charity School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Confession?</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Offense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Jacob Wooley</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>drinking, pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1763</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Joseph Wooley</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>carnal thoughts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>David Fowler</td>
<td>Montauk</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>leaving school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mary Secuter</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>drinking, lewd conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no date</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Mary Secuter</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>drinking, lewd conduct</td>
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<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Hannah Nonesuch</td>
<td>Niantic</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>tavern visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1768</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sarah Wyacks</td>
<td>Mohegan</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>tavern visit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


To analyze defiance, I have divided the defiant acts into categories to understand better the different kinds of resistance in which the students engaged. First, there was furtive rebellion, such as three female Indian students sneaking out to a tavern to "frolic." Second, there was defiance rooted in self-doubt. Self-censuring defiance can be described as Indian students confessing to feeling or acting badly with the intentions of questioning their own self worth and usefulness to the cause. The students' questions reflect a divided need to fulfill their obligations to Wheelock, to themselves, and their families. Some students, for example, returned home because of illness in the family. They belabor the meaning of familial duty, or

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victory, often in letters, showing themselves to feel conflicted in their ability to live exemplary Christian lives.

The third category, to be explored using a single remaining documented case, is rebellion by students which attempted to alter the way they were treated. I have called the third type of rebellion outright defiance. Outright defiance can be generally described as actions taken with the intention of disparaging Wheelock. Outright defiance revealed the extent to which some Indian students felt that Wheelock had been disrespectful to them. This type of defiance also sheds the most light on what the students felt their place within the family hierarchy should have been. Publicly accusing Wheelock of denying them rations, or deserting the cause of Indian education, required the presence of mind to question the values by which they were being raised. The use of the "silent language" of letters to report the injustices of Wheelock's treatment of Indians to other Anglo-Americans was an important expression of values held by these students and a profound turn in accountability from the students to the master.

Furtive Defiance

The clearest surviving example of furtive defiance occurred one March night in 1768. Hannah Nonesuch, a Niantic student, and Mary Secuter, a
Narragansett student, gathered at a local tavern with former student Sarah Wyacks. Sarah was “rusticated”, or thrown out of school, in 1763, although she mentioned visiting “Mr. Wheelock’s” in one letter. At the tavern they met up with more “Indian boys and girls,” “where was much spirituous liquor drank, & much dancing & rude conduct & in tarrying to an unseasonable time of night, with much rude & vain company.” It is unclear from her confession whether Nonesuch herself drank or frolicked that night but her confessed desire to be forgiven is certain.

If Nonesuch was a reluctant participant, Mary Secuter probably was not, as she had a reputation for such behavior. Two of her confessions have been preserved and it would seem from them that she enjoyed "spirituous liquor." Despite the somber tone of her confessions, she was not entirely apologetic about a different night when she came back to school "intoxicated with liquor and there behaved myself in a lude and very immodest manner among the school boys." Her dancing and drinking with the other girls, all taking place at "an unseasonable time of night," was in direct violation of "a

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5 In her only surviving letter, Sarah mentioned that she had come “from the Crank 3 weeks agoe & all was well at Mr. Wheelocks.” Letter from Sarah Wyacks to Samson Occom, August 2, 1763, Connecticut Historical Society.

6 WP 768211.1, Confession of Hannah Nonesuch, March 11, 1768.

7 McCallum, Letters, 236, Confession of Mary Secuter, n.d.
late promise I have publicly made to the school. Like Wooley and Nonesuch, Secuter professed to be very sorry, and shared a strong "desire to lie low in the dust." All three extended their apologies to their benefactors, family, school, and any who might have been "hereby offended." That students submitted to these confession proceedings and signed confessions written for them shows either a willingness to conform to the desires of school officials or an inability to do otherwise.

One intriguing aspect of these confessions is a similarity of format and wording which suggests a formulaic response to white educators' concerns, rather than a self-generated apologies. For example, the wording of Hannah and Mary's confessions are nearly identical. They both had to acknowledge "with shamefacedness" that they tarried with "rude and vain company." Mary, Hannah and Jacob Wooley all asked "to lie low in the dust."  

Despite Wheelock's persistence in using dust as the metaphorical place where humbled students should be situated, there is no definitive biblical references to such prostration. The idea particularly of the female

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8 WP 768211.2, Confession of Mary Secuter, March 11, 1768.


10 Ibid.
students needing to lay in the dust may be related in Isaiah 47:1 where immodest virgins are urged to

sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground: there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.

If Wheelock intended this allusion, he may have been emphasizing their sexual misconduct. Of course, "to lie in the dust," may also have meant nothing more than a prostration before God, as written in Job 7:21. Job asks the Lord why

dost thou not pardon my transgression, and take away my iniquity? for now shall I sleep in the dust; and thou shalt seek me in the morning, but I shall not be.

If sexual misconduct is the undertone, the certainly one way to interpret this episode is as a rebellion by young Indian women against gender role prescriptions. Herein lies several themes of potential interest for Wheelock: forgiveness, cleansing, and humility.

What were the intentions of Sarah Wyacks, Hannah Nonesuch and Mary Secuter the early Spring night they attended a frolic at a local tavern? They probably wanted to have fun at the behest of Sarah Wyacks, who had returned for a visit but was no longer a student at the school. In addition, it is also important to note that the girls had to arrange a time and place to
meet because they lived in separate homes in Lebanon. They did not just happen across the tavern and once there meet up with "a company of Indian boys and girls." Were they starved for companionship, tired of their ordinary station in Anglo-American households learning housewifery? Unfortunately none of the young women related her specific reasons for behaving so "scandalously," except possibly Hannah who was "enticed by Sarah Wyogs [Wyacks]."

These young women could have been accustomed to socializing with other youth without needing permission from their parents.\footnote{Early accounts of pre-marital sexuality and freedom to experiment with many partners in eastern seaboard tribes appears in a variety of European travel accounts. However, for a discussion of how representations of Indian women's bodies and sexuality change with the motivations of the person representing them and are therefore suspect, see, Jennifer L. Morgan, "'Some could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1700," \textit{William and Mary Quarterly}, 3d ser., 54 (1): 167-168, 173-176 (1997).} Yet at least Sarah Wyacks, who was Samson Occom's sister, came from a Christian home where this sort of action would have been considered immoral. Christian Indians and missionaries worried about promiscuity and the independence of youth. One could also reasonably argue that those children whose parents were most vested in their learning Anglo-American behavior were girls sent away from their homes to be educated at Moor's. However, it can not be ruled out that sexual mores of the girls reflected both Christian
missionaries' teachings and precontact southern New England Indian traditions.

Contemporary reports of courtship among the Delaware, for example, indicate that there would be nothing notable about girls and boys dancing and "rudely" conducting themselves "into the night." One Moravian missionary wrote in 1780, for example, that it was commonplace for adolescent girls to have sex before they were fifteen, marry often and to live with men for short periods of time in order to increase their wealth.12

Presumably the two female students, who were Narragansett and Niantic, perceived Wheelock's rules to be restrictive and ones which would required too many changes in their ordinary behavior. Mary Secuter twice confessed formally to the school for using "Spirituous Liquors," and appearing promiscuous. One of the confessions, describes her shame before God as requiring her to "Blush" because she had gone "into the school" while intoxicated and "behaved myself in a Lude and very immodest manner among the School Boys."13

In one major respect Mary Secuter's confession differed from


13 WP, Confession of Mary Secuter Attested by Ralph Wheelock and Bezaleel Woodward.

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Hannah's. Hannah principally confesses to drinking and being at the tavern. Mary's confession hints at even bolder activity. "In particular," she wrote because she drank "too much spirituous liquor," she committed "many gross sins." We can assume these gross sins involved sexual behavior of some sort because she further explained that these sins were "doubly aggravated" by her "late promises." Her "late promises" to the school were to correct her "luke and immodest ways." Drinking and promiscuity seem to have been the behavior Mary had the hardest time changing. She viewed her rebellious actions as a fault, but she also drew a connection between her enrollment at Moor's and her unhappiness. "My faults have been over Lookd with tenderness when they have deservd Severity-I am quite discouraged with mySelf. Ye longer I Stay in ye School ye worse I am."14

One interpretation of this expression of doubt contained in a private letter to Wheelock was that being away from home actually exacerbated her sexual misconduct. The female students had to contend with issues of their sexuality which the men did not, because young Indian women were commonly viewed as promiscuous and in need of taming. Chastity and its maintenance was their surest proof of sincerity and was strongly identified with conversion. As a result, these girls may have been raised with values

14 McCallum, Letters, 238, Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock July 28, no year.
that incorporated virginity as a necessary state for unwed women. To Wheelock, who almost certainly dictated these confessions to the students, the preservation of the school's reputation was as important as the soul of the confessor. Hannah wrote that she was "fully sensible" of how her actions appeared: "very prejudicial to the design and reputation of this school & to ye good of my own soul." A simple night out was consequently laden with cultural conflict. It cannot be said, however, that the furtive rebellion of these girls showed any intent to break permanently with Wheelock; the girls had little to gain from their frolicking into the night short of a temporary respite from the strictures of their daily lives.

By living under Wheelock's authority and embracing his way of life, these female students had to relinquish their sexual decision-making power to Wheelock or leave the school. Just as the male missionaries could identified a belief in revelatory dreams as Indian behavior, perhaps the female students recognized the desire to frolic as being tempted back to "Indian" ways. Wheelock's rules did infringe on the young women's sense of independence, though it is hard to know if this was because of cultural differences. While the written record of defiant acts is too slim to assert that the repercussions for rebelling against Wheelock's rules were more

15 WP 768211.1, Confession of Hannah Nonesuch.
severe for the female students, the girls who frolicked in the tavern all left Moor's Charity School shortly after the incident. Male students could have similar reputations for drinking too much, or for flying into rages, but the written record shows reprimands, not expulsion.

The day the girls submitted their formal confessions, Mary wrote a letter to Wheelock announcing her intention to leave. She wasn't "insensible to her Obligations" to Wheelock for "His Paternal care over me." It was her duty to leave because she couldn't change, and she "have been more trouble to ye Doctor then all of my mates." Her actions did not mean that she wanted to divorce herself from the cause; instead she said she had to leave precisely because her behavior hurt the cause. Mary possibly wrote this letter to regain Wheelock's sympathy, in fact not wanting to leave the school at all. Still, she clearly had difficulty submitting to Wheelock's code of prescribed behavior. Nonetheless, that same year she would again solicit advice from Wheelock about whom to marry and what to do with her life.

Jacob Wooley's outburst is another example of furtive defiance. His drinking and carrying on at an unseasonable time of night might have escaped Wheelock's notice if Wooley had not become so aggressive in his drunken stupor. Jacob Wooley's rage, Hannah, Mary and Sarah's late night escapade, and the temptations cited by other students are examples of
transgressions related to sexual, potentially sexual, or passionate displays of emotion. Burgeoning sexual awareness was a heightened point of conflict between "the father" and "his children," but it can not explain all of the students' misbehavior. Perhaps these conflicts were the first demonstrations of adolescent independence. Both instances point to the difficulties that the paradox of Indian education within an Anglo-American family structure mandated: the probability of failure owing to inherent and immutable "Indian" characteristics and the ongoing belief that these differences could be educated away.

The reason why these students sought escape seems arguably related to the pressures put upon them to excel as exemplary Indians. Early adulthood was an extremely difficult time for the Indian scholars. As "Indian sons" or servants, students such as Wooley thought not only that Wheelock's standards were being met but also that they understood what would be required of them in the greater society. For example, Wooley described himself an exemplary Indian who was most aggravated by his "peculiar obligations" as a person "so distinguished from all my nation." On the cusp of independence and preparing to leave Moor's, the Indian scholars were about to learn that Anglo-American society held tightly to its conception of "the Indian's" feeble intellectual and scholarly ability. As a
consequence, lessons of prejudice were continuously reinforced. Indians could for years, in some cases decades, work to become well-educated righteous Christians, living virtually as Anglo-Americans to little avail. Education was never enough to erase their Indianness in the judgement of Wheelock and the people who supported this cause.

Punctuating the Indian students' awareness that their scholarly attributes and maturity were ignored was a certainty that grew with age that they would be judged by racial rather than intellectual standards. In 1773 Joseph Johnson acknowledged the racial aspect of his self-worth when he wrote Wheelock asking for money.

If I was an Englishman & thus Respected by you, I should be very thankful, but much more doth it now, become me being and Indian to be humble & very thankful in very deed.16

For Jacob Wooley this realization may have come after his dismissal from the College of New Jersey in 1762.

Wooley had appeared to be fitting in well with the plans laid out for him by his benefactor. On the brink of adulthood, this eighteen year old Delaware had done sufficiently well at Moor's to be admitted to the College of New Jersey. Once enrolled, Wooley found the curriculum lacking, not his own ability to do the work. Although clearly missing the Wheelocks, Jacob

16 WP 773480, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, August 30, 1773.
considered himself well adapted to his Anglo-American role as converted Indian and sufficiently acculturated to be accepted even outside the tight circle of Moor's Charity School.

Yet in 1762, Jeremiah Halsey, a tutor from the College, sent Wheelock disappointing news. The college found itself "obliged to send Jacob Wooley back to you again." They were ready to "degrade" him and wanted, "Out of Tenderness to you, and to him," to spare Wheelock that disgrace. The essence of the difficulty faced by Indians pursuing an education is evident here. The failure and fault of the Indian scholar was never doubted. It had to be Wooley who was to blame. "He seems to have lost in a Great Degree all Sense of Honour as to his Behavior here, as he is fully sensible that he is now looked upon by the greatest Part of the Students in a disreputable Light."

Halsey assured Wheelock that if Wooley exerted himself more, the College would be able to readmit him; the tutor offered the possibility of re-enrollment if Jacob Wooley "reformed" himself.

In this same letter Halsey, as if to chide Wheelock, reiterated the qualities an acceptable Indian freshman would have. Presumably this idealized Indian would possess qualities that Jacob did not. "Let him be a Person whose Piety is very promising. Whose genius is good, who has a
manly Turn in his Behavior, who has a keen Sense of Honour."17 Importantly, Halsey added that the future success of Indian scholars would depend upon sending him with "a good Chamber-mate." Labelled "defective," Wooley was dismissed because his character and behavior were unbecoming.

In the same letter where Jacob was dismissed for lack of character, the tutor made mention of the progress of Wheelock's epileptic son Ralph. Halsey indicated that Ralph, "has still conducted to satisfaction and I doubt not will do so."18 Samuel Finley, President of the College of New Jersey, more faintly endorsed Ralph's scholarship in 1763. Pressed by Wheelock to speak freely because they were friends, Finley wrote he was "[u]nder Such Apprehensions of ye bad Consequences of his Indisposition" that he hadn't even dared do more than hint at Ralph's failure as a student. Finely diluting his criticism by adding that he had not personally noticed Ralph's shortcomings, "but ye Tutors of whom I enquired make me afraid; lest he Shou'd not make his Standing good in his Class; which wou'd be a great affliction to me."19 Ralph's difficulties were personally distressing because Wheelock was a friend.

17 McCallum, Letters, 252, Jeremiah Halsey to Eleazar Wheelock, September 30, 1762.

18 Ibid.

19 WP 76350.1, Samuel Finley to Eleazar Wheelock, September 30, 1763.
Conversely, Jacob's difficulties were cause for immediate dismissal despite any concern for embarrassing Eleazar Wheelock. There is little reason to believe that Jacob Wooley knew the content of letters between his benefactor and the president of his former school. However, the general circumstances were apparent to all. Before Ralph was even admitted to the College, his epileptic fits had made studies exceedingly difficult. Wheelock even wrote President Finley that Ralph was so ill that he was unable to sit still enough to read a chapter in the Bible uninterrupted. Nonetheless, Ralph was admitted along with Jacob in 1761. In 1762, Jacob was forced to leave because of his defective character, while Ralph—who could not even complete his lessons—was allowed to stay. When Ralph finally did leave the College of New Jersey he was accepted at Yale, graduating two years later.20 Provided the circumstances surrounding Wooley's return to Moor's, it should not surprise us, when in the summer of 1763, Jacob erupted in a drunken rage. He violated, in just one evening, nearly all of Wheelock's unwritten rules concerning the conduct of Indian students.21

It was in the presence of Samuel Gray, David Fowler, and his brother,

20 McCallum, Eleazar Wheelock, 126.

21 Surprisingly there is no surviving list of rules for Indian student conduct. I have deduced what activities went against the rules by determining which behaviors elicited a reprimand from Wheelock.
Joseph Wooley, that Jacob felt a heavy need to confess his sins. He had dishonored God, he had "wounded the hearts of my kindest friend and benefactors, put great dishonor upon the Christian name, and done much to discourage and cool that Christian charity, which has [ ] so remarkably appeared of late toward my perishing savage brethren." Wooley also confessed to hurting the interests and "progress of this school," a school in which he had received so many "great favors" and to which he was under so "great obligations by all possible means to encourage & promote." Wooley felt not only obligated to his people, his friends, his family, the school, and his teachers, but to everyone who could possibly have an interest in Moor's school.

Many historians have articulated the gamut of defiant behavior and its meaning in a dominant culture, in a system of slavery, or in a particular institution. Entrapped even in the most oppressive conditions, people have...

22 WP 763425.1, Confession of Jacob Wooley, July 25, 1763.

23 The literature of resistance is voluminous and includes studies of Indian resistance while under the tutelage of Anglo-American educators in the northeast or while in servitude. See, for example, Anderson, Chain Her By One Foot; Brenner, "To Pray or be Prey;" Devens, Countering Colonization; McMullen, "What's Wrong with this Picture;" Piersen, Black Yankees; Sobel, Trabelin' On; and Wall, Fierce Communion. The full range of defiance by Indians has not received the scholarly attention that African-American slavery has. Infanticide, poisoning, arson, theft, and abortion, for example were all means available to slaves. See for example, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1988), 303-329.
found ways to express their discontent and retain a sense of self. Whether
the conditions at Moor's Charity School, or Wheelock's paternal care, was as
pernicious as the treatment slaves received, is open to debate. Historian
James Axtell has argued that Wheelock diminished the students' self-esteem
to the point where they called themselves dumb as stumps, polluted soil, and
good for nothing Indians. "At the root of Wheelock's unhappy relations with
his Indian students was a racial attitude that placed Indians on a level with
blacks - on the lowest shelf of humanity." He contends that those students
like Joseph Johnson, who wrote about themselves this way in their apologies
to Wheelock, had been well instructed in the lesson of racial inferiority.

Certainly, as Axtell argues, the confessions and remorseful letters are
full of supplications. Hezekiah Calvin did refer to himself as "A dumb
stump," while David Fowler described himself as an "unworthy pupil." Joseph
Johnson opened a letter as "a good for nothing Indian," although the full
reference is not quite so deferential. He wrote,

Suffer me as an Indian and a good for nothing one, to Subscribe
myself your dutifull Pupil, or one that will Endeavour to be
dutifull for time to come.25

24 Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois," 61.

25 WP 767464, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 14, 1767; WP 766313.1,
David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766; and McCallum, Letters, 123.
The difficulty with strictly interpreting their words as manifestations of internalized racist rhetoric is that these Indians students were studying for the ministry. Supplication was part of being a worthy Christian, and a testimony to knowing one's place. As part of a centuries old Christian tradition, the students expressed the depth of their commitment in the hyperbole of their unworthiness; the extent to which it reflected their social station in eighteenth-century New England bears greater examination.

Commenting on one's unworthiness and sinfulness required humility; such humility could certainly be communicated effectively using knowledge of social status in colonial society. In this respect, these confessory statements were a direct comment on the Indians students' understanding of the racial and gender hierarchy of the time. It would be absurd to argue that the racial undertones did not matter. The Indian students constantly pointed to their being Indians as the reason Wheelock treated them badly. To supplicate oneself in racial terms, in a society where one is considered by those in authority to be inferior, lacks the conviction of a purely religious supplication. Still these Indian students were writing from within a Christian tradition. The "Indian" laced rhetoric articulated the difficulties the students' recognized at being Indians in their society, but the rhetoric fits within the context of written Christian supplications. It was the prejudice against them
that would eventually lead the Indian students to recognize that they would forever be dealing from outside with the people who promised to let them in.\textsuperscript{26}

**Self-censuring Defiance**

The racial connotations of Christian Indian unworthiness were made poignantly manifest in defiance stemming from "the sin of pride." This is apparent in an instance of self-censuring defiance. David Fowler and his new bride, Hannah, had begun life outside Moor's as a good married missionary couple. David was vehement in his disgust with the habits of other, less civilized, Indians and wrote often to Wheelock about how much he wished to live as an Englishman. Still, Wheelock penned a harsh letter when word reached him that the Fowlers were putting on airs. Apparently, without Wheelock's permission, Fowler had purchased goods from a trader after waiting for months for Wheelock to provide him clothes. According to

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{26} Rachel Blau DuPlessis in *Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth Century Women Writers* (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1985), 41, comments on negotiating 'hegemonic assumptions [belief in inferiority or depravity of Indians] - notions orthodox in a given society and historical era - are 'deeply saturating' and pervasive, 'organized and lived,' woven into the most private areas of our lives. Still the hegemonic is always in motion, being 'renewed, recreated, defended, and modified.' These hegemonic processes are a site for both sociocultural reproduction and sociocultural dissent. The debate that women experience between the critic and the inheritor, the outsider and the privileged, the oppositional and the dominate is a major example of a hegemonic process, one whose results are evident in both social and narrative texts. Constantly reaffirmed as outsiders by others and sometimes by themselves, women's loyalties to dominance remain ambiguous, for they are not themselves in control of the processes by which they are defined.'
\end{footnote}
Wheelock, the clothing "affected" the habits of "Courtiers," and continued a pattern of prideful behavior. First he reminded Fowler that,

I begrudged you nothing that was necessary for you...you knew that I had been already reproached thro' the Country, as I had been only for letting you Wear an old velvet Coat that was given to you. I told you that the Eyes of all Europe & America were Upon you & me too - did you not....?

Then he reminded David of the occasion when he had to reprimand Fowler for "having so many as 4 pr of shoes at once," and David had stood up and in a "very unbecoming air" and said, "I will have no shoes. I'll wear Indian shoes." 

The sin of pride was a compelling and telling accusation to David Fowler. To Fowler, being accused of pride was the same as being "accounted a Devil or Proude as the Devil." Wheelock's unkind remarks were to Fowler a recognizable pattern of behavior as well. Wheelock's words brought "into my mind what Treatment I met since I came here." It was shameful. He had almost killed himself in service to Wheelock and the Lord. Did Wheelock not recognize that he had done "more service to you than all the rest of the Indian Boys?" Fowler cast their difficulties in racial tones. He saw

27 WP 766476.1, Eleazar Wheelock to David Fowler, August 26, 1766. These passages are from a copy book and were edited to reflect Wheelock's regular style of writing, as this letter survives only as a shorthand copy.

28 Ibid.
Wheelock's criticisms of him as being unjust because he was not "your Negro" and he was as reliable as a white man. Having left Wheelock's home in anger, he concluded,

I am greiv'd that I have troubled you as much as I have....But assure you, Sir, you shall receive Payment from me yearly till every Farthing be paid, it shall not be said all that Money and Pains which was spent for David Fowler an Indian was for nought. I can get Payment as well as white man.29

Wheelock, in response, urged caution. He didn't want Fowler to quit. Wheelock acknowledged his hope that Hannah and David would not go back to the Oneida mission until they could set out in "Meekness & Humility."

How had he and Hannah spent the time since their fallout? Wheelock wanted to know. That he had no idea where the Fowlers were truly bothered him. How will you live, he asked? And how will you "serve together"? The father figure was condescending, his tone often belittling, but his letter conveys genuine concern as well. Despite such disagreement and harshness, in subsequent years the Fowlers would continue as missionaries under the auspices of Wheelock.

That Fowler did not want to be treated as Wheelock's "negroe" is significant. The treatment of Blacks and Indians by Anglo-Americans unified them in a society that was racist, regarding people who were "colored" as

29 McCallum, Letters, 103, David Fowler to Wheelock, August 26, 1763.
sordid creatures. It is worth remembering that this unification was not universal and that sometimes eighteen-century Indian and Black populations were at odds with one another.

Consider one surviving New England Indian legend, the Gay Head story of how "kinky-haired" Indians came to be. The legend features a young woman who after turning down a black man's proposal is dragged around "in such a manner that her hair became kinky." Following many days of captivity in the underworld, the black man allows her to leave, allowing her to relay the story to her people. Upon hearing it, the Gay Head Chief replies, "This foretells the coming of another people whose hair will be tight and woe unto you when they will appear."30

The fear of becoming like Blacks or of being treated as slaves peppers the writing of the Indian scholars. David Fowler particularly raised the onus of bonded labor when he wrote that he was like Wheelock's "negro," "yea I have almost killed myself in Laboring."31 One recent study of the rates of and duration of African-American and Indians children's indentures underscores the reality of that concern. In the later half of the eighteenth century in Connecticut, Indians were far more likely than African-Americans to be held

30 Simmons, Spirit of the New England Tribes, 239-240.

31 WP 766476.2, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, August 26, 1766.
The persistent use by the Indian students of allusions to slavery and comparisons with the treatment of Blacks plagued Wheelock. Yet sometimes the references to blackness were almost jocular. Joseph Johnson, writing from his Oneida mission, closed his letter, "So I Remain your Ignorant Pupil and good for nothing Black Indian." Wheelock too joined in this terminology labeling Samson Occom as his "black son." The prospect that these scholars and masters joined together to use derogatory or racist humor is uncomfortable to the modern reader, but not so out of character for students and educators who referred to other Indians as beasts.

The woes of slaves in New England must have been apparent to Wheelock's scholars, even if they only observed the daily activities of Wheelock's own slaves. The Indians who attended Wheelock's schools, having worked diligently to distinguish themselves from their "brethren" as a new kind of Anglicanized, educated, Christian Indian, willing to live as Anglo-Americans, worked to distance themselves from their African-American brethren as well. This reluctance to be treated in the manner African-

32 For rates of public indenture of both native children and African American children in Rhode Island during the period from 1750 to 1800, see Herndon and Sekatau, "The Right to a Name," 141.

33 WP 768270, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, April 20, 1768.

34 As quoted in Love, Samson Occom, 92.
Americans were treated infused their writing and was part of the outright
defiance described later in this chapter.

At various times in their relationships with Wheelock, the Fowlers
and Molly Secuter all found themselves at odds with the many demands
made on their behavior by their masters and teachers. However, they all
retained their aspirations to continue working for conversions. This
dedication explains why vehement disagreements didn't necessarily lead to an
immediate philosophical distancing from Wheelock. Physical distance
probably helped as well, as the missionary students were often far from
Moor's Charity School or Dartmouth when disagreements occurred.
Disagreements sometimes led to disobedience when students were under the
direct control of Wheelock or defied his distinct wishes.

Wheelock routinely touted the same reason for being discouraged
with student defiance – the censure of everyone in Europe and America. The
students needed to keep always in their minds that their every action was
subject to scrutiny because they were supposed to be role models and
examples for their race. If they failed, Wheelock himself would be ridiculed
by his peers. Didn't the students remember how much he had labored and
"worn out myself" for the cause? He represented their cause as one in which
both Indians and Anglo-Americans shared responsibility in the school's
design. "Who has ever said that you have not behaved well in the Main since you lived with me, or that I have not sat as much by You," he asked David Fowler?\(^{35}\) Wheelock's solution to the acts of rebellion and resulting scrutiny was predictable; he sought to tighten and extend his control over the Indian students. The physical restrictions placed upon them by Wheelock led the Indian students to question "the Doctor" openly. His rules ushered in the opportunity for the students to question their place in the cause and Wheelock's control over them. One persistent problem with Wheelock's need to orchestrate the every movement of the Indian students was that it was at odds with the students' obligations and love for their natal families.

In various regretful letters written to Wheelock, Indian students expressed their conflicting sense of obligation to their new found mission in life and the families they left behind. As Hezekiah Calvin explained, "I do not like to tarry here, I shall never or I have not the Heart to do any good amongst the Heathen... if Doctor Wheelock does not give me leave to go, I must go without leave." Doing so, Calvin wrote, would make him "uneasy."\(^{36}\) Some of this frustration was undoubtedly related to the limitations Wheelock placed upon the students contact with their families. David


\(^{36}\) *Ibid.*, 58. See footnote 43 for a list of other remorseful letters.
Fowler's leaving school without Wheelock's permission is just one example of defiance born of self-doubt. David Fowler's confession given after he left the school without permission, illustrates the concerns of his educators. Fowler contended that he had been too ill to study and his father was in need of help, so it was only logical that he leave. Wheelock, however, was unimpressed. Written out by Wheelock, Fowler's confession reads:

I acknowledge that I acted disorderly, and gave a bad example to others which if they should follow must terminate in the disgrace and ruin of this school, and restrain charitable disposed persons from further expressions of their charity towards it, or endeavors to promote it...and I acknowledge in my neglecting to do it [seek permission] I have treated Mr. Wheelock unworthily.37

Hezekiah Calvin summed up the conflicted feelings of many of his fellow missionaries when he wrote these lines to Wheelock in 1766.

After my most humble dutys to you expressed, these are to let you understand that I am in a great par, I seem as if I wanted to go up among the Indians, & try to do them good as far as it lays in power. And I wanted to go home too to see my friends & relatives once more this side eternity...I shall never try to see that country no more if I could but only see my parents this time.38

When Narragansett Sarah Simon wrote for permission to leave, she made a similar statement. She tried to convince Wheelock that her only

37 WP 766476.1, Statement of David Fowler, November 20, 1764.

38 McCallum, Letters, 49. McCallum credits this letter to Hezekiah Calvin.
desire was to see her mother again before she died, "I do not desi[gn]e to ever to go home and live with hir again." Her need to beg, her belief that she would owe Wheelock a "favor" if he "let" her leave, provides further evidence of the dominance Wheelock attempted to exert as their master and schoolmaster. Paternalism was understood by these students as a relationship that required deference from them. Some, like Fowler, just left without his permission. Others made a more lasting statement by simply leaving Wheelock's family for good, though in at least one instance a student who had left sent his son to Dartmouth College.

It is clear that these students felt deeply divided by the demands placed upon them by Wheelock and their personal commitment to the cause. They continued to want to see their families, to visit fellow (if less enlightened) Indians and to be responsible for themselves. Still these examples of disobedience lack a certain guile that other confessors had. Sometimes, it appears, the students revealed their faults and acts of disobedience in order to bolster their acceptance in the Wheelock

39 WP 769254.1, Sarah Simon (daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock, April 4, 1769. WP 767559, Sarah Simon (mother) to Eleazar Wheelock, October 1767, mentions sending her "lettel son." David Towsey sent his children ages three and seven, McCallum, Letters, 242-243.

40 McCallum, Letters, 296. Francis Joseph Gill, a St. Francis mission Indian, stayed at the school for less than a year but still sent his son to Dartmouth in the early 1800's.
missionary circle. By confessing, the students could portray themselves as examples – more Christian and less Indian – than their classmates. For these confessors, part of being a member of the "tawnee family" was to assert their learned superiority to their unconverted brethren. Always couched in humble phrases, the message nevertheless comes through that the Indian students knew the "correct" way to behave, and never actually meant to do anything wrong. Invariably these particular letters are signed in a more submissive way than the usual closing of "Your humble servant." By claiming to be an even more, "unworthy subject" or "disobedient pupil" they reminded Wheelock of how deep their deference was.41

Hezekiah Calvin's letter written the day after Christmas illustrates this approach. He confesses with ease that he got drunk that night and it is "with shamefacedness & humbleness of heart" that he writes to Wheelock. Apparently Calvin only found out that morning how "heinous" his crimes had been. It began with the drinking, but the drinking was followed with "swearing & cursing." "I hear that they say I make mock at you night discourses," he continued. With great aplomb he assured Wheelock that he remembered none of the debauchery. He was positive he had not made fun

41 WP 767676.2, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, December 26, 1767; and WP 768624, Miriam Storrs to Eleazar Wheelock, November 24, 1768.
of Wheelock. Never fully admitting wrongdoing, he tells Wheelock that he is willing to "suffer any thing that might make my schoolmates know the wickedness of getting drunk." He is clearly apologetic, except Calvin wanted to be recognized as an educator, not himself in need of education. In this letter meant to confess his sins, Calvin argued that his schoolmates were liars and could benefit from instruction on the wickedness of spirituous drink. This tension between understanding what was necessarily correct behavior and seeing how they often failed to behave led the students to compose many remorseful letters.

Outright Defiance

The imagery of slavery and frustration at not being allowed to leave Moor's melded in 1768. Expressing underlying concerns about her rightful place in Wheelock's household as a student or servant, Narragansett Sarah Simons eventually provided Wheelock with a clear example of outright defiance. In 1768, Sarah wrote to Wheelock of her deteriorating health. She

42 WP 767676.2, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, December 26, 1767.

43 WP 766169, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, February 19, 1766; WP 767203.1, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, March 3, 1767; WP 768900.1, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, March, 1768; WP 766313.1, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766; WP 767217.1, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, March 17, 1767; WP 767328.1, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 28, 1767; and WP 768160, Joseph Johnson to Eleazar Wheelock, February 10, 1768.
was "so much unwell" that her being at school was

no prophet to the School for any one to be here and cant do
any good to themselves or others. but Sir when I am well I am
willing to devot myselfe to the Cause that is if I thought I Ever
shold do any good in the world.44

She concluded saying "there should be nothing in this life [that] Should
disorge me."45 Apparently, Wheelock was unmoved by Sarah's letter because
within weeks, Sarah, joined by Mary Secuter, took the significant step of
formally drawing attention to the conditions at Moor's.

In late June, Mary Secuter and Sarah Simons reported that they were
denied food, cloth, and not "one copper allowed them for their labor." They
told Edward Deake, Wheelock's close associate and a missionary to the
Narragansett, that they were not receiving the education promised and were,
according to them, kept as close to work as if they were his slaves. In
response to the girls request for intercession, Deake wrote to Wheelock that
he had been made aware of Wheelock's mistreatment of the girls and misuse
of funds given for the Indians' board.46

Eventually, Deake's letter took on a conversational tone as if he were

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44 McCallum, Letters, 228, Sarah Simons (daughter) to Eleazar Wheelock, May 27, 1768.

45 Ibid.

46 WP, 768371, Edward Deake to Eleazar Wheelock, June 21, 1768.
reporting complaints directly dictated. Mary had "ask'd for a small peice of Cloth to make a pair of Slippers, which you would not allow her, - twas to good for Indians & c." Also, that James Simons was bound to a farmer, and "That you wont give no more of the Indians more learning than to Read, & Write - 'twill make them Impudent; for which they are all about to leave you." Whether the students would have left because of their treatment as "Indians" is difficult to know. But the conclusion to which some of the students had come was definitive, because of these injustices "the Indians are ready to conclude, that their Fellow - Indians will never receive great Benefit of the Large sums of Money contributed by good People, to promote so good a cause."  

The students expected to be treated better than slaves; they wanted their promised education, were weary of their unpaid labor, and were willing to air their grievances to Wheelock's fellow missionary. This appeal to Deake was a sophisticated effort by the female students to delineate their own position within Moor's hierarchy in terms consistent with Anglo-American gender and familial expectations. It was an approach that the male students

47 Ibid.
employed sometimes as well.\textsuperscript{48} The girls used Anglo-American expectations of a servant's role to argue their case in terms of appropriate paternal behavior. The female students recognized Wheelock's obligation as their master to treat them fairly. They determined the need to appeal to one of Wheelock's peers to effect change and successfully enlisted an Anglo-American man to help them. Unfortunately, we do not know whether Mary's and Sarah's outright defiance yielded meaningful results. By late 1768, at least Mary had left Moor's Charity School.\textsuperscript{49}

Importantly, defiance of all kinds did not necessarily signal an end to a student's relationship with Wheelock. Both Hezekiah Calvin and Mary Secuter sought Wheelock's assistance after their respective departures from Moor's. David and Hannah Fowler promoted the Christianization of Indians until they could no longer support their family. But in the final analysis, living a life of Christian charity, was the Fowler's measure of their own lives. All of these students rebelled against Wheelock or his rules, but the constant need in their lives was not to yield moral authority to Wheelock, or even to

\textsuperscript{48} In WP 768371, James Simons complains of being loaned out to a farmer. See also WP 767630.3, John Daniel to Eleazar Wheelock, November 30, 1767.

\textsuperscript{49} McCallum, \textit{Letters}, 239, Miriam Storrs to Eleazar Wheelock, November 24, 1768. Miriam wrote in late 1768 to Wheelock from New York City. "Heavy temptations" had pressed her "down to the dust" since she had left Wheelock's care. She said she had feared a certain man's intentions, admitting she desired him as well. "But," she wrote proudly, "I did keep clear of him." Storrs consequently still judged herself chaste and worthy of praise.
view Wheelock as the arbiter of religious authority, but to be good Christians. This is evident in their questioning of themselves in private letters. It is evident in their tolerance of the need to confess formally at Moor's, and it is profoundly apparent in comments such as Mary Secuter's when she remarked that the longer she stayed at the school the worse her behavior became.

Sarah Simons expressed well the disillusionment of a young adult Christian Indian educated at Moor's. She sought Wheelock's guidance after leaving Moor's. However, Sarah did not address Wheelock as a master or father; she consulted him as a minister, in keeping with her faith. Sarah admitted that she did not want his advice, but she had been sitting at home one afternoon, "all alone" thinking of what she should do, "and I thought of a book I had read once that when any one was at lost about anything that they must go to their minister." Sarah had pondered asking Wheelock for advice before but decided that it "will not do me any good," because he had said "a great many words" to her already. Here Sarah openly admitted that she thinks her former master's advice will be of no use, but her religious training, not to mention her reading of religious manuscripts, lead her to consider her duty, well apart from any missionary's dictates. And what was troubling her?

Sarah was certain that her thoughts were wicked and that Satan was
getting the better of her.

And what I want to know is this I am uncurable or not: the devil is just Redy Sometimes to make me think that because I have made a perfection and do not always keep upright, and it seems to me all the true Christian never meets with Such a Struggle with Satan as I do and So that makes me fear that I am no Christian...

Her understanding of Christian teachings meant her most strident criticism was saved for her own behavior, her own inability to defy Satan. Her relationship with God and her need to solicit Wheelock meant that perhaps no assertion of self was more important than her standing with God.

In conclusion, it is written expressions such as these that help reveal the personal anguish these students, or former students, felt about their place in God's family. Sarah Simons, at least, recognized Wheelock as a leader in her efforts to find peace with God, but significantly she had moved beyond the need for her teacher to explain religious principles to her. As part of her maturation, and in her life course of value adaptation, she had clearly taken on these Christian values as her own. No longer a question of "English" or "Indian" values, her questions concerning Satan's motives in her life were personal. One can understand the students' defiance as a burgeoning awareness of prejudice, coupled with an internalization of values difficult to

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50 McCallum, Letters, 230-231, Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, [no month] 16, 1767. I have modernized spelling and syntax for clarity in understanding this letter.
uphold "perfectly." These students may have had as much problem accepting
that they were human and fallible, as they did Wheelock's moral directions.
Viewing Wheelock as an imperfect guide to religious salvation helps to
explain how his students, just three years later, would form their own
intentional community, wholly apart from their former master.
CHAPTER V

"I LOVE HIM WELL ENOUGH"

This chapter closely traces the marriages, or potential marriages, of Indian couples who were beholden to Wheelock, to analyze both their concerns about courtship and marriage and what the significance of marriage was to the Indian missionary students. The letters tell us a great deal about the connection between courtship and conversion. They also provide an ample comment on the nature of eighteenth-century southern New England Indian marriages. This examination of who married whom from within the school family shows how family and education worked to reinforce values learned at Moor's. The marriages of the Ashpos, Fowlers, and Occoms and the courtship of Hezekiah Calvin and Mary Secuter all illuminate some of the issues converted adult Indian couples had to face in eighteenth-century New England.

Their writings about desire, love, courtship, and marriage are personal and revealing, yet the letters preserved were mostly those sent to Wheelock. Sometimes they were letters like the one from Calvin written at a time in
his life when he was desperate to remain associated with Wheelock's cause. Many were written by missionaries who were largely dependent upon Wheelock for food, clothing, and shelter. How artfully these letters were written fails to mitigate their usefulness however, and can in fact make them more interesting because one is left wondering why these students would share their fears and hopes with Wheelock. Were they trying to persuade Wheelock of their earnestness as converts? Did they really think of him as their father? These letters have to be read carefully, but the enthusiasm, and information they contain enriches our understanding of the institution of marriage for Indians and Anglo-Americans living in New England at the time.

That David Fowler, Hannah Poquiantup, Amy Johnson, Hannah Garret, Hezekiah Calvin, Mary Secuter, Samson Occom and other Wheelock students sought a characteristically Anglo-American marriage is compelling for at least three reasons. First, as the Indian students articulated their expectations of the institution of marriage, they revealed their personal, understanding of Anglo-American gender roles. Second, consideration of documented attractions, proposals and marriages provides a general outline of the many expectations of life held by converted Indian students and missionaries. Wheelock's Indian students' writings are rife with observations
regarding appropriate roles for Indian and Anglo-American men and women. Third, these documents are useful in showing how these Indian students used their knowledge concerning racial identity as a behavioral construction to gain further acceptance into Anglo-American society.

One Proposal Examined

By 1767 Hezekiah Calvin was no longer one of Wheelock's most promising Indian students. A confessed drunkard and wayward Christian minister-in-training, Calvin was far from the model missionary Wheelock had hoped he would become. A Delaware who began his studies with Wheelock as a child, Calvin is first described in the school records as a smart, lively little boy, who "loves to play and will have his hat in one place and his mittens in another."¹ By 1765 Calvin was sufficiently educated to be approved as a school master by the Connecticut Board of Correspondents, after having spent eight years under Wheelock's direction. Once appointed a schoolmaster, Calvin taught among the Mohawk and wrote often to Wheelock of his fear that he was unfit to be a missionary. Finally, in early March of 1767 Calvin was troubled enough by his conduct that he asked permission to "leave this school and not tarry to bring reproach upon this

design any more." That March he had also decided to marry Mary "Molly" Secuter, a student at the school, and was waiting to hear whether they had her father's blessing to marry.

Calvin was decidedly at a turning point in his life course of value adaptation. Having publicly confessed his drinking habits, in poor health and out of favor with his benefactor, he nevertheless wrote to ask Wheelock what direction he should take in life. Should he marry? Should he become a farmer, a teacher, a sailor, or return home?

Lebanon, August 14 AD 1767

Revered Sir,

With Sincerity of Heart I would tempt to write out now my Mind. - My cogitations have been these.-

1st Mr. Wheelock had made me the proposition to me about my going Home. My mind was eased, in thinking if I returned Home and liked the school, I should tarry with it if I could support myself that way, without any companion; and if I did not like the school or could not have maintained myself that way, I concluded in my mind to go to sea and follow them. And yet at the same time never to return here again.

These were his concerns, but Calvin had other questions he wanted answered as well: where did he belong and how could he find happiness? These were difficult questions to answer for someone such as Calvin who was an anomaly in this colonial, ever more Anglo-American society.

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2 Ibid., 53.

3 Ibid., 57-58.
In 1768 Molly Secuter sought Wheelock's advice because she was in "a stand" about whether to marry young Hezekiah Calvin. She was of the mind that he had no special feelings for her. Would it be right when he had no more regard for her than any other girl? She regarded him well, but was that sufficient for marriage?

Charlestown November 16th 1768

Reverend and Hon-ned Sir

I am in a Stand what to do about my Promes I have made to H. Calvin I think it best not to Marry him I think he has no regards for me more than he has any giral. So I entend to live single. I have had more regards for Calvin that ever I had for anny Indian in my life. I have minded him far enough I think. (tho I have the same love as ever I had) no to Cuple before he has. As far Marrige we agreed nothing to part us but death. Now I know not what to do if we should have one another he will always think that I like hem not, so I will say nothing to him untill I hear from your Sir I hope ye will tell me what is my duty to do and I will do it. my parents are a mind I should have Calvin I love him well enough but what to do I know not but I hope I shall be Derected to do what is rite.

So remain your Obedient Serv[a]nt,
Mary Secuter

"So," she concluded, "I intend to live "single." In this simple statement Molly risked greatly offending her paternal benefactor. It was a bold comment and underscored her authority to decide if she would marry. Living single was never Wheelock's mission for Indian women, and most decidedly not for his own female students.
It is possible that Mary only meant that she would remain single until she found a suitable spouse, although in the year since Calvin had proposed, Mary's parents had decided to approve the marriage. Molly mentioned in her letter that by now her parents thought she should marry Calvin. Yet Secuter assured Wheelock that she would do nothing until "ye will tell me what it is my duty to do and I will do it," because she wanted to be "directed to do what is right." Secuter here acknowledged paternal authority, although she also demonstrates that it is her choice to turn to him. Secuter's appeal to Wheelock could be interpreted as an effort to be identified as one of his household, marred only by her uncertainty of marrying a missionary who then was out of favor with Wheelock. Recognizing that such a marriage might to be in her best interest, Secuter deferred to Wheelock who could confirm Calvin's status and by that confirm her own prospects.

For Mary Secuter leaving home had meant becoming a servant in an Anglo-American home. Seeking an education, in hope of spreading Christianity to heathen Indians, Mary would have likely found a husband who shared her aspirations at Moor's. When Calvin proposed marriage, however, he may have recognized their shared calling, but he inadvertently raised a host of issues that any Anglo-American educated southern New

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4 WP 768616, Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock, November 16, 1768.
England Indian woman would have to consider. To begin, there were personal quandaries. Calvin was a wayward Indian missionary for whom alcohol abuse was a nagging problem. Mary had notably imbibed herself, but Calvin's troubles with Wheelock may have caused her to hesitate. If she truly wished to marry a missionary with whom she could travel to the wilds of northern America, there were few suitors at Moor's from whom she could choose.

Her decision of whom to marry also carried strong connotations of which values she would hold in her life. As a Pequot woman vested in Anglo-American values, she needed to view marriage as a lifelong commitment that would tie her status and economic future to his. Mary's consideration of Hezekiah's earning potential and viability as a lifelong spouse illustrates the influence of Anglo-American values on Christian Indians. Their shared dilemmas about marriage to one another was due in part to the gender role expectations held by eighteenth-century Pequots, Delawares, and Anglo-Americans. Their hopes of Christianizing heathens were linked to the kind of marriage into which they entered. Where did she belong? How would she find a place in a colonial society?

Consequently, whom an Indian missionary decided to marry was never an entirely personal decision. Whom an Indian student married, when they
married, and the customs they followed to become married were an integral part of value adaptation and religious expression. The Indian students' use of traditionally Anglo-American customs demonstrated their commitment to conversion to Christianity. According to missionaries, the sanctity of a Christian marriage was the best defense against continued barbarism. The intimate connection between husband and wife was the touchstone of "civilization." Where this couple culturally and physically belonged was complicated by their race, education, and the continuing instability of nearly all southern New England Indians socio-economic position.

Nearly a year before Mary threatened to remain single, Calvin demonstrated that he was ready to continue his affiliation with Wheelock even though there was a strong likelihood of failure and then he could no longer be associated with the school. Calvin's letter also suggests that if he returned home, he would not marry Mary, and yet he was ready to make that sacrifice if it meant he "might be the better fitted for the Design you have in view." Wheelock's offer for Calvin to return home was unusual, in that he was ordinarily vehement about keeping Indians from their homes. The difference here was that Wheelock had very nearly given up on Calvin and within the year would begin publicly distancing himself from the stance that any Indians should be missionaries. The Indian missionaries were
apparently unable to perform their part "amidst so many and great
temptations," because they had to live among Indians.\(^5\) Wheelock wrote,

My rising hopes respecting individuals have heretofore been so
sadly disappointed in many instances, and I have seen and
known so much of Indian ingratitude, hypocrisy, and deceit,
and so often a return of enmity and malevolence to their best
friends, and kindest benefactor....\(^6\)

Notwithstanding Wheelock's censure, Calvin persisted in his attachment to
Wheelock. Some of the tenacity Wheelock's proteges demonstrated as young
adults striving to meet this father-like man's expectations is best understood
as an attachment fostered by youth. Not yet wholly rejected by Wheelock,
these young scholars attempted to please Wheelock even in, or especially in,
their choice of spouse.

As such, it is important to remember that the students most engaged
in learning Anglo ways were in their formative adult years. As teenagers and
young adults these students grappled with the often discrepant desire to
please their paternal benefactor and test their independence. Often, as we
have seen, the first serious test of this relationship was an attraction to the
other sex. Wheelock was concerned about the power of young female Indians
to attract young men away from "the cause." Also, as we have seen,


Wheelock was concerned about the reflection of lewd female Indian students on his and the school's reputation.

**Dangerous Liaisons**

Wheelock took note of any attraction (or distraction) that would derail his plans for converting Indians or injure his reputation among fellow Anglo-American missionaries. Let us return to the example of Jacob Wooley, the Delaware dismissed from the College of New Jersey in 1762, because of his defective character. If secondary accounts of his difficulties at the College of New Jersey are accurate, it would seem that this affair was part of his collegiate difficulties. This relationship with an unidentified woman distracted him from his studies and troubled him greatly. Joseph Fish, Wheelock's friend and fellow Connecticut minister and missionary to the Indians wrote to Wheelock after a "chance" meeting with Wooley. At the time Fish was preaching to the Pequots on Mondays and so thought he would find Wooley easily. The events Fish relayed give us several indications of how an affair could derail even the most promising of Indian scholars.

This meeting between Fish and Wooley was only by "chance" insofar as Fish could not immediately find Wooley when he went to deliver a letter to Wooley in Indiantown on the edge of the Pequot reservation. Fish was
unable to give the letter from Nathanial Whitaker to Wooley because "Jacob was then gone to help fetch home a Sick Indian woman." The next day, Fish received an additional letter from Wheelock to deliver to Wooley as well. Fish found Wooley at his "Old Quarters" and attempted "to induce him to be free & open hearted." In the course of conversation Fish "tryd every method" to get Wooley to reveal what it was that "brought him to this unhappy way of living." When Wooley was too evasive for Fish's liking, he pressed him. Had "that affair had any influence towd his present Conduct; or had any hand in bringing of him into this Melancholly situation? Told me, That was the beginning of it."7

Wooley's admission that the affair was the impetus for his abrupt departure from Moor's did not surprise Fish. He had learned the details of Wooley's sins from Wheelock the previous week. Fish said of the letter he was to give to Wooley, "I cannot think how anything could be more proper and engaging."8 Fish opened his letter to Wheelock, in fact, apologizing for doubting the severity of Jacob's punishment which was presumably sending Jacob away. Their meeting had given him "abundant Satisfaction that the Severity of Discipline, administered to poor Jacob, was no more, nor any

7 WP 764120.2, Joseph Fish to Eleazar Wheelock, January 20, 1764.
8 Ibid.
other, than his aggravated Crimes deserved..." One of Fish's purposes in writing this account was to underscore the importance of behaving properly as students of Wheelock's, and such regrettable behavior did not include having unmanageable affairs.

The "beginning of it" was Wooley's affair, but the end of it was even worse. Living in Indiantown, Wooley had come to be nearly naked and "engag'd in no Business...except getting a little Fire Wood for ye Family where he eats," according to Fish. To Fish and Wheelock few actions were more deplorable than an Indian scholar going "back" to being an Indian. In closing, he reiterated Wooley's deplorable condition and hinted that hunger might drive Wooley back to Wheelock.

I cannot tell any further than heretofore, what a character he maintains among ye Indians - his Clothing is much on the decline, and doing nothing to earn more, (as I told him) he will soon be naked; with w'h if Hunger joins its Force, he may possibly think of his Fathers house....9

While there is a slight possibility that Fish referred here to Wooley's natal home, the much stronger likelihood was that he was shaming Wooley into recognizing that eventually poverty would bring him back to Wheelock's household. Of course the letter is written to Wheelock, and we can not know whether Fish actually said this to Wooley, or if Wooley perceived

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9  Ibid.
these words as threatening. Still, this circumstance in part explains the
disdain Fish showed for the woman who distracted Wooley.

Fish began his inquiry of Wooley presuming that a woman had
brought him to "this unhappy way of living." He did not name her, other
than to call the woman "That alluring object." Much as David Fowler referred
to his potential wife as a "rib" or "bone", Fish described this woman as an
abstraction, more as a manifestation of the threat of women's sexuality than
as an actual woman who posed a threat to this student's career. Fish rested
the blame on the alluring object because her amorous ways left Wooley
acting like an Indian. Wooley could no longer be considered trustworthy and
the result of this affair was "pernicious intrigue to the College."10

Combined with the already entrenched contemporary belief that
Indian women were of low moral character, sexual involvement had to be
considered an important threat to the mission Wheelock designed and to
which many of his students aspired. Wheelock connected the failed
conversion of Jacob Wooley and Indian women's sexuality when he presented
him with an "Indian Blanket" after this affair. Wheelock gave him this
symbol of Indian identity because he had "herded with indians" and given up
on his polite education." Yet, in some respects, Wheelock sent him to "herd"

10 WP 764120.2.
with Indians when he threw him out of the school. Fish asked Wooley if he would "be willing to return to College, provided he might be restor'd to Favour there, and allowed to Revive his Acquaintance" with her? Wooley's injured pride and anger with Wheelock is apparent in the way he responded to all of Fish's questions, by either evasion or a firm no.

There were other accounts of male Indian students being enticed away from Moor's and Dartmouth by Indian women. In 1768 missionary Joseph Johnson was tempted away as well. He turned "pagan for about a week-painted, sung, danc'd, drank & whor'd it, with some of the savage Indians he could find." Sometimes the seduction was more permanent. One such Indian was a Mohawk named Negyes. According to the official school records, Negyes was "captivated by a young female and married." This sort of exit from the school could lead to other students leaving as well; Negyes' companion Center left with him.

The despair Fish and Wheelock conveyed about Wooley can also be interpreted as an expression of their understanding that the repercussions of spouse choice influenced a student's chance for success as a missionary. A

11 WP 763659 and 763666.2. For an alternate interpretation of this event see Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois," 61.

12 Wheelock, Narrative, 1, 42.
student could not leave the fold and be considered by Wheelock a convert or a success. Samuel Ashpo's marriages presented precisely the situation Wheelock feared. Ashpo was forty-four years old when he entered Moor's in 1762, yet Wheelock's involvement in his marriages pre-dated his enrollment by twenty years. Ashpo was a schoolmaster before coming to Moor's and planned to teach more when he left. Apparently, Ashpo fell back on sailing when teaching jobs were difficult to come by. When Ashpo left the school, Wheelock wrote a friend that Ashpo had become a drunkard and was forced to resign his teaching post at Mushantuxet.¹³

At some time Ashpo had married an Indian woman, who even in modern Mohegan Indian oral history is known as a drunkard, leading him to his apparent ruin. In the early twentieth century Frank Speck recorded a story about Samuel Ashpo and his wife that can be viewed as an account of how Indians had come to believe in the Anglo-American concept of providence. As it was related to Speck, the story unfolded that Samuel Ashpo was a good man,

but his wife was not a very good woman, being fond of "ankipi" (rum). For many years she was thus, and it made poor Ashpo very unhappy. In the story Ashpo is helping "a white man" to build a saw mill on Stoney Brook and one time took his wife

¹³ This biographical sketch is based on the information culled by James McCallum from the letters of Eleazar Wheelock, the Narrative, and Love's Samson Occom. See Letters, n.p.
with him. The story is related further that "Ashpo was a good man, but his wife had a bottle of ankipi hidden in her dress. She began to drink, and gave some to the other men." Samuel Ashpo, who was watching while this occurred, got very angry and took the bottle from her and threw it on a rock. The story relates that the bottle broke and the rum spilled on the earth. The wife became furious, and a few moments later, while Ashpo was stooping over a stone, she picked up a piece of rock and struck him on the forehead. He fell down with the blood streaming from him. Then there was a sharp crack of thunder from above, and all looked up, only to see a clear sky with a patch of clouds overhead only as large as a hand. It was a sign to Ashpo's wife, and from that time she never drank rum, neither did the other men who heard the thunder. Ashpo got well.\textsuperscript{14}

This story is the only remaining account of either of Ashpo's marriages and the story gives us a glimpse at least into the daily existence and marital expectations of New England Indians at the time. One facet of this story is the manner in which providence had become a part of Indian understanding of how events unfurled. Providence in the form of God's hand had come down to remind the people that drinking rum was a sin. Another theme present is the connection between weather as a corrective instrument and God's direction to sinners.

But this story shows much more than how the conceptualization of sources of authority had changed. The story also hints at the way Ashpo lived his life away from missionaries' influence. In this account he is "a good

\textsuperscript{14} Simmons, \textit{Spirit of the New England Tribes}, 84.
man" and it is Ashpo who "got well." He continued to work with white people as he helps obviously in the story to build a saw mill with a white man. Drinking, at least for his wife, is apparently against Ashpo's wishes, as she hid the rum under her dress. The use of alcohol, for all of its contemporary reports of abuse, must surely have been a source of contention in many Indian marriages.15 Ashpo's wife is clearly painted here as a deceptive woman, contributing to one of the principle social problems in Mohegan society. It is also troublesome to the narrator that she disobeyed her husband. Good is defined in this story, to some extent, as a woman who would obey her husband and arguably one who would not strike her husband.

The behavior expected of Mohegan married women as depicted in this story bore a strong resemblance to the hierarchy of authority in an eighteenth-century Anglo-American marriage. Samuel Ashpo's wife here is not named because she was of tertiary importance. First was God, then husband and then wife. Indian women are presented here as in need of a husband's discipline within a marriage. Ashpo's wife questioned this claim to

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15 Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians, and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995). Missionaries to the Mohegans complained in 1717 that alcohol was the main impediment to Indians "receiving the gospel," 106. Mancall also reports that some South Carolina Indian women prostituted themselves for alcohol. These women were known as "trading girls," 71. One would think this practice was more widespread.
If this story was handed down intact, and relates historical events, it is clear that Christian tenets, such as that of providence and fidelity, had informed Mohegan societal concerns in culturally prescriptive stories. Yet, Wheelock painted the desertion of his male students as a desire on their part to return to Indian ways, which were to his way of thinking supposed to differ strongly from colonists' ways. Once again the highly categorical descriptions he and his Indian missionary followers articulated about racial identity blurred as the effects of continuous cultural contact were felt.

In 1742 Wheelock and Ashpo embraced an opportunity for Ashpo to confess to marrying "after Indian manner." "Sometime Ago I went to Sea and was gone 14 months," Ashpo began his confession. When he returned, he found by "Common Publick report" that his wife had "been Guilty of gross adultery."

She had for sometime accompanied & traveled about ye country with the Man she had been then Guilty with & that she was promised (?) to him - . I waited Some Considerable time to see if She Wod Not Come & make an acknowledgement to Me.

Ashpo, evidently figured that his first wife would not return and took "another wife." Ashpo had been away from Wheelock's school for more than

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16 Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes*, 84.
a year. That Wheelock still had the power to solicit a confession from him despite Ashpo's age and separation from Wheelock, is an engaging note of how penetrating his influence could be.

Ashpo confessed to Wheelock the illegitimacy of his second marriage for three reasons. First, he had cast her off without "a tria[1] of the Case" and without knowing "the facts" against her.\textsuperscript{17} Second, he should have gone to his first wife and used every endeavor to get her to return. It was the third offense, however, that was the most sinful, and required of him "in the most open manner to God & man" to ask forgiveness of all, which he "heartily did. "I am sorry (that) I was married in the old Indian Moode & not in a Christian manner."\textsuperscript{18}

Marrying in the Indian mode meant that their marriage was an affiliation, an arrangement that could be terminated by either spouse. That Indians could easily divorce is using the wrong word to describe their practices as divorce is a legal term. Unlike English marriages which were legal colonial unions characterized by a societal desire and a virtual assurance that the couple would remain married for life, Indian marriages were recognized as customary. There were marriage rituals and strong familial

\textsuperscript{17} I have edited the word "triad" to read "trial."

\textsuperscript{18} WP 742162.1.
connections which supported marriage within southeastern Indian tribes, but marrying in the Indian manner was meant to imply that the union might be readily dissolved by the couple. Plane argues further argues that by the second half of the eighteenth century marriage according to custom was accepted as a matter of course for non-English marginal peoples," and they were not prosecuted for "unlawful marriage."19 Ashpo's confession allows us to see that the tradition of Indian marriages easily terminated continued well into the eighteenth century.

As was so often the case with Wheelock's proteges, the Indian scholars straddled cultural expectations, seeking the certainty of Christian salvation when they corresponded with Wheelock, but not necessarily as they made decisions. Ashpo's absence was maybe too long, or maybe too short if theirs was the relationship described in the story of rum being dashed on the rocks. In either case, Ashpo's wife had decided to pursue another man, as was apparently still her prerogative. "Adultery" was forgivable in Ashpo's account if she had returned to their marriage. To an aboriginal "Indian" way of thinking, her desertion merely freed him to marry again. He would not himself be committing adultery. In retrospect, he said he wished he had gone after her. It is difficult to know his motivations for seeking a new partner

given his account. Whatever the exact impetus for taking a new wife, the fault was placed with his first wife, freeing Ashpo as a Christian to confess to reacting to sin, rather than being fully sinful himself.

**Sanctioned Courtship**

Just as an "Indian marriage" could bode ill, marriage to another well-educated Christian Indian was thought fortuitous. Of the twelve identifiably female students, at least four were courted by and one wed a fellow student.20 Detailed biographical information about the female students is generally lacking, but the available accounts show that some female students were pursued by the male students. Joseph Johnson and David Fowler's desire to marry an educated Christian Indian woman who would be a helpmate in running a mission school meant that women attending the school in 1763 had a good chance of being pursued by the Indian missionaries working with Wheelock at the time. A summary of the courtship of Moor's female students is shown in Table 5.1.

Because three of the four known courtships were instigated by David Fowler, the most significant factor in whether a girl was pursued may have

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20 Research to date has not discovered the fate of the other women. Some left the school shortly after arriving and some left for reasons not yet known. WP 766313.1, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.
Table 5.1
The Courtship of Female Students at Moor's Charity School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Students</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Year Attendance Began</th>
<th>Marital Status at Time of Departure</th>
<th>Courted by or Married Fellow Student</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amie Johnson</td>
<td>Mohegan</td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam Storrs</td>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>1761</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Wyacks</td>
<td>Mohegan</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience Johnson</td>
<td>Mohegan</td>
<td>1762</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Poquiantup</td>
<td>Niantic</td>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Garrett</td>
<td>Pequot at Narragansett</td>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Married 1766</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Secuter</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>1763</td>
<td>Unmarried</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susannah</td>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>1765-</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>Mohawk</td>
<td>1765</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Simons</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>1766</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Nabby&quot;</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>1767</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha</td>
<td>Narragansett</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=13. This biographical information was gathered from "the List of Moor's Charity School Pupils." The courtship data was compiled from correspondence in the Wheelock Papers.

been whether she attended school while Fowler did, thereby making it into a written account. Fowler did refer to one possible mate being suited more for him than to Joseph Johnson, and so Johnson may have pursued some of the same girls. The school family was, on paper, brought together by Wheelock, but the familial connections of these students were arguably much more significant. For example, missionary Joseph Johnson married Tabitha Occom, Samson Occom's daughter. Samson Occom married David Fowler's sister,
Mary. Suitable spouses came from nearby tribes, not from the "wild" Indian groups such as the Mohawk.

The important decision of whom to marry was a combination of successful courtship and approval from Wheelock. Courtship apparently followed both "Indian" and "Anglo-American" customs of courtship with any ensuing proposal being sanctioned or rejected by the natal parents. Every indication is that the Indian students found their marriage partners, and there is no documentation of Wheelock's arranging marriages between his students. Although, the Indian students had the additional burden of securing Wheelock's approval as well. One of the difficulties in determining the cultural prescriptions these Indians followed is that, at least in the case of the Montauks, Indian young adults were nearly the same.

Courtship practices then may have begun to emphasize the search for romantic love in the form of suitors selection of each other, or personal choice taking on a new importance. Some of this choice may have occurred while Anglo-Americans "bundled" or slept with each other, fully clothed through the night. Choice in spouse, however, is probably best described as a young woman or man's choice to reject the suitor a parent had selected. Even in the face of romantic courtship, most marriages probably continued to be negotiated by parents looking for the economic advantage and security.
of status within their village. This was a society still deeply committed to patriarchy and respect for order.  

In eighteenth-century New England, Anglo-American styles of courtship and the way parties agreed to marry was also undergoing significant changes. Marriage was meant to be a union that upheld a Christian covenant, bringing to mind the promise between God and man to care for one another. As historian Laurel Ulrich has argued, "In 1750 as in 1650," there were "multiple aims of marriage: a good wife provided material, spiritual, emotional, and sexual comforts."  

The meter of Christian marriage remained the same, but by 1750 New Englanders were beginning to believe that romantic and mutual attraction were an important part of Anglo-American marriage.

When Samson Occom recorded Montauk customs in 1761 he noted that there were four ways in which the Montauks had "traditionally" sanctioned a proposed marriage. The parents could arrange marriages for their infant children, the marriage considered finalized by the two children

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22 Ulrich, Good Wives, 117.
suckling at the mother of the girl. Sometimes the parents selected their children's spouses when they were older. The couple could also signify that they would cohabitate by the female suitor putting cakes she baked in ashes at the male's door. In the fourth scenario the young couple could simply mutually decide to form a union. This union was not a contract that required lifelong marriages, as Anglo-Americans marriage were. A Montauk marriage as described in Occom's account of "ancient" Montauk ways was more of an agreement to stay together until and unless they decided it was no longer a beneficial union. Eighteenth-century marital arrangements and marriage customs of Montauks, Mohegans, and Narragansett have not been elsewhere studied. While Occom's account appeared to confirm that "traditional" "older" ways among the Mohegans did not include the necessity of a lifelong marriage, it is difficult to assert this confidently. Reportedly split ups were common and changing partners was an expected part of the maturation process. Yet Occom was writing of "ancient" customs in an effort to delineate from contemporary practices of Christian Indians. Certainly the Occoms and Fowlers were married for life.

In the case of the Indian students, Wheelock played a patriarchal role as the students wrote to him as "Father" or "Benefactor," asking that their

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marriage plans be approved by Wheelock.  

Even when natural parents were involved, they too turned to Wheelock for his marital guidance.  

Mary Secuter's father John, writing to Wheelock in March of 1767 shows how complex the weave of parentage could be. Secuter began his letter deferentially, acknowledging and reinforcing the idea that he was indebted to Wheelock.

Rev'd Sir

I gratefully acknowledge your token of love, and friendship, in the Christian education you have giv'n my Daughter. I esteem it such a favor, as Justly demands Gratitude in ye deepest sense.

Secuter was willing to allow Wheelock to express love for his daughter if expressed in religious terms, and therefore not quite as intimate as his own love. Secuter's tone became more aggressive as he revealed to Wheelock that he had received a letter from Hezekiah Calvin, Mary's beau, saying he was ready to marry her.

I receiv'd a letter from Mr. Calvin which contain'd the follwing words, "It may be no small thing that I have to acquaint you with, the design that lay, between your daughter Moley, and me,

24 McCallum, Letters, 67, 68, 102: Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock, November 16, 1768; Nathan Clap to Eleazar Wheelock, June 28, 1768; and David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.

25 WP 767231, John Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock, March 31, 1767.

26 Ibid.
Pardon me if I blush to name it, that is *Matrimony* but I shall not attempt it without your consent and approbation." This Sir, I by no means consent to, and shou'd be very glad if you wou'd use your reasonable powers to Dissuade my Daughter from such design.-- Not that I have ever heard anything against the young man.27

Secuter, as her father, would not have consented to this marriage, but from this letter it would appear that he no longer had that paternal authority. First, he left it to Wheelock to "dissuade" Mary conveying that it was partially Wheelock's responsibility to ensure that she did not consent to this marriage. It was further Wheelock's responsibility because Hezekiah Calvin was his missionary student as was Mary. Secuter had to acknowledge that by allowing Mary to go to school to be under Wheelock's care, he had surrendered some of this authority. One might also argue that this was an effort to use Anglo-American patriarchal assumptions to control "their" daughter.

Also apparent from this letter is that the decision to marry was also the couple's to make, although Calvin's wording speaks of his readiness, not Mary's. "I shall not attempt it," he wrote, not "We shall not attempt it." Yet her autonomy is also hinted at here. First, she planned to marry, possibly without her father's consent, or even without his knowledge of the young

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man beyond that he had heard nothing "against the young man." Second, Secuter's postscript suggests that both Mary and Hezekiah wrote to John Secuter as the letter, "that Mr. Calvin wrote to me, and one from my Daughter, was sent by the Hand of Sylvester Anthony, who carried them to the Sachem Ninegretts and were opened and kept there four weeks, before I heard of them." John Secuter failed to mention whether the letter from his daughter was as upsetting as the one from Calvin, but he scolded Wheelock for not insuring that such important letters reached him.

In a letter to John Brainerd, Wheelock wrote that although Calvin "had a mind to marry one of his female scholars, who is well accomplished and very likely," Mary would not have him. According to Wheelock, the reason she would not marry him had little to do with whether she thought he was particularly fond of her. She planned to live single "unless he will git into or have a prospect of Some Business for his support, suitable to his education." Whether this was wishful thinking on Wheelock's part or information she had shared privately with Wheelock, we can not know. If this were only one of Wheelock's hopes, then Mary's motives for marriage remain in her words alone, and her reasons centered on whether she had to


29 WP 767408.1, Eleazar Wheelock to John Brainerd, July 8, 1767.
follow through with a betrothal that she found questionable. It is possible, even likely, however that she would have considered what her husband would do for a living and whether those pursuits would relate to his education. She had, after all, left Moor's when she found her own behavior detrimental to "the cause." Mary recognized her relationship with Wheelock as father to daughter, "I am not insensible of my Obligation to ye Doctor for his Paternal Cair," she wrote. Why would she not have considered the obligations of husband to wife within the "school family?"³⁰

The Indian students sometimes presented Wheelock with their plans for marriage in a letter. David Fowler makes the relationship between gender role expectations, a Christian missionary marriage, and a frank desire to be accepted by Anglo-Americans in his first proposal of marriage outlined to Wheelock. Fowler described the proposed marriage to fellow student Amy Johnson as a "Transaction - I have determined to have Amy for my Companion." He explained to Wheelock that Amy was suitable for him and not Jacob Wooley because

Woolly don't want one so dexterous as I do, at least he can do better with poor one than I can: for I want one that is Handy in everything: I expect to do great deal in reforming my poor Brethren both in spiritual and temporal things, also I shall be always crowed with Guests; I believe you seem to see how it will

³⁰ McCallum, Letters, 238, Mary Secuter to Eleazar Wheelock, July 28, n.y.
be.31

For these reasons he needed a "Rib" who could "turn her Hand to anything that belongs to Housewifery." Fowler asked Wheelock to keep Amy in his prayers in hopes that God would make her "a Pattern of Piety & Virtue to all her poor Kindred will be about her."32

This marriage proposal was also supposed to inspire Amy to behave well. Ever posing as the paragon of virtue, Fowler happily explained to Wheelock that his proposal would make all the difference in her conduct, as she confessed all of her past misdeeds and would behave better because of him... "she sees my Sincerity towards her. Therefore she will put more Weight upon what I say to her, it will also serve to keep her back from those things." The historical record is agonizingly silent on what "those things" were. What was going to keep her from "those things," however, was a new gown, handkerchief, fine linen, and a gold ring that cost two dollars. "Don't know what else she wants," wrote Fowler though it is apparent that Amy would probably always want more. "I know," Fowler cajoled Wheelock, "if you love her as much as you do me, all what she desires will be given." Fowler's proposal and his presence meant that though "She has been apprehe[n]ed

31 McCallum, Letters, 88-89, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 2, 1765.

32 Ibid.
too often," these indiscretions would no longer occur.33

At the end of this series of requests and happy announcements, Fowler told Wheelock that he had to call the marriage off. Her ill health had just been disclosed to him and he was afraid she had become consumptive. Fowler supposed she had "cetch'd Cold" when he had brought her to Connecticut and since that time she was in continual pain. The conflict this presented to Fowler was that he was in "love" with the "Poor Girl," it was something he couldn't help. Amy's illness was important to David because he was "cut off from my Expectation, I thought I found one that was able to go through hard work."

David's concerns are revealing because they plainly reveal his expectations, but they also illustrate how tenuous the Indian students thought the paternal concern of Wheelock could be. "She should go to some skilful Physician," he wrote, "...it strikes such Heaviness in my Heart so that I am unwilling to leave her; for fear, you won't try to get her healed." And so the outlined proposal ends to Wheelock with Fowler unsure of what the proper thing was to do. "She is indeed a pretty Girl," the letter closes, "And therefore from this Time I shall keep clear from all Girls whatsoever."34

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.
After one difficult year among the Oneidas Fowler proposed marriage to another Indian student, Hannah Poquiantup, a Niantic who had come to Moor's in the fall of 1763. It just wasn't possible, according to Fowler, to run a household, raise food and instruct heathens. David Fowler wrote a particularly giddy and "secret" letter to Wheelock saying he had proposed by letter to Hannah Poquiantup which "will either [sic] spur her up or knock her in the head." Fowler wrote in haste so,

...she may have some time to think and dress herself up & another [reason] which is the greatest that I may clear myself from those strong Bonds wherewith I bound myself to her... what I mean by clear myself is if she denies. If she won't let her bones be joined with mine. I shall pick out my Rib from your House.35

This letter was indeed written in haste, as Fowler's words here are jumbled and his nuances uncharacteristically confused. Yet it remains the only other existing example of a marriage proposal between two Indian students. That she alone could apparently deny him highlights the traditional decision-making role of Hannah, while the letter itself speaks to the need for Wheelock's grace. He wrote further of the need to give Hannah time "to think and Dress herself up new." David Fowler also felt the importance of being presentable on this important occasion wanting time "to shed my skin

for I am almost nached now." Fowler thought of Wheelock as his father and acknowledged his involvement in bringing about a positive answer from Hannah, as a "Child" would receive favor from his "kind father."36

The rhetorical dimensions of "the tawnee family" are well represented in this case. Both David and Hannah are by definition his children, yet they have proposed marriage which could never be sanctioned if they were biological siblings. However, it Fowler's relationship with Wheelock as his child, that arguably allowed him to jibe Wheelock with the prospect of alternately selecting his wife from "your House." While there is no certainty that Fowler couldn't have chosen his wife from "your house," it is difficult to imagine an acceptable mate. Could he have meant one of Wheelock's daughters, a slave or an Anglo-American servant? Having proposed marriage to Hannah Poquiantup and Amy Johnson, while both of these women were Indian students at Wheelock's school and not hired help, his strong desire was to marry someone with similar values is evident. Whether or not he was joking about marrying a servant, the ambivalence of Fowler's acceptance as an Anglo-American is quite transparent here. Fowler believed himself a member of the family, despite also knowing his familial connection was tenuous. He ventured to send the letter because "I have so often seen and

36 Ibid.
felt your tender cares and affection," and he wrote "as a Child from a kind Father."\textsuperscript{37}

Few students spelled out the relationship between marriage, the acceptance of prescribed gender roles, and acceptability in the white community as did Hezekiah Calvin.

2.dly I thought of Marrying at home & so follow farming Busyness, to maintain me and my Companion &c
3.dly And again the state and condition of my Friends & fellow brethren would be hovering in my Mind daily, so that I was almost ready to conclude to spend my life amongst them any where, if it were among the very wildest of them if I could but have it in my Mind that I should be likely of doing them any good. And so I left these thoughts in a Par leaving them to be concluded when I got home & c...

...But however sometimes I mourn & grieve for my breaking Friendship with the Mohawks.- I should be very glad it seems to me to see my Brethren become christians & live like Christians My mind is full. I cant express myself...\textsuperscript{38}

Calvin understood that he could either go home and teach, become a farmer or act as a missionary to the Indians. He reiterated his need for a companion in order to be successful in his life's work. Calvin also articulated the difficulty of being married without a suitable occupation. He would need to provide for his wife and he wanted to do so in a way that was sanctioned

\textsuperscript{37} McCallum, \textit{Letters}, 57-58, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 14, 1767.

\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ibid.}, 102, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 13, 1766.
by Wheelock and his fellow missionaries. Yet there remained an important
distinction between his two locations for finding a wife. He could either
marry someone from "home" "& so follow farming Busyness," or he could
marry Mary Secuter and keep alive his prospects of becoming a missionary.
His commitment to Secuter enhanced his future prospects, while marrying a
woman from home would restrict them. Fowler's correspondence revealed a
similar understanding. He needed "the rib" to make an acceptable home for
him in the wilderness. It was not that affection had no place, as Calvin
closed his letter to Wheelock about his future, "my affections are so great
for her, I should be very lo(a)th to leave her;" rather a marriage also brought
with it expectations.39 Judging by the surviving accounts, the male Indian
missionary students were anxious to do their duty by marrying and living in
proper style. Marriage, like conversion, was not an end in itself. It was an
affirmation of commitment, but it was also a symbolic beginning to a life
time of challenges. By taking on the roles prescribed to Anglo-Americans for
wives or husbands the students committed to something much more than a
vow to love, honor and obey. In pursuing a sanctioned Anglo-American
union, the students at the very least expressed a tacit willingness to accept
the sexual articulation of duties as commonly understood by Anglo-

39 Ibid., 58, Hezekiah Calvin to Eleazar Wheelock, August 14, 1767.
Americans in eighteenth-century Connecticut.

The Benefits of Marriage

This willingness seems an especially effective strategy in gaining acceptance by fellow Christians, because, as other scholars have observed, one of the most common ways of arguing that Indians were an inferior race was to describe how the sex roles were reversed in their cultures. The Indian students were quick to point out those discrepancies as well in their own bid to fit in with Anglo-American society. Fowler, for example, describes Indians as "creatures" who let "their women" "take up their axes and hoes and way to the fields and leave their children with the men." For this behavior the Indians at Canajoharie were labelled "lazy" creatures and "sordid wretches" as though productivity accompanied only the correct division of labor. By embracing the social roles familiar to Anglo-American colonists, male and female Indian students proved themselves closer to white and thus acceptability in the self-imposed hierarchy of racial relations in the eighteenth century.

40 Leacock make a particularly convincing case that traditional Montagnais sex roles were of particular offense to the Jesuits because the women functioned as negotiators and wielded considerable political influence in "Montagnais Women," 25-42.

41 WP 765374.2, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, June 24, 1765.
When Fowler complained about his lack of a wife and the related deplorable conditions of missionary life, he did so in a public venue meant to impress upon his benefactors how desperate life could be among "wild" Indians. "I find it hard to live here without the other Rib," he wrote,

for I am oblig'd to eat with Dogs, I say, with Dogs because they are continually liking Water out of their pales and kettles; yea I have often seen Dogs eating their Victuals when they set their dishes down....42

That Fowler picked the biblical reference of the first wife, Eve, to gripe about his lonely life in the Godless wilderness was hardly accidental. Wheelock's missionary students were often anxious to prove their cleverness and level of devotion both religiously and to Wheelock when they wrote to him. And just what did Fowler find difficult about living without the missing rib? He wanted a companion to clean and cook as did the Anglo-American housewives with whom he was accustomed to living. He missed what he considered the cleanliness of the Wheelock home. He wished for some of Mrs. Wheelock's bread and milk or boiled meat. "I could eat those things gready as a Hog that has been kept in a pen two days without its swill."43

Fowler expressed the need for housewifery at least. It is difficult to

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42 McCallum, Letters, 94.

43 Ibid.
know if he regretted the absence of a wife in other ways. In referring to his potential mate in objective, biblical terminology, he established his superiority over her through religious inference. That he continued to refer to his wife as "the Bone" or "the Rib" after she was no longer an idealized biblical helpmate, demonstrates his affinity for a lowly status for women. It also illustrates his desire to place himself higher in a hierarchy of familial order. After all "the Bone" is not even "the Other Rib." "The Other Rib" is not even a full reference to Eve, and Eve is hardly the most flattering biblical reference.

On occasion though, marriage was not as helpful in gaining acceptance as the graduates would have liked. For example, when Wheelock accused David Fowler of inattention to his missionary duties that resulted because of the demands of running a household.44 Fowler defended himself by arguing that he simply couldn't support a wife without taking some time away from his duties.45

The Occoms' physically and materially felt the absence of Wheelock's financial support. By 1764 when he and his brother-in-law went on a mission for Wheelock, Occom's patience for Wheelock's thrift grew short.

Reverend Sir,
I am Sorry you couldn't get at Least Some Money for David, it looks like Presumption for us to go on long journey through Christians without Money, if it was altogether among Heathen we might do well enough.\textsuperscript{46}

No doubt there was some truth to this. It was customary for both Indians and English to expect hospitality abroad from other Indians. With all of the criticisms that Indians endured for sleeping in Anglo-American homes without invitation, and "wandering" about the countryside looking for handouts, it is likely that Occom wanted just to avoid behaving as a stereotypical Indian. Yet he continued to prompt Wheelock to remember his economic needs. "I leave my House and other Business to be done upon your Credit, and it will be Dear Business in the End." His family needed clothing and provisions, and yet he cautioned Wheelock, "In a word I leave my Poor Wife and Children at your feet and if they hunger Starve and die let them Die there."\textsuperscript{47}

Clearly, marriage and the assumption of correct roles was not always enough to ensure acceptance. It would seem from this correspondence that acceptance was on a permanent trial basis. Samson and Mary Occom's family was also tied to Wheelock's family economically. Their devotion to "the

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{47} WP 764508.3, Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock, October 8, 1764.
cause" meant that Samson's own family was often without a father to be a proper paternal director. Ironically, by going out to convert Indians to an Anglo-American way of life, Samson and Mary sacrificed their family life, sometimes for years as a time. The Occoms did accept the paternal leadership Wheelock could provide during Occom's absences and it was a strong commitment to Christianity, Anglo-American ways, missionary work and Wheelock's wishes that created the need for Wheelock's help. Occom tired of depending upon Wheelock's financial promises, but at least he closed this letter remarking "Sir, I shall endeavour to follow your Directions in all things. This in utmost hast(e) and with Sincere obedience, is from your Good for Nothing Indian Sarvant."\textsuperscript{48} In 1768 Occom wrote what might best be labeled a diatribe against his treatment as an Indian missionary. "I Can't Conceive how these gentlemen would have me Live: I am ready to Impute it to their Ignorance," and yet Occom had come to know it was not ignorance but prejudice. Having received only 180 pounds in twelve years of service, while white missionaries received the same for one year's service; Occom thought the Connecticut Board of Correspondents treated him this way because he was an Indian. To further illustrate his point he related an anecdote about a "poor Indian boy" who while bound out to an English

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Ibid.}
family was beaten every day. When the boy asked the reason for his beatings, the farmer said, "He did not know, but he Supposed it was, because he [the boy] could not drive any better." The boy replied, "I Believe he Beats me for the most of the Time 'because I am an Indian.' "

Because of the many duties ascribed within an Anglo-American clerical marriage; Indian missionaries found it difficult to maintain an acceptable standard of living without proper financial support. Both the Occoms and the Fowlers struggled economically to fulfill the roles of Anglo-American husband and wife. The Fowlers at times sold the belongings Wheelock had given them to support their growing family. Eventually Fowler had to request a transfer to Long Island because the conditions among the Mohawks were too hard, especially with a pregnant wife. Similarly, Mary Occom was cautioned by a trader who dealt regularly with the Fowlers and the Occoms to watch how far in debt the Occoms went. Of the few surviving letters from Samson to Mary finances were a prevalent


50 WP 767667.4, Eleazar Wheelock to David Fowler, December 17, 1767. This letter mentions that Fowler shouldn't have sold tools given to him by Wheelock for his support. For further evidence of hardships see McCallum, Letters, 108-109.

51 WP 767328.1, David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock, May 28, 1767.
concern. Mary filled the traditional role of deputy husband by attending to family finances and disciplinary matters while her husband was away on extended missions and he sent encouragement to pay their debts as “best you can.”

A Christian marriage could bring with it an increased connectedness with Anglo-Americans. For Mary, this entailed a variety of unusual relationships. During Samson's visit to England several ladies took an interest in Mary and sent gifts and letters. Also unusual was the extension of Wheelock's paternal care to Mary and the children as part of his duty to his “children.” Because Mary was married to Samson, she was able to call upon Wheelock in a way that other Indians could not. Where other Indians solicited Wheelock's intervention as strangers, Mary Occom wrote as the

52 Their correspondence reads very much like the correspondence Mary Beth Norton refers to in her discussion of the way American women during the American Revolution gradually assumed the financial responsibilities on the homefront in Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980), 216-224. Ulrich might argue that this assumption of duties was a long standing English custom, considered part of the duties of a goodwife in her role as a “deputy husband.” See Good Wives, 13-14.

53 WP 767121.

54 Unfortunately I have not been able to find those letters, the only record of those gifts and letters are in the form of an admonition from Samson to “get some capable hand to write you letters of thanks, to the ladies who wrote you letters and sent you presents from Bristol.” WP 767121, Samson Occom to Mary Wheelock, January 21, 1767.
wife of Wheelock's Indian son.\textsuperscript{55}

By 1769 both the Fowlers and the Occoms had broken away from Wheelock's missionary demands and returned permanently to the Montauk and Mohegan settlements. This break began with the frustration of being paid so poorly, or not at all, and was solidified as they watched the erection of Dartmouth College. Other scholars have seen this drifting away from Wheelock as evidence that the Occoms and the Fowlers had deserted Anglo-American ways and embraced their Indian roots. Axtell depicts Occom as having retreated from white society, writing.

\begin{quote}
Despite his unusual accomplishments, however, there was no place for a man of his color in English society. He returned to a wigwam...carving spoons, pails and gunstocks for his white neighbors, most of whom were his spiritual and intellectual inferiors.\textsuperscript{56}
\end{quote}

Kevin McBride has characterized Occom's departure from Dartmouth as reflecting the "prevailing view among all of the Native communities in the region... the desire to escape from the corrupting influences of white society."\textsuperscript{57} As they point out, ignoring Wheelock's plans signalled a disgust

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{55} McCallum, \textit{Letters}, 227-229, Sarah Simon to Eleazar Wheelock, October, 1767. Though one could argue that Sarah's position in society as a Christian Indian widow also got her at least similar treatment as she was another woman on her own, in need of the help of male protectors.

\bibitem{56} Axtell, \textit{Invasion Within}, 204.

\bibitem{57} McBride, "Desirous to Improve," 8.
\end{thebibliography}
with Anglo-American values and expectations.

Yet there were even more significant ways in which these married couples continued to ascribe worth to the values, especially in terms of religious beliefs that they had learned in Anglo-American society. Of lasting significance, these two families lead the Brothertown Indian Movement which resulted in the establishment of Christian Indian settlements in upstate New York.

As they left Wheelock's direct paternalistic influence in later adulthood, they nevertheless sought to replicate the Anglo-American religious, material, and broad cultural values they had absorbed during their tenure at Wheelock's schools. This replication, however, was adapted to serve their own cultural needs. Paradoxically they acted to preserve a distinctly "Indian" way of life in interpreting Anglo-American religious doctrine and material culture. The first hint of the momentous changes Occom and Fowler proposed is contained in the 1773 agreement concerning marriage signed by members of the Mohegan tribe and historically attributed to Occom. It stated that in the past intermarriage had been a feature of Indian life, but this had to change if they were to preserve important cultural attributes. Hence forward, only "sons" could bring women from other tribes into the Mohegan group, daughters henceforth
who "marry strangers" had to quit their rights as Mohegan people.\footnote{Mohegan Agreement concerning intermarriage, 12 May, 1773, in \textit{The Works of Samuel Johnson}, vol. 3, 72-73.} Land was henceforth only to descend through the male line. Whereas women had traditionally controlled land usage and "ownership" at the hand of Occom that was to no longer be the case. Similarly the goal of the Brothertown Movement was to establish a new order where Christianized and civilized Indians could live.\footnote{The reasons and circumstances of the Brothertown Indian Movement are discussed at length in Love, \textit{Samson Occom}, 188, 189, 207-230, 240-248, 252, 253.}

This shift to adopt Anglo-American patriarchal assertion of authority by dictating to Mohegan women their rights was certainly a new feature in Mohegan marriage practices. In the context of marriage and acceptability in the Mohegan community it would seem that the importance of this document was as much related to shifts in gender related power as in the reassertion of Mohegan autonomy.

No one clear picture of "Indian" expectations of marriage emerges from these letters, confessions, and decrees. Yet some conclusions can be drawn from these writings. The evidence suggests that the acceptance of gender role prescriptions was a cornerstone of value adaptation because behaving as a true Christian was inseparable from behaving as a good role
model for your sex. The acceptance of Christianity was critical, as were dress and livelihood; however at least at Wheelock's schools for the period studied here, acceptability ended with any rejection of proper sex role and gender behavior.

Marriage could serve as a further sign of the permanence of conversion, although both the Fowlers and the Occoms rejected Wheelock's tutelage in later years. Marriage for them was a tangible sign of their commitment to Christian tenets, and perhaps by extension, of traditional Anglo-American ways. For the male proteges in particular, marriage was a tangible acceptance of the adult responsibilities that lifelong commitment would entail. The brief example of the benefits accrued to the Occoms because of their marriage does not warrant undue attention. However, their acceptance by Anglo-Americans in general and their continued efforts to remain "properly" married do. Part of the construction of their new culturally blended "Indianness" was the acceptance of the institution of Anglo-American marriage. This in turn means that their marriage signified a proactive defining of acceptable identity. Clearly the Christian Indians thought themselves separate and wholly changed. Samson Occom's promise to remain "your tender and loving husband" is suggestive of the personal
ramifications of life as a Christian Indian.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{60} WP 767121, Samson Occom to Mary Occom, January 21, 1767.
CONCLUSION

Those people familiar with the history of Dartmouth know that the College has always laid claim to the legacy of Samson Occom. As one of his biographers wrote in 1935, Occom "considered the establishment of the College as a perversion of the wishes of the donors," and "vigorously opposed the foundation of Dartmouth College."¹ By 1771, Occom was sufficiently bold to write,

I am very jealous that instead of your Semenary Becoming alma Mater, she will be too alba mater to Suckle the Tawnees, for She is already a Dorned up too much like the Popish Virgin Mary. She'll be Naturally ashamed to Suckle the Tawnees, for she is already equal in Power, Honor and Authority to any College in Europe.²

Ocomm's words were meant to hurt Wheelock. He questioned Wheelock's integrity and purpose by arguing that this new school would be for whites, suckled by a white mother, "alba mater." He compared the new college to the Catholic paragon of virtue, the Virgin Mary, perhaps the clearest symbol of corruption for a New Light minister. If that were not sufficient criticism, he

² WP 771424, Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock, July 24, 1771.

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added that the education of whites to the exclusion of Indians was dispiriting to many Indians. Occom could not help but conclude that he had been betrayed. In his estimation, "the Poor Indians" for whom he had raised money would never have access to the funds. "I think your College has too much Worked by Grandeur for the Poor Indians," he concluded, "they'll never have much benefit of it."³

Occom's prose here is laden with metaphors of motherhood. When expressing the betrayal he felt, the "black son" turned to familiar Christian familial rhetoric to make his point. The white mother would no longer be his mother, because she was too "adorned." One interpretation is that Occom chose the image of a distant mother to elicit an understanding by Wheelock of the extent of his deceit. "Naturally ashamed to Suckle the Tawnees," this mother would refuse her own children.

Wheelock had concluded that deserting his "boys" was necessary to continue fostering his design. He wanted isolation and a chance to build anew at Dartmouth College. Occom's fears proved founded as Wheelock struggled to explain in his yearly Narrative why he no longer thought Indians were necessary to convert other Indians. Wheelock offered the following

³ WP 771424, Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock, July 24, 1771.
reasons in one of his later *Narratives*.

The first reason was that the Six Nations were dying out anyway, so there would be no use for missionaries to them. Second, even if the Iroquois somehow managed to survive, the missionaries would only continue to be exposed to and seduced by the temptations of liquor ever present among the Iroquois. Even the most educable were prone to vice.\(^4\) This, in turn, served only to increase their idleness. It was the flip side of the original paradox which complicated his mission. Were Indians educable or were they inherently flawed humans? Wheelock could not forego his prejudices concerning Indians, particularly as they related to ingrained "Indianness."

Further, Wheelock envisioned no role for Indian missionaries in the future needs of Anglo-American society where "many of the white people who are settling on some parts of their borders need Christianizing nearly as much as the Indians themselves."\(^5\) The Indians would never do as ministers to white settlers. It seemed, at this late juncture, that Wheelock never did consider these Indians to be full-fledged ministers, capable of ministering to anyone. Descriptions of racial differences, which apparently disqualified


Indians to minister to white people, began to punctuate Wheelock's writing by the early 1770's.

What had changed in the forty years since he began this experiment in Indian education was Wheelock's faith in his design and his ability to raise funds to accomplish his mission. Wheelock wrote his most venomous attacks on educating Indians after his accomplished proteges, as he perceived the situation, had failed him. His "reasons" were excuses that Wheelock had to have understood were exaggerated, if not false, attacks on these scholars' characters. For example, his students learned farming and husbandry skills at Moor's. Once adults, the missionaries often referred to the difficulty they had farming because of their dedication to a particular mission or a lack of monetary support promised them. Wheelock was simply unable to see any of his efforts as misguided.

Samson Occom, Joseph Johnson, David and Hannah Garrett Fowler, Jacob Fowler and other fellow Moor's graduates and friends, refused to live out their lives in subjugation to "the English." Wheelock's treatment of them

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6 Wheelock mentioned their aversion to husbandry which was patently untrue. All of the missionaries wrote about their husbandry plans and needs. See David Fowler letters to Eleazar Wheelock, June 15, 1765, June 24, 1765, and December 2, 1766, when he wrote, "I believe I shall raise fifty Bushels of Corn next year." See also Robert Clelland to Eleazar Wheelock, July 22, 1763, where Clelland complained to Wheelock that Samuel Aspho was unwilling to share his cut hay or "reapt grain."
fueled their desire to create a Christian community far removed from the influence of Christian whites. Their exodus was also a response to their treatment by many whites who patently ignored Indian rights. As Joseph Johnson said in a 1774 speech to the Oneidas, New England Indians were like, "Children just opening our Eyes, and having knowledge grafted...are coming to our Senses." They would leave the prejudiced English to be judged by God, "who knoweth all things, and will reward every one according to their deeds whether good or Evil." In an ironic twist on the original praying town model, Occom, Johnson, and their followers had agreed to separate themselves from pernicious white influence. In this instance it was the Christian Indians who seized the opportunity to separate themselves from the missionaries as well. These Indians called their town Brothertown, a town of Christian brethren.

The Brothertown leaders argued for physical removal because even white missionaries, and white financiers of Christian missions had failed to give them the economic or social support necessary to fulfill their calling as ministers and teachers. Their constant rediscovery of white prejudice led them to believe that to live as true Christians, in Christian families they

7 WP, Joseph Johnson's Speech to the Oneidas, January 20, 1774.
would need to remove themselves entirely from New England. Wheelock had hoped to make his school a family. David McClure dubbed the school, "the tawnee family" to refer to the inclusiveness of Wheelock's mission. Yet the Brothertown migration suggests a far more powerful example of the possibility of a "tawnee family" created from shared beliefs.

When Samson Occom first arrived at Brothertown with his brother-in-law David Fowler, he must have been filled with joy and anticipation. On a rainy, late October night they came upon the dimly lit settlement. As Occom described their approach in his diary, "some places were very Dark where Hemlock Trees were." Their "eyes did us but little good." After nearly a mile of following along in the dark, the two men found the Fowler home and heard singing.

a number were together Singing Psalms hymns and Spiritual Songs. We went in amongst them and they all took hold of my Hand one by one with Joy and Gladness from the greatest to the Least.8

After "some time" of this, Occom treated the gathering there to a few words of exhortation and prayer.9

The next day, a Tuesday, the rain had turned to snow and as Occom

8 WP, Diary of Samson Occom, October 24, 1785.
9 Ibid.
phrased it, it "was very uncomfortable weather." That day everyone "kept still." Everyone included "some of Onydas" and later "the Evening Singers came in again, and they Sang till near ten o'c" and then more words of exhortation and prayers. By Wednesday the snow was "ancle deep" and Occom "rench'd" his back, barely able to even put on his stockings and "was put to some difficulty to go out all Day." Still, they had singing that night.¹⁰

Three themes emerge even in these three days of entries that color much of Occom's writing while at the Brothertown community: Christian fellowship, defining Indianness and his expressed interest in documenting the community's persistent adherence to values. Occom, the Fowlers and others in this community embraced Christianity as their redeeming quality and as a system of beliefs that gave order to their lives. At weddings, by sickbeds, at impromptu gatherings, Christian beliefs were everywhere in evidence and joyfully chronicled in Occom's diary.

The second week Occom was at Brothertown, the community had its first wedding, which Occom viewed as an illustration of principles upheld. The couple listened to Occom speak "to them Some Time upon the nature of Marriage, the Honourableness and Lawfulness of it, whereby we are

¹⁰ WP, Diary of Samson Occom, October 25 and 26, 1785.
distinguished from the Brutal Creation." Occom confirmed here an important tenet of eighteenth-century Christian beliefs about marriage. Fundamental to this doctrine was that marriage was sacred because the couple made a covenant with God in becoming one. As Indians whose ability to reason was often in question, these vows signified the couple as rational people to the community gathered.

After Occom gave this sermon he had the couple grasp each other's right hand, and then he "declared them in the Face of the Assembly to be a Lawful Husband and Wife, according to the Law of God and then pray'd." These were perfunctory words, but they signaled a commitment to Anglo-American Christian marriage practices that emphasized the lawfulness of a Christian marriage. Having a Christian wedding as a significant ritual in a new, separatist Indian community illustrates one of the important ways in which these scholars' lives had followed a life course of value adaptation. Here was Occom performing a Christian wedding in English as an ordained minister in a clapboard house in a Christian community he helped to found. No white missionary loomed in the background ready to report their false steps or insincere beliefs.

Once the prayer was finished, the festivities began. Marriage
salutations were given, a marriage hymn sung, and then Jacob Fowler, "who was appointed Master of Serimonies at this Marriage," proposed a toast.

gave out some Drink a Round the Company and then Supper was brought, sot in order on a long Board, and we sot down to eat, and had Totty well sweeten'd with wild Sugar made of Sugar Trees in the Wilderness.11

Maple syrup-sweetened hot toddies aside, Occom made sure to note in his diary that they spent the evening as Christians, singing psalms, hymns and spiritual songs, and "after that every[one] went home Peaceably without any Carausing or Frollicking."12 Whether everyone was as well behaved as Occom reported, we cannot know. However, the next day the wedding continued with "Pleasant chat and agreeable conduct," singing of more spiritual songs, hymns, and psalms, and after "Dinner everyone went home Quiately."13

Occom's entries for this wedding do convey a certain amount of anxiety. It was important to him that everyone went home peaceably the first night. The next day, the day of the dinner, he began by noting that "The Young People" had put on their best clothes and went to a neighbor's house, "all on Horse back, and they appear'd agreeable and Decent." Agreeable,

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11 WP, Diary of Samson Occom, November 3 and 4, 1785.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
pleasant, decent, quiet, all described his hopes for this Indian settlement as much as they did this occasion. This marriage was a test of sorts, to see how "the people" would behave, when given the opportunity to revel indecently. Occom concluded they had passed this first test, "so the Weding ended, and it was conducted, carried out and finished with Honour and great Decency - and the Lord help this People to go on Regularly in all their concerns."14

Several years later Occom attended the kind of "Indian" wedding that he found troublesome. This was a notable affair at Stockbridge. Occom wrote that "there was a vast concourse of People of many nations" there and reported that "it was Said there were ten different Languages among the People." The marriage between a Sachem's son and a young woman of "noted Family" apparently went well. However, as the night wore on, "the Onydas began to behave unseamly and in the Night they had a terrible froleck even all Night."15 Occom still situated himself in his writing to stand in contrast to the Indians surrounding them.

However, Occom also conveyed a sense of pan-Indian Christian unity

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15 Samson Occom, as quoted in Blodgett, Samson Occom, 195.
and identity once at Brothertown. On his second night in town Occom noted that some Oneida came to the Fowler home. At the Brothertown wedding, "a great Number of Stockbridgers came from their town," and Occom couldn't help adding that "many of them were too late." On another occasion he wrote families from Mohegan, Montauk, "Narroganset" and "one from Farmongton."\(^{16}\) Occom was impressed by the diversity of their backgrounds, happily noting that there were many fervent Christians. In that regard, the fact that they were both "civilized" and "Indian" made them to Occom notable.

When Occom had the opportunity, he enjoyed ridiculing the heathen English in order to insinuate their hypocrisy concerning Indians. Four Oneida who appeared at the Fowler's "were drest compleat in Indian way." They shined with silver, had large clasps about their arms, jewels in their noses, and one had a moon on his breast. Their powdered hair stood up stiff with red paint. "And one of them was white as any white man and gray eyes, his appearance made me think of the old Britains in their Heathenism."\(^{17}\)

At the same time, his point here is how foreign "Indianness" could be.

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16 WP, Diary of Samson Occom, November 3, 1785 and September 3, 1787.

17 WP, Diary of Samson Occom, July 30, 1786.
The Oneida had for the adulthood of Samson Occom, David Fowler and other similarly motivated Indians, been the foreign, wild Indians to convert. Displaying his knowledge of British history, and his discomfort with Indians following an "Indian way," with whom could Occom identify? Betrayed by Wheelock, an oddity to whites, an oddity to Iroquois, Occom's hope for a comfortable Indian identity and a permanent place to belong relied on fellow Indians becoming like him and in particular adopting his religious views.

The descriptions of Indians provided by Occom were less critical than those of his brother-in-law David Fowler, who had written that his Indian hosts were "nasty" and like "dogs." Nevertheless, Occom's middle-aged writing carries on the critique of Iroquois living conditions. In the midst of negotiations with the Oneida over which land the Brothertown Indians should occupy, Occom and fifteen other men went to talk with the Oneida. They "drove one creature to them to kill" in anticipation of their talks and arrived at the Council House around sunset. There he and David slept, or tried to sleep as Occom remarked. "I had but poor rest all Night, they have too many Vermine for me." His remarks about these Oneida are relevant

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19 WP, Diary of Samson Occom, October 16, 1786.
to a degree because they claimed some rights to the Brothertown settlement land. Yet what is most striking is his wonderment at "Indian" ways.

The possibility that Indians might help one another, as a positive cultural characteristic appeared novel to him. One August he noted, "They" worked again, and "they Laboured exceedingly well." The "they" were probably Stockbridge emigrants whose help he enlisted to clear some land. Their work was "the first Labour I ever had from my Brethren according to the Flesh, and it was a Voluntary offer." He emphasized that he "never did receive anything from my Indian Brethren before." "Now," he concluded, "I do it out of Principle. It is high Time that we should begin to maintain ourselves, and to support our Temporal & religious Concerns." 20

Even as these male leaders asserted themselves by finding ways to maintain their temporal and religious concerns, they do not appear to have given much explicit thought to the roles women would fill at Brothertown. The idea was to remove everyone, and one description of the meeting held to decide where they would relocate to Brothertown indicated that a "vast" number of people, "Men, Women and Children," consulted together about

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which of "their great men," would be sent to look for land.\textsuperscript{21} Significantly more research needs to be done to determine the impact the Brothertown movement had on women's roles in these tribes. Occom's diary is filled with notations about female participation in the Christian rituals performed at Brothertown. Occom made sickbed calls to contemplate salvation, baptized and married women.\textsuperscript{22}

In previous centuries, Indian women may have asserted their social authority by resisting Christian institutions such as marriage. Christianity was obviously not a sign of cultural decay to the Brothertown settlers. Instead, it signaled cultural renewal. Recently, historians have begun to assess the subtle ways religious evolution influenced Indians throughout American colonization.\textsuperscript{23} Marriage, in particular, was a way for the Moor's students to create an acceptable identity. It was also a way to begin a family that shared beliefs. Perhaps nothing was more important to the female students, who

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{21} WP, Joseph Johnson Speech to the Oneida, January 20, 1774.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{22} See Occom's diary entries as reprinted in Love, \textit{Samson Occom}, 261-270.}

could not take on male leadership roles, than the acceptance of the institution of Anglo-American marriage and familial roles. Whether they became good wives, or had to become servants in Anglo-American homes, these new values necessarily became the focus of their daily lives.

The principles Occom, Johnson and their hundreds of followers had brought with them emphasized the values they had learned while being educated by Wheelock. These southern New England Indians had learned from within an Anglo-American household to value Christian doctrine, literary fellowship, patriarchal organization of families, and Anglo-American gender role prescriptions. In rejecting that master and the confines of his protection as their master they at first only rejected the strictures of life at Moor's. As adults they rejected Wheelock for failing them completely. These Moor's graduates, who arrived at Moor's as children with misplaced mittens grew to create a new sense of Indian identity based upon their own interpretation of the values families living in a community should hold.

Brothertown was an intentional community, a "tawnee family," crafted from shared values. The Moor's students who had become first missionaries to others and then their own tribes' leaders, judged acceptability within their extended Brothertown family using values they had come fully to hold as
their own. Joseph Johnson fortuitously wrote to a member of the Boston Board in 1773, "Suffer me to conclude this my Indian Epistle..."

I am [a] Poor Indian, a fatherless and motherless, and almost friendless Lad. Yet I want to live, and I want to live honestly. If it is not my calling to teach my Poor Ignorant Brethren...I will not crowd myself into the business, I must beg to live by it or have Suitable help and Encouragement -- from Somewhere.24

Throughout their lives, Johnson and his Christian brethren had tried to follow the course Wheelock had set, but ultimately discovered that the only meaningful help that they would receive was from within their own "tawnee" families.

24 McCallum, Letters, 151, Joseph Johnson to Andrew Oliver, October 10, 1773.
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