



EXCHANGE



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*Dartmouth College Manuscript Series*

NO. 1. LETTERS OF ELEAZAR WHELLOCK'S INDIANS

NO. 2. AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

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REVEREND SAMSON OCCOM

# *An Indian Preacher* IN ENGLAND

BEING LETTERS AND DIARIES RELATING TO THE  
MISSION OF THE REVEREND SAMSON OCCOM AND  
THE REVEREND NATHANIEL WHITAKER TO COL-  
LECT FUNDS IN ENGLAND FOR THE BENEFIT OF  
ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIAN CHARITY SCHOOL,  
FROM WHICH GREW DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

*Edited from the Originals by*

LEON BURR RICHARDSON

PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY  
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE



DARTMOUTH COLLEGE  
MANUSCRIPT SERIES NUMBER TWO

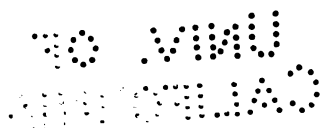
Published by Dartmouth College Publications, Hanover, N. H.

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*Printed by Stephen Daye Press, Brattleboro, Vermont, U.S.A.*

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*An Indian Preacher in England*

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE MANUSCRIPT SERIES NO. 2

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## *Introduction*

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**T**HE letters presented in this volume, the second in the series of Dartmouth Reprints, tell the story of the expedition to England and Scotland by which the funds were raised which made possible the founding of Dartmouth College. Curiously enough, however, the founding of a college was in the minds neither of those in charge of the expedition, nor of the numerous contributors who made the venture a shining success. It is possible that in the back of the mind of Wheelock may have lurked the idea that a college would eventually result from his efforts, but it had no direct effect on the project immediately at hand. It is certain that Whitaker never mentioned a college for whites in his appeals, nor did the remotest suspicion of such an institution at this time enter the mind of Occom, who, in fact, when the scheme of a college was eventually conceived, objected to it violently as a "fraudulent diversion of the fund." It is equally certain that the "pious subscribers" had no inkling that their money might be used for any other purpose than to remove the aborigines of America, by missionary and educational efforts, from the darkness in which they dwelt to the happy condition of those whose lives are dominated by the light of pure truth emitted by John Calvin. To be fair, moreover, it must be said that, while the confusion of accounts between school and college in the earlier years makes a definite assignment of funds impossible, it nevertheless seems to be clear that, in the main, the destination of the endowment definitely in the minds of the donors was the destination which it eventually reached, and that Dartmouth College, while it profited by the use of the buildings of the Indian School,

and while funds of the School were, to a certain extent, employed in the clearing of land belonging to the College, for the most part drew no direct benefit from the endowment. It is equally true, however, that the fund of £11,000, raised solely for Indian education, was the reliance which enabled Wheelock to add a college to his other undertakings, it was the inducement which made possible the award of a college charter by Governor Wentworth, it was through the prestige of such an endowment that the college became almost at once a success. Without it, Dartmouth College would never have been.

At the time of the first of these letters (1764), Wheelock's Indian Charity School had been in existence for ten years. It had established itself upon a permanent basis. It had gained a clientele among the Indians of New England and New Jersey, and, more especially (through the patronage of Sir William Johnson), among the Six Nations of Central New York. It had a yearly attendance of from fifteen to twenty of the aborigines. It was training a number of white boys to become Indian missionaries, one of whom was ready to set out this very year. So far as could be determined, its success was established upon a solid basis in every respect except that of finance. It was to remove this deficiency that the expedition described in these letters was undertaken.

Up to this time the sources of income of the School had been of the most varied character. A building had been provided in 1755 through the gift of Col. Joshua More. Subscriptions for its benefit of the face value of £500 (although not all had been paid) had been raised in Connecticut. From time to time collections were taken in various churches. The Boston Commissioners of the London Society (page 125) could be relied upon for an annual grant of £20, while the General Court of Massachusetts had also voted a yearly sum of £72 from the fund left by Sir Peter Warren (page 125). Contributions and legacies from pious and wealthy private individuals in America were, from time to time, received. Even more promising were contributions from abroad. Through the influence of George Whitefield, influential and generous patrons in England and Scotland, among them the Marquis of Lothian and the Countess of Huntingdon, had become interested in the cause, and had made

donations of considerable amounts. Despite these varied sources of supply, the operation of the School revealed each year a deficit, which was made up, as it appears, from the private means of Wheelock.

At the period in question the time was ripe for the extension of the enterprise to a wider field, preparations for which had been under way for a number of years. Several of Wheelock's white charity students were shortly to be ready for the missionary work for which they were destined, and an even larger number of Indian pupils were prepared for assuming the task of schoolmaster among their wild brethren. It was Wheelock's plan, not only to train these missionaries and schoolmasters in his Lebanon school, but to direct their activities and to be responsible for their support in the mission field itself. Such an enterprise called for a much larger supply of funds than had hitherto been at his command.

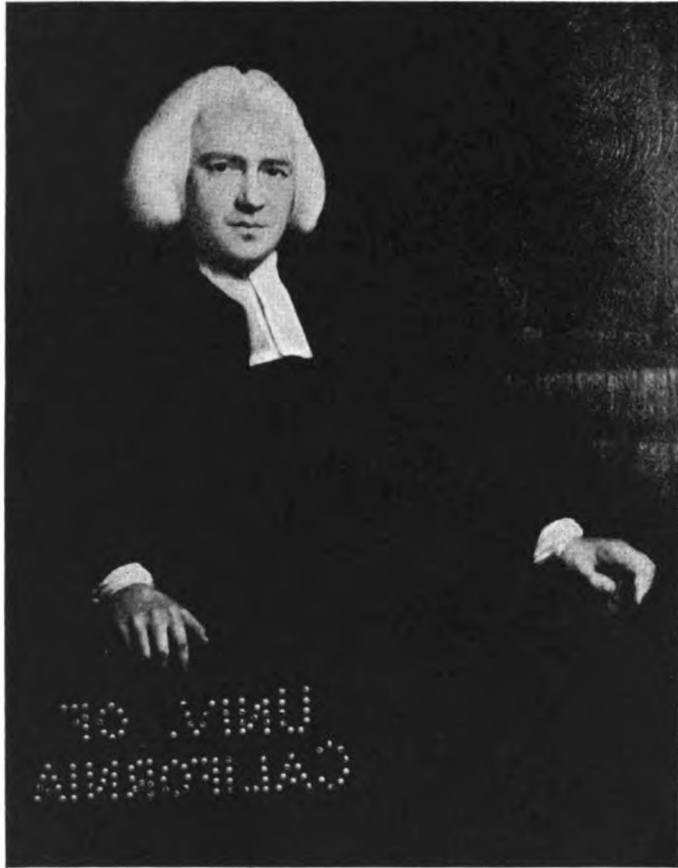
It was hopeless to expect that these increased demands could be met from the limited financial resources of colonial America. But a great reservoir of potential supply offered by the dissenters and the more evangelical of the churchmen in the motherland was as yet untapped. Dominated by a sincere, if thoroughly dour, theology; dominated, likewise, by that uncomfortable but insistent urge called the nonconformist conscience; deeply impressed by the primary obligation resting upon each and every one of them to save from everlasting torment the soul of his brother, even if that brother was a naked savage; it was evident that a proper appeal to this large and, in the aggregate, wealthy portion of English society might well lead to highly fruitful results. Moreover, the time was peculiarly ripe for such an enterprise. The Methodist movement, with its relative neglect of forms and its direct demands upon personal conscience, was at its height, and much might be expected from an appeal to its followers. Finally, the approval and enthusiastic coöperation of the one man in England whose influence over the prosperous and substantial leaders of the evangelistic movement was greater than that of any other, George Whitefield, was assured in advance. The project was therefore entered upon with every prospect of success.

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

Four men were most concerned with the progress of this undertaking. Of the leader of them, Eleazar Wheelock, so much has been written as to make further comment needless. Not only was the conception of school and college his and his alone, but his pertinacity, his diplomacy, his boundless faith, his tireless energy, his devotion to the cause which he regarded as supreme, made these institutions but the reflections of himself so long as he remained their animating guide. Alone among the pre-Revolutionary colleges of America, Dartmouth owes its existence to the dominating force of a single personality.

George Whitefield, as powerful a force in America as he was in Britain, as early as 1740 had attracted to his side the future founder of the College, and the latter became an ardent advocate of his cause and an equally ardent coadjutor in the evangelistic campaigns in New England led by the English preacher. By that support Wheelock won numerous enemies, whose hostility endured throughout his life. On his side, Whitefield approved whole-heartedly the educational projects of Wheelock, he constantly advocated them among the causes which he so eloquently set forth, and already, both in England and America, he had obtained contributions of no small amount for their support. It is probable that it was he who first suggested the idea of the English mission. Certainly it was he who prepared the way for the envoys, who took them in charge upon their arrival, who interested Englishmen of worth, influence and substance in their cause, who gained for them immediate entry into circles where their appeal would be most fruitful and their reception most sympathetic. Without his cordial coöperation, it is difficult to see how the mission could have been a real success.

It was the theory of Wheelock that the Indian should be so acted upon by civilizing agencies that he could be distinguished from the Puritan of New England by his color alone. In but one case did he achieve any considerable measure of success in this endeavor, namely with his first Indian pupil, Samson Occom. With only occasional lapses from this ideal; in attire, in mannerisms, in language, in habits, even in mental attitude, Occom, upon superficial observation, was hardly distinguishable from the traditional



**REVEREND NATHANIEL WHITAKER**

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

New England divine. As civilizing and Christianizing the Indian meant to the good people of England, to whom the appeal for funds was made, precisely what it meant to Wheelock, the appearance among them of a redskin with all the outer markings, and, apparently, with all the inner light, of the Presbyterian dominie was the highest of recommendations for the educational process by which he had been thus transformed. Moreover, Occom seems to have been a likeable person, who aroused no antagonisms, and who was held in high esteem both by those who met him casually and by those who came to know him intimately. As a result of these qualities, in the actual raising of funds he was probably more effective than anyone else connected with the mission.

Of Nathaniel Whitaker not so much can be said. Born in 1730, a graduate of Princeton in the class of 1752, at the time of his selection for the work of the mission he was minister of a church in Norwich, Connecticut. His choice for the undertaking aroused heated opposition. Opposition, however, was his lot wherever he went. He delighted in controversy and was involved in endless quarrels, he was vain and obstinate, his interests were multifarious and tended continually to turn him from the main purpose into attractive side issues. On long acquaintance he lost the confidence of many who knew him best. Thus in England he came to be regarded by those most interested in the Indian School as tricky and unreliable. There were even those who doubted his integrity. On the other hand, as business manager and director of the mission he was alert and enterprising; he was thoroughly industrious, pertinacious, and not easily deterred by obstacles; his manner was ingratiating, his personal appearance singularly handsome, and his ability in the pulpit beyond question. Probably a better choice for the responsible leadership of the mission might have been made, but the very success of the enterprise indicates that he was not without some measure of effectiveness.

During the period before the Revolution, appeals to England for money for the support of education in the American colonies were by no means rare. Of the nine colleges which received charters in those years, but three refrained from direct campaigns in the

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

motherland for the raising of funds. Moreover, two of these three received substantial aid from English donors, although no formal and concerted appeal to English sympathies was made. Harvard was particularly successful in attracting the attention of charitable persons in the motherland, and a large portion of her endowment came from the Gales, the Holworthys, the Hollises and other donors from beyond the sea. Yale was somewhat less fortunate, but it is to be remembered that the gift of £500 which determined the name of the institution came from a resident of England, Elihu Yale. Rutgers alone seems to have received no substantial aid from foreign sources.

Of the institutions for whose benefit direct appeals for funds were made, the first in the field was the College of William and Mary. In 1691 its prospective president, Dr. James Blair, visited England with the purpose of securing both charter and endowment. The former was granted by the Privy Council in 1693, and the new institution was assigned an income based on the quit rents of crownland in Virginia, on the tax on tobacco, and on the profits of the office of Surveyor-General. The sources of these funds were American, but the granting power was in England. The institution also received a major share of the income of a fund of £4000 left by Robert Boyle. Queen Anne later made a gift of £1000 from her share of the quit rents of Virginia.

In 1749 the trustees of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) availed themselves of the services of two gentlemen, Col. Williams and Mr. Jeremiah Allen, who were going to England and who volunteered to solicit funds during their stay in the homeland. According to the vague accounts of their mission, "considerable sums" were collected, but the actual amount is not stated. In 1753, encouraged by the advice of Whitefield, a more ambitious mission was undertaken by two Presbyterian ministers, Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davis, who visited England, Scotland and Ireland. Again the proceeds are not definitely known, but are said to have amounted to "over £3200," a sum sufficient to pay for the erection of Nassau Hall.

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

In 1762, Provost William Smith of the University of Pennsylvania visited England to secure funds, finding there, much to his disappointment, James Jay, who was upon a similar mission for Kings College (Columbia). Both these institutions were more or less under Episcopal auspices, and the envoys were thus enabled to enlist the assistance of the hierarchy of the Church of England. As a result of the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the two missions were combined and the proceeds shared. A royal brief was passed by the Privy Council authorizing collections in the churches. The result of the joint enterprise was the collection of about £6000 for each of the institutions. Additional amounts were likewise obtained by separate solicitation so that the total accruing to the University of Pennsylvania was £6921.7.6, including a gift of £200 from George III. The yield to Kings is more vaguely stated as "nearly £10,000," including a royal donation of £400.

In 1766, Rev. Morgan Edwards was authorized to solicit funds in Europe for Rhode Island College (Brown University). He was absent from America for about eighteen months, and secured from England and Ireland the sum of £888.10.12.

The mission of Whitaker and Occom, discussed in this book, occupied over two years (from the beginning of 1766 to March, 1768). The amount raised in England, from the subscriptions of 2,169 persons and collections in 305 churches, was £9497, while £2529 was secured from Scotland. The expenses of the mission were £1000. The net proceeds, £11,000, were thus larger than those obtained (by a direct campaign of solicitation) by any other American institution in Great Britain during the period before the Revolution.

With a few exceptions, the letters here published are taken from the originals in the possession of the library of Dartmouth College. The large Wheelock collection has been drawn on for a portion of them. It was the laborious habit of the founder of the College to write rough drafts of his more important letters, which he preserved for himself, while fair copies of the originals were sent to his correspondents. These rough drafts constitute the bulk of the letters emanating from him in the Wheelock collection. They are often



hastily written, with many abbreviations and numerous errors of spelling and punctuation, some of which were probably corrected in the copy actually sent. On the other hand, they have an appearance of spontaneity not always present in the final draft. Most of the other letters are from the Whitaker collection, presented to the College in 1898 by the Reverend George Whitaker, of Beverly, Mass., great-grandson of Nathaniel, as a memorial to his brother, Judge William R. Whitaker, of New Orleans, La., to whom the collection of the documents is really due. The diary of Ocom, covering, unfortunately, but a small portion of his stay in England, is taken from the general collection of his manuscript diaries, embracing the greater part of his active life, most of which are also in the possession of Dartmouth College.

These manuscripts date from the spacious days when personal taste was given free range in matters of spelling, capitalization, punctuation and grammar. In order to preserve their eighteenth-century flavor, they are, in the main, printed exactly as they were written. In a few cases, where the meaning becomes obscure through erratic punctuation, and in those alone, has the editor ventured to modify that punctuation so that it better indicates the sense which the writers of the letters were striving to convey.

It is apparent that a work of this character calls for explanations of points which might otherwise be obscure, and for additional information concerning persons mentioned. Unfortunately, many of these persons, largely undistinguished ministers and laymen of dissenting congregations in England, cannot be traced; at least with such facilities as are available in Hanover. About many others, however, something has been learned and this information has been embodied in notes at the end of each letter. It is to be hoped that the majority of readers will find these notes of service in making more clear the text. It is also to be hoped that other readers, to whom foot-notes are distasteful as interruptions to the narrative, may possess sufficient strength of mind consistently to ignore them, and to proceed straight onward without being distracted by their presence.

This collection casts interesting side lights upon the political and economic history of that period when the relations between

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England and her American colonies were becoming subject to the strain which was soon to rend the two countries apart. It shows something of the social and religious condition of England at a time when the Methodist movement was at its height. It reveals the jealousies, bickerings and dissensions of the multifarious sects existing in the motherland, and those existing within the single important sect in New England. It gives some indication of the habits of mind of the colonial clergy; their sincere, if somewhat monotonous and repellent piety, which apparently did less than might have been hoped to modify the strivings of the old Adam within. But to the writer its main interest lies, first, in the connected story, told in the words of those who were its actual leaders, of a movement, perhaps of minor importance, but nevertheless of some significance in the educational history of America; and, second, in the clear light it sheds upon the personalities of those leaders; their jealousies, their quarrels, their somewhat hackneyed piety, their frequent pomposity, their identification of their own designs with the will of the Almighty, coupled, nevertheless, with true sincerity of purpose, with essential unselfishness in matters of really large import, with clearness of vision within a limited range, with powerful driving force, and with the deep sense of obligation and duty which ever impelled them relentlessly to the support of measures which they consider would contribute to the moral betterment of their fellow men.

L. B. R.

*Hanover, N. H.*

*June, 1933*



AN  
*INDIAN PREACHER*  
IN ENGLAND

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*Charles Jeffrey Smith<sup>1</sup> to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Eggharbour March 30 AD 1764*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR

I thank God M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has procured such a noble Collection in New York for the School; he is come to America in a happy time, & I trust a kind Providence will make him further Serviceable to it. I have of late often compared you to old Abraham, when he went Sweating & tugging up Mount Moriah, with the knife & fire in his hand, & the darling of his Soul by his Side, carrying the Wood that must soon reduce the beloved Youth to ashes; oh how was his Faith tried! he must hope against all human hope; but by Faith he was Supported, & came off victorious & triumphant—may such be the happy Lot of my Friend in a Similar case!—if God has any Designs of Mercy to the Heathen, the School will live; for we may modestly pronounce it *the very Plan, & the only Plan*: & I think Heaven has repeatedly given it a Seal of Approbation, & if God be for us what does it signify if all the World be against us—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield<sup>2</sup> & you I hope have or will lay an affectual Plan for procureing an Incorporation<sup>3</sup>—& as soon as the breaking clouds are a little more settled, give all charitable People in Great Britain an opportunity to raise a Fund, which may be a lasting Support of it,

and that it is judged would be soon done; & I should be Sorry to have you go to Heaven before it is accomplished. . . .

When the Indian War is a little abated would it not be best to send M<sup>r</sup> Occum<sup>4</sup> with another Person home a begging? an Indian minister in England might get a Bushel of Money for the School. . . .

*Your Affectionate*

C. J. SMITH

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Charles Jeffrey Smith, 1740-1770, Yale 1757, was distinctive among Wheelock's associates in being a man of large independent means. He served without pay as master of the Indian School for a period in 1763 and had planned for himself the career of missionary to the Indians, but by ill health was prevented from fulfilling his desire. He was, however, one of the most valued of Wheelock's friends and advisers. He died as a result of a gun-shot wound, apparently self-inflicted.*

<sup>2</sup> *At this time Whitefield was upon the sixth of his seven journeys to America, lasting from March, 1763, to July, 1765.*

<sup>3</sup> *The failure to secure an incorporation for his school was one of the most serious difficulties under which Wheelock labored. In 1757, an appeal for a royal charter had been refused by Lord Halifax, Secretary of State, with the advice that incorporation should be obtained from Connecticut, but in the following year the Council of that province rejected the application on the ground that such powers were lacking to the colony by the terms of its charter. Later, the practicability of securing incorporation from New Hampshire was one of the important reasons in determining Wheelock to remove to that province.*

<sup>4</sup> *In the correspondence of the period, the spelling of the Indian preacher's name was a matter of uncertainty. He, himself, spelled it Occom.*



### *Eleazar Wheelock to George Whitefield*

(POSTSCRIPT OF A LETTER)

*Lebanon 26<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1764.*

Please to write whether it will, or not, be expedient that M<sup>r</sup> Occom should be enoculated,<sup>1</sup> in order to his going with you to England? and whether you would take either of the Boys of this

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school with you. If you should think of taking one of the Mohocks,<sup>2</sup> it may be best he should make a visit to his Friends this fall.

*I am*

*Yours &c*

E. W.

<sup>1</sup> *The question of protection against smallpox was of pressing importance to one who was to travel during this period. The fact that Wheelock himself declined to go to England, and that he never visited the Indian country in New York, where his missionaries were laboring, was due in no small degree to his fear of contagion.*

<sup>2</sup> *By this date nine Mohawk boys had been received in the school.*

\*

*Eleazar Wheelock to John Erskine<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon 29<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1764.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR . . .

Mr. Whitefields low State of Health has forbid his preaching very frequently in America, though his preaching is so acceptable as ever. He has spent most of his Time at Boston and New York and his own necessities (apprehending he shall soon be incapable of public Service) and the necessities of his orphan House<sup>2</sup> (which have far exceeded his Expectation) have engrossed the most he has had opportunity to collect in America. I think I informed you of a collection he obtained in the Presbyterian Congregation in New York last Winter of £120. that Currancy,<sup>3</sup> for the Support of this School and (besides a smaller donation or two) I am this week inform'd, he has transmitted a Hundred Dollars for the Same Purpose. He writes of the 5<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> that the Plan of taking M<sup>r</sup> Occom and another to England with him next Spring; in order to obtain contributions for this School, and the Support of Missionaries, is Still upon his mind.

He labours under the discouraging apprehension that the Pagans of America, are Canaanites, to be cut off before Gods people,

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and never to be gathered into his Family. However I hope in God, he will yet have the Pleasure of seeing himself mistaken. . . .

*Your unworthy Brother,  
and Fellow-servant in the Lords Service*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. John Erskine, 1721-1803, pastor successively of New Greyfriars and Old Greyfriars in Edinburgh, friend of Whitefield, editor of Jonathan Edwards, voluminous writer on theological topics, leader of the evangelical wing of the Scotch church, much interested in the missionary movement, and already a benefactor of the Indian School.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Bethesda Mission, at Savannah, Georgia, was founded by Whitefield in 1740, and was sustained during the life of the evangelist by his laborious efforts in collecting funds in England, Scotland and America. The institution was continued after his death by the Countess of Huntingdon. After two lapses, it is now again in active operation. Whitefield's biographer calls it "America's oldest charity."*

<sup>3</sup> *New York currency.*



*John Smith<sup>1</sup> and Moses Peck<sup>2</sup> to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Boston Decem<sup>r</sup>. 22 1764.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR

. . . . As to sending M<sup>r</sup> Brainard<sup>8</sup> to England with M<sup>r</sup> Occum: might it not be best to consult M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield on it least it should seem as if he were substituted in his room—a Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield may be forwarded to S Carolina if here in 10 days or a fortnight—He writes me of 9. y<sup>e</sup> 27 that he may be back from Georgia & at Charlestown perhaps all January. He intends here in y<sup>e</sup> Spring. He says new Light is prevalent in North Carolina.

*Your most humble Ser*

JOHN SMITH

MOSES PECK

*To The Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> E. Wheelock*

<sup>1</sup> *John Smith, a Boston merchant, evidently a man of some means, a follower of Whitefield and a firm friend of Wheelock and of the Indian School. He journeyed to England in the following summer, and while there was of much assistance to Whitaker and Occum in their mission, as subsequent letters abundantly show.*

<sup>2</sup> *Moses Peck, watchmaker, of Boston, Wheelock's business representative in that city. He died in 1801, aged 83.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. John Brainerd, 1720-1781, Yale 1746, missionary to the Delaware Indians of New Jersey, under the patronage of the Scotch Society.*

*Eleazar Wheelock to Rev. Solomon Williams<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon Decr. 31 1764.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR

I wrote you Some Days ago, proposing whether it would not be expedient to call a meeting of our Board<sup>2</sup> of Commiss<sup>rs</sup> to consider whether they will write the Board of Correspondents in N. York & Jersey to joyn us in Sending M<sup>r</sup> John Brainerd with M<sup>r</sup> Occom to Europe next spring to obtain Contributions for the Support of this School & Missionaries. And also to settle the affair of M<sup>r</sup> Titus Smiths<sup>3</sup> Mission next Spring, and his Ordination preparatory thereto and also to come to some Determination respecting the sending several School Masters, &c &c.

But I have heard nothing from you of the Affair, and it appears to me of Necessity if anything be done by us in the Affair of sending M<sup>r</sup> Brainerd &c, that it Should be done soon, otherwise we Shall not give them (and him officially) time enough to prepare for [torn]

. . . . Sir to let me know your mind by a Line and if you think favorably of the Proposal I Should be glad you would appoint the meeting so soon as may be convenient. which with Sincere Respects is the needful, in hast from Sir

*Your unworthy Brother and Fellow servant*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

*Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sol. Williams*

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Solomon Williams, 1700-1776, Harvard 1719, for fifty-four years, until his death, minister of the first parish of Lebanon, Conn.*

<sup>2</sup> *For want of definite incorporation, Wheelock's school and missionary enterprises were conducted at this time under the auspices of a Board of Correspondents commissioned by the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. It was composed of ten ministers: Solomon Williams (president) and Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, Nathaniel Eells and Joseph Fish of Stonington, Samuel Moseley of Windham, William Gaylord of Norwalk, Benjamin Pomeroy of Hebron, David Jewett of New London, Richard Salter (clerk) of Mansfield, and Nathaniel Whitaker of Norwich. In addition, there were three lay members: Jonathan Huntington, Esq., of Windham, Elisha Sheldon, Esq., of Litchfield, and Samuel Huntington, lawyer, of Norwich.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Titus Smith, 1734-1807, Yale 1764, missionary to the Iroquois under Wheelock's auspices in 1765.*

*Solomon Williams to Eleazar Wheelock*Leb<sup>n</sup> Jan<sup>r</sup> 9 1765.REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR

Your Fav<sup>r</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> 31. I Rec<sup>d</sup> this morning. The L<sup>r</sup> you Refer to of D. 31 I rec<sup>d</sup> last week. I ask Pardon for not answer<sup>s</sup> that before now, but indeed the weather & Travelling has been such that I knew of No way to get a Letter to you & now I am quite at a loss to know what to say to your Proposals. The Snow is so deep, falls so often, & the Cold Renders travelling so difficult that I doubt a meeting can't be obtained yet a while. I have some difficulties in my mind ab<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Occum's going to England, Especially as sent by the Comission<sup>rs</sup> not only because I am Suspicious he will be prevail<sup>d</sup> on to take Episcopal orders, but because, he has by his Medling in the Indian affairs very Much disgusted the Government & a good Deal Disaffected some to the Indian School who before had a Favourable Opinion of it, & if he goes as Sent by us now, & M<sup>r</sup> Mason is in England solliciting the old Mason affair it will be Difficult to make ye Gov<sup>t</sup> believe that we have no Eie to that, or that Occum being there will have no Influence upon it.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing lies in My Mind against M<sup>r</sup> Brainerd's going or in any proper way desiring the Assistance of the N York & N Jersey board of Correspondents<sup>2</sup> for the affair, but Really my Mind is too Dark to judge ab<sup>t</sup> what is expedient.

*I am Sir your Affec<sup>te</sup> Bro. & Serv<sup>t</sup>*

SOLO: WILLIAMS.

<sup>1</sup> In 1640, John Mason had purchased from Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, the greater part of the lands of that tribe. Later, other sachems had sold for insignificant amounts the same lands, and many dwellers in Connecticut derived the titles to their real estate from these later deeds. The descendants of Mason claimed that he was acting merely as trustee for the Indians, to protect them from injudicious alienation of their possessions, that grants subsequent to his were invalid, and that the Mohegans still owned the lands; a contention which was supported by most of the Indians, including Occum, but one which was highly unpopular among the white settlers. For years the matter had been in litigation, with the decisions almost invariably in favor of the colonists, and now one of Mason's descendants was in London to induce the Privy Council to reopen the case.

<sup>2</sup> Representatives of the Scotch Society. Brainerd was working under their patronage and direction.



*Eleazar Wheelock to Solomon Williams*

*Lebanon Jan<sup>y</sup>. 7, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR

Yours of 5th Inst<sup>t</sup> is just come to Hand. I observe your Doubt of the Expediency of Sending M<sup>r</sup> Occom. If that should be thought inexpedient here are other Indian Ladds who would make a good appearance at home &c.

Since I wrote you I've rec<sup>d</sup> a Lett<sup>r</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Brainerd Dated N. York 19th ult. in which referring to my Discourse with him about going on Such an Errand to England he says, If anything be done in that affair it must be done very soon or he cant have the Time that will be necessary to prepare for it &c. He says also that it is the Advice of the Hon<sup>le</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Smith<sup>1</sup> & Lady, and other gentlmen of Character there; that Whether M<sup>r</sup> Occom goes or not it will be best that one of the Indian Boys and if it may be a Mohock, Should goe. . . . .

I have been waiting this 3 weeks to have the Road feasible to come in a Sleigh, with my wife to visit you, on our way to Norwich. I am concerned lest the Cause should Suffer by our Delay. We should at least be ready to Send Home by the first ships that goes. I am

*Yours most heartily*

ELEAZ. WHEELOCK

P.S. It will be best that their Meeting should be at my House on acco<sup>t</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> Smith's Examination &c.

<sup>1</sup> *William Smith, 1697-1769, Yale 1719, the leading lawyer of New York City of his day, successively Attorney General, Member of the Governor's Council, and Justice of the Supreme Court.*

*Eleazar Wheelock to John Brainerd**Lebanon Jan<sup>r</sup>. 14 1765.*

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER.

I have been Waiting and Endeavouring to have a meeting of the Comiss<sup>rs</sup> above a month, but the Snow is So Deep on the Roads that there is no possibility of it at present. Wherefore I have preferred a Memorial to your Board of Comiss<sup>rs</sup> in my own Name desiring they would Send you with another Indian a begging for this School & the Support of Missionaries next Spring, and I make no Doubt our Board will approve of What I have done and cheerfully comply, but Supposing the worst that they will not Joyn the Consequence will be that your Board will have the lead Conduct, & Sole Patronage of the affair of Sending Missionaries & School Masters, but there will be no difficulty the Commissioners here are generally in high Spirits to promote and further the Design. . . . .

The Blow which M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield gave this School in Sending M<sup>r</sup> Occom back from New York was beyond any it has received from the first.<sup>1</sup> I find our Government are so insensd thereby & what was in consequence of it, that I fear I shall find no further Countenance in my Suit for an Incorporation which they seemed just upon the Point to grant me, and which we shall find to be of very great Importance. If you should go on the Errand proposed—and which is the very thing he insisted upon in order to best use his Influence in favour of the School at Home, It will not be best that any Mention Should be made of M<sup>r</sup> Occom's going with you. It is doubtful whether our Comiss<sup>rs</sup> will think it prudent to send him since there are such Jealousies in the Government and Since Mason is gone home to Sollicit the old Mason affair as it is called Wherein M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Tribe are Plantiff against the Government. I wish you would be here at M<sup>r</sup> Smith's ordination next Spring. I will endeavour to let you know when it will be. I write in haste. The Lord direct us all to

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act for the Glory of his great Name and Furtherance of the Redeeming Cause. Accept Armfulls of Love from

*Your Brother &c &c &c*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

<sup>1</sup> *Occom had been on missions to the Oneida Indians in central New York in the summers of 1761, 1762 and 1763. In 1764 Wheelock had lacked money for the expense of such a journey. Nevertheless he sent Occom to New York, where Whitefield then was, with the request that the latter should supply the means for the enterprise. Rather naturally, Whitefield objected to this request and sent Occom back to Lebanon, with a severe criticism of Wheelock's action.*



*From the Minutes of the Connecticut Correspondents*

*Mar. 12, 1765.*

Whereas the late Settlement of Peace in America has enlarged the Prospect for promoting Christian Knowledge among the Heathen Natives of this Land, whereby this Board are encouraged now to send several Missionaries and School Masters among them for that Purpose; and the Indian Charity School under the care of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, of late hath been much increased, and is still increasing, all which have no visible Means of Support but the Charity of well disposed Persons.

It is therefore ordered, that the said M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, in Behalf of this Board, in Case his own Application to the same purpose already made has not succeeded, solicit the Honorable Board of Correspondents in New York & New Jersey for their Concurrence with us in sending the Rev<sup>d</sup>. John Brainerd, Missionary, to Europe, with proper Recommendations, to solicit the Charity of well disposed Persons there; and receive such Favours and Donations as may be obtained for supporting such Missionaries, School Masters; and said Charity School, in order to promote our common Cause and Design of spreading the Savour of Christ's Knowledge among the Heathen.

*From the Minutes of the Connecticut Correspondents*

Mar. 12, 1765.

At a Meeting of the Board of Correspondents in the Colony of Connecticut, on the 12th day of March, A.D. 1765, at the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's House in Lebanon—

Upon a public and loud Clamour of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Samson Occom's Misconduct in a Number of Instances relative to the Separations in and about Mohegan, and ill Conduct towards the Overseers in the Affair of leasing the Indian Lands, and some proud and haughty Threatnings to turn Episcopalian, and Unsettledness respecting the Constitution of our Churches and Infant Baptism, and disrespectful Treatment of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Jewet,<sup>1</sup> and illegal proceedings again the School Master at Mohegan, and engaging in the *Mason Controversy* (so called) against the Government:

And the Glory of God, M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Character and Usefulness, and particularly, the Reputation of Indian Affairs, requiring that these Reports should be publicly looked into, that his Innocence or Guilt therein might thereby publicly appear:

Wherefore, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Jewet, at the Desire of some of this Board, exhibited a Charge, consisting of a Number of Articles, against the said Mr. Occom—which were deliberately heard with Evidences and Pleas on both Sides. And upon most carefully weighing the whole Controversy, M<sup>r</sup> Occom was not found guilty of any of the charges laid against him, excepting that of the *Mason Controversy*; in which he was blamed only agreeable to the Tenor of what follows.

“Although, as a Member of the Mohegan Tribe, and, for many years, one of their Council, I thought I had not only a natural and civil Right, but that it was my Duty, to acquaint myself with their *temporal affairs*; Yet I am, upon serious and close Reflexion, convinced, that as there was no absolute Necessity for it, it was very imprudent in me, and offensive to the *Public*, that I should so far engage, as, of late, I have done, in the *Mason Controversy*: which has injured my Ministerial Character, hurt my Usefulness, and brought

Dishonour upon M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's School and the Correspondents. For this imprudent, rash, and offensive Conduct of mine, I am heartily sorry, and beg Forgiveness of God—of this honourable Board of Correspondents, of whom I ought to have asked farther Advice—and of the Public; determining, that I will not for the future act in that Affair, unless called thereto and obliged by lawful Authority."<sup>2</sup>

This Submission, being offered to this Board, by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Occom, was accepted.

Moreover, M<sup>r</sup> Occom desired, that a Copy of the Letter which the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Jewet wrote to the Commissioners at Boston<sup>3</sup> some time last Fall, in which he thinks there are several things injurious to his Character, might be laid before this Board—Which being read and considered, the Board are of Opinion, that it is M<sup>r</sup> Jewet's Duty, in Justice to M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Character, to write said Commissioners of the Satisfaction which he now professes to have received from M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Defence; and that a Copy of said writing should be laid before this Board at their next meeting for their Approbation—which M<sup>r</sup> Jewet agreed to do.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. David Jewett, 1714-1783, Harvard 1736, minister of the North Parish, New London, 1739-1783. The lands of the Mohegan Indians were within the limits of his parish.*

<sup>2</sup> *The firm hand which Wheelock maintained over his disciples and Occom's submissiveness are both apparent from this humble apology for conduct which seems entirely honorable and commendable.*

<sup>3</sup> *The board representing in Boston the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America; a society with headquarters in London (see volume I of this series, LETTERS OF ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIANS, p. 300). Both the Boston Board and the parent society play important parts in the correspondence which follows.*



### *Eleazar Wheelock to George Whitefield*

DEAR & REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

*Lebanon May 4<sup>th</sup> 1765*

I have been listening to hear of you for some Time. Have a Hint from the public prints of late that you are moving towards Philadelphia, and from thence to embark for England. I have so

many things to write that I scarcely know what to write or what to omit. A full Account of our Indian affairs I cannot give you till Providence allows an Interview. I should esteem it a great Favour to act in concert with you if we could understand one another. Some things you dropped at New York have made me a little fearful that you had too readily admitted some Objections of Opposers without knowing fully what might be replied.

M<sup>r</sup> Occom returned from New York last Fall into a Fire which had been for some Time enkindling. The Consequence of which was that the prejudices preconceived in the Mind of Brother J——t arose to an amazing Height—Clamours spread through the Government, and almost every one cryed out against M<sup>r</sup> Occom as a very bad, mischeivous, and designing Man. M<sup>r</sup> J——t wrote the Commissioners at Boston, on which they withdrew the Pension you procured for him. Our General Assembly was very warm, and on his account refused to consider my Memorial for an Incorporation—and D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> W——ms my Neighbour seemed to imbibe the same Opinion of him. M<sup>r</sup> Occom very needy (and myself by him involved in Debt) and he and the Cause so discredited, that none dare mention his Name in these parts in order to obtain Relief for him. The Indians at Oneida who expected a Visit from him, grieved, discouraged, and exposed to unhappy prejudices through his not coming to them. And the most favourable opportunity we ever had or we ever like to have, to recommend the Design to the Sachems abroad (which was the principal Design of his Mission) was lost. And nothing appeared but that M<sup>r</sup> Occom must inevitably been rendered useless *in futuro* if he had not been under the Board. In these Circumstances, I thought that the Glory of God, the Reputation of our Indian Design and especially M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Good and Usefulness, required that there should be a public process against him before our Board in order that his Guilt or Innocence respecting Matters charged against him by public Fame might publicly appear; Accordingly I moved for it, and B<sup>r</sup> J——t sent him his Allegations which were deliberately heard & considered on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March, in which M<sup>r</sup> Occom made a bold and truly manly and Christian Defence in a Spirit of Meekness, and vindicated his Con-

duct to have been judicious, prudent, and becoming a Minister of the Gospel and was blamed by the Commissioners in Nothing but his having a Hand in the Mason Case, as it is called, in which he acted Nothing till the Matter was near ripe to go Home and then signed with his Tribe, for which he has this to say viz that his Nation are a poor blind Company and had long since chose him for their Counsellor, & depended upon him to see for them in all their civil affairs—that he had done nothing to revive encourage or move forward that Suit notwithstanding he supposes the Indians have been much wronged in the affair in which they are Seeking Redress. And in this Affair we blamed him only in Consideration of the Danger to which he exposed his Ministerial Character and Usefulness thereby—which Judgment he readily submitted to—and now stands I apprehend in a better Light than ever before all who are acquainted with the Case.

B<sup>r</sup> J——t shook hands with, professed himself satisfied, submitted to the Judgment of the Commissioners in blaming & reprov- ing his Treatment of M<sup>r</sup> Occom, promised to unwrite what he had wrote the Gentlemen at Boston to M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Disadvantage, though I fear the Injury done to M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Character will not soon nor easily be wholly undone. . . .

I want an intimate Interview with you. When or where can I have it consistent with the continual Crowd of my Affairs? And I think it very necessary, as you so fully & repeatedly testify your good will to this Design, in order that we fully understand one another, and make one another more fully acquainted with Men & things whereby we are otherwise in Danger of being imposed upon.

*Boston, May 24.* Yesterday I came here, and found by the public Prints that you are at Philadelphia. I hope to convey this to you by water. I hope the Miss<sup>rs</sup> and School Masters will be ready to set out on their Tour into the Indian country next week.<sup>1</sup> They will go forward if only Supplies for the present may be had.

Our Board of Correspondents have applied to M<sup>r</sup> Brainerd to go to England in favour of the Design but he cannot be obtained. They have since voted to apply for that purpose to M<sup>r</sup> C. J. Smith.

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We have yet had no return from him. This we have done in consequence of our hearing that M<sup>r</sup> Rogers<sup>2</sup> cannot be obtained.

They have also voted that if M<sup>r</sup> Occom Shall not go with you or M<sup>r</sup> C. J. Smith, or Some other appointed by us to Europe, that he shall be employed as a Miss<sup>ry</sup> to the Six Nations the ensuing summer, by which you see the importance of our knowing your mind in and design Relative to these affairs.

If you write me by the Post direct it hither to the Care of Cap<sup>t</sup>. Dan<sup>l</sup>. Ball of Hartford or M<sup>r</sup> Ichabod Robinson at Lebanon. I am in a poore State of Heath, am considerably worried with my Journey notwithstanding I was almost four Days in coming from Home hither. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & M<sup>r</sup> Occom are with me.

My dear Sir, let all the Evidences you have of My Weakness and Inequality for the Affair I am in, excite you to pity & pray much for

*Yours in the dearest Bonds*

ELEAZAR WHELOCK

<sup>1</sup> At this time Wheelock was planning the most ambitious of his missionary undertakings. In addition to the continuance of Samuel Kirkland among the Senecas (a post which he had undertaken in the preceding year), he was sending Titus Smith and Theophilus Chamberlain as missionaries to other tribes of the Six Nations, as well as nine of his Indian students, who were to serve as schoolmasters and interpreters.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. John Rodgers, 1727-1811, at this time minister of the Presbyterian Church in New York.



*From the Records of the Connecticut Correspondents*

(SENT TO CHARLES JEFFREY SMITH)

At a meeting of the Board of Correspondents in the Colony of Connecticut on the 10<sup>th</sup> Day of May 1765 at the House of John Ledyard Esq<sup>r</sup><sup>1</sup> in Hartford

Voted. that the Clerk, in the name of this board, make application to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Charles Jeffry Smith to go to Europe to Solicit Charities for the Support of missionaries & the School under the care of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock of Lebanon.

<sup>1</sup> Intimate friend of Wheelock and grandfather of John Ledyard, the traveller.



*George Whitefield to Eleazar Wheelock**Philadelphia May 11, 1765.*MY VERY D<sup>r</sup> FRIEND

I have just now been conversing with your Son<sup>1</sup> & hope before my intended Embarkation from Hence to make a publick Collection in favour of your Indian school—Previous to that I expect a letter from you giving an account of the present situation of your affairs, your arrears &c &c &c—You will lose no time in answering this—Mind not the expence of postage. M<sup>r</sup> Forsett writes me word that F<sup>r</sup> Gifford<sup>2</sup> hath succeeded in some attempts for the promoting your design—but M<sup>r</sup> Hardy approves of no design so much as my bringing Occom—What if Thou art the Man? You know best how to manage Him and others that may goe with Him—You can give the best & most satisfactory answer to all questions that might be proposed, & the school may be left to the care of M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker under the inspection of the Board of Commissioners for *One Year*—M<sup>r</sup> Rogers is likely to be settled at New York—M<sup>r</sup> Brainard is going to be married, & I think is not properly qualified for such an Embassy—You can but speak for a Child of your own, I can have the most confidence in you, and recommend you most earnestly to my Friends. The Voyage may do Our bodily health some service—If we die (as they call it) in the way, going to heaven by water may be as pleasant as going by land—M<sup>r</sup> Smith's<sup>3</sup> going at this time from Boston may be of singular service and a letter from General Johnston<sup>4</sup> yet more—When God intends a thing,

Wheels encircling wheels shall run  
Each in course to bring it on—

I have found it so in respect to my Georgia affairs—You will join in crying Grace! Grace! Fail not answering this immediately—But say nothing publicly about the intended Voyage of O——m—I cannot embark under a month—This Tabernacle totters by long fatiguing journies—But Jesus hath made the wilderness to smile, and own'd

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my feeble labours—That He may own and bless you more and more  
is the earnest prayer of, my very D<sup>r</sup> Friend,

*Ever Yours &c &c in unfailing Emannuel*

GW

P.S. Brethren pray for us.

<sup>1</sup> *Ralph Wheelock, 1742-1817, Yale 1765, at this time employed by his father as assistant and messenger, but later incapacitated by mental disease.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Andrew Gifford, 1701-1784, minister of the Eagle Street Baptist Church, London, 1735-1784, Assistant Librarian of the British Museum, 1757-1784. Celebrated as a numismatist (his collection was purchased by George II); also a collector of books and portraits. He was the leading Baptist minister in London.*

<sup>3</sup> *John Smith (page 22).*

<sup>4</sup> *Sir William Johnson, 1715-1774, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America: upon whose patronage Wheelock was dependent for success in his work among the Six Nations.*



*Samuel Finley<sup>1</sup> to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Nassau Hall, June 3<sup>d</sup>, 1765.*

MY DEAR & REV<sup>d</sup>. BR.,

As to M<sup>r</sup> Charles J. Smith's being sent on a Mission with M<sup>r</sup> Occom to England, I can just say, I esteem him as an excellent Man, an excellent Minister, but have not Sufficient personal Acquaintance with him to judge whether he would be fittest for such a Mission. Yet I know of none, who can be obtained, whom I think more Suitable. But from what I hear, I judge a good deal of Pains should be taken to polish M<sup>r</sup> Occom for an Appearance at Home, especially as to his Compositions & Delivery: for the School will be judged of by that Specimen, as it will be commonly concluded, y<sup>t</sup> according to Custom, you *Set the best Foot foremost*; yet I am told, you have Some, who after a while, would appear to more advantage. Whoever goes Should have a very accurate Knowledge, not only of the State of your School, but of Indian & American affairs in general; for it will be expected he Should be able to give Satisfactory Answers to all Questions put on those affairs. Therefore, I would be afraid of

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making more Haste than good Speed. I presume to Speak thus as a Friend, at the same time that I take for granted your Superior Knowledge as to all these things. If I exceed decent Bounds, I have this Apology, that I write in a Hurry, amidst continual Interruptions.

But this I can say truly, y<sup>t</sup> I am

*Your affectionate Br. & hble Serv<sup>t</sup>*

SAM<sup>l</sup>. FINLEY

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Samuel Finley, 1715-1766, President of the College of New Jersey (subsequently Princeton), 1761-1766.*



*George Whitefield to John Smith*

*New Yorke June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1765.*

MY MOSTE D<sup>r</sup> FRIEND.

Your kind favour came to hand just as I had taken a most sorrowful leave. The decree is gone forth. To-morrow God willing we sail, Oh that it had been our Lot to have sail'd together—But what is best—Lord I beleive help Thou my unbeleiving. Never was such a work seen at New Yorke as now—All is of rich, free & soverain Grace—Glad should I have been of an Interview with M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock. I would have had M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock come over with M<sup>r</sup> Occum—Your going into England at this time may be of great Service. It would be best they should go with you—This is all I can say now—with Difficulty I write this—In heaven we Shall serve without weariness. M<sup>r</sup> Erskine of Edingborough sends me word that he hath the Promise of some Benefactions for the Indian School. But I can no more—Farewell dear New England, dear America for even Tender most tender Love to your *dear family* & all Enquireing Friends—Ten Thousand Thanks await them all from my very dear S<sup>r</sup>

*ever y<sup>r</sup> &c in Jesus*

G.W.

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**P.S. Be Pleased as I Promised to give Five Guineas to the Harvean Library<sup>1</sup> & I will repay it on the other side of the water—M<sup>r</sup> Write sends grateful acknowledgements. God bless you! God bless you!**

<sup>1</sup> On January 24, 1764, Harvard Hall (built in 1672) was destroyed by fire. This building contained the "philosophical apparatus" of the college and its library, then numbering about 5,000 volumes. Immediate steps were taken to replace the books by subscription. In America the largest donors were John Hancock, who gave £500, and the Province of New Hampshire which contributed £300. In England, Thomas Hollis made successive donations which amounted to £1900, the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (at the recommendation of its governor, Jasper Mauduit) granted £300 and Israel Mauduit made a personal contribution of £50. Both the Mauduits will appear later in these letters, in a role far less benevolent than that here pictured. The Episcopal Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts awarded £100. There were many donors of smaller amounts, among whom Whitefield (from the evidence presented in this letter) was numbered.



*Eleazar Wheelock to Samuel Savage<sup>1</sup>*

*Boston June 12 1765.*

MY DEAR AND HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR,

Your kind Donation of £20. Sterling to my School I have Received by M<sup>r</sup> John Smith, and I trust God will Remember, and Reward with his Everlasting Mercy, this your kindness to the Souls of Men.

I Snatch this Minute amidst a Crowd of Care & Business to write you this Line.

I have been riding with the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker, and my Indian Son Occom to Solicit Charities for the Support of two Missionaries, and nine School-Masters of my School, lately appointed and Authorized by the Board of Correspondants here; and also of M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland,<sup>2</sup> of whom you have heard among the Senecas.

The Harts of People are open in many Places—and the Design in general wears a very Encouraging and agreeable Aspect.

You may, D. V. expect M<sup>r</sup> Occom with you, Accompanied by M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker,<sup>3</sup> or M<sup>r</sup> Charles Jeffry Smith, or some other Minister,

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appointed by said Board, between this and Winter, or as soon as we can make them ready, in Order to make this Design and the Importance of it known to the People of God who have Ability to Promote and help forward the same. every Step we have yet taken in the Affair God has Prospered—And I hope you will have an Opportunity by M<sup>r</sup> Smith to be more fully Acquainted with the whole Affair. I hant Time to add Excepting that with much Duty and Esteem Sir,

*Your most Obliged and very humble Servant—*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

<sup>1</sup> *Samuel Savage, a follower of Whitefield, is described as a merchant doing business in Gun Street, Spitalfield, London. He was a frequent correspondent of Wheelock, later a member of the English Trust and a steady benefactor of the Indian School. His donation of £100 was one of the largest received by Whitaker and Occom during their visit to England.*

<sup>2</sup> *Samuel Kirkland (he spelled his name Kirtland in his earlier years) 1741-1808, Princeton 1765, the first and most successful of Wheelock's English missionaries to the Indians; at this time on a mission to the Senecas; later to spend forty years among the Oneidas; founder of Hamilton Oneida Academy, subsequently Hamilton College.*

<sup>3</sup> *This is the first mention of consideration being given to Whitaker for the English mission, although, apparently, the idea had been for some time in Wheelock's mind.*

\*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*Norwich July 5, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

By the inclosed you will understand my Plan. Your refusal to go softened down y<sup>e</sup> good man W<sup>m</sup><sup>2</sup> I thot he wished he had altered his course & appointed me; tho he would not quite yeald—W<sup>a</sup> I pinched him as to y<sup>e</sup> necessity of a positive appointm<sup>t</sup>, he s<sup>d</sup> there was one appointm<sup>t</sup> to send to Europe. I told him, it stood so in connections w<sup>th</sup> some others, that were negatived, that I supposed it nul. He replied, But it was a Vote. I—very well Sir, if you say so I will record it & then the difficulty is in a great measure removed, espe-

cially if you will mention it in your address to his Excellency. He—we can say the Board purpose to send to Europe. I—you must say the Board have determined to send. He—then I must stand by that vote. —I—yes & I'll stand by you & engage enough for your defence. So we parted, after I had preched his lecture. If you like the inclosed, please send it to him. I tho't best you should see it first least I should do something which is cross to your plan, & so have to alter or undo it again. But why will not this do? If so, why may we not Set out the monday after next?<sup>3</sup> I will write to M<sup>r</sup> Occom to be ready by that time, whether we go or not. Please to write me. I have procured a Barrel of Molases at 1/6 p<sup>r</sup> Gall.<sup>4</sup> You must find the Cash. I hope you will Still pray for me: we are all well. May God direct you, all things are in his hands. Hallelujah!—

*I am as olim your*

NATH'L. WHITAKER.

Please to Send money for molases by M<sup>r</sup> Woodward.<sup>5</sup> Is it not best to record y<sup>t</sup> vote? I say record it. You must notify M<sup>r</sup> Salter<sup>6</sup> to meet the com<sup>tee</sup>. for the Presdt says he shall have no oppertunity.

<sup>1</sup> *This letter clearly indicates Whitaker's habitual lack of balance. Evidently he was intensely eager to undertake the English mission, but opposition had developed both within the Connecticut Correspondents and outside that board. With this opposition he was very impatient.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Solomon Williams, president of the board.*

<sup>3</sup> *On a journey to collect recommendations for use in England.*

<sup>4</sup> *Whitaker was a man of great energy, never content to limit himself to the duties of his pastorate. In Norwich he engaged in trade, somewhat to the detriment of his reputation as a minister. During the Revolution, while pastor of a church at Salem, Mass., he established and conducted a saltpeter factory, of much value to the Americans in alleviating the scarcity of gunpowder.*

<sup>5</sup> *Bezaleel Woodward, 1745-1804, Yale 1764, at this time just entering the service of the Indian School, a connection with the Wheelock institutions which lasted to the time of his death. First Professor of Mathematics and for a long period trustee and treasurer of Dartmouth College.*

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. Richard Salter, 1723-1789, Harvard 1739, minister at Mansfield, Conn., 1744-1787, member of the Connecticut Board of Correspondents.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Solomon Williams**Norwich July 6, 1765.*REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR,

I have been considering of what we talked of when at your house about the Vote that was passed, & not recorded, & am fully persuaded that it ought to be put on record, & treated as the voice of the Board & if it be, it will remove, in a great measure, the difficulty out of our way which labours in our minds as tending to render our embassy to his excellency<sup>1</sup> weak & ineffectual; especially if in your address to him you have respect to that vote, & represent the *Sending to Europe* as *determined* by this board (which is done by y<sup>t</sup> vote) & also that the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock (& if you please you may join me with him) is tho't of, if he can be prevailed with, & his health will allow, for that purpose.

Such a representation to the General (which is, as far as I See, perfectly consistent with truth) will give us the best advantage which we can have as things now are; & indeed there is nothing wanting but the actual appointment of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, which we must mend as well as we can when we come to him. If you can do this, I am almost determined to go to his Excellence, tho it is exceeding difficult for me, as I told you yesterday. But if this can't be done, it appears to me we Shall labour under great disadvantages; & y<sup>e</sup> very motives, which must take in his excellency, must be lost, & it will be a great weight put into the Scale with my other difficulties, to hinder my going. But I would submit all to your Superior wisdom, begging that God may direct you in this important affair, & So rest your real friend & fellow Serv<sup>t</sup>.

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> *Sir William Johnson, whose recommendation of the mission was considered indispensable. Eventually, however, it was secured by Occom rather than by Whitaker.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

July 16, 1765.

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>

I just rec<sup>d</sup> yours with the enclosed—What Shall be done? What face Shall I have to prepare for E—pe while there is no appointm<sup>t</sup>—no receiver, &c &c—What have I to do in order to prepare—I shall git no new cloths—Money I have none, can git none here—My pulpit must be Supplied, & in order to y<sup>t</sup> I must talk to outhers; & Shall I do this without appointm<sup>t</sup>? How will it look—In short, what shall I do—I would go to N. Jersey if I could. It Seems to me the voyage must not be entered on before the 1<sup>st</sup> of Oct. or it may be a little Sooner—Who shall receive y<sup>e</sup> money?—have you act[ed on] this difficulty? Who will you send . . . . . [torn]. If you write to him, tell him that you & I are tho't of (or Some better words) to go—& that we will Serve him, &c, &c. & you may Sign my name to it as one appointed to wait on him but can't because of preparation for Voyage &c—Must not the Board be called to recommend, &c—I am at y<sup>e</sup> disposal of Heaven in this affair—Will it not do for the Board to be called to hear w<sup>t</sup> returns shall come from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> So as to be ready y<sup>e</sup> week after y<sup>e</sup> return in order to save time—But you Say you have tho't of a way—What is it? But you dare not tell me in writing; well, come then & See me—M<sup>r</sup> Ells<sup>1</sup> Says, this is the fittest time to Send to E—pe, wonders the Board did not appoint—Says, if S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> would Say in his letter y<sup>t</sup> your School is the most likely channel for y<sup>e</sup> Suppling Miss<sup>rs</sup>. & that 20 Miss<sup>rs</sup>. among y<sup>e</sup> Indians would be better to keep y<sup>m</sup> in peace than 5000 Men under Arms, it would carry the point at home<sup>2</sup>—& so it would. I am fully of opinion Somebody must go this fall—To be there with M<sup>r</sup> Smith—how great y<sup>e</sup> advantagel—But you must contrive how.—May he who knows best, & whose the cause is, direct you to the right way, & make it plain. This is my hope, that y<sup>e</sup> Secret of y<sup>e</sup> Lord is w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> fear him, & he will show them his Statutes—M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> wrote me a line & tells me that he tho't it wo'd be no advantage to Send me the result of the Com<sup>tee</sup>., because I must come by you w<sup>n</sup> I go to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> & can See it there: *His Very humble*



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*Serv<sup>t</sup>*.—I chuse to know my instructions before I go on an Embassy—  
But he says he'll try to send it to you—very well—This will be great  
[cond]escension—I hope y<sup>e</sup> D——I will let your hoggs alone so you  
may see me this or y<sup>e</sup> first of next week. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker Says I Shan't  
go to E——pe. So the matter is Settled—hay—It seems Strange to me  
the Board were So bewitched. Shall M<sup>r</sup> Occom go on his tower to y<sup>e</sup>  
Mohawks: & if he goes to England must not y<sup>e</sup> Board appoint him, as  
he is in y<sup>r</sup> Service—I must See you—pray come down I've been twice  
to your House—pray tan M<sup>r</sup> Clark thoroughly for his laziness—I give  
love to you all &c. So would M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>r</sup>. were it not y<sup>t</sup> you are going to  
Send me to E——pe—I send back your letters. Your Molases & Sug<sup>r</sup>  
are ready you may have rum at 3S. Send your money—you will Send  
my Eggs for we han't one—Here are Several vessels going to Boston  
but I know not y<sup>e</sup> Masters—I fear it will not do for many to go in any  
of them— *I am your*

N. WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Nathaniel Eells, Harvard 1728, minister at Stonington from 1733 until his death in 1786. A very active member of the Connecticut Correspondents and much in evidence in the letters contained in this book.*

<sup>2</sup> *Arguments of an eminently practical character, unrelated to religious motives, were often urged by Wheelock and his friends to convince those not much affected by ethical reasoning that the expense of Indian missions was justified by the practical results attained.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Norwich Wednesday July 17, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>

*Preface*

Yesterday I wrote you in some confusion of thot. I also Sent a message by M<sup>r</sup> Occom, w<sup>h</sup>, if he delivered it arigh, is Something of what I now write you: y<sup>e</sup> tho't was then new.

*Subject.* It is necessary to go to Europe this fall. Now in order to accomplish this with credit & to the best advantage, I have tho't of

this. You & B<sup>r</sup> Pomroy<sup>1</sup> must meet & give me a letter of Credence signifying y<sup>t</sup> I am designing for Europe to beg for, &c. which I will take w<sup>th</sup> me to Long Island, N. York, N. Jersey & Philadelphia; in consequence of w<sup>ch</sup> I will (Si possim) obtain letters from many to recommend the School, &c, & me too if they will—And I will fix the time of my return; & you must, Si placet, call the Board about 6 or 8 Days after (least I Should not be precise at the time fixed) in order to recommend me & M<sup>r</sup> Occom (which y<sup>a</sup> will hardly refuse when I am recommended by many others) & so we will go at our own risque, whether they (Board) recommend or not.

Now all, that I have here s<sup>d</sup> about the board, & my going to Europe will depend on your Going to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> J. in Person, & the Success you meet w<sup>th</sup> there. If you go, you will be able to give a representation of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup>'s mind to y<sup>e</sup> Board a 1000 times better than any other, & to Set things in Such a light, (even if he is not so friendly as we could wish) as will influence y<sup>e</sup> board, at least to recommend (& I think we aught to send home let S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> like or dislike). We can find a receiv<sup>r</sup> as well as for y<sup>e</sup> last Collections, &c. But you'll Say I can't go yet—Well—go as Soon as harvest is over, & I will go as Soon or Sooner to Jersey, y<sup>n</sup> you to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> So y<sup>t</sup> our return may be near together, or yours a little Sooner in order to call the Board, if you shall think best; for I must be gone near or quite 5 weeks. And So when this Shall be done, all will be ready to Sail with y<sup>e</sup> first vessel. And you must write to B<sup>r</sup> Peck to send of every vessel y<sup>t</sup> quits us for London or Bristol & its accommodations, & So will I when I know your mind.

I don't think we aught to wait to hear from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> but proceed to prepare, by gitting letters, &c, & go whether he will recommend or no; or even if the Board will not, unless good reasons forbid—& therefore I would lose no time in going to Jersey, &c but be ready to Start for Europe as Soon as the board can meet & recommend—otherwise we can't go this fall—& then M<sup>r</sup> Smith will be out of reach, as he'll return—& M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & friends at home will be greatly disappointed, as M<sup>r</sup> Smith will tell them that we are coming—Besides, M<sup>r</sup> Occom can now proceed to the mohawks, & go & See the miss<sup>rs</sup> & get all the good news he can, & w<sup>n</sup> you return from S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> (if you think best to send to E——pe y<sup>n</sup>) he can come down

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w<sup>th</sup> you (I can enoculate him if there be need in England.) & so off we'll go. You See I talk as if I was determined & have a great mind to go to Europe—why Should I mince y<sup>e</sup> matter? I can See no way to avoid talking so, unless I would appear unfriendly to y<sup>e</sup> design; & the truth is, I am more reconciled to it, than formerly, if the case requires me to go. Besides, I see no [other] way to have any one go without offering myself, & even [my] insisting on going, as our Board will not appoint—If the above Scheem Should be agreeable to you, why can't you see M<sup>r</sup> Pomroy this week, & write a letter of credence, as I mentioned before, & you come & see me next week, & you may be assured I Shall not let any personal affair hinder in a matter of Such importance. Can't you come on monday? the Sooner the better. Pray Secrete this letter. If I go in this man<sup>r</sup> it will not be by the appointm<sup>t</sup> of Board, but only have y<sup>r</sup> recommendation. That God may lead you into y<sup>e</sup> right way is the daily prayer of your unworthy B<sup>r</sup>

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER.

*N.B.* The Comss<sup>rs</sup> of B——n have got a candidate to Send on a Miss<sup>n</sup>. Who do you think it is? Why, B<sup>r</sup> Mosely's Son<sup>2</sup>—Should not this hasten our going to Europe?

You must try in the mean time to procure letters from Some yea many gentlemen in this colony that all may be ready at our return & it would be best to have the letters to gentlemen at home come open to us that y<sup>e</sup> Board may judge of y<sup>m</sup>. But this I submit to your wisdom.

I have tho't of a method to get letters from Gentlemen of this colony. M<sup>r</sup> Woodward will go to commencem<sup>t</sup>—you can commission him & your son in two distinct letters to crave the favour of friends,<sup>3</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Woodward will even spend a week to ride about for this end. July 18.

I have tho't more on my getting letters w<sup>h</sup> I go to y<sup>e</sup> westward, & don't see but y<sup>t</sup> it is necessary, even if none should go till next Spring, as none of us shall have such another opportunity; & on further tho't it Seems to me best that you Sho'd Send to M<sup>r</sup> Salter & M<sup>r</sup> Pomroy to meet you at M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup>'s when you are coming down to See me, next monday or tuesday at 10 of the clock, in order to draw

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up a letter of credence for me to carry to Jerseys &c, for it will be of greater weight if done by y<sup>e</sup> comt<sup>ee</sup>; & I believe M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> will come into it as he has had a sweat about the former conduct of y<sup>e</sup> Board. And why can't you draw in good father W<sup>m</sup> to ask a recommendation of your School & the design of Sending to Europe from the Board of trustees of Yale College. This would be a good hitch. N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, 1704-1784, Yale 1733, classmate, brother-in-law and closest friend of Wheelock, minister at Hebron, Conn., 1735-1784, member of the Connecticut Correspondents, an original trustee of Dartmouth College, frequently the agent of Wheelock on business missions.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ebenezer Moseley, 1741-1825, Yale 1763, missionary to the Indians at Onohoquaga for some five years following 1767. He was son of Dr. Samuel Moseley of Windham, a member of the Connecticut Correspondents, and his acceptance from the Boston Board of a mission to Onohoquaga, already selected as the seat of one of Wheelock's enterprises, was regarded by the latter with much displeasure.*

<sup>3</sup> *On account of theological differences, the authorities of Yale, on the whole, were unfriendly to Wheelock's designs, although, for a time, English pupils of his, designed for missionary work among the Indians, were received as students in the College at a tuition rate lower than that charged the ordinary student. No special recommendation was secured from Yale for the present mission.*



### *Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Norwich July 27, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>

I used to think you was a friend, but your late behaviour Seems Strange. This is the fourth letter I have wrote & have had no answer, and whether you are now dead or alive I can't tell. I have waited with Some impatience this week to See you here in order to Settle the plan of our future Opperations. I am Still of the mind y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> plan I proposed to you is the most likely to Succeed of any which I can form. It may be you have a better, but why may I not know it if you have? What have I done? Is it because I did not propose your Going to, &c, w<sup>ch</sup> has affrunted you? Well I tell you you shall go w<sup>th</sup> all my heart if you are willing. But pray forgive all my bad usage

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of you & come on monday & See me, or I will be as mad as you are. I tell you Seriously I want to See you, & for various reasons. If I go to git Letters, &c, for the voyage I shall have a plea w<sup>th</sup> Some of our Board to Supply my pulpit w<sup>n</sup> gone. Besides I wan't to know when to Set off; & I think the Sooner the better, for if any one goes to E. this fall it aught to be hastened & I think much depends on going to the Southward in order to git letters—But all lies still till I can see you—

I think it a good oppertunity to commission Some Good friend to git letters at y<sup>e</sup> commencem<sup>nt</sup>—We are in comfortable health. I Shall Starve here if I can git nothing to live on besides what I can purchase w<sup>th</sup> money I git from my people: Inter nos.

If you are determined not to come & See me next week, pray let me know it by a line, & I shall try to be revenged on you as Soon as possible. How base is it to raise ones expectations, & then to disappoint!—is y<sup>r</sup> not a degree of nasty lying in it?

My very kind regards to madam, &c &c &c from your real friend & B<sup>r</sup> who don't forgit you one day.

NATH'L. WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> As was the custom in the colleges of the day, Commencement at Yale occurred early in September.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Chelsey in Norwich Aug. 3, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>

It is with great reluctance that I tarry till next monday week which will make it the 12<sup>th</sup> of August before I Set off. If God allows, I shall without fail be back by the 14<sup>th</sup> of Sept. (which will be 5 weeks for my journey) & I hope by the 7<sup>th</sup>. You must call the Board together on thursday y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> of Sept. in order to recommend, &c for after this is done (if I am appointed) the affairs will be to Settle w<sup>th</sup>

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my people which will take at least a fourt night: & you know nothing can be done or Said till the appointm<sup>t</sup> is made. I Saw Lawyer Huntington<sup>1</sup> yesterday, & he thinks it best to call y<sup>e</sup> board on S<sup>d</sup> Day tho he will be obliged to tend Court at Windham, but will brake away after noon Sometime in order to attend & give a vote in the affair. You must git all things ready, minutes drawn, a recommendation ready w<sup>ch</sup> will take Some time to draw well; & You may depend on my being there, as much as you can on any human affairs So far distant. If you put off calling the Board till I return; it will be the middle of October before anyone can go to Europe, w<sup>ch</sup> will probably bring y<sup>e</sup> voyage into Decem: when the nights will be very long in England. You may depend on my being at home by y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>: or at least before y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> D. V. M<sup>r</sup> Peck writes me y<sup>t</sup> he is not well & designs for Connecticut soon, but would be at home at y<sup>e</sup> time of embarking. I have wrote y<sup>t</sup> this can't be till the last of Sept. or first of Oct. but have no opportunity to Send. If you have, let him know; he may come & return by y<sup>t</sup> time.

You must git a Short narrative<sup>2</sup> ready as an appendix to the former to be carried to Europe & printed there. If M<sup>r</sup> Occom comes back next week, let him go over to Long Island & be enoculated immediately. Pick out such letters from Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson & others as you Shall judge necessary to Send to Europe. Much is to be done, & too much lies on you. Our Board know nothing of the matter—say—Your Son<sup>3</sup> aught to go to Eng:

Aug. 5. I just now rec<sup>d</sup> yours. am astonished at your blunder in the matter of Supplying my pulpit, for I can't go till next monday—besides I must have a recommendation or commission to git letters to the Southward if none but you & M<sup>r</sup> Pomroy give it me—If you will draw a memorial to y<sup>e</sup> good people of Philadelphia, I can be under advantage to make collection if time will allow, but will make no delay—for D.V. I will be at home before y<sup>e</sup> 19th of Sept. & you must not fail of having the board ready by that Day.

Aug. 6. God willing I Shall Set out this afternoon & go as far as N. London. I must do as well as I can—pray for your

N. W.

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Don't fail to Supply my pulpit next Sab: as this is the plea yea the reason why I go away in Such a hurry, & my People will be greatly disappointed if you fail—

N.W.

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Huntington, of Norwich, 1731-1796, member of the Continental Congress, 1775-1784, president of that body, 1779-1781, signer of the Declaration of Independence, Governor of Connecticut, 1786-1796.

<sup>2</sup> The first of Wheelock's NARRATIVES was published in Boston in 1763. The second, likewise printed in Boston in 1765, carried the story of the school and missions to September of that year. The third (prepared in response to this request) was printed in London in 1766 and is the issue referred to in the letters which follow. It contained the credentials and recommendations of Whitaker and Occom and a condensed account of the Indian School and missions to the date of publication. A second edition, with some additions, was published in London in the following year. The fifth NARRATIVE (London, 1769) continued the story and contained a list of the English, but not the Scotch, subscribers. Four further continuations were published (all in America) dated respectively 1771, 1773, 1773, and 1775.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Wheelock.



*Recommendation from Sir William Johnson<sup>1</sup>*

On Application to me by the Committee of Correspondents of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, thro' the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock of Lebanon in Connecticut, respecting their intentions of establishing his Indian School and enlarging the Plan thereof so as to enable a Number of Missionaries to be employed in the Indian Country for the Instruction of the Indians in the Christian Religion, to which an Application is intended to be made in Great Britain &c to all well disposed persons, I do therefore offer it as my Opinion that the same is highly necessary and may be productive of good Consequences if properly conducted, by civilizing the Indians, and reducing them to peace and good order. That M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock has taken much pains with some Mohawk Youths who thro' his Care and Diligence have made good Proficiency in their religious and other Studys—from all which I am of opinion that the

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proposed Plan deserves Encouragement, and I could not do less than give it this favourable Recommendation.—

Given under my Hand at Johnson Hall the 8<sup>th</sup> day of August 1765.

W<sup>m</sup>. JOHNSON.

<sup>1</sup> This recommendation from Sir William Johnson, obtained as a result of a visit of Occum to the general, is contained on the back sheet of a letter, written in rather more cordial terms, discussing possible sites for the school.

\*

*John Smith to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London Aug<sup>t</sup> 25, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR

M<sup>r</sup> Occum should have Come with me, & so should M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker—If I had hold at y<sup>e</sup> time of one of M<sup>r</sup> Occums hands your Business would be quite done & speedily—D<sup>r</sup> Conder<sup>1</sup> tells M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt,<sup>2</sup> Savage &<sup>c</sup> That y<sup>e</sup> Episcopal Mission<sup>3</sup> with you have sent an Indian over & have ordained him in Bristol & tho he cant speak English, he is designed to ape & undermine M<sup>r</sup> Occum who is Expected & much Talk<sup>t</sup> of here. But this wont hurt M<sup>r</sup> Occum—If he is not Come away pray dont let him stay a Moment longer than y<sup>e</sup> Time Inoculation takes. Pray lett him come to London by Coach privately & unseen, & let him first see M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield.

D<sup>r</sup> Gifford has £117 now in his hands: on saying to him y<sup>e</sup> last great Missions were without land & that your own Estate layd at risque he reply'd with Emotion. The Dear Man shant pay one Penny. On my saying M<sup>r</sup> Occum will get a Bushel of Money he reply'd ay that he will.

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield tells me M<sup>r</sup> Erskine has got in his Hands £600. for y<sup>e</sup> Indians.

But I have said more than I thought I should have had time for. I ask your Prayers &

*am respectfully your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

JOHN SMITH.



D<sup>r</sup> Gifford says you directed him to keep y<sup>e</sup> money in his own hands till you ordered it or else it had been with you—Youl please to give y<sup>e</sup> Needfull orders.

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. John Conder, 1714-1781, minister of Little Moorfields, London, afterwards the Pavement, from 1760 until his death.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dennis DeBerdt, 1694-1770, London agent of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1765-1770, and also of Delaware, frequent correspondent of Wheelock and his agent in the unsuccessful effort to obtain a royal charter, also acting as collector of funds for the school in London. He subscribed £20 to the present fund. A follower of Whitefield.*

<sup>3</sup> *A considerable amount of missionary work among the Indians was carried on by the Church of England, for the most part under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to George Whitefield*

*Lebanon Aug<sup>t</sup>. 26<sup>th</sup> 1765.*

MY DEAR & REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR.

Yours from Philadelphia I received after your Embarkation for Europe. The Difficulty of my leaving the School for So long Time as a Voyage to England must necessarily take, will be very great, as there are none to be had y<sup>t</sup> I know of both willing and equal to the Business, which will always be found to require a good deal of Experience, and which seems to be the principle thing which makes the Board of Correspondents and other Friends (who otherwise would be very desirous of my going) rather advise to the contrary.\* M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker is in many Respects well turned for the Design, and will improve by any Hints which you or other Friends shall give him as much as any man, and is more than any other acquainted with M<sup>r</sup> Occom.

Not knowing whether you or M<sup>r</sup> Smith have arrived I have inclosed all to M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt. Please to accept the copies and all the Intelligence given him & M<sup>r</sup> Smith as tho' sent to you. I doubt not of your Friendship to the Cause and need say nothing on that Head

to move you to any Expression thereof within your Power—I am every Week surprised with favourable occurrancies in Providence, & the opening of New & Unexpected Prospects; Something of which you will see in the Acc<sup>ts</sup> I have Sent, to which I refer you.

I am, my dear Sir, with most Sincere Respect to you & your Dear Spouse,

*Your poor unworthy though*

*Very Affectionate Brother &c*

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

\* There are other Reasons of great weight as, my age, never having had y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox, the Danger of Jealousy in the Indians, &c.

\*

*Recommendation of Nathaniel Whitaker by the  
Board of Correspondents<sup>1</sup>*

The Board of Correspondents in the Colony of Connecticut, commissioned for Indian Affairs by the Honourable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at their Meeting in Norwich on the 23<sup>d</sup> of September 1765, taking into Consideration the State of the Indian Charity School in Lebanon under the Care of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Eleazar Wheelock, (who with the most frugal management and Oeconomy hath necessarily expended in the Support of said School and Missionaries since December 18<sup>th</sup> 1754 to September 3<sup>d</sup> 1765, the Sum of £1639:4:7 Sterling money, collected from well disposed Persons, without any Fund to defray said Expence) and the late prevailing Disposition of the Heads as well as Members of a Number of Indian Tribes to send their Children here for Education, and their Willingness and Desire to have Ministers and School Masters sent among them (as appears from their personal Application to us last Spring, and Advices since received from the Missionaries we have sent among them) and the favourable Opportunity that now presents beyond all Expectation of promoting

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the Kingdom of Christ in those dark Places of the Earth which are full of the Habitations of Cruelty, and the great Supplies that will be necessary for that glorious Purpose; We judge it our Duty to send some meet Person to Europe to solicit the Benefactions of well disposed People there toward the Support of said School, and those Missionaries and School Masters which are and shall be employed by this Board; nothing doubting their Forwardness to promote this important Service among the poor miserable Savages; and that hereby many Thanksgivings will rebound to God, and the Blessing of those ready to perish will come upon them. And therefore [we] do now appoint and commission the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Nathaniel Whitaker, Minister of the Congregation at Chelsey in Norwich, our faithful and well-beloved Friend, whose Praise is in the Churches, and in whom we put entire Confidence, to go to Europe on this Business, and do heartily recommend him to the Respect and Benevolence of all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Clergymen on whom he shall wait on this Occasion, proposing that the charitable Contributions shall be brought into the Treasury of this Board in that Way and Manner which the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker shall, on the best Advice, think most proper, unless the Donors, or any of them, please to give Directions for the different Disposition of their Donations—And we do most heartily recommend him and the Design to the Care and Blessing of Almighty God, in whom we trust for all needed Help and Success.

*Signed by Order of said Board of Correspondents.—*

SOLOMON WILLIAMS, *Praeses*.

<sup>1</sup> *This commission is an excellent example of the rotund English affected by the clergy of New England at this period. It is to be noted that in it no mention is made of Occom. It was feared that his participation in the Mason controversy might bring discredit on the board, if endorsement were given him. We shall soon see that all reference to this document had to be suppressed in England, although it served its purpose in Scotland.*

*From the Minutes of the Connecticut Board of  
Correspondents*

To the Honourable Society in London for propagating the Gospel in New England & Parts adjacent.

The memorial of the Commissioners of the Board of Correspondents in the Colony of Connecticut, commissioned for Indian affairs by the Honourable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge:

Humbly Sheweth

That there hath been for Several years last past, an Indian Charity School erected by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Eleazar Wheelock in Lebanon in Said Colony for the education of the Children of the Several tribes of Indian Natives in this Land, in order to fit them for Schoolmasters, Interpreters, & Missionaries among their respective Tribes, & also for the Education of Some English youth for the same purpose, & by this means the more easily, extensively, & effectually to introduce Civility & Christian knowledge among them, & thereby to recover them from their Paganism, make them a Christian people, peaceable Neighbours, good members of Society, loyal Subjects to our rightful Sovereign, & the most effectually prevent future ravages on our Fronteers.

And by the Blessing of God upon [the] endeavours [of] the School & Board of Correspondents, there are now in the Wilderness, three English Missionaries & eight Indian youth, three of w<sup>h</sup> are Schoolmasters & five to be employed as Schoolmasters or Ushers, as the Miss<sup>rs</sup> shall judge best who were Sent out from hence within the Year past, and are now employed in the Services respectively assigned them among the Several Tribes; all which may more fully appear by the narratives herewith transmitted to you. And there are upwards of an hundred Children in their Several Schools under the instruction of said Indian youth. A wider door than ever is now opened, and our prospects for the Swift progress of the important design are greatly increased; for besides the Indians in this Colony & those we have Supplied on our fronteers, there are various Tribes Some of them Still more remote who have lately manifested a will-

ingness, and Some of them a desire to have Ministers & Schoolmasters sent among them: So that the necessary expences are now become too great to expect Supplies from the friends of the Design in our American Colonies, or from the Honourable Society in Scotland: Do therefore think it our Duty to Seek assistance elsewhere. And as we understand your Honourable Society was originally founded with Special regard to the Christianizing the Indians in and about New England, & that for the better applying the Monies granted by the Same, a number of your Commissioners were formerly appointed in this Colony: & the Reason why they have of late been confined to the Town of Boston, may be owing to the great distance which renders their meetings impracticable.

We therefore pray your Honourable Board to take these affairs into your Consideration, & Grant to the Persons hereafter named your Commission for Indian affairs in the Colony of Connecticut in New England and Parts adjacent; to which trust we hope, by the Grace of God, they will shew all good fidelity, & to apply to the charitable uses above mentioned, & agreeable to your advice & direction from time to time, whatever you shall, in your wisdom, entrust them withal, & will be ready to account with you for the Same;

And your Memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.<sup>1</sup>

This Board desires the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker to wait on the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Society in London with this our memorial, & Solicit their favour to this design in any way which to them shall seem proper. *N.B.* The Persons we nominate to be honoured with your Commission are, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Nath<sup>l</sup> Ells & Joseph Fish<sup>2</sup> of Stonington, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Mosely<sup>3</sup> of Windham, Eleazer Wheelock of Lebanon, Benjamin Pomroy of Hebron, David Jewet of New London, Richard Salter of Mansfield, Nath<sup>l</sup>. Whitaker, & Sam<sup>l</sup>. Huntington Esq. of Norwich (The circumstances & distances of the other three members of this Board, not allowing their attendance, are not nominated) Voted that the Secretary Sign y<sup>e</sup> above memorial in y<sup>e</sup> name of the Board

Voted. That the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Nath<sup>l</sup>. Whitaker go to Europe to Solicit Benefactions towards the Support of the School under the care of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock of Lebanon, & of Missionaries &

Schoolmasters among the Indians. And as the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker mentions Several impediments to his going on Said Business which have considerable weight, we therefore appoint the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> C. J. Smith to go in his room, if he Shall return from Virginia in Season to undertake the Voyage, & the difficulties in M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers way prevent his going.

Voted. That the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Messr<sup>s</sup>. Solomon Will<sup>ms</sup>., Nath<sup>l</sup>. Ells, Sam<sup>l</sup>. Mosley be a Committee to meet at Chelsey<sup>d</sup> in Norwich the 3<sup>d</sup> Day of October at 2. o'clock P. M. in order to Settle the affair with the people there respecting the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's going to Europe.

Voted. That the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock return the thanks of this Board to Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson for his Recommendations of S<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks School, & of the Measurs which this Board have been & Still are persuing, & for his many other favours Shewn to this design.

Voted. That the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Messers Ben. P. & N. Whitaker address the Presbitory of Suffolk on Long Island in the name of this Board praying their assistance to collect monies in their Several congregations for the Discharging the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Samson Occom from the Debts he hath been obliged to contract by reason of Scanty Support while he was employed in the publick Service of Christ's kingdom there.<sup>5</sup>

Voted. That this Board will take on them to Supply the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's Pulpit while he is gone to Europe, & that they will Supply one Sabbath each till Some minister can be provided.

<sup>1</sup> *This appeal to the London Society had no fruitful result. While, acting through its Boston Board, it had granted an annual subsidy of £10 and later one of £20 to the Indian School from 1756 to 1767, now, again influenced by the group at Boston, it became hostile to the English mission, and apparently did everything in its power to prevent its success. This hostility continued throughout the remainder of Wheelock's life; eventually becoming an embittered quarrel.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Joseph Fish, 1706-1781, Harvard 1728, minister of the parish of North Stonington, 1731-1781.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Samuel Moseley, Harvard 1729, minister at Windham. He died in 1791.*

<sup>4</sup> *Whitaker's parish in Norwich, known first as "the landing." It developed rapidly as the trade of Norwich increased, and now constitutes the business section of the city.*

<sup>5</sup> *Occom had been assisted by the Boston Board while receiving his education. As schoolmaster and minister at Montauk from 1749 to 1761 he had received for a por-*

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tion of the time an annual grant of £20, amounting in all during his term of service to £160. He supplemented this income by labors as a farmer, cooper, bookbinder and fisherman. His income was never adequate for the expenses of his large family and he was, moreover, singularly unfortunate in the loss of goods, horses, etc., at inopportune times. His debts, therefore, rapidly accumulated. He was transferred from the protection of the Boston Board in 1764, ostensibly to that of the Scotch Society, acting through its Connecticut Correspondents, but really to that of Wheelock.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Oct. 1, 1765*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DR. B<sup>r</sup>.

I have great reason to adore Sovereign goodness that I am out of hell. O how dreadful would it be to live eternally with Such Spirits! But there is a world of peace—M<sup>rs</sup>. W.<sup>1</sup> night before last Seemed to come down a little, & began to contrive how affairs Sho'd be conducted when I am gone—It gave much pleasure to me, especially as it followed a season of conversation w<sup>ch</sup> was very trying; but there is no room to hope that her heart is Subdued fully. Yors I read to her. It gave her Some kind of check & confusion; but did not conquer. I asked her w<sup>t</sup> I sho'd write you; whether I sh'd tell you, that She is determined to Submit the matter to God, & make y<sup>e</sup> best of the thing; She Said She did not know w<sup>t</sup> She Sho'd do—However I believe on the whole She is a little more Softened. But O how hardly is pride bro't down! God knows w<sup>t</sup> is best. His will be done.

There is no vessel going from here to England. M<sup>r</sup> Trumbles is gone to Nantucket & will return here no more.

When I had wrote thus far M<sup>rs</sup>. W. called me down, & told me She would endeavour to do the best She could in the affair. O that God may Subdue her heart.

You must hasten affairs with all possible [speed]—I Sho'd be glad to know if any Vessel is going from Boston or Portsmouth or elsewhere. I must, D. V., gow within 3 weeks. I have sent by Capt. Kelly to N. York for parchment & Letters, How soon he will return is uncertain; but probably in a 14 night.

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As Soon as they come I think it will be best for you & I & Mr. Occom to make a journey to Portsmouth, & git recommendations & look out a vessel, & procure necessaries for the Voyage.

My Best friends here are for my going, my worst Say, if he will go, let him be dismissed—Now I wan't your advice. If they carry the vote for my dismissal in case I go, is it not best for me to Seek a dismiss<sup>a</sup> by calling council immediately?<sup>2</sup> I think it is—

O pray, pray, pray for your

N. WHITAKER.

Is it best to send to N. York on purpose for Parchm<sup>t</sup>. & Letters? Or does it Seem to be too pushing?

<sup>1</sup> While minister of the church at Woodbridge, New Jersey, in the period from 1755 to 1759, Whitaker married Sarah Smith. Five children were born to the couple, of whom three survived.

<sup>2</sup> The cumbrous nature of the machinery necessary to settle or to dismiss a minister during this period is illustrated by this letter and those immediately following.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*Chelsey in Norwich Oct. 3, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>.

The Deel has poked out his cloven foot this day into open Sight, he has even Sear'd M<sup>rs</sup>. W. So y<sup>t</sup> She recoils & is willing I Sho'd go. You never Saw the like. The vote was put, whether they would comply with the desire of the Board &c on condition my Sallery Should drop from y<sup>e</sup> time I Sho'd go, till I return. There was a tie, 15 on a Side. And who do you think voted against my going? You will Say M<sup>r</sup> Tiffany, &c. i.e. Your best friends. I own one of your good humor would be ready to think So. But I will tell you. It was Old M<sup>r</sup> Backus & Cap<sup>t</sup>. Bill & Wetmore Landman,<sup>2</sup> &c. &c. They pushed that Some overtures Sho'd be made for their procuring & Setling another minister in case I Should go; or in plain english, to



have me dismissed. And the[y] began to tell the Com<sup>tee</sup>.<sup>3</sup> the disaffection &c of the people to me, & magnified it greatly in order to obtain their end; & w<sup>n</sup> the Com<sup>tee</sup>. told y<sup>m</sup> y<sup>t</sup> they came on no such Business, & that all y<sup>t</sup> [they] desired was their consent to my going; & on my telling them that if they chose to Supply the pulpit themselves I would release my Sallery till I Sho'd return: & w<sup>n</sup> the vote was put as above those *tender friends* would, by no means, consent to my going—O how Strong is their Love! & the[y] pick<sup>t</sup> up one who is no voter (at least he is as poor as a C<sup>h</sup> mouse) to help y<sup>r</sup> vote or it would have been carried for my gain. I hate to push a point, but it Seems to me we may Sometimes with the devil. I purpose to ask advice of the Association next tuesday in this affair. I must go, or be dismissed in a Short time & this is w<sup>t</sup> they see, & therefore will not let me go. Things Seem to have been carried too far to be retracted. If I Sho'd not go, I fear it will be to my hurt; & yet if there had been nothing S<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smith might have gone—for I expect him here or at your house every day. What if he Sho'd go with me, it will expedite the Business, & be very little more expence, & his counsel would be of unspeakable Service & it may be prevent many an error. And I think the cause requires two as much as it did w<sup>n</sup> the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Tenant & Davies went for the College of N. Jersey.<sup>4</sup> I verily think it will be best for us both to go & there will be little more expence, as we can much Sooner accomplish the Business; for while one is in South Britain transacting affairs with the Court, the other can go to Scotland to the General Assembly next may in order to Obtain a general Collection; & then one can go to Ireland, while the other goes to Holland & it will be of great advantage to M<sup>r</sup> Smith; & we Shall feel much more comfortable. I think everything calls for this: & there will be no need of the Board's meeting for it. M<sup>r</sup> Ells likes it, & So will M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup>. I guess, tho' I have not mentioned it to him, & you may git Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pom, Fish, Mos. & Salt. & I will git Huntington, & So w<sup>n</sup> you cobby the recommendation you can put both in, & it is best to Send the parchm<sup>t</sup>. to the governer without filling up the blank, & not ask him to Sign it, but to give a recommendation under the Seal of the Governm<sup>t</sup>. I expect my people will call another Society meeting as Soon as I return from association. It can't meet till next mon-

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day or tuesday week, if they Sho'd I pray you would be here—M<sup>r</sup>. W. will not own She is willing, but she S<sup>d</sup>. this night to Some of my people, that She would Spend all she had, if in their place, before those men Sh'd have their wills—You see her will is not Subdued, (O that it wer) yet this Shews her to be more reconciled to my going, & indeed She Says but little against it now.

It is 12. o'clock at night—I hope in God for direction [in this] affair. Would y<sup>e</sup> devil oppose this So if it were not of God? Is it for or against my going not one who pretends to religion voted against it. All y<sup>e</sup> chh present voted for it & all were present except two. I am your

NATH'L. WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> *The hysterical character of this letter and those immediately following, indicating Whitaker to be intensely desirous of undertaking the English mission and furious at obstacles in his path, makes clear his response to opposition and to periods of stress. It reveals the reason why each of his numerous pastorates became periods of bitter contention and recrimination.*

<sup>2</sup> *Of the Connecticut Correspondents.*

<sup>3</sup> *All these worthies are recorded as pewholders in Whitaker's church, but beyond this little can be learned about them. Miss Caulkins, historian of Norwich, records, however, that Capt. Nathaniel Backus was one of the six residents of the township sufficiently prosperous at this time to own a chaise, while Capt. Ephraim Bill served the state during the Revolution as marine agent.*

<sup>4</sup> *In 1753 Rev. Gilbert Tennent and Rev. Samuel Davies visited England to raise money for New Jersey College (Princeton). See page 14.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Chelsey in Norwich October 4. 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>.

I wrote you last night, in w<sup>ch</sup> I told you how y<sup>e</sup> Deel has been at work here—O how good is God! I am Sure all is right. Mess<sup>rs</sup> W<sup>m</sup> & Ells lodged here. I proposed this morning that I would consent y<sup>t</sup> the

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people Sho'd be at liberty to obtain & Settle another minister in regular form if they could in my absence, & that my Dismiss<sup>n</sup> Sho'd take place, on y<sup>r</sup> So doing (this will try whether it is So easy to git a minister as my adversaries give out), & after Some talk we came to this conclusion, That a Society meeting be warned to meet next thursday, while I ask the advice of the Association next tuesday, & then, if they advise, to make y<sup>m</sup> the offer of y<sup>e</sup> above proposal: & also to join w<sup>th</sup> me in calling in a Councel to determine respecting my going to Europe, & also respecting my dismissal, w<sup>ch</sup> I know they, y<sup>e</sup> councel, will not grant; & if they will not join, to call y<sup>e</sup> councel my Self. The time the councel are to meet is next wednesday 7 night, & they will Settle the whole affair. After this I proposed to M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> & Ells together, M<sup>r</sup> Smiths going with me; they both liked it, but tho't it best that the Board Sho'd meet to recommend him, if he is willing to go; & accordingly have concluded that you write to warn y<sup>m</sup> to meet at M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Lothrop<sup>1</sup> in Norwich on next thursday week at 10. o'clock A. M. to decide the affair; & this is to be done whether M<sup>r</sup> Smith comes or not, that all may be ready w<sup>n</sup> he does come, & is willing to go. Please to urge the members not to fail being there at the time, for if we Should fail of a Board it will be of bad consequence, as there is no time to lose, & it will be high time to proceed immediately on the journey Eastward in order for the voyage the next monday; & you must to with us to B——n I believe—

Can you find nobody to give me a letter of Credit to Scotland or Ireland. M<sup>r</sup> Bread<sup>2</sup> will give an indemnifying bond to any gentleman that will do it & he will give me a Letter to London & So will M<sup>r</sup> Lothrop.

M<sup>r</sup> Occom is here—you will See by M<sup>r</sup> Buels<sup>3</sup> letter what is tho't best—I think we need not be hindered [by] his waiting for that—I think it best that M<sup>r</sup> Occom be not innoculated as it must cost £10 y<sup>ork</sup> & will hinder the Voyage—pray come down to the councel here next wednesday 7 night—

D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup> It is my comfort y<sup>t</sup> God reigns—O pray that the way of duty may be made plain, & pray that I may have wisdom & grace to

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conduct well. We are in health, M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker is greatly tamed O  
bless God with me—kind love to &c from yours intirely

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

N.B. Mind every word I Say in this Letter

<sup>1</sup> *Joshua Lathrop, 1723-1807, wholesaler at Norwich, conducting a large importing business in drugs, a wealthy and highly esteemed member of the community.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gershon Breed (Bread), merchant and contractor, builder of bridges, a useful and active citizen of Norwich.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Samuel Buell, 1716-1798, minister of the church at Easthampton on Long Island. He preached Occom's ordination sermon in 1759.*



*Charles Jeffrey Smith to Eleazar Wheelock*

*New York Octob<sup>r</sup> 6 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR SIR

I fully expected to have found a Letter in Town from you in answer to one I wrote in August & sent by post: in that I gave some Incouragement of going home<sup>1</sup> in the Spring, but I am in such a poor State of Health that it will be impracticable for me to go, & am glad to hear that you have not depended upon me—the Friends to the Design in New York New Jersey & Philadelphia think it best by all means that none go before Spring, & have repeatedly desired me to recommend it to you to wait till then—I have just learnt by Capt. Kelly that M<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker is appointed, but that it is somewhat dubious whether he will go as his Wife is so averse to it, whereupon I would acquaint you that I believe M<sup>r</sup> Rodgers might be obtained. He is judged the most Suitable Person that can be sent<sup>2</sup>—it is of the last importance y<sup>t</sup> an able Person should go, & it is generally thought matters are not ripe for sending this Fall—may Heaven direct your Steps & Succeed your Endeavours! Being in the greatest Haste I have time only to add that I am, my Dear Sir, yours Affectionately

C. J. SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> *Despite a residence in America lasting for four or five generations, England was still home to the colonists.*

<sup>2</sup> *Whitaker was not highly esteemed in New York and New Jersey. References to other letters, not preserved, indicate that from these sources numerous protests were received against his selection for the mission.*

*Moses Peck to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Boston 16<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1765*

VERY DEAR & REV. SIR

The Greater the Undertaking for the Cause of God, the Greater Opposition may be Expected from Saten—you seem to Suppose your People are under his Influence. What all of them? I Doubt not, but that you have examined if your own Conduct is in no part the Cause, of their opposing your going to England.

There is three vessels, bot up for London and one for Bristol will Sail in a Short time & others will folow so that you may git a passage when you plees

Sir I want to know if you have Rec'd a cask of Goods & a bundle for M<sup>r</sup>. Wheelock, I ship'ed on Board the Sloop Nancy, the bill of Laiding I inclosed to you Daited 13<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1765. Cap<sup>t</sup>. George Butler Master.

Continuation of the Narrative is printed, M<sup>r</sup> Gray<sup>1</sup> Set of YeasterDay in order to Return to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock,—Wee are (Blessed be God) prity well. Salutations to M<sup>rs</sup> Whetaker, Love to you & Children. Let us pray & not faint.

*Yours Heartily—*

MOSES PECK.

<sup>1</sup> *Samuel Gray, 1751-1836, was at this time a pupil in Wheelock's school (although not on charity, as a prospective missionary) and at times acted as clerk and bookkeeper to his patron. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College in its first class of 1771.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Lebanon 22. Oct. 1765*

DEAR BROTHER

I've not had a minute's Leisure Since I left you till now I am waiting for my Horse to go to New Haven—I wonder I undertook to get Such Testimonials for Gentlemen at N. Haven.<sup>1</sup> It is not best

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that I should do it—another place is as well—I doubt of the propriety of the Step—I've had a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt Dated June 20. He Says Gen<sup>l</sup>. Lyman<sup>2</sup> is Suing for a Large Tract and will inclue my School—

I Suppose I have Goods come to the Landing by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Freeman. A Team is to come for them next Thursday, or Friday morning—

M<sup>r</sup>. Smith our Miss<sup>rs</sup>. returned last Friday bringing much good News—no money yet appears for them—You will come and see me when I return next week—and believe that I am

Somewhat friendly & very Honestly

*Your Brother &c.*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

<sup>1</sup> *The opposition in New Haven arose from the theological quarrels following the Great Awakening, in which Wheelock was a leader of the "New Light" movement, in disrepute at Yale. Whitaker's credentials, however, were signed by Naphtali Daggett, Professor of Divinity and acting President, in his private capacity. The opposition to Wheelock in Boston was based on the same cause.*

<sup>2</sup> *General Phineas Lyman, 1716-1775, Yale 1738, of Suffield, Connecticut, was major general in command of the Connecticut forces in the campaign around Lake George in 1755, he served with Abercrombie in 1758 and commanded the provincial troops in the expedition against Havana in 1762. In the following year he went to England as a suitor for a large grant of land. Here he remained through eleven years of alternate hope and disappointment. In 1774 he was brought back by his son, but a grant on the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers was finally secured. On a visit to this tract he died in 1775.*

\*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Chelsey, Oct. 25, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

You will See that I have taken the freedom of opened your Letters, & have read the many reasons against going this fall & doubtless there is Some weight in them. But all things are in the hand of God, & if he favours the cause, & Sees it best to comply with their advice, as the whole I trust is left with him, he will prevent my or

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any one's else going this fall—You will See the opinion of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Rogers concerning me—he Says it is on the Acc<sup>t</sup>. of my appointm<sup>t</sup>. that gentlemen refuse to write—Pray how Should this influence them when far the Greater part are Strangers to me & the rest fast friends—Did not M<sup>r</sup>. R. discourage y<sup>m</sup>? Compare what M<sup>r</sup>. C. J. Smith Says w<sup>th</sup> his letter & all will open—viz M<sup>r</sup> Smith can't—M<sup>r</sup> W. Shant & therefore M<sup>r</sup> R. may. M<sup>r</sup>. Rogers Signed the other Parchm<sup>t</sup>. (w<sup>ch</sup> I now have before me) with my name in it in conjunction w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smiths—I fear but this one thing mainly; viz that friends in N. York &c will be greatly offended if we don't mind them. The affairs of my people are too long to relate, only that the council advised y<sup>m</sup> to concent to my going, & if y<sup>a</sup> will not, that I Seek a Dismiss<sup>n</sup>.—M<sup>r</sup>. Ells is now here & hath Seen all your Letter & thinks that there is a Snake in the Grass, & is now writing to N. Y. to Shew the necessity of Sending this fall—In the utmost haste I am your

N. WHITAKER

M<sup>r</sup>. Ells desires to meet you at my house next wednesday night at Diner. We guess M<sup>r</sup>. Chamberlain<sup>1</sup> left a Shirt & took one of mine. Please to Search him.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Theophilus Chamberlain, 1737-1824, Yale 1765. Missionary to the Six Nations under Wheelock, 1765-1766.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Rev. John Rodgers.<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon October 29<sup>th</sup> 1765.*

VERY KIND AND REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

Last Evening came to Hand your Favour of 8<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> in which you breathe forth the sincerest Friendship towards the Design of enlarging the Kingdom of the Great Redeemer, and particularly the Success of the weighty affair I am at present nearly concerned in, relative to the Support of this Indian School, our Missionaries, School Masters, &c.

But the present crowd of my Affairs will not allow me more than to hint a few things in reply as,

1. I intirely agree with you that the carrying this School into the Indian Country, is the best Plan, and that a Royal Charter, if possible, must be had. For this I have already made some Attempts as matters would bear; till

2. I am with you fully convinced, that things are not yet ripe for it; and that (besides what y<sup>o</sup> ha' well s<sup>d</sup>) neither the Indians will by any means be persuaded to suffer it to come upon any of their Lands, their Jealousies and Prejudices being such at present, that only their understanding that such a thing is designed, would over-set all. Nor will Sir William Johnson favour such an Attempt. This, I suppose, I have good Evidence of. And you doubtless know what his Influence is, both among the Tribes under him, and also at the Court of Great Britain, and how fruitless an Attempt against his Influence would likely be.

3. That Speedy & large Supplies for the Support of Missionaries, School Masters, and of the School itself must be hand, the whole Weight of which lies upon me, nor does any other risque so much as £5—unless those do so, to whom I am indebted. And you will easily believe that to recall the Missionaries and School Masters, and break up the School at this Juncture, would likely be attended with sad consequences—The good Beginning among the Indians will likely decline and be lost—A Door be open for such whose principles and practices are not desirable—The greatest Spur and Incitement to Liberality viz. the Progress of the Design, be wanting—And in a word the whole affair be unhinged and exposed to great Reproach—Therefore

4. I would propose whether it be not adviseable to send Mr Whitaker this Fall to solicit Charity for the present Support of the Design, and whether that may not be a proper Lead & Introduction to a further Step, if a proper Person may be provided in the Spring, whom we may furnish with all proper Materials, if the public state of Affairs in the Land and Nation shall appear to favour it.

It seems to me that so large Supplies as will be necessary for three Missionaries, two Interpreters, and three School Masters in



the Wilderness, besides the Necessities of the School, are hardly to be expected from these American Colonies, at a Time when Complaints of Debt and Want of Money are so loud and universal—And I make no doubt but Relief may be had if there were only one to make a suitable Representation of the Case at Home.

It is altogether uncertain how long it may be before the Design of which you judiciously write, be accomplished; and considering the present state of things, and the Greatness of the Undertaking, it will not be strange, if we meet with many Embarrassments to delay the accomplishment of it so long that this Cause must sink in Disgrace, and myself with it, if we wait for that without Endeavours for the Support of this till that may be done.

After you had declined going (as we heard) and Mr Jeffry Smith was out of the way, we could find none who appeared to us more likely to Serve the Design who could be prevailed upon to undertake it, than Mr. Whitaker. I am not insensible that he wants some desirable Qualifications, but he is endowed with others that are very good—and it is difficult to find a Man in whom they all meet.

Please Sir, to let Mr Broome and Mr Jackson (and any others you shall think fit) see what I have hinted, which is indeed very imperfect—And a full Representation of the case with the many important circumstances of it, is too lengthy to communicate, without a personal Interview.

Please to accept sincerest Respect & Esteem,  
from my dear Sir,

*Your much obliged Brother, and  
very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is evidently in reply to one from Rodgers, not preserved, protesting against the appointment of Whitaker to the English mission. It is an excellent example of Wheelock's diplomatic skill in handling a difficult situation. A portion of the money used in the Indian School had been subscribed in New York, and it was important for the interests of the institution that its friends in that region should not be unduly irritated.*

*Eleazar Wheelock's recommendation of  
Nathaniel Whitaker*

To The People of God in England Scotland & Ireland and all who desire the Advancement of the Kingdom of the great Redeemer, Wherever, the Bearer, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Nath<sup>l</sup>. Whitaker, Shall, by the Providence of God, have Opportunity to make known the important Errand on which he comes, I hope, Sufficiently recommended to Charitable Notice, and Respect.

Gentlemen and Christian Friends.

It is well known that there are yet remaining vast Numbers of aboriginal Natives in this Land; whose manner of living is Savage almost to the level with the brutal Creation; but fierce and terrible in War. Their Dwellings are eminently Habitations of Cruelty—they have continued from Age to Age, in the grossest Paganism and Idolatry—Strangers to all the Emoluments of Science—but Subtle and skillful in all the arts of Cruelty & Deceit—and on every Consideration their State is, perhaps the most wretched and piteous of all the humane Race—They have, from the first planting of these Colonies, been a Scourge and Terror to their English Neighbours—often ravaging and laying wast their Frontiers—butchering—torturing, and captivating their Sons—dashing their Children against the Stones—Skillfully devising, and proudly glorying in, all possible methods of Torture and Cruelty within their Power, &c.

And the Consideration, that their being civilized and taught the Knowledge of the only true God and Saviour, and so made good Members of Society, and peacible and quiet Neighbours (which cannot be Effected but by introducing the Gospel among them) is of such vast importance to the Crown of Great Britain, the Peace and Prosperity of our Land—and especially to their own good and Hapiness in Time and to Eternity; Moved me, about eleven years ago, to erect a Charity School in order for the Educating the most promising of their own Sons that might be obtained, with a view to their being employed as Missionaries & School Masters among their respective Tribes; together with a Number of English Youth, to be sent forth as Companions and Associates with them in the Same

**Business.** And the good Behaviour of the Boys which I have hitherto had in this School; and their Proficiency in Learning, has been Such, by the Blessing of God, upon Instruction and Discipline, that many Gentlemen of Character & Note both at Home, and abroad, have Seen fit to encourage the Design by such Liberalities as have Supported it hitherto without any Fund for that Purpose.

But the Necessary Expences for the Support of Such a Number as are now employed in the Wilderness at the Distance of three or four Hundred Miles, viz. three Missionaries, Eight school Masters, and two Interpreters, occasionally hired to that Service, and where they can have little or no Assistance towards their Support, from the Savages, among whom they live, Together with the Necessary Supplies for the School which now consists of Twenty; and others expected Soon, who are of Families of Importance in Tribes Still more remote, are greater than can be reasonably expected from these American Colonies, especially at a Time when complaints of Debt, and want of Money are So loud, and universal. But considering that this great undertaking looks with such a favourable and encouraging Aspect, and that a wider Door, than ever is now open for the Furtherance of it, by Sending Missionaries, and School Masters further among Tribes where none have heretofore been; I am not only necessitated but encouraged that to represent the Case, and employ my dear, & faithful Brother the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Whitaker, in my Stead to bespeak the charitable Assistance of the Friends of Zion abroad. And I am confident that numbers and all according to their Ability, who have at Heart, that which the Heart of the great Redeemer is infinitely Set upon, viz. the Inlargement of his Kingdom and the Salvation of the perishing Souls of Men, will be ready to consider of, and forward to assist, in this so interesting Affair, if they believe that I am not asking for myself, but am only begging an Alms for Christ, and in a case of no less necessity that that (if not the very Same) which he is pleased to represent, and express by his being an-hungred, and thirsty, and naked and sick, and in Prison, and that he will even in this Life bountifully requite those who contribute Supplies for these his necessities, and reward and honour them at

last with a come ye blessed of my Father inherit the Kingdom prepared for You.

And whatever any shall please to contribute for this Purpose, I shall receive as sacred to the Redeemers Cause, and shall improve it to the afores<sup>d</sup> uses according to my best Ability, and by the best Advices and I hope that all Friends, and Benefactors to this Design, will have Occasion for the most easie and comfortable Reflections, that their Charities were bestowed in the best manner for the Glory of God and the Good of men, for which Purpose I bespeak the Prayers of all who truly desire the Prosperity of Zion, and am

*Theirs most heartily in our common Lord*

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

*Dated at Lebanon in Connecticut November 15<sup>th</sup> 1765.*



*Eleazar Wheelock's recommendation of Occom<sup>1</sup>*

These may Certify all concern'd that the Bearer, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Sampson Occom of Mohegan, came to Live with me Soon after he emerged out of Gross Paganism and was a member of my family and under my Instruction for Several Years before he went to teach a School on Long Island, in which School he continued for Several Years. At the Same Time officiated as a publick Teacher of the Indian Tribe at Montauk in Which Exercise his chief Business was to translate the Holy Scripture and Explain the Great Doctrines of it to them, till he received Ordination by the Hands of the Presbytery of Suffolk County and Island,<sup>2</sup> Since which he has been employed in Several Missions to various Tribes of Indians, all which time I have kept up my Acquaintance with him, and in the whole course of his Life Since his first embracing Christianity he has so far as I know or have ever heard behaved himself becoming his Christian and ministerial Character. He appears to me, [and] so far as I know, to all who are acquainted with him, to be a very honest

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man really desirous to do good and be useful in the World. He has all his Days, since he left my home, laboured under great Disadvantage, and his Abilities have been very much Starved for want of a feasible Support for himself and Family. Notwithstanding which he appears to me to be well accomplished and particularly turned to teach and edify his Savage Brethren, and has had repeatedly Opportunity to give proof of his good understanding of human Nature, Skill and Prudence to enlight, correct and reclaim Such as have run into Errors, or been led away by Seducing Spirits. And by the best Judges he is said to be an Excellent Speaker in his own Language, his Influence is great among the Indians and if it Shall please God to Spare his Life, there is reason to hope he may be emently useful as a Missionary to the Indians. And as he is designed to accompany the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker to Europe to Solicit the Charities of God's people for the Support of the Indian School in my Hands & the Missionaries and School Masters we have sent forth, I do hereby heartily Recommend him (M<sup>r</sup> Occom) to the Kindness Charity and Respect of all Christian people wherever the Providence of God shall cast him, and give them an opportunity to express and him occasion to receive the Same, and especially do I recommend him to the Protection, care and Kindness of the Father of Mercies, in whatever Circumstances he may be.

Dated Nov<sup>r</sup>. 17, 1765.

Certified by Eleazar Wheelock Pastor of the 2<sup>d</sup> Ch<sup>b</sup> in Lebanon in the Colony of Connecticut, In N. England.

<sup>1</sup> *Wheelock's recommendation was the only credential carried by Occom. See page 24.*

<sup>2</sup> *The New York Correspondents of the Scotch Society recommended Occom's ordination in November, 1756, long after he had entered upon the work of preaching at Montauk. In July, 1757, he was examined by the Windham Association, which determined that it "would proceed to an ordination hereafter," an action regarded as the equivalent of a license to preach. It was thought best, however, to place the Indian under Presbyterian protection, in expectation of a mission (which proved to be abortive) to the Cherokees, under the auspices of that church. He was accordingly ordained at Easthampton on August 29, 1759, after examination by the Presbytery of Long Island.*

*Samson Occom's account of his early years*<sup>1</sup>

Since there is great miss Representation by Some Concerning my Life and Education; I take this opportunity to give the World in few Words, the true Account of my Education—I was Born a Heathen in Mmoyouheeunnuck alias Mohegan in N. London—North America. my Parents were altogether Heathens, and I was Educated by them in their Heathenish Notions, tho' there was a Sermon Preach'd to our Mohegan Tribe Some times, but our Indians regarded not the Christian Religion, they would persist in their Heathenish way, and my Parents in particular Were very Strong in the Customs of their fore Fathers, and they led a wandering Life up and down in the Wilderness, for my Father was a great Hunter, thus I liv'd with them, till I was Sixteen years old, and then there was a great Stir of Religion in these Parts of the World both amongst the Indians as Well as the English,<sup>2</sup> and about this Time I began to think about the Christian Religion, and was under great trouble of Mind for Some Time. I thought the Religion which I heard at this Time was a new thing among mankind, Such as they never heard the like before, so Ignorant was I—and when I was Seventeen years of Age I receiv'd a Hope, and as I began to think about Religion So I began to learn to read, tho' I went to no School, till I was in my nineteenth year, and then I went to the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks to learning, and Spent four years there, and was very weakly most of the Time; this is the true account of my Education,

SAMSON OCCOM

*Boston Nov<sup>r</sup>. 28, 1765.*

<sup>1</sup> *This letter was written to counteract misrepresentations concerning Occom, spread by certain members of the Boston Board: allegations also sent to the parent society in London in a letter about which much will be heard hereafter.*

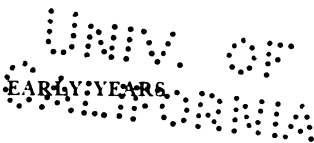
<sup>2</sup> *The Great Awakening. Rev. Gilbert Tennent visited New London in 1741, but the greatest excitement was aroused in that town somewhat later by the exhortations of Rev. James Davenport, the most unbalanced of the evangelists of his day.*

Since there is great misapprehension of some persons  
 concerning my life and Education; I have this opportunity to  
 inform the World in few words, the true account of my Educa-  
 tion - I was born a Heathen in Anogonick, a Creek  
 alias Mohogan in N. London, N. America, my Parents  
 were amongst the Heathens, and I was Educated by them in the  
 Heathenish Notions, but soon was a Roman Catholic, &  
 our Mohogan tribe some times, and our Indians regard not  
 the Christian Religion, but were great Enemies to the  
 same; and my Parents in particular were very fond of  
 the Customs of their fore Fathers, and they led a bounding  
 life up and down in the Wild Woods, for my Father was  
 a great Hunter, thus I lived with them, till I was sixteen  
 years old, and then there was a great Stir of Religion  
 in these Parts of the World both amongst the Indians  
 as well as the English, and about this time I began  
 to think about the Christian Religion, and was at a  
 great tumble of Mind for some Time, I thought the Religion  
 which I heard of at this Time was a new thing, a new man-  
 ner, such as they never heard the like before, it sounded  
 new to me - and when I was seventeen years of age I received  
 a Stroke, and as I began to think about Religion, I  
 began to learn to read, tho' I want to no School, till I  
 was in my nineteenth year, and then I went to the  
 Rev. Mr. Speelock's to schooling, and was four years  
 there, and has been freely assist of the same; this is  
 the true account of my Education.

Proton Nov 29 1766

Samuel Oconnor

OCCOM'S ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY YEARS.



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*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Boston Nov. 28. 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>.

What Shall I Say to you? Surely God hath gone before me. You know of the £10 Sterling from M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton<sup>1</sup> & y<sup>o</sup> £117 from D<sup>r</sup> Gifford & of the £60 at Portsmouth—I now tell you of £100 lawful<sup>2</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Phillips<sup>3</sup> of Exeter to be remitted in goods from M<sup>r</sup> Langdon<sup>4</sup> son in law to H. Sherborn Esq<sup>r</sup>.<sup>5</sup> I have collected as follows below. How great is God's goodness!

M <sup>rs</sup> Holms Boston	£ 1. -8.-0
James Clarkson, Portsm <sup>th</sup>	4 -16.-0
Col. D <sup>r</sup> Warner	2. -8.-0
Mrs. Rogers	2. -8.-0
Mrs. Treadwel	1. -8.-0
M <sup>r</sup> Treadwel Jun <sup>r</sup>	1. -8.-0
M <sup>r</sup> Treadwel	0.-12 -0
M <sup>r</sup> Little, Newbury	9.-12 -0
from private hands	3. -6.-0
Deacon Pickring, Salem	0.-12 -0
Private hands	1. -4.-0
Eliz. Burrage Lyn	0.-12 -0
Mrs. Martin	0. -6.-0
	-----
	30.00
M <sup>r</sup> Sherborn Esq <sup>r</sup> .	2 - 8
at Portsmouth	
	-----
	32- 8

The Governors have both Signed the Recommendation, & at Portsmouth the chief justice Secretary & most of the council have Signed it.<sup>6</sup> I purpose to wait on the Deputy Governor<sup>7</sup> here & on M<sup>r</sup> Oliver,<sup>8</sup> & the rest of y<sup>o</sup> council in town; & if they Sign it I will offer it to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pemberton,<sup>9</sup> Mahew<sup>10</sup> &c &c. & see if they dare refuse—We



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have had a long conference w<sup>th</sup> Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pemberton & Mahew, & they appear a good deal beat. M<sup>r</sup> Eells can inform you more particularly. Y<sup>e</sup> hon<sup>l</sup>. Mark Hunkin Wintworth Esq<sup>r</sup>.<sup>11</sup> of Portsmouth whose Son is now in England & is appointed Governor of N. Hampshire is very friendly, has wrote a letter to his Son (who does not return till Spring) to do me all the Service he can; & the Hon<sup>l</sup>. D<sup>l</sup>. Warner has wrote to the House of Trecothick & Thomlinsong a very kind letter.

I am disappointed of a passage here, but the Mast-Ship<sup>12</sup> sails from Portsmouth in about 10 or 12 days, a vessel of about 6 or 700. tons & I conclude to go in her & expect the company of the Deputy Governor of this Prov:—You will not my D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup> cease to pray for me—O that I may be wise to conduct well in all my ways—Give much love to M<sup>rs</sup> Wheelock <sup>13</sup> & Rodolphus & master<sup>14</sup> & all—May God be with, keep & help you—I am yours in the Strongest Bonds

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER.

N.B. M<sup>rs</sup> Pemberton of Roxb<sup>r</sup>. hath given to M<sup>r</sup> Eells 3 johans<sup>15</sup> which with M<sup>r</sup> Pembertons M<sup>r</sup> Eells will bring to you. What I have collected I shall keep to pay my passage, & if I have too much I will order it to M<sup>r</sup> Peck.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Pemberton, of Roxbury.

<sup>2</sup> As a result of unregulated emissions of paper money, in the early days the currency of the New England colonies was subject to great depreciation. By 1757 a measure of stability had been secured in Connecticut and Massachusetts, the value of the pound "lawful money" being fixed at the equivalent of \$3.33.

<sup>3</sup> John Phillips, 1719-1795, Harvard, 1735, merchant, of Exeter, N. H., principal benefactor of Phillips-Andover Academy, founder of Phillips-Exeter Academy, Trustee of Dartmouth College, 1773-1793. From this time on his gifts to Wheelock's educational enterprises were constant and generous, and he became the most important benefactor of Dartmouth College in its early years.

<sup>4</sup> Woodbury Langdon, 1739-1805, merchant, member of Congress, judge of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Sherburne, Esq., 1709-1767, Harvard 1728, Councillor and justice of the Court of Common Pleas of New Hampshire.

<sup>6</sup> Benning Wentworth, Governor of New Hampshire; Francis Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts; Theodore Atkinson, Chief Justice of New Hampshire; Theodore Atkinson, Jr., Secretary of New Hampshire. The recommendation was also signed by General Gage, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in North America, Governors Franklin of New Jersey and Fitch of Connecticut, Lieutenant-Governors Penn of

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*Pennsylvania and Colden of New York, the Chief Justices of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the President of New Jersey College and fifty-six other gentlemen of repute in the colonies, twenty-one of whom were ministers, including Samuel Seabury, first bishop in America, and two other clergymen of the Church of England.*

<sup>1</sup> *Thomas Hutchinson, 1711-1780, Harvard 1727, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts 1758-1771, Governor 1771-1774.*

<sup>2</sup> *Andrew Oliver, 1706-1774, Harvard 1724. As secretary of the Province (1756-1770) and also secretary of the Boston Board he had to do with both the grants received by Wheelock from Boston. As distributor of stamps under the Stamp Act he was harshly treated by the Boston mob. Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, 1770-1774.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, 1704-1777, Harvard 1721, minister of the Presbyterian Church of New York 1727-1753, of the New Brick Church of Boston, 1754-1777. While in New York he was president of the New York Correspondents of the Scotch Society.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, 1720-1766, Harvard 1744, minister of the West Church of Boston, 1747-1766. Pemberton and Mayhew were the most influential members of the Boston Board, the recommendation of which was keenly but vainly desired by Wheelock and Whitaker.*

<sup>5</sup> *Mark Hunking Wentworth, 1709-1785, brother of Gov. Benning Wentworth, one of the wealthiest merchants in New England.*

<sup>6</sup> *The British relied upon America for a supply of masts for their navy. In grants of land in the new country, pine trees suitable for such use were generally reserved to the crown. Ships for carrying such timber were sent out at frequent intervals, many of them from Portsmouth. Whitaker and Occom did not sail in this ship, however.*

<sup>7</sup> *As his second wife, Wheelock married in 1747 Mary Brinsmead of Milford, Connecticut. She died in Hanover in 1783.*

<sup>8</sup> *Probably John Wheelock, subsequently second President of Dartmouth College, then eleven years of age.*

<sup>9</sup> *A Portuguese gold coin, extensively circulated in America, valued at about \$8.00.*



### *Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Boston Dec. 3. 1765*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

I have but a mom<sup>t</sup>. to write—you have made a mistake in the 17th page of your narrat. at the top—there came down with Kirtland the chief Sachem, his wife & 3 children & ten others consisting of men, women & children, Sic dicit Occom.<sup>1</sup> We have thot's of printing a few lines to State the matter right, but Shall not without ad-

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vice—M<sup>r</sup> Gary of your place will bring you £100 lawful arising from the Sail of the Bill—You must write & have attested by Some of the boards the true State of the affair respecting the application of y<sup>e</sup> Ind<sup>na</sup> last march & of our Sending M<sup>r</sup> Smith & of the London Board's Sending M<sup>r</sup> Mosley.<sup>2</sup> Set this in a perfectly true light, let it cut where it will—I shall, it may be need it in E——d. I waited on his hon<sup>r</sup>. Hutchenson, he could not without consent of Secretary &c. &c. I waited on Secretary, he could not without y<sup>e</sup> board, & he Saw M<sup>r</sup> Hubbard, & he said it was a bad Scheem, & y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> money in E——d wo'd not be Sufficient to execute your Scheem—So I have done fare-well to these gentlemen—You may depend they will write after me—but God holds y<sup>m</sup> in chains—M<sup>r</sup> Occom fears least S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson will be disoblighd by y<sup>r</sup> mistake—I am not fully fixt whether to Sail from here or Portsmouth—I hope to decide this within an hour—it may yet be ten day before we Sail—I shall have oppertunity to write hereafter by M<sup>r</sup> Gary—M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well & so are friends. M<sup>r</sup> Peck can't write now. All send arms full of Love to you & all and O pray for us—peace be with you I am your

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*N.B.* M<sup>r</sup> Occom Says y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>m</sup> he was in N. York last fall he saw the religious belt of Wampom<sup>3</sup> Sent by him to new york when he returned from his miss<sup>n</sup> among the Oneidas, which belt was to be Sent to Scotland, he says it was then in Judge W<sup>m</sup> Smiths [possession] this would be of great use to us as M<sup>r</sup> Occom remembers the Speech, pray procure it & send it to us in all haste

<sup>1</sup> *The erroneous statement in the Narrative is that Kirkland, on a journey for supplies, brought with him to the Mohawk River thirteen Seneca boys, twelve of whom became ill of dysentery and four of whom died.*

<sup>2</sup> *For a time the Boston Board had maintained a mission at the Mohawk village of Onohoquaga, on the Susquehanna River, but for some years that field had been abandoned. A representative of the tribe had visited Wheelock in March, 1765, with the request that he supply the vacant place: a request with which he complied by sending Titus Smith as missionary and an Indian boy, Jacob Woolley, as schoolmaster. Whereupon the Boston Board bestirred itself with unwonted energy, sending Mr. Moseley to the field which Wheelock had already occupied.*

<sup>3</sup> *The ceremonial presentation of a wampum belt was an essential feature of all business dealings in Indian councils.*

*Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock**Boston Dec<sup>r</sup>. 6, 1765.*REV<sup>d</sup>. AND HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR

We are yet in Boston and M<sup>r</sup> Whetaker has concluded to Sail from here with Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marshall, the Same Ship that M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston went Home in, and we expect to sail next Wednesday or thirsday,—the People here Are very kind they begun to make Preparations for our Voyge, and I don't doubt, but they will get Provision Enough—The Honrable Commiss<sup>ry</sup> here are Still very Strong in their opposition to your Scheem, they think it is nothing but a Shame to Send me over the great Water, they Say it is to Impose upon the good People, they further afirm, I was bro't up Regularly and a Christian all my Days, Some say, I cant Talk Indian, orthers Say I cant read—In short I believe the old Devil is in Boston to oppose our Design, but I am in hopes, he is almost Super-anuated or in a Delireum—but I dont think he is Worth a Minding—I hope the Lord of Heaven will be within and Assist us in his own Cause, and in his Great Name and by your Prayers We Shall overcom—O that God wou'd give us grace and Wisdom to conduct aright before him and before all men,—I have a Struggle in my Mind At times, knowing not where I am going, I dont know but I am Looking for a Spot of ground where my Bones must be Buried, and never to see my Poor Family again, but I verely believe I am called of God by Strange Providence and that is Enough, he will take Care of me if I do but put my whole trust in him and he will Provide for mine.<sup>2</sup> I want nothing but the Will of God, to be Wholly Swallowed up in it—I am very Sorry to See a mistake in your last Narative—it was the Chief Sachem his wife and 3 of their Children and ten or 11 others, came Down with M<sup>r</sup> Kirkland, and it was the Sachem's wife, 2 of his Children and one more Died, while they were down. I was at the Burying of the Sachems wife, and the Nex Day Sir William Condoled the Death of the Queen in a Solemn Manner, according to the Indian Custom and when the Solemnity was over, Sir W<sup>m</sup> reintrroduc'd M<sup>r</sup> Kirkland to the Sachem's Favour, & he Promised for

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himself and for his People, to be kind to him—I am afraid Sir W<sup>m</sup>. will be displeas'd and may make a handle of that mistake against the Cause—I am glad to See M<sup>r</sup> Chamberlain So Zealous but am Sorry to See his Zeal little too warm, I hope and pray that it may Cool a little but not too Cold. M<sup>r</sup> Chamberlain won't be displeas'd with a Brotherly Freedom, he has the Same liberty, he may use it at any oca<sup>n</sup>—Sir pray for us, and in particular for me, and I beg the Prayers of your good People—Sincer Duty to you & to your Spouse, and Sutable regards to the rest.

*Your very humble Ser<sup>nt</sup>*

SAMSON OCCOM

<sup>1</sup> *Under the circumstances, the opposition of the Boston Commissioners seems somewhat excessive. It will constitute much of the material for discussion in the letters which follow.*

<sup>2</sup> *The homesickness of Oocom, still at the very beginning of his journey, is easy to understand. Despite the warmth of his reception in England and the success of his mission, at times it welled up again during his stay and is reflected in those letters from him (far too infrequent for our satisfaction) which have been preserved.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Boston Dec: 6. 1765*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>

As I was at M<sup>r</sup> Nath<sup>l</sup> Holms's<sup>1</sup> last Wednesday She put three Packets into my hands which she told me went in Cap<sup>t</sup>. Athelony last Spring & which he bro't back as he went only to the West Indies where his wife died w<sup>ch</sup> was the cause of his return. I Suspected at first y<sup>t</sup> they came from some in this town, but on examination I found that they were y<sup>o</sup> letters you Sent last Spring containing the doings of y<sup>o</sup> board y<sup>o</sup> 12 of march, & M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands letters as I Supposed, & another single letter which appeared to be wrote by y<sup>o</sup> same hand to the Society in Edenburgh in which I could not See your name without breaking. The first is directed to M<sup>r</sup> Alex<sup>dr</sup> Stevenson

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Clerk of the hon<sup>l</sup> Society in Scotland. The 2<sup>d</sup> is To the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> John Erskine contain, as I Suppose, M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands abstracts—So you may see why we have no acc<sup>ts</sup> from Scotland.<sup>2</sup> It may be God designs all for the best as the novelty will be more Striking than if known before. I expect to Sail Tuesday or Wednesday next at farthess, the weather allowing—O pray for me my dear B<sup>r</sup>. May God be with your Spirit—kind love to all. I am in haste your B<sup>r</sup>

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER.

M<sup>r</sup> Occom is in health & I hope will be a comfortable companion.

<sup>1</sup> *Nathaniel Holmes, 1703-1774, a wealthy merchant and distiller, residing on Middle (now Hanover) Street, Boston.*

<sup>2</sup> *A vivid illustration of the uncertainty of correspondence in the Eighteenth Century.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Boston Dec. 18, 1765.*

MY REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR BROTHER

You will doubtless wonder at the Date of this Letter when you find I am Still in Boston. But he that rules all things hath So ordered it. I have been assured by Cap<sup>t</sup>. & owner too that next week, & next week the Ship Should Sail, but one thing & another has prevented, & chiefly, I believe, because the Custom house was not open for clearances, w<sup>h</sup> yesterday was opened, but not on Stamps

We have had a pleasant & odd farce here yesterday Night before last, notes were Set up about town requiring M<sup>r</sup> Oliver to appear at y<sup>e</sup> tree of Liberty in order publickly to renounce his Commission of Stamp Master, which he had rec<sup>d</sup>. Since the former mob; on this the Secretary Sent to the majestrates & principle merchants to waite on him & protect him from insult; accordingly they went yesterday in the rain to a certain house, where Governor Mackentash appointed, & there M<sup>r</sup> Oliver renounced his commiss<sup>n</sup> before the Majestrates & Merch<sup>ts</sup>. to their Satisfaction, judging that his honour was

Sufficient to Satisfy the world that he would not act—whereon the writing in which he renounced his commission was Sent into another room to be approved by Gov<sup>r</sup>. Mackentash; & he saw fit to declare it would not do unless he would walk to the tree of Liberty & Sware to it under S<sup>d</sup> tree before the people & his Sovereign Mandate was immediate obeyed, & the Secretary, Majestrates & Merch<sup>ts</sup>. walked in the Storm of rain near half a mile in obedience to his Excellency's Com<sup>d</sup>.—So things seem to be quiet<sup>1</sup>—Cap<sup>t</sup>. Scot came in 7 weeks from London last Sab: brings no letters from M<sup>r</sup> Smith who wrote & Sent by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Bruce a few days before. He tells me that it Seems to be the general talk of gentlemen at home, that it will never do to put the Stamp Act into execution. If the weather favours we Shall Sail tomorrow or Saturday—One M<sup>r</sup> John Williams<sup>2</sup> of this town goes with us. He is going home to Seek the Superintendency of Indian affairs in Canady, & tis likely he will obtain it, & if he does he Says he will give 5 or 600 per An: to your design. He is a lover of good things & a generous gentleman, I wish we may help him in this affair—I can't but think he may be a great blessing—his wife is a pious woman; & I hope he is not void of religion—

What the design of providence is in detaining us here I can't tell, but I believe & trust that all is for the best—M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well, & I am hitherto much pleased with his conduct, he behaves with great modesty & caution—he is not invited to preach by any minister in town except M<sup>r</sup> Morehead<sup>3</sup> but he does not resent it—I have preached 5 or 6 evenings every week or thereabouts, Since I have been here, & never saw people more attentive & ready to crowd together, except in times of awakening—I have not preached in publick on a week day except the thursday lecture last week—

I hope you will endeavor to bare me on your heart every day—The Eyes of all y<sup>e</sup> continent almost are on me; & if I should miscarry, what a wound would it give to religion & to the Cause I am on—O pray for me every day—& for my family & people—M<sup>r</sup> Peck & wife Send love to their Son<sup>4</sup> & to you all, & M<sup>r</sup> Occom too—& how much, I can't tell you, is Sent you all from your brother in the best bonds.

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER.

*N.B.* Yesterday M<sup>r</sup> Peck rec<sup>d</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Little 17 Pair of Shoes & a bundle of Striped cloth &c in a bag which he will Send to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker the first opportunity, they were given last Spring by that people for your School—

<sup>1</sup> *The most serious of the Stamp Act riots occurred on August 26, when the house of Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson was sacked. Andrew Oliver was compelled to resign his position as stamp distributor on August 15. The Act went into effect on November 1. Rumor that Oliver was about to resume his duties precipitated the disturbance described in this letter. One of the leaders of the mob of August 26 was Peter Mackintosh, described as a shoemaker. He had been arrested, but released almost immediately, as the leading citizens of the city refused to be responsible for the preservation of order if he remained in custody. Now, with the honorary or self-assumed title of "governor," he was evidently the center of a further demonstration.*

<sup>2</sup> *Possibly this refers to the John Williams who was Inspector General of customs in 1775 and was placed in the list of the loyalists in Boston during the Revolution.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rev. John Morehead, minister of the Federal Street (Presbyterian) Church from 1730 to his death in 1773.*

<sup>4</sup> *In addition to his other educational enterprises, Wheelock received paying students who were preparing for college. Moses Peck's son Elijah was one of these boys.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Boston Dec. 21, 1765.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & VERY D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

I wrote you a few days ago, via M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker. Have little new to inform you of—am ordered on board Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marshal this Day at 11. o'clock in order to Sail<sup>1</sup>—O that God may go with us—You will not forgit to pray for me—& for M<sup>r</sup> Occom & the cause we are on—God knows for w<sup>t</sup> end we have been detained here—I have preached about once a day Since I have been from home, i. e. about 30 Sermons,<sup>2</sup> & I can't but hope y<sup>t</sup> God hath been with me & made the word of real advantage to numbers of Gods people—The ministers here seem fond of my preaching for them, except C. & M. & B.<sup>3</sup> But they will not be friendly to the cause as they Should be yet they will pray for me & the design too—O the fear of man! how it brings a Snare! None have invited M<sup>r</sup> Occom to preach except M<sup>r</sup> More-



head—but he bears it well & conducts with great modesty, & Seems intirely to be at my beck—I went to Salem on thanksgivin & preached y<sup>o</sup> evening before in M<sup>r</sup> Huntingtons House<sup>4</sup> the first evening lecture that hath been preached there these 15 years, & the next evening I preached again—I hope it will do good. I have money enough to pay our passage, & provisions are procured. You know of the £100 lawful given in goods by M<sup>r</sup> Phillips of Exeter. As the office is now open, probably they will come from Portsmouth Soon—You will be so good as to visit M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker when you can, &c—

O pray for us—You should send an attestation of M<sup>r</sup> Occom's being a heathen &c of which I wrote you before for there may be pressing need of it. You will also forward a recommendation to the Classis of Amsterdam & all others w<sup>ch</sup> you think needful. I feel contented, & hope God will keep me so—Love to M<sup>rs</sup> Wheelock, children—M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop & all friends. All the happiness of a life Spent for God, & of daily communion with him, & of every earthly & heavenly Good for you is included in the prayer & wish of him who is, very dear B<sup>r</sup>. yours in our unfailing Imanuel

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER

M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Peck send love to their Son & to you all

<sup>1</sup> *As a result of the going into effect of the Stamp Act on November 1 and of the impossibility of obtaining stamped paper on account of the opposition of the populace to its distribution, all courts and custom houses in New England were, for a time, closed. The delay which Whitaker and Occom experienced was due to the impossibility of securing clearance papers, owing to the fact that stamped paper was not available. Concerning the departure of this very ship, John Hancock, one of its owners, wrote that the Boston Packet, with oil, John Marshall, Commander, had finally been cleared, "The officers certifying that no stamps are to be had, which is actually the case." In general, custom houses throughout the colonies were eventually opened and ships cleared with such certifications.*

<sup>2</sup> *The eagerness of colonial New England to listen to sermons seems only matched by the readiness of the ministers to supply them.*

<sup>3</sup> *Certainly Rev. Charles Chauncy, minister of the First Church, 1727-1787, and Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, minister of the West Church, 1747-1766. Probably Rev. Mather Byles, minister of the Hollis Street Church, 1732-1776.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Third Church of Salem. Upon his return from England in 1769 Whitaker became pastor of this church, which, upon his accession, assumed the Presbyterian form. His pastorate, marred by constant friction, terminated in 1784.*

*Occom's Diary**Mohegan, Nov. 21, 1765.*

The Honorable Commissioners In Connecticut New England for propagating Christian Knowledge & Literature among the Indians, having Maturely Consulted the Expediency of Sending Some fit Person to Europe to Solicet Assistance from god's People at Home in this Heavy and good Work and appointed the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Nathaniel Whitaker to go—and thought it good to Send me to accompany him—and Accordingly, not Doubting the Call of god, and my Duty to go, on Thirsday the 21 of Nov<sup>r</sup> as above; in obediance to the Strange Call of Providence, having Committed my Self Family and Friends to the Care of Almighty God, took Lieve of them about 11. A. M: and went on my Journey towards Boston in order to take a Voige from thence to Europe—

*Saturday Nov<sup>r</sup> 23* ariv'd at Boston about 3 in the afternoon, and put up at M<sup>r</sup> Moses Pecks and was very kindly receiv'd by him—on Wednesday following M<sup>r</sup> Whetaker with whome I was to travel return'd to Boston from Portsmouth, met with good incouragement by Friends Eastward, he Brought with him, almost Enough for our Pasage.—Here we stay in Boston near 5 Weeks,—Friends in this place to the affair we are upon appear as near and Sincere as ever and increase Daily—The Adversaries Stand at a Distance Like Shemei. But they don't Speak a Loud as they did, they now Contrive their Projects in Secret, and it is Supposed they are preparing Whips for us (Letters) to Send to Europe by the Same Ship, we are to go in—

*Monday Dec<sup>r</sup>. 23* about 9 in the Morning went a Board in Boston Packet Ship, John Marshall Cap<sup>t</sup>, and at 9 and half we Spread Sail to Wind—Trusting in y<sup>e</sup> Living god—there was four Pasangers of us, M<sup>r</sup> John Williams and M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bromfield<sup>1</sup> of Boston, M<sup>r</sup> Whetaker and I—We had very agreeable Company. The Worship of god was Caried on Daily, and had a Sermon every Sabbath, the goodness of god is very great to us. We had favourable Winds except 3 short Spells of hard Gail, we lay tow, and When we got Within 200

Leagues of Lands End, Moderate Easterly Winds met us, And stopt us 20 days and remarkable Warm Weather we had most of the Time—and then we had Some favourable winds,—and Sabbath the 2<sup>d</sup> day of Fevruary, 1766, about 10 in the morning, We discover'd the land of England,—and the Wind headed us again, and the next Day which was y<sup>e</sup> 3 of Fevb<sup>r</sup> We went a Shore on great Briton, in a Fish Boat, and Land at a Place Call'd Bricksham<sup>2</sup> on Tor Bay 200 Miles from Lond—Just after Sun Set, and [lodged] at one Widow Womans House—Blessed by thiy great Name o god for thy goodness to us over the Water, and hast Brought us upon the Land, Lord wright a Law of thankfulness in our Hearts, and preserve me on the Land as thou hast done on the Seas, and deliver me from all Evil, especially from the Evil of Sin—

*Febv<sup>r</sup> 4*—Went on our Journey Early in the Morning on Horse Back, got to Exon about 4 pm. 30M from Bricksham—We Were Call'd up half after 10 in the Night, & Went off in a Coach of Six Horses at 11, from Exon prety Large City and reach'd to a City Call'd Salisbury about 10 in the evening. We went a 100 miles this Day But We had very Cold Day—Thanks be to god for his goodness to us heatherto—

*Thursday Fe<sup>r</sup> 6* We were Call'd up again Just before 2 and at 2 in the Morning We Went on our Journey—and by the goodness of God, we arriv'd to London about 7 in the Evening, and we Call'd upon M<sup>r</sup> Debert, and were Kindly receiv'd, and Lodg'd there, in y<sup>e</sup> Morning M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston Came to See us, and Conducted us to M<sup>r</sup> Whitfields, and Were Extremely Well receiv'd by him, O how marvillous is gods goodness to us thus far—M<sup>r</sup> Whitfield & other Friends here advis'd not to be open as yet—We rode with M<sup>r</sup> Whitfield in his Chaise to a good Friends, and din'd there but We Were Private about it. Lodg'd at M<sup>r</sup> Whitefields—

*Saturday, Febrv<sup>r</sup> 8:* Was at M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's Conceil'd—and on *Sabbath 9th Febr<sup>r</sup>* was Still Conceil'd. *Monday, Febrv<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup>* M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield took M<sup>r</sup> Whetaker and I in his Coach and Introduc'd us to my Lord Dartmouth,<sup>3</sup> and appear'd like a Worthy Lord indeed.

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Says he is a Christian Lord and an unCommon one—after We Pay'd our Compliments to my Lord—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Caried us to my Lady Hotham's,<sup>4</sup> and She receiv'd us with all Kindness. She is an aged Woman, and a Mother in Israel, and We rode about Both in the City and out, the Land about the City & in the Country is like one Continued Garden. Last Sabbath Evening walk'd with M<sup>r</sup> Wright to Cary a letter to my Lord Dartmouth and Saw Such Confusion as I never Dreamt of—there was Some at Churches, Singing & Preaching, in the Streets some Cursing Swaring & Damning one another, others was hollowing, Whestling, talking gigling, & Laughing, & Coaches and footmen passing and repassing, Crossing and Cross-Crossing, and the poor Begars Praying, Crying, and Beging upon their kness,—*Tuesday* Din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Savage, and in the even'g M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield and his people had Love Feast at the Chappel. M<sup>r</sup> Whetaker and I Join'd with them. *Wednesday Feb<sup>r</sup> 12* rode out again. *Thursday Feb<sup>r</sup> 13* M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Caried us to the Parlament House—there we Saw many Curiosities, from thence went over Westminster Bridge a Cross the River Thames made all of Stone—thence went to Greenwich, and had a glance of Hospital there. But a Tedious Cold rainy Day it was,—We were Introduc'd by M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield to M<sup>r</sup> Faudagel a Quaker—Got home again in the Evening—*Fryday Feb<sup>r</sup> 14*—Early in the morning M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Caried us to M<sup>r</sup> Romains<sup>5</sup> and Introduc'd us to him and to M<sup>r</sup> Madin<sup>6</sup> (Maden) and to M<sup>r</sup> Singenhagan and old Apostolec German Minister,—and return'd Home again—

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield *takes unwearied* Pains to Introduce us to the *religious Nobility* and others, and to the best of men in the City of London—Yea he is a tender father to us, he provids everything for us, he has got House for us—y<sup>e</sup> Lord reward him a thousand and Thousand fold—He is indeed a father in God, he has made him a Spiritual Father to thousands and thousands, and god has made him a Temporal father to the poor—His House is Surrounded With the poor, the Blind, the Lame, the Halt and the mamed, the Widow, & the Fatherless, from Day to Day, God Continue his useful Life.

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*Sabbath Feb<sup>r</sup> 16*, I Preach'd in *M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's Tabernacle*<sup>7</sup> to a great Multitude of People; I felt [blank in Mss] *Monday Feb<sup>r</sup> 17*—*M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield* presented us to *D<sup>r</sup> Gifford* a famous Baptist Minister, and were receiv'd Extreamly Well—and Dined with him——*Tuesday* we Stay'd Home—*Wednesday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 19* we were Conducted to See the Kings Horses, Carriages and Horsemen &c—and then went to the Pt. House and went in the Robing Room and saw the Crown first, and saw the King, had y<sup>e</sup> Pleasure of Seeing him put on his Royal Robes and Crown.—He is quite a Comly man—his Crown is Richly adorn'd with Diamonds, How grand and Dazling is it to our Eye,—if an Earthly Crown is So grand—How great and glorious must the Crown of the glorious Redeemer be, at the right hand of the majesty on High—tho' he was once Crown'd with Thorns—The Atendence of King george is Very Surprizing, as he went to the House of Parliament he & his glorious Coach was atended with footman Just before and behind them all round, and the Horseman Just behind and before the footmen, and the Bells & all Sorts of Musickal Instruments Playing, and the Cannon Firing, and Multitudes of all Sorts of People Throning all Round—if an Earth King With his attend<sup>e</sup> is So great. How grand, how Dreadful and glorious must the appearing of the Son of god be—When he Shall Desend from Heaven, to Judge the World, He will Desend with Cherubem and Serephems, with Angels and Archangels and with Sound of the Trumpet and with great Power and glory,—with Thunder & Lighteng,—and the Family of Heaven, and Earth, and Hell Shall appear before him, and the Eliments Shall melt with fervent Heat—Lord Jesus prepare me for thy Second Coming—

We went Emediately from Seing The King, to Dine with a Nobleman My Lord DartMouth, a most religious Noble-man and his Lady also, the most Singular Cupple<sup>s</sup> amongst Nobility in London—This Day also went to Westminster Abey, and had a fuler Vew of the Moniments—saw Bedlem also—in the Evening we return'd again to *M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's*—

*Thursday, Feb<sup>r</sup>. 20*—This is the Queen Chalottes Birth-Day, was Conducted to St. James's where the Royal Family and the Nobil-

ity were to be together to keep a Joyful Day—but we were too late, however we Saw some of the Nobility in their Shining Robes and a throng of People all around,—the Sight of the Nobility put me in mind of Dives and the Rich Gluton, and the poor reminded me of Lazarus—What great Difference there is Between the Rich and the Poor—and What Diference there is and will be, Between God's poor and the Devil's Rich, &c—

o Lord God Amighty let not my Eyes be Dazled with the glittering Toys of this World, but let me be fixt and my Soul Long after Jx<sup>9</sup> Who is the only Pearl of great Price—This evening Went into our House which M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Provided for us and all the Furni- ture also—and a Made to Wait on us—Blessed be god, that he has Sent his Dear Servant before us—

*Fryday Feb<sup>r</sup> 21:* was Conducted to the Tower, saw the Kings Lions Tiggers Wolf and Leopards &c—Saw the Kings Guns and the Muniments of antient Kings on Horse Back and their Soldiers on foot with their Antient Armour of Brass and Tin—Din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Keen,<sup>10</sup> and then went to a funeral, M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield gave an Exhorta- tion to the People and then Pray'd—

*Saturday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 22*—went to see Doc<sup>r</sup> Burton,<sup>11</sup> a Minister of the Church of England, was Introduc'd by M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston, and the Doc<sup>r</sup> Was Very Kind, he wou'd have feign persuaded me to Holier Orders and I modestly told him, I had no Such vew when I came from Home, and added, I had been Ordained Six Years in a Dissenting Way.—This after-noon M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & I went to wait upon Doc<sup>r</sup> Chandler,<sup>12</sup> an old Disenting Minister, found him Very Careful in his own way. Gave us Advice not to own M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield a Friend either to Disenters, or to the old Standards of the Church of England<sup>13</sup>—Promis'd his Countenance to the Affair we are upon—

*Sabbath, Feb<sup>r</sup> 23*—in the morn'g I heard M<sup>r</sup> Davis<sup>14</sup> in the Tab- ernacle, in the afternoon I heard D<sup>r</sup> Gifford, in the Evening I Preach'd at D<sup>r</sup> Giffords—and Lodg'd at his H. this Night—

*Monday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 24*—Went home Early in the morning—*Tuesday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 25*—Din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Savage—*Wednesday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 26*—this afternoon

went to See D<sup>r</sup> Gibbons,<sup>15</sup> an Independent Minister, receiv'd us kindly, and promised to assist us according to his Influence, in our Great Business.

*Thursday, Feb<sup>r</sup> 27.* Preach'd at Doc<sup>r</sup> Conder's Meeting House, Went from the meeting to Sup with M<sup>r</sup> Randal,<sup>16</sup>—I have kept House now above a Week by reason of a Cold I have.—

<sup>1</sup> *One Thomas Bromfield, 1733-1816, of Boston ancestry, was a London merchant. Another is recorded as a bookseller on King Street, Boston, from 1762 to 1764. Which, if either, of these two persons was Occom's companion cannot be learned.*

<sup>2</sup> *A fishing village on Tor Bay, six miles south of Torquay and four miles from Dartmouth. William III landed here on his invasion of England in 1688.*

<sup>3</sup> *William Legge, second Earl of Dartmouth, 1731-1801. President of the Board of Trade, 1765-1766, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1772-1775, Lord Privy Seal, 1775-1782, Lord Stewart of the Household, 1783, High Stewart of the University of Oxford, Governor of the Charter House, President of the Lock Hospital and the London Dispensary, Vice-President of the Foundling and Lying-In Hospital, Recorder of Litchfield, Fellow of the Royal Society, Doctor of Laws. At his death his estate was reckoned to have an annual value of £14,000. He was a devoted follower of Whitefield. In 1755 he married Catherine, daughter of Sir Charles Gunster Nicholl. His contribution to the present fund was £50.*

<sup>4</sup> *Lady Gertrude Hotham, mother of Sir Charles Hotham, an intimate friend of the Countess of Huntingdon and a patron of Whitefield. She died in 1767.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. William Romaine, 1714-1795, a follower of Whitefield who (as did many others) retained his connection with the Church of England. At various times he was lecturer at St. George's, Botolph Lane, St. Dunstan's in the West, and St. George's, Hanover Square. In these parishes his methodistical views caused much dissention. In 1764, by vote of the members of the parish, he became rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, a living at the disposal of the parishoners, where he preached with great success for the remaining years of his life. The collection for the Indian School in his congregation amounted to £107.13.3.*

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. Martin Madin, 1726-1790, trained as a lawyer, converted through the influence of John Wesley, received orders of the Church of England through the influence of Lady Huntingdon, who remained his patron. Minister of the chapel of the Lock Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, 1750-1780, also served as an itinerant preacher. In 1780 he published a book called THALYPTHORA, in which he advocated the practice of polygamy, an action which lost him the support of the Methodist connection. A man of independent means. He subscribed £5 to the fund.*

<sup>7</sup> *Whitefield's Tabernacle, originally a wooden building, was erected in 1741 in Moorfields, near Wesley's Foundry. It was replaced by a brick building on the same site in 1753. Whitefield's Chapel, on Tottenham Court Road, was built in 1756.*

<sup>8</sup> *Not on account of personal eccentricities, but because of their pious dispositions.*

<sup>9</sup> *Common in the clerical shorthand of the day to indicate Jesus Christ.*

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

\* Robert Keen is described as a resident of the parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate, and as a woolen draper doing business in the Minories. He was a devoted follower of Whitefield; he became secretary of the English Trust and, as such, a constant correspondent of Wheelock. He was also manager of Whitefield's Chapel and one of the executors of the evangelist. After the death of the latter, he and Daniel West carried on the Tabernacle. He died in 1793 and is buried in the Tabernacle.

<sup>11</sup> Possibly Dr. John Burton, 1696-1771, fellow of Corpus Christi, at this time rector of Worpleston, in Surrey. He was active in the promotion of the colony of Georgia, and a voluminous writer on theological topics.

<sup>12</sup> Dr. Samuel Chandler, 1693-1766, Presbyterian minister, pastor of the Old Jewry, 1726-1766, and a theological writer of repute. He was under some suspicion of deviating in his theology from strict Calvinistic orthodoxy.

<sup>13</sup> The ill feeling between the various types of dissenters is illustrated by this passage. Nor was all harmony in the ranks of those commonly classed as Methodists. The thoroughly Calvinistic position of Whitefield was abhorrent to Wesley, who stressed justification by faith. The two men, although retaining their personal friendship, had little to do with one another during the latter part of their lives. It should be remembered, also, that the Methodist leaders designed no separation from the Church of England, but strove to reform that organization from within. Many of the prominent Methodists, such as Lord Dartmouth, John Thornton, Lady Huntingdon and Whitefield, himself, remained members of the established church. That a separation actually came about was due to the action of the latter body rather than to the Methodist group. In the ranks of the Methodists themselves separation soon took place; the followers of Wesley becoming Wesleyan Methodists, while those of Whitefield became in Wales the Calvinistic Methodists and in England members of the sect known as Lady Huntingdon's Connexion.

<sup>14</sup> Possibly Rev. Howell Davies, a prominent Welch Methodist, at this time preaching in Bristol.

<sup>15</sup> Dr. Thomas Gibbons, 1720-1785, minister of the Independent (Congregational) congregation meeting at Haberdasher's Hall, tutor and head of the dissenting Mile End Academy. He subscribed two guineas.

<sup>16</sup> Matthew Randall is recorded as having subscribed five guineas.



*Nathaniel Eells to Nathaniel Whitaker in London*<sup>1</sup>

*Stonington Jan<sup>r</sup> 16, 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR SIR

The Tuesday after I parted from you at Boston, I visited M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker, gave her your present, found and left her (after answering abundance of Questions relative to your Voyage) very comfort-



able and pleasant: Proceeded to Bro<sup>r</sup> Whelock's, who was much refreshed with your Letters, and the account I gave him of our Journey. M<sup>r</sup> Snow's people<sup>2</sup> collected 5£ lawfull w<sup>ch</sup> I brôt with me. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock and I concluded it best, that he should take your good Friend M<sup>r</sup> Tiffany<sup>3</sup> into his employ, and judge it will be most for the advantage of the School &c to remit most of your Collections to M<sup>r</sup> J. Lathrop in the manner proposed before your Departure, and the earlier in the Spring some Remittance cou'd be made, the better, for out of that we can and must raise supplies for our Missionaries, School Masters, Collegians and the School: English Manufactures are now and like to be very scarce in the Colony.<sup>4</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Occum's Horse and things I left with M<sup>r</sup> Cris<sup>t</sup>. Leffingwell,<sup>5</sup> who promised to send them along forthwith. Your people have had M<sup>r</sup> Wales<sup>6</sup> preaching to them, and are trying for M<sup>r</sup> Lyman.<sup>7</sup> The Necessity and Utility of Explaining & indicating and recommending the Design of the Charity School at Lebanon, has lain much upon my Mind of late, for thousands that you can't see, might become Friends and Benefactors to it, if something at this Day and of this Nature was published to the world. A good Friend of your's has that work now in hand, and if it be approved by y<sup>e</sup> favourers of y<sup>e</sup> Cause, you will have it sent to you in the Spring—Our good Bro<sup>r</sup>, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Barber<sup>8</sup> is under very melancholy Circumstances. His Mind is filled with Gloom and Darkness and fearfull Apprehensions, and in many things He appears perfectly crazy. For Instance, He conceits he has got the *Leprosy*, shall give it to every One that visits him, and that it will spread thro' y<sup>e</sup> world from him, and the Blood of this Generation be required at his hands. He won't go to meeting, nor anywhere abroad. I preach for him next Sabbath, And you must pray for him without Ceasing. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield will greive to hear of his Case. I have visited him twice: He converses freely and properly in common Affairs: But won't be beat out of his Conceits, nor Freed from his fears. The Spirit of Opposition to the *Stamp Act*, remains as firm and inflexible as Ever. Thousands and thousands would Sacrifice their Lives before they will yield to it; chusing rather to dye right out, than linger out their Lives under Servitude, hunger and oppression; I hope they will not be put to the tryall in either Case. I shall have a par-

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ticular regard to your family in your Absence. May God Almighty preserve you and send you good Success. A grand Cause is committed to your Care and Trust, may you have wisdom to manage it, and Resolution to pursue it: The Cause indeed is God's, be not anxious of the Event, if the set time is come for the calling in of the Indians, He will go before you, and make your way prosperous. *He will have Regard to his Covenant for the dark Corners of the Earth are full of the Habitations of Cruelty.* The winter hitherto moderate, but one week of cold weather, but one Snow to lie with us, and that is now gone.

Let us pray for one another and do all the Good we can, that when we meet again, it may be in heaven or further on in our way thither.

*I am, with much Esteem, Your Affectionate  
Brother and most humble Servant.*

NAT<sup>l</sup> EELLS—

Your Letter to me, if by the way of Boston, direct to the Care of Cap<sup>t</sup> Samuel Downe.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Eells had accompanied Whitaker and Occom to Boston. This newsy letter was written upon his return to Connecticut, shortly after the departure of the envoys.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the congregation of the Rev. Joseph Snow, Jr., 1714-1803, minister of the Beneficent Congregational Church at Providence, R. I.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah Tiffany, member of Whitaker's parish, and one of two to sign the recommendations given by that church to its pastor upon his departure for England. Evidently he was a merchant at Norwich, as correspondence exists between him and Wheelock relating to molasses and salt. One letter, also, of this period is preserved relating to his entering Wheelock's service, in what capacity we do not know.

<sup>4</sup> Certain business relations between Eells and Whitaker, which were later to be a source of much friction, are forecast in this letter.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Leffingwell, Esq., a descendant of one of the first settlers of Norwich, member of the Norwich Committee of Correspondents in 1774, Colonel of light infantry during the Revolution. In 1766 he started the first paper mill in Connecticut.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Samuel Wales, 1746-1794, Yale 1767, for a short time after graduation teacher in the Indian School, minister at Milford, Conn., 1770-1782, Livingstone Professor of Divinity at Yale and minister of the College Church, 1782-1793.

<sup>7</sup> Probably Dr. Joseph Lyman, 1749-1828, Yale 1767, minister of the Congregational Church at Hatfield, Mass., 1772-1828. He published many of his sermons in pamphlet form.

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<sup>a</sup> Rev. Jonathan Barber, 1712-1783, Yale 1730, preached to the Mohegan Indians in 1735, gathered a congregation at Oyster Point, Southold, Long Island. Active with James Davenport in the Great Awakening. Among the first to greet Whitefield upon his arrival in New England in 1740, and shortly after placed by the evangelist in charge of the orphan home in Georgia where he remained for seven years. Minister of the church at Groton, Conn., from 1758 to 1765, when, says President Stiles, "by a complication of bodily and mental disorders he was taken off from his usefulness and he continued in a dejected state till his death," which occurred eighteen years later.



### *Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*London, M<sup>r</sup> W. Taber<sup>1</sup>. Feb: 8. 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

We landed at Tor bay 200 miles West of London last monday evening, & thursday evening came to London & lodged at M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdts, & last night at dear M<sup>r</sup> Whitfields whose whole heart & soul is engaged in the Business. He thinks it best to follow God & keep with his people, & not trust too much to carnal pollicy. The Bishop of London<sup>2</sup> hath been informed via N. London that there was an Indian fit for orders near there, &c. But M<sup>r</sup> Occom is Steadfast. Dear M<sup>r</sup> Smith hath laboured for you greatly, yea & for poor, poor America in this time of eminent Danger. No man merits the esteem of America more than he. Things here ware a most dreadful aspect on you. The Day before yesterday, the P——t *resolved in opposition* to the Resolves at N. York,<sup>3</sup> that they had power to tax America; & in consequence of this refused to repeal the act. This resolve was come into even by those who insisted on a repeal being influenced thereto by the promise of the violent party that if they would pass that resolve they would consent to repeal.

Yesterday were sent to the house 45 petitions from the several chief towns, requesting a repeal; what influence these will have I can't say yet. However, if they repeal it now, it will not be out of regard to America, but from fear of y<sup>r</sup> own people. May the Lord direct you on that Side y<sup>e</sup> Water, & fill you with courage & prudence to defend your Selves, for now is the critical moment in w<sup>ch</sup> all lies at

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Stake. You must either be Slaves or fight. The Mareens, &c are ordered to be ready at an hours warning to embark for America—How are the court infatuated. Tis tho't y<sup>t</sup> not a 20<sup>th</sup> part of the people here are for the present measures. I expect every day that there will be an insurrection in England. But enough of this.

I have seen Mason<sup>4</sup> & he concludes to have nothing to do w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Occom who Still resolves not to meddle in any land controversies.

M<sup>r</sup> Smith came in this moment & informs that what I have wrote before is not true; he wated on the house of Commons yesterday, & there heard that the house asserted y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> king had no power to require or even to recommend to the governm<sup>t</sup>. of Boston to make good the damage done to Governor Hutchinson<sup>5</sup> &c. without his P——t yet they declare it as their judgment that they aught to be indemnified, & I believe all America will joine & say amen. So that the face of things appears more favourable to America. I know not how to prosecute my business yet but am Satisfied we Shall collect well for you. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield—Smith, Savage, &c. think that it will never do to put the money into y<sup>e</sup> Scots Board<sup>6</sup>—They will find out a way more agreeable to your mind—Depend on it, dear Sir, I Shall Spare no pains (O y<sup>t</sup> God may give me Skill & grace) to accomplish the business I am upon.—O pray for me even me & M<sup>r</sup> Occom daily. Lord Dartmouth is all engaged for you—blessed be God—& for America. I send this inclosed to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker—you know my hand for I am yours as ever

N. W.

We had 6 weeks passage, very gentle gales, & head winds, we were not Sea-Sick. We are in health, farewell

*Feb. 11.* Blessed, blessed be God, the act will be repealed. They have already voted in the Com<sup>a</sup> That the act shall not be inforced. Hal-lalujah! Let America triumph in God & learn frugality. D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is all engaged for you. You must acknowledge him in your writings—Lord Dartmouth is all engaged for you too; we waited on him yisterday & Spent near 2 hours with him. He is a Sweet youth, full of piety & good works & loves Jesus X. I expect every hour w<sup>a</sup> he will call for Occom to present him to the king. The way is pre-

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pared, & no doubt it will be done: & then the whole affair will be recommended to all y<sup>e</sup> Nobility, for if y<sup>e</sup> king will Stoop to look at him, doubtless all y<sup>e</sup> rest may.<sup>7</sup> O my Br. how great is God's Goodness. We came here at y<sup>e</sup> very nick of time. L. Dartmouth & his party, Pitt, &c, were Sinking last friday, & a change in y<sup>e</sup> M——y talked of;<sup>8</sup> but now the Scene is changed. The king, blessed be God, resolves to Stand by the present M——y & they resolve to repeal the act; & your affairs will Succeed. My L. will do all he can, & he can do much. We could not have come in a better time, & yet 4 days ago all appeared dark & as tho' we had come almost in vain; but it is good to wait on God. Friends here will not collect money for the Board, but for you! ! ! ! ! !

<sup>7</sup> *This is the first of Whitaker's letters from England. To a certain extent it duplicates information contained in Occom's diary.*

<sup>8</sup> *Richard Terrick, 1710-1777; Bishop of Peterborough, 1757-1764; of London, 1764-1777.*

<sup>9</sup> *The first of the united efforts of the English colonies, the so-called Stamp Act Congress, attended by representatives of nine colonies, met in New York in October, 1765, and drew up a petition to the King and memorials to both Houses of Parliament protesting against taxation without representation.*

<sup>10</sup> *Samuel Mason, one of the descendants of the original John Mason (page 24), was in London to carry an appeal in the Mohegan land case to the Privy Council. According to the historian of New London, Miss Caulkins, he remained long in England, obtained money on the basis of his claim, sold rights in it, ran into debt upon it, was at one time a prisoner in the Fleet, and never returned to his native land.*

<sup>11</sup> *The house of Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson was sacked by a mob on August 26, 1765, causing damage estimated at £3000, to say nothing of the loss of valuable papers. Hutchinson was later indemnified by a grant of £3194.*

<sup>12</sup> *The credentials given to Whitaker by the Connecticut Correspondents of the Scotch Society proved in England to be rather an embarrassment than an aid to the envoys.*

<sup>13</sup> *There is no evidence that Occom was ever received by George III.*

<sup>14</sup> *The Rockingham ministry, which supported the repeal of the Stamp Act, was at this time in danger, both from the intense opposition of the Grenville party and the dissatisfaction of the king.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

(BEGINNING OF THE LETTER MISSING)

. . . . & will deposit in the hands of Some Select men here & with you to be at your call; but we have done nothing yet, because when I came on Shore I did not take the Letters to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & Smith which happened thro' a hurry & not expecting to go on Shore, & the vessel is not yet come up So y<sup>t</sup> they have not yet rec<sup>d</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> letters. But God orders all things right; doubtless this is best, tho' I don't See why. At present there is no hope of a charter,<sup>1</sup> & if you should git one, they will incumber it & make it worse than nothing—and they think it will be better without any for the present as it will be more under your direction—But I can tel you more of this by & by. The nation hath trembled for Several Days past on acc<sup>t</sup>. of the great affairs which have been on the carpet. The repeal will fill England as well as America with joy! joy! joy! Much thanksgiving & praise will redound to God thereby. D<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitefield yesterday was overcome & Sick with joy when he heard that the vote was against inforcing the Act, & that y<sup>e</sup> king had promised to Stand by the ministry in the repeal. Bute<sup>2</sup> will now down, down, down, blessed be God, & may he & Granvil<sup>3</sup> never rise again. I tho't to have Sent by the packet, but as the postage from here to Falmouth is expensive, & as a Ship Sails for Boston in a few days, therefore I inlarge my letter, & Send by the vessel from here. I expect to fill this half Sheet yet with news—God grant it may be good news to America.

*Feb: 12*—It would doubtless have been advantagious if we had bro't some Indian rarities with us, Such as Shoes, & other fine trinkets made of Wampom, & porcupine quills. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield thinks y<sup>t</sup> you had best send some here by the first opportunity. It is not absolutely concluded, but M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield thinks it best y<sup>t</sup> you Should build for y<sup>e</sup> School either at Lebanon or Hebron, but on your own Land by all means, & never put it in the power of any to order that which you have founded, while you live. Just now at diner, M<sup>r</sup> Smith present, he Said “By the grace of God, We will put the matter out of the hands of the Board & M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock Shall have things at his com-

mand—They will tie his hands if they have the money; but they Shan't have it"—But this in confidence—If it can be procured, a tract of Land on Delewar or Susquehannah, more Southerly than Lebanon would be much better. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield thinks y<sup>t</sup> you can't make land turn to So good acc<sup>t</sup>. with you, because of y<sup>e</sup> length of y<sup>e</sup> winters as further Southward; & that you must So manage the affair as to make the farm maintain the School, & this can easily be done if you can procure 2 or 3000 acres of Land in Some convenient place for this business.<sup>4</sup> I don't know what I Shall do, but it is my present private purpose to See whether I can't obtain a tract of M<sup>r</sup> Pen; if I can it will be best to convey it to you & your heirs & assigns forever for the Use of the School, & for you to build on it immediately. But of this I Shall advise you more fully as soon as I can. Yesterday M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield carried us to D<sup>r</sup> Fothergil<sup>5</sup> the Quaker; He asked whether we could obtain Indian Children? I told him there was no want of children, that you could have hundreds if you could git Supplies; he replied, There will be no want of Supplies if you can procure children—Blessed be God for this new Source of Supply.

M<sup>r</sup> Occom is not yet enoculated because he wates to be introduced to the king: when this is done, I purpose to enoculate him—He behaves himself very well.

Yesterday D<sup>r</sup> Fothergil informed us, that things in court wore a gloomy aspect, & it was on a poise, w<sup>ch</sup> way y<sup>e</sup> grand affair would turn. Last night Saw M<sup>r</sup> Field who told me that he had Signed a petition just before in favour of America, & that many Such were renewedly to be Sent into ye Parliam<sup>t</sup>. from every part of this city—

18. Yesterday wated on D<sup>r</sup> Gifford & dined with him. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & M<sup>r</sup> Smith went with us. The D<sup>r</sup> is 66 year of Age, but extremely active is full of Zeal for your School—hath accepted your bill. You will please to call on M<sup>r</sup> Eells of Stoningtown for £100 Sterling, which I Shall pay for him here on a bill of exchange.<sup>6</sup> Shall I tell you Secretly y<sup>t</sup> the greatest personage in England hath promised Lord Dartmouth to see M<sup>r</sup> Occom & give £400 Sterling. Amazing! If the present ministry stands, I could easily obtain a charter; but it is tho't best to give it all to you to be handed down; how things will appear by & by I can't Say. My Lord Dartmouth will be Cashire

with some others for you; i. e. he has told M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield y<sup>t</sup> he will, & in whose hands can you deposit it better?

I have not yet Seen General Lyman. M<sup>r</sup> W. & M<sup>r</sup> Smith think he will obtain nothing: But they think I may obtain for you any quantity of land you Shall judge needful. What I would therefore, is to know where you think would Suit you best, & what quantity & how many good families you can obtain to go with you to the place called A, & how many to the place called B, &c & how much land you would have appropriated to the School, which will be rent & tax free. You may fix upon Lands which are not appropriated in any governm<sup>t</sup>. except those whose General Assemblies have y<sup>e</sup> power of Granting, as Connecticut & Massachusetts have. If you chuse any where in Pensylvania your tract must not be for so many families as in the uper parts of N. York or Hampshire (This is my private opinion). If you chuse land that is not chartered viz on the Ohio or elsewere Southard, you may probably obtain 10.20.30. miles Square it may be more, & perhaps 6 or 8 miles Square for the School—You know it must be in lands to w<sup>ch</sup> the Indians lay no claim least it prejudice them: unless you Send the people who are to Settle before you & let them take possession & graduall remove their prejudice, & then you come after & Set up the School. It is certain y<sup>e</sup> Indians are chiefly westward, & for that reason the Susquehanna or Delewar or Ohio are to be preferd to the northern, & also on acc<sup>t</sup>. of the climate. But how will you obtain it, you will ask? My Scheme is to apply to Lord Dartmouth who is first Lord of trade & plantations (if he shall keep in the ministry) & pray him to propose to the board the grant of Such lands as you Shall chuse; if you pitch on land that is not chartered, the board of trade, *likely*, will grant what you ask for, & give to the School in particulare what Shall be tho't needful. If you chuse land in any of the Governments, then the board will write to the governer of S<sup>d</sup> Colony to grant you S<sup>d</sup> land & they dare not refuse. This is my plan, & I verily think this will take place, if it please God to continue Lord Dartmouth in the ministry: M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has mentioned Something to him already of land in N. Hampshire & he was well pleased. But, as nothing is yet accomplished, you are only to know that I have Such prospects at present, which may all be dashed.



However you aught to fix with the greatest Speed & judgment on a good tract of land Somewhere which is not appropriated, & propose 2. 3. or 4 & tell which would be best, &c. & if God please you will have it<sup>7</sup>—We have this day more hope that the Act will be repealed, & 'tis likely it will be done this day.

*Feb. 26.* The house carried y<sup>e</sup> vote to bring in a bill for repeal by 108 majority, & yesterday the bill was bro't in a[nd] read the first time.

*Mar. 3.* What would you think of land in the upper part of N. York governm<sup>t</sup>. which formerly belonged to N. Hampshire?<sup>8</sup> I know not where to fix, may the Lord direct. If you fix tis best to See y<sup>e</sup> land by some faithful hand, & its accomodations, if you fix without charter limits, it is possible it may be refused; but if within, no governer will dare refuse you any Grant which the Board of trade direct, & under God I verily believe you may have w<sup>t</sup> you will—O bless the Lord. L. Dartmouth hath opened a Subscption himself by Signing £50 & y<sup>e</sup> King will give £400, he told L. D. y<sup>t</sup> he would. O how God goes before us, I hasten because I must dine w<sup>th</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Chandler who is very kind & promises all his influence. L. Dartm. will introduce M<sup>r</sup> Occom to the A.B. of Canter: the reason why the K. hath not Seen him yet is the confusion which hath been at court & M<sup>r</sup> Occom will not See him now till he is innoculated w<sup>ch</sup> will be this week if he recovers of a cold he now has—The act is repealed—may you offer no insults on Parliam<sup>t</sup>. least you lose all yor friends. I Sent a few lines to M<sup>rs</sup> W<sup>r</sup>. for you 'tother day by the packet. I must brake off, I ask your Prayers—I hope you will excuse the much confusion of this letter for I have wrote as things have occurred—O praise the Lord—

*I am yours—*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

I Send you one of the printed recommendations—you will see how & why they have altered the beginning of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>ms</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> *The lack of legal incorporation for his school was a continual handicap to Wheelock. Although a charter had already been refused by the crown authorities, it is evident that it was one of Whitaker's duties to induce them to change their minds. The difficulty was not solved until the award of the New Hampshire charter in 1769.*

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<sup>1</sup> John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, 1713-1792, an early favorite of the Lord en-  
Minister, 1763-1765, and after his retirement still for a time influential.

<sup>2</sup> George Grenville, 1712-1770, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor  
Exchequer, 1763-1765, author of the Stamp Act and a vigorous opponent of the

<sup>3</sup> As a result of his extensive travels through the whole of the English colonies  
America, perhaps no man was better fitted than Whitefield to estimate the relative  
utility of lands in various parts of the country.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. John Fothergil, 1712-1780, eminent Quaker physician, the first clearly to  
recognise the disease diphtheria. He was interested in botany and as a philanthropist  
was a liberal supporter of Quaker charities. A firm friend of America in the Stamp  
Act controversy. Of him Franklin said, "I can hardly conceive that a better man has  
ever existed." He subscribed twenty guineas to the Indian School Fund.

<sup>5</sup> This was an unfortunate transaction. Up to 1775 Wheelock had not recovered the  
money from Eells, and there is no evidence that he ever did.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to the quest for the charter, large grants of land (the main source of  
wealth in the colonies) were ever in Wheelock's mind. As a matter of fact, the removal  
to New Hampshire was brought about by public and private grants in that province  
amounting to 40,000 acres. Despite Whitaker's optimism, no land was obtained from  
England at this time.

<sup>7</sup> Now the State of Vermont.



### *Receipt from Capt. John Marshall*

Received of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker and the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Ocom,—  
Fifteen pounds Fifteen Shillings for their Passage from Boston on  
board the Ship Boston Packett having deducted Five pounds Five  
Shillings on acc<sup>t</sup>. of John Hancock Esq.<sup>1</sup> of Boston one of the Owners  
of Said Ship he having made the Said Gents. a Present of his part of  
their Passage money—

London 25 Feb<sup>r</sup>. 1766

JOHN MARSHALL

<sup>1</sup> John Hancock, 1736-1793. At this time Hancock was only twenty-nine years of  
age, but already, by inheritance, the richest merchant of Boston. He was not yet active  
in politics.

However you ~~2.~~ *Whitaker to the Connecticut Correspondents*  
 good tract

~~2. 3. OR~~  
 have HONOURED GENTLEMEN—

*London, March 8, 1766.*

You will not expect that I Should inform you of the many lesser Anecdotes of Life Since I left you—In general I would only Say, that as in every Step which I have taken heretofore in this important affair, I have Seen much of God's goodness going before or at least following me. So I have Still cause to Sing & exult in the Same. It Still appears, as much as ever to be the cause of God; blessed be his name he goes before me, & leaves me but little to do, compared to what I might expect. I talk now only by faith, for I have nothing yet in possession—yet hope Soon to have.

You will perhaps be Surprised when I tell you that I dare not So much as mention my Commission from your honourable board. I did mention & Shew it to Some friends at first, but I Soon found Such a rooted prejudice against Scotland & all its connections here, that it would by no means do to Say anything concerning it, as I verily think, (& So do friends to the cause) it would quite frustrate the business I am upon, which, under the Smiles of heaven, seems likely now to Succeed for the furtherance and accomplishment of the grand Design. How far I can a[c]t on my Commission in the northern parts of the kingdom will require an after thought, but at present you must not blame me if I do not Shew it here at all for, as the Corporations & bodies in this kingdom have made such a wretched use of the Donations they have rec<sup>d</sup>, so they are held in contempt by all in general, & especially the religious. And all appears averse to give in this case, except it be to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock. This may seem Strange to you, but you may be assured it is the case at present, & were any of you here you wo'd be obliged to act in the Same manner.<sup>1</sup> You may be assured that I Shall use all that oeconomy & diligence which my abilities are Suited to; & am Sure you will join in giving God the glory of all the Success in a cause which lies So near your hearts, even tho' every thing does not seem to turn out as we expected. I have reason to think that God will turn all about for his glory & the furtherance of the cause; & this will

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Satisfy us if his glory is uppermost in our hearts. May the Lord enable us ever to lay aside everything of our own, & Set our eye singly on the advancement<sup>1</sup> of the glory of his great name. And I earnestly beg your prayers, that I may be kept humble at the feet of God, & have wisdom granted me to manage in this great & difficult work for his glory, & may be returned in his good time.

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is much better than when in America, & is a warm friend—he has great Interest w<sup>th</sup> my Lord Dartmouth who is an open methodist,<sup>2</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's hearer & a really pious young man—Who knows what he will do for this design? His Majesty thinks favourably of the plan & I am not without hopes of his royal bounty. M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston approves of all I prosecute, & So does D<sup>r</sup> Chandler—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & Smith have laboured hard for America in this time of Peril. L. Dartmouth & the E. of Rockingham,<sup>3</sup> & the king too have been your friends—I can't guess when I Shall return.

<sup>1</sup> *It is evident that Whitaker felt that apologies were due to the Connecticut Correspondents for ignoring their credentials. This letter, however, is merely a rough draft, and may never have been sent.*

<sup>2</sup> *This does not have the meaning that it would have today. Lord Dartmouth always retained an active membership in the Church of England.*

<sup>3</sup> *Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis (not Earl) of Rockingham, 1730-1782. First Lord of the Treasury, 1765-1766, in the ministry which repealed the Stamp Act; also holding the same position in the coalition ministry of 1782. He was a firm friend of the American colonies. The Marchioness of Rockingham subscribed ten guineas to the fund.*



### *Samson Occom to his wife<sup>1</sup>*

*London March 11: 1766.*

MY DEAR WIFE

I send you with this letter Some Cloathing, for our Family, there is 9 yards of Broad Cloth and some Shalloon, to make a Sute of Cloaths for Aaron,<sup>2</sup> and what is left you may do as you Please with, you may make Blankets or Cloaks of it,—and a pice of Stuff about 30 yards and Strip'd Flannel between 30 and 40 yards, and 38 yards

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of Checker'd Linen, and about as much White Linen—they go by way of Boston, and M<sup>r</sup> Peck will Send them to Norwich Landing to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker, for her things and our things are all in one Box—By the Mercy of God I am in good Health, and I hope and pray these may find you so—Trust in the Lord Jehovah, for in him is Everlasting Strength—about a quarter after 3: this after-noon, I was Inoculated by M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker,<sup>3</sup>—and you will soon hear whether I am well of it or Dead with it—the Cloathing is by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitefield and the Pins<sup>4</sup> and Books by Madam Whitefield, and the Coffee Pot and 3 Brass Screws by one M<sup>r</sup> Withy,—you must never put the Pot on the fire, the Brass are to hang Cloaths on—from your Husband

SAMSON OCCOM

I have also sent 3 pair of girls Stockings and one Dozen of knives and Forks and a Picture of King & Queen—

<sup>1</sup> In 1751 Occom married Mary Fowler, of the Montauk tribe, one of the pupils in his school on Long Island, who is described as "intelligent, virtuous and comely," but also as more attached to Indian ways than was entirely pleasing to her husband.

<sup>2</sup> Aaron, one of Occom's ten children, was something of a black sheep. At three periods a member of Wheelock's school, he profited little by his opportunities. He was wild and wayward, married at eighteen, and died in 1771, shortly after his father's return, leaving a posthumous son.

<sup>3</sup> The versatility of Whitaker strikes us with some astonishment. In addition to various non-ministerial occupations, already described, he considered himself competent to carry out the rather dangerous process of inoculation in so crowded a center as London.

<sup>4</sup> The particular mention of pins indicates their special value in those days. They were not produced in the colonies until 1775, but were made by hand in England and imported. The price was correspondingly high. Wire was filed to a point at one end, while finer wire was twisted around the other end and soldered, forming the head; a process said to require thirteen distinct operations.

\*

*Occom's Diary (Continued)*

March 11, 1766—on Wednesday about a Quarter after 3 P.M.—I was Inoculated by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker—near M<sup>r</sup> G. Whitefields Tabernacle in London

Wednesday, March 13: I was violently Shoik'd with the working of Phisick, was very full of Pain all Day—was kindly visited by



REVEREND SAMUEL STENNETT

Gen<sup>t</sup> and Ladies Constantly—and had two Doc<sup>m</sup> to do for me—on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March I began to Break out—and had it but light—and was attended like a Child by my Friends—I Cou'd'n't be taken Care of better by my own Relations, I had a very tender and Carefull Nurse a Young Woman—and by the first Day of April I Was Intirely Well, all my Pocks Dried up, and Scabs Dropt off—O how great is gods goodness, and Mercy to me—O that god wou'd enable me to live Answerable to the mercies and favours I injoy—and that he wou'd Cure my Soul of all Spiritual Diseases by the Blood of Jx which Cleanseth from all Polution—and that he wou'd fit and prepare me for himself—

*April 5* Went to Some Distance from our House—*Sabbath*.

*April 6:* took my last Physick after my Pox—Just at Night My Lady Huntington<sup>1</sup> came to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefields, and we were Introduc'd to her by M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, and She is most Heavenly woman I believe in the World, She appears like a Mother in Israel indeed—a woman of great Faith—*Monday, April 7:* I went about the City good Deal—I am now Continually invited by our good Friends.— *Thursday, April 10:* Went over Thames with M<sup>m</sup> Webber to a Private Meeting—*Friday-April 11:* Went with M<sup>r</sup> Weekes to Meeting at the Lock—<sup>2</sup>

*Sabbath, April 13:* Preach'd at D<sup>r</sup> Chandler's—and was very ill amidst my Discourse—*Wednesday, April 16:* We Din'd with Doc<sup>r</sup> Stennet<sup>3</sup> a Baptist Minister, a very Worthy Man—and hearty Friend to the Business we are upon—*Wednesday, April 23:* we Breakfasted with D<sup>r</sup> Stennet—*Thursday, April 24:* I went to See D<sup>r</sup> Condor, a Very Worthy Minister and a Hearty Friend to the Business we are upon—and went from the D<sup>m</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Brewers,<sup>4</sup> and was very kindly receiv'd—he is a warm Serv<sup>t</sup> of Jx,——

*Tuesday, April 22:* Preach'd in the Evening at M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's Tottenham Court C[h]apel, to a great Multitude, and the L<sup>d</sup> was present with us I hope

*Sabbath, April 27:* Preach'd at Little St. Hellens and Devenshare Square—and I [had] of a freedom in the after Noon,—*Monday, April 28.:* Went to See Several Gen<sup>n</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> Dilly gave me 4 Books for my own Use—Din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Barber a good Disenting Minister—

then went with M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker to M<sup>r</sup> Bailey's, and M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker Baptiz'd a Child for him,—and then went home.

*Wednesday, April 30* We went to Wait upon his grace the Arch Bishop of Canterbury<sup>5</sup> and he appear'd quite agreeable and Friendly—In the evening I Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's Tabernacle to a Crowded Audience and I believe the L<sup>d</sup> was with us of a truth—

*Thursday, May 1st*—D<sup>r</sup> Stennet Introduc'd us to the Arch Bishop of York,<sup>6</sup> and we found him agreeable gentleman, and Friendly Dispos'd to our Cause, and Promis'd to do Something towards it—and then went from thence to M<sup>r</sup> Onslow<sup>7</sup> an old Gentleman from Speaker in the House of Commons—he appear'd very Friendly to us & was well pleas'd to hear the Indians in America were Inclin'd to receiv'd the Gospel—

*Sabbath, May 4:* Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Barber's meeting and had Some Freedom in Speaking—and in the afternoon I Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Britton's Meeting, a Worthy Baptist—to a Crowded Audience and the L<sup>d</sup> was with us in a measure—

*Monday: May 5* we went out with D<sup>r</sup> Stennet, but we were Disappointed in our Visits—and we went to S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hathorn<sup>8</sup> to return thanks to him for generous Donation to our Business—found him full of god, his talk was nothing but about Jesus X—

*Wednesday May 7,* We din'd with a Number of Ministers and other Gentlemen at Barber's Hall, and found many gentlemen well Disposed towards our Business,—

*Thursday May 8:* We went to Clapham, found Some Friends and opposition—

*Sabbath May 11:* Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Brewer's to a Crowded Audience, and the L<sup>d</sup> gave me freedom to Speak, and the People attended with great affection—Praise be to god—In the evening I Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Shillon's to a throng'd Congregation, and there was a Solemn appearance of the People, the L<sup>d</sup> with us, Glory be to his great Name forever & ever—

*Monday May 12:* we went to wait upon M<sup>r</sup> Onslow and he appear'd very Friendly to our Business, highly aproved of it—*Tuesday*

We din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Savage—*Wednesday* I Din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Morison—

*Thursday,* We Din'd with Thornton<sup>9</sup> at Clapham, a Sincere Chris-



tian Gent<sup>a</sup> and a Hearty Friend to our afaire, and Will use his Influence—We have Seen much of the goodness of god this week, thanks be to his holy N—

*Fryday may 16:* in the Ev<sup>s</sup> Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Clarke's & the [Lord] gave me Some Strength to Preach—and the People were very attentive—*Saturday may 17:* we went to wait on M<sup>r</sup> Jackson<sup>10</sup> the Second time. Met Somewhat cold reception,—

*Sabbath may 18:* Preach'd at Doc<sup>r</sup> Gifford's A.M. with some freedom, in the after. Preach'd at D<sup>r</sup> Stennet's with Strength, blessed be god for his Assistance—

*Wednesday may 21:* I went to See M<sup>r</sup> Romain, was kindly receiv'd by him, he is freer man to talk about religion at Heart than M<sup>r</sup> Whitfield. We came into the Town together in a Coach—and then M<sup>r</sup> Bulkley<sup>11</sup> Conducted me to a Baptist Meeting Where there was a Number of Baptist Ministers about 20 of them, after meeting I Din'd with them, and they were very civil to me—and then I returned home—

*Thursday may 22:* Went to M<sup>r</sup> Skinner's then Home, and from thence to a Meeting with M<sup>r</sup> Fold and his Family, M<sup>r</sup> Fold Preach'd, —returning home we heard a man and woman kill'd By the Coaches over Setting, and a Cart runing over them—this Evening I was taken with a Violent Purgings.—

*Fryday May 23:* was very Sick with a Sort of Bloody [flux] and Kept me down a Week before I was able to go out—

*Sabbath June 1:* I was able to go out to Preach—Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Bulkley's a Baptist Mi<sup>r</sup> and had but few hearers. In the after Noon Preach'd for M<sup>r</sup> Winter<sup>12</sup> to a great Congregation, found myself but weak in Body—this Weak I was Busy geting ready to Send Some things to my Children,—

*Saturday, June 7:* I went to North Hampton, got thence Just before Night, and was receiv'd with all kindness—

*Sabbath June 8:* Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Riland's<sup>13</sup> Meeting House to a throng'd Congregation, & the L<sup>d</sup> gave me Some Strength and the People attended with great Solemnity and affection and was told afterwards one young Man was Converted and hopefully Con-

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verted—in the after Noon Preach'd In Riland's Yard to about 3000 recken'd—

*Monday June 9:* M<sup>r</sup> Newton<sup>14</sup> of Olney about 15 miles off Came to fetch me to his Place, after Breakfast we Sot off, rode in a Post Chace, there a little after 12: this M<sup>r</sup> Newton is a Minister of the Church of England, he was a Sailor, and god marvellously turn'd him and he is a flaming Preacher of the Gospel,—at Evening I Preach'd at one of the meetings in the Place, to a Crowd of People,—Lodg'd at M<sup>r</sup> Newton's,—a Number of good people live in this place, but very poor in this World—*Tuesday, June 10:* M<sup>r</sup> Newton and I took a walk towards Northampton about [blank] miles—and then Breakfasted,—and then we parted, he went Back a foot, and I went on Horse to Northampton, got there about 12: Din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Hextal, one of the Desenting Ministers of the place,—at 6 in the Even'g I Preach'd the Meeting House where great Doc<sup>r</sup> Doddrege<sup>15</sup> was Minister, and there was a great Concourse of people and attended with great Solemnity<sup>16</sup>—Lodg'd at M<sup>r</sup> Riland's—there is a number of warm Christians in this Town—

*Wednesday June 11:* got up a little after 3 and was in a Coach before 4: and return'd to London—Got there a little after 6:—found my friends well—Thanks be to god for his goodness,—

*Sabbath June 15:* Preach'd in the morning at M<sup>r</sup> Burford's Meeting, had some freedom—in the after Noon I preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Pitts, with Since of Divine things in the Evening Preach'd at Shakespeare's walk<sup>17</sup>—and Sup'd with M<sup>r</sup> Waren this Evening—

*Monday June 16:* Went to M<sup>r</sup> Thornton's at Clapham and was Entertain'd with all Kindness. he is a gent<sup>n</sup> of emense fortune, and he is the right Sort of Christian and a very Charitable man—Lodg'd with him this Night—*Tuesday Morning* M<sup>r</sup> Thornton took me in his Chariot and Caried me to my Lodgings—

*Wednesday June 18:* I went in the Morning to See M<sup>r</sup> Guinap, a Baptist Minister of Saffron Walden, Breakfasted with him—

*Thursday June 19:* Preach'd in M<sup>r</sup> John Wesley's Foundry<sup>18</sup> to a Crowded Audience, begun at 7 in the Evening—

*Saturday June 21:* M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker and I went to Saffron Walden, got there before Night, Lodg'd at M<sup>r</sup> Fuller's—

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*Sabbath June 22:* Went to Meeting, M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker Preach'd and in the after Noon I Preach'd to a Crowded Congregation,<sup>19</sup> and I was very Poorly, but I believe the L<sup>d</sup> was with us of a truth and in the evening Preach'd again to great Assembly and I had Some Strength, and the People made a Collection—

*Monday June 23:* we return'd to London, got there Some time before night—the L<sup>d</sup> be Prais'd for all his goodness to us—this Evening I heard, the Stage Players, had been Mimicking of me in their Plays, lately—I never thought I Shou'd ever come that Honour,—O god woul'd give me greater Courage—

*Thursday June 26:* Din'd with Savage, in the Evening was visited by M<sup>r</sup> Furdy<sup>20</sup> a Minister from Yorkshire, one who truly Loves the L<sup>d</sup> Jx, I believe—

*Fryday June 27:* Preach'd Early in the Morning at M<sup>r</sup> Richardson's<sup>21</sup> Meeting,

*Sabbath June 29:* Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Brewer's in the Latter Part of the Day to a Crowded Congregation, and they made a Collection for us, to the amount of 130.10 The L<sup>d</sup> reward them a many fold in this life and in the World to Come Life everlasting—

*Monday June 30:* M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston in America, and I Went Down the River Thames to Shearness by the Sea Side, near Sixty miles from London, we went by water So far as Gravesend, a fine Prospect we had each Side of the River, flat Land, and very Fruitful, indeed it is like one continued garden—But the maloncholy Sight was to See So many Malefactors Hung up in Irons by the River—We took Coach at Gravesend to Chatham—and then went by water again, and we Sail'd through a great Number of Man of War all the Way to Shearness, got there between [blank] and eleven,—

*Tuesday July 1:* We went all about Shearness, Vewing everything we Cou'd see, towards night we went to Bathing in Salt Water,—

*Wednesday July 2:* we return'd, went by water So far as Chatham, and it Rian'd and Thunder'd Very hard while we were on the water, got to Chatham about 9 and there took Post Chaise and went on to London, got there about 6, found my friends well, and receiv'd Some Letters from America and by them my family was well

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the 29 of April last—Blessed be god for his tender Mercies to me and to mine, O that the L<sup>d</sup> wou'd teach us to be thankful at all times—

*Sabbath July 6:* Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Webb's Meeting to a Small Congregation—in the afternoon I heard M<sup>r</sup> [blank] Preach,—

*Monday July 7:* I went to Clapham to See Esq. Thornton, and was very kindly receiv'd, after Dinner M<sup>r</sup> Thornton and I went in Chace to [blank] and rode all the after Noon and had very agreeable wride—and we had agreeable Conversation about religion of Jx— Just at Night we went to See his Sister Willber<sup>22</sup> at Winbleton, and they were very urgent to have me Stay there that Night, and Lodg'd there—

*Tuesday July 8:* M<sup>rs</sup> Willberforce Caried me in her Coach to London—She is a Sound Christian—in the after Noon I Din'd with M<sup>rs</sup> Gideon,<sup>23</sup> a Jewis by Birt but a true Christian, had a Sweet Conversation with her—from there went to see S<sup>r</sup> James Jay<sup>24</sup> of New York in America and then went to see M<sup>r</sup> Wintworth of Portsmouth in America and then went home—

*Wednesday July 9:* Went to Viseting again but found none that I wanted to see—

*Thursday July 10:* went with M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker to Several Places, and then went to Stepney and Din'd with a Number of Ministers and were very kindly receiv'd by them—from thence I went home—

*Fryday July 11:* went to wait upon M<sup>r</sup> Penn<sup>25</sup> but he was not at Home and it Thundered and rain'd very hard in the morn-g and returned home again—

*Sabbath July the 13:* went in the morning to Dodford and at M<sup>r</sup> Olding's Meeting, a good Puritanical Independent, and we had a very Crowded Audience, and they made a Collection for us—Went Direcly to London and Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> Stafford's Meet'g. But it was not very Crowded—after Meeting Went with one M<sup>r</sup> Cocks to Drink Tea and While we were at Tea I seriously ask'd M<sup>r</sup> Cocks who was to Preach at M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's, he with all gravity Said M<sup>r</sup> Occom, M<sup>r</sup> Occom? says I, yes, says he, I know nothing of it, says I again, it is So Concluded, says he—so I emedeately went, and Preach'd to a Multitude of People, and the L<sup>d</sup> gave me Some Strength. Blessed be his great Name

*Tuesday July 15:* Went to Din'd with Doc<sup>r</sup> Gifford, after Dinner went with Sir James Jay to wait on one M<sup>r</sup> Person, and Saw many of his Curiosities—and then went home—

*Wednesday July 16:* in the Evening Preach'd at D<sup>r</sup> Gifford's Meeting—to a Small number of People—

*Thursday July 17:* M<sup>r</sup> W. and I Went to Hitchin<sup>26</sup> in a Stage Coach, about forty Miles from London, got there Just about 12. and were receiv'd with all kindness by our Friends—I Lodg'd at M<sup>r</sup> Thomas' and M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker Lodg'd at M<sup>r</sup> Wellshare's—

*Fryday July 18:* We Visited all Day at Hitchin—*Saturday July 19:* We went to Southwell. I Preach'd to a Small number of People—the People made a Collection for us, they a Collected about £15—return'd again in the Evening to Hitchin—

*Sabbath July 20:* I Preach'd in the Morning at M<sup>r</sup> Hickman's Meeting, a very worthy Minister of Jx—and in the after Noon Preach'd at M<sup>r</sup> James's, a Baptist Min—and a very Worthy Man—the Meeting Very Much Crowded and as Soon as the Meeting was done—a Post Chaise was ready for me at the Door and I went Emediatly to Luton about 9 Miles from Hitchin, and in M<sup>r</sup> Hall's Meeting, to a great Multitude and as Soon as the was done I went Back to Hitchin, got there about 10.—the Lord gave me Some Since of Divine Things this Day, and gave me Some Strength—Glory be to his great name for his Condesention—

*Monday July 21:* Went Back to London—got there about 5 P. M.

*Tuesday July 22:* Went about to leave of my good Friends, and Wednesday and Thursday to leave of my good Friends. Heitherto the L<sup>d</sup> helped us and glory be to his great and holy Name—<sup>27</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon, 1707-1791, patron saint of Methodism. First converted by John Wesley, she afterwards became an ardent follower of Whitefield, and was influential in interesting the upper classes of English society in Methodism. She appointed many ministers of a methodistical turn of mind as her private chaplains, thinking (erroneously) that thereby their position in the Established Church would become regular. She also established and endowed numerous chapels, especially in centers frequented by the upper classes, such as Bath and Tunbridge Wells, and founded a theological school in Wales. These establishments became the nucleus of a sect of Calvinistic Methodists (which, however, preserved the liturgy and settled pastorates of the Established Church) afterwards known as Lady Huntingdon's*

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*Connexion. In previous years she had contributed £100 to the Indian School, but apparently added nothing to it at this time.*

<sup>2</sup> *One of Lady Huntingdon's chapels, near Hyde Park Corner.*

<sup>3</sup> *Dr. Samuel Stennet, 1728-1795, Baptist clergyman, minister at Little Wild Street, Lincolns Inn Fields, 1748-1795. The collection at his church amounted to £42.18.11.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Samuel Brewer, 1724-1796, minister of the Broad Street Church at Stepney, the largest of the dissenting congregations of London. Here the collection was £141.2.6.*

<sup>5</sup> *Thomas Secker, 1693-1768; Bishop of Bristol, 1735-1737; of Oxford, 1737-1758; Dean of St. Paul's, 1750-1758; Archbishop of Canterbury, 1758-1768.*

<sup>6</sup> *Robert Hay Drummond, 1711-1776; Bishop of St. Asaph, 1748-1761; of Salisbury, 1761; Archbishop of York, 1761-1776.*

<sup>7</sup> *Arthur Onslow, 1691-1768; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1728-1761.*

<sup>8</sup> *Sir Charles Hotham, nephew of Lord Chesterfield, who, however, "had not drunk the poison of his uncle." He is described as not a "decided character" until after the death of his young wife in 1759, when he "defied all the sneers of the Court, and dared to be singularly good." Groom of the Bed Chamber to George III. A member of the English Board of Trust. He died at Spa in 1767. His gift to the fund was £50.*

<sup>9</sup> *John Thornton, 1720-1790, a wealthy merchant, member of the "Clapham Sect," philanthropist, friend and benefactor of Cowper, frequent purchaser of advowsons for award to deserving but needy clergymen, highly interested in the enterprises of Wheelock and a constant contributor to the Indian School and College. For him Thornton Hall is named. Treasurer of the English Trust. His gift at this time was £100.*

<sup>10</sup> *Probably Richard Jackson, at different times agent in London for Connecticut, law officer of the Board of Trade, member of parliament and secretary to George Grenville, known from the wide range of his learning as "Omniscient Jackson."*

<sup>11</sup> *Rev. Charles Bulkley, 1719-1797, Baptist, minister at the Barbican, 1745-1752, at the Old Jewry (removed to Worship Street, Finsbury, in 1779), 1752-1797. Copious writer on theological topics.*

<sup>12</sup> *On his last journey to America Whitefield was accompanied by the Rev. Cornelius Winter, who brought back to England the will of the evangelist. He frequently preached in Whitefield's Tabernacle.*

<sup>13</sup> *Rev. John Collett Ryland, 1733-1792, Baptist minister and schoolmaster at Northampton, 1759-1785, master of a school at Enfield, 1785-1792. "It is his chief merit to have done more, perhaps, than any man of his time to promote polite learning among the Baptists and orthodox dissenters." At this time he gave personally one guinea to the fund, while the collection in his congregation amounted to £20.11.*

<sup>14</sup> *Rev. John Newton, 1725-1807, began life as a sailor, was converted by Whitefield, and through the influence of Lord Dartmouth received Episcopal orders in 1764. Shortly afterwards he became vicar of Olney, where he was maintained chiefly through a pension from John Thornton. He was a neighbor and most intimate friend of Cowper. Rector of St. Mary Woolworth's, Lombard Street, London, 1780-1807.*

<sup>15</sup> *Dr. Philip Doddridge, 1702-1751, minister of the independent congregation at Castle Hill, Northampton, 1729-1751, also head of a dissenting academy at the same*

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place. Highly influential as a writer on theological topics and esteemed as a hymnologist.

<sup>24</sup> The collection in Mr. Hextall's congregation was £24.3.

<sup>25</sup> In Shadwell. The site of a dissenting female charity school.

<sup>26</sup> A long-disused government building for casting brass ordnance in Tabernacle Street, Moorfields, was bought by Wesley in 1739 for £115, and was repaired and used by him as the headquarters of the Wesleyan Methodists in London until 1778.

<sup>27</sup> The collection at the Rev. Mr. Guinap's church was £70.10.

<sup>28</sup> Rev. Samuel Furlly, an intimate friend of John Wesley and Lady Huntingdon, at this time residing at Staythwait in Yorkshire. In 1766 John Thornton presented to him the living of Roche in Cornwall. He died in 1795.

<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the Rev. John Richardson, episcopally ordained curate of Ewhurst, in Sussex, who became in 1764 Wesley's assistant in London, and continued in that position until his death in 1792.

<sup>30</sup> Sister of John Thornton, wife of William Wilberforce of Wimbledon. The latter was uncle of William Wilberforce, the anti-slavery leader. The younger William, following his father's death in 1768, was placed under the care of his uncle, but was soon removed by his mother, who objected to his aunt's endeavors "to pervert him to Methodism."

<sup>31</sup> Daughter of Sampson Gideon of Belvidere House, Kent, and sister of the first Lord Eardley. She is described as "one of that plenteous harvest that was gathered to the Lord in the drawing rooms of Lady Huntingdon in London under the powerful preaching of her chaplains."

<sup>32</sup> Sir James Jay, 1732-1815, elder brother of John Jay, a physician, at this time in England as agent of Kings College (page 15). He was knighted in recognition of his services on this mission.

<sup>33</sup> Probably Thomas Penn, 1702-1775, second son of William Penn, one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania (with a three-quarters interest); but possibly his brother, Richard (died in 1771), the owner of the other quarter. The two contributed jointly the sum of £50 to the cause.

<sup>34</sup> A market town in Herts, 32 miles north of London.

<sup>35</sup> At this point, much to our disappointment, Oecom's diary abruptly ceases. Perhaps he found the work of keeping such a record during his travels through the provinces too troublesome. However, inasmuch as diaries from his hand are still in existence covering the greater part of his life, the chances are that the continuation at one time existed but is lost.

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Nathaniel Eells<sup>1</sup>*TO M<sup>r</sup> ELLES

London March 12. 1766.

REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>

The grand end in view God evidently Smiles upon; but how far the End will be accomplished it is impossible to guess as yet. But I am sure you will not blame me if I do not mention the Scots board in South Brittain, as there is Such a universal prejudice here against the Scots; & the Nobility here will Start at the mention of the Board, as they know the Scots Society can command whatever shall be collected for your Board. This difficulty was talked of by the Board at M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's last July, & various things proposed in order to avoid it, & y<sup>e</sup> only way which we can now fall upon is to collect for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, & this only will take here. And as the king hath promised to be a benefactor to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's School as in his hands, I dare not name the Board's Commission least it overset all. My L. D. gives 50 Guines, & will leade the Nobility, blessed be God—I hope you will keep these things to your Self and confer only w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock on them<sup>2</sup>— . . . .

As to a commission from the London Society, I dare not mention it as yet; it may be it will be best by & by. As to an Incorporation I can't do anything at present—what will be best God only knows; & he will accomplish what Shall be for his [Cause] & y<sup>e</sup> furtherance of his kingdom. If it shall please [God] to enable me to gather money for this glorious end, it is not of So much importance who has the Com<sup>d</sup>. of it, if it be but applied to the great end in view; & we are Sure that the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock will not pervert it. And I hope you will all keep Stidy to him & assist h<sup>im</sup> w<sup>th</sup> your counsel & advice whenever he Shall call for it—This Day y<sup>e</sup> Bill read a 2<sup>d</sup> time in y<sup>e</sup> H. of Ls—we had 6 weeks passage—Love to all.

N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *The second part of Occom's diary has been published as a unit, taking us up to July. We now retrace our steps and cover the ground again in Whitaker's correspondence.*

<sup>2</sup> *At this point is a short sentence in what appears to be shorthand, containing, however, in longhand the words "cash" and "ye Soc." It evidently gives information too confidential to be trusted to ordinary writing, and thus confidential it remains.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London, March 19, 1766.*

MY REV<sup>d</sup>. & VERY DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

I have wrote you three or four letters before this, but least they Should fail I must repeat Several things. But before I go further I must tell you that yesterday the Good king went to the house in the midst of the Shouts & acclamations of a joyful people in order to Sign the Bill for repealing the accursed Stamp Act. Of this I was a Spectator, & a joyful day it was.

Now for our affairs—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is intirely friendly, & by his friendship I have my Lord Dartmouth's & so our way to the throne is very Short; blessed be God. Besides contributions & Subscriptions, we are like to obtain (1) a grant for provisions from the kings Stores for all y<sup>e</sup> Miss<sup>rs</sup> &c during pleasure. This is a fine thing. (2) A fair probability of a grant of Lands any where you shall chuse, to you, your heirs & assigns forever in trust for the School, & likely, enough for a large Settlem<sup>t</sup>. of the best of our good people in order to encourage the School. Now to effect this you will

1. fix on 2 or more places & suggest the quantity, name the Advantages & disadvantages, &c.

2. you are not quite So Sure of obtaining land out of charter limits as within: & yet it may be obtained perhaps, & if you can, likely much larger.

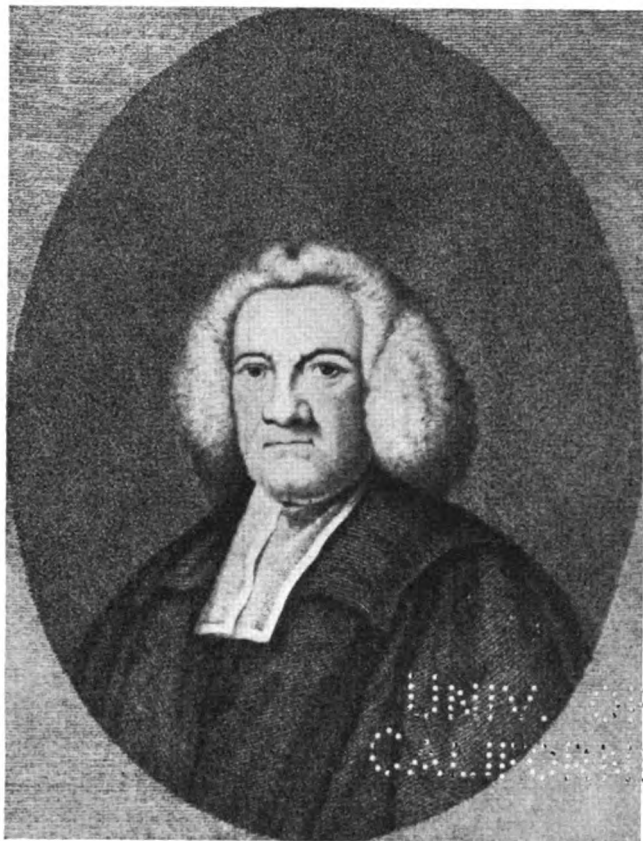
3. If you can obtain Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's recommendation for any piece of land in preference to any other it may tend to fix it, but this is not essential.

4. If you pitch within charter limits, the Board of trade will write to the Governor of that Province to make you a grant of Such lands, & y<sup>d</sup> dare not refuse—

5. When you have fixed your plan you will please to send it all to me as soon as possible—

The King hath not Seen M<sup>r</sup> Occom as yet, because of this plagy Stamp Act; but now that's all over, I expect he will See him as Soon as M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well of the small pox which tis likely will be in 8 or

10 days as I innoculated yesterday week, & he is in a hopeful way. The K. has promised £400—when this is done & comes to be known, then the carnal presbyterians or Arians *Si vis* will be obliged to follow, as will as the Church folks—I preached for M<sup>r</sup> W. first of all; for as no others asked me, & as he hath been a benefactor, & his friends have hitherto Supported it, I tho't it would be displeasing to Christ to neglect him. Besides, his influence is better than all the presbyterians put together—for they are carnal & cold hearted & never would do much—but not So with M<sup>r</sup> W. & the Independents, who will join me, tho' the others Should not—& I believe the reason why the presbyterians have not asked me to preach, is, because we both preached for M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield—yet D<sup>r</sup> Chandler has promised me all his interest, which if it be not greater with his Bretheran, than it is with heaven, I would not at a venture give five guines for it. I heard him preach last Sab: on those words “I can do all things thro' X Strengthening me.” But his whole Sermon was to Shew the Strength of reason, & w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> could do, without once mentioning any title belonging to y<sup>e</sup> mediator or the Spirit or anything like it. Now pray tell me; if Such a man is like to do much, however he is pleased. Besides he is a Courtier, tho' much out of favour at Court; & I therefore ask whether it is not more likely to gain his interest by begining w<sup>th</sup> L. Dartmouth—then y<sup>e</sup> King, &c &c. & so oblige him & his carnal company to follow, than to begin with him first? Besides had I began with him or any of the dissenters first, 'tis certain L. Dartmouth, who is a c<sup>h</sup> man & a methodist, &c &c would not have Stopped to follow—I believe I have begun at the right end, tho' one could wish to please all; but it is better to please God & keep w<sup>th</sup> his people than to please all y<sup>e</sup> world besides. These creatures will do but little at most; & their channels have run dry to water M<sup>r</sup> Tenant<sup>1</sup> & Beaty<sup>2</sup>; but the rest have not been opened as yet & So are fresh & full. What think you now of my conduct? The Presbyterians & Independents will assist & can't refuse when y<sup>e</sup> great ones countenance it; & many of the latter are warm for religion & tell me, that I may be Sure of them. So I think on the whole I am in the fairest way. M<sup>r</sup> Smith & I have determined to lay close Seige to all who are likely, before any publick collection is made, & after all y<sup>e</sup> greater things are done, we



**REVEREND SAMUEL CHANDLER**

may collect in congregations<sup>s</sup>—I told you in a former letter that I tho't a charter might be obtained—but it was a Sudden tho't. I Scruple whether it is possible to procure one, as all the Bishops would oppose it, & many others of the C<sup>h</sup>. & as you are as well & better without one, I don't think it worthy my while to try. Before I leave the kingdom, I may See it necessary to engage a few friends to promote a yearly Subscription for you in London & elsewhere. But this is for an after tho't & work. Just now a fire broke out near Morefields & thro' want of water they have not yet extinguished it, tho' they have got the better of it. Four or five houses are consumed—you may inform M<sup>r</sup> Bread that I expect to pay Some money for him, & if you need he may pay you to the value of £100 Sterling, or more if need be & advertise me of the Same—I am & have been in health. So is M<sup>r</sup> Smith, & M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield as far as I know, who hath been gone some time to Bristol & Bath to See my Lady Huntington, &c. You may write to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Brewer of Stepney, London, as a friend & Brother indeed; his heart is warm in the ways of God. He is an independent, but is nicknamed a *Methodist*. M<sup>r</sup> Occom hath the eruptive fever on him: may God carry him well thro'. M<sup>r</sup> Smith & I too think it best for you to draw two memorials to the Board of trade, one for a Grant of Land to be made to the School only, & So to you & your Heirs in trust; & another for Land, for the School & for a number of Good inhabitants, to be granted to you with certain directions about Settling it, or if you chuse the grant may be made to all who Sign y<sup>e</sup> memorial which Sho'd be, in this case, 2 or 300, then we can use w<sup>ch</sup> we will. (*Inter nos*. Be careful w<sup>t</sup> you write to M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt. He is a good man, but old & quite under the influence of his wife & two flirting children—The honour of all the blaze he made in y<sup>e</sup> letter to my Lord Dartmouth,<sup>4</sup> is due to our good friend M<sup>r</sup> Smith, who gave him the tho'ts of that letter: & I venture to Say M<sup>r</sup> Smith hath done more for America y<sup>a</sup> M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt; & you will See it by & by, I hope). I look on myself as commissioned by you to alter anything you write by way of instrument, or to draw & Sign in your name.

Pray Send no letters to Scotland, & suffer none to be Sent if possible, but what pass thro' my hands. God hath cast a Duplicate of

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w<sup>t</sup> you Sent open to M<sup>r</sup> Stephens, into my hands by a peculiar providence & so it is not forwarded—I act nothing without M<sup>r</sup> Smith—I can't tell you how much I love you—You will not forget to pray for me & the cause & M<sup>r</sup> Occom (who behaves well) & for my poor family. I find now indeed the want of much grace & wisdom. O pray earnestly for your

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER

L. D. will not list under y<sup>e</sup> Scots Society

*Mar. 22.* On thursday I went to hear the parliament debate, & I am sure you would Sicken at the Sight. When affairs which respect the welfair of the nation were talked of the whole house almost would be talking together or crying, hear him, hear him, &c & laughing. As I was returning, M<sup>r</sup> Smith told me, that it has been Said by Some great ones, that there is a necessity of making back Settlements—but that all y<sup>e</sup> Land on y<sup>e</sup> Ohio in pensylvania bounds is sued for & also in those of virginia; but that the latter ask for Such an extent y<sup>t</sup> it is not likely they will Succeed for (Suppose) one quarter. I infer from hence & So does he, that you may obtain, under the present ministry, a grant for Some large tract that way—But w<sup>t</sup> think you of land up toward Otter Creek?<sup>5</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Peabody can inform you about it who has surveyed it,<sup>6</sup> or w<sup>t</sup> think you of Wioming<sup>7</sup>—or of Some other part of Pensylvania? M<sup>r</sup> Pen will grant some small tract, if you desire it, perhaps 4 or 5000 acres, because the present ministry will desire him—but you may probably obtain y<sup>e</sup> largest tract up towards otter Creek or Somewhere on the Ohio or the Lakes—you must judge what is best. M<sup>r</sup> Smith thinks that a memorial drawn for a grant to you, & Signed by as many good people as you can get who will go & Settle with you would be like to have influence—But you must not be very open about it, nor hint that I write this, but let it be a Scheme of your own, & then it will make no great noise & you may procure 1 or 200 to Sign, under conditions which you Shall agree to with them; for the Grant must be to you—In order to this, you must draw your memorial; then go to Deacon Woodward,<sup>8</sup> &c &c & tell him that if he will Sign it he Shall have the two hundredth part of two thirds of the land w<sup>ch</sup> Shall be granted to you, & Secure it to him by Some Short instrument. But as this may

look Selfish, & w<sup>t</sup> would not do; you can draw one in your own name only—& another in the name of all who Sign, with a prayer for 2 or 3000 &c acres for the School—& please to Send me a full legal power of attorney to draw & Sign in your name &c. I know you designed I Should; but Such great things must be legal. Your own wisdom will point out what method will be best. You see, I have things only in embrio.

N. WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> Page 14.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Charles C. Beatty, 1715-1772, a popular Presbyterian minister, was sent to England in 1760 as agent of the Synod of New Brunswick, N. J., to solicit subscriptions for the relief of "poor Presbyterian ministers, minister's widows and their children" of that synod. His mission was highly successful.

<sup>3</sup> Denominational jealousies in England were such as to compel Whitaker to tread a wary path. Moreover, divisions within a given denomination, such as Arianism (a denial of complete equality to all members of the trinity), and Armenianism (justification by faith, as opposed to predestination) increased the difficulty. Just why the Presbyterians were considered by Whitaker to be particularly "carnal" is not quite clear, unless all those unsympathetic with his mission were to be thus described. The Independents (Congregationalist), here classed as friendly, from other citations seem to have objected to the close association of the mission with Whitefield. The followers of Wesley, constituting the larger branch of Methodism, appear to have taken but a lukewarm interest in the undertaking. On the other hand, the Baptists, in general, were helpful. But, in the main, the reliance was on the friends of Whitefield. It must be remembered, however, that in that category were to be numbered many churchmen to whom an effective appeal could be made, although never to the hierarchy of the Church of England. The reference above to Lord Dartmouth as a "Churchman and a Methodist" is another indication that the methodist movement was originally intended to operate inside the established church, and that many of its devotees remained constant to their church allegiance.

<sup>4</sup> DeBerdt, acting loyally as agent of Massachusetts, sent to Lord Dartmouth (then President of the Board of Trade) letters protesting against the Stamp Act on August 6, September 5 and December 3, 1765. He also transmitted a memorial to the same effect from the citizens of Charlestown and Boston on February 7, 1766. To which of these documents this citation refers is uncertain.

<sup>5</sup> The region in what is now Vermont, southeast of Lake Champlain.

<sup>6</sup> In 1761, Colonel John H. Lydius, of Albany, N. Y., who claimed large tracts in the territory around Otter Creek as a result of deeds of certain Mohawk chiefs, confirmed by Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts as royal agent (both claims being probably fraudulent), sent Asa Peabody of Connecticut to make surveys of the region. These surveys still survive.

<sup>7</sup> Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, was the real choice of Wheelock as the site of his school; a choice which later events (the massacre during the Revolution) were to show it to be fortunate that he did not attain.

<sup>8</sup> Israel Woodward, 1708-1797, of Lebanon, father of Bezaleel Woodward.

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

London Apr. 4, 1766.

REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

I have wrote you, I know not how many letters but I Still keep at it every Ship y<sup>t</sup> I know of. I wish you would write to me as often as you can. I have rec<sup>d</sup>. but one letter from you, that was wrote before I left Boston: & I have had the happiness to See Some letters to Scot. w<sup>ch</sup> you sent open to M<sup>r</sup> Wh. I desired you in former letters to Send all y<sup>e</sup> letters to me w<sup>ch</sup> are designed for Scotl: as they may do much mischief if I do not see y<sup>m</sup>. I have Sent you one or two printed Recommendations, & also one Narrative<sup>1</sup> printed here—& a long letter about the St. Act. & y<sup>e</sup> cold hearted, &c &c. I pray you will be careful not to expose w<sup>t</sup> I have S<sup>d</sup> of Characters. I now Send you, by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marshall, 67 Bibles & 45 Testaments which I obtained of the book Society for the use of the Indian Children in the Schools remote, or if need be greater, for your Scholars. I hope they may come in the right time, & may answer the end of the charity. I have also rec<sup>d</sup>. as a Donation to myself 47 little books for children to begin with, w<sup>ch</sup> I bequeath to the School, & 75 hymn books of which you may take 10 for y<sup>e</sup> same purpose—

I wrote you before that you may draw on the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Eells for £100 Sterling, & if M<sup>r</sup> Breed will pay you £100 Sterling & draw on me I will (God enabling me) answer the Bill to M<sup>r</sup> Lane, & if you need, & he is willing to pay more, I will endeav<sup>r</sup>. to answer his Bill, but you must endorse it, that I may act Safe in paying it.—M<sup>r</sup> Occom is now well of the Small pox & hath had it very light—We wait my Lord Dartmouth's return to town, from w<sup>ch</sup> he hath been near 14 days & will return next tuesday, in order for him to See y<sup>e</sup> K. & receive assurance of y<sup>e</sup> £400 & then we Shall be Strong to go on with Subscriptions; but we do nothing but prepare the way till this is done—M<sup>r</sup> Occom preaches for D<sup>r</sup> Chandler next Sab. week—& after y<sup>t</sup> the ice will be broke. I sometimes have clouds hanging over the Design, & know not w<sup>t</sup> course to take—but God, I hope, is my refuge;

& then the clouds vanish. I stand in great need of wisdom & grace in this waughty work—O pray for me that I may not be left to my own projects, & that God will be pleased to take it all into his own hands. Mr Whitefield returned home from Bristol last thursday, & Says y<sup>t</sup> the word preached was attended with great power to multitudes—blessed be y<sup>e</sup> Lord—I also Send you 3 or 4 Narratives—by which you will See that the plan is Somewhat altered from y<sup>e</sup> design of the Board—but I could not help it, for nothing would have been done to purpose if I had acted under their Commission. By conversation w<sup>th</sup> a minister (Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Pickard) I found that y<sup>e</sup> B—n Gentlemen have been writing to the London Society: I gathered this from Several [questions] w<sup>ch</sup> he asked, & would have me tell how that Board behaved, &c. but [enough] of Squables—I beg you will send me a most ample [Power] of Attorney, for as all the Subscriptions will be opened in your name [I shall not] be able to draw it out of the Bankers hands till I can [mentio]n that they will be Secure & free from your demand; & if [it pleases] God to give us a grant of Land for y<sup>e</sup> School, &c. (as I talked [of] in Several former letters) I shall need Such an Instrument. General Lyman talks very encouraging about his grant—how it will be I cannot tell.

Mr Smith is a friend indeed, & labours for this cause,—When he will return I know not. He is well & So is Mr Whitefield & Mr DeBerdt & other good friends. Take care that my family don't starve—Give much love to M<sup>rs</sup> Wheelock & Rodol. & all your family & School—& to all friends—I hope they will have no cause to repent your undertaking. I want you here very much—I am not half cunning enough for this work—but God knows how to conduct it. O pray for me & y<sup>e</sup> cause every day. Mr Occom presents duty to you & madam, he behaves with great prudence. The Gentlemen in Connecticut need not be afraid of his injuring them—for Mason himself don't desire he Should concern himself in his affairs. I add no more but that I am with the Same love as ever, your friend & Brother in our common Lord

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER

*P.S. Apr. 15.* I can't Send the Books by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Marshall as his ship [is] gone down, & I knew it not, but will Send them the first oppertunity.



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The King hath given £200, but hath not Seen M<sup>r</sup> Occom as yet & am not Sure he will, but this donation will carry all before it. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield exerts himself— N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *This Narrative (the third in the series) was intended for wide distribution in England. It is a pamphlet of forty-eight pages, containing the various recommendations of Occom and Whitaker, a personal appeal of Wheelock for funds, and letters and articles describing the work of the missions. It was "Printed by J. and W. Oliver in BARTHOLOMEW CLOSE near WEST SMITHFIELD, M,DCC,LXVI, London."*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Samson Occom*

*Lebanon April 9th, 1766.*

MY DEAR SON OCCOM

I hope these will find you well recover'd of the Small Pox—and that I may give you pleasure in informing you that your Family are all well—

M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker wrote me in your Wife's name a few weeks ago that her Circumstances were needy—Capt. Shaw<sup>1</sup> for some Reason, to me unknown Shewed a backwardness to supply her—I guess it is through the Influence of the Antimason Party—I immediately the Same Day wrote an order to M<sup>r</sup> Bread to Supply her on my acc<sup>t</sup>. with everything—a few Days after, your Father Fowler<sup>2</sup> was with me two nights by whom I Sent as much grain for her present relief as your old mare could carry, and doubt not but She is, and will be, well Supplied.

I hope God has made you more humble than you have commonly been—and if So he will exalt & lift you up—A pill or two in Boston I tho't was a very good preparative,<sup>3</sup> I was glad to hear of that as well as the Approbation Kindness, and Good liking of your Friends there.

M<sup>rs</sup> Sarah Rogers<sup>4</sup> & her sister have wrote my Daughter to inform them of M<sup>rs</sup> Occom's Necessities that they may Supply them—My Daughter is glad of the Office and will take pains about it—

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Your Father told me that Aaron is not a good Boy, runs abroad and not so Obedient to his Mother as he should be. I advised to put him out to a good Master, and Supply her Some other way.

I hope you will keep quite clear of the Mason Affair, or you will bring an old House about my Ears. You know they have nobody in that case to blame or contend with but myself—They all know that the Commissioners Refused to recommend you, or Send you; only on that Account—Their not sending you has been no Discouragement at all to me—I have look'd upon it as a Design in Providence to Secure the Glory more Effectually to God alone who performeth all things for us—

You will See what I write M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker—and excuse my not being more particular in this—you may depend upon it that nothing Shall be wanting for your Family within my Power. Accept Love in Abundance from

*My dear Sir*

*Yours most heartily,*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

<sup>1</sup> *Capt. Nathaniel Shaw, 1703-1778, of New London, in early life captain of a vessel engaged in the Irish trade, later the most distinguished merchant and ship owner in New London; prominent also in political life.*

<sup>2</sup> *James Fowler, at the time of Occom's advent at Montauk, was a heathen living in an Indian wigwam. Through the efforts of his son-in-law he became "civilized and christianized," and lived the remainder of his long life a shining example of the efficacy of the missionary process when applied to the savage.*

<sup>3</sup> *The lofty tone habitual to Wheelock (kindly though he was) in his dealings with his Indian disciples is a trait in his character not entirely pleasing to us as we read his letters.*

<sup>4</sup> *Mrs. Sarah Rogers, an extraordinarily pious woman of Boston, was a frequent correspondent both of Wheelock and Whitaker, pouring forth to them her religious difficulties and rhapsodies in letters of appalling length and singular orthography. As this notice indicates, she was also active in good works.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR BROTHER*London May 14. 1766.*

I have many things to Say, & very little time to write. Things here look with an aspect a little different from what they did a few weeks ago. We waited on M<sup>r</sup> Israel Mauduit<sup>1</sup> Some time Since in Company with M<sup>r</sup> Smith—He told us that M<sup>r</sup> Oliver had wrote to them—& by a hint which he dropt, & Some expressions from others, I Suspect that they in Boston have wrote, that they have a large School Somewhere among the Indians—& it Spreads here that your Plan is intended to overthrow the Boston Commissioners. As yet I have not been able to find from whence these rumours Spring; but tis easy to guess they Spring from the Society here excited by letters from Boston.

Soon on their receiving the letter from M<sup>r</sup> Oliver, they had a meeting, & Sent (as I have heard) £800 to their Commissioners; which makes us think that they in Boston have magnified their exploits. I was also informed, last Saturday, by a friend, that he had a hint that the Society here have wrote over to Boston to know how things are & whether you are in opposition to them, & will do what they can to Suspend my business till they have returns. I think it necessary to give you this hint, that you may be ready to enquire what they are doing, & give me the first intelligence. I now write M<sup>r</sup> Peck on the head & desire him to look out. It may be they will declare an opposition—If they do, I Shall need evidences to confront them. It was told me by M<sup>r</sup> Jasper Mauduit<sup>2</sup> y<sup>t</sup> we had taken M<sup>r</sup> Occom away from their Board & from his own people to whom he was Sent to preach, & had Sent him among the Mohawks who could not understand him. All this Shews that they in Boston are endeavouring to overset the Business—alass that Christians Should act thus! May God give them to See better & repent. You will furnish me with good evidence to confront these false assertions (But if the Board<sup>3</sup> assist you herein pray keep quite clear of the least mention of my appointm<sup>t</sup>. by them to beg, for I must not mention them here as having any concern in the monies) for I expect the

Devil will Soon open the Champain, & a war must ensue: but I know the Cause is of God, & these things look like the Devils old tricks—

You need give yourself no anxiety, for the cause will go on—It hath taken hold on the hearts of the religious, & they See the finger of God in it, and Suppose the worst, those who are of D<sup>r</sup> C-y's<sup>t</sup> turn only will dissert the Cause—It is a bold attempt for those gentlemen in Boston to write against this affair, for it will gain them but little favour at Court, especially as they are not of importance enough to overset my recommendations, on w<sup>ch</sup> his Majesty, Lord Dartmouth, Lord Shaftsbury<sup>5</sup> & Several others of distinction have ventured their Characters, & Lord Dartmouth is a firm friend & will not be moved or frighted by any of those gentlemen. I am Sure it would have been more to their honour, if not advantage, to have recommended the thing & done all in their power to promote it.—A word to the wise is Sufficient.

As I could not make use of the Scots Board as a Security for the Monies to be collected, & as Something was necessary to Satisfy people *in futuro*, I have named the Committee or Society<sup>6</sup> which united some years ago, of w<sup>ch</sup> Col. Williams was one as an agreeing body for this purpose. If that body did not consist of five persons please to draw the instrum<sup>t</sup>. over again & make that number or even seven. I must be one. Let M<sup>r</sup> Smith & M<sup>r</sup> Peck of Boston be put in, M<sup>r</sup> Pomroy, M<sup>r</sup> Eells, D<sup>r</sup> Lathrop or Shelden Esq<sup>r</sup>.<sup>7</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock—who must always be at the Botom as a foundation—Everybody seems well Satisfied with Such a Society & do not insist on charters—But pray don't tie your own hand. Let your instrum<sup>t</sup>. be So drawn that the property of the monie &c Shall be, not in them, but in you & your Successors to dispose of for the use of the School, & they be only as a body for advice, & to hear & examine your accounts, & to have a right of chusing & investing a Successor in all your right, in case you Should leave the School destitute, & to publish your acc<sup>ts</sup>. to the world. Be sure to mind this—We have already between 1 & 2 thousand pounds—& a prospect of provisions from the kings Stores, & of yet much larger Subscriptions—for I have but just begun; So that I can't but hope our coming will be to good purpose.

AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

We waited on his Grace of Canturbury Some days Since introduced by D<sup>r</sup> Chandler (who died last thursday) His Lordship told us, that they had tried to procure Indian youth to educate, & never could—that [it was] his opinion, that their Society Should send some youth to your [school] & Support them if you would take them, who, when fitted, Should [enter] their imploy, & that he would lay it before the Bishops. He Says he greatly approves the Schem, & So Says his Grace of York (on whom we waited the next day) & that he will contribute. You See you are highly complimented—Pray don't fail to renew the former Society & have 5 persons at least, as I have declared upon that here; & you know the Consequence if it is not done—One or two must be Secular men & of good estates to give credit to it. I am in perfect health & so is M<sup>r</sup> Occom—& M<sup>r</sup> Smith—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is not So well—O pray for us—The Lord Jesus be with your Spirit—Love to all—I am, my dear B<sup>r</sup>. yours as ever

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

P.S. I have been trying to git Some books on board for you of w<sup>ch</sup> I wrote you Some time ago but cannot thro' hurry—I hope to send them soon—God only knows when I Shall See you—O may we meet in a better world, amen & amen

N. W.

N.B. I Send you Some Narratives—please to Send one to Sir Wm. Johnson

<sup>1</sup> *Israel Mauduit, 1708-1787, early in life a dissenting clergyman, later a woolen draper in Lime Street, London, and a man of large wealth. A political writer and pamphleteer.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jasper Mauduit, brother and business partner of the above, agent of Massachusetts Bay in London, 1762-1765, member of the governing board of the London Society.*

<sup>3</sup> *The Connecticut Correspondents.*

<sup>4</sup> *Dr. Charles Chauncy, 1705-1787; Harvard, 1721; minister of the First Church in Boston, 1727-1787. A liberal in religion, he severely criticised the excesses of the revival led by Whitefield. In 1743 he published a book entitled SEASONABLE THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND, in which the leaders of the Great Awakening, Wheelock among others, were blamed for the prevailing hysteria. From that time on he was constant in his opposition to the Lebanon minister and to his educational enterprises.*

<sup>5</sup> *Anthony Ashley-Cooper, fourth Earl of Shaftesbury, died in 1771. He contributed thirty guineas to the cause.*

AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

\* *In 1755, Col. Joshua More gave to a set of trustees a house and two acres of land in Lebanon to serve as the home of the Indian School. These trustees were Col. Elisha Williams, formerly Rector (or President) of Yale; Rev. Samuel Moseley, Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy and Wheelock. Although this board had long been inactive, it was Whitaker's proposal to revive it, in order to remove the School from the auspices of the Scotch Society. The project came to nothing.*

<sup>1</sup> *Elisha Sheldon, Esq., 1709-1779, Yale 1730, merchant at Lyme and Litchfield, member of the Connecticut Assembly and later of the Council.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London May 15. 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>

I have a moments time to inform you that we are in good health, & that the Devil is in a rage—but hope all will turn out well—pray much for the Cause—I beg you would send me all the good Samples of the Indians writing you can by the first opportunity. You will See how things are by a letter to M<sup>r</sup> Peck of B——n. But don't be concerned; all will be well—I am now going to wait on Lord Dartmouth & hope to write you again in a few Days—I have not been So lucky as to git your Books on Board any Ship yet—but will try w<sup>t</sup> I can do by the next. Love to all. The Lord be with you my D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>. I am yours as ever

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Moses Peck*

*London May 15. 1766.*

MY DEAR BROTHER

Perhaps you will be grieved when I tell you that Some of your town have wrote to the Society here to cast cold water on the design—I was informed last week, that the Society here have wrote to their Commiss<sup>rs</sup> with you to procure intelligence from them of the State of this affair, & to know if the School is Set up in opposition to their

Commission—My Lord Dartmouth is engaged in the Cause, & his Majesty has become a Doner. It is tho't here that his Excellency Gove<sup>r</sup>. Barnard<sup>1</sup> hath done himself an honour in Signing my recommendation, & that it would not have been [to] the discredit or disadvantage of Some other Gentlemen if they also had done it; & I am Sure that if they Should persue any measures to discredit this design, it will not be either to their advantage or honour, as the affair is established by Sufficient testimonials & the honour of his Majesty & Several of the Nobility is concerned to Stand by it Since they have become doners. O how much is it to be lamented that Christians Should envy others who are like to do more good than they! The field is wide, & there is room enough for them & M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock too; & nothing but a fear of being eclipsed can excite them to oppose, as they have no want of monies, & [then] the Society here have more than they know w<sup>t</sup> to do with, as the governor & Several of the Society have told me. May the Lord give them repentance & a better heart. One would think they should reather encourage their Society to help forward this glorious work which hath already opened the door for even themselves to Send the Gospel to the perishing heathen. It Spreads here that We are in opposition to your Board & So to the London Society. Do you think that M<sup>r</sup> Oliver could Send Such an account here, Since he pays M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock £20 per An. to encourage his School out of y<sup>e</sup> Societies money, & is, with many others of that Board, a member of y<sup>e</sup> general assembly which has granted £72 for Several years for the Same purpose?<sup>2</sup> This however is not only possible but—

I desire you would keep a look out & give me the first inteligence you can git of what is doing. I have wrote M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock on these things—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield also writes M<sup>r</sup> Oliver, & that to the purpose—he says he will write also to dear M<sup>r</sup> Mason<sup>3</sup>—you may shew this to M<sup>r</sup> Whitwell<sup>4</sup>—I expect to wait on my Lord Dartmouth this week. I have received peculiar notices of friendship from his Lordship—& am not afraid of the influence of those with you. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has his ear at pleasure & can do more than people commonly think; but don't let anything I Say about these great names So transpire as to be Sent back as written by me—Whatever you & other friends Shall

write, I beg that no mention may be made of the Board in Connecticut as Sending [me] or as being Connected with the School, but only as friends to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks Measures, if they are mentioned at all (for indeed they have not the School in their Hands neither have they ever done anything to Support either that or y<sup>e</sup> Missionaries). The reason of this is that I could not declare in their name or act under them because the people here would not give to the Scots Society—pray don't Shew what I have here Said to anyone in Boston.

I Send you a bundle of Pamphlets for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, you may open them & take out one for yourself & Send the rest to him—The Cause gains ground daily among the pious here—It is all in God's hand & will all go on well—I long to See you & dear M<sup>rs</sup> Peck & other ever dear, dear friends—you will give my love to them & also their continued prayers—for the Devil begins to roar here. Friends here are well—The Lord Jesus be w<sup>th</sup> your Spirit, & peace from God rest on you all thro Jesus our common Lord—I Still remain My dear Brother

*Yours as ever*

NATH'L. WHITAKER

*N.B.* I have constantly declared here that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock has no Competition with the Boston Board, but desires they may do more than ever; & content myself with Speaking Positively in favour of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks plan—

Pray inclose this & send it to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock immediately. I broke open this letter after I had Sealed it.

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Francis Bernard, 1712-1779, Governor of New Jersey, 1758-1760, of Massachusetts, 1760-1769.*

<sup>2</sup> *In 1756 Wheelock had received from the Boston Board a grant of £12. In 1758 this was increased to £20, and continued at that amount each year down to the date of this letter. From 1761 to 1767 he was awarded annually by the Massachusetts Assembly a grant of £72 for the support of six Iroquois boys, the sum being drawn from the income of a fund of £750 left to the colony of Massachusetts in 1751 by Sir Peter Warren for the education of Indian children.*

<sup>3</sup> *Jonathan Mason, of Boston, wealthy merchant, friend and correspondent of Wheelock, selectman of Boston, deacon and treasurer of the Old South Church, state senator and member of the council. He was one of the founders of the first bank in New England. He died in 1798.*

<sup>4</sup> *Either Samuel Whitewell, of Boston, merchant, who sold Wheelock (according to existing bills) such articles as "yellow sheepskin breeches," or William Whitewell who, by the same evidence, dealt in tea, coffee, sugar, combs, etc.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

London May 29. 1766

REV<sup>d</sup> & VERY DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

I am Still in good health thro y<sup>e</sup> great goodness of God, & So is M<sup>r</sup> Occom—tho' he is but just recovered from an ill turn of the dysentary without blood w<sup>ch</sup> confined [him] three or 4 Days. I have, my D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>., Seen much of the goodness of God since I have been here, & also of the working of Satan. I now forbare Saying any thing to you of Some of his old tricks for a certain reason, concluding you will hear Something from other hands. O that we may go on trusting & hoping in God, & quietly waiting for his Salvation. I verily believe that God will appear in his own time & way to confound all who rise up against this glorious design. O pray much for me, for I expect Shortly to arm for battle, unless the Lord prevent, & I can assure you I am not afraid to fight in this good Cause especially as enimies here begin, even beforehand, to lick the dust. I beg, my Good Sir, that you would Send me with all Speed, an authentick acc<sup>t</sup>. of all the monies you rec<sup>d</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup> London Coms<sup>n</sup>. & of all they did towards M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Education.<sup>1</sup> It may be Something will open here w<sup>ch</sup> will give Some light—M<sup>r</sup> Lane,<sup>2</sup> one of y<sup>e</sup> Society, told me this day that they remit very little below £1000 Ster. per An. to their C—*ubi est* ! ! ! ! ! You can procure of M<sup>r</sup> Shaw of N. L. an acc<sup>t</sup>. of all M<sup>r</sup> Occom hath rec<sup>d</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup> B——n C—— & let it be attested. These things may keep me here a little longer, but they will turn out gloriously by & by. The wrath of man Shall praise thee, &c.

I can't Say how much Money is already Subscribed, but I believe about £1500 Ster. The faithful ministers here grow more & more bold in this Cause. Dear M<sup>r</sup> Romain on reading y<sup>e</sup> Narrative was So affected that he could not refrain, & made a Collection in his Church<sup>8</sup> of £107 2.3 Ster. It is evident the cause gains grownd by opposition, & all will be got which y<sup>e</sup> Redeemer Sees best. It may be it is best it Should yet live on its providence, & that his glory will this way be more conspicuous—his will be done—but Sho'd I procure no more than w<sup>t</sup> is in hand & w<sup>t</sup> I have assurance of, it will pay

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for my Coming, but I can't think but much more will be done. Mr Penn hath given; how much I can't Say—He Seems disposed to encourage the School's removal into y<sup>e</sup> back Part of his Province toward fort Duquesne. Or it may possibly be accommodated near Cohos;<sup>4</sup> for [torn]g Wintworth, who hopes for N. H. Governm<sup>t</sup> Seems [torn] of it.<sup>5</sup> But where would you chuse it? I tell here that 5 or 6 townships would likely be Setled at once if land could be procured on good tearms. But I wait your Answer to former letters on this head. Some how or other I have missed every oppertunity of Sending the Bibles which I have procured. I think it best not to Send you any Goods just now—Mr Whitefield will write you by this Ship; he is poorly with his asthma—M<sup>rs</sup> Whitefield gives much love to you & madam. I rec<sup>d</sup>. yours of Feb. 12 last week—am grieved for M<sup>r</sup> Smiths indisposition. Pray git M<sup>r</sup> Smith to declare what M<sup>r</sup> Forbes<sup>6</sup> offered him last Summer to engage w<sup>th</sup> the B——n C—— & write me well attested the Conversation which passed between you & M<sup>r</sup> Mosely about displacing M<sup>r</sup> Smith, & the vote of the board respecting his going to another place; & how long the Indians at Onohoquaga were neglected by the B——n C—— & the state of their application to us last year.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps you wonder why I ask for So many things & So well attested—but you must excuse my telling you just now. You may know hereafter. There is no news here—it is a time of general health. Give much Love to all my dear friends—don't forgit to pray for me—And allow me, my dear Brother to Subscribe myself

*Your unfeigned friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>. in Christ*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> In 1745, two years after he entered Wheelock's school, Occom was awarded an annual subsidy by the Boston Board of £60 (old tenor) which was continued until his education was interrupted in the winter of 1748-1749 by ill health.

<sup>2</sup> Whether this Mr. Lane is the same as the one referred to in these letters as the business correspondent of Breed and Lathrop is uncertain. A certain Thomas Lane is credited with a gift of ten guineas to the cause.

<sup>3</sup> At St. Anne's, Blackfriars.

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\* *At this time the name Cohos (variously spelled) was applied to all the territory in northern New Hampshire and the upper Connecticut Valley. It survives in the name Coos given to the northernmost county of New Hampshire.*

\* *The torn condition of the manuscript makes this sentence of dubious import. The terminal letter "g" in the name (all that survives) points to Benning Wentworth, who could hardly "hope for N. H. Governm'." as he was about to be displaced from that position. Possibly the passage refers to Benning's brother, Mark Hunking Wentworth, although he is not known to have entertained gubernatorial ambitions. It ought to refer to Hunking's son John, who was in England at this time and in the following August was appointed to the position. Or it may be that the "hope" refers to the possibility of securing the school for the "N. H. Governm'."*

\* *Dr. Eli Forbes, 1726-1804; Harvard, 1751; minister at Brookfield, Mass., 1752-1776; at Gloucester, 1776-1804; missionary to the Indians at Onohoquaga in 1762.*

\* *The mission at Onohoquaga was established by the Boston Board in 1753, with Rev. Gideon Hawley as their agent, and continued until 1756. It was resumed in 1761 with Hawley in charge, who was succeeded in the following year by Rev. Eli Forbes and Rev. Asaph Rice. Rev. Joseph Bowman, ordained August 31, 1762, was destined for this position but was delayed by illness and the mission was then terminated by the outbreak of the Indian wars. The controversy between Wheelock and the Boston Board in regard to its reestablishment in 1765 has already been referred to (page 74).*



### Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock

*London May 30: 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR

Pray look and See what it was the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Commis<sup>rs</sup> of Boston did towards my Education, I think you kep an Account of it, and Send Master Rudolphus to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shaw of N. London, to know what he Pay'd me for the Commis<sup>rs</sup>, and how many Years he Pay'd me—and Send the Accounts with all Speed, for it is of great Consequence that we have them,—the Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Commis<sup>rs</sup> of Boston have Wrote against us, they Signify withall, they Supported me while I was Learning at your House, & have Supported me ever Since, and pay'd all my Debts.<sup>1</sup>—and you took me away from them &c &c &c—I have had a Severe turn of a Bloody Flux for a week past, but I am almost well

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thro' god's great goodness—my Eyes are Weak, I can't rite much at  
this Time—I hope it is Well With you all. Dutiful Respects from  
your unworthy Servant

S. OCCOM

P.S. I have not seen the Letter Neither can we get the Copy of it yet.

<sup>1</sup> *In addition to the grants received by Occom from the Boston Board for his education, he was taken under its patronage in 1751 and received all together during his stay in Montauk and for three years of his residence in Mohegan the sum of £225 (lawful money) in amounts ranging from £15 to £25 each year. This money came, of course, from the parent society in London. It was entirely inadequate for his support. The expenses of his missionary journeys to the Iroquois in 1761, 1762 and 1763 were paid by Wheelock, and from 1764 he was entirely dependent upon the Lebanon minister.*

\*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London June 13. 1766*

REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>.

I have often wrote to you, & have yet rec<sup>d</sup> no answer to any letter (tho' I have rec<sup>d</sup>. Some letters Since I left you) which makes me fear that Something has intercepted my letters; especially as there are great back-friends in Boston. May God give them repentence for what they have done. (I in Company w<sup>th</sup> our dear M<sup>r</sup> Smith waited this day on that most noble & precious man L. D——th. He Shew'd us usual i.e., distinguishing respect. He had offered Some time ago to be one of the Com<sup>rs</sup>. of Correspondents to whom you Should transmit accounts; but as he is like to be Secratory of State for America,<sup>1</sup> it was tho't he would not chuse to have his name used, but it was put to him whether he would yet have his name used as a correspondent & his reply was "That he was quite willing & was ready to be concerned in this affair any way that might promote it; & would gladly, as far as his business would allow, receive the Acc<sup>ts</sup>. himself." I tell you this to chear your heart, & let you See on w<sup>t</sup> ground you at present Stand. There has been an obstruction to the work for want of trustees to receive y<sup>e</sup> money; & after much consultation, my Lord this

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day Said, He tho't there was no necessity for trustees; but that the money Should be lodged with you, & you immediately appoint your Successor & fix the trust in his hands So as to Secure it to the use of the School—for that on the most thorough search he could make, no intrustment with a number had ever Secured the benefactions for the end for w<sup>ch</sup> they were made; & that if less Shoud be gathered, the whole would be more dependent on God, & his glory would be the more clearly Seen; & that trustees would tend to embarras you, & your Successor.<sup>2</sup> All that I have now Said about my L. pray let no mortal See or hear. If you would read the rest of this letter please to copy of all but this & Shew your Coppy.) I have, by the goodness of God got a considerable Sum in hand: pray do not Scant your measures for want of money. God will provide, & what I have got, & is in prospect, will be quite worth coming for.

Your School will doubtless be removed Some where toward the Ohio. This is now depending—what the event will be, God only knows; but you have ground of hope & prayer. I hope to git a few roods of land to be located, *ad libitum*, out of charter limits. I have wrote you repeatedly on the head of location, but unless letters come Soon from you, I hope they will come too late. But this is Still with God, & depends wholly on his own good will. You may write to my L: but don't let him perceive that you ever had the least hint concerning him from me. I tell you again not to cut Short any thing which will advance the Cause, for fear of Spending money. As to M<sup>r</sup> Occom he is in good health & is generally accepted by the Serious. I have my health perfectly, tho' my labour is exceeding hard & fa-teaguing. Blessed be God who carries me thro' & gives me favour in the eyes of men: & tho' y<sup>e</sup> Devil roars, yet you will, by y<sup>e</sup> blessing of God, Shortly See Satan crushed under your feet—The enimies of this cause will be ashamed & God will Shew that they who wait on him will want no good thing. O triumph in him who does w<sup>t</sup> he pleases. You can't understand all I write unless M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has wrote you of the conduct of some in B——n which I have not mentioned; & am Still Silent in order to give those on this Side the water an opper-tunity to accommodate the difficulty, Since they are in the Sudds as well as those in B——n. What God designs I can't tell, but you will

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hear in due time—Give much Love to dear madam children &c & rest assured that I am, my dear Brother

*Your real & Steady friend an[d] Brother*

NATH<sup>1</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> Lord Dartmouth did not become Secretary of State for America at this time; on the contrary, through the fall of the Rockingham ministry in August, he went out of office entirely. He did, however, assume this position in the North administration in 1772 and retained it until 1775.

<sup>2</sup> The plan to avoid the institution of a formal trust proved to be unworkable.

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*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London, June 17. 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & EVER DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

I have now an opportunity to write via N. York. Long to hear from you w<sup>ch</sup> I have not since yours of Feb. 12. to w<sup>ch</sup> I wrote an answer—The gentlemen in B——n have wrote a devilish L——<sup>1</sup> to the Society here—after givin a true acc<sup>t</sup>, in the main, of M<sup>r</sup> O. the[y] Say, “How he hath been employed Since he left us we know not, excepting that he has been preaching in y<sup>e</sup> principle towns in this & the neighbouring governm<sup>ts</sup>. And by Some means or other a report prevailed wherever he came that M<sup>r</sup> O. was a mohawk, very lately bro’t out of gross paganism & in a very little time fitted by M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock to be what he is; The report of an Indian So lately converted to christianity, & in So very Short a time fitted to fill a Christian pulpit, So affected people wherever he came as to procure large contributions for M<sup>r</sup> W——k—And as we understand M<sup>r</sup> Oc. is going to England, & least y<sup>e</sup> Same acc<sup>ts</sup> Sho’d be transmitted to you & have the Same effects, we think it our duty to give you this true acc<sup>t</sup>. of M<sup>r</sup> O.” This is not a cobby, but w<sup>t</sup> I remember of the letter: for as yet I am refused a cobby of it—& I don’t yet force things, y<sup>t</sup> they on this Side may have time to make up y<sup>e</sup> matter with me. This letter was dated Oct. 2. 1765. It is a Black affair—But blessed be God; he gives

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me to triumph over all these men—tho the poison had Spread far before I found it out—Mr O——r<sup>2</sup> Signed it in the name of the Board—I have not wrote a word to B——n of the affair & would have you Say nothing till you hear farther from me—God Succeeds the Cause—don't Spare money—I know you will look on it as Christs—O pray for us—& the Cause. Give much love to madam & all & believe that I am yours as ever

NATH<sup>1</sup> WHITAKER.

*N.B.* You must immediately make your Will & fix your Successor, & give him the monies in trust for the School—if you join any with him, it must not be above 2 or 3 at most; & he must have a Sovereignty over them at least by a negative, don't delay to do this—

N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *This is the first specific reference to the letter of the Boston Board, which was beginning to embarrass Whitaker, and which was subsequently to be the cause of endless controversy.*

<sup>2</sup> *Andrew Oliver.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London June 27. 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & VERY DEAR BROTHER

I hope you Still enjoy those divine consolations which have been your Song in your weary pilgrimage hitherto. Sure I am that Nothing Short of divine & extraordinary aid could have enabled you to go thro' the arduous work in which you are engaged with Such Stidiness & Success. O that the Same grace may ever be Sufficient for you.

I am Sometimes Sensible of my own deficiency in those graces which are requisite to the work in w<sup>ch</sup> I am engage[d], & that if God does not take it into his own hand & direct the whole of it, it will turn out a Shameful thing in the end. But blessed be his holy name he

hath not yet put me to Shame in this affair, tho' Satan hath & Still doth what he can to withstand the cause yet I trust that the king of Zion will Shortly crush him under our feet. I have many warm friends here; & I think it is here as in America, that the pious are engaged in the cause but the Ar[ia]ns are cold & many oppose. But God reigns—

I wrote you via N. York of a letter wrote by Secretary O——r asserting that by Some means or other a report had Spread wherever M<sup>r</sup> Occom came (last year) That he was a mohawk, lately bro't out of Gross paganism, & in a very little time fitted by M<sup>r</sup> W——k to be a preacher. That the report of an Indian So lately converted from heathenism & fitted in So Short a time to fill a Christian pulpit So affected people wherever he came as to procure large contributions for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock: & they Say, "least the Same acc<sup>t</sup>. Should be transmitted to you we think it our duty to give you this acc<sup>t</sup>. of M<sup>r</sup> Occom. The acc<sup>t</sup> they had given before, & it is Substantially right. O how much like Satan is this—

*July 1. 1766.* This day rec<sup>d</sup> your packet—how glad of a power of attorney Signed<sup>d</sup> by that very Oliver who signed the letter above mentioned—What a Streight was he in when he did it!

It is well they report in B——n that we have published here that M<sup>r</sup> Occom is a mohawk, & very lately bro't out of gross paganism,—The Naritives printed here Shew w<sup>t</sup> we have published, for nothing else has been published—it is just as true as w<sup>t</sup> they have Sent here, & so they may serve to corroborate each other—I hope, by the grace of God, to rise above them all—The Godly here are warm for the Cause, & the more for the opposition from Boston,—the rest are, you may Guess how—Pray Send no more books to me, the packet cost me £0-11-6—

I wrote you in a letter the other day that I have a great difficulty about trust—the board would not do; & the declaration was in your name—But enimies objected, y<sup>t</sup> you are mortal, &c &c. & want a trust. But Dear M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield would by no means consent, & Lord Dartmouth tho't it best to be a matter of faith, & therefore no trust named, but only an assurance given that your will provides a trust to Secure it, in case of your death, to the use of the School.



The end of friends in objecting to a trust is to keep you at liberty to persue your own measures. L. Dartmouth espresly said to this effect—But after all, I tell you my tho't viz appoint 4 or 5 at most to take the trust of what shall remain at your Death, & among these fix on your Successor & give him a power of Negative on the votes of the rest—let this be done immediately and Send me an acc<sup>t</sup>. of it—You need not Speak to the men you appoint or let y<sup>m</sup> know you appoint them, & then you can Shift them without offence—If need be that I appoint a trust here as your attorney I Shall fix on Wheelock, Pomroy, Eells, Whitaker, & it may be Fish—A charter is not necessary—the most of the Societies here are Self formed, & yet some have very large funds—Yet I will try to obtain a Charter—if friends will agree—but I know y<sup>a</sup> will object that it will tie your hands—The Serious here are Sick of trusts—but those who design to do nothing will make a rout & try to discourage others—and as I know not but I must declare on Some Names, or at least that you have determined to have the affair in Such a Situation as that the mony Shall be applied to the use for which it is given in case of your death, I think it is best to fix in Some Such manner as I have hinted above—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is now at Bath & So can't consult him, & if on consultation I Sho'd write anything which contradicts w<sup>t</sup> I now write, you need not marvel. I see your Eye is on Wyoming, or Hudsons River.<sup>2</sup> I Shall See M<sup>r</sup> Smith tomorrow, & consult with him; It may be that Pen, who has given £50 will Grant Wyoming—if this is tho't best—But if not my Noble L. D. will do all he can for you on Hudsons R. as I Suppose.

O how affecting is Y<sup>o</sup> Death of dear Joseph Wolly<sup>a</sup>—but God reigns—I trust in God that M<sup>r</sup> Smith here will do well enough—I have answered the Bill in fav<sup>r</sup>. of Asahel Clark,<sup>4</sup> & also M<sup>r</sup> Pecks—& have paid M<sup>r</sup> Eells £100—I hope Soon to receive M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands Journal—& some indian rarities as Soon as is convenient. I can't possibly determine yet what to do about goods, this is a delicate affair & I must act on advice—I Shall go into the country D. V. within about 2 weeks, & it may be Shall not return to London till near winter, but dont Stop writing to me, for I Shall git your letters, only direct them to the Care of M<sup>r</sup> Robert Keen in the Minories London. He is a most

hearty friend, & So is the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Brewer at Stepney, London—he made a Collection for you last Sab: of £133, & is full of Zeal for the Cause—pray write him a christian letter. The Lord performeth all things for us—O that we may hope only in him. Love to all—M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well. I am your real friend & B<sup>r</sup> as ever

NATH<sup>l</sup>. WHITAKER

*July 3.* M<sup>r</sup> Occom has not Said one word in Masons affair. Neither has Mason desired him to Say or do anything about it, & I can assure the folks of Connecticut that M<sup>r</sup> Occom is full as peaceable as any of them & does nothing to hurt y<sup>m</sup> in this affair.

As to goods,<sup>5</sup> I know not what I Shall or can do in the affair—I must conduct the whole by the best advice. And as my L. D. John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>. Sir Charles Hotham, a real S<sup>t</sup>., Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage &c. have agreed to be a committee of Correspondents to receive acc<sup>t</sup>. from you of the expences of the monies & Successes of the enterprises, they will expect to be advised with respecting the remittance of the mony—Whatever bills you Shall See fit [to] Sell to M<sup>r</sup> Breed drawn on me in favour of M<sup>r</sup> Lane to the amount of £500 Ster. I will hon<sup>r</sup>. but Say nothing of this to anybody but M<sup>r</sup> Breed—Don't forgit to pray for us & this cause—I know it lies near your heart, & may he keep us all near himself—I wish Rodolphus was here—Give armsfull of love to dear madam, Children, School & all an[d] accept the same from

*My dear Sir your most affectionate B<sup>r</sup> & Serv<sup>t</sup> in y<sup>o</sup>  
Gospel*

N. WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently as a notary.

<sup>2</sup> In the following years strenuous attempts were made by the city of Albany to secure the Indian School for that locality.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Woolley, a Delaware, member of Wheelock's school from 1757, school-master at Onohoquaga in 1765, where he died of tuberculosis on November 27, "greatly mourned by the Indians."

<sup>4</sup> One of Wheelock's parishioners. Representative in the Connecticut Legislature in 1791 and 1792.

<sup>5</sup> Shipment of the proceeds of the mission in the form of goods, a proposal which later encountered the severe criticism of the English Trust.

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Moses Peck*<sup>1</sup>London July 22<sup>d</sup>. 1766

DEAR BROTHER

I remember you once said that Lies have no Legs; but I can assure you that they have Legs, or Wings, or some other Way of Swift Conveyance as you will see in the Sequel of this Letter—

After I had been in London about two Months, I found cause to suspect by some Hints that there was a Letter came over from M<sup>r</sup> Oliver which gave some unkind hints concerning us and the Business we came upon. This was kept here as a Snake in the Grass; & I often felt its Influence, before I knew that there was a Letter come in Fact, to my Disadvantage. But about the Beginning of May, some Ministers, who are Friendly to us, desired we should give them & some others a Meeting, to clear up some Scruples which some had; we met, & there I found that a sad Letter was come to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit Governor of the Society here. I asked their Advice, & in Compliance with it went the next Day to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit & desired to see the Letter. He promised I should see it the next Day if I would come to his country House—I went & saw it—& the Reason why I have not wrote to Boston before now, is that I might not kindle a Fire among you, or stir up the Corruptions of Men—But having now waited above two Months to see what the Society here would do to counteract that Letter, & having repeatedly desired a Copy of it for my Defence, without being gratified, I now, on mature Deliberation, & good Advice, give you, M<sup>r</sup> Austin,<sup>2</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Mason, the Contents of that Letter, to make as publick as you shall think best—the Letter was dated Oct<sup>r</sup>. 2. 1765, long before I left Boston, & before I spoke with M<sup>r</sup> Oliver of my coming over to England—would not Manhood then have obliged him to have told me of it? The wise are taken in their own Craftiness—After I saw the Letter I came directly home & wrote what my Memory could contain, which I am confident was every material Idea contained in it, & is as follows

Boston Oct<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1765.HON<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>.

As we understand that M<sup>r</sup> Sampson Occom is going to Europe, we think it our Duty to give you a true Account of Him:—

M<sup>r</sup> Occom was born at Mohegan between N. London & Norwich two of the most populous Towns in Connecticut where have been schools kept for a long Time, & where the Indians were surrounded by christian People & Ministers & upwards of 20 years ago, M<sup>r</sup> Occom was brought under serious Impressions, & some Time after was by some good People put under the Care & Instruction of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Pomroy & Wheelock, where he continued several Years 'till his Health forbid him persueing his Studies, & then he went & taught a School at Montauk, the eastermost Corner of the Province of New York where he continued several Years under our Pay—Afterwards he was ordained by some Ministers in Connecticut, & was sent on a Mission to the Back Indians, where it seems he continued but a very short Time—After this being reduced to low Circumstances, he applied to us, & we took him into our Service, in which he might still have continued, if he had desired it, & continued to discharge the Duties of his Office with Fidelity—But M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock desired that we would release him saying that he would employ him better

How M<sup>r</sup> Occom hath been employed since he left us we know not excepting that he hath been preaching in the principal Towns of this & the neighbouring Governments among the white People, & by some Means or other *where ever he came*, a report prevailed that he was a Mohawk lately emergent out of gross Paganism, & fitted in a very little Time by M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock to be what he is—The Report of an Indian so lately brought from Heathenism, & fitted in such a short Time to fill a christian Pulpit, so affected People *where ever he came*, as to be a Means of procuring large Contributions for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock<sup>s</sup>—And least the same Accounts should be transmitted to you, & should have the Same Effect in England, we think it our duty to give you this faithfull Account of M<sup>r</sup> Occom—This I write by order & in the Name of y<sup>e</sup> Board—

A. OLIVER Sec<sup>r</sup>.*To M<sup>r</sup> Jasper Manduit*

This is the Letter as near as I can remember, & was I call'd to confirm what I write, by an Appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, I should say, that I am persuaded, that I have not given one more Idea (of any Importance) in this, than is convey'd in the Original, tho' I can't give the Words exactly, & may have wrote some words which are not in that, which can easily be excused as I am deny'd the Letter or a Copy.

Now if there was such a Report spread wherever M<sup>r</sup> Occom came, you all know who spread it. None were with him but M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock & myself which appears *here* by the Narative printed last September, & so we must be discovered here as well as with you to be great Lyars. Besides if such a Report so prevail'd, where-ever he came, as to procure large Contributions for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, then it was declared from all the Pulpits where Contributions were made, & not raised by a few who might misunderstand the Account—And if this was the Case it is quite easy for y<sup>e</sup> Ministers in all those Places to write over to England & convince People here that we are impostures; if otherwise, they can as easily write to shew the falsity of that Letter, which they will doubtless think they are bound to do, when they hear of this—Besides could his Excelency,<sup>4</sup> who is President of that Board know of this when he signed my Recommendation to G. Britain near two Months after?—Could good D<sup>r</sup> Sewal<sup>5</sup> know this who prayed for me & bid me God's Speed in the Work, & for whom I preach'd repeatedly? Could the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Pemberton & Mahew know of this, with whom I spent an Evening, in Company with M<sup>r</sup> Eells, in Discourse of the School, when they both declared themselves satisfied respecting it (except that M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton objected that things were too much in M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks Hands), & yet they said not one Word to me of this Letter? Could M<sup>r</sup> Elliot<sup>6</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Cooper<sup>7</sup> know of this, when they both invited me to preach for them; tho' they & all the Rest must know (if such a Report had been spread as this Letter asserts) that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock & I were Confederates in falsehood? Could Governor Hutchinson know this when he offered to sign my Recommendation (if M<sup>r</sup> Oliver would) & yet said nothing to me of it? And were it not that M<sup>r</sup> Oliver's Name (in his own Writing) is to that Letter which I have seen, as well as some others, I

should ask, could Mr Oliver know that such a Letter was wrote the 2<sup>d</sup>. of October, when he, (the last of Nov<sup>r</sup>.) told me that he had no Objection to signing my Recommendations in Case some of the Board would agree to it, & yet never hinted a Word to me about it? & especially one would think that he could not know it, when, on the 26<sup>th</sup>. of last May, he, by his Excellency's Command, signs the Confirmation of a Power of Attorney under the Seal of the Government, to authorize me to act *only* in this very Business, which that Letter was designed to overthrow.—I wish you could ask these gentlemen if they knew of this Letter—or whether it is a forgery, to ruin their Character at one Stroke. If it is a forgery, it is a pity the forger should not be discovered, & they acquitted—And if it is not a forgery I may venture to say, that they have raised or (at least) taken up a false Report (without any good Evidence) against their Neighbours, which ill becomes the Citizens of Zion—Is this the Way to promote the peacable Kingdom of our Lord Jesus? May God give repentence & pardon such Offenders.

You will it may be think it proper to acquaint Friends with this affair, that they may write the Truth, for tho' little Credit is given here to that Letter now, yet Letters from your Side will strengthen the Hands of Friends here, & so promote the Work. I have great reason to bless god that we have general Favour shewn Us, & many warm Friends among Ministers & People & good Success—&c &c

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*A Copy*

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is endorsed, apparently by Wheelock, "A Copy; from Mr. Whitaker to Mess. Peck, Austin, Mason, &c, July 22, with A. Oliver's to Mr. Mauduit of Oct. 1765. Rec'd Oct. 1766." It is not in Whitaker's handwriting.*

<sup>2</sup> *Probably Samuel Austin, of Boston, who was a frequent contributor to the Indian School.*

<sup>3</sup> *Aside from this letter, no evidence exists that such a representation in regard to Occom was ever made by Wheelock.*

<sup>4</sup> *Governor Bernard.*

<sup>5</sup> *Dr. Joseph Sewell, 1688-1769; Harvard 1707; minister of the Old South Church, Boston, 1713-1769.*

<sup>6</sup> *Dr. Andrew Eliot, 1719-1778; Harvard 1737; minister of the New North Church, Boston, 1741-1778.*

<sup>7</sup> *Dr. Samuel Cooper, 1725-1783; Harvard 1739; minister of the Brattle Square Church, Boston, 1744-1783.*

*Statement of Nathaniel Whitaker in regard to the Oliver letter<sup>1</sup>*

I Saw y<sup>e</sup> Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Oliver of Boston Dated Oct 2. 1765 wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Jasper Mauduit of London, at S<sup>d</sup>. Manduit's House in Hackney the first time I waited on him *there*. I waited on him twice afterwards & desired a Coppy of S<sup>d</sup>. letter, as I did the first time, but was refused it, & the last time, I desired a Sight of the letter to refresh my memory, if I might not have a coppy, & this was refused.

N. WHITAKER

M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker Says that the Board in Boston had no plan for educating youth for miss<sup>r</sup> when he left America, & at present have no missionaries that he knows of but on the Sea Coasts, except one they Sent in 1765 to Onohoquage, where they have had Several missionaries heretofore.

M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock hath often applied to the Boston Board for their assistance & hath obtained only what he hath accompted for in Narratives printed in Boston in 1763 & 1765—& desired their friendship & countenance in this affair

That Governor Bernard the presid<sup>t</sup>. of the Boston Board, signed his recommendation to great Britain near two months after the Date of M<sup>r</sup> Olivers letter—

That they approved M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks plan in its infancy & assisted him, as appears by his printed acc<sup>t</sup>. & rec<sup>d</sup> £15<sup>2</sup> per An: from the Boston Board

The Gover<sup>t</sup>. of Boston have assisted M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock for a number of years by an annual grant of £54.<sup>8</sup> Ster<sup>l</sup>.

That he has heard that M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Keen in the Minorities has Seen a letter wrote by M<sup>r</sup> Oliver of Boston to a gentleman in London, in which he Says that the letter he wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Manduit on Oct. 2. 1765 was wrote by order of the board, & that he had always approved M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's plan, & as an evidence of it Says he lately paid M<sup>r</sup> W. a Sum of money

<sup>1</sup> *This undated statement is endorsed, "Minutes given to Horton, Esq., of Castle Heddingham concerning Oliver and the Society." It is an indication that the Mauduit*

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letter was having some effect in checking subscriptions. Evidently the memorandum did not convince "Horton, Esq.," as his name is not included in the list of subscriptions. However, from Castle Heddingham itself (a hamlet in East Essex, on the River Colne) £17.17.3 was secured.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalent to £20 L.M. (colonial currency).

<sup>3</sup> Equivalent to £72 L.M. (colonial currency).



*Nathaniel Whitaker to the Archbishop of York*

London, July 22, 1766.

MY LORD

Your Grace's abounding care for the advancement of Christs Kingdom will, I doubt not, excuse the mentioning the advices just received from M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, that the prospects of increasing this endearing interest among the Indians of America arise more & more clearly.

Your Grace testified the wishes of your heart herein when you piously signified your own intentions to furnish our Lord with Something out of your Substance: and on this head you were pleased to order me to address you in this way. And as many in London, as well as in the Country, where we are now going, would Chuse to follow reather than go before your Grace, I humbly hope for your favour as a lead in this affair.<sup>1</sup>

Your Grace's commands in this, you will please to place at Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Drummond & Co. Bankers near Charing Cross, which will greatly oblige,

*My Lord*

*Your Graces most dutiful Son & most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *The expected gift from the Archbishop of York did not materialize, as his name is absent from the list of subscribers. In fact, the only representatives of the hierarchy of the Church of England on that list are the B. of K——s Lady (sic) at Bristol who gave one guinea, and the Bishop of Derry, then at Bath, who subscribed ten guineas.*



*Agreement between Nathaniel Whitaker and  
John Bradney<sup>1</sup>*

(Manuscript Badly Torn)

The agreement between M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & [M<sup>r</sup>] Bradney apothecary about Innoculation was [as follows:]

1. One half of all the income from it to be devoted to the Indian Charity without any deduction for medicine which M<sup>r</sup> Bradney was to find without any separate charge made for it.

2. That for the first i.e. till the affair Should take a run, no charge to be made at all. & M<sup>r</sup> Bradney Said that he would give both phisick & attendance, & ask nothing, but leave it with the people who Should employ him to do as they pleased & make him Some allowance for his trouble or not as they Should please—& that if they Saw fit to bestow anything on the Charity it would be well, but no charge to be made, & this was to continue till the affair Sho[uld take] a run—

3. That M<sup>r</sup> Bradney Should reveal the affair of . . . . which I communicated to him to no person li[ving]—

4. That this was to continue a[lo]ng the time I Sha[ll remain] in England.

5. I did not oblige myself to reveal this Secret to . . . . but when it was Solicited, refused, because I tho't M<sup>r</sup> B[radney's] offers were generous, for which I desired he Should be rewarded & it Seemed to me somewhat indelicate to deprive him of it, tho I had the offer of the Same from others, which however was an evidence to me that the generous offer of M<sup>r</sup> Bradney was quite consistant with his own Interest. But I never esteemed mySelf bound to Secresy by anything else, & how far this will bind me I dare leave the world to judge, Since I have not a farthing benefit to mySelf by it. What I desire is, to act in this affair for the benefit of the Charity (tho' I have a right to Something for myself also) & as becomes the Christian & Gentleman.<sup>2</sup>

N. WHITAKER.

<sup>1</sup> *Who John Bradney, apothecary, may have been, is not known. His prosperity evidently was considerable, for he contributed ten guineas to the subscription list.*

<sup>2</sup> *This document and the two letters that follow give a clear indication of one of Whitaker's besetting weaknesses. He was never content with the business at hand, but*

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*was ever anxious to combine it with something else, often entirely incompatible with the main purpose. Evidently he had some acquaintance with the art of inoculation, as is shown by the fact that he performed such an operation upon Occom, but that he had knowledge of any particular "secret" about it, is doubtful. Under this agreement with Bradney he seems to have carried on the practice to some extent in London; a form of activity that could not have been entirely consonant with the success of his mission. That he should have formed the project of scattering small-pox all over England, by inoculating persons at pleasure in his hurried trip through the provinces, seems incredible. The remonstrance of Bradney was well-timed, although the apothecary is not entirely free from suspicion that the real basis of his objection was the loss of personal profit. The inability of Whitaker to distinguish between his private emolument and the advancement of his cause was a continual source of friction.*



### *Nathaniel Whitaker to John Bradney*

*London July 24. 1766*

SIR

I just now called to See M<sup>r</sup> Rigways Children am glad to find things So promising—While I was there, it turned in my tho'ts that, if it is not inconsistent with your views, it might be of great advantage to me & the Cause to make a discovery of the affair at Bristol or Some other remote part of the Kingdom, if providence Should give a fair oppertunity for it—and as it can't be of any disservice to you so remote, I imagine you will not object; especially as I never tho't of being bound in honour by w<sup>t</sup> past between us, to keep it a Secret, but only so far as to give you the full Scope of practice within your reach here, & not to infringe on this; but as honour requires Confederates to act with leave of each other, where there may be the least room for jealousy, I think proper to let you know my tho'ts & wait your answer. And as I am going out of London early in the morning,<sup>1</sup> & may See that part before I return, I beg you will favour me with a line this evining to be left at my lodgings (for I am going out this evining & Shall not return home till I go out of London). Or if you Should fail of oppertunity to write me this night, a letter will find me at Oxford at M<sup>r</sup> Danbridg's any time between this & next tuesday. I mean to do as I would be done by in the whole affair, & you may as-

sure yourself that I Shall, as far as I know the rules of honour, Steadily persue them. Yet I think that friendship to mankind will incline you to this, tho' I most heartily Submit to your Direction.

[*This letter is not signed*]

<sup>1</sup> *After a stay of six months in London, Whitaker and Occom were about to set out on a journey through western and southern England, which was to last until the end of the year. The total amount secured in London (part of it, in all probability, coming from a subsequent stay) was £3165.3.8.*



### *John Bradney to Nathaniel Whitaker*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR

By some Mistake your Letter dated the 24th inst. did not come to hand till the next Day, consequently could not have an answer as desired by M<sup>r</sup> Occom, & as I learned your Stay at Oxford was very precarious, was advised to take this Method of returning an answer, which I hope will meet you comfortable & happy both in Body & Mind. It is Matter of great Concern to me if at any Time I am the unhappy Means of preventing others making those Advantages in the World they might expect, & would by no account do that by another w<sup>ch</sup> I would not wish he sh<sup>d</sup> do by me in the like Circumstances: M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's Prosperity, spiritual & temporal, I most [confi]dently wish & sh<sup>d</sup> be glad to promote; & [after] such a Declaration in w<sup>ch</sup> I hope he will believe me sincere, he will be kind enough to take in good part my arguments with him to prove the Impropriety of his Request. In the first place, Dear Sir, your Stay at each place on your Journey will, I'm satisfied, be so short as not to admit of your seing the Success of your Undertakeing, sh<sup>d</sup> you attempt it, & the communicating the affair to other persons without that opportunity would little avail; in the next, the Distance between London & the Places you mention is so short that one Day's Post imediately brings all the Intelligence & the whole may be blown. But supposing these objections of no Force, w<sup>ch</sup> yet I think they are, give me Leave

to say I think upon the most mature & dispassionate Consideration it would be much more advisable & prudent & wise for you not to intermeddle with this affair at all. Consider, Dear Sir, the Errand you are professedly gone upon, to promote a Work of Charity for the Spread of the Gospel, not to promote your own private Interest, blend them not then together, have it to say in all this I have been wholly disinterested, I have not sought my own good, but the Interest of my heavenly Master whose cause I came to serve. The public good of Mankind is a spacious & powerful plea, but is there not often some private Views & Interests cloked under it? be wholly divested of Self in this affair & then see if the Matter does not appear in a different Light. I wish I had not so much Reason to caution myself & others against a worldly Spirit, but Experience tells me as the Spirit of the World creeps in, the Spirit of God goes out, & this I think certain, in a course of years upon a calm Review it will afford you much more pleasing Matter for Reflection, if you keep yourself wholly free from worldly Concerns, than any Gain can possibly give. If your meddling with this Business sh<sup>d</sup>. be the Means of preventing one single Subscription, however small, being added to the Charity, all your private Gains will be a sad Compensation, & we well know how strong the Force of prejudice against Inoculation is rooted in some Minds, especially in the Country, & what advantage any Opposers to the good Work you are engaged in may make against you by that means. On the whole it appears clear to me, the more disinterested you shew yourself in all your Work, the more Success you are likely to meet with in it. Give not a handle to any Gainsayer to reproach & say "He comes openly & publickly to promote a Work of Charity, but privately has in View his own personal Gain." Such a Reproach will be hard to wipe off, will prejudice the Cause you wish to serve, & will fill an honest Mind like yours with cutting Pain & keen Remorse. To conclude, Dear S<sup>r</sup>, I leave this with you to shew myself a Friend to you & a Friend to Mankind, if in the Course of your Journey you think you have opportunity of saving Life & upon that Motive are in[clined to] attempt it, I object not, but on no Account for any Lucre or Gain, w<sup>ch</sup> I must leave to God & your own Conscience; & in that [case the] Necessity of divulging the

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affair is wholly useless. I hope you'll excuse the Freedom w<sup>ch</sup> I have used in these Expostulations, but indeed the Case appears to require it, as no small Matter may be at Stake & Hazard. I mean the Benefit of the Charity & your own inward Peace, the Increase & Spread of which is the hearty Desire & prayer of

*Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir*

*Your sincere Fr<sup>s</sup> & Hble. Serv<sup>t</sup>*

JOHN BRADNEY

*Canon St.*

*July 26. 1766.*

✱

*Robert Keen<sup>1</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 2 Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1766.*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

Your Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Smith & both your letters to me, with the draught Enclos'd for £84.12 to Pewtress & Robarts came safe to hand—your success at Abingdon<sup>2</sup> was great, & calls aloud for thankfulness—they had been furnish'd with a Doz<sup>n</sup>. or 2 Narratives very early & a Letter, by me to M<sup>r</sup> Robarts<sup>3</sup>—the Lord alone open'd their hearts—your last letter bore another aspect, & looks like a disappointment in the Vice Chancellor & University affair<sup>4</sup>—that text immediately occur'd to me—shall we recieve Good at the hands of the Lord, & shall we not recieve Evil?—& it gave me pleasure to find that all anxiety was taken from You. M<sup>r</sup> Smith gives his compliments & thinks my writing to You this post will be sufficient, & as it will save Expence. He likewise thinks it will be needless waiteing on the Arch Bishop—but hopes The Arch Bishop of York will send his Subscription to Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Drummonds & that will in Effect be a recommendation—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield will likewise see what can be done in y<sup>e</sup> Affair; I doubt not but the same kind providence that has thus far prosper'd you, will continue to direct you, & say this is the way, [walk] therein—we have no news to tell you only bad—L—d D—

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is out<sup>5</sup>—they would have continued him as he stood at y<sup>e</sup> Board of Trade, but not as Sec<sup>ry</sup> of S—— to America—in y<sup>e</sup> former he would have had all Trouble & not been able to serve his Friends, & therefore with spirit Resign'd—M<sup>r</sup> Beckman likewise after One weeks Illness, dy'd at Cannonbury house—it will be Convenient & proper when you arrive at a place where your continuance will be long enough to write to & have an answer from us, to mention it in your letter, & where to direct to You, that we may be sure not only what we write, but what comes from abroad may safely reach You— M<sup>r</sup> Smith Open'd these letters in my presence & as soon as we look'd for, & saw your wives names, seal'd them up unread; had they come from other persons we should have read them & Endeavour'd to do the business they contain'd the same as if you was on the Spot—I sent their Books round to the several Bankers as I purpose to do Once or twice in each Month & the 7 following had been sent in—which you'll please to insert in your Book & then July ends—

at Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Roffey & Co.<sup>6</sup>

July 15th Isaac Akerman Esq <sup>r</sup>	£ 5.5
28th I. P.	2.2

at Rob<sup>t</sup> Child & Co.

July 16th M <sup>r</sup> Maine of Kensington	£ 5.5
Mrs. Bragge	2.2
28th D <sup>r</sup> Bragge	1.1

At Mess<sup>rs</sup> Drummonds

July 2nd a person Unknown	£ 0.10.6
16th S <sup>r</sup> John Griffin Griffin <sup>7</sup>	£20. 0.0

M<sup>r</sup> Smith tells me on Thursday 24th July after you had seen me you Rec<sup>d</sup> as Subscription Powell Esq<sup>r</sup> £15.15 of . . . Jackson £10.10 & four or five smaller which he has forgot—please to send me their names & Sums that our Lists may agree—

In the Acco<sup>t</sup> you sent me of Abingdons produce you are rong somehow 10 Guineas—that you may the more easily see I'll copy it exactly as you sent it by y<sup>e</sup> Letter

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July 28th	A publick Collection	£ 5. 6.6
28th	Jos. Butler	21. --
	M <sup>r</sup> Jas. Tomkins	10.10.--
	M <sup>r</sup> Tho <sup>s</sup> Flight	2. 2.--
	M <sup>rs</sup> Eliz. Flight	1. 1.--
	Miss Sarah Fuller	1. 1.--
	M <sup>rs</sup> Tomkins	10.10.--
	Rev <sup>d</sup> M <sup>r</sup> I. Moore	2. 2.--
	Miss Palmer	2. 2.--
	M <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Tomkins	10.10.--
	M <sup>r</sup> Nath <sup>l</sup> Robarts	5. 5.--
	Rev <sup>d</sup> Dan <sup>l</sup> Turner	1. 1.--
	Eliz <sup>th</sup> . Turner	0.10. 6.--
	Joseph Fuller	1. 1.--
	now this comes to but—	<u>£74. 2.--</u> but

you had cast it up £84.12.— so that you had made a mistake & the Collection must be £15.16.6 or some Subscriber that perhaps may be set down right in your Book for £10.10 has been omitted in your hastily Copying it in your letter—or if neither of them is the case then the Abingdon Amount is but £74.2 & y<sup>e</sup> other 10 Guineas is most likely what you rec<sup>d</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> Jackson & may be mark'd on the side P & R—you'll easily see how it is & let me know by y<sup>r</sup> next letter & our Acc<sup>ts</sup> will both agree—we shall be punctual in our Tuesday meetings & whoever misses M<sup>r</sup> Smith & I if we are well shall be present—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, M<sup>r</sup> Hardy<sup>s</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Smith who were all present together last night desire to joyn with me in hearty Love to you & M<sup>r</sup> Occum.

*I am D<sup>r</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>. Y<sup>rs</sup> in the best of Bonds*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN.

<sup>1</sup> Keen acted as secretary both of the informal group in charge of the collections at this time, and later, upon its formal organization, of the English Trust. As such, his letters, both to Whitaker and to Wheelock, were very numerous, many of them, as in the present case, dealing with accounts.

<sup>2</sup> A village on the Thames, six miles south of Oxford. The sum of £84.12 was obtained here.

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<sup>3</sup> *Josiah Robarts, of the parish of St. Edmund the King, Lombard Street, was a partner in the banking house of Pewtress and Robarts, Lombard Street, London. The firm gave ten guineas to the cause. Robarts subsequently became a member of the English Board of Trust.*

<sup>4</sup> *Oxford looked coldly on the cause, the subscription amounting to but £19. Of this sum five guineas was given by Merton College.*

<sup>5</sup> *The Rockingham ministry was replaced by that of the Earl of Chatham and the Duke of Grafton. The motive set up for Lord Dartmouth's retirement (that he would not be able to "serve his friends") was, let us hope, a libel on the pious nobleman.*

<sup>6</sup> *Bankers in Cornhill. One of the partners, Samuel Roffey, became a member of the English Trust. He gave £50 to the cause, while Mrs. Roffey, of Lincoln Inn Fields, contributed ten guineas.*

<sup>7</sup> *Sir John Griffin-Griffin, 1719-1797, field marshal, afterwards Baron Howard de Walden.*

<sup>8</sup> *Charles Hardy, of the parish of Saint Mary-le-bonne, later an English trustee. He contributed £25.*



*Sarah Whitaker to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*Norwich Aug<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> 1766.*

MY DEAR HUSBAND

Thro' the Goodness of a merciful God we are all in a good State of Health except our Children; who have the whooping Cough but they have it very lightly & so do all who have it about Us. I hope the worst is past with them and that they are now mending of it & that they will soon be well of it—I have received your Letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> of May & hope that you have received several more which I have wrote than what you have given Account of (for unless you have, several have miscarried). I have wrote to you by every Oppertunity & still continue to do it & hope you will do the same till you come in Person which I hope will be before very long.

We had in our last Weeks publick Paper an Account of the Death of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Doctor Finley President of Nassau. Also a few Weeks ago of Doctor Mahew of Boston

I wrote to you in my last (via Boston) an Account of my Receipt of the Goods, you sent to me last Spring for which I am much

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obliged to you; also would inform you that I have draw'd for the money you order'd me to In your Letter last Spring of M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston.

Society affairs continue much as I have wrote to you before. M<sup>r</sup> Thatcher is now preaching here & they are finishing the Meeting House, but have no prospect of Settling a Minister—they have tried & tried & retried to get some Body, that they might try them, but cannot.

M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock has been to see us twice since you went from Home and designed to have been here last Week but was prevented by bad Weather & Indisposition—M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop is very kind to Us and is willing to [illegible] of him—and so are many others—

As to Family Affairs I live pretty comfortable. I have M<sup>r</sup> Herick to live with Me who is company for Me—I have had no News from N Jersey this great While—I weigh'd your Son Nath<sup>l2</sup> when he was 3½ Months old & he weighed 18½ lbs & expect nothing but I must wean him before next Spring he grows so fast—

I desire that the next Letter you write may be a little Longer but had rather you would come yourself—With much tender Regard Love & Esteem & wishing you great Success, I am

*Your loving Wife.*

SARAH WHITAKER.

M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Family are well—M<sup>r</sup> Woodward<sup>s</sup> sends many Regards & Respects & would write to you were it not that it would be adding to a large Packet without anything new or that he has nothing to tell you but what is contain'd in others—

SARAH WHITAKER

*To the Rev<sup>d</sup> Nath<sup>l</sup> Whitaker  
London*

*by Cap<sup>t</sup> Billings of Norwich.*

<sup>1</sup> Endorsed, "Rec'd the 4th of Oct: 1766."

<sup>2</sup> *The tender age of son Nathaniel inclines us to look with more sympathy on Mrs. Whitaker's protests against her husband's departure (page 55), seven months before.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bezaleel Woodward (page 38).*

*Mr. Wilshere<sup>1</sup> of Hitchin to Nathaniel Whitaker**Hitchin August 9th, 1766—*REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

I duly Rec<sup>d</sup> yours & Communicated To Mess<sup>r</sup> Hickman & James what you Desired as To A Letter of Recomendation. They are Quite willing to do anything that May be of Service In the affair But they think after the Recomendation That you have had from London theirs Can be no advantage & think that what there has been done at Hitchin is a Stronger recomendation of the affair Than anything they Can write Tho I had Rather they had given you a Joint Letter as it was desired—I Cant but Rejoyce in the Lords Opening the hearts & hands of his people So greatly with us oh that A Blessing may attend the Undertaking. I would beg Leave to Acquaint you with what is Started as an Objection by Some people who Some of them Speak As if they would gladly have it Removed before They Can Chearfully Come into it. That this Society for which you are Engaged is Set upp in Opposition to A Society already formed in Boston and Supported by the Independents & that they Invited M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock & you his Friends to Joyn them which you refused.<sup>2</sup> I Mention this (Not that I Can beleive it in the Light it is Represented) but that you may be aware of it And Clear upp the Charge as publikely as may be otherways it wil Certainly Do you hurt. As To A Trust not absolute appears best all things Considered Such A one as Shall give A Steady Annual Account of the Success and State of the School &c will be Nessasary.

It is thought with us that it wil not be proper To go To Bedford at present But wait Some Time Longer for A person whom they have Called To preach for A Time with them has been Absent and is we think Verry Likely To be A Fr<sup>d</sup> in your Affair.

Pray Did we Make no Mistake in our Colection—I mean the Mony You brought down with you and gave me to keep & I returned it To you before I Told the Cash that was Colected at our place. But I was aprehensive that you in A hurry put it To Some of

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the Cash afterward at M<sup>r</sup> Thomas's. Except you carried about the Same Quantity up that you brought Down we Recond the Colection was about £168—in the whole I Rec<sup>d</sup> A Little cash of you to Make my Last Draft Even & I gave Drafts for £168-6-8. So that unless you Carried about as much Cash up as you brought down there must be A Mistake as my Draft was for no more than we Recond was Colected with & about us. If you Can Rectify or Recolet how it was I Should be glad you would favour me in your next with the Account

If you think it prudent & think it would Be any advantage To the Cause our people have No Objection that you Should Make our Colection publicke in the News papers by Some of Your Friends that I wholly Leave to You to Act as is Judged most proper.

I pay<sup>d</sup> the Coach Hire that was in Arrear and have about £4 in hand & Expect I Shall have A Little more Come in & will take care then to Remit Carefully To You. The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mess<sup>rs</sup> Hickman & James desire their Love to You and M<sup>r</sup> Occom as Does M<sup>r</sup> Thomass and other friends. Self & Family are thro the Lords Mercy in Usuall Heath. Should be glad to hear from you when Conv<sup>t</sup>. & we Shall beg the favour Sometime hereafter when Time wil permit To See M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker once more at Hitchin before you Leave Old England & M<sup>r</sup> Occom if agreeable; we have now a Most pleasing prospect of fine Harvest how good is the Lord To us. May we have Spirituall Blessing & bring forth fruit abundantly—we hope we pray for you for the Cause in which you are Engaged. Beg a Return of Your prayers for us & would ask A Share in your petitions for my Family And in particular for my Dear Yoke fellow that She May be preserved in Child bearing & be Spared to be the Living Mother of another Living & perfect Child.

I am Rev<sup>d</sup>. & Dear Sir

*Your affect<sup>e</sup>. Fr<sup>d</sup>. & Humbl<sup>e</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

W. WILSHERE.



**REVEREND GEORGE WHITEFIELD**

P.S I do not find that either the Establishment or Quakers are Inclined to Encourage your Affair at Hitchin

<sup>1</sup> To judge from his letter, Mr. William Wilshere, of Hitchin, was not a clergyman but a pious, if somewhat illiterate layman, whose enthusiasm for the cause was considerable. He gave three guineas. The collection at Rev. Mr. Hickman's amounted to £13.7, while that at Rev. Mr. James' was £87. The total sum raised in Hitchin was £163.11.3.

<sup>2</sup> The Oliver letter was still embarrassing the envoys.



*George Whitefield to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*London Aug<sup>th</sup> 11-1766*

MY D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> WHITAKER

I have been too weak for some days to write at all—your last letter to M<sup>r</sup> Keen constrains me to send this—How unlike the former letter to that! The one brings conviction that this affair is to be prosper'd in the religious way—and now you are paying your court to . . . . Guess the language of the blank—M<sup>r</sup> Occom should not goe to Bath—Cotton (?) is a proper retirement for body & soul—Honest Indians love a *straight path*—Remember the words of our Lord seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness—No other proceedings can be countenanced by my D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup><sup>2</sup>—

*Yours whilst You are like a Nathaniel*

W.

<sup>1</sup> This letter was addressed to Bristol.

<sup>2</sup> Whitefield was not inclined to turn the other cheek to his denominational opponents, and Whitaker had evidently deeply offended him by becoming friendly with some of them. The difficulty is made more clear on page 159. The evangelist apparently feared the influence of the fashionable society of Bath upon the untutored Indian, although where, who, or what "Cotton," suggested as a substitute, may have been is not clear. No village of that name, or anything approaching it, has been detected in the vicinity of Bristol.

*Rev. Nicholas Phene<sup>1</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*MY D<sup>r</sup>. FR<sup>d</sup>.

Y<sup>r</sup> came safe to Hand & since y<sup>r</sup> Departure have not been wholly inactive in the best of Causes. Last Fryday went to Tetbury a small Place & a poor Congregation about 20 Miles from Gloster. Upon opening my Busyness they express a great Willingness to cast in their Mite w<sup>h</sup> they said w<sup>d</sup> be about 50 Shill<sup>rs</sup> as their Congregation Consisted chiefly of Persons who Subsisted by manual Labour. Employed Fryday Evening & Saturday for personal Applications & made a publick Collection on Lords Day. Thanks to the heart opening God that their 50 Shill<sup>rs</sup> increased to £10:10:10. Have rec<sup>d</sup> since You left Gloster about 3 Guineas more from my own People, As also 2 Guineas from Esq<sup>r</sup>. Wade of Pud Hill & whose Interest I hope will be of some Service. As I have been asked to Show my Commission for Engaging in this Busyness You'll Please by Return of Post to give me a written Commission to Collect for You among my neighbouring Congregations & I shall gladly Exert my utmost Efforts. Please to Let the Certificate be signed by *Self* & Brot<sup>r</sup>: *Occum*. Have wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Fossett of Kidderminster<sup>2</sup> to Encourage it among his People & Entreated Him to write to Brot<sup>r</sup>: Wilde of Birmingham<sup>3</sup> on the same Head. As soon as an Answer is rec<sup>d</sup>: it shall be transmitted to Bristol.

Am in great Want of Books<sup>4</sup> to send the neighbouring Congregations to Prepare them for a Visit, therefore Hope you'll send me 20 by the Coach as soon as possible. Yesterday Sold my Horse for 10 Pounds & have put aside 20 Shill<sup>rs</sup>. for the glorious Cause in w<sup>h</sup> you are embarked. As I had not suffic<sup>nt</sup>. to give to such a glorious Work when You was with me have most Solemnly Devoted a Tenth of all Moneys I shall Receive during y<sup>r</sup> Stay in Eng<sup>d</sup>. to the Cause of our glorious & mercyfull Melchizedeck in America & When I send the few Pounds that may Result from this Resolution shall Desire it may be entered as a Gift from an anonymous Person. Oh Sir my Heart is so Engaged in the Work that had I an equal Fund D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock sh<sup>d</sup> have but one Subscriber. As soon as I can get a Draught shall send the preceeding Sums to M<sup>r</sup> Rob: Keen in the

Minories but if you w<sup>d</sup> have me send the money to Bristol you'll Let me know it by Return of Post. Shall make no Charge of Expences & shall Rejoice to be honoured with Success in so pleasing an Employment. May our Prayers be reciprocal & our Praises eternal. M<sup>r</sup> Phene Desires her most affectionate Salutations to Self & Brot<sup>r</sup>. Occum may be added to those of y<sup>r</sup> affect. but unworthy Brot<sup>r</sup>.

Glost<sup>r</sup>. Aug. y<sup>e</sup> 13 1766

N. PHENE

P.S. Rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from Uncle Brewer<sup>s</sup> who Rejoices in the Success you have met with. The Lord be with both your Spirits. Amen.

N.B. This moment rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from Brot<sup>r</sup> Fawcett with a warm Invitation of both my D<sup>r</sup> Fr<sup>da</sup> to his House & He thinks y<sup>r</sup> Success will be best promoted by spending a Lords Day with them, & I humbly Hope it may answer to spend a Lords Day both at Kidderminster & Birmingham. Find He sets off for Taunton the 15 of next Month & don't Return till the first Sabbath in Oct<sup>r</sup>. He Desires as early intelligence as possible of y<sup>r</sup> coming. If you Visit Him before his Journey it may be serviceable as then he may prepare the Way for You at Taunton. But the Lord Direct y<sup>r</sup> Steps.

<sup>1</sup> *Of all the country parsons met by Whitaker in England, none was more enthusiastic than the Rev. Nicholas Phene of Gloucester, afterwards of Hereford. As shown by this letter, he was most serviceable to the cause. Nor did his interest cease with the departure of the envoys. He began a correspondence with Wheelock which lasted many years. In 1768 he sent a donation of £20, and frequently thereafter either he or pious parishoners, whose interest he had aroused, sent gifts, such as bolts of linen, cases of knives and forks, etc., which were of material aid to Wheelock in the establishment of the college. Phene came very near coming to America in 1772, and casting his lot among the settlers then entering the upper Connecticut valley. At this time the subscriptions in Gloucester amounted to £76.7, including £55.3.9 from Mr. Phene's congregation.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kidderminster, a town of some size in Worcestershire, nineteen miles southwest of Birmingham. Rev. Benjamin Fawcett, 1715-1780, was a pupil of Doddridge, a friend of Whitefield, and a man of some note among the dissenting ministers of his day. He was pastor of the church at Kidderminster for thirty-five years. The collection in this town amounted to £140.17.7, including ten guineas (in books) from Mr. Fawcett and a collection of £21 from his congregation.*

<sup>3</sup> *Apparently the envoys did not visit Birmingham, as no receipts are noted from that place.*

<sup>4</sup> *Narratives.*

<sup>5</sup> *Apparently Whitaker was vouched for by one of his most energetic London supporters, Rev. Samuel Brewer, who, if the evidence is to be taken in its literal sense, was a relative of Phene's.*

*Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock**London 20<sup>th</sup>. Aug<sup>st</sup>. 1766—*REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

I have the Happiness to acquaint you Providence appears Remarkably to smile here on your Indian School affairs—there is already Subscrib'd & Collected Three Thousand Pounds Sterling—There is no doubt but the Lord put it into your Heart at first, & has wonderfully Supported you & those Disinterested Creatures, such as M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland, Fowler, Occum &c &c who have truly gone with their Lives in their hands & have as miraculously been preserv'd, as your Letters now before me of April 5<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup> & June 24<sup>th</sup> & Sundry former Ones and many others dear M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield when in America transmitted to me abundantly Shew—from all which, together with the Lords Opening the Hearts of his people to Subscribe so liberally; looks as if the time was come when the Lord will work a great Work on the Earth; & Litterally fulfil his promises, & give his Son the Heathen for his Inheritance & the uttermost parts of the Earth for his possession—I hope your Life will be preserv'd to see much of this accomplish'd; and have the pleaseing Hopes of a Foundation being laid, for its entire Accomplishment, when you are dead & gone. As M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker needed assistance, we judg'd it best, to have a weekly meeting of such persons, who seem'd quite hearty in the Cause, & accordingly, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Whitefield, Brewer, Hitchins, D<sup>r</sup>. Gibbons, D<sup>r</sup>. Gifford, & D<sup>r</sup> Stennett; together with M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston, Charles Hardy Esq<sup>r</sup>., M<sup>r</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage, & Myself; have met some, or all of us, every tuesday:<sup>1</sup> and purpose so to do, when Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occum are in the Countries round about, to send them any advice and Letters of Recommendation to the leading men in the places they are next to go to, and every other needfull step proper to be taken—and we all do agree, that M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker acts quite to our satisfaction; listens to advice, and takes it when given—is most Indefatigable in every instance relateing to the affairs he is come about, is greatly belov'd, and no One could have done better, unless dear M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock had come over himself—



He is quite cut out for y<sup>e</sup> work, and in our Opinion has been neither too speedy nor too slow; but has acted prudently and Wisely, and has succeeded Accordingly—and we likewise think it would be Marring the Work to recal him, or send any other in his Room, but let him go through with it, if please God spare his Life, nor would we advise the least hint to be dropt to him of that nature to discourage him, but on the contrary everything that is encouraging, as we really think he ought to have the Approbation of all<sup>2</sup>—I've assisted him in his accounts from the beginning, as well for Your sake, his sake, and the publicks—I was thinking in this letter to have sent you a list of those that have Subscrib'd largely, but that I may do in a Future one if requested—the Money Collected is Chiefly lodg'd in Bankers hands; except the running Cash, which is chiefly in M<sup>r</sup> Savages & mine; with which I pay all the Bills drawn by You, and Accordingly I've paid a Bill of Exchange of £100 Sterling dated Nov<sup>r</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup>. 1765 drawn by Nath<sup>l</sup> Eells of Boston to M<sup>r</sup> John Timmins or Order—One of £52:13:9 payable to Moses Peck or ord<sup>r</sup> dated at Boston May 28<sup>th</sup>—One of £50 Sterling payable to Asahel Clark Jun<sup>r</sup> or Ord<sup>r</sup> dated at Boston May 29<sup>th</sup>—One of £120 Sterling payable to Gersham Breed or Order dated June—just paid—the Three last is drawn by yourself which is the most Satisfactory of all—likewise let M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston (who I believe is one of the worthiest men in y<sup>e</sup> world & his being here a most Singular blessing to this affair) have £30 & £25 to be by him in Bills & remitted to & for the use of M<sup>r</sup> Occum & Whitaker family &c

If these are all right, and any more is drawn, or you can Communicate in what Channel you would like to have the Money Subscrib'd run in—wether a Large Sum for Building a School at once or draw annually for certain sums or Occasionally as you choose, or wether ever any Bills may be paid that is not of your drawing (tho' we like to see your name best) in Short, whatever you find Freedom to write, we shall read in our weekly meeting, and endeavour to make the best use of it, to promote the design, both among ourselves and others, that seem able & willing so to do,—we do not attempt to prescribe to you, but would contribute all we can to strengthen your hands and enlarge your design—and be<sup>s</sup> continu-

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ally call'd upon to give answers, some of One sort & some of another; haveing engag'd ourselves fully in it, should be glad to be furnish'd with every thing necessary to be known—

Dear M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is as much own'd & bless'd here as ever, Large, Crowded & Serious Congregations every time he preaches, and though he has been frequently Brought low as to his Bodily strength, yet he has always been enabled to preach at least twice in a week; Viz at Tottenham Court Chapel on a Lords day Morning at 10 o'Clock and at y<sup>e</sup> Tabernacle near Moorefields on a Wednesday Evening;

Thousands will bless God to Eternity they ever heard him—I swel'd this letter gre[atly be]yond my Intention—especially as I'm a stranger to You—but b[eg you']ll excuse & believe it to proceed from a Real desire to promote the Redeemers Kingdom, and to Cultivate a lasting Friendship & Correspondence with dear M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock.

*I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Sincerely yours in the Best of Bonds*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN.

*P.S.* All the above-mentioned Friends joyn in hearty Love—please to direct for me—Woollen Draper in the Minories-London. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occum are at Bristol—I heard from them yesterday are both well & well Employ'd—I believe they will go from thence to Bath, Exeter, Plymouth, &c & so finish their tour in y<sup>e</sup> west.

*P.S.* There was a Bond on Edw<sup>d</sup> Pollard for £100 & upwards sent w<sup>th</sup> a power of Attourney to M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Broome<sup>s</sup> to receive the Money & pay it into your hands—the person hopes M<sup>r</sup> Broome will not let him shuffle but Oblige him to pay it—

<sup>1</sup> *From this informal conference committee grew later the English Board of Trustees, although no clergymen were members of the latter body.*

<sup>2</sup> *This hearty commendation of Whitaker is in contrast with the marked reserve of the English Trust toward him at a later date. Keen was a kindly man, however, and may have expressed himself with undue warmth. Evidently the opponents of Whitaker in America were active, and Wheelock had probably suggested (in a letter not preserved) his replacement by another.*

<sup>3</sup> *Samuel Broome, a merchant of New York City, much interested in the Indian School and a frequent correspondent of Wheelock.*

*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>**London 20<sup>th</sup>. Aug<sup>st</sup>. 1766—*M<sup>r</sup> WHITAKERS<sup>r</sup>

For these 2 Tuesdays past we have only had M<sup>r</sup> Smith, M<sup>r</sup> Savage, my Self with M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield—we all believe you Endeavour to Act for the best; but were fearfull by Your Courting the Favours of M<sup>r</sup> Richards, &c &c (who are in y<sup>e</sup> esteem of those we count Orthodox wretched Creatures in their Tenets, & have even wrote against M<sup>r</sup> Evans, &c) that you might thereby damp all the others who were hearty; & as the saying is, between 2 stools you might fall to y<sup>e</sup> Ground—it seem'd like leaving a certainty for an Uncertainty.<sup>2</sup> But we Hope & Pray You may have that Wisdom given You which is proper to direct—no hint of this sort was intended by M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, nor any of us, to cast you down, but as a Friendly Caution, agreeable to your desire & for y<sup>e</sup> good of y<sup>e</sup> Cause you are engag'd in<sup>3</sup>—as to M<sup>r</sup> Occum & you going to Seperate places, it is judg'd he is not compleat without you, nor You without him; unless in places of small note & withal he be accompanied with some person of Influence—to be sure dispatch in your Affairs is desirable, when it can be done without Detriment—Your Two selves who are upon the Spot are best Judges—the Lord direct you for the best!—will not y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Instant be too soon to leave Bristol? it is a large place, & should but little be done there, it will not have a good look<sup>4</sup>—on the other hand if all is done that is like to be done there in that time, 'twill be a pity to Loiter away your time; which all that knows your Active Disposition, knows can't but be disagreeable—in this Likewise I hope you'l be directed—'tis provoking to find you are disappointed by not receiving the Narratives, in 5 minutes after Recieving your Letter, I sent to M<sup>r</sup> Olivers,<sup>5</sup> they were sent last Friday Sen'night & directed for the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker at y<sup>e</sup> Tabernacle in the Old Orchard Bristol & his man Deliver'd them to y<sup>e</sup> Carrier himself, who said his name was James, at y<sup>e</sup> 3 Cups in Bread Street London—I have order'd the same man to go directly to y<sup>e</sup> Inn & see if by mistake they were neglected to be put in y<sup>e</sup> waggon when loading—I would send

more directly, only hope before now they are come to your hands—The Bristol people in general I believe are not so Generous in Money matters as the Londoners & others—M<sup>r</sup> Phene acts a Noble part indeed; made it appear like a Contrast to us, your going from a Man of his Sortment to Richards &c &c—M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup>. Cox thinks of setting out for Exeter on Thursday y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. he may pave the way for you & now I think on it, if he can Conveniently he may take some Narratives with him—when You are About to Move & can let us know where you are like to be in a few days, whoever of us are Acquainted with any leading men there, would send letters to them for Example at Bradford<sup>o</sup> I'm intimate with M<sup>r</sup> Spencer the Clergyman with M<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Haynes y<sup>e</sup> Baptist minister—w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Shrapnell y<sup>e</sup> Clothier & many others, to Each of y<sup>e</sup> above give my hearty Love & hope they'll be as Serviceable in the Affair you are come about as they possibly can—

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Stillingfleet,<sup>7</sup> who was very sorry he was not at home when you was there—seems very hearty & doubts not but something considerable will be done for you there: November he reckons the best time. D<sup>r</sup> Franklin<sup>8</sup> is abroad & is Expected home y<sup>e</sup> beginning of Oct<sup>br</sup>. his Recommendation will be of real Service & will be got for & sent to you as soon as he arrives—Your maid Always desires I would send her Duty to you both—M<sup>r</sup> Stafford wanted a Maid & would have had her, she Consulted with me [& I t]old her by no means, she must be your Servant till you Quitted London—she is one that you can trust, & knows your method & all that comes after You—she seem'd very well satisfy'd when I told her as above—what you have to say about her (if you have anything) let it be in my Letter—as I don't know whether she'd like I should say anything or no—I don't know anything particular more I have to say at present, only your Friends here are all hearty in wishing well to your undertakeing & none more then S<sup>r</sup>.

*Y<sup>r</sup> Real Fr<sup>d</sup> & Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

ROB<sup>t</sup>. KEEN

P.S. Hearty Love to M<sup>r</sup> Occom, accept y<sup>e</sup> same y<sup>r</sup>self.—

<sup>7</sup> *This letter is addressed to Whitaker at "Mr. Ireland's, Merch't, Bristol."*

<sup>8</sup> *The editor is unable to place the reprehensible Mr. Richards. If the passage refers to "Bro. Richards," whom Wesley, according to his diary, always called on when in*

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*Bristol, the antagonism between Whitefield and his brother evangelist seems by this reference to have been more deep-seated than is usually considered to be the case. This surmise, however, rests on no secure foundation.*

<sup>1</sup> Page 153.

<sup>2</sup> *The work in Bristol was not slighted. The sum of £502 was raised, coming from the subscriptions of 213 persons and collections in ten churches.*

<sup>3</sup> *The printer.*

<sup>4</sup> *The subscriptions at Bradford amounted to £31, coming largely from collections at the churches of the two ministers mentioned.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. Edward Stillingfleet, chaplain to the Earl of Dartmouth and vicar of West Bromwich. He was great-grandson of Bishop Stillingfleet.*

<sup>6</sup> *At this time Benjamin Franklin was on his second mission to England, as agent of the Pennsylvania Assembly (later also of New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts), which kept him in the motherland from 1764 to 1775.*



### *Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Bristol Aug. 23. 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

I have wrote many letters—have had but few—M<sup>r</sup> Olivers letter to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit you must have heard of before now—a wicked, devilish thing—Your whole cause is Struck at by it—it is right down false—Things have not gone on in this place with great Spirit, but hope to git near £200 here.

We are in perfect health, blessed be God—have many friends—Gods hand is Still visible in this Work—I want to hear how things are w<sup>th</sup> You—Much love to all friends—The change in the ministry, tis tho't will last but a little while—at present it is gloomy. But God reigns & all will go well—M<sup>r</sup> Stockton<sup>1</sup> of New Jersey came here this day week—a happy providence—This work requires the Strength of an angel—pray that God may carry me thro' to his glory & my Comfort—In hast I Subscribe

My Dear B<sup>r</sup>

*Yours in the best bonds*

N. WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *Richard Stockton, 1730-1781, Princeton 1748, lawyer, judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Declaration of Independence.*

*Eleazar Wheelock to Earl of Dartmouth<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon in Connecticut*

*Sept. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1766.*

SIR.

May it please your Lordship.

Were I not confident, upon good Testimonies, that God has inspired your Breast with another Spirit, than that which rules in the men of this world, and with nobler Principles, and higher views than they are govern'd by, I might well be solicitous what Returns of Gratitude to make, which your Lordship might think Suitable for Such distinguishing condesention, and Goodness, as you have Shewn in the Grand Affair, on which I have Sent the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker and Occom, in my Stead, to Europe; but as the Success of the general Design in view, is the only Joy that is Set before you, I need not Trouble you with so much as a mention of those Sentiments of Gratitude toward you, which fill not only mine, but the Hearts of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in this Corner of the world.

Nor can I, with this confidence of your Lordship, be So modestly reserved, in a Cause in which I am not conscious to myself of having any other governing views than the Advancement of the Kingdom of our common Lord, and the Interests of his Majesty's Crown, as not to Suggest any other Favour, which may be in the Power of your Hands, towards it, or attainable by your Lordship's Influence. And particularly that the grand Design be encouraged, and accomodated with a Grant of Lands Suitably Situate, and Sufficient for it. As by the late conquests large Tracts are become the Property of the British Crown, and other Tracts which were before chartered, but unsettled and of but little account, by Reason of their Distance from English Settlements, and their vicinity to an Enemy's country, are now become valuable and may soon be peopled.

Of these Lands, his Majesty has already been pleased, with good Reason, to make various Grants to one and another, as a Reward

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of their Merit, and as Profit has accrued to his Crown by their Service. But, may it please your Lordship, there has been nothing hitherto devised, or done, in which there is any Prospect of the firm Attachment of the Numerous Tribes of Savages in this land, to the Civilish Interest, and their becoming good and peaceable Subjects, and industrious Members of Society, which has in any Measure that Degree of Probability in it, as this has which is recommended to your Lordship's Patronage.

The Nations will not make war with us while their Children, and especially the Children of their Cheifs, are with us—They can't resist the Evidence we hereby give them of the Sincerity of our Intentions towards them—They know their Sons are made better by being with us—and that we make no gain to ourselves by it—They receive the Testimony of their Sons, that we constantly treat them as Children in Health, and in Sickness, and calculate all our Measures for their Good—and they begin to believe that our Motives are Something great, quite beyond what they have before conceived of them—Many of them begin to be convinced of the Necessity of Agriculture, in order to their Subsistence when their Resources from the Wilderness fail, (as they certainly must do, when, and so fast, as the English extend their Settlements among them) and their own sons are made able, by their Education here, to instruct them in it—The Reputation of this School and their Fondness to have their Children taught in it, are yet increasing—a number of their own Sons are now become accomplished Interpreters, and School Masters, among their Tribes, and recommend a Sober, manly, virtuous, and religious Life by their own Examples. I can now obtain as many of their Children as I please, to be instructed here, and an hundred of them easier than I could one six years ago—and how many and important are the Consequences which now open to our view?

And by the royal Favour of a Tract of Land, in Some Place convenient, Sufficient to accomodate the School, and employ the Members of it while they are learning Husbandry, there is a fair Prospect that more than double the Benefit might be done them, and the Crown, with the Same Expence.<sup>2</sup>

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But as I am ignorant what may be reasonable to petition for, and as I would not needlessly burden your Lordship in this affair, I have fully communicated my mind to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitefield, and M<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker, by whom your Lordship may expect to hear what may be judged most conducive to the great Ends in view.

I humbly ask your Lordships Pardon for this Freedom; and I hope the Nature and importance of the Subject may be esteem'd, in Some Measure, Sufficient Excuse for him, who beg leave, with the most Sincere Duty, and Respect to Subscribe himself

*Your Lordships*

*Most Obedient and Most Humble Servant.*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

*The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>le</sup> the  
Earl of Dartmouth*

<sup>1</sup> *This letter bears evidence of labored composition and careful penmanship. It remained in the Dartmouth archives until 1904 when it and twenty-three others were presented to the college by the seventh Earl.*

<sup>2</sup> *At this date Lord Dartmouth had already been removed from office, although Wheelock had not learned of the fact. With the fall of the Earl came the end of any hope of securing a land grant from an English source.*

\*

*Rev. John Kingdon to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Froome,<sup>1</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>, 1766.*

DEAR & REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

Your Favour of Yesterday came duly to Hand, & the inclosed together with a Narrative I have forwarded for Lord Cork<sup>2</sup>—

Yesterday I also rec<sup>d</sup> a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Williams a Gentleman of Shepton mallet,<sup>3</sup> who having heard by M<sup>r</sup> Jillard of your Intention (*Deo volente*) to be at Shepton on Tuesday has taken the Liberty to give Notice of your or M<sup>r</sup> Occoms Preaching at Croscomb on Wednesday—Croscomb is ab<sup>t</sup> 3 Miles from Shepton. A few Dissenters meet there, & this M<sup>r</sup> Williams is one of them, tho' residing at

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Shepton—This Gentleman supposing you & M<sup>r</sup> Occom to ride desired you to send your Horses to his Stable—He begs me to inform him whether you are engaged Wednesday wk, the Day appointed for your Preaching at Croscob but that Information I must leave you to convey—

Am a little surpriz'd at your Disappointment from Warminster,<sup>4</sup> but tis not in Man to direct his Steps—Hope all will be for the best—Many Friends here desire their Xian Prospects to yourself & M<sup>r</sup> Occom—I've heard several Persons say that the Lord made your Sermons refreshing to their Souls especially that Lords-day Morn<sup>g</sup>. from Tit 2-13—Beg my kind Respect to M<sup>r</sup> Occom, M<sup>r</sup> Gibbs, Peach, Crosby's &c &c—May the Lord watch you every Moment & keep you Night & Day!—I remain your unworthy Bro<sup>r</sup>. & most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JOHN KINGDON.

<sup>1</sup> Frome, a market town of some size, twenty-four miles southeast of Bristol. The subscriptions here amounted to £71.4.6, including a gift of one guinea from Rev. John Kingdon and £18.18 from his congregation.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Boyle, seventh Earl of Cork, whose seat, Marston House, is near Frome. He gave nothing to the cause.

<sup>3</sup> Shepton Mallet, five miles southeast of Wells. Here the collection was £17.3.

<sup>4</sup> Warminster, twenty miles northwest of Salisbury. The "disappointing" collection at this place amounted to £15.3.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Westbury,<sup>1</sup> near Bath. Sept. 18. 1766*

REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>

I wrote you from Bristol last month, & told you Something of M<sup>r</sup> Olivers Conduct—I hope you will endeavour to Set things in such a light as will Satisfy all great Britain of the falsity of his assertion, which is not his but wrote in the name & by the order of the

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board of Corresp<sup>da</sup>. Mauduit is not 6d better than oliver, but really worse—If the affair comes to an open debate, I Suspect it will devide between the two orders of Calvinists & Armenians thro' the Kingdom & tho' I would do nothing to Set these in opposition, yet it may be that God Sees it for the good of his C<sup>hb</sup> here—

I told you that I can do nothing about Goods as yet, Since I must act by advice of friends in London—Yet am persuaded that I can procure Goods as Cheap for the merch<sup>u</sup> with you as they can git them from London, & yet Save the Cause £25 or 30 per C<sup>t</sup>. (*inter nos*). You will See a Specimen in a peice of Superfine Cloth which I Send M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker at 16s. per y<sup>rd</sup> Ster. prime Cost—I have wrote here the particulars of it—I therefore think it best for you not to Sell any more Bills on me, as it will deminish the Stock w<sup>ch</sup> will be greatly advanced, if, when I have finished my business of begging, I Spend a little time in visiting the manufacturing towns & purchase at first Cost—But this I cannot attend to now, as my head, heart & hands are full of other Business—If I Should give an invice to any of the Merch<sup>u</sup> to furnish, there would be no advantage to y<sup>e</sup> Charity by it, for they would have So much for Commiss<sup>na</sup>. that you could not Sell to any advantage in the wholesail way—

God hath gone before this work remarkably—I can't express the Kindness which is Shewn to us—But the Armenians, &c. are cold, & do very little for us—O how Sweet is religion! it turns Devils into S<sup>u</sup>. We are now going down to the west, & Shall return along the Shore to London,<sup>2</sup> God willing. Write to London for us Still, from thence I can have your Letters in any part of the Kingdom. D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smith is Still in London—all friends well only M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield poorly with his old disorders yet preaches now & then. M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage & Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Brewer are very good men—can't you write them a Line? —Give much Love to all dear friends—to B<sup>r</sup>. Eells &c—to your dear Madam, Children & School; to miss<sup>rn</sup> & Schoolmasters—O pray hard for us—& be assured that every blessing for this & the next world is included in the hearty prayer of Rev<sup>d</sup>. & dear Brother

*Yours as ever*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER



**REVEREND MICAIAH TOWGOOD**

AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

There are Some Samples in the peice of Cloth Sent by M<sup>r</sup> James Shrapnell of Trowbridge a dear Christian, that if you Should chuse any of them you may order him to Send them, & I will pay for them.

<sup>1</sup> *Westbury, a town in Wiltshire, twenty-five miles northeast of Salisbury. The collection here was £14.11.3.*

<sup>2</sup> *The journey of the envoys had led them to Bristol, Bath (where £162 was secured) and the country roundabout, including Gloucestershire and Shropshire to the north. They now proceeded to Devonshire, which was covered thoroughly, the journey extending as far west as Plymouth. At this town £236 was obtained. Exeter yielded £264, while villages relatively small produced amounts which seem remarkably large, as, indeed, was the case through the whole course of the mission. The return was made along the south coast through Dorset and Hampshire, including the Isle of Wight.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup> to Rev. Michaiiah Towgood<sup>2</sup>*

*Warminster—Sept. 23, 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR—

Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 15 inst: came to hand last night per fav<sup>r</sup> of the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Gillars<sup>3</sup> of Bristol; & in answ<sup>r</sup> to y<sup>r</sup> objection, wo<sup>d</sup> observe That there are not only 7. but 13. gentlemen of the best reput & approved for piety & learning, who have for Some years been engaged, as a body, in this affair—the Reason they are not mentioned in the Narrative is because they are a body of Correspondents to the Society in Scotland, w<sup>ch</sup> Society wo<sup>d</sup>. have been vested with this money, if they had been named, w<sup>ch</sup> we found would not take in London; & therefore M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock only is named as drawing for the money: An account of which I have given to those gentlemen in America, & in answer they highly approve my Conduct. By this means the Scots Society cannot command this money, & yet the whole affair will be under the inspection of those 13 Gentlemen in another Capacity, & they will make report. And to render the affair truely reputable, & to satisfy every mind I applied to the right H. Earl of D. who was So fully satisfied in the whole of this affair, that he told me, he would be one of a number in London, to look into my acc<sup>ts</sup>. & the manner of the disposal & expences of the monies, & to receive annually ac-

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counts of the Success of the Enterprizes to lay before the publick, & there are joined w<sup>th</sup> him Sir Ch<sup>s</sup>. Hotham, Jno. Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Roffey Esq<sup>r</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Savage, & Some others of note in London. These gentlemen have been long well acquainted with this affair, & view the Security in the case to be So good as to interest themselves in it, & give their names in order to give the Cause Credit—Yet after all, if you & your B<sup>n</sup>. chuse y<sup>t</sup> those 13 gentlemen Shall receive the monies collected among you in y<sup>r</sup> capacity as Scots Commiss<sup>rs</sup>. & to acc<sup>t</sup>. to the Scots Society for it reather than to the Gentlemen above mentioned in London, I have no objection, but thankfully receive it for them.—or if you please to agree on any or all those Gentlemen in London or in America as a trust for your monies, I Shall be fully Satisfied—As the y of v is the q of y & the y of our fellowmen, so I am assured there hath been, & am confident will be a constant care to provide things honest, not only in y<sup>e</sup> Sit of y, but also of men<sup>d</sup>—But as [some] of the largest doners refused to deposit their monies in the Scots Commiss<sup>rs</sup>.—So [matters] have been ordered as you see in the narrative.<sup>5</sup> But if you chuse any other Security, I Shall be ready to dispose of the money as you Shall order for every doner hath a right to order the disposition of his monies. Asking your prayers for us, & heartily thanking you for your friendship in this glorious cause, allow me, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir, to subscribe your obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *Endorsed, "Copy of letter to Mr. Towgood of Exon, wrote from Warminster."*

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Michaijah Towgood, 1700-1792, was at this time minister of George's Meeting, South Street, Exeter. He was considered to be an outstanding leader of the dissenters and was especially esteemed for his controversial writings, one of which was regarded as "the classic compendium of non-conformist argument."*

<sup>3</sup> *The name Jillard or Gillard occurs frequently in the letters. In Bristol £11 was collected at "Mr. Gillard's, Castle Green," while the "Rev. Mr. Jillard" gave two guineas. Probably they are the same person. Another letter indicates that this Mr. Peter Jillard was the father of the "Rev. Jillard" at Shepton Mallet (page 164).*

<sup>4</sup> *As this letter was a copy kept for his own consultation, Whitaker used a number of clerical abbreviations, intelligible to him but not entirely clear to us.*

<sup>5</sup> *While the London subscribers seem not to have been affected by the lack of a formal organization to take charge of the fund, those in the provinces, as shown by this letter, were more suspicious. Whitaker soon found that some sort of a trust was indispensable.*

*Thomas Ludlow<sup>1</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*

DEAR SIR

I have now two Letters to acknowledge w<sup>ch</sup> I rec<sup>d</sup> from you since my last to Shepton and it gives us pleasure to find you go on well & so successfull in the good Work. The Cloth is not yet come from M<sup>r</sup> Shrapnell when it is will take care of it. I will pay M<sup>r</sup> Fownes the freight as you desired: in a Letter that I sent M<sup>r</sup> Peck I informed him the Freight was paid here which the Capt: has acknowledg'd in the Bill of Lading I have enclos'd to him. I wish you had given us a Copy of the Letter you sent M<sup>r</sup> Towgood it was a sad disappointment to your hearty Friend M<sup>r</sup> Jillard as well as to me, as we Should be glad if possible to satisfie y<sup>r</sup> Friends here in regard to the same point. You'l therefore take the first opportunity to transcribe it & forward it either to M<sup>r</sup> Jillard or me. You return'd me no answer in what I said about fixing Trustees in London & Bristol and in regard to which you talk'd with M<sup>r</sup> Jillard when you was here, to me it seems a very important necessary in the Affair, as it will be a mean[s] of perpetuating an handsome annual income for the Support of the Charity & a likely one to extend it, because when the people of England come to find the Affair is invested in some persons on the Spot of eminency, probity & property as well as seriousness they may be inclin'd if not when Living to bequeath something considerable towards this laudable Charity at their Death as well as to any other & perhaps some among the serious will prefer it to any other Charity. Therefore do give us all the satisfaction you can to enable us to do the same to others. M<sup>r</sup> Jillard is ready to think if you have not answer'd M<sup>r</sup> Towgood's Letter fully you will do but little at Exeter or in that Country and therefore wou'd advise you (as you say you wrote to him in the utmost hurry) if you then thro hast neglected any material thing which you should have mention'd to him to signifie it to him in another Letter, because I hear much do depend on the explicitness of the answer. Many of your Friends here think you Injure the Cause by your hurrying so much. M<sup>rs</sup> Ludlow & my

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Daughter join me in best Wishes both for you & Yours & I am Dear Sir

*Yo<sup>r</sup> Affect. Friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

THO<sup>s</sup> LUDLOW

*Bristol 27<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1766*

I had this day a Letter from my good Friend D<sup>r</sup> Gifford, he was well.

<sup>1</sup> *From the evidence of this and other letters, Thomas Ludlow seems to have been engaged in business in Bristol. He gave five guineas.*

\*

*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 2 Oct<sup>br</sup>. 1766*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

We had a full meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Gent<sup>n</sup> tonight & D<sup>r</sup>. Gibbons has wrote a very full & sensible letter to M<sup>r</sup> Towgood which is the sense of all your Friends.—it would have been sent tonight but there was no time to transcribe it & write another Copy to you and both to be Frank'd by Lord Dartmouth which if please God will be done & sent next post—if I dont receive a letter from you by To Morrow we must direct that for you as this is, & therefore if you remove leave word with or at M<sup>r</sup> Field at Wellington to send it you. I hope this will git you over y<sup>e</sup> difficulty that arises from those that object to a Trust, those that are not satisfy'd with it will be so w<sup>th</sup> nothing—therefore leave it with the Lord who I'm persuaded will appear for, & prosper the cause greatly. M<sup>r</sup> Smith is [san]guine, he values & rates this Letter at £500. [It] will serve you to shew to all Objectors & being frank'd by Lord Dartmouth & the other respectable names within & above all a Copy of a Brief which M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock has sent of the whole Province of Connecticut (to y<sup>e</sup> overthrow & confusion of y<sup>e</sup> Bostonian & Mauduit &c), but I must Conclue w<sup>th</sup> all our hearty Love to you & M<sup>r</sup> Occom

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

*P.S.* be sure let me know how puncheally to direct to y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>t</sup> you may have M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's Letter.

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My Dear Friend—I had wrote this & was going to send it by the Post, but thought I would seal it up at home & then send it—where I found your's from Bridgwater<sup>1</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> 2 others Enclos'd—I'm sorry the Friends I wrote to such as M<sup>r</sup> Bayley at Froome, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Spencer y<sup>e</sup> Clergyman & the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Haynes at Bradford did not shew you the letters I wrote to them which I desir'd they would—I do really Simpathize with you & could not have expected such difficulties would have ensued—but be not discourag'd—we must actually enter into a Trust<sup>2</sup>—Viz<sup>t</sup>. L. Dartmouth—S<sup>r</sup>. C. Hotham Jno Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>. Charles Hardy Esq<sup>r</sup>. Dan<sup>l</sup>. West Esq<sup>r</sup>.<sup>3</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup>. Roffey Esq<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup>. Savage Esq<sup>r</sup>.—One more of the Presbyterian denomination & Two Baptists one from D<sup>r</sup> Gifford & one from D<sup>r</sup> Stennett & then there will be Two Undeniable Gent<sup>n</sup>. of every denomination of Protestants of undeniable Characters & the power dureing Life Invested in him & he to name his Successor in his Life time & y<sup>e</sup> other the [torn] Gent<sup>n</sup>. of y<sup>e</sup> trust if any should die others to replace them—<sup>4</sup> I shall lose y<sup>e</sup> post if I stay & write any longer—but be sure to stay or be at Wellington till our letters of Oct<sup>br</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> reaches there which I suppose will not be till y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>br</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & I both sent you letters to Wellington<sup>5</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> which I hope you rec<sup>d</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> or 3<sup>d</sup> of Oct<sup>br</sup> & for y<sup>e</sup> future L. Dartmouth will Frank all for you that is above a Single One<sup>6</sup>—if M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield wrote you in his of Sep<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> on any particular point be not anxious about it we'll settle all thing—I hope soon—I shall take y<sup>e</sup> 3 letters call upon M<sup>r</sup> Smith & M<sup>r</sup> Savage early in y<sup>e</sup> Morning & go to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & consult together & I'm sure all will concur to strengthen your hands & promote y<sup>e</sup> good Work in hand—

adieu R. K.—

<sup>1</sup> *Bridgwater, in Somersetshire, thirty-three miles southwest of Bristol. The subscription here amounted to £19.*

<sup>2</sup> *The cursory announcement of the formation of a trust in the postscript of a letter is rather astonishing. Keen does not mention his own name, which should have been on the list. But one additional member was secured, Josiah Robarts. All the members of the board were laymen.*

<sup>3</sup> *Daniel West "of Christ Church, Spitalfields, in the County of Middlesex, Esquire," was a follower of Whitefield, one of his executors, and joint manager with Keen of the London Tabernacle. His contribution to the fund was £25.*



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\* *The haste in which Keen writes (and the fact that the manuscript is torn at this point) makes this sentence somewhat confusing. It probably means that Wheelock is to choose his successor, that the next succeeding head of the school is to be chosen by the Trust, and that the later body is to fill vacancies in its own ranks.*

\* *At Wellington in Shropshire, a town ten miles east of Shrewsbury, £23 was subscribed. This seems rather far afield for Whitaker to have gone at this time. Wellington, in Somersetshire, seven miles southwest of Taunton, is more conveniently located, but no contributions are recorded from that place.*

\* *The franking privilege, possessed by members of the House of Lords, was highly prized by their friends (as shown by numerous references to it) at a time when postage rates were so high.*



### *Thomas Gibbons to Michaiah Towgood, Exeter*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

Permit me though I am personally a stranger to you yet as I may not be unknown to you in name and character to write to you in behalf of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's School and the mission of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Whitaker and Occum to make Collections on its' Account.

From all that I have ever heard concerning M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, He is a Person of an excellent Character and real Merit: and from all that I have ever heard concerning his School it is in itself a most valuable design and admirably calculated for civilizing and evangelizing the Indian Savages. When I say this I'm not a mere Echo to what is represented in the printed Papers which are circulated by Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Whitaker and Occum or to the Accounts which these worthy Gentlemen may have in Conversation given of the Affair but I have also receiv'd Intelligence to the greatest advantage of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock and his School from two gentlemen of New England into whose Company I have fallen. One of whom has actually visited the School to his abundant satisfaction—Superadded to all this there has lately come to hand the printed Resolution of the general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut relative to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's School of which I take Leave to transcribe a perfect Copy

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At a general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut holden at Hartford on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of May 1766.

Upon the Memorial of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Eleazar Whelock of Lebanon representing to this Assembly at their Sessions in May 1763 granted the said Memorialist the benefit of a Brief throughout this Colony for the Support and Encouragement of the Indian Charity School under his Care.

That before said Brief was generally read in the Several Congregations to which it was directed it was thought prudent to suspend the further reading the same on account of some Hostilities committed by the Indians untill a more favourable Opportunity. That Said School is yet continue'd and the Numbers and Expence is greatly increas'd in supporting a Number of Missionaries and School Masters among the Indians &c and praying that said Brief may be again reviv'd and properly encourag'd as per Memorial on File—

This Assembly doe thereupon grant and Order a Brief throughout this Colony recomending it to all Persons Charitably and liberally to contribute to such a pious and important design and the Monies soe collected to be by the Persons therewith intrusted in the several Congregations deliver'd as soon as may be to the said M<sup>r</sup> Whelock taking his Receipt therefore to be by him applied for the Use and Benefit of the said School as prayed for And it is further resolv'd that printed Copies of this Act be seasonably deliv'd to the Several Ministers of the Gospel in this Colony who are hereby also directed to read the same in their several Congregations and thereon to appoint a time for making such Contributions

*A true Copy of Record examin'd  
by George Wyllys Secretary*

With all these Attestations in favour of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock and his School I think Sir there cannot be the least question of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's Character or the Utility and Importance of his School. But of your good Opinion of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock and his School and the design of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker's and Occum's Mission I have noe reason to en-

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ertain a doubt and therefore Enlargements on this head may be unnecessary only so far as the Communication of fresh advices may confirm the favourable sentiments you may have already receiv'd concerning them. The difficulty with you and your Reverend Brethren and other Friends of Religion in Exeter may relate to the proper Security that the Monies that may be rais'd in great Britain for the encouragement of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's School shall be appropriated for the Purposes for which they are given I Shall therefore Revr<sup>d</sup>. Sir take the liberty of acquainting you that the Monies that have been collected and may be further collected in great Britain for M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's School are and shall be vested in the hands of responsible Persons appointed for the Purpose—that these Persons are the Earl of Dartmouth, Sir Charles Hotham, John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>., Charles Hardy Esq<sup>r</sup>., Samuel Roffey Esq<sup>r</sup>., Daniel West Esq<sup>r</sup>., Samuel Savage and Robert Keene, &c &c

That the above Gentlemen have themselves been large contributors to the Charity That these Gentlemen will pay the Monies that may have been already or may be further collected for M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's School to M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's Order, the drawing upon them from time to time for such sums as they may judge the Exigencies of the School may require and the said Gentlemen will take care that there be a just and full Account kept of the Monies that may have been or shall be yet receiv'd for the support of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's School—And that there shall be a like Account taken of the Remittances from time to time made of the said publick Monies to M<sup>r</sup> Whelock Give me leave to ask whether there is not a Sufficient Guarantee of the Monies that have been or may be collected as they are vested in the hands of Gentlemen of Opulence and unquestionable reputation and as they will take the above mention'd Care in distributing the Monies and keeping Account concerning them Allow me then Revr<sup>d</sup>. Sir to be an Advocate with you and other Friends of Religion at Exeter for Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Whitaker and Occum in their applications for the Support of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's School as I cannot see what reasonable Fears can be indulg'd that the collections made by Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Whitaker and Occum are in danger of being misapplied or disappointing the End of the Donors especially if it be

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added that in Case of M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's Decease before the Monies collected for his School are out of the above mention'd Gentlemen's hands there can be noe doubt but their Probity will direct them to apply them to the same purposes for which they were given

When you are visited by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker and Occum they can furnish you with a Paper containing a very strong recommendation signed by a very great number of Ministers of the Several Denominations in London a Circumstance that may perhaps plead not a little in their Favour with your Self and Brethren at Exeter

Excuse the freedom Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir I have taken in troubling you with this Epistle and assure your self that I am

*Your sincere Friend and Servant*

THO<sup>s</sup>. GIBBONS

*London Oct. 3<sup>d</sup>. 1766*

*P.S.* Permit me to annex the two following Queries Whether it be not eligible in such a service as M<sup>r</sup> Whelock has undertaken to leave the direction as much as in Prudence may be admitted to one Gentleman only provided he be a Man of Capacity and true goodness or in other words fully equal to the Work as in Such a Situation he is at full liberty to pursue his own wise and good measures to the utmost without any impediments from Jarring Tempers and Opinions And then whether M<sup>r</sup> Whelock is not such a gentleman as the above Query represents from the unbounded Confidence the Colony of Connecticut that best knows him and where he resides have repos'd in him in ordering the Profits of the Brief for the Benefit of the School to be paid into his hands and his Receipt only to be taken I take leave to add that all I have written has been said before the Earl of Dartmouth and others of the above mention'd Gentlemen with whom the Monies are vested and that they in all Respects approve and authorize my Representation—

*John Adams, Dartmouth,<sup>1</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Dartmo<sup>th</sup>—Nov 2<sup>d</sup> 1766*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

by y<sup>m</sup> from Crediton<sup>2</sup> I find it is your Intention to Preach here Wednesday Morn<sup>g</sup>, this I presume will by no means Answer the End as the Sermon is Spoke of for the afternoon as you desir'd, not only the Town In general but the Country round are determin'd to attend in the afternoon and being Prepared both by the Narative and from a Sincere desire of Contributing as far as they are able to the good Work, hope you will find Dartmo<sup>th</sup> as well inclin'd as any Town in the West.

In letters from Kingsbridge<sup>3</sup> last Friday to enquire the time they say they entend being here, shall therefor expect you According to your first intention and to take a dinner with

Sir

*Y<sup>r</sup> Humb<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>*

JOHN ADAMS

<sup>1</sup> *Some sentimental interest is attached to Whitaker's visit to the town from which, in the last analysis, the college takes its name, although the Dartmouth family now (a statement also probably true at the time in question) has no connection with or interest in the town from which its title is derived. The subscription here was £23.10.6, all from a collection at Mr. Adam's church.*

<sup>2</sup> *Crediton, seven miles northwest of Exeter. £30.11.6 was obtained here.*

<sup>3</sup> *Kingsbridge, eleven miles southwest of Totnes. The visit yielded £12.*

\*

*Eleazar Wheelock to Andrew Oliver*

*Lebanon Nov<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>. 1766.*

HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR.

I have had Several Intimations of a Letter wrote by yourself in the Name of the Hon<sup>le</sup>. Board of Commiss<sup>ns</sup>. in Boston to Jasper Mauduit Esq<sup>r</sup>. Govern<sup>r</sup>. of the Society in London Dated Oct<sup>r</sup>. 2,

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1765. Wherein I am inform'd are Several things Misrepresented, tending much to prejudice the important Design on which the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom are sent to Europe, &c.<sup>1</sup>

These are therefore to pray your Hon<sup>r</sup>. to be So kind as to favour me with copy of it, that I may be in a capacity to rectify those mistakes, and prevent the Mischiefs they threaten.

And I trust none will think my desire in this matter to be unreasonable, as I am so nearly concerned in what was written, and not well able without the knowledge of it, to prevent the Evil Threatened by it to the general Design in view, which I trust is near the Hearts of all the Friends of Zion & to yours in particular.

I have desired Several Gentlemen to wait upon you with this Letter, who I Suppose are able more fully to represent to you, if you shall desire it, the Importance of the Favour requested of you, by him who has already received many Testimonials of your unmerited Respect and Still begs Leave to Subscribe himself with much Duty & Esteem

Hon<sup>d</sup>. Sir, Your Obliged and very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

ELEAZ<sup>r</sup>. WHEELOCK.

A. Oliver Esq<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *The slowness of communication of the times caused a quarrel which had to be conducted across the Atlantic to be a somewhat long-drawn-out affair.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Moses Peck<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon 5<sup>th</sup>—Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1766*

SIR.

I am favoured with a Copy of M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers Letter to you, and by that I have an Acc<sup>t</sup>. of M<sup>r</sup> Olivers Letter to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Mauduit. and it Seems a Little Strange that the Hon<sup>bl</sup> Board in whose name he wrote so long accounted M<sup>r</sup> Occum To be in their pay, and yet after all Should make So many mistakes in their Hystory of him, and that

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too when it is the Result of a meeting, and desianed as their Testimony of Facts, Sent to the Hon<sup>bl</sup> Society in London to certify them So circumstantially, as that they might not be imposed upon by Deceivers. Som defects in their Narrative may be Seen by compairing the following particulars with what they Assert.

1. M<sup>r</sup> Occum (as well as many other of that Tribe) was undoubtedly a pagan 'till he was about Sixteen Years Old, and had never So much as heard that there was Such a person as Jesus Christ<sup>2</sup>—

2. None ever Said anything to me about taking M<sup>r</sup> Occum under my Instruction, or was ever any way moving in that matter, that I ever knew of, but his Mother, before he Came to live with me upon Trial.

3. M<sup>r</sup> Pomeroy never had any Concern, but onely as a friend, when my Family ware unable to bare the Burden of the School, by Reason of Sickness,<sup>3</sup> he did at my desire take the School, with my son in Law (M<sup>r</sup> Maltby<sup>4</sup>) the master of it to his House, where it Continued, as I Remember the bigger part of a year, but he Depended upon me to Support M<sup>r</sup> Occum, and it was at my Risque as much as ever.

4. M<sup>r</sup> Occum had been long confind by Sore Sickness before he came to me, and was then, and all the time he was with me, [in] a low State of health, tho' in the Main Mending, till he went from me to Serve them as School Master & publick Teacher at Montauck, on Long Island, and he was in as Good State of Health when he went away as I ever knew him to be, and it was by the Importunity of M<sup>r</sup> Horton<sup>5</sup> Miss<sup>r</sup> of the Hon. Society in Scotland, that I was persuaded to let M<sup>r</sup> Occum go to his place there.

5. M<sup>r</sup> Occum after he had Some time officiated as a Preacher there, was Ordained By the Presbytery of Suffolk County on L. Island, and Still continues to be a member of the Same.

6. The Ministers of this Government had no hand in Sending M<sup>r</sup> Occum on his first Mission to the Six Nations. See the acco<sup>t</sup> of that in M<sup>r</sup> Bostwicks<sup>6</sup> Letter to the Praeses of Directors & printed at

the End of M<sup>r</sup> Randals<sup>7</sup> Sarmon before the Society in Scotland  
Jany. 3. 1763.<sup>8</sup>

7. M<sup>r</sup> Occum was as much in the pay of the Boston Commiss<sup>n</sup> before the New York Commiss<sup>n</sup> Sent Him on there Mission as he was after ward, So far I ever knew, and his Circumstances was as needy 'till he was Relieved by that publick Contribution at New York as ever I know them to be, nor did I ever understand that the New York Commiss<sup>n</sup> ever asked the consent of the Boston Board to Send him.

8. the Boston Commiss<sup>n</sup> paid onely part of his debts when Application was made to them after his Return from that Mission—

9. He Could not have Continued in their Service nor in any other, if he had Receiv'd no Other Support but that which he had from them—

10. As to the Report that he was a Mohock &c and that large Contributions were Made Me on y<sup>t</sup> acc<sup>t</sup>. I have never Yet heard that their has been Such A Report in this Country, but Onely what has come from the Afores<sup>d</sup> Commiss<sup>n</sup> and how a report that he was a Mohock &c came to be published in England and Transmitted here in the public prints, I Can Only Guess—as to their Resigning him to Me and puting him out of there Hands, when they had him in there Service as well as pay, only on My telling them I could employ him better, abundantly evidences their high Esteem of My Good Judgment and fidelity, at least before I so unhapiely crack'd my Credit, by Declaring publickly in the most populous Towns in that and the neighboring Governments that he was a Mohock lately Emergent out of Gross Paganism &c in order to git large Contributions for this School—

These Hints So far as I know are true, and I tho't proper you Should have them, and make Such Improvement of them as Your Prudence Shall direct, and if you think it necessary you may publish them or any part of them, though I Confess the entring into publick Quarrel with those Gentlemen is So unnaturl and incongrous to the Design of building up and Inlarging the peacible Kingdom of Christ



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which we all profess to have in view, that I Exceedingly Dread it, if the Glory of God and the Interests of the Redeemers Cause Dont evidently require it—

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

*A Copy.*

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is found among Whitaker's papers and is endorsed "Mr. Peck's Copy of Mr. Wheelock's Letter in answer to my Copy of Oliver's letter." It was evidently written to Peck in the endeavor to start a back fire in Boston against the allegations of the Boston Board. This copy, transmitted to Whitaker by Peck, is in the handwriting of the latter, and some of the spelling is also evidently his.*

<sup>2</sup> *Page 70.*

<sup>3</sup> *Wheelock's first wife died in 1746.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. John Maltby, 1727-1771, Yale 1747, step-son (not son-in-law) of Wheelock.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. Azariah Horton, 1715-1777, Yale 1735, missionary to the Shinnecock Indians under the auspices of the New York Correspondents of the Scotch Society, 1741-1751.*

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. David Bostwick, 1721-1763, studied at Yale but did not graduate, minister of the Presbyterian Church at Jamaica, Long Island, 1745-1756, of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City, 1756-1763, President of the New York Correspondents in 1761.*

<sup>7</sup> *Rev. Thomas Randall, minister at Inchtree, Scotland.*

<sup>8</sup> *The mission of Occom to the Oneidas in 1761 was financed by the New York Correspondents of the Scotch Society. The Connecticut Correspondents had not at that time been instituted.*



*Thomas Ludlow to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*My much esteemed Friend M<sup>r</sup>. Nath: Whitaker*

DEAR SIR

Since my last to you at Bideford<sup>1</sup> we have had the pleasure of receiving two Letters from you, one from Barnstaple,<sup>2</sup> the other from Credition, both which gave us pleasing accounts of your success in the important Cause, what you collected at Exeter and Topsham<sup>3</sup> I think is extraordinary. I am glad to hear some of the Clergy<sup>4</sup> undertake for you, which no doubt is a furtherance to the Affair, I find you have left the Collection in some places to the management of them and other Ministers by which you will see whether that will

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answer your purpose, I am ready to think it will not and that if you was to make personal application and preach to the People, where they receive one Pound, you would two Pounds, but that I leave. I observe your immediate going to London on your return to Exon is not absolutely fix'd but that a Letter you expect from your Friends in London is to determine it.<sup>5</sup> If it is for the good of the great Cause we should rejoice to see you here first for do assure you that wou'd be indeed a great pleasure to us and to Friends in general. It gave us concern to have so poor an account of dear M<sup>r</sup> Occom, hope the Lord has remov'd his complaint and that this will find him perfectly recovered. May the Lord still stand by and support you under every trial that you may meet with and keep you above all your fears and discouragements. He is stronger than all your adversaries and has the Hearts of all Men at his command and can turn them as the Rivers are turned, Instances of w<sup>ch</sup> you have met with since you have been embark'd in this glorious undertaking, which are as so many encouragements for you still to go on trusting alone in the strength of the Lord. Thro the great goodness of God we and all your Friends that I now can recollect here are well and many did they know I was writing wou'd beg to be remember'd t'ye. M<sup>rs</sup> Ludlow, my Daughter & Self do heartily join in tendering our cordial Love and respects to you and M<sup>r</sup> Occom and that we may be sharers in both your Prayers is the desire of

*Your sincere Friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>*

THOS, LUDLOW

*Bristol 7<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1766.*

Pray present our best Respects to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Kinsman<sup>6</sup> and Gibbs<sup>7</sup> and their Families.

<sup>5</sup> *Bideford, in North Devon, on the River Torridge, four miles from the sea, eight miles southwest of Barnstaple. The collection here was £48.13.3.*

<sup>6</sup> *Barnstaple, the principal port of North Devon, on the River Taw, thirty-nine miles northwest of Exeter. The subscription amounted to £31.15.6.*

<sup>7</sup> *Topsham, on the River Exe, five miles southwest of Exeter. The collection was £24.16.*

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<sup>4</sup> *The term clergy is applied to the ministers of the Church of England in distinction to those of the dissenters. The record of subscriptions shows that some support was obtained from the former source, although, in general, they showed little sympathy with the mission.*

<sup>5</sup> *As shown by a later letter, Whitaker made a hurried trip from Exeter to London, in order that his relations with the newly formed English Trust might be regularized. He returned to Bristol almost at once.*

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. Andrew Kinsman was converted at eighteen by reading Whitefield's sermons and became prominent among the out-of-door itinerant preachers of Methodism. In 1763 he was ordained minister of Whitefield's Tabernacle at Plymouth Dock and later was minister of Lady Huntingdon's Tabernacle at Plymouth. After Whitefield's death he was frequently called to London to preach in the evangelist's Tabernacle. He gave one guinea to the cause, while his congregation contributed £22.*

<sup>7</sup> *Rev. Philip Gibbs, 1728-1800, was also converted at eighteen, and became minister of a small congregation of Baptists at Plymouth, which he served without compensation for over half a century. Eventually his church grew to be one of the most considerable of the dissenting congregations in the west of England. The collection at his church was £4.18.8, while he gave personally one guinea.*



### Mary Occom to Eleazar Wheelock

*Mohegan Nov. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1766.*

REV<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

would inform you that my Son Aaron, behaves himself so bad that I Cannt keep him, and I take this oppertunity to send him to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock for to use him as you think best, he is trying to get Married to a Very bad Girl, he has Made one attempt to Run off with her, but was Disappointed,<sup>1</sup> and he is out from home Night and Day—half his time, and trys to run me in debt by Forging orders &c. But being in haste cannt write So much as I would, but the bearer hereof Squib, is an Honest man & will Speak the truth, and he can relate the whole. My Duty to yourself and Madam and love to all your Family. S<sup>r</sup> I am your most obedient and very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

MARY OCCOM

<sup>1</sup> *At the age of eighteen Aaron married Ann Robin, a daughter of Samuel, from Middletown. Whether or not she was the "Very bad Girl" referred to is not known. He died in 1771 leaving a posthumous son.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

London Nov. 24. 1766

MY DEAR & REV<sup>d</sup> B<sup>r</sup>

Yours of y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> of July rec<sup>d</sup> last night—It is a comfort that God reigns & can over rule even the most distressing events to y<sup>e</sup> furtherance of his cause, & the rupture of y<sup>e</sup> Indians<sup>1</sup> you mention (of the particulars of w<sup>ch</sup> I am quite ignorant) no doubt will terminate in this. I have just returned from my western tour of near 4 months, & have not had time to enquire after y<sup>e</sup> Books w<sup>ch</sup> I ordered to be Sent when I left London y<sup>e</sup> 25 of July: I hope they are gone, but Shall enquire D. V. tomorrow. As to M<sup>r</sup> Smith's Stay in England, I can only Say that God Seems to keep him here to help this cause—What else I may not Say. Yours of Sep. 18. I had at y<sup>e</sup> Same time, & y<sup>e</sup> Bill of £180 was immediately accepted by M<sup>r</sup> Keen, tho I was from London, I am glad you have rec<sup>d</sup> So many of my letters—I wrote you about y<sup>e</sup> 23 of July a full acc<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> letter Sent by the B——n Board which I hope you have rec<sup>d</sup>; also from Bristol, giving a more general acc<sup>t</sup> of the Same—What do these men mean? Your plan needs no arguments to make it universally esteemed here. The A. Bishop of C. highly approved it when M<sup>r</sup> O & I waited on him, & afterwards w<sup>a</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smith & I waited on him; & Said he wo'd recommend it to *the Society for &c:* & of late they have had a meeting; & by w<sup>t</sup> I can gather; he So highly approves it that the Society are designing to Set the Same on foot, & have privately desired their friends to reserve their money for their glorious, intended future plan, & have wrot Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson on the head<sup>2</sup>—Behold what a great fire a little matter kindleth! But God reigns—Why do the heathen rage & the People imagin a vain thing &c. &c. Gods cause will go on in Spit of Satan. Jerusalem must be built in troublous times—but they Shall be built.

Some other Letters of yours to me, of, I think, Sep. 18, I read over in a hurry today at M<sup>r</sup> Keens w<sup>ch</sup> I left w<sup>th</sup> him for M<sup>r</sup> Whitefields persual w<sup>a</sup> he Shall return from Bath, in w<sup>ch</sup> it Seems as tho' the Mohawks are like to be routed out from their Lands—can we

wonder if such things cause ruptures<sup>s</sup>—May God grant that we may not be guilty of Self murder by provoking them to kill us.

You mention in yours of July y<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Pomroy & your Son were gone to Sir W<sup>m</sup><sup>s</sup> & that you would give me an acc<sup>t</sup> of Success &c w<sup>h</sup> they should return—but I find nothing about w<sup>t</sup> they discovered, unless you refer to it in y<sup>e</sup> letters I read to Day wherein you mention Wyoming & that the Mohawks are under a necessity of removing. You know by this time that Lord Dartmouth is not in the Administration, & what clue we Shall now have I have not yet learnt but God reigns Still. I am glad to hear of poor Dean. God works for you indeed.

In my tour of 4 months I collected near £2000 in the face of that abominable opposition which y<sup>e</sup> B——n Board & their adherents here have raised. God hath given us to triumph over it all, let his holy name be magnified—even my enemies lick the dust. A Trust here is now determined upon, tho not yet constituted. The Trustees are The Earl of Dartmouth, Sir Ch<sup>s</sup> Hotham, J<sup>no</sup> Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>, Cha<sup>s</sup> Hardy Esq<sup>r</sup>, Sam<sup>l</sup> Roffey, Esq<sup>r</sup>., Dan<sup>l</sup> West Esq<sup>r</sup>., M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage & M<sup>r</sup> Rob. Keen & one to be nominated by D<sup>r</sup> Stennet. When this is done (w<sup>ch</sup> I hope will be in a Short time) I Shall take a Commission from them to Collect; & then the objection about the trust will I hope be at an end.

All friends are in usual health here—I believe on the whole there is near £5000 collected, and I have been over a very Small part of the kingdom—When I Shall return God only knows—you will not forget to pray for us—In hast I conclude Subscribing my Self your Stidy, undessembled, Stait hearted brother

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*N.B.* As to remitting goods, I wrote you from Bristol that all must be done by advice of friends in London and as yet I have no leisure to think about it Give kind love to Dear M<sup>r</sup> Fish whose kind letter I rec<sup>d</sup> but have no time to answer it

*Nov. 28*, 2 days ago rec<sup>d</sup> yours of Oct. 13. with M<sup>r</sup> Smith's & M<sup>r</sup> Salter's enclosed—these have almost a compleat train of artillery in them—But conclude when you See M<sup>r</sup> Pecks Letter of July 23 you

will think it best to write at least to the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Parsons<sup>5</sup>—Langdon,<sup>6</sup> &c & desire them to assert that no Such report of M<sup>r</sup> Oc: being a mohawk, &c, ever was Spread So among them as to occasion large contributions, &c. You have, I hope rec<sup>d</sup> my letter from Bristol—I Set out at 4 tomorrow morning again for Bath to be there before M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield returns—he sent me here from Exeter 180 miles, & now I must go back above a hundred; & what vexes me is that these needless journies will cost me £7 or £8 more than otherwise I should have Spent—We expect to ride above 100 miles tomorrow—I hope the opposition here is almost dead; but however it is best to be well armed therefore Send letters to the purpose to be ready against time of need. This day I Signed away my power to the Trustees—Pray give us all the intelligence concerning the incroachments on the Mohawks &c which you can—this seems to me will tend to the furtherance of the cause, if the affair can be well represented here—If they are injured & any of them will come over here, I doubt not but that they will find redress—(This is of my own head) Some Indians have been here, but who they were I cant yet fully learn. The[y] Came about Lands near Stockbridge,<sup>7</sup> & tis reported that they were promised redress by the king—Love to all—God hath indeed prospered us—Is not Sir Wm J. Laying Scheems to defraud the Indians? Softly.—

*I am yours*

N W

<sup>1</sup> Just what is meant by this "rupture" is uncertain, but it apparently refers to Indian uprisings which did not actually occur. Thus one of Wheelock's representatives among the Iroquois, Aaron Kinne, wrote to his patron on July 18, 1766, "The situation of affairs in this Corner of the world wears a discouraging Aspect. How long Peace will remain is very dubious."

<sup>2</sup> The stimulating effect of the work of Whitaker and Occom on the efforts of the established church soon became apparent. In 1767 Wheelock was informed that that organization was about to send eight missionaries and eight schoolmasters to the Iroquois. As a result he diminished his own activities, limiting his work to the Oneidas where it was already well established. He probably considered that suitable Episcopal recruits for the work would not be found, which proved to be the case.

<sup>3</sup> Indian lands remained a source of controversy as long as any aborigines were left. The suspicions of the motives of Sir William Johnson, indicated in this letter, were hardly justified, and were no more severe than Sir William's suspicions relating

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to the desires of Wheelock for grants for his school. The land question was considered at a conference held at Fort Stanwix in the fall of 1768, and the division of territory between Indians and whites was settled for a considerable period.

<sup>4</sup> On June 20, 1766, Wheelock sent his brother-in-law, Benjamin Pomeroy, and his son, Ralph, to central New York to investigate sites for his school.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Jonathan Parsons, 1705-1776; Yale 1729; minister at Lyme, Conn., 1731-1745 (where he embraced the cause of the "New Lights"); highly successful as minister of the Presbyterian Church at Newburyport, Mass., 1746-1776. He was an intimate friend of Whitefield who died at his house in 1770.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Samuel Langdon, 1722-1797; Harvard 1740; minister of the North Parish, Portsmouth, N. H., 1747-1774; President of Harvard College, 1774-1780; minister at Hampton Falls, N. H., 1781-1797.

<sup>7</sup> Beginning with 1735, the Stockbridge Indians in western Massachusetts were a center of successful missionary effort, under the leadership of John Sergeant. With this tribe Wheelock had nothing to do, beyond receiving certain of its members into his school.



### *George Whitefield to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Bristol Nov<sup>br</sup>. 25 1766.*

MY D<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> WHITAKER—

I had some hopes that the Postscript of my last w<sup>d</sup> have encouraged you to take Bristol and Bath in your way to London. Since my writing a door seem'd to be opening among some Great Ones—but perhaps it may not be too late if the Trust be settled immediately—I have just now wrote to a truly noble Lord concerning it—Pray tell the Mess<sup>rs</sup> Hardy & Keen that I am Here writing for M<sup>r</sup> Howel Davis<sup>1</sup>—If He doth not come I shall bring M<sup>r</sup> Shepherd with me—They will know by tomorrow's post—This day sevenight or at least wednesday or thursday I hope to be in London—God be praised that my wife is better—God be praised for your success at Plymouth. You will always find it best to begin with the Children of God first—That you may both goe on from conquering to conquer is the Earnest prayer of, D<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker

*Yours &c &c—in the best bonds*

GW

Tender love to all—be pleased to shew this to my wife having no time to write this post.

<sup>1</sup> *Rev. Howell Davies was rector of Prengast in Wales, a "man of energetic and extraordinary eloquence" and leader of the evangelical revival in Wales. "He was a Boanerges—a burning and shining light and preached in four different places stately, besides his daily labors in houses, barns, fields, commons, mountains, etc. He had upwards of ten thousand communicants."*



*Philip Gibbs to Nathaniel Whitaker*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

I hope my last to you inclosing M<sup>r</sup> Mayo's<sup>1</sup> is come to hand I directed it for you at M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Ludlow's Bristol, thinking it would meet you there. I have Just now read yours in which you desire to know if I or any of your Friends in Plymouth can recollect what you said in conversation here about M<sup>r</sup> Mayo, & whether any thing reproachful past—you may remember Sir that I waited on you at M<sup>r</sup> Kinsmans the Day you came, & when you Signified your Business that it was to get Money as you then express'd it, I told you I was apprehensive you wou'd find many persons in Plymouth greatly prejudiced against you, by means of some things reported of you here by one M<sup>r</sup> Mayo of London, who had charged you with lying & Forgery, he said you had no trust for the Money you collected, were accountable to no one, & might do with it what you pleased, & was astonish'd that persons shou'd give their Money to such Men. You then told me, you knew M<sup>r</sup> Mayo, had Convers'd w<sup>th</sup> him & shou'd have been glad of another Interview with him, & that he had not treated you as a Gentlemen or a Xtian, or to that purpose, & that Plymouth was not the only place he had prejudiced persons against you, & that you had the same prejudices to remove at Exeter; you then took out your Pocket Book & said the last objection was now removed, as to a trust, & read me the Names of the Trustees w<sup>th</sup> whom you said the Money collected wou'd be deposited. In Con-



sequence of this I offer'd to give you all the Assistance I cou'd, & took trouble to undeceive some of my Friends, particularly M<sup>r</sup> Deane, who gave you five Guineas & wou'd otherwise have given but one; one of the company hearing me tell you how greatly your cause was like to suffer by Means of M<sup>r</sup> Mayo Immediately said, he was a Proud Upstart & full of conceit, your answer, as near as I can remember was, that he had many valuable gifts which if turn'd into a proper channel might render him very useful, but that you cou'd not imagine what shou'd so much incense him against you & the cause you were engaged in. that he was quite a stranger to you & that you never did, nor wish'd him any Evil, that you hoped he wou'd see his error in attempting to obstruct so great & good an Undertaking that you were sure it was of God & doubted not, but all opposition wou'd in time fall before it,—then one in the Company with Moderation said he despair'd of M<sup>r</sup> Mayo's usefulness in the Ministry 'till he was humble. I was indeed led to admire your evenness of Temper on the occasion & have since remark'd it, I had the Priviledge of Conversing with you here above a Week, during which Time I can't recollect I ever heard you say anything of the above Person unbecoming the Gentleman or Xtian, I thought then something Xtianlike & Noble appear'd in such a Spirit. I can assure you Sir M<sup>r</sup> Mayo is not treated with such lenity by numbers in Plymouth, I frequently hear him call'd Upstart, Novice, &c. I am very sorry he shou'd have given occasion for such Language, he is a person I once greatly loved, & expected him to shine as a burning Light in the church of Xst. O how afflicting to be thus disapointed to see those very hands pull down the Walls of Gods Zion, that I once thought wou'd have built them up,—but 'tis worse still, I have just seen another of his letters, which abounds with railing accusations, alas in what will this end at last, I fear in publick shame, yet I wou'd not have him exposed more than is necessary, for his humiliation, but doth he not expose himself. 'Tis not only you & your Companion that are the objects of his reproach, but many others, I have seen his letter relative to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> W, the character he gives him is horrid & shamefull, which affects me the more, as it pleased God to make that able Minister of Xst peculiarly useful to my soul; but this

Evil I fear is grown habitual to M<sup>r</sup> Mayo, for I find in his letters, even the Vinearable Doctors & Fathers in Xst in London, have the same contempt cast on them; he looks on them in a very diminutive light, as persons that want abillities to conduct such a cause as you are engaged in, what Pride & assurance is this!—O that God may give him a proper sense of his sin, & show him more of his own Heart, the Injury done the cause of Xt & the reproach hereby brought on the Gospel, let us not cease to pray for him, Peter ran greater lengths than these, & was recover'd, O that Xst may look on this Young Man that his Heart may be truly broken, but I hope none of these things will discourage you, in the great work that lies before you, are not the Hearts of all in Gods hands? is not the Lord still King in Zion? & will He not plead his own cause & laugh at the feeble desighns of all opposers, I find your labours here have been bless'd but having exceeded Bounds can't instance Particulars, only say that many here pray for you—that the Lord may Send you Prosperity, preserve your Health & return you in due time to your Native Land with Blessings to thousands is likewise the Prayer of D<sup>r</sup>. Sir

*Your real Friend & Humb<sup>l</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

PHILLIP GIBBS

<sup>1</sup> *Probably Dr. Henry Mayo, 1733-1793, a native of Plymouth, minister of the Independent Congregation at Nightingale Lane, Wapping, London. He was a friend of Dr. Johnson, of whom Boswell reports in 1773, "Dr. Mayo's calm temper and steady perseverance rendered him an admirable subject for the exercise of Dr. Johnson's powerful abilities. He never flinched, but after reiterated blows, remained seemingly unmoved as at first. The scintillation of Johnson's genius flashed every time he was struck, without his receiving any injury. Hence he obtained the epithet of the 'Literary Anvil.'" Just why he so vigorously opposed Whitaker's mission is not known. Very likely it was because of an enmity to Whitefield.*

*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*London 4<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1766—DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

I went as you desir'd & found your Recommendation (w<sup>ch</sup> now begins to look like Ezekiels Scroll full almost on both sides from one End to the other) in a Book of Sermons in M<sup>r</sup> Occum Room, & have Enclos'd it in a Frank—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield by his Letter, is to be in Town ToMorrow night—I think you & He were very Loveing & Friendly, to write me a double Letter in one Between You—a sign of Union—

I've Rec<sup>d</sup> 3 letters in answer of Yours to them of Nov. 22 One from M<sup>r</sup> John Reynell of Totness<sup>1</sup> Encloseing a dr<sup>t</sup> 30 days after date for £27.6.—The Sum rais'd there—another from M<sup>r</sup> Rob' Plumleigh of Dartmouth signifying he had paid £23.10.6 the sum Collected at his Church into y<sup>e</sup> hands of M<sup>r</sup> Parminter<sup>2</sup> of Exeter before y<sup>r</sup> letter reach'd him—y<sup>e</sup> other from M<sup>r</sup> Peter Fabyan of Ashburton<sup>3</sup>—Intimating the Collection there £21.4.4 was by M<sup>r</sup> Waters sent to M<sup>r</sup> Parminter as was likewise the Newton Collection £13.10—he thinks M<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Curates promise of Speake<sup>s</sup> to L. Courtenay<sup>4</sup> &c will turn out nothing—he says M<sup>r</sup> Nayler<sup>5</sup> has spoke to Friends & rais'd something & thinks he shall get more & expects to be in Town at Christmas & have brought it with him—to save you a little trouble I shall send him a few words w[h]ere you are & that he may either remit it to me or call with it when he comes to London as he shall like best.

M<sup>r</sup> Fabyan is a friendly Letter & towards the latter end he mentions things that is of more value than all your Collections, Subscriptions &c he says I'm satisfy'd you & M<sup>r</sup> Occum have left a sweet savour behind you among many of Gods people there & wishes you may both experience much of the presence of God & have Extraordinary Assistance for y<sup>e</sup> Extraord<sup>y</sup> service to which you are call'd—the Poor Scribler whilst writeing Joins his Hearty Amen—write to me whenever you have y<sup>e</sup> least spare time & where you are like to be 5 or 6 days after that & how to direct to You & you shall hear from me upon every necessary Occasion—

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let M<sup>r</sup> Occum or read or hear you read this, & let him know, if he dont write once a fortnight or thereabouts to me, I'll either not put him in my Will, or cut him off with a Shilling—I hope you are both well—

*I am D<sup>r</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>*

*Y<sup>rs</sup>. in Our never failing Emmanuel*

ROB<sup>t</sup>. KEEN

<sup>1</sup> Totnes, on the River Dart, twenty-two miles southwest of Exeter. The subscription list reads, "Collected at the Rev. Messieurs Reynall & Chapman's, £27.6."

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Parminter, of Exeter, gave five guineas. From other letters (not published) it appears that all the collections in Exeter were placed in Parminter's hands, to be turned over only when the ministers who indorsed the undertaking were assured of the formation of a trust.

<sup>3</sup> Ashburton, fifteen miles southwest of Exeter. The total collection was £31.14.4, of which Mr. Peter Fabyan gave £1.6.9, Mr. Waters, 10/6, and Mr. Water's congregation, £8.16.7.

<sup>4</sup> William, twenty-seventh Viscount Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, near Exeter. The prediction was correct, as no contribution is attributed to the noble lord.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. Mr. Naylor, Vicar of Ashburton. This is one of the few places in which the clergy of the established church interested themselves in the cause.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Bath. Dec: 11—1766*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

I wrote you the last of Nov<sup>r</sup> from London which will not likely reach you so soon as this—I therefore would just inform you that I rec<sup>d</sup> yours as low as Oct. 13. with M<sup>r</sup> Smith's & Mr. Salters—hope for many more of the Same tenure—these are a train of artillery against the B——n gentlemen—you have I conclude rec<sup>d</sup> mine from Bristol of August last; mind that, & conduct So as to furnish me well—yet I believe the enemy here are desirous of a truce—I have appointed Lord Dartm: Sir Ch<sup>s</sup> Hotham, Jn<sup>o</sup> Thornton, Sam<sup>l</sup> Roffey, Ch<sup>s</sup> Hardy, D<sup>l</sup> West. Esq<sup>r</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage & Rob. Keen Trustees for

the money—I have collected about £5000 & may by Gods help collect 3 times this Sum—I now write by His Excell<sup>ty</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Wintworth<sup>1</sup> G. of N. Ham: who will much help your design—a worthy young Gentleman, may God make him a blessing—I have no time to be particular—only allow me to give love to mad<sup>m</sup> & all friends—& to tell you that I am as ever your's in the best bonds.

Mr O. is well

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER.

P.S. His Excellency Jn<sup>o</sup> Wintworth has Shewn his friendship indeed by Subscribing £21 this moment which he will pay your order—The G. Wint: just now told me; that he wished the School could be Settld in N. Hampshire

<sup>1</sup> *Sir John Wentworth, 1737-1820, Harvard 1755, the person who, next to Wheelock himself, was to be the most effective force in the founding of Dartmouth College. At this time he was thirty years of age and had been in England since 1763 as business representative of his father, Mark Hunking Wentworth. He was also one of the two agents in England of the Colony of New Hampshire. He was particularly intimate with the leader of the Whig party, his distant relative, the Marquis of Rockingham. In August, 1766, he had received a commission to succeed his uncle, Benning Wentworth, as royal Governor of New Hampshire, and also as Surveyor-General of His Majesty's woods in America. He was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws by Oxford University in the same year, and returned to America to take up his office early in 1767. Evidently he was just about to embark on his journey and brought this letter with him, as it is addressed, "By Fav<sup>r</sup> of his Excellency, John Wentworth."*



### *Gov<sup>r</sup> John Wentworth's Recommendation of the School*

The Reverend Mr. Whitaker having requested my testimony of an institution forming in America, under the name of an "Indian School", for which purpose many persons on that Continent and in Europe have liberally contributed, and He is now solliciting the further Aid of all denominations of People in this Kingdom, to compleat the proposed plan. I do therefore certify, whomsoever it may concern—That the said Indian School appears to me to be formed upon Principles of extensive Benevolence, and unfeigned

piety. That The moneys already collected have been justly applied to this, and no other Use. From repeated information of many principal Gentlemen in America and from my own particular knowledge of local circumstances, I am well convinc'd, That the charitable Contributions afforded to this Design will be honestly and successfully applied to civilize and recover the Savages of America from their present barbarous paganism.

WENTWORTH

Bristol. 16<sup>th</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1766



*Eleazar Wheelock to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon 21 Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1766.*

MY DEAR M<sup>r</sup> WHITAKER.

. . . . It looks to me more & more as though God designs to make a Short work with the Natives, that they will be Soon christianised, or destroyed; and that the Progress of this will be doubly swift to what it has ever been.

If they will not embrace the Gospel it is likely in a few Generations more, there will be no more an Opportunity to Shew our Charity towards their naked Starving Bodies or perishing Souls. And what a pitty that any sho<sup>d</sup>. have occasion to reflect with Regrett, when it is too late, that they did not improve the Opportunity when they had it.

I have been consulting Gentlemen of the Law respecting a *Trust*. And the Result of all their Study, is, only that I nominate the men, and leave it with wiser and better Judges, on the other Side the Water, to form and Moddle it according to their own mind, which advice I much approve.<sup>2</sup>

I have no Objections against those Gentlemen you mentioned. I chuse that you yourself should Succeed me in the cheif care, & Direction, & conduct of the affair,<sup>3</sup> and in case you fail I desire our dear Brother M<sup>r</sup> C. Jeffry Smith may be first & principal in it, and

besides M<sup>r</sup> Eells, and M<sup>r</sup> Pomeroy I am content whether M<sup>r</sup> Fish, or M<sup>r</sup> Saltar, or both of them be Mentioned, or if it be consistant with M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland's being a Missionary and having his Support from the same Fund, it would Suit me well to put that Honour upon him, than whom I know of none who will more conscientiously dispose of Christs money, nor of many who will do it with more discretion.

I have yet had no return from M<sup>r</sup> Brainard relative to the affairs of which I lately wrote you by D<sup>r</sup> Johnson.<sup>4</sup> I lately received one from him of an earlier date desiring I would provide a Missionary to send next Spring to the Indians beyond Pitsburg,<sup>5</sup> who have lately manifested a great Desire to have one but alas! Where is the man?

I have paid for M<sup>r</sup> Occom Since you went away, & more than I have received, towards his House,<sup>6</sup> and for the Support of his Family, above £60. Lawf. mony, perhaps it would be better for him to send that Ballance than to have it put into y<sup>e</sup> public Acc<sup>t</sup>., especially as the Acc<sup>t</sup>. this year (as you are Sensible) will rise high, on Acc<sup>t</sup>. of extraordinary Missions, Settlements, &c. &c.

I rec<sup>d</sup>. a few Days ago the Box of Books, of Which you wrote me Some months Since and esteem it an invaluable Treasure, a choise Tallent my divine Master has committed to my Stewardship. May he also give wisdom & Grace to improve it in the best Manner for him.

Please to present my duty & Respects in the most humble and affectionate Manner to that dear *Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the poor*. My Soul blesses them; their very Name is unto God a Sweet Savour of Christ. They have already made the Hearts of many glad and I trust they will have the Blessings of thousands in Generations yet to come. The Lord prosper yet promote more their pious & well devised Plan to build up the Kingdom of our glorious Lord.

I have desired M<sup>r</sup> Keen to honour any Bills that may be drawn by M<sup>r</sup> Moses Peck of Boston, as tho' signed by my Self.

Salute Those Worthy Friends who kindly assist in your affairs, most heartily & Respectfully in my Name. The Lord Reward their Labours of Love for his own Name's Sake a thousandfold. I hope

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by & by to joyn their Society if they dont get So far above me as to be quite out of my reach.

*I am, my dear Sir, your most cordial Brother &c—*

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

Jan<sup>ry</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1767. I hear that my Letters from the west were near a month ago lodg'd at N. Haven. I've had nothing of late from you.

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is taken from the rough draft retained by Wheelock. The first part is omitted as not pertinent.*

<sup>2</sup> *At this time Wheelock had not learned of the formation of the English Trust. His statement is in reply to Whitaker's request of May 14 (page 121).*

<sup>3</sup> *All thought of Whitaker as Wheelock's successor was later abandoned as a result of the disfavor into which the former fell with the English Trust, which will develop in the further course of these letters. The claim of Kirkland to such a position, strongly favored by the English Trust, was one of the causes of the final break between the missionary and his patron.*

<sup>4</sup> *Dr. Samuel Johnson, 1696-1772; Yale 1714; rector of the Episcopal Church at Stratford, Conn., 1723-1754, 1764-1772; first President of Kings College (now Columbia University), 1754-1763.*

<sup>5</sup> *Nothing was done to supply this mission at this time, but in 1772, through the request of the New Jersey Correspondents of the Scotch Society, David McClure and Levi Frisbie were sent to the Delaware Indians on the Muskingum River, west of Pittsburg. The mission, however, was an entire failure, except as it enabled Wheelock to draw £150 from the fund collected by Whitaker and Occom in Scotland; the only considerable sum he ever obtained from the £2500 placed by those collectors under the control of the Scotch Society.*

<sup>6</sup> *When Occom removed from Montauk to Mohegan to serve as missionary to the Indians at the latter place, he set about erecting a house. Upon his transfer to Wheelock's service, the latter obligated himself in some indefinite way to complete the structure, described as a "decent two-story building," which cost over £100, rather more than was anticipated. Some friction developed between the two men concerning this agreement. The house survived until rather recent times.*



*N. Eells to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Stonington Jan. 12. 1767—*

REV<sup>d</sup>. AND DEAR SIR,

Your favour of July 2<sup>d</sup>. and of Aug. 12 & 22<sup>d</sup> are come to hand, have delayed to answer them, that I might have Opportunity to confer with M<sup>r</sup> Whelock and some other Gentlemen about the Con-



tents. With regard to M<sup>r</sup> *Oliver's* Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit and the conduct of y<sup>e</sup> Board at Boston, M<sup>r</sup> Whelock and I thôt it best to have the Advice of our Friends, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Williams &c. And accordingly a Meeting<sup>1</sup> is appointed tomorrow at Norwich: doubtless something will be done to set the matter in a true Light, and nothing more need be done than this, to support your Honour and Integrity. W<sup>th</sup> Regard to a *Trust*. M<sup>r</sup> Whelock is desirous of it, and we agreed to write you severally our Reasons.<sup>2</sup>

By a *Trust*, I mean a Number of Suitable persons nominated and appointed with M<sup>r</sup> Whelock to receive and take Care of all y<sup>e</sup> Monies that shall be given for y<sup>e</sup> Support of his Charity School, and to render to y<sup>e</sup> publick a faithfull Account from time to time of y<sup>e</sup> Application of y<sup>e</sup> same. I don't mean that these persons should be entrusted with the immediate Care and Direction of the School, which will still lay upon M<sup>r</sup> Whelock, who may repose Confidence in them for advice, that under every Emergency and in prosecuting y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>r</sup>. plan he may Act with more firmness of Mind, and more Satisfaction to himself.

Now the Question is, whether such a *Trust*, or a *Monopoly* will best Answer the Design of the School.

You say, that in England, "Bodies are looked upon as Clogs to every good and pious Design". I don't doubt but they are so indeed, when they are made up of Members,—only to Credit, and not promote y<sup>e</sup> Design: Men devoted to y<sup>e</sup> Business and pleasures of this Life and not to God; such a Body is really a Clog. A Body without a Spirit is dead, and is a dead weight. But it is quite the Reverse, when every Member in the Body is actuated with a Sp<sup>t</sup>. of piety and zeal in y<sup>e</sup> same good and laudable Design. *Two are better y<sup>n</sup> One*. When y<sup>e</sup> C<sup>h</sup>'s Stock was to be taken Care of, then said the Apostle, *Brethren, Look ye out among you, seven Men of honest Report, full of the holy Ghost and Wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business*. Such a number of honest, wise and good Men, may greatly promote the Reputation of y<sup>e</sup> School, and prove to the Satisfaction of the Observers and Benefactors of it.

Tis said "The Lord has raised up M<sup>r</sup> Whelock, and trusted him with the work, and we shou'd not put it in y<sup>e</sup> power of any to Re-

strain him." We Acknowledge y<sup>e</sup> hand of God who has raised up M<sup>r</sup> Whelock for this Work, and supported him in it; and may not we put it into the power of others to Assist him? Such a Trust may be easily appointed, as would not restrain him, but greatly strengthen his hands and encourage his heart in this work of y<sup>e</sup> Lord. M<sup>r</sup> Whelock, sensible of this, makes it y<sup>e</sup> Matter of his own Option & Choice.

With you 'tis said, "That enough will be given for the present and if more is wanted M<sup>r</sup> Whelock must send again." You know, Sir, that the best Friends to the School have judged some fund to be necessary to carry on y<sup>e</sup> Design with Vigour & boldness; And have advised, that all y<sup>t</sup> cou'd be spared out of y<sup>e</sup> Collections you make, shou'd begin the fund. But if there is no *Trust*, we can expect no *fund*: The want of which may cramp M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's enterprising Genius and extensive Views.

Indeed if the School was in the midst of an opulent Country, as England, where Men of Wealth and power and Piety were its Friends and Promoters, Men that had Souls, like y<sup>e</sup> noble Earl of *Dartmouth*, no Matter how dependent it was: But as y<sup>e</sup> Case stands, some suitable provision, if possible, must be made for its Support, and some meet person connected with M<sup>r</sup> Whelock to take Care of it.

We know it is y<sup>e</sup> Disposition of Mankind in General, to be sure it is y<sup>e</sup> Genius of this Country, not to put a great Deal of Confidence in One Man, however pious, however excellent. Many here, of worth and influence, have complained, that things have lain too much in the hands of M<sup>r</sup> W. already. A *Trust* will still their Clamours, stop the mouths of Enemies, and consequently minister Releif and contentment to M<sup>r</sup> Whelock.

Moreover, consider that a Union is on Foot among the Clergy in North America, from Carolina to New hampshire, and likely may be accomplished y<sup>e</sup> year. One Grand object of this Union is to Gospelise y<sup>e</sup> Indians on y<sup>e</sup> frontiers. Whatever Method they agree upon, doubless y<sup>e</sup> people will fall in with. And as M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's Plan is considerably known and highly approved of, So it is probable (seeing Connecticut is very much the Center of the Clergy) they may not only adopt his plan, but joyn their Posse with him for a

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while, 'till the affair shall ripen for another School further Southward. This makes a Trust peculiarly seasonable and necessary. For depend upon it, they will never act without a *Trust*, will never be satisfied with One Man, as y<sup>e</sup> sole Conductor of all y<sup>e</sup> Affairs of the School. They will never disgust the Country at that Rate. But as far as they can, will unite in some popular and unexceptionable Method, to induce the Colonies, to exert y<sup>m</sup>selves, in a design, so politick, as well as pious; so much for General Safety, as well as y<sup>e</sup> Conversion of the heathen. Other Considerations might be offered, but I am too lengthy already.

While I write, I please myself that this affair of Gospelising y<sup>e</sup> Indians will at length become a National Concern, and thôt worthy the Attention and Countenance of a british parliament. If we can thrust forth a good Number of Labourers into y<sup>e</sup> harvest, and convert y<sup>e</sup> Infidels, we shou'd need no Treaties, no forces to secure their Loyalty and Alliance; and the vast Consumption of british Manufactures among y<sup>m</sup> would teach the Nation how to make a *Gain* by promoting *Godliness*.

May God be with you, my dear friend, and make your way prosperous, and return you to your family and Friends in peace; and when we meet again may it be in heaven, or further on in our way thither. I am with all cordial affection,

*Your Brother and very humble Servant*

NATH' EELLS

<sup>1</sup> *Of the Connecticut Correspondents.*

<sup>2</sup> *This letter is in reply to those from Whitaker reporting the sentiment in England to be opposed to trusts as leading to jobs (page 130). It was not required by this time, as a trust had already been set up in England.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock.*

REV<sup>d</sup> & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

*London Jan<sup>r</sup> 17. 1767*

If I mistake not I wrot you from here in Nov<sup>r</sup>. & from Bath in Dec<sup>r</sup> by Gov<sup>r</sup> Wintworth who Subscribed £21 & desired me to inform you that he would pay your Draught on him for that Sum when

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he arrived—& told me he would grant 6 miles Square of Land at Cohos for the School & for Some Setlers.<sup>1</sup> But M<sup>r</sup> Smith thinks he will not make a grant as that land is esteemed So very valuable, & besides he can't do it without a Mandamus from the Crown. However I hope it will enable me to treat with M<sup>r</sup> Pen to good advantage about a tract Some where in his Government which, I can't help thinking, is a better Situation for the School, than Cohos. Dear M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield will write you on the head of fixing the School, which is doubtless of great importance. Friends here generally think that for the present it ought to be in Connecticut; for, Say they, Connecticut is friendly, & patronizes the Cause, & it would be ungrateful to that Govern<sup>mt</sup>. to remove it from them; but that this need not Hinder Securing a tract of Land in Some convenient place as an endow<sup>mt</sup>. for it & where it may be carried in future time; & that if a Settlem<sup>t</sup>. is proposed, & numbers to remove, it will be best to persue this before the School removes, & they to prepare the Way, & invite the School after them, & thus the School will run no risque, but continue & go on, & when the way for removal is prepared, the Land on which it is Settled will Sell for much more than it costs, or may be kept as an endow<sup>mt</sup>. for it.

As to G. Lyman, it is Still dubious what & how he will obtain or whether anything, tho' I heard a few days ago that it will very Soon be decided, & Some Say he will obtain. I have not Seen him this great while as I have been roving round the kingdom *IN GREAT HASTE*, & have collected near £3000 in Six months, but design to See him as Soon as may be. As to Mason's Case, M<sup>r</sup> Smiths tells me that Notifications are Set up at the N. England Coffe house<sup>2</sup> &c. &c. that it Shall be tried the 18<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup>. next. M<sup>r</sup> Occom keeps himself quite free of any connections with him & the Cause; he is as honest a man as the most who condemn him—I can't help Suspecting, from your letter of June 24. that Some back friend here hath given you an unfavourable acc<sup>t</sup>. of my conduct in this great work, as being two hasty & rash &c, or else you could never have gone Such lengths as to propose the M<sup>r</sup> C. Smith Should take my place, & to obtain his Consent—This was going much farther than your Prudence & friendship to me would have allowed if you had not rec<sup>d</sup>. Some un-

favourable impressions from Someone here concerning my conduct. Whence Such an acc<sup>t</sup>. of me came I know not, but we all Suspect M<sup>r</sup> D'B—<sup>dt</sup> who is not my best friend, for reasons too long to give now. It if is not from him justice will oblige you to clear him; & I think the bond of unfeigned friendship, which Subsists between us will oblige you to let me know who it is—I have consulted friends here on the head, & they advised to mention this to you. I have often wished for M<sup>r</sup> C. Smith to be with me as an assistant as I have wrote you once & again; but what disgrace would follow my being recalled as unfit for the Work! If I had proved my Self So, doubtless the effects would have Shewn it. But I appeal to you & all England whether more could have been expected, or half So much for the time considering the amaizing opposition I have met with from M<sup>r</sup>. Mauduit who is Chairman of the Dissenters, & which, I am bold to Say, no other man in America (your Self only excepted) could have withstood, as no other had a particular knowledge of Circumstances.

What more did Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Tenant & Davies the two or 3 years they were here than I have done in less than one—What did M<sup>r</sup> Beaty in the three years of his mission more than I have done already—The Kings Countenance & that of a number of the Nobility hath been obtained, & the Cause is gaining ground & Credit continually—Some may Say this is owing to friends here—I own it, but how came these friends engaged? If I had been precipitate & rash & Stubborn would they have Stood my friends? Or could the cause have been carried on by them as well without as with me? I most Sincerely wish M<sup>r</sup> C. Smith was here, as it would make the work much more easy & Speedy; & I Should greatly rejoice to be at liberty to return to my dear family & friends; but Since I must become a fool in Glorying, I will Say that I have managed this business to the wonder & Surprize of all friends here whose expectations are much exceeded—I own I am hasty, for we Set off for Bath Sat: morning Nov<sup>r</sup>. 29 & rode 110 miles in one day, tarried there & at Bristol above a 14' night, colected £185; Monday 18 Dec<sup>r</sup>, set out for Wilton tarried till friday 1. o'cl then rode to Salisbury, & Sat. to Blandford; mond. to Sherborn; Tuesday to Yeovil; Wed. to S. Petherton; Thursd. 25 to Maytock; Sab. to Crewkern; Mond. to Beamister, & Bridport;

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Tuesd. to Dorchester & Warham; Wedn:d to Pool; Satd. to Ringwood & Rumsey; Sab. M<sup>r</sup> O. went to Broughton & Mond. to Winchester; Tuesd. we rode to S. Hampton; Wednesd. to Isle of Wight; Frid. to Portsmouth where & at Gosport & Common we tarried till Tuesday; & then Set out for London in the coldest Season know[n] for many years, & rode 75 miles, & got home between 1 & 2 on Wed. morning—Some may Say this is hasty indeed, & I own it, but in this tower I collected above £700 & find I am universally beloved & esteemed by all, except enemies, & blessed be God, I have fewer & fewer of them<sup>s</sup>—But eno' of this. I own I have many blemishes, but in this case I can't fault my conduct in the main. And let God have the Glory, I have been Successful. Your friendship will therefore oblige you to let me know who hath given you Such an acc<sup>t</sup> of me.

I pray God you may yet See more & more of the fruit of your labour. You may depend on my doing all, & in as much *haste* as I can for this glorious Cause. Give arms full of love to your whole fire Side & all dear friends, & accept the assurance of every kind & grateful Sentiment that can be in the heart of one who asks your fervant prayers, & Subscribes himself your friend & B<sup>r</sup>.

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*N.B.* M<sup>r</sup> John Williams of Boston who came over with me told me that he had ordered his Brother Jonathan Williams<sup>d</sup> of Boston to pay you £5.5 Ster: yearly, you will therefore See about it.

I have heard that the Books are arived at Boston & hope you have them long before now—I can have a large Number of Small Spelling Books if I will pay for the binding—had I best take them?

A piece of Sup<sup>r</sup>. fine black broad Cloath will come to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker which cost me about 13s per yr<sup>d</sup>, the common price was 16s, all the abatement was in my personal favour—taking this into consideration you are at liberty to dispose of it as you Shall judge best. You can git no better in England.

M<sup>r</sup> Peck writes me that good D<sup>r</sup> Sewel told him that he had Spoken to one of the ministers in B——n about the Boards letter, & y<sup>t</sup> S<sup>d</sup> minister told him, '*they had wrote nothing but facts.*' I would have that gentleman aske if that was a fact viz That the report that

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M<sup>r</sup> Occom was a Mohawk &c So prevailed where ever he came as to affect the minds of people in Such a manner that it was the means of procuring large contributions for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock—if this is a fact it is easily proved, if not it is a right down lie. Besides if they wrot nothing but facts why did they not let me know that they had wrote them when I was with them for a month? Why did they keep all close from me, D<sup>r</sup> Sewal, & y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>.? was it not because they knew they could not look me in the face? Was not M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton y<sup>e</sup> minister whom y<sup>e</sup> D<sup>r</sup> asked & who gave y<sup>e</sup> above Ans: if So, he hath acted a very base part & Such as will not be for his hon<sup>r</sup>.

One minister here in London hath been active to ruin the cause (perhaps urged on by, you can guess who), but his hon<sup>r</sup>. is not promoted thereby; yea So far from it that he is ruined, the day I please, as to Character & usefulness—No weapon formed against Zion Shall prosper, & in this case it hath been very visible that God fight[s] for us. I determine to make no noise here if I can help it, yet beg that I may be fully furnished for the Day of war, by letters from R<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Parsons, &c. to prove no Such report So prevailed as they assert in their Letter—I desire to follow peace with all men, & will do nothing but on mature advice.

*I am yours*

N. W.

<sup>1</sup> Such a grant (the present township of Landaff) was made by Governor Wentworth when the school was moved in 1770. Fortunately the new institution was not located on it, for in later years a claim to the township on the basis of a prior grant was successfully advanced, and the tract was lost to the institution.

<sup>2</sup> On Threadneedle Street, near the Bank of England. For many years it was the center for American commercial information.

<sup>3</sup> Whitaker had evidently received an intimation that Charles Jeffrey Smith was to be sent out to succeed him. In view of the success of his endeavors, his irritation was not without justification. It is fortunate that this feeling inspired him, for it resulted in a detailed account of the itinerary of the mission through Wilts, Dorset and Hampshire. This account makes it clear that the accusation of lack of energy and perseverance cannot be brought against the travellers. The subscriptions in these towns, many of them mere hamlets, seem remarkably large. The final reports specify the following amounts: Wilton, £15.11.8; Salisbury, 11.18.4; Blandford, 25.10.5; Sherborn, 25.1.9; Yeovil, 10.18.9; South Petherton, 33.17.6; Magtock, 4.3.1; Crewkern, 18.15.10; Beamister, 9.6; Bridport, 43.14; Dorchester, 14.14.5; Wareham, 38.5.6; Poole, 42.19.2; Ring-

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wood, 21.7; Rumsey, 34.6.9; Broughton, 11; Winchester, 5.18.3; Southampton, 39.11.6; Portsmouth, 50.14.11; Gosport, 45.10.2; and Newport (apparently the only place visited on the Isle of Wight), 64.7.7.

\* Jonathan Williams, a Boston merchant, is referred to as moderator of the town meeting called in 1773 to consider the policy of the town in regard to the importation of tea (just before the Boston tea party), and as a member of the Committee of Safety in 1775.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

London Jan<sup>r</sup>. 20. 1767

REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>

This Day I put a long letter into the Bag to go to you by Cap<sup>t</sup>. Dashwood for Boston, & perhaps this may go by the Same Ship. But no matter for that. The reasons I write so soon again are 1. Because I have a little leisure this evening 2. because the other was chiefly taken up about Some mischeivious wretch who had wrote *ut Sup-pinor* against me, & insisting to know who it is that I may know my friends from my foes and this I insist on Still by all the ties of love & friendship between us—I Shall Set down M<sup>r</sup> D'B—dt for the rogue if you do not clear him; & shall not take him into the cabinet till it is done. 3. Because I did not in that letter answer those of yours, fully, which I rec<sup>d</sup> last night—Now then to answer—

You tell me you have rec<sup>d</sup> mine from Bristol of Aug. 23. I am glad of that; & also that you have rec<sup>d</sup> a better Character of me than I deserve—& also that you have treated M<sup>r</sup> Oliver with Such openness & honesty—If M<sup>r</sup> Peck, &c. have not waited on M<sup>r</sup> O. with your request for a cobby of his to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit, I beg it may be done in all reasonable haste, for it will be Shewing them, that you are not afraid of them, & will oblige them to refuse you on very dishonourable terms or grant it to you; & besides, in this country they make the letter now a very different thing from w<sup>t</sup> it is. M<sup>r</sup> Amory,<sup>1</sup> one of M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit's Kidney, told me that M<sup>r</sup> Maud: told him, that there was nothing in that letter, but only y<sup>t</sup> you had brook off from their Board & had Set up independently of y<sup>m</sup>. Now I Say, there is not



one Such Idea in that letter; & I told him So & desired he wo'd give my Service to M<sup>r</sup> Maud: & tell him that I Say So, & to produce y<sup>e</sup> letter, if he pleases, to prove my mistake. Now, I am not Sorry they have refused me a copy here, because this dashes them to peices whereever I tell this & induces a Strong Suspicion of y<sup>r</sup> cause being bad: but glad Should I be if I could have a copy from Oliver, w<sup>ch</sup> I wo'd keep under the *rose* against a Day of war (if that Should come), & if M<sup>r</sup> Maud: hears from M<sup>r</sup> O. that I have got a copy (w<sup>ch</sup> he'll Suspect if you git it) a *hundred to one* if he does not offer me one himself. But if no copy is obtained, a *thousand to one* if they do not, either here or in Boston, charge me with lying by & by about it, & I am Sure, when the worst comes to the worst, that a Copy can do us no harm; for we don't know w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Devil will do by & by; for altho' the opposition here Seems to die as to anything open, yet no doubt it is working under ground, as it did at first; & I have found that it is y<sup>e</sup> Devils common way to give a *truce* in order to git Some advantage & attack with double fury—It is french pollicy, & generally tho't good, to prepare for war in time of peace: w<sup>t</sup> think you of this? Brother.

It Seems by your Letter that D<sup>r</sup> Johnson has paid you a great compliment as to your plan & in sending you his Catechism to correct & add, &c. This is courtly, be Sure to treat it as a courtair, & make the best use of it you can, but keep him & all Such at *Arms end*: for all they want is to Subvert your design. Have I not told you that the B. of Canter. hath had a meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Society, & have desired their friend[s], particularly at Oxford, to keep y<sup>r</sup> money for them, & not give it to me, as they were going to Set forward the Same good design: & that good *prelate* the A.B. of C. told M<sup>r</sup> Smith & me, that the Dissenters did not help them, & they Should not help the Dissenters (w<sup>ch</sup> by the way is not true). Were you here for 9 or 10 months & fish among them as I have done, you would know more of them. Their great design is to establish Episcopacy in America. D<sup>r</sup> Warburton,<sup>2</sup> B. of Gloster, told me We were presbyterians, & that Mahew had abused the A.B. of C.<sup>3</sup> & that I went about inflaming the people & making division, & collecting money without any authority, & was liable to be taken up, & many other unmannerly & ill-

natured things he Said; & purely because you &c are dissenters he wo'd do nothing, tho' the wretch pilliged my narrative to fill up his Sermon which I told him of, yet he would not give a penny nor ask us to sit down—This is the Spirit of them all (But don't Say a word of this in any letter to me for all my letters are opened before I see them if I am in the country). I therefore beg you will keep at the greatest distance from any coalition—I have Said this by M<sup>r</sup> Smiths advice—

Once more, you Say you designed to git a Letter from Major Dyar<sup>t</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> Jackson<sup>s</sup> & that you hope I have seen M<sup>r</sup> Ingersols<sup>6</sup> to him—I have, but have not given it to him, & that because I don't chuse to court his fav<sup>r</sup>., & then by & by he will court mine: & is not this best. I chuse to keep that whole Bread at as great a distance as possible & would have you do so as to any coalition w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Boston B. who will Soon begin to fawn round you like a Spannel (if we keep humble) & court you.

It Seems your School is in high repute; is not this the time to make its fortune?

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has not Seen the letter I am now answering; but from w<sup>t</sup> I have heard him say the other day, am persuaded he will advise you to fix it where it is, & to build a neat house sufficient for accomodation; & also to look out for a place where it may be carried *in futuro*: as I have hinted in my former letter—As to G. Lyman, I have not Seen him Since July last w<sup>n</sup> I left london; but Some tell me he will obtain—I hope to See him in a few days, & will inform you w<sup>t</sup> I can—I am apt to think M<sup>r</sup> Jackson will gladly propose the Scheem of procuring the Indians another tract of Land, if hinted to him—& join with Mason to procure it—& if he does it will doubtless be obtained & I can't See why M<sup>r</sup> Occom may not join him in this request Since it is favourable to your Gov<sup>mt</sup>; tho he does not know as yet of any Such proposal.—I hope to be advised to See M<sup>r</sup> Pen ere long—he may do handsom.—God reigns & will order all things well, if we wait on him. I can't think what to write more just now, & therefore leave off for the present till Something new offers.

22<sup>d</sup>. Just now came from conversing w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield—he Says you must Send over to the Trust here a particular acc<sup>t</sup>. of all the

moneys you have rec<sup>d</sup> & w<sup>t</sup> you have expended, & what Interest you have for w<sup>t</sup> is in hand, & the present State of your School—

But pray don't write any more Such things as you did in your last about the Schools being discouraged & the bad conduct of the Dutch, &c for it gives a great damp to the cause—even M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>d</sup>. has not faith enough to See beyond such Clouds—But for my part they are no discouragem<sup>t</sup>. to me.

Past 8. at night. This day I waited on G. Lyman, he without any hisitation told me that he was as Sure of obtaining as he could be of any thing that depended on a british changing ministry;<sup>7</sup> & that he expected that in a few weeks to have the grant, & to return this Spring. The Govern<sup>t</sup>. will reserve a quit rent to themselves, he Says about  $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>d</sup> or between that & a half penny per Acre, but that he has insisted, & is like to obtain that that quit shall not go out of the Govern<sup>t</sup>. there, but be appropriated to Support professors in the School, w<sup>ch</sup> he Says he must have there on your plan if yours does not remove, for all along he has mentioned your Plan in its extended view as an argum<sup>t</sup>. to move the thing forward, & he says it takes—(But you must Say nothing of the quits & their application to any) & is it not best to Say little of the whole till you are informed y<sup>t</sup> he has actually obtained—I have made a callculation of w<sup>t</sup> 500 acres of Land will bring in neat per year, & cant make the interest exceed £4.15 per C<sup>t</sup>. for the money laid out: and Gen. Lyman Says, that is more than it will neat in any of y<sup>e</sup> northern Colonies, but that it will be 5 times that on the Ohio near the Massisipy as there is no winter to eat up y<sup>e</sup> Summer & the land more fertile

On the whole it Seems to me that you had better let the School remain where it is for the present, & if need be only enlarge the house a little & improve your own Land to the best advantage, & not think of moving it a foot till Something farther offers. But you will hear the judgm<sup>t</sup>. of our Council in M<sup>r</sup> Whitefields letter which he will have ready against monday next w<sup>n</sup> we meet at Sir Ch<sup>s</sup> Hothams to compleat the trust.

*Frid: 30* We met at y<sup>e</sup> time appointed & fixed the trust, & John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup> is Treasurer. This man is Supposed to be worth £300,000, & gives away yearly as it is Said £3000 to pious uses; he is



**JOHN THORNTON**

a man respected by all parties, whether to call him a Dissenter or Churchman I can't tell; but however he is of a most amiable Character; may God prolong his valuable life. I don't think 9 men could be chosen in London of more worthy Character than those who are intrusted with this affair.

They are undoubtedly all men of Piety, except 1 or 2, & they are of great note & much Seriousness, & I hope true Piety tho' not So remarkable as the rest. Blessed be God that Such great & good men So heartily espouse this cause. I will tell you, my D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>. that we had a Sweet meeting at Sir Ch<sup>a</sup>. Hothom's last monday even with all the Trustees except Mr. Robarts a Baptist. Dear Mr White<sup>d</sup> was with us; & Dear L. Dart<sup>th</sup>. who ought to be loved by all mankind for his real goodness was one of us—& you can't imagine what Earnest Desire there appeared in all their hearts to promote the good cause. My Lord himself Set down & drew up a recommendation of it which is nearly in these words—"We whose names are Subscribed are appointed to receive the monies for Mr. Wheelock's Indian Charity School, and as we look upon this to be a most important & useful Charity, do hereby recommend it to the respect & notice of the pious & Charitable of every Denomination in this Kingdom where the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Whitaker & his Companion Mr. Samson Occom Shall apply for their charitable assistance in this great & good work"—Does not there accepting this trust & thus recommending the cause demand a letter of the warmest thanks to these great & good men. Before we parted good S<sup>r</sup> Ch. desired Mr. Whit<sup>d</sup> to ask Gods Blessing on the undertaking, in w<sup>ch</sup> I tho't he prayed in faith. Blessed be God for Such hopeful beginnings. Such a number of disinterested men, I believe never appeared in one cause in England.

This Day I went w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Smith to See Mr. Jackson your Agent<sup>s</sup> in order to propose the accomodation before mentioned between the Gov<sup>nt</sup> & the Mohegans, with which he Seemed pleased; not because he doubted of the Governm<sup>ts</sup> Case (as he would have us believe) but because it would be best for the Indians & y<sup>e</sup> new Settlement. What will be y<sup>e</sup> event I cant Say but it is possible if not probable that this may take; & if it Sho'd, will it not open a fine door in that new world for your School? Mr. Jackson looks on me, I planly See in a more

important light than formerly, & I guess will, w<sup>th</sup> the rest of the Society court my favor before long. However I Shall by Gods blessing git money enough without them. I wish they may be Stirred up to do good with theirs. Mr. Jackson told me this Day, that he had tried to bring the Society into a friendly temper towards me & the cause; but that Mr. Mauduit Seemed very warm at first, & he could not bring things right. He gave me ten Guines last Summer, & now the trust is fixed, he will, I hope, give much more.

I am a good deal Sorry So much money has been remitted to you, for I fear the trust will think I have been prodigal of it; but I have this to tell them that £120 was Sent by Mr. DeBerds unbeknown to me, & without hinting it to Mr. Smith on whom he drew, w<sup>ch</sup> I think was not genteel: & £50 more w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. Smith remitted unbeknown to me w<sup>ch</sup> was given by an unknown hand. Now I wish you would put all you have in hand under the best improvement & with good Security, & I know not of a better hand than Mr. Elijah Lathrop of my Parrish, if he wants—& Send over to the Trustees a particular acc<sup>t</sup>. of the expense of the School, & your Donations from other Parts, & how the remaining Monies lay & what Security & interest that they may be Satisfied, & be able to Satisfy others.

I have a good deal of concern about your Swelled hand. May God grant healing mercy. Please to Send me, whether you have rec<sup>d</sup>. anything from Mr. Jonathan Williams of Boston, & when you receive the £21 of Gov<sup>r</sup>. Wintworth or any other Bill Sent you. I send you one of £20 inclosed—you will let me know when you receive it—& another endorsed to H. Sherborn, Esq<sup>r</sup>. of Portsmouth, two of the Same tynure & date have Sent to him already, but if they are not paid, it must not be returned. You will not forgit to pray for me & this cause. I have much opposition to go thro', but thanks to God it dies daily. We are in good health & have many friends. Give love to Madam Children & all dear friends & be assured that I am as much as ever your real friend & Brother in unfailling bonds

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

I forgot to tell you that we had no time at our meeting to consult about fixing the School, & Mr. Whit<sup>d</sup> thinks it best to waite a little

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till we See how Lyman Succeeds. I would not have you proceed to any open conduct about building the School, &c from what I here write, for you will be advised in that.

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. Thomas Amory, 1701-1774; minister at Taunton, 1730-1759; head of the important dissenting academy at that place, 1738-1759; minister of the Old Jewry, London, 1759-1774.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dr. William Warburton, 1698-1779; Bishop of Gloucester, 1760-1779; executor of Pope, voluminous and influential writer whom Johnson termed "perhaps the last man who has written with a mind full of reading and reflection."*

<sup>3</sup> *Mayhew in "abusing" the Archbishop of Canterbury was not peculiar among the ministers of New England. The establishment of a prelacy in the New World was one of their favorite nightmares.*

<sup>4</sup> *Perhaps Eliphalet Dyer, 1721-1807; Yale, 1740; of Windham; lawyer; judge of the Superior and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut; member of the Continental Congress.*

<sup>5</sup> *Richard Jackson was at this time agent of Connecticut in London.*

<sup>6</sup> *Jared Ingersoll, 1722-1781; Yale, 1742; lawyer, agent of Connecticut in London, 1758-1761 and in 1764. He was much involved in the passage of the Stamp Act, and was appointed stamp distributor in Connecticut, but was furiously attacked and forced to resign. He was judge of the (British) Court of Vice-Admiralty in Philadelphia, 1768-1777 and was a loyalist during the Revolution.*

<sup>7</sup> *General Lyman received no grant until 1774.*

<sup>8</sup> *Of Connecticut. The removal of the Mohegans from the limits of that province to other quarters, although it was not carried out at this time, forecast the policy by which the Indians, in general, were to be so greatly abused in the century which followed.*



### *Samson Occom to his wife*

*London Jan<sup>r</sup> 21: 1767*

MY DEAR

By the goodness of God I am, and have been, in good State of Heath Since I wrote to you last, excepting Some Colds I have had Several times,—I rejoice to hear our Family was well, last November, let us endeavour to put our trust in god at all Times,—I am glad to hear our Aaron is at M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's, let him Stay there till he knows how to behave better—and do you try to Instruct your

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Girls as well as you can,—I order'd Some more money to be Sent to you, and I hope you have receiv'd it or will receive it, pay our Debts as far as you can—My Dear, get Some Capable Hand to Write you Letters of thanks,<sup>1</sup> to the Ladies who wrote you Letters, and Sent you Presents from Bristol, we have return'd to London again a few Days ago, and Shall Stay here till Spring,—my Love to you all, and to all Inquiring Friends.—I am as ever, your tender and Loving Husband,

SAMSON OCCOM.

<sup>1</sup> As Occom first met his wife when she, as a girl, was one of the pupils of his school at Montauk, the probability is that she could write, after a fashion, but so important a communication could not be left to her relatively unpractised hand. Other evidence indicates that certain pious ladies in Bristol and Gloucester, as evidenced by their gifts, retained an interest in Occom for some years to follow.



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Ministers of Birmingham*<sup>1</sup>

*London, Jan<sup>r</sup>. 28. 1767.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. GENTLEMEN

It is long Since I received your very kind & friendly letter, but as I Sent it up to London to my friends & have not been in London Since, except a few days, till now, I have not had oppertunity to answer it: & besides I am now in a better Situation to answer it than I have been before.

I most heartily thank you for your readiness to assist this great & good work, & am happy to find I have no inward obstacles to remove from your Breasts, & am ready to give you the best answer I can to your objection which arise *ab extra*

As to the trust, I could not fix on gentlemen at first untill I Should See who were proper to intrust Such an affair with: for it was necessary that I Should be Satisfied in my own mind, in order to justify my Self to myself, which I now am, & have accordingly, by virtue of a Power of attorney from M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock (in whose name



the monies were called, & the Books opened at the Bankers for Subscriptions) made & authenticated under the Seal of Boston Government last May, appointed a trust & invested the monies in their hands which have been or Shall be collected in this Realm to be under their direction & to be remitted as they Shall judge necessary for carrying on this laudible design. The persons intrusted are, The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Dartmouth, Sir Ch<sup>s</sup> Hotham, John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>, who is the Treasurer, Sam<sup>l</sup> Roffey, Ch<sup>s</sup> Hardy, Dan<sup>l</sup> West, Esq<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage, M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Robarts, & M<sup>r</sup> Robert Keen all in or near London. These gentlemen have been large contributors to the cause, & have been ready to do all they could to encourage it, & are hearty in the work. So much for your first objection w<sup>ch</sup> I hope is a Satisfactory answer.

As to the Second concerning the Boston Board, it would be almost endless to give you the particulars: perhaps I cannot answer it better than by giving you an extract from a letter Sent to the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Gordon<sup>2</sup> of London by the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Hopkins<sup>3</sup> of Great Barrington in Boston Government, Dated Boston 26 of May 1766. & now follows.

“Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom are now in England soliciting Benefactions for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks Indian School. I wish them Success, as I think it calculated to answer the end proposed above any plan that has yet been put in execution. And M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock has for a course of years & thro’ many Sore trials, had more Zeal in this Matter than any other Man in America; & has been in many respects remarkably Succeeded. He has enemies, who I Suspect, will use their influence in Britain to hinder his Success: *But why Should they who will do little or nothing themselves try to hinder others.*” I am very Sorry that I am obliged, in faithfulness to the cause, to Send you this Extract, yet I can’t but hope that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock’s Zeal will provoke them to activity. If this Should be the case, there is feild enough to employ that Society money & five times as much; & different Societies will assist, & promote each others attempts as every Scheem hath Some things in it adapted to the end which may reasonably be Supposed to be deficient in others. May God grant that every seeming opposite Interest in the affairs of Christs Kingdom may termi-

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nate in the furtherance of that religion which disposes all y<sup>e</sup> true Subjects of it to *follow peace & holiness with all men.*

By the above extract will be easily Suggested to you the reason why application has not been made to the Society here, viz a dispare of Success, especially as the gentlemen of the Board in Boston, for reasons unknown to me, refused to Sign my recommendations tho' I might guess at them; perhaps you may guess also from the above extract Yet will venture to tell you y<sup>e</sup> opposition in principles of religion cannot be a reason, as they are professedly of the Same Sentiments with M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock. I heard yesterday that the Society here had offered me a part of the money in their hands, if I would engage that it Should be accounted for to them, & that I refused it. This was quite new to me, & Seem'd to be Started as a Slur on me & the cause by representing as tho we would not account for what I have Collected which we have ever designed to do. I mention this least it should have reached you.

As to making the affair general, I may say that every necessary Step hath been taken to this end, & not without considerable Success—& all care will be taken to this purpose that I am capable & accordingly there are in the Trust unexceptionable persons of all denominations of Protestants.

Asking your earnest prayers for us & the good cause, I beg leave to Subscribe myself, Rev<sup>d</sup> Sirs

*Yours obliged humble Serv<sup>t</sup>*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *This is a rough draft of the letter actually sent. The effect at Birmingham could not have been favorable, as no money was collected in that city.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dr. William Gordon, 1728-1807; independent; minister at Gravel Lane, Southwark, 1764-1770. In America from 1770 to 1786, serving for a time as minister of the Third Church in Roxbury, Mass., and (it is said) as secretary to George Washington. Minister of various churches in England, 1786-1802. He wrote a widely read history of the American Revolution.*

<sup>3</sup> *Dr. Samuel Hopkins, 1721-1803; Yale 1741; minister at Great Barrington, Mass., 1743-1769, at Newport, R. I., 1770-1803. He was the founder of the "Hopkinsian system" of extreme Calvinism, important in the theological controversies of the day.*

*Robert Cottle,<sup>1</sup> Bristol, to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>2</sup>*

*Bristol 2 february 1767*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DR SIR.

I received your kind letter from Portsmouth which gave me great pleasure as I was much concerned about you on account of the great Snow and hearing of so many Accidents in many places but am now delivered of those fears as you are arrived safe In London. Wherever you are I hope and trust the great work will be carried on and I must say that I greatly rejoice at your success since you left Bristol and Bath. I should have been glad you had gon to Mr. Steels of Broughton but as you declined it and D<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Occom went should be glad he would write me the particulars how the family all are and whether they was glad to hear from me and the like do pray him to write direct to Rob. Cottle Bristol you directed yours Amos thats my Sons name. I was afraid you would have forgote me but when it came it removed all blame. I called upon your friend Mr. and Mrs. Ludlow and asked Mrs. Ludlow if she did not think agreeable to your promise you ought to have wrote and wether she did not think you to blame in being Silant so long but she would make som Excuse for you as nothing must be said against Mr. Wittaker she is one of your Stedy friends As any You have. I told her I would write you but before I came away Shewed them Your letter which made a laugh & so we parted in good frinds. I have sent the Jack to Mrs. Ludlow that may be sent to Mrs. Wittaker but we are not without hopes of seeing her in Bristol<sup>8</sup> as a letter is gon for that purpose and should she come she shant want anything her frinds hear can supply her with and then we should not be without hopes of seeing our D<sup>r</sup> frind again in Bristol. We are much concerned for you and hope not unmindful at the throne of grace that the presence of the Lord would go before you and his blessing attend you that the great work may be carried on you are come upon and above all wish you the presence of God and would beg a Share in your prayers for unworthy me but for fear of being tedious must conclude and Stop my unruly pen with informing you all frinds here are pretty well. My

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Wife Joins me in all love and affection to you and M<sup>r</sup>. Occom with every blessing you want and stand in need of

*from Dear s<sup>r</sup> your Sincere frind and well Wisher*

ROB<sup>t</sup> COTTLE

P.S. should be glad you<sup>d</sup> send me the two books you & I talked of. I think it Edwards on the will . . . . [remainder torn].

<sup>1</sup> *It may be that Robert Cottle was the grandfather of Amos Cottle, 1768-1800, the poet, and Joseph Cottle, 1770-1753, the Bristol bookseller who won some measure of fame by publishing the earliest poems of Wordsworth and Coleridge, and also a book of reminiscences concerning the early life of the latter.*

<sup>2</sup> *This letter is but one of several which indicate that Whitaker, despite some qualities which made many of those with whom he came in contact dislike him, had the capacity, nevertheless, of attaching to himself firm friends, upon merely casual acquaintance.*

<sup>3</sup> *Whitaker had evidently formed the plan of bringing his wife to England, that she might come to know his new friends and witness his triumphs. As is reasonable under the circumstances, her response (page 246) to this scheme was somewhat snappish.*



*Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*London Feb<sup>r</sup>. 9<sup>th</sup>. 1767—*

S<sup>r</sup>

Enclos'd I've sent you a Copy of M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's making a Trust & consequently his thereby resigning up his power of Attorney & acting under them—as well also of their acceptance thereof—as I know the contents of M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield's letter now sent I shall say nothing on y<sup>e</sup> same subjects—only I think beside returning y<sup>e</sup> Gent<sup>a</sup> thanks & approving y<sup>e</sup> Trust—if some Instrument<sup>2</sup> could be drawn up & signed by You—properly witness'd & sent over it would strengthening y<sup>e</sup> thing & put it out of all dispute—it need not be a very long One—likewise if you could mention M<sup>r</sup> Kirkland, M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & 3 or 4 more (if the Lord has pointed out so many) that may be your successors in case of your death, men of Abilities & who by the blessing of God would tread in Your steps & were to leave it to y<sup>e</sup>

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Gent<sup>a</sup> to chuse out of them from time to time as long as we & they may live—but all this is left to y<sup>r</sup>Self may the Lord give you such Wisdom as is proper to direct—We have Purchas'd £4000 Sterling in the 3 pct. Annuities—there is £1208.16.4 disburs'd whereof £839.18.9 is charg'd to your Acc<sup>t</sup> & is as follows—Viz<sup>t</sup>

Six Bills of Exchange (of your draw <sup>s</sup> 5 & 1 of £100 M <sup>r</sup> Eels) paid	£ 602.13.9
M <sup>r</sup> DeBerdt drawn on M <sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston to be paid to you	170.—.—
M <sup>r</sup> Rob <sup>t</sup> Hodgson Subs <sup>a</sup> . drawn on M <sup>r</sup> Bullain gave to M <sup>r</sup> Whitaker to send to you to receive the Money <sup>s</sup>	20.—.—
M <sup>r</sup> Williams gives Annually—& as y <sup>e</sup> other to be paid to You <sup>s</sup>	5. 5.—
Governor Wentworth set his name down 20 Guineas, & is to pay it to you when he arrives in America <sup>s</sup>	21.—.—
M <sup>r</sup> Whitaker Bot a P <sup>a</sup> of Sup <sup>r</sup> fine Black Cloth when he was at Bristol & if directed to his Wife you are to send for it & take it	21.—.—
	<hr/>
So much to your Acco <sup>t</sup>	£ 839.18.9

M <sup>r</sup> Whitaker & Occom has Expended in Journeying, housekeep <sup>s</sup> . & Clothing & every other Expense since their arrival—(w <sup>h</sup> is judg'd very reasonable) <sup>4</sup>	170.18.2½
There has been sent to support M <sup>r</sup> Whitakers family per M <sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston	£ 81. 2.4
Do to M <sup>r</sup> Occoms Family per M <sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston	56.19.0½
and there has been paid to y <sup>e</sup> Printer for Narratives &c &c printed here	59.18.—
	<hr/>
	£1208.16.4

only remembering out of y<sup>e</sup> 2 Articles of Mess<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & Occoms family £110 was to come from M<sup>r</sup> Smith y<sup>e</sup> rest for Goods bought by them here & sent to their Wives—M<sup>r</sup> Smiths part is thus £120 drawn on him by M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt & £50 he is to pay you rec<sup>d</sup> by him here—To M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers Family £65 and to M<sup>r</sup> Occoms family £45 both rec<sup>d</sup> by him here—

I think I've mention'd every material thing & have only to add hearby good wishes & Earnest prayers to y<sup>e</sup> Lord for your Welfare & prosperity & that his blessing may attend this great & good work to the Enlargement of the Redeemers Kingdom & Glory—in him

I desire to be with great Sincerity ever &c &c

ROB<sup>t</sup>. KEEN—

Whereas I have a Power of Attorney from The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon in Connecticut, New England, Enabling me to collect Monies for the only use and Benefit of Erecting, Establishing, & Endowing an Indian Charity School; and maintaining a Suitable Number of Missionaries & School-masters among the Indians; & to do all things relative to the premises as Effectually as he could do if personally present—I do in virtue thereof, ordain, constitute & appoint The R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Earl of Dartmouth, S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hotham, John Thornton, Sam<sup>l</sup> Roffey, Charles Hardy, Dan<sup>l</sup> West Esqu<sup>r</sup>., M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Savage, M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Robarts & M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Keen all in or near London to receive all the Monies and Bequests, that have hitherto been or may hereafter be Collected or made in this Realm; to be by the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Eleazar Wheelock and them employ'd for the Benefit of his (M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks) school, and for carrying into Execution his Laudible design of Instructing Indian youths, and of settling Missionaries & School-masters among them. Given under my hand & seal this Twenty Sixth day of January One Thousand Seven Hundred & Sixty seven.

*sign'd & seal'd by N<sup>l</sup> Whitaker*

*Sign'd seal'd & Deliver'd in y<sup>e</sup>  
presence of 2 Witness's—*

*On y<sup>e</sup> Back of the Instrument was*

We the within-nam'd do accept this trust—and in case of Death or Resignation do agree that the vacancy be fill'd up by the Majority of

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the remaining Trustees, in witness whereof we have hereunto subscrib'd our Names—

London Jan<sup>ry</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1767—Each one wrote or sign'd his own name w<sup>ch</sup> were as above—

LORD DARTMOUTH was requested & accepted it to be *President*.  
JOHN THORNTON ESQ<sup>r</sup>                    d<sup>o</sup>                    d<sup>o</sup>                    *Treasurer*—  
ROB<sup>t</sup>. KEEN                                d<sup>o</sup>                    d<sup>o</sup>                    *Secretary*—

<sup>1</sup> *This is an example of numerous letters of Keen to Wheelock. Many of them, relating mainly to accounts, have not been included in this collection. At the end is a copy of the document tentatively establishing the Trust, issued by Whitaker, acting on the basis of Wheelock's power of attorney.*

<sup>2</sup> *The "Instrument," as we shall find, was very troublesome to prepare. The demand was finally satisfied by the Deed of Trust, given on page 343.*

<sup>3</sup> *Subscriptions payable in America.*

<sup>4</sup> *A charge of £170 for the expenses of two men for a year, much of their time being occupied by travelling, strikes us as indeed "reasonable."*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London Feb. 12-1767*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR BROTHER

Yours of the [blank] I rec<sup>d</sup> last night; & rejoice to find that there are Such prospects of Success among the heathen—Blessed be God who Still reigns & doth all things well: & who brings good out of evil, & calleth the things that are not as tho they were. What availeth the rage of the enemies of our reigning, almighty Jesus! it will only work for the accomplishment of his own most glorious purposes. Why then Should we be ever cast down, or be filled with anxious fear, Since we know the will of him, whose will is ours, if we are as we Sho'd be, will be done—even So Amen, & Amen—

Come my B<sup>r</sup>. hold out a little longer—Jesus is coming, leaping on the mountains & Skipping on the hills,<sup>1</sup> & will, I doubt not, make

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the wilderness to echo with his praises. O that God may give the Amen; & make you the father of many nations that your crown of Glory may be great in yonder happy world; & may I hope to come in for a humble Share thro' the merit of our all glorious Emanuell—I am really glad you purpose insisting on a copy of Olivers letter to Mauduit: You will then See how near my memory retained the Ideas convoid in it, which I verily believe are according to the true intent of the letter, & as near their own words as I can remember.<sup>2</sup> I wrote you a long heap of Stuff a few days past, & Some things of moment—I Saw G. Lyman this day; he told me that he hoped to be able in a few days to Say that Something is his own—but say nothing least He fail; for, tho I verily believe he will gain his point if the present ministry Stand, yet there Seems Such a wavouring in the ministry, & even now talk of a change, that he will have his affair to begin anew, as it were, if this Should be—He is Strongly inclined to have the School with him.

Young Johnson<sup>3</sup> is come—but I need not court his friendship, as the cause is become So Strong by the formation of the trust. M<sup>r</sup> Keen tells me he has wrote you a copy of the trust, & desired you to draw a form well guarded, & confining it as much as possible to the present plan, & to prevent any future corruptions, & git it executed in a legal manner, & to Send it over for their acceptance. I am glad he hath done this—This day Dear M<sup>r</sup> Brewer of Stepny told me he had wrote & got a friend also to write & hopes he shall obtain. Does M<sup>r</sup> P——n<sup>4</sup> say that there was nothing in that letter to M<sup>r</sup> Occoms disadvantage? What will he say to that expressive—“And he (M<sup>r</sup> Occom) might Still have continued in our Service had he been disposed, & continued faithful in the exercise of the duties of his function”? Ask him if he ever was unfaithful. *And*, couples like cases, moods & tenses—I Suppose they are Gramarians.

Alass! that those gentlemen Should use Such a Scandalous method to do what? why, to hurt a good cause without any advantage to themselves. I am persuaded, God is greatly displeased with their conduct & will humble them, & make them weep bitterly for it, if ever he designs to honour them as instruments of his glory in the World, & to bring them to heaven at last—Why do not the Ministers



to the eastward write, their Silence will be construed into an assent to y<sup>t</sup> letter by & by if they do not. M<sup>r</sup> Occ: tells me that there is a large tract of Land on Long Island on y<sup>e</sup> north Sid[e] not far west of Southhold, w<sup>ch</sup> was formerly offered to the Montauk Indians for Montauk, & which he thinks may be procured for a Small Sum which is handy for fish oysters Clams, &c So that much of the youth's living might be obtained therefrom—Salt hay eno' for a large Stock, & all the Barons of the Island for their range in Summer<sup>5</sup>—If nothing Shall turn up Soon, & there Should be any tho't of fixing the School near your parts, will it not be worth while to look after that land, & Send the advantages of it, if they are great, or worthy considering. You know the good temper of Long Island folks—Your Acc<sup>t</sup>. of dear M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland<sup>6</sup> grieves me—May God preserve his life & restore his health.

Blessed be God, your endeavours are So Succeeded—You don't tell me one word whether my family is alive or dead—When I Shall return I cant guess. O pray for me that I may be kept from all evil, but especially from Sin—& that he would go before me in this work—M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well, & gives Duty to you & all yours—please to present kindest Love to dear Madam, Rodolphus, Daughters, Sons, Scholars, people, &c. and accept the Same from

*Your unworthy Brother & fellow Serv<sup>t</sup> in the blessed Gospel*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*N.B.* I Sent you the first of these Bills the other Day—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Says you Should Send over a number of Indian rarities, you, & nobody else, must Send them. Git the Indians to make a number of neat Baskets for the ladies—Lady Dartmouth & others would be glad of Such presents, & may procure many Gunies, I wish you would think of any of their works which will Shew their genius, & will be pleasing to the people here, as any Such things will be.

The proposals for printing a new Translation of the new T. which accompanies this, will doubtless afford you Some Speculation. This work (which is Said to be now in the press) is performed by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Harwood<sup>7</sup> of Bristol, Son in law to the late venerable D<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Chandler of London. This Gentleman is very friendly

to the Indian cause! ! ! The proposals were turned into verse by one M<sup>r</sup> Brown, a Ch. minister in Bristol, & a very pious good man & Gospel preacher. In them you See what a State religion is in thro' the greatest part of England—Yet there are a few names in Sardis—May God revive his own work. D<sup>r</sup> Gibbons is a friend indeed. He thinks it is best for you to write over to assure your friends here that you have, & will leave behind you when you Shall die, a will by which all the monies which may happen then to be in your hands unexpended Shall be devoted to the use of the School, & missions. This he desires as a friend that he & others may have wherewith to answer objectors—You had as good write to him on this head, & take no notice of my writing to you about it. I think it will be best to Send him a copy of the paragraf of the will wherein this is Settled.

The best guess I can make of the number Supported by this Charity at present, both in your School & in the Wilderne[ss, is be]tween 40 & 50 & when I am asked how many, I answer that [I don't] know exactly, but Suppose between 40 & 50. I therefore beg the fa[vour of] you to Send me an acc<sup>t</sup>. of your numbers, how many Indians, & [how] many English:—& how they are imployed, & also Send the Trust an acc<sup>t</sup>. [of] what you have rec<sup>d</sup>. from here, & in America, & what money is in your hands, & under what improvem<sup>t</sup>. —I Send 60 of Mathew Meeds almost Christian,<sup>s</sup> & a few other Books to M<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker, the 60 cost me 3 g<sup>s</sup>. When you have taken what you chuse of them, you may dispose of the rest to M<sup>r</sup> Breed but not under 16<sup>d</sup> Ster per book, or to any one else you please, So that you leave 2 or 3 for me: the other books are the gift of the Book Society. I hope you will not draw for any more money if you can possibly do without it yet a while, & w<sup>n</sup> you do please to give the trust an acc<sup>t</sup>. of the disposal of all you have rec<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Keen is Secretary.

M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield Says, you Should have all your accounts Audited & certified under Some publick Seal.

It will not be long before we go into the Country toward Scotland—The Spirit of giving Seems somewhat over here, the thing has become old & Stale; but God will do all his pleasure—I have just revised a 2<sup>d</sup> time the appendix to the narrative which I Send you—You may, God enabling me, depend on my utmost endeavours to

promote this Cause—M<sup>r</sup> Occom does not meddle in Masons affair. I am your Brother

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *The metaphorical language frequently indulged in by the clergy at this time was not always checked by a cool consideration of whether the picture might not bear a ludicrous interpretation.*

<sup>2</sup> *A copy of the letter was never obtained.*

<sup>3</sup> *This may refer to Dr. William Samuel Johnson, 1727-1819, son of Dr. Samuel Johnson (page 195), who came to England at this time as the agent of Connecticut to appear in opposition to the Mason claims. Later he was a member of the Constitutional Convention of the United States, senator from Connecticut, and President of Columbia College from 1787 to 1800. On the other hand, it may have reference to Sir John Johnson, 1742-1830, only son of Sir William Johnson, who, at this time, was completing his education in England.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, of Boston.*

<sup>5</sup> *This important asset of Long Island was evidently lost sight of when the site of the college was fixed.*

<sup>6</sup> *Kirkland's physical condition, even at this time, was disquieting. In 1768 he was so ill that his life was despaired of, and he remained away from the mission field for the greater part of the year.*

<sup>7</sup> *Dr. Edward Harwood, 1729-1794, classical scholar and biblical critic, minister of the Tucker Street Presbyterian Church in Bristol, 1765-1772. His proposal for a free translation of the New Testament was regarded by his parishoners much as it was by Whitaker, and he became very unpopular in Bristol, being, as he says, "shunned by the multitude like an infected person" and "for some months could hardly walk the streets of Bristol without being insulted." Nevertheless the translation was published in 1768. A voluminous writer on biblical subjects, his views were looked upon with much disfavor by the more rigid of the dissenters.*

<sup>8</sup> *"The Almost Christian Discovered or the False Professor Tried and Cast, being the Substance of Seven Sermons first Preached at St. Sepulchre's, London, 1661" by Matthew Mead, 1630-1699. A copy from the shipment referred to survives in the Dartmouth College library, "Printed for George Keith at the Bible and Crown, Gracechurch St., 1765." It was evidently a highly prized treatise, for this edition is the nineteenth issued.*



*Samson Occom to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*London Feb<sup>r</sup> 10. 1767*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & HON<sup>rd</sup>. SIR

It has been my Lot for a long time to have Sorrow of Heart, I have had Burden upon Burden, Trial upon Trial, Both without and within, far and Near, a General Concern is Riveted in my

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

Heart, for my Poor Brethren According to the Flesh, Both for their Bodies and Souls; my Relations Causes Heavier Sorrow; Every obstruction and Discouragement to Your School, and every Misconduct and behaviour of Your Indian Scholars, Touches me to the quick; More than all these, the Consideration of my poor Family, as it ware, lets my very Hearts Blood; I am ready to Say, I am a Cruel Husband and Father, god has given me a large Family, but they have no enjoyment of me, nor I them for Some Years back, and the Whole Burden and Care of a Large Family of Children lies upon my poor Wife; What adds to my Sorrowful Heart is this, that Whilist I am a Teacher to others, I have neglected by own Children, by my Perigenations and now my Children are growing up, and are growing Wild, and the Devil has been Angry, yea he has & is Devilish Mad with me, and if he can, he will Drag all my Children into all Manner Sins and Down to Hell; But blessed be God he has provided an almighty Saviour; and all my Hope is in him, for my self and Family,—if I was not fully Persuaded and Asure'd that this work was of god, and I had an undoubted Call of god to Come over into this Country, I wou'd not have come over, like a fool as I did, without any Countenance from our Board, but I am Will Still to be a fool for Christ Sake—this Eleviats my Heart amidst all my Burdens, and Balances all my Sorrows at Times, or enables me to bear my Trials, that I am in the way of my Duty, and the Lord Uses me in any Shape to promote his kingdom in the World,—I am Glad, and am thankful that you have taken my Wild Son, if you Can make anything of him, I Shall be happy in him, if he Incline to Book Learning, give him good English Education, but if not, let him go to some good master, to Learn Joiners Trade, he Inclines to that, and if that won't do, Send him over to me, and I will give him a Way to Some gentleman here—I return you Hearty thanks for the Care you have taken of my Family,—Sir, let it suffice you, to hear of me by M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's Letters, there is no need of my Writing often, Since M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker writes So often.

By the goodness of god we Enjoy Good State of Health. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is Well, as he has been these 7 years; but M<sup>rs</sup> Whitefield is in low State of Health, M<sup>r</sup> John Smith is Well as Usual, and hopes

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these may find You and Yours in good Health—Dutiful and grateful Respects to you and your Spouse, and Love to the rest of the Family and Scholars, and Christian respects to all Enquiring Friends, I am Sir,

*Your most oblig'd and Humble Servant*

SAMSON OCCOM,

P.S. Perhaps You may Wonder Why I Write After this manner. I have receiv'd Chiefly Mournful Letters from my Wife, Yet I have not forgot the Tender Mercies of god to me and mine—

Since Cap<sup>l</sup>. Shaw is backward to do for my family, I wish he had all his Due, that we may be even, if You Can Satisfy him, I Shou'd be Easy in my mind.

<sup>1</sup> *This is the longest letter from Occom, during his stay in England, which has been preserved. He generally left the correspondence to Whitaker, and apparently had nothing to do with the business aspects of the campaign. Despite the novelty of his surroundings and the favor with which he was everywhere received, evidently he had moments of deep depression, by no means minimized by the unfavorable accounts which he received from his family. Moreover Whitaker could not have been, in all respects, an agreeable travelling companion.*



*Nathaniel Eells to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*Stonington, Feb. 12. 1767—*

REV<sup>d</sup>. AND DEAR SIR,

Your favour of the 20<sup>th</sup> ult. came duly to hand, with a Copy of One inclosed from the D<sup>r</sup>. & Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> *Whitefield* to you of Sep<sup>br</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1766, for which I thank you heartily on several Accounts, particularly as it informs me, how y<sup>e</sup> Money given to your charity School is secured for that purpose: which must furnish me and others with quite different Sentiments to what we before Entertained. I think it meet that the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> *Whitefield* should know, That when M<sup>r</sup> *Whitaker* was appointed to go to *Europe* to solicit for Charities; Our Board at a full meeting, thôt it unreasonable to send him upon y<sup>e</sup> Errand, without signifying our Mind with regard to the remitting

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the monies or Effects that shou'd be collected. He was directed by our *Vote*, as to any Sum he should receive from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Society in Scotland. He then asked, how he shou'd Act as to the other Collections: General Advices were given in the Case He chose that some in particular should be named, to whom the Board thôt it wou'd be safe for him to remit. For then it was universally concluded, that He wou'd receive the Collections, have the sole Right to remit them in the best manner he cou'd, and that no Cash wou'd be remitted. He then expressly asked, whither the Board wou'd like his making Remittance to the *Lathrop's*, they all approved of it, as it was an house of good Credit. Thus openly and in Simplicity the Schemee was concerted, however dim-sighted the Board was. And as y<sup>e</sup> affair was thus left, M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker and I had some after Discourse upon it. And considering my affinity to that family, I thôt I might in Character use freedom there, tho' I should not have used it with a Stranger, and make about 10 per Cent Advantage to the School, without Disgust or harm to any or any further trouble to myself. For which I Expected thanks from my Brethren. Agreeably, I wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Wh——ker for Remittance to be made to M<sup>r</sup> *Lathrop*, and the School wou'd have half the profits of the neat proceeds, and there we all Supposed the Money wou'd lie without any hazard (not to be continued in Trade) Subjected to M<sup>r</sup> Whelock's Orders.

As the Partnership between D<sup>r</sup> Lathrop and his Bro<sup>r</sup>. were expiring, I took Occasion to speak "of my Son's going into business with his Bro<sup>r</sup> in Law *Lathrop*" And "This would be to My Satisfaction and Comfort" for I esteem him a man of piety & prudence, and every way exemplary.<sup>2</sup>—But I need not inlarge here, being persuaded that sinister views have not governed any.

I can heartily congratulate you, that Providence has so eminently appeared, in favour of your School, in England; that the hearts and hands of so many are opened to give for its Support and Encouragement, and that the truly noble Lord Dartmouth, and others of great Dignity and Probity are Guarantees to the publick. How do these things exceed our Views and Expectations. *In this Light*, I and others can now censure w<sup>t</sup> was before approved. I greatly rejoyce to see the money fixed upon so sure a Basis, and

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doubt not but every friend to the School will be glad, and never wish for an alteration: Thus happily are you relieved from that Burden and Care which wou'd have caused you (and others) no small Solitude. Surely we are indebted to the wise, and great for concerting so unexceptionable a plan. Your Wisdom and Fidelity will direct you to receive Counsell from home, and pursue Measures which shall be agreeable to Friends and benefactors on that Side the waters, in promoting y<sup>e</sup> grand design. May the God of all Grace smile upon and succeed it more and more, to the Advancement of his Kingdom among the heathen. I am Dear Sir, Your affectionate Bro<sup>r</sup> and very humble Servant

NATH<sup>l</sup> EELLS

<sup>1</sup> *This letter, written at a time when there was no controversy concerning the shipment of the proceeds of the mission in the form of goods, reveals a somewhat uneasy conscience and a fear lest trouble with the newly formed trust should arise on that score; a fear which, as subsequent correspondence is to show, was abundantly justified.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Lathrops controlled one of the most extensive wholesale drug businesses in America; the only one between Boston and New York, supplying the country for a hundred miles around. Dr. Daniel Lathrop (died in 1782), its founder, studied in England for three years. Benedict Arnold learned the trade of the apothecary as his apprentice. Daniel's brother, Dr. Joshua Lathrop, married Eells' daughter. He carried on the business until his death in 1807, aged 84, but there is no evidence that Eells succeeded in introducing his son into this prosperous house.*



*Rev. C. Mends<sup>l</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Plymouth Feb<sup>r</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> 1767.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

Yours I Receiv'd & am at a loss how to act in this most disagreeable affair, upon no account wou'd I be call'd to Court of Indicture as an evidence, I hope you'l not carry on a prosecution against M<sup>r</sup> Mayo, let not Brother go to Law with Brother, He denies the Relation, which frees you, & now the whole revolves upon us, & I

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cannot but greatly rejoice that you are freed from the Charge as it stood amongst us, not only with respect to yourself, but on account of the blessed Cause you are Embarked in, However if M<sup>r</sup> Mayo will Carry matters to extremity the Both M<sup>r</sup> Pearces<sup>2</sup> M<sup>rs</sup> Coltons & Miss Olden will appear as evidence the two Coltons Say she heard him Call it Forgery, yet must say that they dread being Call'd upon to an open Court, I fear'd it when you was in Plymouth, which made me unwilling to act in the Affair, But however matters Issue, you have four evidences beside me, nor wou'd I on any account be forced as an evidence, I Rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Mayo in which was an extract of a letter from an unknown person which he says was produced in the Coffee house, & Really it together with his 2<sup>d</sup> account of the story, very much Surprises & shocks us, it appears to be the same story tho' differently represented, M<sup>r</sup> Mayo told this story to the M<sup>rs</sup> Pearces M<sup>rs</sup> Colton & Miss Olden, & every one of them understood it of a Gentleman in America & from under the Gentlemans own hand, & Miss Olden & M<sup>rs</sup> Colton say they perfectly Remember he Call'd it Forgery, & does it not seem strang that tho' in different places we shou'd all form the same Ideas of the story, & that also from M<sup>r</sup> Mayo's own Lips, as to my part I must say, that to the best of my Remembrance, I heard him speak these Words, "this seems strange I have wrote to America to the Same Gentleman, & have a letter in my pocket from under his own hands, in which he denies the whole, & says He was not so much as Consulted on the Occasion", & that one standing by shou'd speak to him, not to produce the Letter; saying it was not proper the Lye shou'd be given in publick Company, to which M<sup>r</sup> Mayo shou'd reply "it is right the truth shou'd be known" &c,—I have wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Mayo & press'd him hard to Peace, & told him plainly that we cou'd not persuade ourselves that M<sup>r</sup> Mauduits connection in America was by us mistook for his actual [blank] there, He is of a very hasty Temper but hope he will see better in time, let us forgive him & pray for him, & hope to hear of all Hostilities ceasing—however, I have some good news to tell you, there is a woman here, who appears to be Lovingly wrought upon by your Ministry, so that your labours were not lost among us—the Lord is doing great things here, & many are at this



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Time Crying out, what shall we do to be saved; Glory be to God—  
Pray let me have a Letter from you when Convenient that I may  
know how things Issue, & look upon me

*Yours in Christ*

C MENDS

<sup>1</sup> *The writer of this letter was one of the dissenting ministers of Plymouth, from whose congregation came the largest collection obtained in that city (£15.15.7). He was evidently friendly to the cause and hostile to the representations of Mr. Mayo (page 187), but in great terror lest he should be involved in a suit for slander directed against Mayo by Whitaker. The latter eventually concluded that it was not worth while to proceed with such a suit, and we hear no more about it.*

<sup>2</sup> *William Pearce, of Plymouth, subscribed one guinea; William Pearce, Jr., 10/6; and Joseph Pearce the same amount. The other names mentioned in this letter do not appear in the subscription lists.*



*Rev. Peter Fillard to Eleazar Wheelock*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

I rejoice in the Goodness of God that directed your thots to so excellent a Plan for propagating the Gosple among the Indians—I is, I apprehend, in the General, approv'd. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occum have (in the places known to me,) for the most part had great Success. It was Right to send over M<sup>r</sup> Occum, as a Specimen of the benefitt of y<sup>o</sup> School—As far as I hear he pleases in every Town & city—So much Simplicity appears in the man: So honest, guiless a Temper, with Seriousness in his public Service; So well he speaks in publick, & So well he acts in private among his friends & mankind, that he engages their hearts. May you be as successfull in training others to the ministry as you have been in him!—By virtue of the Power given to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker, Such Gentlemen of Fortune & Character are now chosen on this side the Water, Trustees for the Money y<sup>t</sup> may be rais'd, that I doubt not the Collection in Great Britain & Ireland will be exceeding Great.

From the many Thousand Pounds in Capital, & the many hundred, the yearly Interest of the same, w<sup>ch</sup> will be advanced, permitt

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me to be a Petitioner for y<sup>e</sup> worthy M<sup>r</sup> Occum.<sup>1</sup> Tis natural to enquire into his family & worldly circumstances. His Children are, I apprehend, many, & his Substance Small—yet the Good man seems to express full Contentment if he can have a sufficiency to Improve his little Estate. *Undesired, & entirely without his knowledge* I write this in his favour; but, tho' I write in my own name only, I'm persuaded, I might easily gett many hundred Persons to join in the Same Petition—Shall I entreat, that you, Dear S<sup>r</sup>, will make use of all y<sup>r</sup> Interest for effecting it—It must be supposed, that the Great acceptance he meets with among mankind, adds considerably to the Collections, "*This Preacher was born & bred an Indian*—He left his family—He risqued his life on the Sea, for the good Cause. He is ready to Preach when desired—And behaves w<sup>th</sup> decency That seems to give universal Satisfaction. In the Narrative P. 27 I am much pleas'd with the words, Father, we are very glad you have come among us with the *Good word* of God, or God's news—We will by y<sup>e</sup> help of God endeavour to keep the Fire w<sup>ch</sup> you kindled among us, and will *take our old Customs, ways, & Sins*, and *putt them behind our backs, & never look on them again*; but will look strait forward & run after the Christian Religion—May the Indian People be renew'd in the Spirit of their minds! May they be turn'd from y<sup>e</sup> error of their ways & built up in their most Holy Faith! o, that, the Power of Godliness, the Love of God, producing a conformity to his moral Attributes, all that is Pious, Right & Good, may prevail among them! May their minds be enlighten'd, well-inform'd, & healthy; rightly Dispos'd; possessing the Xtian Temper! May duly regulated wills & affections, w<sup>th</sup> a Behaviour corresponding, be the happy Effects of the Schools, & the ministerial Services! As I have the Satisfaction of contributing my best Endeavours to the Increase of the Collections, it will be greatly promoted by frequent acc<sup>ts</sup> of the Success w<sup>ch</sup> may attend the additional Schools in the Wilderness—That God only bless the Endeavours & Reward your Pious Zeal in time & to all Eternity Prays

*Your Sincere Friend & Brother in the Gospel of Christ*

PETER JILLARD

*Bristol March 2<sup>d</sup> 1767*

AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

I shall esteem it a favour, if, by one or other of the Ships, y<sup>t</sup> sail from y<sup>r</sup> Country to Bristol I may at certain seasons, receive Letters from you—

<sup>1</sup> *Occom was especially fortunate in attracting the interest and sympathy of those whom he encountered; a feeling which was still active after his return to America, and which resulted in contributions from England for his support (pages 353, 356, 359).*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London March 7. 1767*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

I have nothing new to acquaint you with. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield & all, by their Conduct seem to be waiting for a favourable opportunity of doing Something for the more advantagious Selling<sup>1</sup> your School. Lyman has not yet obtained, & there Seems to be Such a fluctuation in the Ministry, as tho' He would have to wait a while longer, for every change obliges him to make new friends—My tho'ts I freely own are towards the Southwestward,<sup>2</sup> because an estate there will bring in 5 times as much neat as in New E: where the winters consume the Summers—If M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has not wrote you (I wonder at it) he doubtless will, to advise you to keep on where you are till you Shall be advised where to fix. This is fully my Judgm<sup>t</sup>., & was his y<sup>e</sup> last time I mentioned it to him.

Lord D: is exceeding friendly, & will do all in his power for the Cause; & blessed be God all the Trust are So—My hope is in God that this cause will go on, & Supplies will be found in his own way & time. We are now going into Scotland i.e. to beg along the western road thither till we come there to the Gen. Assem<sup>y</sup> which meets about the Midle of May.<sup>3</sup> May the presence of the God of Jacob go along with us, & make our way prosperous. The thing Seems to have got dead in London; but I hope to be Successful in the Country. We have collected above £100 per week Since the Day we arrived in England; blessed be God—& while we can do So we Shall be loth to return.

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This Day I Shiped a quantity of Books from the Book-Society, & also 60 of M<sup>r</sup> Matt. Meads Almost Christian which cost me 3 guines, & which you may Sell with advantage, after allowing 2 or 3 for me, & as many for the School as you shall judge proper. I have also just now rec<sup>d</sup> an order for the value of £2 worth more of Books from S<sup>d</sup> Society; & I doubt not but you will be able to furnish the Miss<sup>rs</sup> & S. masters with what Shall be necessary in Books. You will not fail of informing D<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Gibbons of y<sup>e</sup> clause in your will which Secures any money which may be in your hands at your decease; give him the very words of the clause, w<sup>th</sup> a promise that Such a will Shall be left by you.

We are in perfect health thro boundless mercy, & friends here are well. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has a good state of health, & now & then hints that America is his object—I guess you will See him there before 2 years Shall end.<sup>4</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Smith is also in health, but when he will return I know not. I fear Success at the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly of S. but God reigns. My dear Sir. Remember in your most fervant hours your affectionate Brother who has many difficulties to incounter, & who is less than nothing, tho sincerely yours

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *The reprehensible use of the term "selling" in the sense of interesting a person in some undertaking seems not to be so recent as we are inclined to think.*

<sup>2</sup> *Lyman eventually obtained a grant in the lower Mississippi valley. At this time that region was most available for land grants. It would have been suicidal for Wheelock to have moved his school to that remote place, so far from his sources of supply in New England.*

<sup>3</sup> *The annual assembly of the Church of Scotland (made up of clerical and lay delegates from the presbyteries, universities and royal burghs) is held in Edinburgh in May. It acts as the supreme court of the church. The king is represented by a royal commissioner, who takes up his residence in Holyrood Palace, and the festivities are conducted with much pomp and ceremony.*

<sup>4</sup> *Whitefield sailed on his last trip to America in September, 1769. He died in Newburyport, Mass., in September of the following year.*

*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker**London 20<sup>th</sup> March 1767—*

Sr.

A few days ago a draught of £100 drawn by M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock payable to Gersham Breed or order & in the hands of Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Lane, Son & Frazer came for acceptance—the Trust was called together & accordingly did meet this day at Lord Dartmouths—they Immediately fell upon canvassing the large sums already drawn for; & began w<sup>th</sup> the first £100 drawn by Nath<sup>l</sup> Eells & went through the whole—by comparing what a Gent<sup>l</sup> has said in a letter just rec<sup>d</sup> from Boston (a hearty friend to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock & his school) with M<sup>r</sup> Eells Letters they are of Opinion an Iniquitous Scheme<sup>l</sup> was projected in America and that an Effectual stop must be put to it, or it will Ruin the whole design tho' otherwise y<sup>e</sup> most Laudible, Pious & praiseworthy. The Bills already drawn are to y<sup>e</sup> amount of about £700—and the persons concern'd in & whose hands they have gone through are Nath<sup>l</sup> Eells, Gersham Breed & Joshua Lathroppe principally,—and Moses Peck (who M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock says in his Letter to me is his Factor &c) & some others—The Gent<sup>l</sup> of the Trust authoriz'd me, to write in their names & my own, desiring you'd send an Explicit, full & open account to the following Questions—Viz 1 what Connections has Nath<sup>l</sup> Eells, Gersham Breed & Joshua Lathroppe w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Eleaz<sup>r</sup> Wheelock? 2 wether these Bills were for goods sent from England? 3 of whom Bought? 4 and by whose orders? 5 wether you M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker ordered the whole or what part? 6 to whom was the Invoice given or sent? 7 and to whom were the Goods consign'd? 8 whether this £100 drawn Jan<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1767 is for Goods now to be sent by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Lane & Co—or for goods formerly sent, look'd out & order'd by You? if there is any now order'd, they must postpone sending them—as Honesty is the best policy, you need not be any ways cast down or alarm'd at the contents of this letter, so as to damp your vigourously pursuing the work you are engag'd in. only sending us a full & fair acc<sup>t</sup> of all the within mention'd particulars—consulting only with M<sup>r</sup> Occom; as we shall divulge it to no One—you need not write to M<sup>r</sup> Lane, but leave the management of all to us; much less

need you think of returning hastily to London, as that can answer no end but do you hurt.

I Rec<sup>d</sup> yours of the 16<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> 2 draughts, One of £30 y<sup>e</sup> other £31.10—& gave you an Acco<sup>t</sup> thereof in a letter directed for you at The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Dowley's at Lutterworth<sup>2</sup>—I've likewise Rec<sup>d</sup> yours of y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>—this day & shall notice the contents by acknowledging y<sup>e</sup> Receiving £3.13.6 from the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Brown & his people this post & also to substract it from the Sum I may receive from Kettering<sup>3</sup> & sending a Letter acknowledging y<sup>e</sup> rec<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> rest to y<sup>e</sup> person so remitting—as M<sup>r</sup> Occom & you seems to be sometimes asunder—I thought it best to put his Name on y<sup>e</sup> letter I sent to M<sup>r</sup> Dowley's least he should be there & not you—when you can tel me particularly how to direct to you—in y<sup>r</sup> last you never mentioned to whom to direct for you at Coventry—mention in your next how many Narratives & papers you'd have sent to Birmingham & to whom to be directed & wherever else you'd have any sent—& be sure to let me know how to direct to you where you're like to be in a week or 8 days after your sending an Acco<sup>t</sup> to these Questions which you need not fear to do in confidence as we hope M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock will not draw for any more till we have wrote him word he must get y<sup>e</sup> Money in from those persons, all which we shall do as soon as we receive your answer which must be shewn & read to the Trust

*I am y<sup>r</sup> &c*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN—*Secre<sup>r</sup>*.

*P.S.* Your maid Mary Joyner<sup>4</sup> goes to a place next monday at Lukes Hospital where she is to have 12 Guineas a year I hope it will be a Suitable place for her—she is well & desires her duty to you both—I have got from [torn] & will send on Tuesday Morning by the Birmingham Coach for dispatch which goes through Coventry & gets there by wednesday Night a parcell of Papers & Narratives—remember me to M<sup>r</sup> Occom & accept sincere regard y<sup>r</sup> Self—

*Y<sup>r</sup> &c R. K.*

<sup>1</sup> *The scheme of remitting the proceeds of the mission in the form of goods was not, perhaps, "iniquitous," but it was unfortunate in mixing charity with private gain, even though the former was to profit largely by the combination. That is was ever*

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

formed indicates that Eells and Whitaker were somewhat obtuse in their sense of the fitness of things, nor was Wheelock entirely blameless in the matter. The fact, however, that Whitaker left with the London Trust the authority to open and read his letters shows that he was not conscious that there was anything in the transaction which should be concealed.

<sup>2</sup> At "Rev. Mr. Dowley & Kidman's" £16.15.2 was collected. The towns mentioned in this and the following letters are in central England, ranging from Stroude, in Gloucestershire, to Olney, in Bucks.

<sup>3</sup> The subscriptions at Kettering amounted to £31.4, including a collection of £3.13 at Rev. Mr. Browne's.

<sup>4</sup> This servant was secured shortly after the arrival of the envoys in England, and, together with the house, had evidently been retained up to this time, despite the long stay of her masters in the west and south of England.



### *Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London 25<sup>th</sup> March 1767—*

S<sup>r</sup>

A few days ago a draught for £100 drawn by You payable to M<sup>r</sup> Gersham Breed or order came for acceptance—The Trust was called together and as there was no advice of the draught and so much Money had been drawn for already & this running in y<sup>e</sup> same Channel and no proper acco<sup>t</sup> yet given for those large sums, it was judg'd best to protest it.<sup>1</sup> By perusing M<sup>r</sup> Eells Letters and M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers corresponding Conduct—for at least the first Six months, in urging you & them to draw (together with some Hundred Pounds more that would have gone over if we had not prevented it) and very likely given orders here for Goods to be sent to them it clearly appears a vile Scheme was set on foot partly before M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker left America & partly since his arrival here—and least you should be a stranger to it we'll here insert some of M<sup>r</sup> Eells' own words—his 2 letters of Jan<sup>y</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> & March 6<sup>th</sup> 1766 we never saw—we were authoriz'd by M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker when he & M<sup>r</sup> Occum went their rounds in the Countries to open all letters directed for them from America &c—M<sup>r</sup> Eells' two next dated May 22<sup>d</sup> & June 4<sup>th</sup> we saw & read & surpriz'd us very much—ship building was one of y<sup>e</sup> projects

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they were deeply to launch into—but bad as these letters were we read & sent them to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker with our disapprobation in y<sup>e</sup> strongest terms—the others of July 31<sup>st</sup>, Aug<sup>t</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> & Sep<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> are now before us—in that of July he writes—My advice is, that you settle a Trade in y<sup>e</sup> best manner you can, as the pay will be punctual, moreover the house or houses you agree to send y<sup>e</sup> goods to, may have this advantage to themselves of a considerable & Encreasing Trade—my advice is, that you write me *what* part of the Goods are bought by moneys contributed & left to your direction, and *what* by Monies subjected to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks draughts, and that you send the Goods to M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Lathrop with a letter of advice to him, that they are to be disposed of as I shall direct, with y<sup>e</sup> advice of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock—M<sup>r</sup> Lathrops house will allow (about one Moiety) of the proffits towards supporting the grand design & in that of y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> he says, lay the plan as particular as you please depend on it M<sup>r</sup> W— & I shall joyn it—the larger the remittances are the better—D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> pursue our Original agreement and conduct the plan prudently your family shall ever feel the benefit of it, and my son may be brought into business with his Brother Lathrop to my satisfaction & comfort—our Interest in this affair, i.e. thine and mine, shall be inseperable—he says goods are very scarce in this Colony and are like to sell upon an high advance, If you send Three Thousand pounds worth this fall and as much next spring they will sell speedily—in that of Sep<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> he writes again, you are to send the Goods to M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Lathrop with a letter of advice to him that they are to be dispos'd of as I shall direct by the advice of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock—by this means I hope to bring my Son Edward into Trade with his Brother Lathrop as he proposes to finish partnership with his Brother Daniel & trade only in English Goods, & this you may depend on will be to the Emolument of your family; & more so on y<sup>e</sup> Acco<sup>t</sup> of what goods shall be purchas'd by moneys given to you for the use of the school and if things turn out agreeable to expectation you may depend on my care for your profit to your full satisfaction—I shall soon expect a letter from you & remittance to M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop—(he says) in the same letter you (M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock) wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker on y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> May and enclos'd an order or power to him to send two or three thousand pounds in



Goods—and further says the truth is M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock though he will talk is not forward to write in an affair of Trade, but chuses to refer to our (i.e. to M<sup>r</sup> Eells & M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's) determination with several other things too long to transcribe, but we'll leave you to judge if these are not alarming—We therefore desire you will let us know what Connections you have with M<sup>r</sup> Nath<sup>l</sup> Eells, M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Lathrop & M<sup>r</sup> Gersham Breed—and likewise whether this £100 Sterling drawn by You Jan<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>. 1767 together w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> £120 drawn June 24<sup>th</sup> 1766 & y<sup>e</sup> £180 drawn Sep<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1766 all made payable to Gers<sup>m</sup> Breed or order—together w<sup>th</sup> one of £100 dated June 4<sup>th</sup> & another of £52.13.9 dated 28<sup>th</sup> May 1766 both payable to Moses Peck or order and that of £50 dated 29<sup>th</sup> May 1766 together with y<sup>e</sup> £100 Sterling drawn by Nath<sup>l</sup> Eells himself dated Nov<sup>mbr</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> 1766 are any ways engag'd in Trade, or lent them to trade with, and we do require you forthwith to demand of and get it in from them or any others—'tis not right any part of it shou'd be us'd in Trade 'tis like Sporting with that which was given for sacred purposes—yet is so, we are so well satisfy'd of the Integrity of your intention, that we impute it to your being unwarily drawn in and therefore would have you extricated out of it—if any evil should come from such Quarters it might ruin the Cause & give the Enemy were with to triumph—and the Gent<sup>a</sup> of the Trust are so delicate of their reputation they never would have engag'd if they apprehended such consequences—there is no less a sum than £839.18.9 you are or should be in possession of; and which you stand indebted for—we shall keep the acco<sup>t</sup> so punctual here, as to be able to abide by them even upon Oath; I mean so far as really comes into our hands—& you must be as carefull on your side; that it may truly be said of us all (to the best of our power) we do provide things honest in the sight of all men—you will therefore get it all in and Open the Acco<sup>t</sup> of Comeings in & Goings out regular—and expend what you have, before you draw for more, sending the Acco<sup>t</sup> clear when you write which we shall post up as regular as this with us, so as to gain credit on all sides upon y<sup>e</sup> most accurate Inspection—we wish you had done this before you drew for this £100 Jan<sup>r</sup> 1767—for M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker himself (since he knew we had read Mr Eell's letters) has said several times lately there was 3 or 400 more drawn

for & sent over than you could possibly want—we hope therefore there is nor will be any more drawn for before this reaches you; as we shall not think it consistant to pay them—If there is no rong touches given at this first setting out, we make no doubt but your hands will be strengthen'd and your borders enlarg'd & such a Sum rais'd here as that the Interest alone perhaps may be sufficient—peoples Hearts & hands are open'd & do devise liberally—Mess<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & Occom are about 100 miles in their Journey from London to Scotland & meet with success thro' all the Capital places they go through [We] shall have on Acco' in our next as you desire of the Principal Ben[efactors tho'] none want addresses of thanks, perhaps once for all by and by may do—we'll likewise thereafter give you our Opinion with regard where to fix the School—General Lyman and D<sup>r</sup> Johnson<sup>s</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> Smith was to have din'd with me this week but as M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is gone out of Town for a few days it will be deferr'd till his return—

M<sup>r</sup> Eell's thoughts on that affair seems most eligible Viz<sup>t</sup> “as to Removeing the School—General Johnson advises not to have it contiguous to the Indian Country and most judge it better to remain in the Colony: though Sequestrations of Land for its benefit & support in any places can't be amiss but more of this hereafter—”

perhaps you may be wholly unacquainted with these proceedings between M<sup>r</sup> Eells & M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker the apprehension of which, is the reason why I'm so full & explicit in fairly representing without adding or diminishing to M<sup>r</sup> Eell's words—and both you & we must have a Single Eye & know no man, however dear, nor let any Friendship or Affection bias us so as to expose Money publickly collected to any danger, that being wholly unwarrantable—and that an intire Stop may be put to it and your mind & ours be made quite easy, so as to Co-operate freely, & mutually do all in our power to see y<sup>r</sup> Cause flourish (which we don't doubt will be the case) a short letter is here included sign'd by the president, Treasurer and all the Gent<sup>l</sup> of the Trust then present—with which I shall conclude myself—

*Rev<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>r</sup> Most H<sup>ble</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN *Secre<sup>t</sup>*

W<sup>m</sup> Heagar Whelock London 25<sup>th</sup> March 1764  
 Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir  
 We must acknowledge we have been very  
 much alarmed at finding some clandestine dealing  
 betwixt the Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Cole of Fordington & Mr  
 Whitaker which had we been apprised of we  
 should have declined accepting the Trust & we  
 consider it in such an iniquitous light that  
 if it is not immediately put a stop to we  
 shall decline acting further as Trustees for  
 your school which we desire therefore you  
 would see immediately done & then we shall  
 rejoice to give you all the assistance we can  
 bring  
 Rev<sup>d</sup> Sir (Your very humble Servant  
 Dartmouth.  
 Dan<sup>l</sup> West  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Savary  
 Rob<sup>t</sup> Keble  
 John Thornton  
 Chas<sup>r</sup> Hardy.

LETTER FROM THE ENGLISH TRUST



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P.S. There is 4 or 5 lots of Bibles, Testaments, Spelling Books &c sent in y<sup>e</sup> last vessell to y<sup>e</sup> care of M<sup>r</sup> Moses Peck of Boston for y<sup>e</sup> use of your School. if M<sup>r</sup> Peck should send them to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker—she may not know the difference [torn] other Books belongs to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & a Box belongs to M<sup>r</sup> Occom which his [wife will s]ave for him when he returns—and you must take care the school has [torn] will be sent gra[tis] time after time.

<sup>1</sup> *This letter came upon Wheelock with the force of a bursting bomb at a time when he thought everything was going smoothly and well. The protest of his draft placed him in most serious financial straits, committed as he was to expensive missionary undertakings, upon the faith of funds of which he considered himself sure. In the end, however, the bill was not allowed to go to protest.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dr. William Samuel Johnson (page 221).*



*English Trust to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*London 25<sup>th</sup> March 1767.*

M<sup>r</sup> ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR—

We must acknowledge we have been very much alarmed at finding some Clandestine dealings betwixt The Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Eels of Stonington & M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker which had we been apprised of we should have declined accepting the Trust & we consider it in such an iniquitous light that if it is not immediately put a stop to we shall decline acting further as Trustees for your School which we desire therefore you would see immediately done & then we shall rejoice to give you all the assistance we can bring

*Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir your very humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>*

DARTMOUTH

DAN<sup>l</sup> WEST

SAM<sup>l</sup> SAVAGE

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

JOHN THORNTON

CHAS. HARDY

<sup>1</sup> *The signatures of Hotham, Roberts and Rossley do not appear on this document. Probably these men were absent from the meeting at which the action was taken. The handwriting seems to be that of Thornton.*

*Rev. Philip Gibbs to Nathaniel Whitaker**Plymouth March 25, 1767.*

DEAR SIR

I am sorry I should have Omitted writing you so long, but absence from Plymouth and a multiplicity of things since my return Occasion'd this Delay—I rejoyce to hear of your welfare and Success in every respect; but am sorry to find the Strife of Tongues doth not yet cease, respecting my Old Friend and Acquaintance M<sup>r</sup> Mayo—he certainly must have entertain'd Some Groundless Prejudices against your Cause which I verily believe is not only yours; but the Cause of Xty—am likewise sorry to find that either you or any of our London Friends should have hard Thoughts of M<sup>r</sup> Mendis & self as if we had asserted any Thing contrary to Truth in saying that M<sup>r</sup> Mayo's reflections on the Conduct of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield are far more depreciating than on yours—this is Strictly true and M<sup>r</sup> Mayo cannot deny it—he must be sensible that it was on this Account his correspondence with Some of his Plymouth Friends that really loved him was for a Time quite broken off—and let this be a proof of his Sincerity and a Demonstration that he is not guilty in this Affair, let him give you under his hand as follows, or to the Same Purpose which pleases to Send by Post as soon as convenient. Sir I hereby grant M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup>. Deane<sup>1</sup> of Plymouth full Liberty to send you all my Letters; which I have written him, relative to the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, or an Exact Copy of them or so much of them as may relate to y<sup>e</sup> said M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield as witness my hand

HENRY MAYO

If he refuses this you will discern what is Truth and every Supposition of Falsehood will be remov'd from M<sup>r</sup> Mendis & Self. Interim I wish you all Prosperity and Success in every respect and am with Compliments to Self & M<sup>r</sup> Occum, Sir, your Sincere Friend & Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

PHILIP GIBBS—

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Should be glad to know what Intelligence from America, and what further Success in London &c. Excuse hast being Oblig'd to go out of Town to Preach a Funeral Discourse. M<sup>r</sup> Deane &c &c join in best Respects M<sup>r</sup> Deane will Immediately Send you the Letters if you can procure the above from M<sup>r</sup> Mayo—

<sup>1</sup> *William Deane contributed five guineas to the cause, despite the warnings of Mayo.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Coventry March. 26. 1767.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR BROTHER

I wrote you from London the begining of this Month, or thereabouts, of Such things as then occured—I hope M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has wrote you before now of y<sup>e</sup> affair of fixing the School—You may remember that I wrote you from Bristol last September, & desired that you would draw no more Bills on me if you could possibly avoid it. As you have Sent no acc<sup>t</sup> of the State of the School, of the expences you have been at, & of the money in your hands, the Trust, on receiving your Bill in favour of M<sup>r</sup> Breed or Order, met together, & entered into a thoro' Scrutiny of the monies remited begining with the £100 I paid for M<sup>r</sup> Elles, & found that about £700 hath been remitted—On this a Supicion arose that you were in connexion w<sup>th</sup> Mess<sup>rs</sup> Elles, Lathrop & Breed to carry on a Scheem of procuring goods, & drawing for their payment<sup>1</sup>—& yesterday I rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Keen, in the pure Strain of friendship, in which he desires me to answer these Questions, viz “What Connections has Nath<sup>l</sup> Elles, Gersham Breed & Joshua Lathrop with M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock? Whether those Bills were for goods Sent from England? Of whom bought? & by whose orders? Whether you M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker ordered the whole or what part? To whom was the invoice given or Sent? & to whom were the goods consigned? Whether this Bill of £100 drawn

Jan<sup>ry</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>, 1767 is for goods now to be Sent by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Lane & Co or for goods formerly Sent, looked out & ordered by you?" To the questions I returned a free & open answer, & assured them that I knew of no connections which tended to Such a Scheem & that no goods had been ordered for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock or any other person to my knowledge except w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Keen had a full acc<sup>t</sup> of—That all my difficulty lay in accounting for M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks drawing for So much without Sending an acc<sup>t</sup> of things but that I Supposed you did it to favour M<sup>r</sup> Breed who owed M<sup>r</sup> Lane, & thro Ignorance of the present State of things here. You See by this that nothing must be done about goods but what origionates from the trust, & this you must leave me to manage. The Trust are all well inclined, & have the highest confidence in you, & I believe in me too,<sup>2</sup> but you must Send them a compleat acc<sup>t</sup> of the State of y<sup>e</sup> School, &c & the expence & income Since Sept. 3. 1765, where your former acc<sup>t</sup> ends. It is true they have no right to the money sent or given you in America yet it will be grateful to them to know the whole, & it will be for the good of the cause, & continue their high esteem of you. When your acc<sup>ts</sup> are drawn out fair, you Sho'd get them audited by Some noted persons & under the publick Seal; this is necessary in order to Secure your credit & the honour of the Trustees w<sup>ch</sup> is now nearly connected with it. If there is any money not expended it must be put under the best improvem<sup>t</sup> & good Security, & accounted for. What I have wrote, need give you no uneasiness: all that is wanting is, for you to lay open y<sup>e</sup> honesty of your Own heart, & you need not fear the candor & generosity of the Trustees.<sup>3</sup> Times are extremely hard here. The poor are Suffering for bread, & large Subscrptions are making & have been made for their relief, which is a great obstruction to y<sup>e</sup> Charity—yet God owns it, & bows the most of dissenters (in the country) where we come to assist it, tho enimies to y<sup>e</sup> Gospel of free Grace: & I hope to mak £100 P<sup>r</sup> week this year as well as last. The hearts of y<sup>e</sup> Godly are with you, & all they whose prayers are of much avail, pray for its Success. God reigns, let y<sup>e</sup> Earth rejoice. I now labour under a hoarsness w<sup>ch</sup> quite prevents my preaching, & conversation, but blessed be God I have my health. Good M<sup>r</sup> Simson<sup>4</sup> minister here wishes you Gods Speed, & give love to you—M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well—we

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expect to be in Scotland, y<sup>e</sup> begining of May. O England! England! thy glory is almost departed—gross Arminianism, Arianism, & Socinianism are to be found in most places, & yet God brings them to the help of the Lord in this work—Give love to all—& pray much when near the throne for your unworthy Brother in never failing bonds

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*N.B.* If you can give a reason why you have drawn for so much without Saying anything of my giving leave for M<sup>r</sup> Breed to obtain draught for £500 I Shall be glad—for this I did without advice, supposing you would not draw faster than you wanted it, & also to oblige M<sup>r</sup> Breed as M<sup>r</sup> Lane had Stoped Sending goods to him, & intimated that he wo'd Send no more till he had Some remittance—on w<sup>ch</sup> I told him that I wo'd not pay him a farthing if he did not Send goods to M<sup>r</sup> Breed, but if he wo'd I would pay £500 if M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock wo'd draw in his favour on me.—Now Sho'd the Trust know this they might blame me—I am yours—

N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *It must be remembered that the organization of foreign exchange at this period was far from being efficient. Generally a person having credits in England which he wished to transmit to America was obliged to make a personal canvass of those who were likely to owe money abroad. Such persons or firms were not always easy to discover. That condition is some excuse for the plan of transmitting the money of the school in the form of goods. At a later period, when non-importation agreements had done much to cut down the transfer of commodities from England, Wheelock was able to cash drafts on the English Trust only at a discount of from seven to ten per cent.*

<sup>2</sup> *The second of these statements of confidence was far from being true.*

<sup>3</sup> *This letter is not remarkable for its candor. The attempt to blame Wheelock for the disaffection of the Trust is not in entire accordance with the appeal in the postscript that certain transactions for which Whitaker was responsible should be concealed. However, the only actual loss was the draft of £100 which had been transmitted to Eells (page 97).*

<sup>4</sup> *Coventry was a fruitful field, yielding £114. Of this, £39.14 was secured from "Mr. Simpson and Alcott's people."*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker**London 2<sup>d</sup> April 1767—*DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

I rec<sup>d</sup> yours from Coventry yesterday w<sup>th</sup> the Acco<sup>t</sup> & 2 Bills enclos'd One for £40.14.6 y<sup>e</sup> other for £89.5—I rec<sup>d</sup> likewise on Monday last a letter from Kettering by M<sup>r</sup> Boyce with y<sup>e</sup> particulars & a Bill for y<sup>e</sup> same Viz<sup>t</sup> £ 31.4 Including y<sup>e</sup> £3.13.6 from M<sup>r</sup> Brown—to both which I've wrote letters of acknowledgement—but from no other places yet—Of the produce of your present Journey has come to my hands 2 Bill from Northampton one for [torn] y<sup>e</sup> other £31.10—One from Kettering of £31.4—from Coventry two Bills, [one for] £40.14.6 y<sup>e</sup> other £89.5 as above & when I receive any more, I'll let you know—'tis a pity your course should be alter'd & yet no help for it—agreeable to your desire there is a large parcel of Naratives & Papers gone to M<sup>r</sup> Howel of Birmingham—and likewise a short letter from me & one enclos'd by D<sup>r</sup> Stennett directed for you, but I can't directly recollect whether it was sent to M<sup>r</sup> Howel of Birmingham or to M<sup>r</sup> Simpson of Coventry, tho' I think y<sup>e</sup> latter as I judge it got there on Saturday March 28<sup>th</sup> as I had reason to believe from yours that you'd be there till Sabbath March 29<sup>th</sup>—the letters you should see & get—y<sup>e</sup> Books you might order from Birming<sup>m</sup> to Edinburgh unless you'd have M<sup>r</sup> Howel disperse them there or keep them & I would advise you to write to D<sup>r</sup> Stennett yourself as it will please him & forward his sending the letters you mention if he likes so to do—I've enclos'd M<sup>r</sup> Olivers few lines to me (tho' it makes a double letter) on purpose to let you see that unless you can tell us where you are to be Ten days after your writeing we cannot send either Books, papers or letters with any degree of certainty—

There is no Stage goes from London to Edinburgh & then you have just a month before you need be there—if you enter Scotland by the way of Carlisle there are several Capital places to call at such as Leicester, Lonborough, Darby, Manchester, Liverpoole, Lancaster, preston, Whitehampenwith, Carlisle, Scotland, Annin Clerburn, Glasgo, Aberdeen, S<sup>t</sup>. Andrews, Dundee, Dumfries, Edin-

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burgh, England & then if you return the other road, Berwicke, Alnwicke, Morpeth, Newcastle, Shields & Sunderland. D [torn], Darlington, Hockton, Whithersby, Whitby, S[carbor]ough, Hull, York, Leeds, Wakefield, Hallifax, Sheffield, Nottingham, Lincoln, Norwich,<sup>1</sup> &c but as you have a Map—you'll see better yourself—I have had no time to look for the Letters you mention but will do it soon but till I can be more certain of their metting you it will not be safe—I fancy it will be best to meet you at Edinburgh—when you let me hear from you I shall be better able to judge—I must conclude or shall not save y<sup>e</sup> post—Remember me to M<sup>r</sup> Occom the Lord bless you both—I am, D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

Y<sup>rs</sup> &c &c

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *The itinerary indicated by Keen was followed substantially, although it does not appear that all the places named were visited. The journey northward was made through central England, while the return in the autumn was by the way of the eastern coast.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker and  
Samson Occom*

*London 14<sup>th</sup> April 1767—*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

. . . <sup>1</sup> The Meeting of the General Assembly in Scotland is the 24<sup>th</sup> of May. if you are there a week or 10 days before Imagine will do—so that you may visit as many of y<sup>e</sup> Capital places in your way thither as you can—you repeatedly write for your Recommenda<sup>n</sup> from America & your commission from the Board of Connecticut sign'd by Solom<sup>n</sup> Williams, Titus Smith's, M<sup>r</sup> Salters letters &c to be sent you as thinking you'll greatly need them in Scotland—what recommendations can you want more than you have? or what better acco<sup>u</sup> can you shew then is in the Narratives, Appendix &c? If you have any thoughts of Collecting Monies in Scotland or elsewhere to

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run in any other channel then this One plan already pursu'd, reject such thoughts, for the Gent<sup>n</sup> of the Trust will not be concern'd if any other methods takes place<sup>2</sup>—mind this & let all your intentions be upright, never fear but providence will provide Sufficient—only let our Eye be single & all will prosper—you see I've Rec<sup>d</sup>. no Acco<sup>t</sup> yet from Rothwell, Adington, Harborough, Lutterworth &c. but when I do I shall let you know—I'm going to write a short letter to M<sup>r</sup> Occom as we have never heard from & very little of him since he left London, but as here is room enough in this, it may do as well—desiring he may read the whole of this, as he ought to do all the letters you receive from me or the trust—I'm glad to hear your hoarsness is abated in part & hope you'll be Restor'd to all your wonted usefulness—may the Lord Guide you by his Counsel & protect you by his power, is the earnest Wish & prayer of, D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>m</sup> in the best of Bonds

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

M<sup>r</sup> OCCOM

How can you be so remiss as never to write—here you have been at Bedford, Stroude, Hampton<sup>s</sup> & many other places, beside those in company with Your Inseperable Companion M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker—has the Lord done nothing for you nor by You? You could tell us when preaching on those words, the master is come & calleth for You—how he was a Good Master, a kind master, a loveing Master, a Never failing Master & so on *ad infinitum*—pray let us hear wether he is the same to you in the Country, as he was when you found him so in London—he is unchangeable I trust you & I shall find him so, not only to y<sup>e</sup> end of our Lives only, but to Eternity—

however from this day we desire you would write once a week or at farthest once a fortnight—beside it will give us more satisfaction to find M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & you consulting & adviseing with one another that you see & read all my letters & sign your name with his when you are together & sometimes write yourself, as a beginning let me receive a letter from you before you leave Birmingham & acquaint<sup>[s us]</sup> that as a begining to do business you have read not only this part directed to you but the whole letter as all is directed to

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you the same as to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker<sup>4</sup>—I must conclude to save the post—wishing you both health of Body & [pro]sperity of Soul

*I remain y<sup>r</sup> in our dear Redeemer*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

London 14<sup>th</sup> April 1767

<sup>1</sup> *The first part of this letter is omitted, as it deals mainly with accounts. It does, however, reveal the itinerary actually followed, including Northampton, Coventry, Warwick, Circencester, Tewksbury, and Worcester. This letter was addressed to Birmingham.*

<sup>2</sup> *The course projected by Whitaker involved him in difficulties with the English Trust. He intended to use in Scotland the credentials given him by the Connecticut Correspondents, and thus to work under the auspices of the Scotch Society. The English Trustees were opposed to any collections the expenditure of which did not rest in their own hands.*

<sup>3</sup> *The collections in the places mentioned in this letter are recorded as follows: Rothwell, £16.15; Adington (probably Abingdon), £85.12; Harborough, £28.16; Lutterworth, £16.15.2; Bedford, £7.10; Stroude, £18.19; Hampton, none.*

<sup>4</sup> *A growing distrust of Whitaker is shown in this communication. The Board evidently wished that Occom, in whom it had complete confidence, should take part in, or, at least, be informed of, the business management of the undertaking. Either he was not allowed or did not desire to do this; a policy which was in complete accord with the views of Wheelock, who always seems to have regarded the Indian in the light of a child.*



*Mrs. Whitaker to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*Norwich 21<sup>st</sup> April 1767.*

MY DEAR HUSBAND

I received your Letter dated Feb<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> & 28, last Thursday & rejoice to hear of your Welfare & in Gods kindness to you in taking Care of you in the Continual Change of Scenes thro' which you have been and are yet daily passing—may God continue to preserve you in all your ways—

Thro' the manifold Goodness of God we are all well, & have been so since I wrote you last—

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You want in this letter to know what I think of a Letter which you wrote in Nov<sup>r</sup>. last—I have received no such Letter nor have I received any from you ('till that last Week) since one dated Oct<sup>r</sup> 11th. from Exeter, in which one you gave an account of some Bristol Beer &c which you had ship'd from Bristol for me & which I received last fall—You also in the Same Letter tell me that you was about to ship a p<sup>c</sup>. of superfine Broadcloth &c for me in another Ship—which I never have heard of Since & if you did ship them as you proposed, I conclude they were lost in Some Ships which were cast away last Winter in their Way from Bristol to Boston.

You desire M<sup>r</sup> Lothrop's Acco<sup>t</sup>. for what I have had of him which is £90.5 Lawfull besides which I received £30 Sterling of M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston last spring, & £35 Sterling this Spring: of the £30 Sterling last Spring, I improved £20 lawfull to pay House Rent; & the £35 this Spring (I expect) will last me 'till Fall—I don't know but you will think me extravagant; but I think I use the best Oeconomy I am capable of; & if you do, I would have you return as soon as possible & instruct me how to be more frugal. I have got no Cloaths for myself or Family better than what you have sent; nor indeed any that I could do without. I have neither got my Chairs for which you sent Bottoms, nor the Pictures which you sent me, put into Frames, nor do I chuse to have them done before you come home because of the talk it would make among People.

You write to me (you say in earnest) that you would be glad to see me at Bristol; but I can take it no other way than in Jest, you mention that you Wrote to me in a former Letter about it & now desire my thoughts upon it which Letter I never received & so am incapable of giving an Answer only thus much I can say I can't conceive how you think it possible for me to leave my Family (one of which is a Child of but a year old) to go to Bristol—I think if I should do it, all the world would say I had not my Senses<sup>2</sup>—but had it been no more difficult for me to go Bristol than it is for you to come Home I should have embraced your Invitation at first Sight & with all my Heart; and why then will you not accept of my frequent; my continual Invitations to come home; which I have often made to you—I want to see you very much & have a great deal more to say

than I can say by way of Letters or than it would answer to say in them for I understand they are all open'd before they come to your hand—but this I desire of you that you would in your next Letters tell me when you design to come home, & I also request that it may be no longer than the Fall before I may see you here—Children send much duty tho' they have almost forgot that they ever had a Father—you desire me to inform you what things I want in Family—they are as follows (viz) some dark colour'd things for your two Daughters & little Son's every Day, common Gowns next Winter—5 yards of red Baize—a Winter Gown for myself to wear to Meeting—1 silke Handkerchief for myself & 3 Small D<sup>o</sup> for the Children & a Pack of Pins—and Hannah will want some course thing for a Winter Gown to wear to meeting next Winter—

M<sup>r</sup> Woodward has been gone from Norwich five Months<sup>3</sup> (& is now keeping M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's School) & as we had no school here for a long time I sent Jamey to that School where he continues yet—M<sup>r</sup> Woodward send his Regards & Respects to You & also to M<sup>r</sup> Occom & wishes you much more Success—M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Family are all well—pray for Me & our Family & accept of most sincere Love & Respects from

*Your loving Wife 'till Death*

SARAH WHITAKER—

*To the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Nath<sup>l</sup> Whitaker—*

<sup>1</sup> This letter is addressed as follows, "The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Nathaniel Whitaker in London to the care of Mr. Rob<sup>d</sup>. Keen, Woollen draper in the Minorities, London, of whom Mrs. Whitaker desires that this Letter be not open'd till it comes to Mr. Whitaker's Hands."

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Whitaker, burdened with the care of several children, one of them born since her husband's departure, is perhaps to be excused for her somewhat peevish response to her spouse's invitation to come to England.

<sup>3</sup> Bezaleel Woodward supplied Whitaker's pulpit for much of the time during the latter's absence.

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock**Liverpool May 2. 1767.*REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR B<sup>r</sup>.

I have nothing very Special to write to you, yet having an opportunity by M<sup>r</sup> Moarhead's Son in law from Boston, I write to acquaint you that we are in health thro pure mercy, & M<sup>r</sup> Occom desires his duty to you, &c—Liverpool is a pool of Error & wickedness, the Ministers here are Socinians one armenian & a Baptist the Same, & another bapt. Sound who is alone in a town containing 30,000 Souls, & his congregation a handful. Ichabod! 50 years ago, the Gospel flourished here<sup>1</sup>—O that God may preserve America. I wrot to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker a few days ago, & told her Something to tell you which is too long to repeat: it respects the Society in London, & their devilish arts to obstruct the cause, whereby they have bro't themselves into a Scrape out of which they can't git with honour without granting Several hundreds a year to the cause.<sup>2</sup> In a word it is this, they, or one for them, has Spread it in the Country that they would have granted Several hundreds per. An. if I would ask for it & be accountable to them; & this was done to hinder contributions, for there is no truth in it as you may know from former letters in which I have informed you how I have treated w<sup>th</sup> Several of that Society—But God reigns—I Shall do but little here in Liverpool—O pray for us, that we may act wisely for God & our Souls & the Cause—this work is full of tryals & temptations—I am Sometimes ready to Say, When will it be over, & am Streightened till it be accomplished, but blessed be God I am not discouraged nor weary while it appears duty to proceed. The pious are all friendly to it & pray for the Success. O that I could keep near God & live above. Give love to Madam, Rodulphus & all—May God bless & Support & comfort you more & more—b[e]lieve that I am your unfeigned friend & Brother in the unfailing & dear Immanuel

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> Worries about the "error and wickedness" of Socinianism, Arianism, and Armenianism were very real to the Calvinists of those times, and, in Whitaker's case, may

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*have been reinforced by the fact that he succeeded in raising but £39.19.7 in this "town containing 30,000 souls."*

<sup>3</sup> *Nothing came of this well-laid plot to secure aid from the authorities of the London Society, despite themselves.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

(AT EDINBURGH)

London 5<sup>th</sup> May 1767—

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

Your's from Nottingham of y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> April Including a Bill of £76.13 on Mess<sup>rs</sup> W<sup>m</sup>. Fuller & Son came safe to hand, as also yours of y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Instant from Liverpool—and if you had told me at whose house you were to be at in Liverpool I should have wrote to You on Thursday y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> April. I have sent printed letters acknowl<sup>d</sup>. y<sup>e</sup> Receipt of the Money from You to All y<sup>e</sup> Ministers from Olney (y<sup>e</sup> first place you Collected at this Journey) to Nottingham<sup>1</sup> Includ<sup>d</sup> One to D<sup>r</sup> Eaton for £11 & another to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Stoss & Allison for £41.15.9 but I wish you'd send me y<sup>e</sup> particulars as you did D<sup>r</sup> Eatons & have desir'd M<sup>r</sup> Alliston to Acquaint One of M<sup>r</sup> Wesley's Stewards I had Rec<sup>d</sup> their £3.12.8½ Collected of them—I wonder you left Nottingham before you rec<sup>d</sup> my letter sent to Leicester; and I wonder likewise M<sup>r</sup> Worthington did not send it to you there of his own accord. I wrote & sent it on Thursday Evening y<sup>e</sup> 23<sup>d</sup> of April & he got it on Saturday y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>—I wrote you word y<sup>e</sup> next night Viz<sup>t</sup> on y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> (have<sup>s</sup> rec<sup>d</sup> y<sup>rs</sup> at Noon) w<sup>ch</sup> you rec<sup>d</sup> on Sabbath morning—Leicester & Nottingham I reckon is but about 22 miles asunder & as you found I was uneasy it should fall into any ones hands but your own I would have sent some honest Countryman on horseback & paid him for it & waited till he brought it to You—but if you have it safe & no One has open'd it—'tis all well—M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit has sent an answer by which M<sup>r</sup> Thornton & all of us judge nothing will come from that Quarter; nor do we believe they ever intended

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it—M<sup>r</sup> Mauduits letter is short & very artfull—it is thus—directed to John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup> at Clapham

S<sup>r</sup> I have Rec<sup>d</sup> your favours of the 21<sup>st</sup>—In answer, The New England Comp for propagating the Gospel had their General Court last month and then settled all their Business for the Currant year. I do not know that any thing will arise to occasion their meeting again sooner than their usual time which is in march next

*Your most humble Servant*

JASP<sup>r</sup> MAUDUIT

*Hackney April 27<sup>th</sup> 1767*

M<sup>r</sup> Smith thinks he took 2 full hours to consider & write this wary letter which I have Copied word for word in 2 minutes.

Now M<sup>r</sup> Pickard & all others that talk'd in that manner may be asham'd.<sup>2</sup> However we think it full as well without their assistance, unless they had been hearty & let it run in the same Channel—what comes in as the Money already Collected has, comes from warm hearts & M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock need not be cramp'd but give ful scope to action whereby it is to be hop'd he'll be able to do more good in one Month than he could in a year, where he must have so many to consult or perhaps Controul him—and we think now you are going to enter Scotland whatever Subscriptions & Collections you get to run in the same Channel (Viz<sup>t</sup> the trust) it will be the only eligble way—those that choose to give, you'll gladly Receive, and those that do not, 'tis well—this will bring in Sufficent—never Fear—I shall send [torn] pping in a Box directed for You at M<sup>r</sup> Hoggs Merchant in Edingburgh [torn] Narratives &c and if I can find anywhere some of the Old ones printed in Boston—likewise your Recommendations, The Memorial of the Board of Correspondents & w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> letters &c in y<sup>e</sup> same Box—but I will write to You again on y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> advising you what ship they are or will go in—& I wish you'd settle & finish all the Acco<sup>us</sup> since my letter of y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> April & send them to me w<sup>th</sup> a Bill for the whole before or just on your leaveing Manchester—in my next I'll send you the Acco<sup>us</sup> as I have posted them that you may compare with yours & finish England before you enter Scotland—

Your waiting on our two Great prelates has set them upon carrying the same work on in the Episcopal way among the Indians & they would no doubt ordain & make you Nath<sup>1</sup> Whitaker, D.D. & M<sup>r</sup> Occom y<sup>e</sup> same (as to yourself you will scarce leave Scotland before you receive a deplome but then that will be in the presbyterian way) but the other produces a Gown & Cassock—however to be serious, they are doing their utmost to establish it in the Episcopal way & have got into your Neighborhood & into the very heart of M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock's work & if he does not take great care they may draw off S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Interest from him<sup>3</sup>—I have procur'd or rather M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield has 2 of their printed Annual Acco<sup>ua</sup> of this year—One I shall send with a letter to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock the other I shall send to You in the Box as above—you may peruse the whole but what Immediately concerns M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock you'll find Page y<sup>e</sup> 56-57-58-59 & 60—while I was writing this, I rec<sup>d</sup> from Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Symonds a list of Subscribers & the Collection at Bedford w<sup>ch</sup> amounts to £46.5.7½ Thirty Nine Pounds Ten shill<sup>es</sup> of which they have remitted & the remaining 6.15.7½ they say M<sup>r</sup> Occom took with him—I have not yet heard from Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Addington of Harborough—Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Francis at Hampton Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Ball at Stroude—Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> Dowly & Kidman at Lutterworth, Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Dunscombe<sup>4</sup> at Chillingham, Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Porter at Hinckley<sup>5</sup>—but in my next I'll state y<sup>r</sup> whole Acco<sup>ua</sup> since mine of Ap<sup>l</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> & you'll then see if there is any others wanting & if I do not hear from them after that I shall write to them. Remember me to M<sup>r</sup> Occom. *I am S<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>rs</sup> in Our dear Redeemer*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> The collection at Olney was £9.15.1; at Nottingham, £56.18.6.

<sup>3</sup> This passage refers to a scheme to bring the London Society to fulfill its reported statements quoted in the previous letter. These statements evidently emanated from Mr. Pickard, who has been mentioned before (page 117), but concerning whom nothing can be learned.

<sup>3</sup> As has already been said (page 185), the efforts of the bishops resulted in no fruitful outcome.

<sup>4</sup> Rev. Samuel Dunscombe was minister of the Baptist Bethel at Cheltenham. Of him John Wesley records in his diary on March 16, 1768, "About nine I preached at Cheltenham—a quiet, comfortable place; though it would not have been so, if either

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*the rector or the Anabaptist minister could have prevented it. Both these have blown the trumpet with their might; but the people had no care to hear them." The collection at his church was £9.4.9.*

*\* The remaining ministers mentioned in this letter were obscure country parsons, and nothing can be learned concerning them. The collection at Mr. Ball's at Stroude was £18.19; at Mr. Dowley's and Mr. Kidmans, Lutterworth, £16.15.2; at Mr. Simonds', Bedford, £13.6.7. In the published lists no collections at Hampton or Hinckley are mentioned.*



### *Eleazar Wheelock to the English Trust*

*Lebanon May 22<sup>d</sup>. 1767.*

The Right hon<sup>ble</sup> the Earl of Dartmouth & the rest of those worthy & hon<sup>ble</sup> Gentlemen, who have condescended to be Trustees of the Fund collected by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker for the Use of the Indian Charity School in Connecticut.

MUCH HON<sup>d</sup>. SIRs.

I had just began fondly to indulge the Pleasure and animating Joy of such an honourable, Godly, & generous Patronage, & my Hands seem'd to be made strong by it (and perhaps too much so) when all at once I am filled with Confusion & grief, that there should be occasion for such Suspicion of that which is so base & vile, as to give you occasion to regrett your undertaking the Emportant Trust, as there seems to have been by M<sup>r</sup> Eells' Letters which you have had before you, as they are represented in M<sup>r</sup> Keens & referr'd to in yours of March 25<sup>th</sup> which came to hand last Evening.<sup>1</sup>

Yet I have the Pleasure, much hon<sup>d</sup>. Sirs, to assure you, that not one Farthing of Money collected for this Indian Design, has ever gone into Trade, nor with my Allowance been any way embezzled—I look upon what ever is contributed to this Design to be sacred to Christ, and myself but a Steward of it—And my divine Lord & Master to be constantly looking on, to see all my laying out for him. And of his Grace, notwithstanding numerous Defeets, he has hitherto helped me, and I trust hauled me in the right Way.

I knew nothing of the Letters that passed between M<sup>r</sup> Eells & M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker, 'till I was inform'd of them by M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, & M<sup>r</sup> Keen, and perhaps the only Reason why I did not know of them, was that the Distance at which we live did not allow an Opportunity for it.

It was proposed to be consider'd by the Scottish Board of Correspondents here, at their Meeting a little before M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker went away, in what manner Remittances for the Use of this School could be most advantageously made, and the Plan most generally approved was that of Trade. I suppose, I was more jealous of the Safety & Propriety of it, then any others of the Board—However, conscious of my Ignorance of merchantile Affairs, tho't proper to wait for further Light, & submit the whole Affair to better Judges on our Side the Water—And when M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker wrote in favour of a large Draught, I supposed that it was with good Advice that he did it, and of such as I had Confidence in, notwithstanding when I was desired to encourage it, I did no more than only not to stand in the Way of those who were better able to judge, & determine in that Matter than Myself.

What my Understanding of the State of the Case and what my Jealousies and Fears then were I think are plainly intimated to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker in my Letter of May 16<sup>th</sup> with the Power enclosed, mention'd by M<sup>r</sup> Eells, a Copy of which I herewith transmit, in which I think it sufficiently held forth that I didn't think I had Light enough of my own to act in the Affair. And lest it should be a Temptation & a Lead to Incroachments upon Christs Property I determin'd that neither myself nor mine should be concern'd in it 'till I could see Christs Interest well secured by some good Regulation that should appear honest in the Sight of all Men.

I herewith transmit my Acco<sup>ts</sup> for the last twenty Months, which I could not get time to compleat before the last Week; and would only add that for all my daily Labour & Care in the Affair (and the whole lies upon me) for all incidental Charges by Company, Incumberance, & Attendance of my Family in repeated Sickness in the School, Instruction, daily Care & government, to form the Minds & manners of the savage Youth to Rules of Religion,

Decency, & Virtue, &c &c &c. I have never charged one Farthing; nor for anything done by me personally in the whole Affair from the first,<sup>2</sup> & this I have done that I might cut off Occasion from such as desire Occasion to reproach the Cause & Me, as having mercenary Views therein, believing the Cause to be gods & that he will not suffer my Family to sink by it. And here I may, blessed be God, set up my Ebenezer.

As soon as the proposal to form a Trust on your Side the Water reach'd us, all Talk of a Trade immediately ceased here, and your Plan was and is, so far as I know, well approved in this Government. Nor have I any Suspicion of any clandestine, or iniquitous Design, but must believe whatever imprudent Sallies may have been made that M<sup>r</sup> Eells & M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker are notwithstanding men of Probity & Integrity.

If what I have here wrote & herewith transmitted be not satisfactory, please to inform me what Testimonials are necessary, and I will endeavour to procure them. But if you are fully satisfied in the Case; please to accept my sincerest Returns of Gratitude, for your truly Christian Condescension & Benevolence in accepting the important Trust, & suffer me in the most earnest manner to bespeak the Continuation of your friendly Patronage, and all the Benefits of your great Influence agreeable to your wisely concerted Plan. And assure yourselves there will nothing be wanting within my Power on this Side the Water. And know that I am, much hon<sup>d</sup> Sirs, with sincerest Duty & Esteem

*Your much obliged and most obedient, humble  
Servant.*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK—

*A Copy—*

<sup>1</sup> *The letter of the Board (page 237) threw Wheelock into violent perturbation, as instanced by his immediate reply, without consultation with Eells. The protest of his latest draft likewise placed him in a hazardous financial position.*

<sup>2</sup> *Throughout his connection with the Indian School and later with Dartmouth College, Wheelock never received any compensation for his services. In fact, at his death the institutions owed him for money advanced for their support over £1700, lawful money.*

*Eleazar Wheelock to Geo. Whitefield<sup>1</sup>**Lebanon June 8<sup>th</sup>. 1767.*MY VERY DEAR M<sup>r</sup> WHITEFIELD.

Yours of Feb<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> with one from M<sup>r</sup> Keen of y<sup>e</sup> Same Date, also anothe<sup>r</sup> from M<sup>r</sup> Keen, accompanied by one from those Worthy Gentlemen of The Trust of March 25<sup>th</sup> all came Safe.

I have transmitted my Acco<sup>t</sup>. and hope I have Satisfied all that I neither have been, nor am, more inclin'd to fall in with the Scheme of Trade than any on your Side the Water, and it was only in compliance with what I Supposed to be their Mind & advice (which I am always disposed to honour) as well as the governing opinion of Gentlemen on this Side, that I ever Said or acted any thing that had the Least look of favour towards that Plan and as soon as we heard of a Trust forming on your side, and the affair opening as it has most agreeably by the Condescension and Generosity of those worthy Gentlemen, every one approved, and all Friends blessed God that he had disposed their hearts, & directed them into a Method So wise, Safe and honorary to the Design in view—and I hear not a word Said in this Colony of any other Disposition of the Money Collected, than that which is now made, but how my dear Sir, to express y<sup>e</sup> Ardour of Affection which I feel towards those worthy, godly Patriots, or my Sentiments of Gratitude for their Condescension in taking upon them the Patronage of a Cause which before appear'd So feeble, I know not, verily it is the Lords doings, and to his Name be the Glory.

You ask me who has been writing against M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker. I answer none that I know of has wrote from your side against him, but M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop<sup>2</sup> (late Master of this School) on his Visit to me, after he had been preaching near Boston, inform'd me that a Gentleman from London, who was at or near Boston on an Affair of Trade, Said Some things to the Disadvantage of M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers Character, as that he was Unpolished, and conducted So as to give great Disgust to Gentlemen of Tast, &c &c. Since which M<sup>r</sup> Bean of N. Haven inform'd me that he was at N. York in Company with M<sup>r</sup> Sears, who trades in Partnership with M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt, and heard him represent

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M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker as being Ignorant, no Preacher, not so good as M<sup>r</sup> Occom, ungentleman, and altogether unsuitable for the Business he is Sent upon, &c& wond' red that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock Should Send such a Man. & I Suppose him to be the Same man who discoursed in the same Tenor at or near Boston, tho' I am not certain that M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop call'd him by that name, and I Suppose it likely he found a greater Number at N. York than at Boston who would give ear to Such a Character of M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker, as there were a Number there who were not gratified by my Choise of the Agent. . . . .

*Yours in the Dearest Bonds,*

ELEAZ<sup>r</sup>. WHEELOCK.

<sup>1</sup> Only the first part of this letter is published. The remainder contains an account of the prospects of missionary work among the Iroquois.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Lathrop, 1740-1816; Princeton 1763; master of the Indian School, 1764-1765; minister of the Old North Church, Boston, 1768-1776; of the New Brick Church (with which the Old North society was united in 1779), 1776-1816.



*Trustees to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

SIR

We have this day had a Meeting to consider of the accounts M<sup>r</sup> Keen has rec<sup>d</sup> of your proceedings in Scotland & we are unanimously of opinion that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks Schools can't be subject to the direction of two distinct Bodies of Trustees & as other difficulties have occurred to us, we think it necessary that M<sup>r</sup> Occom & you should immediately return to Town, which we shall depend upon your compliance with.<sup>2</sup>

*We are*

*Sir*

*London 9<sup>th</sup> June 1767.*

*Your humble Servants*

DARTMOUTH  
JOHN THORNTON  
SAM<sup>l</sup>. ROFFEY  
DAN<sup>l</sup> WEST  
JOS. ROBARTS  
ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

*To the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Nathaniel Whitaker*

## AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is addressed to "The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Nath<sup>l</sup> Whitaker at M<sup>r</sup> Archibald Wallace's, Merch<sup>t</sup> in Edinburgh," and is endorsed by Whitaker, "June 22, 1767 rec<sup>d</sup> this at St. Andrews 3/4 after 6 in y<sup>e</sup> evening."*

<sup>2</sup> *This peremptory command in no way deterred Whitaker from his undertaking. As his reply to it has not been preserved, we have no definite knowledge of its nature, but, as is shown in the sequel (page 265), it must have been misleading in its character.*



### *David Plenderleath<sup>1</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Southfield 9 June 1767.*

R. & VERY DEAR SIR

Notwithstanding your throng of business you have been so kind as favour me with a letter which was particularly obliging.

I am sorry for the information you give that an application has not been made to the Assembly for a general & publick Collection. I cannot conceive that there could be any strength of reasoning from D<sup>r</sup> Robertson<sup>2</sup> to convince the meeting of ministers & others that this was any improper measure; & whatever was his opinion I still think that these who had the great & important cause at heart ought to have insisted on the application & make no doubt but the Assembly would have granted the request.

The advancement of the Redeemers Kingdom, the Salvation of thousands of precious souls are so much interested in this great & glorious design I cannot allow myself to think but that it would have met such a kind reception from the friends of Christ who love & pray for the Salvation of poor benighted pagans.

But as I did not hear what passed at that meeting I perhaps judge wrong when I think an application ought to have been insisted on—What is now proposed is no doubt the best that can be done as Circumstances stand at present. Much more money would have been got by a publick Collection than by the Contributions of Individuals in a private way. Many who having little to give will not do it in a private way, would have put in some small thing in a



plate at the Church door. This end yet can be answered If its the intention of the Society to write to all the particular churches & ministers in order to obtain a Collection from their Congregations, & whether this is done or not Ministers & their Sessions may if they please make this voluntary Collection.

I have dispersed some of the Narratives in this Country & conversed on the Subject with several ministers here. The Work is of God & will prevail, you have the prayers of his people. They will be heard & will be of more avail than many recommendations from Synods or Assemblys. However when the State of the Case is transmitted to the Several Churches by the Society I wish that a letter may be written to the ministers desiring that a Collection be made in their Several congregations; This desire from the Society will be as much regarded by many of them as a Recommendation from the Assembly. The Society cannot bestow money better than when this expense is done from their own funds.

I once intended to have come home this week but find I must stay in this Country 'till next week—when I return to Edinburgh it will be a great pleasure to find you & your friends there. I consider it as a kind providence that I was so happy as we met with such Christian friends & would wish much to keep up a friendly correspondence—Tho you should have left Edinb<sup>r</sup>. before I get there I hope to see you on your return from Glasgow. I beg my most affectionate regards to M<sup>r</sup> Smith, M<sup>r</sup> Ockham & yourself in which my wife joins me. I hope worthy M<sup>r</sup> Ockham will favour me with a letter according to his kind promise. I thank you for your kind visit to my Daughter & hope while in town you will not be a stranger—

May the King of Zion more & more countenance & succeed your well intended endeavours to extend his dominion over the poor Indians. We in this Island have had the Gospel long, we do not duly prize it. If we do not mind the Indians when a door in providence is open'd for Spreading the Gospel among them who knows but a holy Sovereign may remove his Candlestick from among us & set it up among these dark places of the earth. May both we & they enjoy the light of the glorious Sun of Righteousness, may his dominion be extended from Sea to Sea & They that dwell in the

Wilderness bow down before him. Be it O lord as thou hast said.—  
I am with just Esteem

*D<sup>r</sup> Br. Your aff. Br. In the bonds of the Gospel*

DAV: PLENDERLEATH

<sup>1</sup> *Evidently a Scotch clergyman. Nothing can be learned about him.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dr. William Robertson, 1721-1793, eminent as a historian, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, 1762-1792.*



*Defense of Nathaniel Eells<sup>1</sup>*

*Stonington June 12, 1767.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. AND DEAR SIR,

By your favour of the 5<sup>th</sup> Just rc<sup>d</sup>, I find to my Surprise that I and some others are suspected as promoting a clandestine & iniquitous Scheme, when I know of none other than advising that M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker shou'd remit in Goods y<sup>e</sup> Donations he should receive in England for the Benefit of your School, tho' he has never remitted any that I have heard of, save some shoes (that were given) to his Wife. I think best that an Answer shou'd be returned in the same Channel.

As to my Letters referred to, they not only related to his Collections for y<sup>e</sup> School but some affairs w<sup>ch</sup> my Son Edward had wrote to him to transact, if it fell in his way and to M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop turning his trade to another house, w<sup>ch</sup> might excite strange apprehensions in the Minds of those not privy to these Matters!

As to my Sentiments and advice from first to last respecting your School affairs I am free to declare, and leave Everyone to Judge of the fitness of them.

Some facts must be carefully observed to strangers to give them a right Understanding of the Case. As these,

When y<sup>e</sup> Board of Correspondents were appointed in this Colony, They adopted your plan for propagating the Gospel among y<sup>e</sup> Indians—They voted to take your School under their Patronage,

in Case of your Decease and none other provided—They w<sup>r</sup> not willing to run y<sup>e</sup> Risque of its Support, w<sup>ch</sup> lay wholly upon yourself—But were forward to take any proper Methods to raise a Support and provide a fund for that intent—To this End they chose M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker to go to Europe, gave him a Commission, to use as he found Occasion, & supposed he would Act chiefly on y<sup>t</sup> Commission—approved of his making remittances to the Lathrops in Norwich, who are wholesale Merchants & a sure house, and to none others in particular, directed him to take advice here and in England, and Act as appeared best.

I supposed, that y<sup>e</sup> advice he had here by word of Mouth, and by writing since, he wou'd make known to his friends in England and alter as shou'd be thôt best. And since a Trust is appointed at home, I ever Thôt our plan expired, and nothing more wou'd be said about it. But to return to the Story.

Fond of availing myself of every advantage for y<sup>e</sup> Benefit of y<sup>e</sup> School, after it was judged more for its profit, not to sell y<sup>e</sup> Bills to s<sup>d</sup> Lathrops, but to have Remittances made in Goods, I applied to M<sup>r</sup> Joshua Lathrop, an honest, faithfull and pious Man (and this I thôt I might do in Character, as he married my Daughter) to know of him upon w<sup>t</sup> Terms he would sell y<sup>e</sup> Goods, and w<sup>t</sup> Advantage the School might have. He was lothe to Undertake y<sup>e</sup> Trust, as he had business enough of his own, and about to encrease it, and stock enough, as we all know, to carry it on. However he at length agreed, and prepared an Envoice, gave it M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker, and if y<sup>e</sup> Goods had come low charged, M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop wou'd have traded to the same house, *to the profit of y<sup>t</sup> house and the Encrease of its trade.*

Here blame is fixed "That y<sup>e</sup> School Money shou'd be put into Trade & continued in so precarious a State." T<sup>'</sup> was expressly agreed y<sup>t</sup> all shou'd be insured. And as to its continuing in a precarious State, I had wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker "to send the Goods to M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop to be disposed of as M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock & I should advise." So y<sup>t</sup> when they arrived the Board might be called together and acquainted with w<sup>t</sup> was done, and as Patrons to the School give their advice. My Pre-ailing opinion was, to convert all y<sup>t</sup> the School did not need into Lands,<sup>2</sup> to remain as assur<sup>d</sup>.; For much Land has been sold among

us of late, whose Rents wou'd make from 4 to 9 £ p. Cent, and the Lands made yearly more profitable. If y<sup>e</sup> Board thôt best that y<sup>e</sup> Money shou'd lie in y<sup>e</sup> hands of those that purchased y<sup>e</sup> Goods, upon double Security, and M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop be freed from collecting it, this would save 2½ p. Cent to be added to half of y<sup>e</sup> advance made upon y<sup>e</sup> Goods, w<sup>ch</sup> we judged wou'd be 10 p. Cent. M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers Conduct and y<sup>e</sup> Advice he acted upon were to be laid before the Board; here I stood Accountable for my advice. And this I think is argument enough with me to Act a worthy & faithfull part.

And, Sir, I am still of y<sup>e</sup> same mind; If Every year, as many goods were sent as wou'd defray y<sup>e</sup> annual Expende of your School, it would be equal to a generous Donation. For I can't see why an 100 £ gained for y<sup>e</sup> School, is not as good as an 100 £ given.

But another thing criminal is, "The Plan was laid before M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker left N. England, designed for y<sup>e</sup> Emolument of himself and others concerned, and M<sup>r</sup> Eells's Son brot into Business with M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop."—That is, "others were to take y<sup>e</sup> profits of y<sup>e</sup> School Money." We cou'd not expect that any Man wou'd trade upon y<sup>e</sup> School Money, but upon y<sup>e</sup> same terms as he wou'd upon another Man's Money, and upon them terms y<sup>e</sup> school had all y<sup>e</sup> profits of y<sup>e</sup> Trade (besides w<sup>t</sup> belonged to y<sup>e</sup> factor according to Custom) with this additional Advantage of a Supply of all needed Goods at first Cost.

In this Spot appears y<sup>e</sup> strongest Jealousy, where I meant to Act y<sup>e</sup> most generous part. By y<sup>e</sup> Plan M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop was to sell y<sup>e</sup> Goods, and takes his part of y<sup>e</sup> advance: But afterwards I thôt with myself, if M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop was in a good measure freed from y<sup>e</sup> pains & Trouble of y<sup>e</sup> Sales, there might be a saving still made out of his part of the advance to be laid out in pious uses. I Cons<sup>d</sup>ed how much more agreeable it wou'd be to me, to have my Children do good in y<sup>e</sup> World, than grow rich: Therefore As I had a Son fitted for y<sup>e</sup> Business, and M<sup>r</sup> Lathrop was finishing partnership with his Brother y<sup>e</sup> Apothecary,<sup>s</sup> and was to trade wholly in English Goods, I purposed to bring my son into business with him, and to Relieve him of y<sup>e</sup> Care & Burden of y<sup>e</sup> School Goods, and then use my Influence over My Son to give all he cou'd spare of y<sup>e</sup> profits to pious uses: I had

still y<sup>e</sup> School as y<sup>e</sup> principal Object in my Eye. I also thôt, that as M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker had left his people to serve the School, and give them Liberty to settle another Minister in his Absence, this might throw him out of y<sup>e</sup> means of a Support upon his Return, this Case I had spoken of to others, and w<sup>t</sup> I shou'd charge my Son to Cons<sup>d</sup>. This is all y<sup>e</sup> Emolument that I meant shou'd arise to him in this affair, and this without any Injury to your School or any body else. As to personal Gain, if you can make out to me One penny, as you know y<sup>e</sup> plan, I will thank you for it. But I tell M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker "I shall regard his Interest as my own". I told him so before he embarked, It appears partly from w<sup>t</sup> is above that I bore it in mind, and have I not made it good in other Instances? Has not his family at my Instance and request been provided for at all times since he left us, and with Every thing at y<sup>e</sup> lowest price without any advance, or any Charge for the trouble to the amount of 90 odd pounds lawfull? Has not my family bôt wool and flax and sent it to his family 20 Miles free of Charge. Sir I put a force upon myself to Speak of these things and cou'd not have done it, were it not on this special Occasion. In y<sup>e</sup> Plan I meant to do Justice to the School in giving it y<sup>e</sup> Customary advance, and by my Son to raise Benefactions to it. I have Acted towards the School upon y<sup>e</sup> principles of honesty and Generosity. This is my Support—this is my Solace.

Tis a Singular Tryall to fall under y<sup>e</sup> Suspicion and Blame of y<sup>e</sup> great and pious, who have espoused to the Cause, w<sup>ch</sup> you know I have been serving according to the best of my Capacity. *Let the Righteous smite me, and it shall be a kindness.* Let him smite me kindly as in y<sup>e</sup> original. If I can't reprove in Love, I hope I shall hold my peace.

May Friends and Enemies serve to quicken our pace in our Travails thro' this Wilderness, to that better Country where we shall have Rest and Blessedness.<sup>4</sup> I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir

*Your affectionate Brother and humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.*

N. EELLS

<sup>4</sup> *This communication is endorsed "Copy of Mr. Eells' letter to Mr. Whitaker, June 12, 1767." It is much underlined and corrected and bears the appearance of laborious composition. Much of it is with difficulty legible. The copy which was actually sent, were it preserved, may have given less the effect of confusion.*

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<sup>3</sup> *Investment in land was at that time regarded as the safest and most lucrative method of disposing of money. Wheelock's later experience with the grants received by Dartmouth College did not show that such portions of the trust funds as were used in clearing wild lands were employed with much profit.*

<sup>3</sup> *The partnership, however, seems to have continued.*

<sup>4</sup> *This letter was regarded by the English Trust, with some reason, as a very lame explanation.*



*Rev. John Erskine to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

DEAR SIR

I was sorry to find when I had returned to town, that you had set out for Glasgow, as I wanted back from you the answer to the objections. You may put them up for me, & give them to Mr. George Brown to be sent me by the Glasgow Courier. Mr. McCulloch<sup>2</sup> at Comberlang, & Mr. Stoddard at Kirkintilloch,<sup>3</sup> the first parish where I was settled, are desirous of seeing you before you leave Glasgow neighborhood. I am sorry at some expressions in the Memorial,<sup>4</sup> particularly the money being under the direction of the Society. I think it would have been discreeter to have said, to be employed by the Connecticut Board, or such other Board as the Society shall appoint, under the Society's discretion. This would have answered the same end, & would have given no offence.<sup>5</sup>

A minister whom I saw in East Lothian told me that in a numerous company of Ministers, it was said, that the grand object of Mr. Wheelock was promoting Presbytery in opposition to the church of England. This is imputing to him what is indeed the guilt of the English society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, viz the sacrificing to party the cause of our common Christianity, or at least vailing the first under the specious dress of the last. I need no confutation of so false & ridiculous a charge. But it may not be improper, that you notice it in conversation, and point out, who are

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indeed the Bigots.<sup>6</sup> I am with affectionate compliments to Mr Occom & Mr Smith, Dear Sir

*Y<sup>r</sup> Affec<sup>t</sup> Brother & Serv<sup>t</sup>*

JOHN ERSKINE

Edin<sup>r</sup> 12 June 1767.

<sup>1</sup> Addressed to "The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Nathaniel Whitaker to the care of Mr. George Brown, Merch<sup>t</sup> Tronsgate Glasgow."

<sup>2</sup> Rev. William McCullough made a gift of books to the school, which Wheelock acknowledged on September 30, 1769. McCullough also seems to have preferred advice as to the "manner of teaching" the Indians, to which Wheelock assented and assured him that "that excellent Summery of the Assemblies Catechism is constantly taught & inculcated here."

<sup>3</sup> A town in Dumbartonshire, eight miles northeast of Glasgow.

<sup>4</sup> Evidently a memorial of the Scotch Society to the churches of the country. It has not been preserved.

<sup>5</sup> To the fact that this suggestion was not adopted is due the result that practically nothing from the fund of £2500 collected in Scotland was ever received by the elder Wheelock, and that the principal of it, amounting in 1920 to over £10,000, is still in the possession of the Scotch Society.

<sup>6</sup> A rather surprising instance of denominational good fellowship, and one not entirely representative of the general opinion of the Scotch clergy. It may be truthfully said, however, that Wheelock was singularly free from denominational bias in the direction of his school and missions.

\*

*Rev. Alexander Webster<sup>1</sup> to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*Edin<sup>r</sup> June 13<sup>th</sup>*

DEAR SIR

I am favor'd with yours, it gives me great pleasure that you have met with so favorable a reception at Glasgow. I spoke with the Principal about conferring the degree of Doctor of Divinity on you and Mr. Wheelock; he was to take it into consideration and converse with Professor Hamilton,<sup>2</sup> and give me an answer today. When I sent for the answer he was out of town. I then wrote to Professor Hamilton; His answer you have inclosed. Mean while you should trie the university of Glasgow.<sup>3</sup> The Society have taken the best methods they could think of to promote the Collection; I am so hurried that I must delay saying more till meeting you. Make my

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best compliments acceptable to Messrs. Smith and Occom and believe to be with great truth, D<sup>r</sup>, Sir

*Your affectionate and very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>*

ALEX<sup>r</sup> WEBSTER

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. Alexander Webster, 1707-1784, minister of the Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh, 1737-1784, also a mathematician. In charge of the first census of Scotland.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dr. Robert Hamilton, minister of Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, Professor of Divinity, University of Edinburgh, 1754-1779. He died in 1787.*

<sup>3</sup> *Either no appeal was made to the University of Glasgow, or the appeal was rejected. Edinburgh and St. Andrews were eventually responsive.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 16<sup>th</sup> June 1767—*

S<sup>r</sup>

On receiveing yours of y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> (joyntly sign'd by M<sup>r</sup> John Smith<sup>1</sup>) the Gent<sup>o</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Trust have no objection to the plan you are now upon as the Monies in Scotland wether principal or Interest will be as entirely under the direction of the Trust as any private Benifaction—which will prevent the confusion we were afraid of<sup>2</sup>—The Memorial is very well drawn up & haveing been sent round to the several parishes, it will be necessary You and M<sup>r</sup> Occom should follow them before you leave those parts—which when you have done & finish'd the Collections &c, you need stay no long<sup>r</sup> then is just necessary, but return to London and acquaint us with all your proceedings—I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

*Y<sup>r</sup> most obed<sup>t</sup>*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

*Secretary*

*P.S. I present our Compliments to M<sup>r</sup> Smith hope the Air of Scotland perfectly agrees with him.*

<sup>1</sup> *Partly for reasons of health, John Smith accompanied the envoys on this journey, and seems to have contributed much to the success of the mission.*

<sup>2</sup> *The English Trust was apparently convinced by Whitaker's report that it was to be in control of the fund collected in Scotland; an idea which was entirely erroneous. Possibly this deception (if deception it was) may have contributed to the low esteem with which Whitaker came to be regarded by members of the Trust.*

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*Nathaniel Whitaker to John Erskine*<sup>1</sup>*Glasgow June 17. 1767.*REV<sup>d</sup>. & D<sup>r</sup> SIR

Yours of the 12<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> came to hand yesterday. I was Sorry that we could not See you before we left Ed<sup>r</sup>. which we Should have waited to have done on your return had it not been for two or three circumstances which are too lengthy to recite now. I Should most cheerfully oblige you in Sending the Answers to the Objections, but hope you will excue it for the present as I shall probably want them in the course of my travils, & have not time possibly to transcribe them at present; perhaps it may answer as well when I return to Edinb<sup>r</sup>. which will be in a few weeks.

As to the expression which is not agreeable in the Societies recommendation, I hope it will give none offence, [for I can't See that the man<sup>r</sup>. of expression will at all obstruct or hinder the issuing the monies to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock thro' y<sup>e</sup> Trust in London appointed by your Commission & to be accountable to you agreeable to what you mentioned to M<sup>r</sup> Smith & me.<sup>2</sup>]

The Objection made in a Company of ministers, that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock is promoting Presbytery in opposition to y<sup>e</sup> C<sup>h</sup> of England you treat with becoming contempt, for the Church of E. had not a Single Miss<sup>ry</sup> among the Indians—were doing nothing for their conversion, were educating no youth for missions; but employed all their money to promote Episcopacy, not among the Indians, but among presbyterians who fled from their Tyranny in England & found a more peacible retreat among the wild Savages of north America. They were doing nothing for the Indians, & must the whole world lie Still, & follow their example, or be branded with party if they do not!—God will take care of his own Cause & one day Shew who are the bigots, yea he hath Shewn it already if people would but open their Eyes to See—

With most respectful compliments to you & M<sup>rs</sup> Erskine & Children, in which Mess<sup>rs</sup> Smith & Occom join, & asking your prayers, I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir

*Your obliged humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.*NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

*N.B.* We have preached for the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Culloch, & if possible will visit the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Stodart, but if not will write to him our excuse.

<sup>1</sup> *A rough draft, marked with many erasures.*

<sup>2</sup> *The expression in brackets is substituted for the following, crossed out in the draft, "However it would have been the Same thing to us had it been expressed otherwise & the Same thing kept in view; for all that we desire is that the Society & the Trust in London may be one in design and action & so manage the affair as to issue the monies to Mr. Wheelock the Same way & through the Same channel to prevent a clash which might be the case in any other way than that proposed & agreed to." This constitutes a further example of the delicacy of the position of Whitaker in his relation to the Scotch Society and the English Trust. It seems to have been the idea at this time that all monies collected should pass through the hands of the English trustees; a notion quite contrary to the actual outcome, but one which indicates that Whitaker himself may have been deceived in the matter. It should be said, however, that the English fund was exhausted and the Trust dissolved before Wheelock attempted to draw any money from the Scotch fund.*



*Rev. Alexander Webster to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

D<sup>r</sup> SIR

I have writ by this post to Glasgow: Lest you shou'd have left that Town I'm writing this, to acquaint you, that the Principal<sup>2</sup> is come to Town, & Says, that they will confer the Degree of Doctor of Divinity on M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock, upon giving a Compliment to the Library of £10, which they now always require, & some dues which I suppose may come to 2 or 3 guineas; but will not make more than one Doctor at this time. If Glasgow has agreed or St Andrews shall agree to make you both Doctors it is well. If not, let me know whether you incline that M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock shou'd be made a Doctor by this University. I am with truth<sup>3</sup>

*D<sup>r</sup> Sir*

*Your affectionately*

ALEX<sup>r</sup> WEBSTER

*Edin<sup>r</sup> June 17 1767.*

I could not find Mess<sup>rs</sup> McQueen<sup>4</sup> & Erskine, & therefore have writ y<sup>e</sup> enclosed by myself which I'm persuaded will have y<sup>e</sup> effect, as

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AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

Principal Robertson's consenting to make one of you a Doctor will dispose y<sup>e</sup> University of St. Andrews to pay that compliment to the other.

<sup>1</sup> Addressed "To the Revd. Mr. Whitaker. To the Care of the Postmaster at St. Andrews."

<sup>2</sup> Of the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> Aside from the American colleges, the Scotch universities were the only source of honorary degrees available to the dissenting ministers of the Colonies. Such degrees were awarded rather freely. Perhaps the "compliment to the library" had something to do with these awards.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Robert McQueen, 1722-1799, advocate and judge, who became Lord of the Sessions under the title of Lord Braxfield in 1776.



*Alexander Webster to Nathaniel Whitaker*

D<sup>r</sup> SIR

I am favored with yours of the 18th Current. I had no need of the Assistance of Messrs Erskine and McQueen respecting Mr. Wheelock's Degree of D<sup>r</sup> of Divinity. The Principal granted that favor at my own Desire. On Wednesday I wrote to Prin. Murison or D<sup>r</sup> Shaw in case of the Principals absence under cover to you directed to the Care of the Postmaster of St. Andrews, acquainting the Principal of what y<sup>e</sup> university were to do here, and begging they wou'd confer the same favor on you, & that you wou'd pay the usual Compliment to the Library.<sup>1</sup> I have sent a message go Messrs. Erskine and McQueen, desiring they wou'd write to any of the Members of the University of their acquaintance by this nights post under your Cover. The Two Letters here enclosed were brought to my house yesterday. Wishing you all Manner of Success I am, with my best Compliments to Messrs. Smith & Occum,

D<sup>r</sup> SIR

*Yours affectionately*

*Edinr June 20. 1767*

ALEX<sup>r</sup> WEBSTER

Since writing the above I received the enclosed Card from Dr. McQueen

<sup>1</sup> The coveted degree was awarded to Whitaker by St. Andrews.

*Eleazar Wheelock to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>**Lebanon 24<sup>th</sup> June 1767.*

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER WHITAKER

I assure you I am greatly please with the Acco<sup>ns</sup> I have had from Time to Time, of your Doings. You never was nearer to, nor more upon my Heart than you have been ever since you left New England, nor was I ever more Studios to promote your Interest, in all respects than I have constantly been ever Since you left me. And I was grieved at the Heart when I read in your Late Letters y<sup>t</sup> you had reason to Suspect, or rather believe Some unfriendly Pen had been employed to lead me into other Sentiments concerning you, tho' I did not then fully understand what you ment.

I have no Secret in the Matter, but will tell you all I know—the Letter which I gave you a hint of was from N. York which related to Something antecedent to your going, & which I Suppos'd you would fully understand to be of a piece with that which you had knowledge of before—

The Proposal I made of Sending M<sup>r</sup> C. J. Smith was partly from a Hint in your Letter, but chiefly my own device, and only for this Reason that as it appear'd God had a great Work for you to do, I fear'd you would not have Patience to be So leisurly in your Progress 'till you Should got thro' as wou'd be best for the Design. However I perceive your Patience is like to have its perfect Work—and hitherto God has helped you & you have done right—

But M<sup>r</sup> Sears who Trades in Partnership with M<sup>r</sup> DeBerdt has made very free with your Character at New York and I Suppose he was the man who did the Same at Boston—he represented you as being Ignorant, unpolished, ungentleman, & that your awkward Treatment of Gentlemen in the Business you are upon had given great Offence, & Occasion'd Prejudice to y<sup>e</sup> Cause and a good deal of Such Stuff, which occasioned Some apology I made for you in a Letter I wrote M<sup>r</sup> Keen. M<sup>r</sup> Keens Letter Seem'd to carry all before it, & I believe your Character Stands in a good Light throughout the Colonies—and you may assure yourself, my Brother, that no act

of Friendship toward you, within my Power, has been or will be wanting. If God Shll mercifully favour us with another Interview, I may then tell you Some of my plottings for you by which I think I Shall give you Some proof of the Sincerity of my love to you—Your Son James is Still with me—behaves well and is very steady at School—Your Family were well yesterday. The piece of Black Broad Cloath you wrote of came at last, & is now at your House—I have not yet determin'd what do with it—M<sup>r</sup> Breed declines taking it—also the Books are come Safe.

My Way is Embarrass'd at present among the Six Nations by the daily Expectation of Episcopalians from Home to Supply the vacancies there—I trust they will not very easily root out M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland.

They are much ingaged to have any School at Albany<sup>2</sup>—I wish I could know Sir W<sup>m</sup> Heart<sup>3</sup>—It is Said that Windham will offer £2,000 Sterling or more to have it there.<sup>4</sup> I suppose I shall know what they will do in a few Days—a thousand things I would gladly communicate, must wait 'till God Shall bring us together. That God wo'd go with you, give presence of mind, keep you in perfect peace, give you favour in the eyes of all, & make your Way Prosperous, and return you in Safety is the Daily Prayer of Rev<sup>d</sup>. & Dear Sir

*Your most Cordial Brother and Fellow Servant*

ELEAZAR WHELOCK

P.S. The mean Number of my School who were Supported by Charity in y<sup>e</sup> Wilderness last year was about 40.—I have been purging my School by Sending Some home & design to have none but such as are Likely—

Avary<sup>5</sup> is in a bad State of Health, I fear.

<sup>1</sup> *A rough draft, imperfectly written and phrased.*

<sup>2</sup> *The offer from Albany was very seriously pressed.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sir William Johnson, at first friendly to Wheelock's projects, at this time had become distinctly lukewarm, and later was to be an avowed enemy.*

<sup>4</sup> *The offer from Windham seems never to have been seriously urged or considered.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. David Avery, 1746-1818, Yale 1769, was one of Wheelock's English charity students; was supported by the fund through school and college, and served frequently in the mission field until bad health caused his withdrawal in 1773. He was minister at Gageborough, Mass., from 1773 to 1777, chaplain in the American army, 1777-1780, and then held a number of pastorates in various localities until his death.*

*Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen*<sup>1</sup>*Lebanon 29<sup>th</sup> June 1767.*

VERY DEAR SIR

A few days ago I saw M<sup>r</sup> Eells, he professes himself well satisfied with the disposition you have made of the money collected by M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker; and assures me he has had no thought of pursuing any other plan, since he heard of that formed on your side the Water. He is esteemed an able divine & of an unspotted Character; has always appeared very friendly to this School, and very zealous to promote it: nor do I find on discoursing with him any reason to suspect his Integrity and uprightness, or that he has had any Intention to make any unjust gain to himself, or his, by Christs money: but on the other Hand, has been plotting to secure further Advantages to the School; by the Improvement of the Collections; than was thought of in the plan laid by our Board of Commissioners: which plan he supposed M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker was pursuing. I enclose a Copy of the Letter he wrote me on the Head; which I hope will be satisfactory that we are all with one Heart, upon the same plan; and that Christ and the Interest of his Kingdom, is the single Object, which (as the Indians speak) we all look strait to—

Perhaps there are a number of Questions to which you would be glad to have my answer—as—Q<sup>n</sup> 1—What has been supposed to be a reasonable Support for a Missionary who resides with the Indians in y<sup>e</sup> Wilderness? A £100 Sterling p<sup>r</sup> Annum, has been allow'd to all, except those from this School—The London Commissioners in Boston have all along given that Sum to their Missionaries at Onohoquage, & they now give M<sup>r</sup> Mosely the Same—M<sup>r</sup> Halley<sup>2</sup> told me it would but just support him thro' the year—and £50 Sterling they gave their school master—and £50 they gave M<sup>r</sup> Gun<sup>3</sup> to serve as Interpreter: who also was allowed the benefit of his Blacksmiths Trade, so far as could consist with their service.

Q<sup>n</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Why have you suffered your plan to be so large the last Year? A—1<sup>st</sup> I have endeavoured no more, than to follow, and comply with, the openings & pointings of providence; in doing which I have never yet greatly fear'd nor found danger.

2<sup>nd</sup> I have look'd upon this method well calculated to awaken the Attention of both English & Indians—and this, together with the loud Reports of the charitable spirit in England towards the design, & which has appear'd in the Success of M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers Mission (and has been sufficient to secure my conduct, from any reproach on account of the largeness of my plan) has evidently had this good Effect upon the English in these Colonies—witness the generous offers you are receiving, from one place & another, inviting the Establishment of the school in their respective places—and in some degree it had the same effect upon the Indians in some Instances.

Zeal & Resolution, on our part, discourage, & put to silence; such as have endeavoured to reproach & discredit the design—we have now got the vote not only in Number; but the party on our side, are the wise, the godly, the rich, and the honourable: and the majority of our Number is very great—This raises the Esteem of its Friends—awakens Zeal, and inspires courage &c.

Q<sup>n</sup> 3 Will it not now discredit the design that your Number in the Wilderness is not so great this year as it was last?

A—1<sup>st</sup> It is publickly known that a supply of Missionaries for the Vacancies in S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Johnsons Vicinity is daily expected from London; which fully justifies my not sending for the present, and not at all lessens the Friendship, & Zeal of Friends; to my plan: but rather convinces them of the Importance of it; as the moral Character, of some heretofore employ'd, and the prejudices thence arising among the Indians are publickly known—The Indians know why they are left destitute of preaching & schools & the whole Country knows why we stop—they have seen what we have done—& believe what we are ready to do, as soon as god shall open a Door for us.

2<sup>d</sup>. All know that the field is yet wide enough for all, & there will be no danger that any I can send will want employ, as soon as their way is prepared.

Q<sup>n</sup> 4. Ought not your laying out for the School be proportionate to its Fund?

A,—The Capital, as it is design'd for a Fund ought by no means to be touch'd, unless in Cases extraordinary—But good Lands and especially such & so much as are necessary for the Use and Improve-

ment of the School, are as good safe and profitable a Fund as the School can have—Lands are now much cheaper than they have been; but when the new Conquests are settled; their price will soon be doubled<sup>4</sup>—If I have been trifling in what I have here wrote; I know I write to one, who has goodness enough to pardon me, so long as you can think my Intentions to be good.

I hope you have seen what I lately wrote M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, with y<sup>e</sup> generous proposals made by the Corporation to the City of Albany, to encourage the settlement of this school in the vicinity of that City—

I here enclose a Letter<sup>5</sup> & Votes sent me yesterday by the people of my charge. They desired me to enforce their Pleas—but as I am so nearly interested therein & on that account look upon myself disqualified to judge. I think proper to say no more in matter than that I think they have not endeavour'd to exaggerate of the Advantages of the Place or Scituation for the school—The Lands they mention are good, and it so happens that they may now be bought very cheap—There are also several other farms in this parish to be sold very reasonably, by which the school may be as well accommodated with Lands; as in any place yet proposed in this Colony; and the Sums they have subscribed are so far as I can judge, in such Hands, as are able to pay them, and they profess to look upon them [as] sacred to Christ, and their obligations also to be sacred, if the school shall be settled here.

Two of the principal men of the Town of Hebron, about 5 miles from this place, were with me yesterday and desired I would mention their subscription of £1,000 lawful money, and other things they proposed to encourage the settlement of the school there;<sup>6</sup> which I transmitted to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield last year. They have been under Discouragements in that affair on account of the Bankruptcy of several of the Subscribers, but now these Gentlemen desire that the Decision of this matter might be suspended 'till they could have time to call the society together; and see whether they would make any proposals that would be worthy to be considered, with that which others have offer'd, or that it might be suspended 'till you shall hear again by any later date than this—



AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

I was indeed much shock'd by yours of March 25<sup>th</sup>. I am now impatient to hear whether the gentlemen of the Trust be fully satisfied with what I have wrote—my heart burns with Love to them, I would not dishonour them for the world—

I forwarded my Acc<sup>t</sup> some weeks ago, and here enclose a duplicate with Copies of some Letters which accompanied by Accounts—When you have read the enclosed please to forward them to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & M<sup>r</sup> Ocom. The enclosed to M<sup>r</sup> Cushman<sup>r</sup> as from his Father, who lives by me. If it should not find him by the direction upon it, please to deliver it to the care of Gen<sup>l</sup> Lyman or M<sup>r</sup>. Johnson.

The Books & black broadcloth of which you wrote are all safe arrived—my dear Sir, pray much for

*Yours in the dearest Bonds*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

*M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Keen—A Copy*

<sup>1</sup> *This is a rough draft of the letter actually sent, and is not in Wheelock's handwriting.*

<sup>2</sup> *Probably meant for Rev. Gideon Hawley, 1727-1807; Yale, 1749; missionary at Onohoquaga (under the Boston Board), 1753-1756; at Mashpee (Cape Cod), 1758-1807.*

<sup>3</sup> *Elisha Gunn served as interpreter in various fields, usually under the direction of the Boston Board.*

<sup>4</sup> *While the retention of the capital was always Wheelock's theory, in practice the fund was spent rapidly by him and (except the Scotch collections) had all been used by 1775. The new lands, opened by the expulsion of the French from America, were, of course, of very large extent, including not only the area in Canada, but also large tracts in the colonies previously unsettled owing to the danger of Indian invasion from the north. During this decade the land in the upper Connecticut valley was considered to be particularly valuable, and was settled with extraordinary rapidity, mostly by people from Connecticut. Such was the extent of the movement that land values in Connecticut itself fell to an astonishing degree, because of large quantities thrust on the market by persons desirous of emigrating to the new country.*

<sup>5</sup> *This letter produced a marked effect on the members of the English Trust (page 286).*

<sup>6</sup> *The offer from Hebron was genuine. It was probably instigated by Rev. Benjamin Pomeroy, minister at that place, brother-in-law of Wheelock, and participator in all his educational and missionary undertakings, from their beginning to the death of their founder.*

<sup>7</sup> *Allerton Cushman, of Lebanon, whose son, James, received his early training in Wheelock's school.*

*Sarah Whitaker to Nathaniel Whitaker*Norwich 2<sup>d</sup> July AD 1767.

## MY VERY DEAR HUSBAND

I this day received a Letter from you dated Liverpool May 2<sup>d</sup>, and rejoice to hear of your Welfare and Success—Thro' the abundant Goodness and Mercy of God I and Family enjoy usual Health—we have surely abundant Cause and Reason to speak well of his name, who has thus kept us hitherto thro' various trying Scenes since we have been absent from one another. I wish we may have Hearts, to bless & praise his Name while apart; and hope we shall have Oppertunity e'er long (at furthest by the ensuing fall) to do the same together: for I cannot be convinced you have a Call in providence to spend all (or a much greater part, than you already have) of your Days in England—When I told you, before you went away that you would be gone two Years; you said no! and now the two Years is almost compleated and You dont yet tell me when you'll come; which almost discourages me when I feel the Weight of the Burdens which lie upon Me & will do so 'till you return—I have wrote to you repeatedly on this head & have no Time now to enlarge [more].

I live all alone except my Children & Servants which you must think is very difficult.

I wrote to you in sundry former Letters about accounts & things which I want according to your Desire; so think it not needfull nor have I time to repeat them an[d] add one large famely Bible

Children send Duty & Regards—This Letter goes by Capt. W<sup>m</sup> Billings<sup>1</sup> of this Town & is returning direct—People say you never design to come home: but he says he designs to bring you—In haste—I am your loving Wife till Death

SARAH WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *Capt. William Billings, of Norwich, master of the sloop BETSY, was much used by Wheelock in communicating with his English friends, and in the importation of English goods. Later he seems to have retired from the sea; at any rate if his activity in bringing "30 Hogs" to Hanover in 1773, for the use of the school and college, is any criterion.*

*James Whitaker to Nathaniel Whitaker*

Norwich July 6<sup>th</sup> 1767.

HONOURED PARENT

It is with the greatest Pleasure & Satisfaction I embrace this Opportunity to send you a few lines as a Token to express that Affection & Duty which I justly owe to you for the many Instances of your parental Love & Care exercised towards me for which I ought to Study how I may render a Suitable Thankfull behaviour,—

The Time Seems very Tigious Sence you was gone so long, and seems to me, I dont know how you would look if I should see you. I now live at M<sup>r</sup> Wheelocks, and I came down last night upon a Visite at my mother Desire I write these lines to you, and my mother is almost whorn out for she lives all alone only Children and Servants. For they would not let my mother bourd Minister nor Schoolmaster and you must think she lives lonesome. My mother rote to you a few Days ago, but the Vesel is now waiting at N<sup>w</sup> London for a Wind and I take this Opportunity to write againe, May God keep and preserve you, and return you in due Time in Safyety Nothing more at present

*I remain Your Dutifull Son*

JAMES WHITAKER

P.S. my mother Desires that you whould Send her two or three pare of Shouses.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *We do not know how old James was at this time, but the nature of the spelling of this letter is not a high recommendation for Wheelock's school, an inmate of which he had been since his father's departure. Evidently Mrs. Whitaker, despairing of success in inducing her husband to return by her own repeated appeals, had egged on the boy with the hope that paternal affection might accomplish that result. Evidently, too, she hoped to derive some advantage from his journey by replacing the rough colonial product by a "pare of Shouses" of fine English workmanship.*

*Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen<sup>1</sup>**Lebanon July 6<sup>th</sup> 1767.*

DEAR SIR

A poor, honest man, about 20, or 25 miles from me, who lives in So mountainous & barran part of y<sup>e</sup> Country as will not allow him Wealthy Neighbours, in Searching y<sup>e</sup> adjacent woods to get materials for Baskets, and Dishes, by which in part he Supports his needy Family, made a Discovery of that which he fondly believed to be a Sign of a Rich Mine—he showed some of it to a Number which alarmed his Neighbourhood, many are eager to know the place which he has hitherto conseal'd. I Saw him sometime ago, he was ready Eno' to disclose y<sup>e</sup> whole to me provided I wou'd be a Friend to him. I told him if he would bring Some of it to me I would be at y<sup>e</sup> Trouble to Send Some of it to you & if you and Such as you Should consult after a proper trial & Examination of it Should think that there were such Signs of that which is So valuable, as that you should advise me to it, I would buy the Land for Christ and that my School might have Benefit by it,<sup>2</sup> and when the Land is Secured (which is owned by a gentleman at a great Distance who desires to Sell it) he might then dig and make what trial he pleas'd, which he cant do now without being discover'd, and the Design of course wholly defeated. He seem'd pleas'd with my proposal, and accordingly while I was at Norwich last week brot me such as he co'd get without any digging [illegible] which I herewith transmitt by Cap' Billings—that of a brilliant or Silver Complexion (which I suppose to be Sulpher) he got out of a vein 8 inches Diameter in a Rock [illegible] a Brook y<sup>t</sup> Runs between two small mountains. The little pieces of a Brown or Copper Colour are also from a lesser vein in or near y<sup>e</sup> same place—the Stone in which there are spots y<sup>t</sup> appear like silver and are in y<sup>e</sup> paper No 2 he got in y<sup>e</sup> Bank of y<sup>e</sup> Brook—the Black Stone in which there is an appearance like Glass he took from the top of the Mountain that rises westward from the Brook of which the Mountain is near cover'd; in this Mountain there have been freq<sup>t</sup> Explosions with a Report like Cannon. Y<sup>e</sup> other mountain at y<sup>e</sup>

AN INDIAN PREACHER IN ENGLAND

Foot of which y<sup>e</sup> Silver coloured is taken has no Stones of a black appearance upon it—The owner of the Land knows nothing of any Suspicion of this kind, and I hear has offer'd his Land at less than 2. Dollars p<sup>r</sup> Acre—by these Hints, you may understand what I would, & I shall want you Answer. I have no knowledge in Affairs of this Nature, nor have we any among us who have both Skill & honesty Enough to be trusted in y<sup>e</sup> matter. I have no great faith in the matter, but as the opportunity was so favourable I thought it would quit ye cost of Sending if it did no more than Satisfy the good man, and prevent him further Expence y<sup>re</sup> in<sup>a</sup>—I am with sincere Respect & Esteem, Sir

*Yours most heartily*

ELEAZ<sup>r</sup>. WHEELOCK

M<sup>r</sup> ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *A rough draft, much of it legible with difficulty.*

<sup>2</sup> *Perhaps the ethics of this scheme, for a small sum to "obtain for Christ" property esteemed valuable, by carefully concealing from the owner the fact that it was valuable, is not to be regarded as beyond the range of criticism.*

<sup>3</sup> *It was by no means uncommon in colonial days for samples of shining minerals to be sent to England for analysis. Whether at this time anyone in America was capable of performing an accurate assay is doubtful. In some cases tests were not awaited, but whole shiploads of worthless material were transmitted in all confidence to the motherland.*



*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Edinburgh July 8. 1767*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & VERY D<sup>r</sup>. B<sup>r</sup>.

Yesterday I rec<sup>d</sup>. three letters from my wife, & not one from you; yet do not conclude that you did not write, for I Suppose you wrote me, as well as M<sup>r</sup> Occom, which letter now lies by me unopened, as he is gone for a few days to visit a few towns in this neighbourhood & I suppose it to be from you by the hand that Super-scribes it, but they have kept them in London—I have little to write you of, except it be that the Society here have most heartily

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recommended your affair & God Seems to put it remarkably on the hearts of the pious thro Scotland. We design to Go to Ireland next week to meet the Synod there this month & purpose to make very Short work there<sup>1</sup>— $\frac{2}{3}$  of England or more hath not been visited—the work is great O for great Strength & Skill to go on w<sup>th</sup> it—I Suppose you will hear before you receive this that you have a D. D. from Edinburgh & your Hum<sup>le</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>. from St. Andrews—The work I believe to be of God, & this keeps me from deserting it when under the Sore trials I meet w<sup>th</sup>—Pray for us—O that the presence of God may Go with us—the Lord be with your Spirit Love to M<sup>rs</sup> Wheelock, Sons, Da'ters &c &c—

*Yours in the best bonds*

N. WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *The north of Ireland, then as now, was largely and very dourly Presbyterian, and thus seemed to offer an excellent field for the mission.*



*Mary Occom to Eleazar Wheelock*

*Mohegan July y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1767.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

these may inform you that I am out of Corn, and have no Money to buy any with, and am affraid we Shall suffer for want, and Sr. if you will be pleased to help me in my Distress, Either by Sending some Money or by Any other way so that I have it I shall take it as a great favour, be pleased to except of my Kind love to your Self and Madam and to all your Family Sr. I am your Most obedient and very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

MARY OCCOM

P.S. I Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Breed for Corn, and he Could not let me have any.

*Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock*London 21<sup>st</sup> July 1767—REV<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>

Yours of the 21<sup>st</sup> & 22<sup>d</sup> May with your Acco<sup>a</sup> stated &c &c came safe to hand, to the great satisfaction of those of the Trust who have seen them (y<sup>e</sup> 3 first mention'd Gent<sup>a</sup> in the Trust are out of Town)—I hope there will be no more occasion to Suspect or so much as mention any Iniquitous scheme carrying on by Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Eells & Whitaker—as now we take it for granted if any such scheme was intended by them; by your being fully appriz'd of it, you have & will effectually Quash it—The Cause you are engag'd in is certainly of God—pity therefore it should be hurt by wrong touches—many people here have rais'd expectations the Redeemers Kingdom will spread more and more among the poor benighted Indians; and have generously contributd according to their Abilities; and I doubt not but Thousands of prayers are daily ascending to Heaven on your behalf—The Money collected at this time amounts to £6750 Sterling—Five Thousand Five Hundred of which is in the publick Funds—in the Bank of England, and brings in 3<sup>p</sup>. C<sup>t</sup> Interest which is £165 p. Annum—but you shall have a more Circumstantial acco<sup>t</sup> of this soon, and an answer to all y<sup>r</sup> Letters—

You may remember in mine of y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup> last—after I had wrote you a Copy of the deed of Trust and the Gent<sup>ms</sup>. acceptance thereof—I said it would be proper you should get writings drawn up agreable to the Laws of America (which no doubt is the same as in England) Constituteing the said 9 Gent<sup>a</sup> a Trust; properly signed by You Seal'd & Witness'd &c &c whereby you made it your act and deed; and sent it over to us<sup>1</sup>—had this been done, we should Immediately have printed the whole affair, with every subscribers name, and every Collection that has been made to this day—and this many are very anxious and pressing to see—and it likewise may excite many others to give liberally when they see what is done; and the Noble & undeniable hands the Money is invested in—and we could by the next ship which sails in about 10 days have sent you over a

parcell of them printed, whereby You yourself might see the whole, and have circulated them wherever you pleas'd—

The sooner you compleat this the better—would advise you to lose no time for although M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker has done all in his power, yet it is a Maxim in the Law; that a man who acts by virtue of a power of Attorney for another, cannot of his own Authority make over that power to a third—therefore tho' most of the Subscribers, and all the friends to the cause here, are satisfy'd as it now stands, yet it would be imprudent to lay ourselves open to the Criticisms & perhaps ridicule of those that are Enemies and who would rejoyce and catch at any thing that would damp or marr the Work—all the writings that ever I saw from America were executed in a masterly manner, and I doubt not but you are acquainted or your Friends with some Eminent Lawyer or Conveyancer, who will be able to draw up one, every way answering the purpose—in seeing y<sup>e</sup> Copy of y<sup>e</sup> Insufficient One we sign'd here Jan<sup>ry</sup> 26<sup>th</sup>. 1767—he will see the Names of the Nine Gent<sup>l</sup>—only he must take care to stile y<sup>e</sup> president—The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Will<sup>m</sup>. Earl of Dartmouth y<sup>e</sup> next S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hotham Baronet—the Treasurer John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup>—the three next Esq<sup>rs</sup> and the other 3 M<sup>r</sup>—and as they are Guarantees for the Monies to the Subscribers, as well as Trustees to You; most of the Money have been Collected from the people under that View and Mess<sup>rs</sup>. Whitaker & Occom has declar'd, and the people take for granted, the following particulars are included in the nature of the Trust—Viz<sup>t</sup> The above mention'd Gent<sup>l</sup> are the present Trust—and that upon the Death or Resignation of any of them such vacancy be fill'd up by proper persons chosen by the Majority of the Remaining Trustees—

In case of the Death of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Eleazar Wheelock a Successor or Successors be chosen and Nominated by the then Trustees—

That the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock has power to draw for Monies on the Treasurer &c and the Trustees have power to pay such draughts—or refuse and protest them<sup>2</sup> as the majority call'd together on that particular Acco<sup>t</sup> shall judge most adviseable

That the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock sees that the Acco<sup>ts</sup>. be kept regular,—how the Monies so drawn for is laid out, and transmit such



acco<sup>u</sup> to the Trustees every Quarter or half year, that they may be made public as often as the Trustees think proper or necessary, perhaps annually—

That every Successor to M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock be accountable in all respects to the present Trustees and their successors—

when this is accomplish'd I don't doubt but all things will go on harmoniously—and we'll endeavour joyntly with You to consider the most proper place where to Erect the School—all your packet of Letters on that head came safe to hand—we think M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Smith Jun<sup>r</sup>'s letter is very sensible & full to the purpose for Albany—but I shall not say any thing here as the chief intent of this letter is to hasten such a deed of Trust from you as beforemention'd; which we have waited with Expect[ation] for; but I suppose the ugly affair of M<sup>r</sup> Eells letters swallow'd up the though[t of] minding the little paragraph mention'd in mine of y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup>—besides the £6750. collected in part of England only—Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom have been in Scotland (and as M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston was poorly in his health the Gent<sup>l</sup> of the Trust desir'd him to accompany them which he did & was of great service to them by way of advice & he is return'd to London quite recover'd and I believe thinks of returning to Boston soon) and finish'd there. The Sum rais'd in Scotland none of us know as yet; but I believe it is pretty considerable and I imagine we shall hear from our friends in Scotland in a week or two<sup>4</sup>—Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom set out from Scotland for Ireland y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Instant, where I imagine they'll stay about Two Months; and then take another part of England in their way back to London which probably will take them up about 2 months more, by w<sup>ch</sup> time we may reasonably expect to have rec<sup>d</sup>. the above writings from You—all of us here seem to prefer in all respects, honest, worthy, upright M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Kirtland as your successor if he should survive you<sup>5</sup>—and would advise you to make another Will; and it should seem you can't take a better step than to Bequeath the School and all its concerns to the Earl of Dartmouth & y<sup>e</sup> rest of the Trustees—

M<sup>r</sup> Eells to be sure must have no concern in it at present—tho' he may be a man of Probity, and one would not run too hard on him; but after such letters we should be thought very Culpable to en-

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gage him in any share of y<sup>e</sup> management—nor have we any thoughts of M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker for the above reasons<sup>6</sup>—till at least on his leaving England we see how matters stand then—I but just touch on these things here—I have got a large parcell of Books for you and Your school, which I shall send in the next ship—what of them belongs to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom have their names written in each as there own particular property & you'll please to take care they have them; the rest is for your Self & for the use of the school—you are made Doct<sup>r</sup> of Divinity at the University of Aberdeen—and since that they have made Nath<sup>l</sup> Whitaker D. D.<sup>7</sup>—

Our Bishops have undertaken to Send Missionaries in your very Neighbourhood and engag'd General Johnson Interest—I've sent you over their printed Acco<sup>t</sup> that they print annually and what concerns you is from page 56 to page 60—but I believe such Missionaries as they can procure will do very little good among the Indians, nor anyways hurt your Influence, or worth your Notice—I'm oblig'd to hasten & Conclude as the ship this goes by is fell down the River & the Cap<sup>t</sup> takes the Bagg of letters as soon as Change is over—I am Dear S<sup>r</sup> wishing you all manner of blessings

*Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN—SEC<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The formulation of the deed of trust was a very troublesome business, and was not accomplished for nearly a year. The terms stated by Keen in this letter seemed to Wheelock and all his American friends to be inadmissible.*

<sup>2</sup> *Wheelock already had had sufficient experience of the difficulties caused by the refusal of the Board to honor his drafts, to consent to any such provision in the deed of trust.*

<sup>3</sup> *William Smith, Jr., 1728-1793, Yale 1745, son of William Smith noted on page 25, lawyer and historian, expelled from New York during the Revolution as a tory, later Chief Justice of Canada.*

<sup>4</sup> *The total amount raised in Scotland was £2529. The collections in England were carefully itemized and the names and residences of the contributors were published by the English trust in the Fifth Narrative (London, 1769). The Scotch collections, however, not being subject to English control, were not so listed, so we have no information concerning the contributors nor of the places visited.*

<sup>5</sup> *This suggestion of Kirkland for the office was an extremely tactless move. It infuriated Ralph Wheelock, who expected the position for himself, it seriously annoyed*

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his father, and it was the beginning of a chain of incidents which caused a complete break between Wheelock and Kirkland in 1770.

\* By Wheelock's first will, dated March 4, 1767, Whitaker was named as his successor. By arousing the distrust of the English trustees, both he and Eells were deprived of further opportunity of sharing in the management of the school.

† Edinburgh and St. Andrews, rather than Aberdeen.



*Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock*

London 6<sup>th</sup>. Aug<sup>st</sup>. 1767

REV<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>

I've ship'd a large case of Books in the Diana Cap<sup>t</sup> Hall consign'd to M<sup>r</sup> Moses Peck of Boston—worthy M<sup>r</sup> B. Fawcett<sup>1</sup> of Kiderminster in Worcestershire where was collected £140.-17.7½ Subscrib'd 10 Guineas himself which he Chose to send in Books & accordingly there is from him

- 200 Sin & Danger of slighting Christ & the Gospel
- 100 Dying Thoughts
- 50 Converse with God in Solitude
- 50 Life of Faith
- 50 Grand Enquiry. Am I in Christ or not?

over and above which he has sent 200 Heavenly paths, and he says there is the 3<sup>d</sup> Edition of his Abridgement of the *Saints Rest* in the press<sup>2</sup>—he purposes to send you some of them—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield, M<sup>r</sup> Hardy & myself have procur'd & sent you the rest—there is some singing Books which M<sup>r</sup> Knibb<sup>3</sup> who teaches my daughter to sing I believe will be an acceptable present to M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland & those who delight in singing they are the new tunes which are now sung with great Acceptance in the Congregations of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitefield, Wesley & Madan—What was given particularly to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Ocom have their names written in them and had better when you have opportunity be sent to their wives to be kept for them on their re-

turn—the rest are all for Yourself and School unless M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland whom the Gent<sup>l</sup> above mention'd are desirous should have what he Chooses—I've likewise sent your Deplome of D. D. from Edenburgh in a large Tin Box and within side is a Seal which M<sup>r</sup> James Cox<sup>d</sup> makes you a present of—'tis the same device M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield makes use of—but if you would like any other device better or your Coat of Arms and would have it of Gold &c send word over and it shall be sent to your likeing—as there was a vacancy in the Box I fill'd it up with Newspapers which I thought might engage your Young Indians & improve them in reading English but if they should neglect or slight their studies thereby, better be made waste paper of—I've likewise sent you over 200 last edition of Narratives which you may disperse in Boston New York &c as you think proper—Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom have done with Scotland but what they have rais'd there we are at present unacquainted with—they made a poor hand in Ireland; they landed there on y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> July, but finding the Synod had met in June and one M<sup>r</sup> Edwards<sup>s</sup> was then Collecting for a College to be set up by Baptists in Rhode Island M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker thought it best to leave Ireland either to visit it another time or write to the ministers & leave it with them—your last packet p. Cap<sup>t</sup> Billings with the Duplicate Letters & acco<sup>ts</sup> &c are come safe & To Morrow y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> is to dine with me & to bring y<sup>e</sup> Samples<sup>s</sup> &c—we are sorry you are any ways discourag'd at y<sup>e</sup> intended Episcopalian Missionaries—we Question much if they'll be able to send One this Seven years & if they do they'll be of such a sortment as will do you no manner of hurt—we therefore recommend it to you to renew your sending you Missionaries out again &c &c—there has been £1000 rais'd in Scotland & they are now visiting many Capital Towns in England where they are well receiv'd; and by the middle of November (y<sup>e</sup> time fix'd for their return to London) I'm in full expectation of its amounting to £10,000—there will be nothing wanting but as I wrote to You in my last of sending writeings drawn up agreeable to the Laws of America constituteing The Earl of Dartmouth & y<sup>e</sup> other Eight Gentlemen a Trust—properly sign'd & seal'd by You & witness'd &c—whereby you made it your Act and deed—and sent over to us—but as I hope my former letter of July 21<sup>st</sup> sent

to M<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Mason of Boston to be forwarded by him to you came safe I shall say no more here—The People of Albany have a great deal to say in favour of the School's being built there as well as offer exceeding Generous & handsome—General Lyman & others on the other side talk greatly of the Advantages on y<sup>e</sup> Ohio &c—but really when I came to read what your friends in Connecticut have to urge for its continuance there; and the moveing manner in which they express themselves on the thoughts of parting not only with the School but with you their dear & Honour'd Pastor I could scarcely refrain from shedding Tears—methought the Language was M<sup>r</sup> Keen (or whoever reads this) If you Love Jesus Christ and his real disciples, and would not prefer worldly Pomp and Grandeur before them; stand up for, and plead hard the School may Continue here<sup>7</sup>—but I do not write thus as Secretary, but only as a private person—the whole of this letter is such, as I chiefly write it to advise you of the Books and keep no Copy thereof—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield read it (y<sup>e</sup> Connecticut acco<sup>t</sup>) yesterday and to day we send it to Lord Dartmouth—I hope the Lord will direct you where to fix it, most for his Glory, and the Spread of the Gospel, especially among the poor benighted Indians. and when that is made clear, I hope You and your Friends here, as well as your dear people in Connecticut will sacrifice affection & every thing else rather than run counter thereto—that the Lord may direct you in all your ways and prosper you in all your undertakings is the hearty wish & Constant prayers of Dear S<sup>r</sup>

*Yours in y<sup>e</sup> best of Bonds*

ROBERT KEEN

<sup>1</sup> Page 155.

<sup>2</sup> *These books were abridgments of the works of Rev. Richard Baxter, 1615-1691, prepared by Fawcett, who thus gained credit for a contribution of some size without undue expense. The following still survive in the library of Dartmouth College:*

CONVERSE WITH GOD IN SOLITUDE, by Richard Baxter, abridged by B. Fawcett. *Salop. J. Cotton & J. Eddowes, 1761; boards; 76 pp.; price, 6d. (two copies).*

LIFE OF FAITH, as above, 1764; leather; 184 pp.; price, 1/6.

THE DYING THOUGHTS OF THE REVEREND, LEARNED AND HOLY MR. RICHARD BAXTER, as above, *Salop, 1761; leather; 129 pp.; price, 3 shillings.*

SAINT'S EVERLASTING REST, OR A TREATISE ON THE BLESSED STATE OF SOULS IN THEIR ENJOYMENT OF GOD IN HEAVEN, abridged by Benjamin Fawcett; third edition; *Shrewsbury, 1764; J. Eddowes; 383 pp.; leather; price, three shillings.*

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*The remaining books have not been preserved. Our sympathy goes out to the Indian lads who were expected to be so contorted from their "state of nature" as to appreciate such doleful literary pabulum.*

<sup>3</sup> *A letter to Wheelock from Thomas Knibbs, dated March 30, 1767, shows that this book was entitled "Hymns of Universal Use." In a postscript Knibbs says, "I have cal<sup>d</sup>. a New Tune in Page 72 Lebanon, out of respect to you."*

<sup>4</sup> *In addition to the seal, Mr. James Cox gave five guineas. A later reference (page 297) indicates that he was a jeweler.*

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. Morgan Edwards, 1722-1795; a native of Wales; minister of a Baptist Church in Cork, Ireland, and of various churches of the same denomination in England. In 1761 he removed to America and served as minister of the Baptist Church in Philadelphia until 1771. In 1766 he visited England and Ireland to collect money for a Baptist college in Rhode Island (page 15).*

<sup>6</sup> *Articles manufactured by the Indians were much in demand in England as curiosities, and Wheelock continually endeavored to supply the call of his English patrons for them.*

<sup>7</sup> *This letter from Lebanon was phrased in the most humble and plaintive terms and almost accomplished its effect with the sympathetic trustees. It was hardly representative, however, of the real feeling between Wheelock and his congregation. What the parishioners really regretted to lose was the school, now apparently well endowed. If subsequent communications between Wheelock and his church had come to the attention of the good-hearted Keen, he might have felt that his tears were wasted.*



### *From the Diary of John Wesley<sup>1</sup>*

*Sab. 8. Aug. 1767. Newcastle*

At the request of Mr. Whitaker of New England I preached and afterwards made a collection for the Indian Schools of America. A large sum of money is now collected; but will money convert Heathens? Find preachers of David Brainerd's spirit, and nothing can stand before them; but, without this, what will gold and silver do? No more than lead and iron. They have sent thousands to hell; but never yet brought a soul to heaven.

<sup>1</sup> *This lukewarm entry is the only reference to any personal interest on the part of John Wesley in the work in which his early friend Whitefield was so much engaged; although frequent mention is made of collections in "Mr. Wesley's chapels" in various parts of England.*

*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*London, 11<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1767DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

I'm sorry your mind is uneasy in not hearing from us—we have nothing particular to write about—you are afraid we are displeas'd at your conduct at not hearing from us, but that is a plain stratagem of the Enemy to distress you, for we have been always plain and open with you, therefore hearing nothing from us, you should infallibly judge there is nothing of that sort in our minds<sup>1</sup>—on the contrary I have wrote Two Letters to you both directed to you at y<sup>e</sup> Rev. M<sup>r</sup>. Ogilvie's at Newcastle upon Tyne<sup>2</sup>—which if you have not rec<sup>d</sup> I would have you see after; the last did not go from hence till y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> & will be at Newcastle on y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> which place you will have left I suppose before that time, it contains 1 letter for you from abroad & another from me to M<sup>r</sup> Occom about M<sup>r</sup> Mason who is here on the Indian affairs . . . . dont you hurry from places too much? One would think according to Mr. Smith & others acco<sup>t</sup> of Newcastle, you might have spent 3 weeks or a month & done very considerable things there—I shall repeat nothing of my 2 former letters is this, but refer you to them—M<sup>r</sup> Oliver sent 200 Narratives on Friday Morn<sup>g</sup> 31 July which though he blunder'd & sent by the Waggon they must get there in a week & a little after sent 3 quire of papers with the letter to it as you desir'd—if on your coming to Leeds more Narratives is wanting [send] word and they shall be sent—but M<sup>r</sup> Edwards<sup>3</sup> took 100 at least with him from London y<sup>e</sup> beginning of June to distribute at Sheffield &c, &c as you desired [sent] when you was there & if M<sup>r</sup> Edwards has not returned from Scarborough his daughter can let you have what [you need]—all your friends here (y<sup>t</sup> know of my writing) desires [to] be kindly remembered to you & M<sup>r</sup> Occom

*I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>*

[ROBERT KEEN]

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P.S. M<sup>r</sup> Smith rec'd yours of y<sup>e</sup> [torn]. He went Friday to Sheerness [for] y<sup>e</sup> benefit of y<sup>e</sup> Salt water for 3 or 4 days—he seems pretty well.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *It is evident that Whitaker sensed a growing feeling against him among the members of the Trust; a sentiment which the kind-hearted Keen did his best to conceal.*

<sup>2</sup> *The collections in Newcastle amounted to £155.18, including a rather unusual donation of £21 from the mayor and corporation of the city. The collection at Mr. Oglivie's church was £15.15.*

<sup>3</sup> *Probably Rev. John Edwards, 1714-1785, dissenting minister at Leeds and a voluminous writer on theological topics. The collection from his congregation was £15.3.10, while the whole amount secured at Leeds was £57.13.5.*

<sup>4</sup> *John Smith died in England at some time before March 10, 1769. A letter of that date from Mrs. Smith to Wheelock discusses the settlement of his estate.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 13<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>l</sup>. 1767—*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

Yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. came safe to hand—I'm glad mine of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> gave you any ease in your mind—I hope there is no call for you to be cast down—there has nothing of late occur'd as I know of to call your Conduct in Question<sup>1</sup>—was it not easier to have the Books (Narratives) sent after you to Leeds then back again to London—and now we thought it best to defer sending any till you find what remains at Leeds—if the Nar<sup>as</sup>. can't be sent after you there how are you to get my other letter, wrote on y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> but not sent till y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> I suppose got to Newcastle on y<sup>e</sup> 11<sup>th</sup>—when according to you rout you would be at Sunderland—what was wrote in mine was of no signification whose hands it fell into but that from abroad come from who it will you would like to have to be sure—with regard to what Narratives you want for the future to be sent you I think it will be most adviseable to send your letter to M<sup>r</sup> Oliver<sup>2</sup> (directed you know in Bartholomew Close) and tell what flying Machine or Coach to send them by & to whom directed & press him to dispatch them—I rec<sup>d</sup> your letter on y<sup>e</sup> wednesday y<sup>e</sup> next morning 7 o'Clock read

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him that part of your letter & bid him be sure not to fail & he went stupidly & sent them by y<sup>e</sup> droling Waggon<sup>s</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield told me he intended to write you a friendly letter. I desir'd he would & wish'd him to write this post as I could not with certainty know where to direct you After this post to Leeds. Write as often to me as you can & I'll always let you hear from me when I've any thing worth writeing about—M<sup>r</sup> Hardy sits by while I'm writeing this & desires to be remembered to you & M<sup>r</sup> Occom.

*I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Y<sup>rs</sup> &c &c*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> This is not quite candid as is evidenced by the reference to Whitaker by Keen on page 283.

<sup>2</sup> The printer.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the distinction between the "flying machine" and the "droling Waggon" was at the time correctly conveyed by these names, although we should now regard them as much on a par.



*Eleazar Wheelock to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon Sept<sup>r</sup> 2. 1767*

REV<sup>d</sup> AND VERY DEAR BROTHER

About a fortnit ago I returned from Portsmouth, in my Journey<sup>2</sup> and Since I have been in a poor State of Health, I found on Trial I had undertaken y<sup>e</sup> long Journey before I had sufficiently recovered from the Sickness with which I had been confin'd for near a month—but God has helped me hitherto, I this Day feal more like Health than I have for 3 months past—

I visted M<sup>r</sup> Oliver and desired to See the Letter of that Board to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit of Oct<sup>r</sup>. 2 before you sail'd—he read it to me, I found it So far as I could remember the same in every material article as you gave *memoriter*—he declared there was no Expression in it unfavorable to me, or you or M<sup>r</sup> Occom, or to the Design w<sup>ch</sup> you are upon. I asked him for a Copy, he consented I should have one if the Board were willing, he Said it was not drawn by him but by a

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Clergyman—I waited on M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton, he readily confess'd that he drew it and Said he designed no hurt to any man's Character, nor any thing unfavourable to the Design which you are upon. I asked him if I Might have a Copy—he Said he was willing but would not undertake to procure me one—he asked me if there was any thing in it that was not true I told him I tho't there was one or two Mistakes but I chose not to Speak of them as material for fear it would prevent my having a Copy—M<sup>r</sup> Oliver being now gone out of Town I left a Letter for him and the Board w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Peck desiring that favour. M<sup>r</sup> Peck has since informed me he had delivered it to M<sup>r</sup> Oliver but I have no Copy yet—their solomn declaration that there was nothing in it tending to hurt the Character of any one or unfriendly to your design is very remarkable.<sup>3</sup>

Y<sup>r</sup> Son & M<sup>r</sup> Occom's with me are well, and behave to my good Satisfaction, y<sup>r</sup> Families are both well as usual, your people in *statu quo* I have a thousand things to impart w<sup>n</sup> G. shall mercifully grant us the favourable Interview, w<sup>c</sup> are too long to write. The L<sup>d</sup> be w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> my D<sup>r</sup> Br. & D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Occom. I hope y<sup>e</sup> both live upon G. & find him to be y<sup>n</sup> Sweet hid<sup>s</sup> & resting place amidst a thous<sup>d</sup> Temptations. Miserable indeed wou'd my case be, If I had not such a place of Retreat Oh! blessed Shelter in a Stormy World. M<sup>r</sup> Occoms Fath<sup>r</sup> Fowler has near lost his Eyesight, Jacob<sup>d</sup> has been with him Some-time. I have Sent for David<sup>s</sup> to come and take care of him, & design to Send Jacob upon his, or anoth<sup>r</sup> School, as Shall app<sup>r</sup> best w<sup>n</sup> my Son<sup>s</sup> returns. D—ds wife is not well content with y<sup>e</sup> hardships of y<sup>e</sup> Wilderness. it may be David may get a School on Long Island while his Father needs his care of him. You are both always upon my Heart, and I have peace & quietness in Leaving you, & y<sup>r</sup> g<sup>rt</sup> Affair you are engaged in, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> g<sup>rt</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of all things, w<sup>c</sup> does all things well, quite well—With much affec<sup>n</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> both I Subscribe, My D<sup>r</sup> Sirs

Y<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup> &c &c &c

ELEAZ<sup>r</sup> WHEELOCK

<sup>3</sup> The latter part of this letter, relating to missionary projects and proposed sites for the school, is omitted. As the whole is a rough draft, it is carelessly written, with an excessive use of abbreviations.

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<sup>3</sup> *This journey to Portsmouth was necessitated by pressing demand for ready money on account of the supposed protest by the Trust (page 233) of one of Wheelock's drafts. A more extended account is given on page 312.*

<sup>4</sup> *Seemingly Wheelock might have allowed the affair of the Mauduit letter to rest, as it was having little effect in checking the flow of contributions abroad.*

<sup>5</sup> *Jacob Fowler, 1750-1787; brother-in-law of Occom; at the Indian School, 1762-1766; "usher and schoolmaster" among the Iroquois under Wheelock's auspices, 1766-1770; schoolmaster to the Groton tribe, 1770-1774; preceptor of Moors School at Hanover, 1774-1776; messenger in the service of the American Government during the Revolution; one of the New England settlers at Brothertown, N. Y., under Occom's leadership, in 1784.*

<sup>6</sup> *David Fowler, 1735-1807; brother of the preceding; at Wheelock's school from 1759; a companion of Occom on his visit to the Iroquois in 1761; often employed by Wheelock as a messenger; school master at Kanawroharie, 1765-1767. He left Wheelock's employ to become schoolmaster at Montauk in 1767 and remained there until 1770. He was also one of the first of the emigrants to the Oneida country in 1783 and remained there, a leader of the Indian community, until his death. Next to Occom he was regarded as the most reliable of the Indians trained by Wheelock. In 1766 he married Hannah Garret, a Pequot maiden, one of the girls who was attending Wheelock's school. She died in 1811.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ralph Wheelock was frequently sent by his father upon journeys of inspection to the missionary and educational enterprises among the Six Nations.*



### *Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen*

*Lebanon Sept<sup>r</sup> 3. 1767*

D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> KEEN

I Send the enclos'd unseal'd, please to read it, & Let dear M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield See it, and also my dear M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston, if he be yet with you, please to present my Duty & best Respects to my Hon<sup>d</sup> F<sup>d</sup>s, those worthy Gentlemen who have condescended to patronise my School—I know not how to express the filial Gratitude & Duty w<sup>c</sup> reigns in my Heart towards them, the Lord fill their dear Souls with his hid Treasures—you mention my giving a power of Attorney<sup>1</sup> direct to them—I have been Sick & Journeying and continually crowded that I have had no leisure for that or to do any thing about the Continuation of my Narrative as I proposed—I have it Sufficiently upon my Heart, and design next Week DV. in my Journey to New

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Haven to wait upon Secretary Wyllys<sup>2</sup> at Hartford for that purpose—

You will consider that I am wholly alone in this whole affair whatever concerns the Missionaries—School Masters in y<sup>e</sup> Wilderness—the Collegeans—the Male & female Schools at Home—all lie upon me—and besides all this I cant yet get my people willing that I should be discharged from my care of them—besides the Business of my Farm, on which I cheifly depend, und<sup>r</sup> God for the Support of my Family but Gods ways towards me hath been, and Still are a continued Series of Lov<sup>e</sup> Kindness and tender Mercy—the present mast<sup>r</sup> of my School, M<sup>r</sup> Bezaleal Woodward, is a very dear youth & is ready to do any thing in his power for my Help. Farewell D<sup>r</sup> Sir, I love you in the bottom of my Heart. and am

Y<sup>rs</sup> &c

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK

<sup>1</sup> Wheelock's substitution of a power of attorney for a deed of trust, which the Trustees required, is probably to be ascribed to his reluctance to comply with their conditions rather than to his obtuseness in understanding them.

<sup>2</sup> George Wyllys, died in 1796; for sixty-six years Secretary of Connecticut.



*Andrew Oliver to Eleazar Wheelock<sup>1</sup>*

*Boston 3:<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1767—*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

M<sup>r</sup> Oliver communicated to the Board of Commiss<sup>rs</sup>. your letter of the 10 Aug<sup>t</sup> desiring a Copy of Our's to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit, Gov<sup>r</sup> of the Company in England of 2<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1765. We have no Objection to your having a Copy, but as the Letter was wrote to our Constituents and is now in their hands, we think there is an impropriety in our delivering out a Copy of it. M<sup>r</sup> Oliver informs us that he read it to you, and both he and M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton (with whom you convers'd on the Subject) inform Us, that your exceptions to it all relate to mere circumstances. For we apprehend it to be quite immeterial whether M<sup>r</sup> Occum was put under your Care at first, by some well disposed

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persons, or by his Mother only! Whether he was ordained on Long Island, or on this side the Sound in Connecticut: Or Whether the weakness of his Eyes came upon him while actually under your education, or after he came out from it? The main thing, and the only thing of any importance in the Letter is—Whether “he was a Mohawk Indian lately converted from Heathenism, and in a short space of time fitted for the Ministry by Mr Wheelock?” We did undertake to inform our Constituents that he was not a Mohawk, but “that he was born at Mohegan an Indian Settlement lying between New London & Norwich, two of the principal Towns in the Colony of Connecticut,” and in this We think we are not mistaken. We are also persuaded that his early youth was spent there (‘tho we said nothing of this in the Letter) and if so, We think it highly improbable that he should have lived in a state of heathenism, while Lecturers and Schoolmasters were then supported among them. And as you say His Mother brought him to you for Education, this renders it highly probable that she knew something of Christianity herself, and was so far “well disposed” as in some poor manner to have inform’d her son of the Saviours name at least; and that he must therefore be mistaken in giving out, as you say he did, that he had never so much as heard it till he was 17 years of Age. But we shall add no more on this head—We cannot however help taking notice to you of a Fact which has but this day come to our knowledge—w<sup>ch</sup> is this—that after we have been at the expence of fitting James Dean<sup>2</sup> for an Interpreter to the Western Indians, and have now actually employed him as Such in our Service, You should attempt to take him away from us, by promising to take him into your School, and to give him a liberal Education. We thought We had before given him an ample allowance; but we cannot now retain him in our Service without greatly augmenting it: So that instead of drawing together with Us in our Schemes for propagating the Gospel, you seem to be rendring it more difficult, at least more expensive, to Us—[We would] have been glad to have gone hand in hand with you in this great and important Cause, had you ever shown the least inclination to have allow’d Us a share in the conduct of it: We shall however rejoice in your Success, without envying you

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the honour or the Satisfaction of advancing the interests of Christianity more effectually, than they ever have been advanced under our Management.

I write this in the name and by order of the Board of Commissioners and am

*Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir*

*Your most hum<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>*

AND<sup>w</sup> OLIVER

<sup>1</sup> *This defense is disingenuous, the main point at issue being ignored. The counter attack upon Wheelock, based upon his supposed intrigues with Dean, seems entirely devoid of foundation.*

<sup>2</sup> *James Dean, 1748-1823, dwelt among the Oneidas from the age of twelve and became intimately acquainted with their language. He was employed as an interpreter by the Boston Board, and upon the foundation of Dartmouth College was taken under Wheelock's patronage, being graduated from that institution in the class of 1773. He was agent of the Continental Congress among the Indians during the Revolution, with the rank of major, and was much esteemed by the natives for his ability as an orator in their own language.*

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*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 10<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1767—*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

I this day rec<sup>d</sup> yours of y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> enclosing one draught on Mess<sup>rs</sup> Rob & Tho<sup>s</sup> Harrison for £110 & another on Mess<sup>rs</sup> Stow's & Roebuck for £77—together w<sup>th</sup> your Acco<sup>ts</sup>—I did receive yours of y<sup>e</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> of Aug<sup>t</sup> including one for M<sup>r</sup> Moses Peck and I believe by M<sup>r</sup> Thornton but I did not ask him—it came by the penny post so that I guess when he came home to Clapham he sent it by y<sup>e</sup> P. Post—I'll endeavour to see M<sup>r</sup> Brewer ToMorrow if I can & get him to write you a letter to D<sup>r</sup> Wood<sup>1</sup> of Norwich—but dont depend on it—he lives so far off & is so frequently out—I have a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock for You and another for M<sup>r</sup> Occom which will strengthen your hands & when you can tell me possitively how to direct to you

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that you may safely have them I will send them. Had you directed in y<sup>m</sup> I rec<sup>d</sup> at any particular person at Norwich I'd have sent them but to be left at y<sup>e</sup> post Office is too hazardous—and likewise a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Eells—he makes but a lame defence for himself in a letter to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield scratching out lines & y<sup>e</sup> like but M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock says he is a man of probity & no step was ever taken nor will be—however he was officious & Imprudent & has caus'd you a good deal of vexation but all is finish'd & not to be mention'd or thought of more—I may as well send you his letter with the others—I wonder if M<sup>r</sup> Occom rec<sup>d</sup> mine of the 8<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> directed for him at y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr Pies about Mr Mason who wrote to him y<sup>e</sup> same post—I wish Mason could get supply'd with Money some other way & not involve M<sup>r</sup> Occom—he must go home as he came every Body is of opinion the Council never will take it into any Serious Consideration & as honest Capt Billings who din'd w<sup>th</sup> me on monday & brot these letters from M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock says his father came over here & made as great a progress as he M<sup>r</sup> Mason has done & was forc'd to drop it & he [is sure it] will come to nothing & M<sup>r</sup> Mason must go back as he came.<sup>2</sup>

*I am, Y<sup>rs</sup> &c*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN—

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. Wood, of Norwich, cannot be traced, but he evidently took much pains to make the mission successful in eastern England (page 302). The amount collected at his chapel was £32.1.6, and he gave personally two guineas.*

<sup>2</sup> *It appears that Occom was no longer holding himself aloof from Mason, as his patron so earnestly desired, but was actually lending money to the now impecunious claimant. The latter did not, however, "go back as he came," but died in England in dire poverty.*

\*

*Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London 14<sup>th</sup>: Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1767—*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

Your poor honest man is disappointed in his Rich mine—I do not wonder his Expectations was rais'd, for on my opening the parcel you sent I really thought so too & would trust none but myself

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to go with it, to them who I knew were proper judges & extracted a few lines from your letter where you give a description of y<sup>e</sup> places, the different sorts were taken from, as well as that none might see your hand writeing or guess where it came from—the first person M<sup>r</sup> Cox a Jeweller & one that is well vers'd in every thing of that kind immediately on handling it said it was of no value—nothing but Sulphur<sup>1</sup>—& added there is many times as good found in Coals—I then went to a Refiner & desir'd him to try it by refining which he did & he said the same, it was all sulphur & burnt to dirt & dust & a cartload of it would not yield a Grain of Gold or Silver or any thing valuable—I then got a friend & relation both, to go to another who said as the former only with this addition y<sup>t</sup> it was his opinion there was a good deal of Arsenick & Brimstone among it which acco<sup>td</sup> for the Explosions you mention'd<sup>2</sup> so that there seems no likelihood of any Valuable Mine being there—it may however not be amiss to make a thorough Examination—

I've rec'd your last letter giving an Acco<sup>t</sup> of dear M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands assiduity among the Indians and his hard—very hard liveing—I've scarce set down to a meal since but I've wish'd M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland had the like<sup>3</sup>—I'm glad you supply'd him with Money—blessed be God I hope you'r hands & his both will be strengthen'd & the cause no ways starv'd for want of Money—you say You have not heard from me since y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> March—I hope you have rec'd mine of y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> of July and another since sent with a case of Books to the care of M<sup>r</sup> Moses Peck—and that the deed of Trust is on the road here—if that arrives about the middle of Nov<sup>r</sup>—Lord Dartmouth (to whom I've sent your last acco<sup>t</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland) will be in Town and all the rest of the Trustees; Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom will be return'd—£10,000 (including Scotland) will then have been rais'd & all I hope will be flourishing & as soon as we do receive such writeings from You we shall print the whole affair<sup>4</sup> which the publick are calling for & perhaps seeing so much done will see it an important Cause & be thereby excited to do the more—you have sent the Reasons for building the School in Connecticut and Albany, suppose you was to send y<sup>e</sup> same in Case it was to be built on the Ohio &c and above all suppose you was to send which of all the places is your Choice<sup>5</sup>—in short we wait



for nothing but receiveing such writeings from You as I mention'd at large in mine of y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> July last to proceed to business of every kind—M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield read this last acco<sup>t</sup> of yours relateing to M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland—he is now gone to Scotland and purposes returning by the 1<sup>st</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>—

I've let Cap<sup>t</sup> Billings [have] as many odd remnants of Cloth & Duffell and Ratteen &c on his own Acco<sup>t</sup> as comes to £34.5 Sterling—he will let you see them & if there is any thing that you can make use of, will let you have as charg'd; and when he has dispos'd of the rest pay you the money which when you have rec<sup>d</sup>; say Rec<sup>d</sup> Cash of Cap<sup>t</sup> Billings pr y<sup>e</sup> order of M<sup>r</sup> Keen and let me know pr your first letter afterward & I'll discharge his Acco<sup>t</sup> and Carry it to yours or y<sup>e</sup> publick Acco<sup>t</sup> &c<sup>6</sup>

When we meet together the affair of sending you over such Goods as you have wrote for, will be duly consider'd & no doubt executed—M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker has 2 or 3 times mention'd to me how convenient a Post Chaize or Chariott would be for you who travel so much<sup>7</sup>—when you write again if you think so yourself, you may mention it, not as an answer to this, which is only a letter between us as two friends & not as Secretary to y<sup>e</sup> trust, for as your letter concerning the Poor man's discovery &c did not fall under their Cognisance so I never shew'd it any of them, which as it proves abortive it is best I did not & when I begun this letter I had scarce thoughts of writeing to you about any other matters—so that you may freely mention the above or any thing else that you may want or should like to have sent you & I dare say it will be done—I must hasten to conclude (as y<sup>e</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> is ready to take y<sup>e</sup> letter) wishing you blessings of every kind & am

*Dear Sr. your's in y<sup>e</sup> best bonds*

**ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN**

<sup>1</sup> Probably it was iron pyrites, a sulphide of iron, which has deceived many a person aside from the "poor, honest man" and Eleazar, and has, therefore, been given the name "fool's gold."

<sup>2</sup> The chemistry at this point seems somewhat dubious.

<sup>3</sup> The method of life of the Indians, particularly in relation to food, is often described by the white missionaries in terms which are far from agreeable. Not only did

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they regard it with disgust, but some of their Indian colleagues, after their training in the Indian School, objected to it almost as much.

<sup>4</sup> Owing to the delay in arranging the deed of trust, the projected Narrative (the fifth of the series) was not actually published until late in 1768. Even then the deed is missing, but, instead, is substituted a declaration of trust, signed by the English Trustees, as well as the list of subscribers and numerous letters from Wheelock and his missionaries describing their activities.

<sup>5</sup> The responsibility of choosing a site for the new school was left by Wheelock (with a sense of great relief) to the English Trustees.

<sup>6</sup> Despite their objection to the conduct of Whitaker and Eells, the Trustees themselves seem to have engaged in trade in a mild way.

<sup>7</sup> The post chaise in question (always referred to as the "English chariot") was presented to Wheelock by John Thornton in 1768. It carried Mrs. Wheelock and her daughters to Hanover, it was left by the will of the first president to his successors in that office, and for many years attracted the admiration of the unsophisticated residents of Hanover by its grandeur.



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London, 17<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1767*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> this day & write this immediately that you may receive them before you leave norwich—One of them came (singly) from America this day—you had a narrow escape from being rob'd indeed. I've posted all accounts up & acknowledg'd at all y<sup>e</sup> places to y<sup>e</sup> ministers &c from Newcastle to where you now are—Capt. Billings sail'd yesterday—with regard to a Post chaise I wrote word to M<sup>r</sup>. Wheelock you had mention'd it to me several times; and advis'd him when he wrote next to signify how acceptable such a thing would be & both you & I would second it & thus the need he stood in of it and whatever else he could think of—a word coming from him, that or anything else would be immediately dispatch'd & told him about the latter end of November Lord Dartmouth would be in Town & reckon'd you & M<sup>r</sup> Occom about that time would return from your long excursion & we should then frequently meet for the dispatch of Business of all kinds—it is a pity M<sup>r</sup> Occom did not receive my letter of y<sup>e</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> directed for him at Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup>

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Pie's at Sheffield.<sup>1</sup> I believe M<sup>r</sup> Mason wrote to him the same post—one would think they were sent after him—had he not better enquire at y<sup>e</sup> post office Norwich.

the letter I've now sent from M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock both yours & M<sup>r</sup> Occoms came open to me in a packet from M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock; he desir'd I would read them & if you were not in London to take care of them for You—when you write next let me know how to direct to you at Yarmouth or wherever you are like to be about 10 days after your writing—I dont know anything more I have to say at present but recommend you to the divine protection & blessing of the dear Emmanuel, I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup><sup>es</sup> in him

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *The amount raised at Sheffield was £82.3.3.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London, 24<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1767*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

I've rec<sup>d</sup> yours of y<sup>e</sup> 21 Ins<sup>t</sup> this day—with y<sup>e</sup> Acco<sup>t</sup> of Oakham, Uppingham, Stamford & Norwich<sup>1</sup> & Enclos'd 2 Bills one for £100 on M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Hudson & y<sup>e</sup> other for £61.10 on Mess<sup>rs</sup> Cha & Edw<sup>d</sup> Hague. I suppose I must acknowledge Norwich to D<sup>r</sup> Wood, Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Hoyle & Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Fisher,<sup>2</sup> but who to acknowledge Stamford, uppingham & Oakham to you've not hinted—I'll therefore wait until I hear from you again before I write to any of them & then you'll tell me the whole—I wrote a letter acknowledging £21.1.7 to be rec<sup>d</sup> from you at Rotheram's Collection to y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Thorpe<sup>3</sup> but I see in a corner of your letter w<sup>ch</sup> I overlooked before—they were to remit it—if therefore they have not yet done so & do not before I hear from you, I must write to him my mistake—you'll inform me of this in your next—M<sup>r</sup> Smith D<sup>r</sup> Gifford & M<sup>r</sup> Gwinap were all w<sup>th</sup> me today & each of them said you did not stay long enough in a place—D<sup>r</sup>

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Gifford said he was told you might have got as much again at Hull if you had staid a week or 10 days longer—they think when you are at Ipswich you are but 12 miles from Harwich & should go there. M<sup>r</sup> Gwinap says you should go to Cambridge<sup>4</sup> before you come home they expect you as well as all the places you have mentioned in your last & M<sup>r</sup> Smith says you'll certainly have the ground to go over again as you miss'd so many places. I told them I should write you this post & would tell you what they said but after all you are the best judge only this may be remember'd as the weather is fine & you are not wanted in London till y<sup>e</sup> latter end of November the best way will be not to hurry but do the most capital places you can within that time—Lord Dartmouth, S<sup>r</sup> Charles & all will be in Town then.

I shall hardly have occasion to write to you again but as you direct to me, so if you go to other places & alter your rout it will make no odds as to that—I have sent you some letters & thought I might as well with them send you 50 Narratives all directed to y<sup>e</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Edwards<sup>5</sup> at Ipswich—the coach goes out To Morrow & will be there y<sup>e</sup> same night—give my Compliments & M<sup>rs</sup> Keen to M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Edwards & hope they & their family is well—she liv'd with us when single.

M<sup>r</sup> Smith had £30 of me last week & wrote on Saturday last to his wife to see & remit the same to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker as soon as possible—Capt Billings was gone before your letter came and therefore (unless you desire me otherwise in your next) I will cover that letter & the last one you sent & write a few words in that Cover to M<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker advising her to receive the £30 of M<sup>r</sup> Smith & that in November you will return to London when you will have time to buy the things she wrote for & she shall be furnished with them & every thing else you see necessary & I really think it will be best for you to be here & buy them yourself—I think I have nothing more to add but that I am your hearty well wisher—

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *These places in Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire and Norfolk yielded the following amounts: Oakham £3.6.3, Uppingham £3.14.3, Stamford £9.12, Norwich £167.15.8.*

<sup>2</sup> *At the congregation of Rev. James Hoyle, Norwich, £8.11.6 was obtained, while his personal gift was one guinea. Mr. Fisher's chapel gave £5.18.*

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<sup>3</sup> *Rev. John Thorpe, 1730-1776, minister of the Independent Church at Rotheram, Yorkshire, was originally one of the most virulent of the opponents of Methodism. Experiencing a sudden change of heart, he became a devoted follower of Whitefield, and, for a time, minister of one of Wesley's chapel; a post from which he later withdrew. At his church and that of Mr. Moulton £21.18.9 was collected.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ipswich, in Suffolk, yielded £76. Harwich was not visited. The subscriptions in Cambridge were much larger than those at Oxford, amounting to £101.15.5. Most of the money came from dissenters. The only gifts from persons connected with the University were 10/6 from "Dr. Smith, Vice-Chancellor" and two guineas from "Dr. Randall, Professor of Musick."*

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. David Edwards, died in 1795, friend of Lady Huntingdon, although not of her "Connexion," was for many years minister of an independent church at Ipswich. His congregation contributed £33.8.6.*



*Dr. Wood, Norwich, to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*Norw<sup>ch</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup>. 1767*

*Mond. Even. 8. o'Clo.*

MY DEAR SIR—

I wrote after You to Yarmouth, & suppose you rec<sup>d</sup> my Letter Since writing that Letter I've wrote and sent Papers to all the Places therein mention'd & w<sup>ch</sup> you purpos'd to visit this Week (Stow-market only excepted, w<sup>ch</sup> I knew you could send to from Ipswich) This will meet You (I hope well) at Bury, where I expect our Friends will be ready for You in Consequence of the Notice had from me—They'l also be ready for You at Melford on Friday Forenoon—& at Sudbury that Even. where I expect M<sup>r</sup> John Gainsborough<sup>2</sup> (if at Home) will receive You—

To Day I've wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Ford<sup>3</sup> of Castle Heddingham & have sent Papers—I inform him You'l be there Monday next (Oct. 5<sup>th</sup>) Forenoon & that one of you will preach at 2. or 3. Afternoon if desired, & as may be agreed upon by them next Lord's Day I've also wrote & sent Papers to M<sup>r</sup> Field<sup>4</sup> of Halstead informing that You'l be at Halstead, from Heddingham, either on Monday Even. (Oct 5.) or Tuesday Forenoon & will (one of you) preach for him at 2. or 3. o'Clo. Tuesday if agreeable & so appointed by him & the People

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on Lord's Day—& have also wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Davidson,<sup>5</sup> Braintree, sending Papers, & informing him of y<sup>r</sup> Design to be at Braintree either Tuesday Even. (Oct 6<sup>th</sup>) or on Wednesd. Morn. (Oct. 7.) time enough to preach the Lecture there w<sup>ch</sup> begins about 10 Forenoon—To M<sup>r</sup> Davidson's Friendship & Affect<sup>n</sup>. I've committed You, & have asked him to plan for You both to the westward & Eastward of Braintree in Essex—You'll see by what I've done You are fixed for next Week 'till Wednesday without any farther Trouble to You of writing to Heddingham Halstead or Braintree—The Papers w<sup>ch</sup> I've sent to these Min<sup>rs</sup>. & to all Others are a *Pamphlet* (the Narrative) *the brief Acc<sup>t</sup>* & the *Testimonials*—those I've accompanied w<sup>th</sup> a Letter to the Min<sup>r</sup> or principal Person—I expect all were rec<sup>d</sup>. before Yesterday—& these 3 parcels into Essex (Heddingham, Halstead & Braintree) will get to their Hands to Morrow—I expect, as I shall send them by this Midnight's Coach—At Weathersf<sup>d</sup>, Stamborne, Dummon, Thaxted & other Places that You may go to Westward of Braintree You may show my Letter of Recommendat<sup>n</sup>. (if you go to those Places) so you may Eastward at Coggeshall, Dedham, Colchester, Witham, Chelmsford—Had I time & was it necessary I w<sup>d</sup> have wrote personally to the Min<sup>rs</sup> of those Places but that's not necessary—Since You left me I rec<sup>d</sup> a Guinea from good M<sup>rs</sup> Cosbie (Mother to M<sup>r</sup> Cosbie at Bury) w<sup>ch</sup> clears off M<sup>r</sup> Occom's Bill with M<sup>r</sup> Ollyett compleatly—Here I receiv'd y<sup>r</sup>. Letter of 20<sup>th</sup>. Inst. from Ipswich—I'm glad You've done so well at Yarm<sup>th</sup> & Woodbridge—I sh<sup>d</sup> rather think it best to proceed to Heddingham Halstead & Braintree (for to Milford & Sudbury you must go) & so go over Essex (West & East) as proposed—You may afterwards to go Cambridge & take in Bishop Hertford & some other Places in your Tour to Cambridge—<sup>6</sup>

I expect M<sup>r</sup> Cosbie this week in Norwich, I wish you'd send by him 1. Doz<sup>n</sup> of the *Brief Representat<sup>n</sup>* for I'm got to the last of them, & must send to Lynn, Walpole, Framlingham, & sev<sup>l</sup>. other small Congregat<sup>ns</sup>. in Norfo<sup>k</sup> & Suff<sup>k</sup>—On Friday last was a Grubstreet penny Paper publish'd at Norwich aiming foolishly (but without Wit) to expose the Institution & good M<sup>r</sup> Occom in particular—A very low Affair it is & utterly below Notice—I'm sure M<sup>r</sup>

Occom is Soldier good enough to despise a Squib, & therefore w<sup>d</sup> have sent You one to excite y<sup>r</sup> Laughter & to show w<sup>t</sup> Sort of People we have among Us, was it not for the Expense of Carriage w<sup>ch</sup> it w<sup>d</sup> not answer to You—I shall be glad to hear from You at Leisure. Many have enquired whether I've Word from You & now I can satisfy them—This famous Catchpenny is called *a Cry from the Wilderness, or a converted Indian's Application to a Christian Congrégat<sup>n</sup>*, but indeed it's below Grub Street & as innocent as to doing any Mischief, as it's low, foolish & malicious—M<sup>r</sup> Scott remains confin'd—M<sup>rs</sup> Wood, M<sup>r</sup> and M<sup>rs</sup> Newton & M<sup>rs</sup> Ruggles<sup>7</sup> & our little Girl & Boy all think & speak of You both & join in Salutation<sup>ns</sup>. to Y<sup>r</sup>self & good M<sup>r</sup> Occom—May God bless you both! May He prosper this famous cause! & May You live to see the blessed Effects of y<sup>r</sup> Labours—Adieu heartily, I am, my D<sup>r</sup> Sir Very affectionately your's

SAM<sup>l</sup> WOOD.

<sup>1</sup> This letter was addressed, "To the rev<sup>d</sup> D<sup>r</sup>. Whitaker To be left at M<sup>r</sup> Corsbie's, Bury, Suff<sup>o</sup>."

<sup>2</sup> John Gainsborough, brother of the artist, was a resident of Sudbury and was alive at this period. He was a somewhat unbalanced inventor, called *Schemer Jack*. with a flying machine (which projected him from a roof to a ditch), a self-rocking cradle, a wheel which turned in a still pail of water, a mechanical cuckoo which sang the year around, a time keeper for correcting longitudes, and other ingenious but, as it proved, impractical schemes to his credit. It would be interesting to fix upon him as the person mentioned here, but his impecunious condition, resulting in steady demands upon his brother for small loans, would seem to make it doubtful if he were able to raise the ten guineas subscribed by the John Gainsborough of this letter.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Ford gave two guineas; his congregation, £12.14.3.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Field's church subscribed £23.9.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Davidson gave two guineas; his congregation, £33.9.9.

<sup>6</sup> The painstaking assistance proffered by Dr. Wood is an indication of the enthusiasm which the two envoys sometimes succeeded in arousing. The following sums were obtained from the places (in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire) mentioned in this letter. Yarmouth, £17.4.3; Stow Market, £1.1; Sudbury, £71.15.9; Woodbridge, £23.0.7; Halstead, £23.9; Braintree, £148.7.9; Melborn, £15.10.3; Stamborne, £10.19.11; Castle Hedingham, £15.17.3. The remainder seem not to have been visited.

<sup>7</sup> Evidently these were well-to-do parishoners of Dr. Wood. Rev. Dr. Newton gave one guinea, Mr. John Scott & Sons, five guineas, and John Ruggles, Esq., the same amount.

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*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 3<sup>d</sup>. Oct<sup>br</sup>. 1767*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

I rec<sup>d</sup>. yours of y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Ult from Ipswich enclosing a Bill for £108 on Charles Foorman which is accepted. I think that in regard to how long or how short your stay at a place should be you are the best judge & shall not mention that any more—I think the route settled between you & D<sup>r</sup> Wood y<sup>e</sup> best to be pursu'd—and as you say Hartford, Birmingham, Newbury & all y<sup>e</sup> places in y<sup>e</sup> way & towards Canterbury<sup>1</sup> &c in short it must be wholly left to your own judgement to dispatch what you can till about y<sup>e</sup> latter end of Novem<sup>br</sup>. As to my writing to The Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Clark about M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit it may not be judg'd in character—you can assure him that he was applied to by letter when he would have y<sup>e</sup> Treasurer or other of y<sup>e</sup> Trust attend him or the Com<sup>r</sup> for propagat<sup>g</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Gospel &c & M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit's answer was, they had their general court last month & then settled all their business for the Currant year nor did he know anything would arise to occasion their meeting again sooner than next march—I have both their letters by me—by which answer we imagine nothing will come from that Quarter—for had they intended great things the calling a meeting on purpose would not have been a barr to it—If M<sup>r</sup>. Clarke thinks as we do & will be a friend to y<sup>e</sup> Cause you are come about well & good—but if not you cant help it—I know nothing particular more that I have to say but that I am

*Y<sup>rs</sup> &c, &c*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *The projected route followed a circuit to the west of London, with Kent, to the south, as the final destination.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*London, 15<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>br</sup>. 1767DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

I Rec<sup>d</sup> your's of the 8<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup> Inst. as well as the acco<sup>ts</sup>. to Sudbury inclusive—the Bill you sent from there was £102.10—but contrary to your usual carefulness it was not endors'd—Mr. Gainsborough knowing me very well accepted it & will pay it if you had been travelling about—but as you are so near & must write again soon please to endorse & send it to me in y<sup>r</sup> next—as it is accepted say on the back to M<sup>r</sup> Rob Keen or order.

You have laid your plan very well for next week & I should think Cambridge & its environs would take you up another or more—it is judg'd best by the Gentlemen you should visit y<sup>o</sup> most capital places you have not been at for about 6 weeks from this time, as Lord Dart<sup>m</sup> S<sup>r</sup>. Charles &c will about that time come to town and we may then proceed to business and you will go near to spend the whole winter in London<sup>1</sup>—M<sup>r</sup>. Mauduit has not call'd, if he does he may see M<sup>r</sup> Oliver's letter & I shall talk to him on the affair—but as the Cause has & I hope will prosper notwithstanding their opposition at first I think it best to be peacable & therefore would recommend it to you to take little or no notice as I think it answers no End<sup>2</sup>—remember me to M<sup>r</sup> Occom. I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

*Yours in y<sup>o</sup> best bonds*ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> Evidently Keen and the members of the Trust were not much concerned with Whitaker's long absence from home, and his reasonable desire to return to his family. He did not spend "the whole winter" in London, but embarked for America early in March.

<sup>2</sup> Keen's judgment as to the treatment of the Mauduit letter was highly sensible, but it probably was not very acceptable to Whitaker, who welcomed any excuse for a quarrel.

*Eleazar Wheelock to the Boston Correspondents<sup>1</sup>**Lebanon Oct<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> 1767.**To the Honourable London Commissioners  
In Boston*HON<sup>d</sup>. SIRS

Yours of Sep<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> came safe to hand; and I would now inform you, that if M<sup>r</sup> Oliver and M<sup>r</sup> Pemberton understood, that those small Circumstances which I mentioned as being untrue, in your Letter to M<sup>r</sup> Mauduit, were the only, or chief objections I had against that Letter, they were much mistaken. I heard the Letter but once read, And did not think I was thereby well qualified to point out the things which seemed at first view, either asserted or plainly suggested therein, which were very unfriendly both to my character, and to the Design which M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker has gone upon. Nor did I think it would have been modest in me, after such strong Assertions, as they repeatedly made "that there was not a word, nor suggestion therein, unfavourable to any Character, or to M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers design," to contradict them without a further Examination of what was written; but I assure you, Sir, that had I not apprehended there were things, both untrue, and unfriendly to M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's, M<sup>r</sup> Occom's and my own characters, and also to M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers design; I should not have so earnestly desired a copy of it. And I now assure you, sirs, that I apprehend there is not one material Article narrated in that Letter that is true, excepting that M<sup>r</sup> Occom was a Mohegan, which I never yet heard denied, and which I had long before your said letter, published in my narrative, 1700 Copies of which (If I mistake not) were printed at Boston, and sent into all your Country round about you.

And if you will please to favour me with a Copy of it, and I dont make it appear that there is not one material Article in that letter that does not contain gross falsehood I will freely confess I did not understand it when it was read to me.—And if I dont find

such things expressed or at least plainly intimated in it, as both Friends, and Enemies in England, reasonably understood to be unfriendly, and designedly conveyed by it, I will faithfully inform them of their mistake, and cheerfully do what I can to retrieve the Injury which your characters sustain by their misunderstanding your letter.

As to what you say “this day came to your *Knowledge*” viz. my attempting to take James Dean away from you &c by promising to take him into my school &c. I answer. By word & letter from Boston, I was repeatedly informed that James Dean designed to leave your service, being dissatisfied that you refused to give him such an Education as you had encouraged him to expect, and sent his desire to me to take him, to which I made no reply at all. After some Time the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Hopkins wrote me at Deans desire that I would take him,—in answer to which I let him know I would do nothing to get him out of your hands—but in case he should be discharged from you I would be willing to take him, and treat him as I did the rest of my english scholars—and that what I wrote might be no inducement to his leaving you, I wrote that I should expect Bonds for his entering upon and pursuing the Business proposed,<sup>2</sup> which I had heard you had offer’d, and he had refused, and which I should not have mentioned if it had not been for the Reason I have given.

After this I saw M<sup>r</sup> Moseley your missionary, & discoursed with him about it (but not as a Confident or Councillor in any plot against you, but as I should have discoursed with you yourselves, if I had been favoured with the same opportunity). I told him I should be glad to have the young man, if he left you, but told him I had no disposition to undermine you, or defeat you of his service, or to do any thing that could be thought underhanded, or not fair, and above board; and to this purpose M<sup>r</sup> Moseley said repeatedly in my house, last week, before sufficient Witnesses, y<sup>t</sup> he had told you I never saw M<sup>r</sup> Dean, nor his Father y<sup>t</sup> I know of in my Life. And I dont remember to have discoursed with any but those two Gentlemen on the Affair, where then you got that *Knowledge* of my doings in this Matter, I cant conceive. I think it must be from somebody

who had no Knowledge of it himself. I could no doubt have taken him out of your hands, by speaking the word, at any Time after you sent him into your service, 'till that very day on which that *fact viz.* that I had been attempting to get him out of your hands, came to your Knowledge; and nothing ever prevented my doing it, but y<sup>e</sup> Consideration y<sup>t</sup> it would disoblige you.

As to my not drawing with you in this Affair, the Complaint is new, having never heard it 'till I was last at Boston, from M<sup>r</sup> Oliver, not as his own, but as what he had from others—And am now so far from being conscious of the Justice of the Charge, that I really believe it may be found on search, to lie on y<sup>e</sup> other side. But it would be with the greatest reluctance, if I should ever be constrained to rake up what has been said and done on your side, which I could understand in no other light, and which have been concealed on purpose that no difference might appear between us. And I do assure you, sirs, I have the greatest Reluctance to a controversie with you, Gentlemen, whom I love, & honour, and especially, as there are some of your number, particularly M<sup>r</sup> Oliver, & M<sup>r</sup> Cushing,<sup>8</sup> of whom I never think, but with the kindest sentiments of Gratitude for the past expressions of their friendship towards the Important Cause I have been pursuing. And I believe I shall ever be disposed to acknowledge the same, in the fullest and strongest Terms, whatever prejudices, or ill opinions they may conceive of me.

I am so far from being fond of controversie, that notwithstanding the reports of great Injury done me, and the Cause, by your letter, I had determined not to trouble my head about it, but leave the Issue & consequence of it with the great Governor of the Universe; nor should I have taken pains to hear the letter, had not M<sup>r</sup> Oliver, by his letter of July 6, without any motion of mine, kindly Envited me to hear it, that I might be convinced there was nothing contained in it unfavourable, either to Characters, or M<sup>r</sup> Whitaker's design. And I dont determine to this Day, but that, Friends and Enemies at home, and particularly the venerable Society to whom it was wrote, have all mistaken the true Import, Aim, design, and

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Tendency of that Letter, and if so, I should be glad for your sakes that it might appear, as I am sincerely

*Much Hon<sup>d</sup> Sirs,*

*Your real Friend, and very humble Servant*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

*Copy*

<sup>1</sup> *This letter marked a complete severance of Wheelock and the Boston Board and their relations thenceforth were those of open hostility.*

<sup>2</sup> *It was Wheelock's custom to require the white students whom he took "upon charity" and educated for the missionary service to file with him a bond which should serve as a protection to the fund, should the young men, upon graduation, fail to pursue the career for which they were prepared. It is the sad truth, however, that most of these men served in the field, either a brief period or not at all, and the bonds, in the majority of cases, proved to be of no value.*

<sup>3</sup> *This may refer either to Thomas Cushing, 1725-1788, Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, or John Cushing, died in 1772, judge of the Superior Court.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon Nov<sup>r</sup>. 2. 1767.*

DEAR M<sup>r</sup> KEEN

SIR

Yours of July 21. came safe to hand a few days ago. & I am sensibly animated w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> acco<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> so many of Gods people are praying for y<sup>e</sup> success of our Endeavours, in y<sup>e</sup> great affair. Blessed omen indeed! y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> set time for Gods Mercy to y<sup>e</sup> poor Indians is at hand. This together w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> countenance & patronage of so many of y<sup>e</sup> great ones of y<sup>r</sup> Kingdom, look as tho' y<sup>e</sup> Lord of Hosts was martialling his Forces w<sup>th</sup> a special regard to y<sup>e</sup> great Event. And in doing it he will hide pride from Man, & secure all y<sup>e</sup> Glory to himself. And w<sup>t</sup>, & all, on our part to be done, is only to act in y<sup>e</sup> Capacity, & up to y<sup>e</sup> character of Serv<sup>ta</sup>. to him; to have our Eye ever to him for direction in every step, & for supplies of every kind & a constant care & readiness to comply w<sup>th</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> intimations of his pleasure.

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I am greatly pleased w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> plan, in general, for acting in concert in y<sup>e</sup> great Affair; But there are some things y<sup>o</sup> mentioned, in y<sup>e</sup> Plan proposed, w<sup>h</sup> I am humbly of opinion will by no means do.—

1. I must know w<sup>t</sup> to depend upon. I must be assured y<sup>t</sup> my Bills will not be protested. had y<sup>e</sup> Bill y<sup>o</sup> protested been return'd (& I never yet knew why it was not) it would according to all human probability, have near ruined me, & oversett y<sup>e</sup> whole Design. And had I not believed y<sup>e</sup> cause to be Gods, & y<sup>t</sup> he would appear for my help, as he had done in so many Instances, I should have been disquieted to a great degree. I had strained every Nerve in y<sup>e</sup> Affair, & run my Estate (not y<sup>e</sup> School) in debt, near £200. Sterlg., & had y<sup>t</sup> Bill come, & y<sup>e</sup> Man in fav. of whom it was drawn, been disgusted, at such a time when y<sup>e</sup> Country was drain'd of Money, & I put under all y<sup>e</sup> disadvantages of such disgrace, as y<sup>t</sup> would have been to me, & y<sup>e</sup> design, I don't see but it must have broke me up, all my personal Estate taken at such a time, in a course of Law wo'd not have clear'd my Debts. And y<sup>o</sup> may judge whether in such a situation, I should have had confidence to ask for, or reason to expect, y<sup>e</sup> Charities of People proportionable to such occasion. I dont write y<sup>e</sup> because I ever blam'd, so much as in tho't, those Worthy Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Trust, I see w<sup>th</sup> Reason y<sup>r</sup> Fidelity therein shown to y<sup>e</sup> Redeemers Cause, nor was I knowingly guilty of blame myself. I suppos'd y<sup>r</sup> Letter, M<sup>r</sup> Whitefields, & especially M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers, were sufficient warrant to proceed as I did. I was as Ignorant of any occasion of Jealousy, or suspicion of danger from y<sup>t</sup> quat<sup>r</sup>, as y<sup>e</sup> Child unborn. My attention was wholly to y<sup>e</sup> opening of Providence, & y<sup>e</sup> most effectual method to push forward y<sup>e</sup> grand design in view. And God mercifully smiled upon every step I took, insomuch y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most eagle eyed Enimies have never yet found matter of Blame or reproach, & not so much as one in y<sup>e</sup> Government, or in any other, who has known w<sup>t</sup> I have done, has ever said (y<sup>t</sup> I have ever heard off) y<sup>t</sup> it might have been better done. Soon after I receiv'd y<sup>r</sup> Shocking Letter, I was confined some weeks by sickness, w<sup>h</sup> my Physicians & Friends were apprehensive would have been my last. And while I was thus confined M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland sent to me by two of y<sup>e</sup> Indian School Masters (who had been near a year at y<sup>r</sup> Schools in y<sup>e</sup> wilderness) y<sup>t</sup> he sho'd soon

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want money, & not daring to sell a Bill till I could hear from y<sup>o</sup>, I went into all y<sup>o</sup> Towns round about, to hire it, but could find none to be let. As soon as I was able to set upon a Horse & ride a little; I undertook a Journey of 160 miles to Portsmouth, in hops to get y<sup>e</sup> £5.5. of Mr. Williams of Boston,<sup>2</sup> in my way, & £60 Sterl<sup>s</sup>, a Legacy left by M<sup>r</sup> Wibird;<sup>3</sup> I was six days in y<sup>t</sup> feeble state riding to Boston (about 100 miles) in y<sup>o</sup> most scorching drought of summer, when y<sup>e</sup> Pastures were so dried y<sup>t</sup> it was sometimes difficult to get supplies for my Horse. About 24 hours after I got to Boston, David Fowler overtook me, & informed me of y<sup>e</sup> Famine y<sup>i</sup> prevailed, & of M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands distress, I hired £60. Sterl<sup>s</sup>. for his releif, & to supply some other necessities of y<sup>e</sup> School, gave my Bond upon Intrest. ie. 6 p<sup>r</sup> Cent, and y<sup>e</sup> I was obliged to do, or recall M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland, & break up y<sup>e</sup> affair at Onoida. I went forward to Portsmouth, but M<sup>r</sup> Wibirds Exec<sup>r</sup>. could not pay y<sup>e</sup> money but encouraged me he would do it y<sup>e</sup> fall. M<sup>r</sup> Williams said he had no Orders from his Broth<sup>r</sup>. to pay me, & so y<sup>t</sup> Bond yet lies against me.<sup>4</sup> But God has hitherto helped me—The Miss<sup>rs</sup> & School Masters y<sup>t</sup> enter upon y<sup>e</sup> Business, neither ask for, nor desire anything but their support at present; & can it be reasonable they should hazzard their Lives, & expose themselves to all those hardships, w<sup>h</sup> will be unavoidable unless their support at least be made sure to them. But it is impossible to know what their necessities will be, & oftentimes to know, how many will be needfull to send, so long before hand, as to send to England & have return from thence, before y<sup>e</sup> Cause suffers by delay: & if we had time enough for this, Gentlemen w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>o</sup> cant be supposed to be so able to judge of persons or things, as we who are intimately acquainted w<sup>th</sup> all circumstances, nor is it an easy thing to get such acquaintance w<sup>th</sup> an affair, w<sup>h</sup> is attended with so many singular circumstances—y<sup>t</sup> are quite out of y<sup>e</sup> way of Gentlemen's Observation & Experience in any Businesses of civilized Life. I am not affraid to trust God to maintain, & support his own Cause. I know him to be a good pay master. I had no other Prop to lean upon, in y<sup>e</sup> affair, for 12 years together, but his naked Providence, before M<sup>r</sup> Whitakers success in England, & he never fail'd me. I was never either anxious in mind, nor in any distress for supplies for one hour; nor had I ever

for more than a month or two, one farth<sup>s</sup> in Stock, in all y<sup>t</sup> term; nor have I ever given Occasion to a Creditor to say, I had disappointed his reasonable expectations from me in one instance. But God is to be trusted only in his own way, & when we do with a single Eye, commit our ways, & our works to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, & give proper, & impartial Attention to those two Ways in w<sup>h</sup> God ordinarily makes known his Will to his People, viz. his Word & his Providences, there is no Risque at all; nor am I more confident of anything than I am of safe guidance, a successful progress, & a good Issue in such a case. I want no surer fund, than y<sup>t</sup> in his Hands, when we call to such a trust in him. and whoever makes the tryal of it will find, "it is better to trust in y<sup>e</sup> Lord than to put confidence in Man, it is better to trust in y<sup>e</sup> Lord than to put confidence in Princes," as much better, as it is to trust in y<sup>e</sup> most wise, faithfull, & beneficent Master of y<sup>e</sup> Household, who has all y<sup>e</sup> Servants of his house at his Beck, & all y<sup>e</sup> Treasures of his house at his disposal, than to trust in a servant who is not his own, nor has any thing of his own, or within his power to impart. But when Providence calls to lay out for a fund, and y<sup>t</sup> be obtained, & y<sup>e</sup> plan be laid according to y<sup>t</sup>, it must be sure. It seems to me y<sup>e</sup> consequences of y<sup>e</sup> conterary are shocking—(1). then men who above any in y<sup>e</sup> world deserve reward, may be denied their Bread, & y<sup>t</sup> too und<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> most necessitous & pittious circumstances. they don't stand upon equal Grounds w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> meanest Labourers.—(2) A Bill protested by Gentlemen of such high character & Esteem for Wisdom, Piety, & Integrity, will most effectually prevent all succours from any other quarter. (3) It may ruin me, or whoever undertakes in y<sup>e</sup> affair, when he was moved to undertake it, only for Christs sake, & as factor for him, & without any view to gain to himself, even tho' there should be y<sup>e</sup> greatest success to y<sup>e</sup> Redeemers cause thereby—

2<sup>17</sup>. You say further y<sup>t</sup> my successor, be in all respects accountable to y<sup>e</sup> present trust & their successors—If I understand w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> mean, by his being Accountable in all Respects, viz. y<sup>t</sup> he shall be at y<sup>e</sup> direction wholly & accountable to no other—I am of opinion this will not be safe, as y<sup>r</sup> distance will necessarily expose you & your Successors to be imposed upon—Long experience has given these



Colonies such proof of this, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> proposal wo'd not be at all acceptable, tho' they have y<sup>e</sup> greatest veneration for y<sup>e</sup> Noble & Godly Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> present Trust.—We have seen plentifully y<sup>e</sup> mis-application of Funds in England—The Trustees & Directors of 'em, at such a distance, we are afear'd don't [&] can't well know w<sup>t</sup> is done, nor how much better y<sup>t</sup> might have been done, w<sup>h</sup> is done, nor w<sup>t</sup> is neglected y<sup>t</sup> ou't to have been done, & perhaps might easily been done; nor how much money is thrown away (not to say a 1000 times worse) for want of care, or prudence, or Zeal, or good Judgement in y<sup>e</sup> Application—And we are grieved & tired with seeing such wast of y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> is so sacred, & so piously designed—And this is not confined to one society only—

3<sup>ly</sup>. You say y<sup>t</sup> £5500. is put into y<sup>e</sup> Bank of England at 3 p<sup>r</sup> Cent, I esteem y<sup>t</sup> to be well done, provided some beneficent hand will undertake, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>t</sup> Intrest, for Christs sake, to furnish y<sup>e</sup> School & Miss<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>th</sup> Cloathing, at first cost, without charge. & there will not be more than will be annually wanted<sup>5</sup>—And so laid out it will be near as good as 6 p. Cent, in these Colonies, but otherwise I much regret y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Charity of y<sup>e</sup> pious donors should be but of half y<sup>e</sup> benefit to their Design, as it would be if the money were made safe in this or some Neighbouring Government at 6. or 7. p<sup>r</sup>. Cent.<sup>6</sup>

Your Letter came near y<sup>e</sup> close of y<sup>e</sup> Session of our general Assembly, at N<sup>r</sup> Haven, I immediately sent my Son to propose to them whether they would take a sum of y<sup>e</sup> money collected into y<sup>e</sup> Colony Treasury & make it sure to y<sup>e</sup> School, & annually pay y<sup>e</sup> lawfull Intrest. The Governor & Council seem'd inclin'd to do it, a number of y<sup>e</sup> House of Representatives said they did not know where y<sup>e</sup> School would be fix'd, and y<sup>e</sup> Colony did not want to hire y<sup>e</sup> money, for their own Use at present, but it was tho't they would readily do it if they knew y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> School would be fixed in y<sup>e</sup> Government. They laid over my Memorial, on that Head 'till y<sup>e</sup> next Session of y<sup>e</sup> Assembly—And there is no doubt but it may be effectually secured in y<sup>e</sup> or some neighboring Government where y<sup>e</sup> school shall be fixed.

As to making D<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland my successor. He can't by any means be spared from y<sup>e</sup> Wilderness. There is no man in all North America like him, for y<sup>e</sup> important and critical Affair of Introduc-

ing Missionaries & School Masters among their distant Tribes. He can speak their Language, they know him, & esteem him honest, & frindly; he knows their customs & can live & act just as they do. He is bold, zealous, resolute & active. His Influence is great, & he will do more & better, than any score we can get a[t] present & w<sup>th</sup> comparatively small expence, and besides, he is too Young to have y<sup>e</sup> many & weighty concerns of y<sup>e</sup> school devolved upon him<sup>7</sup>—

I have now 7 English Youths<sup>8</sup> fitting for Missionaries. 6 of 'em are members of Yale College, 3 in y<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> year, & 3 in y<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.<sup>8</sup> Whom for reasons too long to write at present I tho't best to keep at College part of their time. Several of these bid fair in time to make good M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands ground. I purpose to send several of them into schools in y<sup>e</sup> wilderness next Spring, to perfect themselves in y<sup>e</sup> Indian Tongue, if proper doors may be opened for them—

I have been trying to collect a town of Christianized Indians, from y<sup>e</sup> New England Colonies, & settle them in some sutable place, in y<sup>e</sup> heart of y<sup>e</sup> Indian Country, I have some hopes of accomplishing it. This would furnish an Asylum for our Missionaries, set y<sup>e</sup> Savages a pattern, & exhibit to them y<sup>e</sup> advantages of a Civilized life, much secure them from y<sup>e</sup> many Mischiefs of unrighteous dealers, conciliate y<sup>r</sup> friendship to y<sup>e</sup> English; and who knows but y<sup>e</sup> leaven so put into y<sup>e</sup> lump, may gloriously spread.<sup>9</sup>

I purpose to send my Son, who is well turned for y<sup>e</sup> Business, to assist in y<sup>e</sup> introduction of y<sup>e</sup> School masters—

The Expences of y<sup>e</sup> year, if y<sup>e</sup> Missions to y<sup>e</sup> Ohio, Onondagas, & Senecas be pursued, will necessarily be very great, likely not less than a £1000. Sterl'g. & I am willing to be bound as strong as y<sup>e</sup> please, y<sup>t</sup> I will use y<sup>e</sup> utmost prudence & Acconomy I am master of; & y<sup>t</sup> not a farthing of it shall w<sup>th</sup> my allowance be embezeled, or applied to any other use, but y<sup>t</sup> w<sup>h</sup> it is design'd for—And if God will mercifully succeed our Attempts we shall have no reason to regrett y<sup>e</sup> large expence of it. Now is y<sup>e</sup> time if ever to take possession of our wide extended Wilderness for Christ, and y<sup>e</sup> swifter y<sup>e</sup> progress y<sup>e</sup> less will likely be y<sup>e</sup> opposition, & y<sup>e</sup> Expence of it too in y<sup>e</sup> End.

What I have wrote are my own private tho'ts, & y<sup>o</sup> see I have done it freely. I ha'n't tho't best to let any man see your Letter, excepting those of my House, & my Brother Pomeroy—I fear I shall tier y<sup>o</sup> w<sup>th</sup> so many folios—Please to let me know y<sup>o</sup> pleasure of y<sup>o</sup> Trust, respecting my Plan—and w<sup>t</sup> I may depend upon. I shall wait w<sup>th</sup> impatience 'till I hear—Make most humble, and dutifull salutations acceptable to the Right honorable, Noble, & Worthy Gentlemen of the Trust, and bespeak their prayers with yours, for, Dear Sir,

*Yours in the dearest Bonds*

Copy—

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is a rough draft, with many abbreviations.*

<sup>2</sup> *Page 201.*

<sup>3</sup> *Richard Wibird, 1702-1767; Harvard 1722; opulent merchant of Portsmouth; judge of probate; counsellor and delegate to the Colonial Congress of 1754. His bequest of £60 to the Indian School was paid on April 5, 1768.*

<sup>4</sup> *This moving account of Wheelock's financial difficulties, as a result of the protest of his draft, is probably not overdrawn, although he was never averse to setting forth in detail the extreme laboriousness of his efforts and the parlous condition of his health. Why the draft was really not protested, we do not know.*

<sup>5</sup> *At various times Wheelock spoke of the English fund as a permanent endowment, the interest, only, to be used, but, as has already been said (page 274), from the first he drew on the principal, and at no distant period spent all of it, with the entire acquiescence of the English trustees. It never seems to have occurred to him that his enterprises would be in an unsound condition when the fund was exhausted. He evidently believed that the Lord would provide.*

<sup>6</sup> *Despite his compliments to the English Trust, it is evident that Wheelock was anxious to get the money as a whole out of their hands, and more completely at his own disposal. The large difference in interest rates in England and America gave some excuse for this desire.*

<sup>7</sup> *This objection to Kirkland was not candid, particularly that clause based on his age. The missionary at that time was twenty-six, while Ralph Wheelock, whom his father was shortly to appoint by his will to be his successor, was twenty-five.*

<sup>8</sup> *The following white charity students were supported by the fund at this time:*

*Aaron Kinne, 1744-1824; Yale, 1765; left Wheelock's service in 1769.*

*David McClure, 1748-1820; Yale, 1769; left Wheelock's service in 1774.*

*David Avery, 1746-1818; Yale, 1769; left Wheelock's service in 1772.*

*Samuel Johnson, 1744-1835; Yale, 1769; left Wheelock's service in 1769.*

*Sylvanus Ripley, 1749-1787; Dartmouth, 1771.*

*Levi Frisbie, 1748-1806; Dartmouth, 1771, left Wheelock's service in 1776.*

*Allyn Mather, 1747-1784; Yale, 1771; no missionary record.*

*All these men became active ministers, while Ripley, in addition, was Professor of Divinity in Dartmouth College.*

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\* *This project was actually accomplished, but not by Wheelock. Under the leadership of Occom, the two Fowlers and Joseph Johnson (all Indians), a grant of land was received from the Oneidas in 1774. The movement was interrupted by the Revolution, but beginning with 1784, a migration to these lands was undertaken by a number of christianized Indians in New England, the town of Brothertown was established, and here Occom and the Fowlers spent the remainder of their lives.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 12<sup>th</sup>. Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1767*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>.

I Rece<sup>d</sup>. yours of y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup>. from Watford<sup>1</sup> and the Bills enclos'd on Tho<sup>s</sup> Holmes & Co. for Seventy Two Pounds.

I sent you a letter on Saturday Even<sup>s</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> directed for you at the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Smithson's at High Wickham<sup>2</sup> which I hope you rec<sup>d</sup> safe at your arrival there—it gave you an Acco<sup>t</sup> of your £55 in 3 Bank & £45 afterwards in 3 Bank Bills come<sup>s</sup> safe and that there was rec<sup>d</sup> since your being there £53.11 at Hull<sup>3</sup> but you've certainly rec<sup>d</sup> the letter so I need not repeat anything therein—with regard to your going into Sussex &c we think it is quite as eligible as the rout you mentioned before, and any places you have not been at, it will be as well now to visit—we leave it wholly to yourself which to choose & what places to give the preference to—I ordered M<sup>r</sup>. Oliver to send 150 Narratives & 1 quire of letters on Tuesday last to be directed to You at Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Noon's at Reading<sup>4</sup>; which he did by Tuesdays Coach—but the Noodle had not half y<sup>e</sup> Quantity of Narratives stitch'd & finish'd—however these will serve you at Reading & newberry<sup>5</sup> &c—and the next time you write let me know what Number and to what place you would have y<sup>m</sup> sent & I'll order them accordingly—in yesterday's Gazetter on y<sup>e</sup> last place in y<sup>e</sup> list of Deaths y<sup>e</sup> following paragraph Sam<sup>l</sup> Wood, D.D., who was for about Twenty years minister of the Congregational Church in the City of Norwich—I take it for granted it is our D<sup>r</sup>. Wood of Norwich who was a friend indeed to this cause—how many have lived to be helpful to this cause and have soon after ripen'd & gone to Glory—I if you would have me drop you a letter now and then if it is only to

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satisfy the receiving the draughts you send—give me as plain directions as you can—now with regard to this Letter I'm forc'd to seal it up & finish it without knowing at what minister's house at Newberry to direct it for You & if I cant hear to Night of the ministers name must run y<sup>e</sup> risque of your getting it—I'm just going to hear M<sup>r</sup> Romaine who begins his Lectures tonight at St. Dunstans & have no more to say at present but that I am yours & the Causes well wisher

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *The amount collected at Watford, in Hertfordshire (west of London) was £30.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mr. Smithson's personal gift was three guineas, his church gave £7.7.11, while the total amount raised in High Wickham was £40.4.8.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hull yielded the gratifying total of £169.9.6, including twenty guineas from the Corporation of the city, and the same sum from the Corporation of Trinity House.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Mr. Noon gave one guinea, his congregation £13.11.7, and the town of Reading £37.5.*

<sup>5</sup> *Newbury contributed £23.16.6.*



*Mrs. Jane Dickson to Nathaniel Whitaker<sup>1</sup>*

*Octob<sup>r</sup> 15 1767 Blackwater*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR/

I cant but must congratulate you. That have Such honour Confer<sup>d</sup> upon you as to be Sent of Such a Glorious Errand to promote the glorious Gospel—of a ones dead—but now Livving—and Exalted Redeemer. No greater Glory Surely Cannot be confer<sup>d</sup> upon a mortal in this world Excepting this to be brought near to God and transformed into his Image and Likeness. I trust I Rejoice with you That the father is beginning to fullfill the promise that He has made to his son in giveing him the heathen for his inheristance—and the uttermost parts of the Earth for his posession. I trust the Lord will bless you abundantly in this undertakeing—and open the hands and hearts of his people to communicate Liberally—according to their ability—if they will not do it for this Cause, Sure they will do it for none. For as our Interest is Christs Interest, and our Cause his Cause, Surely his interest and Cause must be ours, may

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Each and Every one of us Give Everyone according as he purposeth in his heart—not Grudgingly but Cheerfully—for the Lord Loveth a Cheerfull giver. Oh what Condescension is this, that the Lord of Glory should Look upon what we do as a Gift when we have nothing but what we Receiv'd from him—that we must Say of thine own have we given unto thee, and oh what matter for humility and thankfullness that he should Confer Such honour upon us as to make us any way usefull to his Cause. I think when we give any thing too the Lord or for him It is puting it out to use and he pays Rich Interest. Oh this is the way to bring a blessing upon Childrens Children. I know by my own Experience—that the more is Laid out the more is Laid up. I have Try<sup>d</sup> both ways. I formerly had my Excuse to make that I had a great family—and Charity begins at home first—but blessed be God, he has taught me a better Lesson Since and I find it is the most thriveing way to give a Little out of a Little When the Lord calls for it. Oh Could I and all the fellow members of Christ Learn that blessed art of Liveing by faith—and trust the Lord with a few of the mites or talents he puts into our hands—Oh how Richly Should we be Repaid. May the Lord be with you, direct protect and Succeed you in this honourable work and though I may not Speak to you face to face, I hope my heart will be with you, praying for you and the brethren abroad, hoping to have a share in your prayers, from your unknown yet well wishing friend, one of the Church of the Reverend and worthy pastor M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Davidson

J. D.

*PS* I hope you will excuse my freedom with you, seeing we are all one in Christ. for their is one head and one mystical body and it is not Long but head and members will be together and may your prayers be heard and answered in Regard of our worthy pastor and us that he may meet his people in that better world and may they be his joy hon'r and Crown of Rejoicing in the Great day.

<sup>1</sup> Addressed, "To the Reverend Gentleman That preach'd a wednesday. To be Left at The Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Thos Davidson's Bocking," and indorsed by Whitaker, "From M<sup>rs</sup> Jane Dickson of Braintree, a pious letter." It is all of that, but of a type not unusual to the women of the time. In the accounts Jane is credited with no personal subscription, but her gift is probably included in the collection of £33.9.9 taken at the church of Mr. Davidson.

*Eleazar Wheelock to Nathaniel Whitaker**Lebanon Nov<sup>r</sup>. 28<sup>th</sup>. 1767.*

MY DEAR BROTHER.

How glad should I be to see you, but I patiently wait 'till God has done with you where you are.

The imprudent letters which were wrote you by M<sup>r</sup> E—— have occasioned me much Trouble, and seem'd for a while, as tho' they would unhinge the Whole affair. I charitably believe he ment no more than to pursue the Plan laid by our Board of Commissioners before you Sail'd, and to take that Advantage of Trade which Some body must have upon that Plan, and why not he as well as another? Yet the Letters as they appear'd were shocking indeed. I knew nothing of them 'till I had the Copies of them by M<sup>r</sup> Keen, with advice that my Bill in Favour of M<sup>r</sup> Breed was protested, on that acco<sup>t</sup>—I had no other Refuge but God alone, it occasioned me a long, tedious, & fruitless Journey to Portsmouth, before I had recovered from a fit of sickness so as to be able to ride 20 miles in a Day. And God has helped me through all, and the Cause has not suffered greatly by it, on this side the Water—

But I suspect there is yet some Jealousies remaining in the Minds of the Gentlemen of the Trust, which it concerns you fully to remove. Mr. E——s wrote M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield that which I hoped would be satisfactory, but have never heard whether it reached him—

M<sup>r</sup> Keen writes me that it is generally understood & that you have declared that the Trust have right to pass or protest Bills as they shall think adviseable; but I presume you ha'n't well digested that matter; be sure you ha'n't had the Experience which I have very timeously had of the Danger and Risque upon that Plan, nor do I know who you will find willing to be an Agent on this side the Water, upon that Plan, so long as his own Interest is pawn'd to defray all charges.

The Gentlemen of the Trust shewed a laudible, & truly christian Integrity towards the Redeemers cause, as the Matter appeared

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to them. I never blamed them so much as in a Thought tho' I was myself so great and the only Sufferer. But I can assure you I did not always feel as I should, while I was daily expecting the protested Bill, and tho't on all the Consequences which would likely ensue. The Support of the Missionaries, who ask for no other Reward for their Service, must be Sure. I think that less than that cant be right, nor pleasing to God, unless they were Able and willing to Support themselves. And I don't see how the Affair can be accomodated without an Incorporation, or at least a Trust here. I have been turning my Tho'ts and weighing every Man within my Acquaintance, and design soon to fix upon a number and make a new will, and submitt it to the Censure of my Hon<sup>d</sup> Patrons, the Gentlemen of the Trust.

My Son Ralph after Such a long and dark cloud as he has been under with respect to his health, has now a prospect of Enjoying that Blessing to a good Degree. He is in high Spirits for Indian Affairs, he understands the Business, and has a Tallent at Governing Indians beyond any man I can imploy. I dont know what God intends for him, but at present he is a Comfort & Help to me. It may be he will be the man to conduct this Affair when I have done. Indeed I know of no man at present who can do it better,<sup>1</sup> but I wait upon God to direct, & I love to wait, & hope, & trust in him alone.

Your & M<sup>r</sup> Occoms Sons w<sup>th</sup> me are well, your Families were so not long ago. Give my Love to M<sup>r</sup> Occom; I want to see him; does he keep clear of that Indian distemper, *Pride*.<sup>2</sup> If you see anything of it, advise him that he had better have a Rattle Snake in his Bosom. I dont write this because I suppose he is worse than myself but because I have known so much of the Mischeifs of that Evil, & know his Temptations to be very great. Oh! watch and pray.

My dear Brothers, I love you right well, and am

*Yours in the dear Jesus,*

ELEAZAR WHEELLOCK.

*P.S.* I trust you will See my Letters herewith transmitted to the Trust & to M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield to which I refer you for Intelligence. My Physicians say I must soon quitt all unless I will abate of my con-



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tinual Labour but what shall I do? I employ one pen besides my own continually, and sometimes two,<sup>3</sup> and have done so for many months.

REV<sup>d</sup>. DOCT<sup>r</sup> WHITAKER,

<sup>1</sup> *An element of pathos is introduced by this reference to the health of Ralph. Both the young man and his father were sincerely anxious that the work begun by the older man should be continued by the son; a hope that was destined never to be fulfilled, as the mental condition of Ralph, soon after his removal to Hanover, became so clouded as to render him useless during the remainder of his long life. Eleazar, however, was completely misled as to his son's abilities. The later had no understanding of the proper management of the school, he antagonized the Indian pupils by his severity, and won the enmity of the tribes to which he was sent on missions of inspection by his haughty and assertive bearing. He did much to increase the difficulties under which his father was laboring at this time.*

<sup>2</sup> *The frequent reference to the "pride" of Occom has an irritating effect upon the reader. Wheelock's greatest failing was the demand which he made upon all those dependent upon him, particularly upon the Indians, for slavish subservience. What he calls "pride" in Occom strikes us as a decent self-respect.*

<sup>3</sup> *The industry of Wheelock with his pen was amazing. All his important letters (many of them of great length) were written in rough drafts and then laboriously copied, usually by his own hand. Only occasionally do we find him employing assistants, as noted here, most of them, in all probability, his white charity students.*



*Robert Keen to Nathaniel Whitaker*

*London 30<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1767—*

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>

I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> Ins<sup>t</sup> enclosing 2 Bank bills of £20 each & a Bill on Tho<sup>s</sup> Cloake 10 days after date £42 Total value in y<sup>e</sup> above letter—£82 with the Acco<sup>ts</sup> to Tenterden to all which I shall acknowledge Tomorrows post—I was surpriz'd to see M<sup>r</sup> Occom<sup>1</sup> on Wednesday last when as I told him you were to meet him y<sup>e</sup> next day at Tunbridge wells—he said he had left word for you; but I find you were not acquainted with it—I ask'd him how he came not to meet you at Tunbridge wells & then have come to London—he said he found himself very poorly & had a fever on him then—he went pretty early to Bed & as D<sup>r</sup> Sparks & I din'd with M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield he came whilst we were there about 2 o'Clock—D<sup>r</sup> Sparks sent him

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something to take & some sack whey was made him & he lay in his old lodging—I saw him on Saturday & he look'd pretty well in the parlour below—he made an engagement to come about 5 o'Clock this afternoon to my house to drink Tea & Sup with us & go home about 1/2 after 9—I've just now sent to know how he does & why he did not come. My Lad brings me word he was but poorly but thinks he shall be better on y<sup>e</sup> morrow & will then come & dine with me—if he had been here tonight he should have wrote you a letter himself or a part in this—if he should be better I thought he should meet you at least on Friday Evening at Canterbury<sup>2</sup>—but if you can pursue y<sup>e</sup> 2 weeks Rout you mention without him do—and then come yourself to London—perhaps you can do it as well without him & it will be a pity to miss any places that you can accomplish in that time—you and I must bear the burden & I dare say have had more of it to our share then all the rest put them all together—but it is for God, & the pleasure we have had to see the cause prosper has greatly overballanc'd all our trouble & fatigue—your friends here will be glad to see you at y<sup>e</sup> end of this Tour—as it will be then 9 months since you left london. It has pleas'd God to remove by death which I suppose you have heard before now Viz<sup>t</sup>. S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hotham—all the others are pure well, met together last week and are quite harmonious—never any one disagreed or Jarr'd with another—tho' M<sup>r</sup> Roberts said he heard otherwise at Bristol—Remember me kindly to M<sup>rs</sup> Bradbury & his Lady—we often remember them at M<sup>r</sup> Wests where we are to be ToMorrow Evening—dear M<sup>r</sup> Brewer is to be at our Annual meeting at the Kings head in y<sup>e</sup> poultry and our worthy friend M<sup>r</sup> Whitefield is to meet them in his room—I shall send my Money to y<sup>e</sup> Kings head but propose to be at M<sup>r</sup> Wests—M<sup>r</sup> Brewer may perhaps get time enough to conclude with prayer—let me hear from you as often as convenient & believe me to be d<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

*Y<sup>rs</sup> in the best bonds*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *It is apparent that, after their long travels together, Occom and Whitaker had fallen out, a result which might reasonably have been expected much earlier in their mission.*

<sup>2</sup> *The collection at Tenterden, in Kent, was £24.8.2, while Tunbridge Wells yielded £6.11.4 and Canterbury, £34.15.4.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Dr. Gifford*<sup>1</sup>London Dec<sup>r</sup>. 24, 1767REV<sup>d</sup>. & HON<sup>d</sup>. S<sup>r</sup>

What I have to Say relative to w<sup>t</sup> you mentioned to me of the report that I had Spoken unfavourably of M<sup>r</sup> Edward's design, is this, That I am not conscious of entertaining So much as a Secret wish that he might not Succeed in it; & therefore am persuaded that nothing has dropt from me of this kind, unless my saying, that the design of a college in R. Island was of little importance compared with the design of gospelizing the Indians, may be construed in Such a Sense. But then I have Said the Same of y<sup>e</sup> colleges of New Jersey, New York & Philadelphia: and I am sure, I can with equal propriety say it of a College in R. Island of whatever denomination, w<sup>ch</sup> lies but 110 miles from New Haven & 70 from Cambridge & therefore can't be in so great distress with respect to learning as the poor heathen. But truly, Sir, I am utterly unprepared to say anything, one way or another, concerning that college, till I can learn whether calvanists or Armenians are the founders of this, & whether Episcopalians do not join in to oppose the Baptists & other dissenters in New England, & thereby pave the way to hurt & overthrow of the privileges of the New England Churches.

Perhaps you can favour me with M<sup>r</sup> Edward's recommendations, when I Shall See you on Sab: evening, which may enable me to judge better of the affair. Asking your prayers &c—

N. W.

<sup>1</sup> *The importance with which the denominational control of a college was regarded in the eighteenth century (and, indeed, in much later times) is illustrated by this letter. To the true Calvinist an institution tainted with Armenianism or Episcopalianism was an instrument of the evil one. Brown turned out to be distinctively Baptist, but, in the negotiations for its charter, was almost captured by the Congregationalists. The Baptists in England were generous in their donations to the Indian School, and Dr. Gifford, a leading clergyman of that sect, had a right to be incensed at any criticism by Whitaker of the foundation of a Baptist college in America.*

*Nathaniel Whitaker to Eleazar Wheelock*London Dec<sup>r</sup>. 30. 1767REV<sup>d</sup> & D<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup>.

You will See by the letter which goes in the Same Ship with this, that the hearts of the Trustees are with you. In my humble but private opinion, you need not confine your Self, in drawing the trust to those articles only which they have mentioned. You will git Some Lawyer to draw it for you, & he may put Some clauses in which may reserve to you, all you desire, yet So as not to contradict anything they have wrote: & always *keeping in mind* that the deed be Such as will Satisfy friends, & Stop the mouths of enimies, as to the actual conveyance of the money into the hands of the S<sup>d</sup> Trustees in Such a manner as that neither you nor your heirs can lay any claim thereto for any purpose, but that for which it is given. Yet I do not see but that you may have Such clauses therein as will bind them to a proper application of it to the Same end; & you may So word it as to Secure to you all you can reasonably desire as to nominating your Successor; & So of every other article. Was I now in your place, from my knowledge of the Trustees, & their desire to please you, I would draw the deed as would please my own mind, only *keeping in mind* what I before mentioned. The reason they desire the Deed is, to Stop the mouths of enimies who Say, that they are no trust, & that your heirs can lay claim to the Money for themselves, &c. This clamour must be fully Silenced by the Deed, & by the clause in your will w<sup>ch</sup> they have wrote for; but then you may make Such reserves as to your actings, as Shall be very reasonable, & will not give occasion to the enemy to reproach.<sup>1</sup> I hope to See you next May or June D.V. I find the people in Salem where dear M<sup>r</sup> Huntington was are waiting for my return in order to call me there<sup>2</sup>—What do you think of it? The collection in the whole both here & in Scotland amounts to about £11,000. blessed be God. It is the opinion of friends that you Should not withdraw your Schools or Miss<sup>ns</sup>. from the Mohawks & on acc<sup>t</sup> of any bluster the B——s<sup>s</sup> are making but push the affair hard—for now is the time—If you can go a little further in the work,

you will have the hearts of the Indians too much for S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> J——n to overthrow you, tho he were desirous of it, especially as they See he is Selfish & is gitting all their land from them.<sup>4</sup> And I firmly believe the Devil has inspired the B——s with much zeal on this acc<sup>t</sup> & that they will do every thing that God will permit them to obstruct this work—but you have the hands of them. Go on therefore in God's name, & he will be with you, Send out 20 if you can next year—fill the woods with your Boys & preachers, & trust God for money—all is his. M<sup>r</sup> Occom is well—O pray hard for us—M<sup>r</sup> W——d is in good health, better than for many years past he is very friendly to me—blessed be God. Tell dear madam & children that I love them Still—Till I See you, I am, my dear B<sup>r</sup> with uniform & constant affection

*yours in our dear Immanuel*

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> *This confidential information concerning the real state of mind of the Trustees must have been of great value to Wheelock in the difficult problem of drawing a Deed of Trust which would be acceptable to his American supporters, and which, at the same time, would not alienate his sources of supply in England. On the margin of the first page the following is written, "Please to shew this page to nobody but Ralph W. to whom present tender love."*

<sup>2</sup> *Whitaker became pastor of the Salem church in 1769 and remained until 1784.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bishops.*

<sup>4</sup> *This is unfair to Sir William Johnson. It is true that he did amass large areas of land, but, in this respect, his treatment of the Indians was far more considerate than that of Wheelock's friends in Connecticut.*



*Robert Keen to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London. 31<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup>: 1767.*

REV<sup>d</sup>. SIR

We have receiv'd your Packet of Letters dated the 16<sup>th</sup> of October, &c. with the Power of Attorney from you to the Earl of Dartmouth &c &c—this shews your Readiness to consent to the Trust, and is as much as could be expected from our Letter to you of Feb<sup>r</sup> 9<sup>th</sup>—but the Public call for and expect to see the Earl of Dart-

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mouth and the other Gentlemen Invested with a Deed of Trust from you, of a more full and ample nature;<sup>1</sup> answerable to our request of the 21<sup>st</sup> of July but as that was not come to Hand when you wrote in October, and possibly may have miscarried—We'll here transcribe the leading Articles, which, we then, and now desire it may consist of, Viz<sup>t</sup>. The Right Honourable William Earl of Dartmouth, M<sup>r</sup> Baron Smythe, John Thornton, Samuel Roffey, Charles Hardy, and Daniel West Esq<sup>rs</sup>., M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Savage, M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Roberts, & M<sup>r</sup> Rob<sup>t</sup> Keen are the Persons fixt upon to be the Trustees for your Indian School &c. &c.

2<sup>dly</sup>. upon the Death or Resignation of any of the said Nine Gentlemen, such Vacancy be declared, and others chosen by the majority of the remaining Trustees, to fill up such Vacancy or Vacancies—

3<sup>dly</sup>. In case of the Death of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Eleazar Wheelock, a Successor or Successors, be chosen and nominated by the Trustees to fill up his important Post of the sole management of the School, sending Missionaries &c. &c.

4<sup>thly</sup> The Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Eleazar Wheelock and his Successors have Power to draw for Monies on the Treasurer &c, and the Trustees have Power to pay such Draughts, or refuse and protest them as the majority call'd together on that particular Account shall judge most adviseable—

5<sup>thly</sup> That the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Wheelock & his Successors see the Accounts be kept regular, how the Money so drawn for, is laid out: and transmit such Accounts to the Trustees every Six Months, that is twice every Year, that they may be made public as often as the Trustees think proper, or necessary, perhaps annually—thus each of your Successors are to be accountable to the present Trustees & their Successors—

These Sir are the leading Articles which the Deed of Trust should consist of—but Sir, least you should construe the 4<sup>th</sup> Article to be, as it were, a tying up your Hands and cramping you in the Pursuit of enlarging your School and encreasing the Number of Missionaries &c, &c. we mean *no such Thing*; on the contrary—twill be the *highest Pleasure and Satisfaction* to hear of the greatest Success your most enlarged Thoughts and Wishes ever have or shall con-

ceive; and to be able to communicate such to the Public, and that no Enterprize, or Undertaking, Providence may open and point out to you, may be retarded through the great Distance you are from us, we think it necessary you should draw on John Thornton Esq<sup>r</sup> (the Treasurer) for £500 Sterling as soon as you shall think proper—and before that is expended to draw on him for any Part of the said Sum of £500 more so as to have that Sum at any Time you think it necessary in your Hands, to pursue immediately such Plans as, by God's Blessing, seems to you to answer the Ends, both yourself, the Trustees and every Subscriber had in view when they so generously contributed<sup>2</sup>—

With regard to the 3<sup>d</sup> Article of the Trust fixing a Successor when it shall please God to call you hence (which we hope is at the greatest Distance) we are desirous you'd recommend such Persons to us the next Time you write as you would have preferr'd, was the whole Choice to have devolv'd on, or center'd in yourself; and depend upon it we shall pay due Regard to your Recommendations it being our fix'd Intention of strengthening your Hands, and concurring with you Step by Step, in prosecuting your laudable Undertaking, so far as it shall appear so to you and us—As to the Article of your Will we think it sufficient to satisfy the Publick if you insert a Clause Bequeathing the Ballance in favour of the School &c, which shall be found in your Hands at your Decease, to the Right Honourable the Earl of Dartmouth, and the rest of the Trustees, and send the said clause, with the Deed of Trust, and with a Promise that it shall be found in your last Will & Testament—which we may perhaps see Occasion to publish with the Deed of Trust.

But the Publick call for such a Deed of Trust, and such Articles as before mentioned, the want of which is the only discouraging Circumstance we at present grapple with, & without which the Publick look upon us as an insufficient Trust, and the longer it is before we receive such a Deed, the louder perhaps their Clamour may rise—you seem this last Year to have greatly lessen'd your Plan of Operations, and we hear of no Missionaries but M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland—he is a Missionary in good earnest—We wish you had twenty such—the Acco<sup>ts</sup> from him, and your Sons Visit to Sir William Johnson (whose

Interest & Friendship we think you are secure in) are delightful—and as Things wear such a pleasing Prospect we would advise you vigorously to pursue such Measures, as, if it please God, may tend to the enlarging the Redeemers Kingdom & civilizing the Indians. If Success of this Nature in your's, Our's, and the Subscribers' Life Time, were to take Place, how pleasing on all Hands would such an Account be? where are your other Missionaries—M<sup>r</sup> Chamberlain, M<sup>r</sup> Kenne, and others we have had Account of? employ them all. And M<sup>r</sup> Brainard and M<sup>r</sup> Cleveland's Expedition to the Ohio seems worthy your Regard<sup>s</sup>—We have accepted your Draught of £ 140 and will pay that and the other when it comes to M<sup>r</sup> Ashahel Clarke &c. we had Thoughts of sending you Goods for the Use of your School as you desir'd, but we had M<sup>r</sup> Smith of Boston to consul with, what were proper to send, and he is of Opinion we need not, for you having ready Money or full Liberty to draw Bills can buy the Goods you want, as cheap as if sent from London, now if you find it otherwise, please to specify whatever Goods you'd have for the Use of the School, Indians, & Missionaries, Bought in London and they shall be sent you, & we'll take Care to buy them at the first Hand, with ready Money—Nothing now hinders us from publishing the whole affair<sup>4</sup> with all the Subscribers Names, and Places where Collections have been made, M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland's and other special Accounts—but the want of this Deed of Trust, which likewise puts us under the disagreeable Dilemma of not knowing whether it is best to let Mess<sup>rs</sup> Whitaker & Occom collect any farther Sums of Money in our Names or no—but we believe it must be the latter, and they are now in London—therefore if you have not rec<sup>d</sup>. our Letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of July consequently have not sent such a Deed—don't delay any longer, on receiving this, as nothing can so effectually retard the Progress of this good Work we are engag'd in

I am Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir in the Name, & for the Trust,

*Your most humble Servant*

ROB<sup>t</sup> KEEN, *Secretary.*

*N.B.* S<sup>r</sup> Charles Hotham being [dead] M<sup>r</sup> Baron Smythe<sup>s</sup> one of y<sup>e</sup> Twelve Judges of England is chosen in his room—In y<sup>e</sup> Power of



Attorney sent us Charles Hardy Esq<sup>r</sup> is call'd S<sup>r</sup>. Charles Hardy who is another person—

<sup>1</sup> *The reception accorded by the Trustees to a simple power of attorney, when a Deed of Trust was asked for, was less brusque than, under the circumstances, might have been expected.*

<sup>2</sup> *The conditions set up by the Trustees were entirely inadmissible, and added much to Wheelock's difficulties at this time. On the other hand, the liberality with which drafts were promised in advance of their application did much to nullify the conditions which were imposed.*

<sup>3</sup> *This mission was never undertaken.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Deed of Trust did not arrive in time for publication in the Narrative in question, and a declaration of Trust, signed by the English Trustees, was substituted for it.*

<sup>5</sup> *Sir Sidney Stafford Smythe, Baron Smythe, 1705-1778; Baron of the Exchequer, 1750-1772; Lord Chief Baron, 1772-1777; member of the Privy Council; twice commissioner of the great seal; said to have refused the office of Lord Chancellor and to have been "the ugliest man of his day." Both he and his wife took great interest in the evangelistic movement. His contribution to the cause was six guineas.*

The three communications which follow are taken from the PUBLICATIONS OF THE ROYAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION, FOURTEENTH REPORT. Appendix, Part X. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH. Vol II.

*Draft of a Certificate.*

We the Trustees for the monies collected in England for the use & benefit of Dr. Wheelock's Indian Charity School in N.A. Do hereby certify all whom it may concern that the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Nath<sup>l</sup> Whitaker, D.D. hath executed the business of his mission in collecting monies for said Charity with zeal, diligence, care and faithfulness; and as a testimony of our intire approbation of his conduct in the whole of this extensive and difficult business, we have thought proper to make him a present of one hundred pounds besides the expence of his journeying & the necessary support of his family during his absence; and we do most heartily recommend him to the notice & respect of all christian people where ever he may come, as one whom we have found, by his diligence & faithfulness to be very successful in the business he hath been engaged in. In testimony of which we have hereto subscribed our names this . . . .



**WILLIAM, SECOND EARL OF DARTMOUTH**

*Nathaniel Whitaker to the Earl of Dartmouth*

*London, February 18*

SIR,

The recommendation which M<sup>r</sup> Keen sent your Lordship yesterday was drawn by myself, which I conclude he informed you of. When I drew it, modesty forbid my saying all that might be necessary to establish my character abroad, as having acted my part, not only with *zeal, diligence, care, & faithfulness*, which could say without arrogance; but also with prudence, wisdom and christian fortitude & finished the work with honour & esteem as a christian and minister of Christ, &c.

I freely own it makes me blush to mention these things, as it savors of vanity in me to suppose them of myself; but if your Lordship can think that some such amendment can be made consistant with truth, It will add to all the former obligations I am under to you & the other Gentlemen of the Trust, if you will be so kind as to draw it with some such alteration; and this will give fresh Spirit to the cause itself, when the pious doners come to know that I have met with the fullest approbation from the honourable trustees.

As a vessel is going to Boston next week or the beginning of the week after, if the recommendation can be finished, it will put it in my power to endeavor going in her, which, if it can be accomplished, will save the expence of longer support here.

I beg leave to ask whether it would not be best to leave out of the recommendation the kind donation which the Hon<sup>ble</sup> trust have made to me, as it may offend some, tho' it should please others but this I submit to better judgment.

If I may have the honour of taking leave of your Lordship before my departure, it will add to all the other obligations of your Lordship's most obliged and most obedient humble Servant,

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

*Nathaniel Whitaker to the Earl of Dartmouth**London, February 23, 1768*

SIR

Your letter of the 19th I received yesterday, & the contents intimate your Lordship's displeasure with me, which very sensibly affects my mind & fills me with sinking grief.

Doubtless the hurry of my affairs in preparing for my voyage hath led me into several steps of conduct which will not bare the reflection of my superiors, and discovers great indelicacy, tho' I am not conscious of any designed offence. The reason why I drew up the scetch of recommendation &c was the hint which your Lord-Ship was pleased kindly to give, that it should be done to my satisfaction, & the desire of M<sup>r</sup> Keen that I should write something like what I would have, which I did not suppose would be the form of it, but be drawn as seemed best to your Lordship. Yet I acknowledge upon reading your Letter, my conduct appears to me to savor much of *dictating* which I abhor in myself, & which I hope your Lordship will pass by with all your wonted kindness. Could I know wherein I have offend your Lordship or any of the gentlemen of the trust, tho' inadvertantly, I should count it an honour freely to acknowledge it, and humbly to ask your and their pardon. And tho' I am not conscious, in the sight of God, of any wilful offense, yet, as I know I have numberless infirmities and weaknesses, which have exposed me to many unjustifiable Steps in conduct, which I reflect on with grief, I humbly hope a kind veil will be cast over them all. I heartily retract all I have done about the recommendation, and leaving it with great cheerfulness to your Lordship's wisdom and goodness to form it, as you shall see meet, only beg that all I have done amiss may be kindly passed by & that I may stand well in the good opinion of the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Trustees.

I can assure your Lordship, that as it has been, so I purpose it ever shall be my care & endeavour to promote the cause you have so kindly patronized and pray that the worthy Trust may see a glorious harvest of souls gathered from among the poor Indians of America.

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I have this day taken a passage in the vessel which sails next Monday,<sup>1</sup> for New York, Capt. Richards. If your Lordship pleases to favor me with the Recommendation, it will greatly oblige your Lordship's most obliged, dutiful & hum<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

NATH<sup>l</sup> WHITAKER

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written on Monday, so the date of sailing was one week in advance, on March 2.

<sup>2</sup> Whitaker's lack of adroitness in thus presuming to dictate the terms of his recommendation was eminently characteristic of him. It is unfortunate that the communication of Lord Dartmouth, which called forth the third of these letters, has not been preserved.



*Samuel Savage<sup>1</sup> to Eleazar Wheelock*

*London. March 5<sup>th</sup>: 1768—*

REV<sup>d</sup>. & DEAR SIR

I owe you a letter of a long Standing, but a backwardness to writeing and other avocations have hitherto hindred: but could not let this oportunity Slip without Sending you a line—

The great concern you have for the cause of the redeemer and the Spread of the everlasting gospell hath made me love you: though I never Saw you nor is it likely I ever Shall in the present State. but hope to meet you in King Jesus' upper house.<sup>2</sup> where we Shal See as we are Seen & know as we are known—when I heerd of D<sup>r</sup> Whitaker & M<sup>r</sup> Occom's coming it gave me pleasure but much more when I heard & Saw them. D<sup>r</sup> Whitaker hath been indefatigable in going about to collect money in city & country and Executed this work with great deligence prudence zeal and faithfulness and honours:<sup>3</sup> it allso added much to the Succes of it that M<sup>r</sup> Occum (the indian) was with him, as a fruit (under God) of your labour, and whom the Lord hath done great things for, and for whom many here bless God—but the poor indian hath been So cares'd & Such respect Shown him even by the great and Noble that I have been affraid the good man Some times hath almost forgot what he was—it

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is a great Mercy to be kept Sitting at the feet of Jesus, I hope he will be kept so. D<sup>r</sup> Sir I Esteem the cause in which you are engaged to be great and glorious & So do many here, but it is not without its Enemies for Satan hath been Stirring up all his force that he hath been Suffer'd to do against it: to Speak evile of it & of those that where engaged in it: even those from whom we Should have expected better things: but when they digg a pitt for others they may happen to fall in it them Selves.

I am glad to find by yours & M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands letters as likewise by your Sons Journal to M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland that the work goes on with Such Success. I pray the Lord may prosper it more and more—

I hope ways and means will be found for you to so proceed as to have occasion for all the mony that is collected in England, while we continue to live: for Methink I should be Sorry to leave any of it to another generation—for I see Such a fickleness in the minds of Some of those who like to have the management of it that I should be glad it could be (with honnour) drawn out of their hands<sup>d</sup> and I wish that whenever you write to the trustees it may be in the most Solemn & Close manner (as also to give us all the encouragement you can of the Succes of the cause) that none may dare to oppose or hinder you in your plans, or designs y<sup>t</sup> you may think best for the carrying on the work; but that every one of us may be Obliged to Say: to Straiten or to Stop your hands would be to fight against God—

Dear Sir—I hope these lines will find you in health both in Soul & body as also your whole family for whom I have (in a Chest of books which are coming to you:) Sent a piece of Stript Camblett of our manufacture 60 yards which may be of use to M<sup>rs</sup> Wheelock & your daughters &c & family. I need not Say I Shall be glad of a line from you whenever it Sutes—These books w<sup>ch</sup> are in the Chest are: 100 of Baxters Saints rest, a present from Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> Benj. Fawcett of Kidderminster<sup>5</sup> in Worstershire: & many Sermons & pamphletts from M<sup>rs</sup> Brine, widdo of the late Rev<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> John Brine<sup>6</sup> of london all for the use of the Schools &c, at your discretion & some are of D<sup>r</sup> Whitakers & some M<sup>r</sup> Occoms—they will know their own, and now dear Sir I think I must take my leave of you for the present least I weary you

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with my Scrible: Wishing & praying that great Grace may be upon you all—I remain yours in the dearest Bonds of Christian love

SAM<sup>1</sup> SAVAGE.

P.S. Perhaps you may think that what we have allow<sup>d</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Whitaker is but Smal<sup>r</sup>:—in which I cannot but Joyn with you—I would fain have had it Doubled but they would not admitt of it: a Very Smal consideration for two years & half absence from his family and Such a constant Scen of labour and phatigue as he hath gone through:

*I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup> once more y<sup>r</sup>*

*freind & serv<sup>t</sup>. for Christ's Sake*

S. S.

<sup>1</sup> *Aside from Keen and Thornton, Savage was the only one of the English Trustees who corresponded regularly with Wheelock. In 1774, when the fund was exhausted, he made a final personal donation of £100 to Wheelock "to encourage you in your work—because you have been expending your strength & time & substance in such a noble Institution as I deem it to be."*

<sup>2</sup> *This probably has reference to heaven in general, rather than to a private heavenly House of Lords, reserved for pious Calvinists, as the text might appear to indicate.*

<sup>3</sup> *This recommendation of Whitaker must have been very acceptable to him, as other communications from England at this and later times refer to his activities in terms which are scarcely flattering.*

<sup>4</sup> *A distrust of the rising generation is not confined to our own day. There was no occasion for Savage to worry; the money was drawn and spent with astonishing celerity.*

<sup>5</sup> *Page 286.*

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. John Brine, 1703-1765; minister of the Baptist congregation at Cripplegate, 1730-1765.*

<sup>7</sup> *Whitaker and Occom were each allowed £100 for their services, in addition to the money devoted to their expenses and to the support of their families during their absence.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen<sup>1</sup>*

*Lebanon. May 6. 1768.*

MY DEAR & HON<sup>d</sup> SIR.

Y<sup>r</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup> 9. came to hand 3 Days ago, and was indeed a refreshing Cordial to me amidst very great perplexities. When I received M<sup>r</sup> Keen's of July 21, I was apprehensive y<sup>t</sup> Such was the un-

easie, Jealous, and distempered State of these Colonies y<sup>t</sup> it wo<sup>d</sup> by no means do to have the proposal made publick and accordingly it yet remains a profound Secret with a few of my most judicious Friends here and in New York whose united advice to me has been rather to give up the Whole than to Sign Such a Deed, and I can assure you sir y<sup>t</sup> the Fidelity, uprightness and Integrity of the Worthy Gentlemen of the present Trust was never once call'd in Question, or any Jealousie in that Respect the Least Ground of their objections. Upon this I attempted to form Something myself, and Submitted it to the correction and censures of Gentlemen Skill'd in the Law, but have found it exceeding difficult to gain their Attention to it as they have been for two months generally Employed in the Circuit, and other public affairs. They have at last told me y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>o</sup> [matter] is so gr<sup>t</sup> and difficult y<sup>t</sup> they advised me to wait till the Session of our General Assembly next week when the ablest advisers in the Colony will be togather at Hartford. I have lately, viz. 6 weeks ago, received two Letters from M<sup>r</sup> Keen, viz. Dec<sup>r</sup> 31. which contain near the Same proposals as are made in yours which I esteem most Reasonable, and even beyond what I c<sup>d</sup> expect. I never desired to have more in my Hands than I have present Need of, as it will lie without Interest. You may be assured Sir, I Shall be willing to sign anything that will not displease God or injure the grand Design in view. I expect to accomplish what I propose next week before w<sup>h</sup> I can't ha' time to get a Deed dr<sup>n</sup> & properly authenticated, & will send y<sup>o</sup> y<sup>rs</sup> with Such a Deed as y<sup>o</sup> propose and leave it with y<sup>o</sup> to give the preference as to you shall appear right—And you may be Sure I Shall attend to it till it be done and Shall transmitt it by the first conveyance with my School Acc<sup>ts</sup>—M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands Journal (if he shall be so recruited as to be able to give it)<sup>2</sup>—and also my Son's late Long Journey to the Tuscararas & Onondagas in which I trust you will See Some prospects that will be refreshing & encouraging<sup>3</sup>—

I only Send this hasty Line forward to let you & those Hon<sup>ble</sup> & Worthy Gent<sup>n</sup> to whom my debt of Gratitude is too great ever to be repaid by me, know that I am & have all along been far from being asleep or indolent in this matter and y<sup>t</sup> nothing Short of my [sense of obligation] to God & man and concern for the Prosperity of the



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great Affair, has lain with greater weight upon my Heart than to Secure their Honour, and give them no occasion to regrett their Generosity & condensation in undertaking the Trust.—

I have lately Sign'd a Bill for £100 in fav<sup>r</sup> of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Dan<sup>l</sup> & Joshua Lathrop which I pray you to hon<sup>r</sup>.

With Duty and Respect to the Gentlemen of the Trust.

*I am Yours most Sincerely*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is a rough draft, very difficult to decipher.*

<sup>2</sup> *In the spring of 1768, Kirkland returned from the Oneida country so ill that his life was despaired of. He remained in Connecticut nearly to the end of the year.*

<sup>3</sup> *The report of Ralph Wheelock concerning his visit to the Oneidas and Onondagas was of the most encouraging character, but it was entirely inaccurate and misleading.*



*Eleazar Wheelock to Robert Keen*

*Lebanon May 31<sup>st</sup> 1768.*

M<sup>r</sup> KEEN SEC<sup>y</sup>. &c

MY DEAR SIR

I can assure you I have been far from being indolent in procuring y<sup>e</sup> deed of Trust you required, y<sup>e</sup> reasonableness of which appeared at first view; but it would tire you to hear a full Acc<sup>t</sup> of my difficulties perplexities Journeyings & consultations in that affair, since I rec<sup>d</sup> yours of July 21<sup>st</sup> to furnish such a deed as would be agreeable, and cause no offence on either side y<sup>e</sup> water: and the only Reason why I have not wrote was because I could not tell what to write, & have been all along hoping by y<sup>e</sup> next opportunity to send one y<sup>t</sup> would be satisfactory.

I was apprehensive y<sup>t</sup> some of y<sup>e</sup> particulars you required to be in y<sup>e</sup> deed would by no means do, in this day of Jealousy & distemper in these Colonies; & accordingly they remain a secret to this day, only with those whom I esteemed safest to consult on y<sup>e</sup> head: y<sup>e</sup>

consequence of which is herewith transmitted after so long a time, which is as soon as I could possibly accomplish it. No less then ten draughts have been made & rejected, before one could be approved by our Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Law.

The proposal made in yours of Dec. 31<sup>st</sup> & also in Esq<sup>r</sup>. Thorn-ton of Feb. 9<sup>th</sup> is quite liberal, & sufficiently secured me & my Suc-cessors against y<sup>e</sup> Inconveniences I mentioned; & is indeed more than I chuse, as the money in my hands more than I have present need of, will lie without Interest—If this deed suits you I shall be glad; or if you will please to send me a draught of one y<sup>t</sup> will suit you better, I assure you I am ready to sign anything y<sup>t</sup> will please God, & subserve y<sup>e</sup> great design in view. This deed is exactly y<sup>e</sup> plan in my last will. I tho't best to suppress the names of my successor & y<sup>e</sup> Trus-tees, as I shall have it in my power to alter them as I shall see oocasion: but I do & shall esteem it my duty fully to acquaint you who they are and of any alterations which I shall, in compliance with your Advice (which I shall always with greatest respect hearken to) or for other Sufficient Reasons, see fit to make.

My Judgment at present is that I cannot leave this dear Cause safer in any hands than in my son Ralph's.<sup>1</sup> He has the fullest ac-quaintance with the whole Affair, in all y<sup>e</sup> nature & Circumstances of it; and has y<sup>e</sup> best tallant at treating Indians, and at present com-mands y<sup>e</sup> greatest respect among them of any man I know, and ac-cordingly I have appointed him to be my successor. I have also ap-pointed W<sup>m</sup>. Pitkin Esq<sup>r</sup>. of Hartford, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Benj<sup>n</sup> Pomroy of Hebron, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. James Lockwood of Weathersfield, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Tim<sup>o</sup>. Pitkin of Farmington, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. W<sup>m</sup> Patten of Hartford, The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Kirtland Miss<sup>r</sup>. and my son Ralph Wheelock all of y<sup>e</sup> Colony of Connecticut,<sup>2</sup> to be Trustees on this side y<sup>e</sup> water, which is all submitted to y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> w:<sup>p</sup>ful & disintrested Gentlemen of y<sup>r</sup> Trust.

And I assure you, sir, y<sup>t</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> Grace of God, nothing shall be wanting within my power to prosecute this great design to effect, but I imagine you dont concieve what a fatigue, what constant Care, nor how many & great Difficulties do, & likely will for many Years, necessarily devolve upon him who has & must have the planning

directing & disposing of y<sup>e</sup> whole Affair, at least till y<sup>e</sup> Missionaries & Schoolmasters shall be settled, and accomodated for a living among them. Only the little affair of getting a suitable Miss<sup>r</sup>. to take M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands place till he recovers his health, has cost above 500 Miles in Journeys & none reckoned of less than 30 Miles & not one mile taken needlessly. And after all am obliged to send M<sup>r</sup> Kinne, whose infirm state obliged him to leave the service two years ago, and now gives reason to fear y<sup>t</sup> he will not be able to endure it; but I can do no better than to send him with M<sup>r</sup> Avery, who goes as a Catechist & with a view to keep a school & be perfected in that Language.

I apprehend it will be most for y<sup>e</sup> general good of y<sup>e</sup> design before us, and what is indeed of necessity at present, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Mohocks to whom I first sent Miss<sup>rs</sup> & Schoolmasters, should be wholly neglected, as those places are reserved for, and are daily expected to be supplied with Miss<sup>rs</sup>, from home. And many have learnt to dispise any but such as come from y<sup>e</sup> great Minister almost as big as y<sup>e</sup> King. I hope soon to have a supply of my own pupils, & such as are promising—I find by experience y<sup>t</sup> English Youth must have y<sup>e</sup> lead at present.<sup>8</sup> Temptations I find are too many & strong & y<sup>e</sup> place, according to y<sup>e</sup> Indian Idiom, too slippery in general, for their own sons when quite alone. My sons Journal last fall, with his & M<sup>r</sup> Kirtlands herewith transmitted, will give you some general & I trust a pleasing view of y<sup>e</sup> progress of y<sup>e</sup> work of God among y<sup>e</sup> Oneidas. The Acco<sup>t</sup> which I gave you from Jos: Johnson<sup>4</sup> in mine of March 1<sup>st</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> Kirtland informs me, was a mistake—He says there was no such encouraging Appearance at all, neither at Onondaga nor Kanasaraga, but much y<sup>e</sup> contrary at y<sup>t</sup> Time; nor did he see any encouragement of success when my son went among them. If you should see fit to publish y<sup>e</sup> Acco<sup>ts</sup> & Journals I have sent, please to suppress y<sup>t</sup> mistaken Acco<sup>t</sup>—And as to y<sup>e</sup> Acc<sup>t</sup> which my son gives of their dreams & witchcraft, I shall leave it with your prudence whither to publish them or not—however Jos. Johnson writes me y<sup>t</sup> since my sons return y<sup>e</sup> Indians are much exercised & vexed from Time to Time, with Appearances of such Fowls among them as they cant kill & which they ascribe only to witchcraft.

As to y<sup>e</sup> fixing y<sup>e</sup> place for this School, I am not a little perplexed. The necessity of it is great—I and my Family almost worn out with the Throng—the expences of y<sup>e</sup> School, I concieve, necessarily greater—And y<sup>e</sup> Students under disadvantage for want of suitable Studies. The Affair is esteem'd great, the suitors for it many—& their Offers generous—but I am not sufficiently acquainted, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> several places proposed for y<sup>e</sup> Situation of it, to be able understandingly to determine it myself, if it were otherwise proper for me to attempt that, whereby I should expose myself & posterity to such consequences as are naturally to be expected.

You see herewith transmitted y<sup>e</sup> reply from Albany, to y<sup>e</sup> Obj:s much urged against its going there viz y<sup>e</sup> bad morals of that City,<sup>5</sup> & their being unable to accomodate y<sup>e</sup> school with lands sufficient for it—And also the very generous offer of Capt<sup>t</sup>. Lansing<sup>6</sup> about 8 miles above Albany—And also y<sup>e</sup> generous offer of Gov<sup>r</sup>. Wentworth—Col. Bayley<sup>7</sup> &c of New Hampshire—There is also another proposal made for its settlement near Esopias about 130 Miles from N. York & 50 west of Hudson River, but this is not yet so ripened, that I can give any tolerable description of it—My Informer M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Clark, a pious Scotch Minister, writes me, that there are two tracts of Land contain'g 35,000 Acres each, to be had cheap: and y<sup>e</sup> place seems to be agreeable as to its distance from y<sup>e</sup> main bodys of y<sup>e</sup> Indians, but how it may be otherwise accomodated I cant yet tell.

I have been hoping y<sup>t</sup> my hon<sup>d</sup>. Patrons would direct to some method to determine the important point of the Situation according to Truth & Right.

And I would humbly propose whether it be not of importance eno' to justify y<sup>e</sup> expence of sending proper & impartial Judges if such may be found to examine & view fully and make report of all material Advantages & disadvantages of y<sup>e</sup> several Places, & y<sup>e</sup> same be transmitted to you to compare & form a Judgment & determination thereon, or any other way or means which you shall prefer.

I earnestly pray y<sup>e</sup> R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup> & worthy Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Trust to make this Affair y<sup>e</sup> object of y<sup>e</sup> attention till it be done—The Fatigue of my Family, & the disadvantages to y<sup>e</sup> cause, are & necessarily will be great till then.

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I hope what I have said will justify my neglect of y<sup>e</sup> Mohocks at present, and y<sup>e</sup> copy of M<sup>r</sup> Brainards Letter, my not pursuing a mission to y<sup>e</sup> Ohio as you desired.

I believe you will join with me y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> providence of God calls upon us to lay close Siege to y<sup>e</sup> Onondages & Tuscaronas, which by the grace of God I will do.<sup>s</sup>

I hope you will collect a narrative of y<sup>e</sup> Progress of thjs Affair from y<sup>e</sup> Letter Abstracts and Journals I have sent, which contain y<sup>e</sup> most material things—I cannot do it myself, as I am continually so crowded with business, y<sup>t</sup> I can scarcely recollect when I have had a leisure hour for 12 months past, and this amidst great bodily infirmity.

I shall send duplicates of my acco<sup>ts</sup>. & of y<sup>e</sup> deed of Trust by y<sup>e</sup> first conveyance after this.

I know not how to express my sentiments of Gratitude & the strength and ardour of my Affection to my ever hon<sup>d</sup> Patrons, who thro' love to Christ & compassion to Souls have condescended to accept y<sup>e</sup> Trust &c. And it gives me no small exercise y<sup>t</sup> I know no better how to honour them. I say *how*, because there is no want of will in me to do it. I beg of them they would bear with, or point out to me my deficiencies of any kind. I dont need blows nor wounds—I am alone, a City upon a hill: the Lord uphold & direct me amidst thousands who are watching & wishing & waiting for my fall, & I fear are grieved at y<sup>e</sup> heart y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Lord has made his work to prosper gloriously, in spite of all their devices & endeavours against it.

I present my duty in y<sup>e</sup> most respectful manner to my hon<sup>d</sup>. Patrons, & bespeak y<sup>r</sup> prayers and y<sup>e</sup> Prayers of all who heartily wish y<sup>e</sup> prosperity of Zion, and am—

*Yours & theirs in the dearest bonds*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

*P.S. June 6<sup>th</sup>*

This day I have y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of congratulating my dear Br. Whitaker on his safe arrival & rejoice w<sup>th</sup> him in God who has upheld & so kindly conducted him in all his Labours, & made him & them so

acceptable in Europe—his Things were safe on board in N. London Harbour Expected to Norwich by y<sup>e</sup> first fair wind.

M<sup>r</sup> Occom is also return'd but I hant yet seen him—<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *It was Wheelock's view that his enterprises could be carried on only by his own family. The appointment of Ralph was thoroughly bad, but it was nullified, before it could go into effect, by the mental afflictions of the young man. His subsequent appointment (under the charter of Dartmouth College) of his younger son, John, to be his successor as president of that institution was no so exceptionable, but it was subject to serious objections.*

<sup>2</sup> *William Pitkin, 1725-1789, at this time Deputy Governor of Connecticut, later member of Congress and Judge of the Supreme Court.*

*Rev. James Lockwood, 1714-1772; Yale, 1735; minister at Weathersfield, Conn., 1739-1772.*

*Rev. Timothy Pitkin, 1727-1812; Yale, 1747; minister at Farmington, Conn., 1752-1785.*

*Rev. William Patten, 1738-1775; Harvard, 1754; minister at Halifax, Mass., 1758-1768; afterwards for seven years at Hartford, Conn. He was son-in-law of Wheelock.*

*With the exception of Kirkland and Ralph Wheelock, these men became members of the first (1769) Board of Trustees of Dartmouth College.*

<sup>3</sup> *From this time on the emphasis was shifted from Indian missionaries to those of white extraction. One of the most important reasons for the foundation of a college as a part of the enterprise was to furnish an institution where these English lads might be trained for their duties, at the least possible expense.*

<sup>4</sup> *Joseph Johnson, 1751(?)-1777. He was an inmate of the Indian School from the ages of six or seven to fifteen, then, until 1768, was school master among the Iroquois. At that time he fell into dissipation and disgrace, and was considered to be lost to the cause, but through the exertions of Occom was redeemed in 1771. After serving as school master at Farmington, during which time he married one of Occom's daughters, he was ordained at Hanover in 1774. He was the most influential of those leading the movement for the migration of New England Indians to New York (page 000), and, until his early death, was agent of Congress among the Iroquois, with the mission of deterring them from joining the British cause.*

<sup>5</sup> *Just why the morals of the people of Albany were considered objectionable is not clear, but they continued to be an obstacle, in Wheelock's mind, to the rather attractive offers from that city. When, after careful investigation, the claims of the conflicting sites were sent to the English trust for decision in 1769, that decision lay among the Coos region in New Hampshire, Albany, Pittsfield, Mass., and Lebanon. Other possible sites were by that time eliminated.*

<sup>6</sup> *Capt. Abraham J. Lansing, 1720-1791, endeavored to boom the newly settled town of Lansingburg, in Rensselaer County, New York, by the offer of £1000 in cash, six acres as a site for the school, and 200 acres more at a distance of a half-mile, the whole valued at £2500.*

<sup>1</sup> *Jacob Bayley, 1726-1815; Colonel in the French and Indian Wars; early settler at Newbury, Vt., and one of the grantees of Haverhill, N. H., in which town he made strenuous efforts to induce Wheelock to locate the school. Brigadier General in the Revolution.*

<sup>a</sup> *For various reasons this hope was not to be fulfilled. Wheelock's field was soon to shift from the Indians of the Six Nations to those of Canada.*

<sup>o</sup> *While the date of Whitaker's arrival is not definitely fixed by this entry, his voyage must have been one of unusual length. Occom evidently came on a different vessel.*

### *Deed of Trust<sup>1</sup>*

To all Christian People to whom these Presents shall come Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon in the County of Windham within his Majesties English Colony of Connecticut in N. England in America (Clerk) Sendeth Greeting.

Whereas I the said Eleazar Wheelock did, of my own accord and at my own Risk and Expence, about fourteen years ago, found a Charity School within the said Town of Lebanon, with the sole view of civilizing and christianizing the heathen Savages on this Continent; of which School I have had the sole management direction and government hitherto; and it having pleased Almighty God, of late more especially, graciously and greatly to smile on this infant Institution, in granting some special successes to endeavours used among the Pagans; and in opening the hearts and hands of many charitably disposed Persons in America; but especially in Great Britain, by means of the Solicitations of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Nathaniel Whitaker D.D. whom I authorized and sent thither, for that Purpose, and under the Influence of the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Earl of Dartmouth, M<sup>r</sup> Baron Smythe, John Thornton, Samuel Roffey, Charles Hardy, and Daniel West Esq<sup>r</sup>, M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Savage, M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Robarts, and M<sup>r</sup> Robert Keen all of London in Great Britain aforesaid, who voluntarily became Guarantees to the Publick for the due Application of the monies that should be there collected for the design and purposes aforesaid . . . . from all which it seems reasonable to indulge the pleasing hope, that the time is at hand, when the great Redeemer shall, according to his Fathers promise, enjoy the Heathen as his Inheritance; and to raise the joyous Expectation, that the present Plan will be succeeded by Heaven for that purpose.

Wherefore, That, I may do all in my Power, that said Design may be carried into Execution in the best manner possible, when I am here no more; I have, by a proper Instrument under my Hand and Seal, appointed One to be my Successor in the immediate Care Oversight Guidance and Direction of this whole Affair; reserving to him all the powers privileges Jurisdiction and Authority, which I now have, or may have, in and about the Premises; always obliging him and his Successors to make the Trustees hereafter appointed by this Instrument, acquainted from Time to Time with his own doings and the doings of the Trustees here, as seasonably as may be, & particularly that he and his Successors keep a faithful and fair Account of Expences and Disbursements in the whole Affair, and transmit the same at least once a Year, with an Account of all Successes and special Occurrences, to the Trustees in England. also that he shall do the same with respect to any new important plan which he or the Trustees here, shall think fit to enter upon, in the prosecution of the design, as soon as Opportunity presents, and if it may be, before the Execution of it be entered upon. And the Accounts being thus kept and transmitted my Successor or Successors are empowered to draw on those who by this Instrument are hereafter betruusted with the Monies &c collected in Great Britain as aforesaid. And in the Instrument aforesaid I have likewise appointed seven other Gentlemen to be, with my Successor and Successors, Trustees of all donations which have been, or shall hereafter be made in America for the Use of the Institution afores<sup>d</sup>., giving and granting to them in Trust, only for the purpose aforesaid all the Monies and Subscriptions that have been given or made, and whatever Estates whether real or personal, have been or shall be given and granted to me for the Purposes aforesaid, authorizing s<sup>d</sup> Trustees, due notice being given them (by my Successor) of the Time and Place of Meeting, and the major part of them being met, to confirm the Appointment I have made of a Successor, or choose one of their own Number in his Stead; and in case of a Vacancy by the Death or Resignation of any of the Trustees, such vacancy be declared and others chosen by the Majority of the remaining Trustees to fill up such Vacancy or Vacancies; making it the duty of said



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Trustees to examine and authorize Missionaries and Schoolmasters and assign them their Services; and to judge of their Skill and Fidelity in performing the same; and continue, or displace & remove them as to them shall seem fit; likewise empowering them to determine and fix on Laws, Rules and Orders for the Government and good Oeconomy of the whole Affair in America; and to do everything for the Help and Assistance of my Successors, in the vigorous prosecution of said great design: all the above grants being made under the limitations hereafter mentioned in this Instrument.

### *Now therefore Know Ye*

That I Eleazar Wheelock, For weighty and good Causes and considerations me thereunto moving, do hereby nominate and appoint the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> William Earl of Dartmouth, M<sup>r</sup> Baron Smythe, John Thornton, Samuel Roffey, Charles Hardy, and Daniel West Esquires, M<sup>r</sup> Samuel Savage, M<sup>r</sup> Josiah Robarts and M<sup>r</sup> Robert Keen all of London in Great Britain, to be Trustees there, giving and granting to them and their Successors in Trust and for the sole purpose aforesaid all Gifts, Grants, Subscriptions or Donations which have been, or may hereafter be made, or given, of any kind or in any manner of way whatsoever thro' their Hands & by their Means or Influence; to improve and dispose of in the best way and manner; only for the Uses aforesaid; under the regulations and limitations before and hereafter specified in this Instrument: empowering them to do whatever they shall judge proper and necessary in Great Britain for the Security, Success, Well-being and Increase of the whole Design in view; likewise authorizing them to disapprove my Successor or Successors; in which case a new Nomination to be made by either board of Trustees till one be mutually agreed on, and he who is nominated by the Trustees in America to continue in Office till such agreement take place; likewise to disapprove of any Plans formed and Measures gone into by my Successor or the Trustees here; and after such disapprobation has been signified to and received by him or them, they shall have Right to protest any Bills or Draughts made upon them to pay any further Expences therein but not before.

And in Case of the Death or resignation of any of the said nine Gentlemen such Vacancy be declared, and others chosen by the Majority of the remaining Trustees to fill up such Vacancy or Vacancies. Only that those chosen to fill up such Vacancies in either Board of Trustees be such Men as are of the Protestant Religion, and believe the Scriptures, according to the publick Standards of the Protestant Churches.<sup>2</sup>

And I do by these Presents bind myself that the Plan aforesaid shall not by Me be altered, without the Consent and Approbation of the Trustees in England; but shall remain, and be the Form and Manner of the School, only reserving to myself the Liberty to change my Successor, or to appoint another instead of him who is now named in the instrument afores<sup>d</sup>; and also to add two Trustees more than are now named to the Board of Trustees in America, or omit two of their Number; or remove either of those who are now named and appoint another or others in their Stead, if I shall think it expedient.

In Witness and Confirmation whereof, I the said Eleazar Wheelock have hereunto set my Hand and Seal this thirty-first Day of May—in the eighth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King—Defender of the Faith &c. *Annoq Domini* One Thousand, seven Hundred and sixty eight.—

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

*Signed sealed and delivered  
In Presence of*

BEZA<sup>1</sup> WOODWARD,  
SAM<sup>1</sup> WALES

<sup>1</sup> *The Deed of Trust was very adroitly conceived to avoid the difficulties presented by the demands of the English Trustees, without offending their susceptibilities. It differed from their requirements (1) in setting up an American Trust in which should be vested the ownership of the property acquired in America and the management of the school. (2) The power of the English Trust to protest drafts was limited to occasions in which notice had been given in advance. (3) Each Trust had veto power over the other in the selection of future leaders of the enterprise. When, in the following year, Dartmouth College was chartered, the situation was radically changed.*

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*The American Trust became responsible for the college, with which the English Trust had no connection; while the latter was in charge of Moors Indian Charity School, a separate institution, with which the trustees of the college had nothing to do. This arrangement continued until 1775 when the exhaustion of the fund left the English Trust with no further reason for existence.*

*\* The requirement that the trustees should be of the protestant religion does not appear in the college charter, the sole religious stipulation in that document being that not more than five of the twelve trustees shall be ministers.*



*Samson Occom to Robert Keen<sup>1</sup>*

*Mohegan, Sept. 27, 1768*

**MOST WORTHY SIR,**

Doubtless you have heard of my sickness on board of ship. I was taken ill two or three days after I got on board and was severely handled by it, four weeks, to that degree that I was in delirium for some days; the Captain expected nothing but to cast me overboard in a short time; and we had a rough passage, contrary winds most of the way over; by the goodness of God, I began to amend at the end of four weeks, and grew strong very fast. We were eight weeks tossed to and fro on the mighty ocean. On Friday, in the afternoon, we landed at *Boston*<sup>2</sup> to our great joy and the joy of our friends: Oh what joy it is to christians to arrive safely at last, at the haven of the new Jerusalem. The next morning I took horse and went on my way homeward. Tuesday following I reached home about two o'clock P.M. And by the infinite goodness of God, found my family in a good state of health, except my wife, who had been in a poor declining way above a year, and she is still in a bad state of health: she has had two sudden severe ill turns since I have been at home. A few days ago we did not expect her life many hours, but by the pure mercy of God she is now much better.

I have been to several places of Indians this summer, round about here, and they all receive me with gladness and tender affection. They are very glad to hear the benevolent dispositions of chris-

tians, over the mighty waters, by freely contributing their substance towards the instruction of the poor Indians of North America. They hope by this means their poor children's eyes may be opened, that they may see with their own eyes. I had four Oneida Indians come to see me, some time last July, and they manifested thankfulness at my return. They were greatly affected to hear the good report I gave them of the people in the old christian countries, were very urgent to have me go amongst them this summer past, but I told them I had gone so long from home, I thought it duty to stay at home this year, and if I live to see another spring, I will give them a long visit, and they went away satisfied. I am now writing a short narrative of my life.<sup>8</sup> Doctor Wheelock's school prospers as heretofore, and the Indians are still willing to send their children. I am afraid, the Dutch and French near the Indians are trying all they can to prejudice the Indians against the school and against the English; but if this work is of God, he will carry it on. I trust the Lord will not forsake his people in these parts.

Sincere respects to you and yours, and grateful respects to our worthy Trustees. I am, much esteemed Sir, your most obedient servant.

SAMPSON OCCUM

MR. ROBERT KEEN

<sup>1</sup> *This letter is reprinted from the MEMOIR OF WHELOCK, written by David McClure. It has evidently been subjected to much editorial revision, correction and polishing, as is indicated by the fact that both parts of the Indian's name are spelled in a manner never used by Occom himself.*

<sup>2</sup> *If Occom sailed at about the same time that Whitaker did, this would bring him to Boston about May 1. Evidently the disagreement between the two men was such as to make their presence on the same ship disagreeable to one or the other of them.*

<sup>3</sup> *Apparently this project was never carried out.*



With the return of the envoys and the formulation of the Deed of Trust, our story really ends. It may be of interest, however, to trace the relation of the two men, whose exertions in England had been so fruitful, to the subsequent activities of Wheelock and the educational institutions of which he was the head.

With Whitaker the founder of the college continued to be on friendly terms, although, from this time on, the former had little to do with the development of the school. In his pastorate at Salem he was frequently consulted by Wheelock, and at one time was sent by him on a mission to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, with highly fruitful results. One of the last letters from Wheelock, written two weeks before his death, expresses to Whitaker his longing to see him before his life should be at an end. Four years later, in 1783, Whitaker was invited by the Trustees of the college to undertake another mission, this time to France and Holland, for the collection of funds (a work subsequently undertaken by President John Wheelock), but he declined. With this his connection with the college came to an end.

With Occom the situation was different. His experiences abroad had made him less docile and subservient than he had formerly been, and from now on he plainly indicated that he had a mind of his own. It was Wheelock's plan that he should remove to the Iroquois country and serve as a missionary there, supported by the fund. At this time Occom preferred to limit his activities as an itinerant minister to his native Connecticut; a field controlled by the Boston Board, into which Wheelock could not reasonably enter. The Indian could not be supported, therefore, by the fund the raising of which was so largely due to his efforts, while the Board refused to take him again under its patronage. As a result, he lacked any kind of support and fell into extreme poverty. Friction also arose over his expense account in England. Moreover he raised strenuous objections to that development of Wheelock's plans which resulted in the foundation of Dartmouth College; regarding

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it as a fraudulent diversion of the endowment from the Indians to the whites. His relations with Wheelock became, therefore, almost hostile in character, and he had nothing further to do with his former patron, except to remonstrate with him as to the nature of his new activities. The story may best be told by various documents (two complete letters, and extracts from a number of others) with which this collection ends.

*Eleazar Wheelock to John Thornton**Lebanon, Aug<sup>t</sup> 25, 1768*

MY DEAR SIR.

On sight of Mr. Keen's order by, & in Fav<sup>r</sup>. of M<sup>r</sup> Occom I drew on Mess<sup>s</sup> Lathrop in his Fav<sup>r</sup>. for the Money before I had been informed that he had received of the Trust in England an Allowance for the Support of his Family in his Absence, the greater part of which had been at the Exp<sup>ense</sup> of the School—Soon after Dr. Whitaker arrived & had informed me of the true State of the Affair I Sent Mr. Woodward, my Bookkeeper to Settle the Acco<sup>t</sup>. with him, and receive what was due to the School. But Mr. Woodward says he treated him with an air of Slight & Contempt, Said he would Settle y<sup>e</sup> Acco<sup>t</sup>. with none but me—that he laid out all the money in England which he received of the Trust as an Allowance for Support of his Family, and that he had paid away the greatest part of What he had rec<sup>d</sup>. of Mess<sup>s</sup> Lathrop by virtue of my order; and had occasion for the rest in Labour upon his Farm &c, and that, though it was reasonable the Money Should be refunded to the School, it must wait till he could get Some Other Way—On Mr. Woodward's Enquiring how it came to pass that the Allowance made him in England was So Soon Spent? he assigned as one Reason that he bought a considerable Collection of Books for the School but afterwards for fear of Blame he took them to himself and charged them to own Acco<sup>t</sup>. Upon which Mr. Woodward proposed taking those Books for the School, as he wanted to Sell them, but he would not consent to it without a customary Advance. Neither (as appeared upon Trial) with Such Advance, but would have the Money in Hand or not part with the Books. Mr. Woodward finally desired him to visit me Soon and Settle the affair otherwise an acco<sup>t</sup>. of it must be transmitted to England. this he promised to do in a few Days, Since which Six weeks have elapsed and I have heard nothing from him. After this I was informed that half the Order he had on Mess<sup>s</sup> Lathrop remained unpaid; on which Mr. Woodward wrote Mr. Occom in my Name, informing him that I had heard of it and ex-

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pected that he would order Mess<sup>r</sup> Lathrop to pay it to the School, upon the Receipt of which Letter he immediately applied to them for the Money and could not by them be prevailed upon to consent that the School Should have it.<sup>1</sup>

I advised him soon after he came Home to dispose of his Family & Affairs agreeably to make himself a Settlement in the Wilderness, Where he may have an Advantage which no Englishman can have, viz, as much of the best of their Lands as he could reasonably desire. I proposed that he Should take his wife and two of his Children with him, viz, his Eldest Son and fix him in a School under his Guidance and Inspection and his Youngest Child to live with him, and I would take all the rest of his Children into my School till his Circumstances Should invite to take them with him, but he Seemed disinclined to it and I hear is employing a Number of Labourers about his House and Farm and I but little expect to get the Ballance of the School's Acco<sup>t</sup>. which is about £75 Sterling, or that he will ever Settle in Such a Mission. I fear his Tour to England and the great Respect Shewn him there will have the Sad Effect to make him aspire after Grandure & ease, and prevent his future usefulness, at least in a great Measure. I hant yet Seen him to discourse the Affair with him, nor can I flatter my Self with any great Benefit by it, if I should, Since I can offer no more forcible Arguments than Mr. Woodward urged without Success.

I have Confidence in Your Prudence and have Observed with Pleasure, the Expression of your Esteem and Friendship towards him, or I Should not have dar'd to express myself with so much freedom as I have done upon this Head . . . .

*Yours in the dearest Bonds*

ELEAZAR WHEELOCK

<sup>1</sup> *This friction over the expense account may have been due to advances made by Occom to Mason (page 296), although, in that case, we should expect Whitaker to have informed Wheelock of it, so that it would have appeared in this letter.*



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On December 23, 1768, Wheelock wrote to Keen, referring to Occom, in the following words:

“His Sails were too high in his Tour & he was Nigh Oversett but God has mercifully I hope taken a course to recover him. He seems to be humbling himself & Walking Softly—& I hope will yet bear a zealous part in helping forward the Redeemer’s Cause among his Savage Brethren.”

A letter from Wheelock to Whitefield the following spring (April 24, 1769) shows that matters were still unsatisfactory

“Your Letter to Mr. Occom, I forwarded y<sup>e</sup> day—God has left him to fall into Intemperance (I hope in Great Mercy to him) he appears considerably humble, but is averse to seek any Settlement more convenient for further usefulness y<sup>a</sup> at Mohegan. He consents to take a Tour into y<sup>e</sup> Wilderness y<sup>a</sup> Season. What he will do for futer support I cant tell. There is no probability y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Boston Commissioners will do anything for him. I suspect his principle dependance is upon y<sup>e</sup> tillage of his Lands. I am fully convinced y<sup>t</sup> God does not design y<sup>t</sup> Indians shall have y<sup>e</sup> lead in y<sup>e</sup> Affair at present.”

The proposed mission to the Iroquois during this summer did not, however, eventuate. On July 1 Occom thus complained to Wheelock.

“I have nothing to cary me up into the Wilderness neither Money nor Horse & I have nothing to Leave with my Family to Live on—and I have got a Lame Shoulder besides, it Broke Since I was at your House. I have been Riding to Several places of Indians lately and I find riding hurts my Shoulder more than any Exercise Which discourages me not a little.”

On January 2, 1770, a letter from Nathaniel Wheatley of Boston to Wheelock shows that John Thornton had interested himself in Occom’s predicament and had ordered £40 or £50, sterling, to be paid to him if Wheelock should certify that he needed it. This Wheelock did, £40 was paid, and on January 8 the latter thus reported to Thornton.

“The Expressions of Your Kindness, towards Mr. Occom, were peculiarly Wellcome and refreshing to him as they Were at a Time when his circumstances called for help. He preaches steadily to his

own and to Neighboring Tribes, but they are all under the care and Patronage of the Boston Comm<sup>rs</sup> Who Suppose they have otherwise provided for them and therefore M<sup>r</sup> Occom has no pension, nor anything publicly allowed him for his Labours among them, nor can I do anything publicly for his Support in his present Service without giving Offense and exposing myself to be considered as a Meddler in that which belongs to others.”

The best statement of Occom's grievances comes in a letter from David McClure to Wheelock, dated May 21, 1770. It is given in full.

REV<sup>d</sup>. AND HON<sup>d</sup>. SIR

In a Conversation Sir Avery and I had with M<sup>r</sup> Occom this Vacancy at Mohegan some things pass'd which I esteem my Duty to inform the Doctor of, & which I imagine he would chuse to understand. After M<sup>r</sup> Occom had made some Enquiry concerning the State of the School, of which he seem'd to be pretty ignorant—he informed us that he had been desirous and still was to write to his Friends in England & particularly to some of the Gentlemen of the Trust—and the only Reason for his not writing was because if he wrote he must not be silent concerning the State of the School as Friends there would expect *that* from him if he wrote, and as the School is at present constituted he imagined that an Acco<sup>t</sup> of it would not be agreeable to Gentlemen at home nor answer their Expectations. He complained, but in a friendly Manner, that the Indian was converted into an English School & that the English had crouded out the Indian Youths—he instanced in one Symons a likely Indian who came to git admittance but could not be admitted because the School was full.<sup>1</sup> He supposed that Gentlemen in England tho't the School at present was made up chiefly of Indian Youth & that should he write & inform them to the contrary as he must if he wrote, it wou'd give them a disgust & Jealosity that the Charities were not applied in a way agreeable to the Intentions of the Donors & Benefactors which was to educate Indians *chiefly*. I told him the Doctor, I was pretty certain, was ready to admit any likely promising Indians & to fit them for School Masters, Farmers

or Mechanics—that the Indians he had already educated in general made so poor improvement of their Learning that the Doctor, I imagined, was in a measure discouraged in fitting them for any higher Character than those mentioned—and that such being the Case with the Indian Youth, it would be more agreeable to the Benefactors to the School to have their Charity improved in a way more advantageous to the Indian Cause, viz, by educating English Youth for that purpose. He further mentioned some things respecting Doctor W——r, which I imagine the Doctor would chuse to know—particularly his talking much about State & national Affairs which had turn'd many Gentlemen who were his Friends to become his Enemies—that he had often talk'd with the Doctor on the Head & advised him to let National Affairs alone but it was to no purpose—that when the Doctor left England he had not six Friends in London—the Gentlemen of the Trust asked Mr Occom at Table publicly what made them send over Doctor Whitaker—whether Doctor Wheelock and the Board on this side the Water were all such Men as the Doctor—& if they knew them to be such Men they would either return the Money collected to its Donors or put it into the Court of Chancery. The Gentlemen of the Trust engaged Mr. Occom to write particularly of the School & the Disposal of the Monies collected in England & that he tried to excuse himself from writing & I think he say'd they would not accept an Excuse, which seems to insinuate a Jealousy imbibed from Doctor W——r's Conduct or something else—& the only reason he gave us of his not writing was the Necessity he was under if he wrote them particularly of the School which they insisted upon. Such, Rev<sup>d</sup>. Sir was the Representation he made to us, which he informed us he had not made known fully to the Doctor, but design'd to the first Interview.

Permit me, Sir, to express my warmest & most dutiful Wishes for your Health & Prosperity in your great and benovelent Design & to manifest how much I am, Rev<sup>d</sup>. & Hon<sup>d</sup>. Sir, Your very dutiful & much oblig'd humble Servant.

DAVID MACCLUER

<sup>1</sup> *It is true that at this time but three Indians were in Wheelock's school. This was due in part to the loss of his influence over the Six Nations, and the withdrawal of the Oneida boys from the institution, and in part to the fact that he had become con-*

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*vinced that Indians could not be relied upon as leaders of missions, and must be replaced by whites. Furthermore, the approaching removal of the school (during the coming summer) caused him temporarily to restrict his activities. When the institution was well established in Hanover, he resumed the education of Indians, having in 1774-1775 as many as fifteen or twenty of the natives as pupils, most of them coming from the Canadian tribes. Daniel Simonds was eventually received, and was the first Indian to secure a degree from Dartmouth College, in the class of 1777.*

Thornton's interest in Occom continued to be keen, and on June 19, 1770, he thus wrote to Wheelock from Clapham:

"I have now to thank you for your favour of the 23<sup>d</sup> of Jan<sup>r</sup> & for the care you have taken of M<sup>r</sup> Occom. I own I have a sincere value for him, and think it very hard that he should suffer for the great service he has been to the Trust, who, I hope, will encourage him to go on in the work with cheerfulness as there may be occasion, and I think you may rely on their approving whatever you are willing to advance him in whatever shape you think most eligible."

The conduct of the Indian, however, continued to be unsatisfactory to Wheelock. On January 22, 1771, he thus wrote to him from Hanover:

"Perhaps you little think what pain & sorrow of heart I have had on hear<sup>s</sup>. of your repeated & aggravated fall, but I am comforted a little with y<sup>e</sup> hope y<sup>t</sup> God has given you Repentance, but I conclude unless y<sup>e</sup> manifestation of your Repentance has been very Public, Clear, Strong & evident to every body your usefulness is near at an End where you are. And it may be one design of God in leaving you thus to fall has been to reprove your staying at Home & in a sort to compell you to go abroad among remote Tribes or else quit your Ministry which I conclude you will never be easie in doing while your nations are lying in Wickedness & Perishing for lack of Vision." He suggested that Occom should remove with David Fowler to the Iroquois country, and promised support for both.

No reply from Occom to this letter has been preserved, but it is evident that the Indian did not look with favor on Wheelock's proposal. In March he wrote to Mrs. Susanna Wheatley, of Boston, who seems to have acted as Thornton's agent in the distribution of bounty, thanking her for writing to Thornton on his behalf and

hoping that the appeal would be effective. He set forth in detail his parlous condition, the fact that a dry season has cut off his corn and that he had no meat; that he must sell everything he owned to get provisions for his family of ten, and that, on account of his "acquaintance with the world," he had a constant stream of visitors, both Indians and whites, whom he must entertain.

At about the same time (April 26, 1771) Thornton again expressed himself to Wheelock.

"I presume you know Dr. Whitaker was thought a double minded Man & artful while on this side the Water, that his espousing your cause can by no means help it . . . I was grieved at what I heard of Mr. Occom indeed. I fear he has had hard usage & that drove him into the horrid Sin of drinking; pray my dear sir use him tenderly for I am much mistaken if his heart is not right with God. I apprehend the Trust can have no objection to your assisting him occasionally. If you cannot do it for them, pray do it for me and draw the money as before."

Wheelock was not so sympathetic, and on June 20 wrote to the English Trust as follows:

"Mr. Occom was led last Summer to fall a second time into the Sin of Drunkenness in a public & very agravated Manner. In his Drunken fit he got into an affray and fought with a Man of the Company and got much bruised and wounded, in so much that he was confin'd & conceal'd in his House for some time. The Report of this spread far and wide, the wound given to the Cause was great and it is yet bleeding. It is said that he humbles himself and walks softly. He sent to me last Winter desiring I would put him into Business. I returned him answer that if his moral Character was such that it might be done without Dishonour to the Cause, I would indeavour to introduce and support him on a Mission among the Onondagas which I had before repeatedly desired him to accept, as the London Board in Boston have the Care of his Tribe and all others on the Sea Shore, and had done what they supposed to be a supply for them. He has yet made no Return, perhaps he may think that the Provision made for his Support by the Scottish Society may suffice for his Support without the Fatigues of a Mission abroad."

(Wheelock had evidently just learned that the society in question had assigned Occom £20 per year.)

On July 24, 1771, Occom wrote a very bitter letter of complaint to Wheelock. In it he denied that he had refused to go on a mission to the Iroquois but asserted that he did not undertake the task because he was given no assurance of adequate support. He then brought up the subject of the newly established college which he considered to be "too grand" for Indians, so that they would get no advantage from it. He maintained that the English money was raised entirely for the Indians, he therefore objected to the replacement of Indian students by whites, he charged that the natives were being cheated out of their just rights, and he asserted that the collections in England would not been one-quarter as large had it not been for his own personal efforts.

On August 15 Wheelock replied in a letter equally uncompromising in its tone. Occom's communication, he thought, "has a very ill savor for a Christian or rather if I have any good taste at all, it much savors of pride, arrogance & want of proper concern to heal the bleeding wounds of our glorious Redeemer." He asserted that Occom was very ignorant of the scope of his (Wheelock's) plans, which were still centered on Indian salvation. In conclusion he recapitulated the various proposals which he had made for Occom's employment.

Again on February 24, 1772, he replied to a similar communication from the Indian (not preserved) reiterating the statement that Dartmouth College was designed primarily for the benefit of the Indians.

John Thornton, however, was convinced that Occom had been misused. Writing from Clapham on February 28, 1772, he defended him in rather stronger language than he had yet used.

"Mr. Occom seems to me to have been hardly treated & that I fear has been one means of driving him to his unjustifiable Conduct. I had rather stand in his Shoes than in those who have a much better opinion of themselves & exceed him abundantly in putting the best gloss on everything: the best respecting them is only considered the worst of him, it should be remembered he has been taken

from that scene of life that made labour & the greatest parsimony habitual to him & it is not in human Nature to return to it with that alacrity which is expected from him. If people that Judge harshly would make his Case their own, they would be compassionate instead of severe. Oh how differently would they judge. & pray look to his Case & Dr. Whitakers & see who was benefited & yet Mr. Occom was the Instrument (under God) that was the means of collecting all the Money & had the Doctor come without him, the disgrace would have all fell to his share, wheras poor Occom proved the Scape Goat & I am much mistaken if a day is not at hand that a Vail will be drawn over his great Infirmities & his heart be found upright with God, do my dear Sir shew him all the kindness you consistently can, he will not prove unworthy of your Patronage. I never was more deceived than in him if he is not an Israelite indeed; his trials have been very great, I trust he will sit bright at last. Assist him with whatever you please from me. I am very willing my heart yearns towards him & I love him unfeigndly that I cant but feel for him."

Thornton did not content himself with words, but influenced the Trust to take action, which was reported to Wheelock on May 1, 1772.

"We have been lately taking into our Consideration the Accounts we have received of the present Condition of Mr. Occom, whose past eminent Services in the Prosecution of Our Purpose, as well as the peculiar Advantages which the Circumstances of his Birth and Situation give him for promoting the Design, entitle him to a very particular Regard and Consideration from us. We have therefore agreed to order him immediately the Sum of Fifty pounds, and to continue the same to him annually during our pleasure. We lament with you the offense that in two Instances of his Conduct Mr. Occom was unhappily given, but we cannot help imputing them in some Degree to the great Difficulty of the Circumstances He was then in; and depending on the account you gave us of his sincere Remorse, and the Shame he has taken to Himself, which is corroborated by a Certificate we have received signed by a considerable Number of respectable Persons at Norwich of the 19<sup>th</sup> of

November last, of his good Behavior since that time. We flatter ourselves that this Provision will greatly contribute to prevent any Repetition of the same Misconduct."

It is probable that Wheelock was not well pleased with this action, but he accepted it with a fair degree of good grace, in a letter dated September 23, 1772, which, however, was marred by a tone of self pity.

"Mr. Occom, since his recovery from his last Fall, appears with a much better Temper than he has ever done since he came from London. The agreeable Letters which you transmit for my perusal speak the same.

I am glad you have dealt so plainly with him & wish you had done it earlier. He has appeared exceeding proud & haughty, his Sail was too high for him in London. I feared he would be wholly useless & nothing better than a Thorn to me & this School as he has appeared rather as a Dictator and Supervisor to me & my affairs than as a Brother, Companion & Helper in them, and I have tho't him cruel, uncharitable & something bitter in his Surmises, Censures & Threats in Cases & about that which he knew nothing of, nor used any proper means to be informed in. And he has said (I have been told) that he was desired to inspect my conduct before he came from England. And this kind of treatment I have had from without the least expression of Brotherly Sympathy, Care, pity & Compassion towards me or my Family, while I was struggling under Floods of Sorrow & an insupportable weight of Labour, Care & Fatigue and all with a single view to save his poor perishing Brethren. How wounding such things have been to me you cant concieve unless you had experience of the like. But I have lately had a Letter from him of another savor, and acco<sup>ts</sup> which have much refreshed me. I hope he will be my Helper in Christ Jesus; tho' God sees it best for me that I should have nothing below himself to lean at all upon. . . .

You are also my hon<sup>d</sup> Sirs much mistaken as to my being influenced by Dr. Whitaker. I have no connection with him, it is above two years since I saw him, but I must in Justice say that I suppose his Character, moral and ministerial, are good among good people in New England and what his offense in England was I never knew.



Mr. Occom would have told me, I suppose, but I perceived that his mind was prejudiced & sowered against him & therefore disqualified to give the Relation."

The hope of Wheelock for further co-operation from his Indian disciple was not fulfilled. On June 1, 1773, Occom reiterated his complaints. He wished to hear from Wheelock, but the latter did not write; he desired to visit Hanover, but had received no invitation; he expected to see his former patron when the latter was recently visiting Norwich, but he was passed by. He again maintained his objection to the college, he asserted that the Indians were getting no benefit from the English money and he recommended that the school should relapse to Wheelock's original plan.

In his reply on July 21, Wheelock asserted that he had always been Occom's best friend, and that the pension which the Indian was receiving was awarded principally as a result of his efforts. He complained, however, that his friendly conduct had been rewarded by enmity. And finally he said that he would be glad to see Occom in Hanover if the latter would appear in a friendly state of mind. This is the last interchange of letters between the two men.

Two further letters from Occom to Thornton remain. In the first, undated but written in 1776, the Indian, according to the permission of Thornton to continue to draw bills upon him, was doing so "half Year before Hand." He referred to the war which was prevailing and asserted that the Indians would not meddle with "your contentions," but that the "poor heathen" were amazed and astonished at them. The last letter, dated January 1, 1777, indicated that his allowance had been paid on May 8 last. He complained of his bitter poverty, and drew for his "donation" and also two bills on the Trust. Evidently he had little expectation that his drafts would be honored for he had heard (not from Wheelock) that the fund was exhausted, although, from another source, he had been informed that money still remained, but that the Trust would not allow Wheelock to draw it. And finally he mentioned the war once again, with the defensible thesis that the Indians seemed then to be showing more of the spirit of religion than did the whites. He protested against disturbances of Indian neutrality, which the Ameri-

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cans were respecting, but which the British were attempting to violate by inducing the tribes to take up arms on their side. Although Occom had still fifteen years of life before him, his relations with Wheelock, his schools and his funds at this point came to an end.

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