

PART ONE

Chapter One 1600s-1770s

I. Proselytizing is Bred in the Bone of Colonial Andover

It appears to me, that the people are intelligent, and would be good servants and I believe that they would easily be made Christians, as they appear to have no religion.

—*Journal of Christopher Columbus* (1492)

About twenty miles north of Boston and the same distance inland from the Atlantic Ocean, Andover was considered inopportunately remote by its white settlers in the seventeenth century.¹ The woodworker-cum-local-historian, Edward Johnson, in his *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England*, observed that in 1648, two years after Andover was incorporated, its remoteness “bringeth some inconveniences upon the planters, who are inforced to carry their corn far to market.”² The Rev. William Hubbard, a member of Harvard’s first graduating class of nine in 1642 and the minister of a church fifteen miles east of Andover, in Ipswich, said much the same thing in his *General History of New England*, noting the isolation and inaccessibility of places whose residents, notwithstanding their situation on the Merrimack, bore “the intolerable burden of transportation of their goods by land, for want of navigable channells.”³



John Woodbridge.

But its lack of geographical connectedness didn’t keep British yeomen from accepting the house-lots they were being offered by the governing forces of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Nor did it stop them from building log dwellings roofed with thatch and tree bark on land surrounding what is known as the Old Center of present-day North Andover.⁴ One does have to wonder, though, if Andover was as remote as those writers were portraying it to be, how much more remote did they consider, say, the South Pacific islands? In the period in which those books were published and read, Westerners had become aware of specks of land in the middle of that vastness we now call Oceania. Tonga, for example, was “discovered” in 1643 by Dutch explorer Abel Tasman, namesake of present-day Tasmania.

In that same year or slightly earlier (accounts vary), Andover’s first settlers arrived, after John Woodbridge (1613-1696), minister of

Newbury (incorporated less than a decade earlier than Andover, in 1635), and others had laid out

the new town with the expectation that, just as Johnson’s *Wonder-working* later foretold, they would soon be “gathered into a church” and the day would dawn when “both Jew & Gentile” would come “crowding” into it.”⁵ Understandably, however, proselytizing was not foremost on the minds of most ordinary folks in Andover as they worked their communal farmland, where they grew so-called Indian corn, wheat, barley, and rye. Or tried to grow them. “Here they began labors to which they never had been accustomed to,” wrote George Chandler, the Victorian-era genealogist of his family, whose members settled in Roxbury (now part of Boston) in 1637, then Andover, where present-day Chandler Road and Chandler Circle are named for them. “Here all was new and strange, a severe climate, a howling, gloomy wilderness.”⁶ Yet they were expected to be doing their part. Making indigenous people into Christians, the better to quell uprisings, was always part of the colonists’ plans, both in New England and New France, where the Jesuits had arrived in 1611. By 1649 fundraising for missionary work was already being conducted in London by the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England—initially called

simply the New England Company—whose proceeds were meant to be spent on their conversion activities.

In the whole of what became known as North America,⁷ there were five hundred indigenous nations comprising forty million people who spoke four hundred languages before white people got here.⁸ The Pennacooks, confederates of the Wabanakis, were among those living in the environs that became Massachusetts. But in 1646, it was, for unknown reasons, a Massachusetts [sic] sagamore named

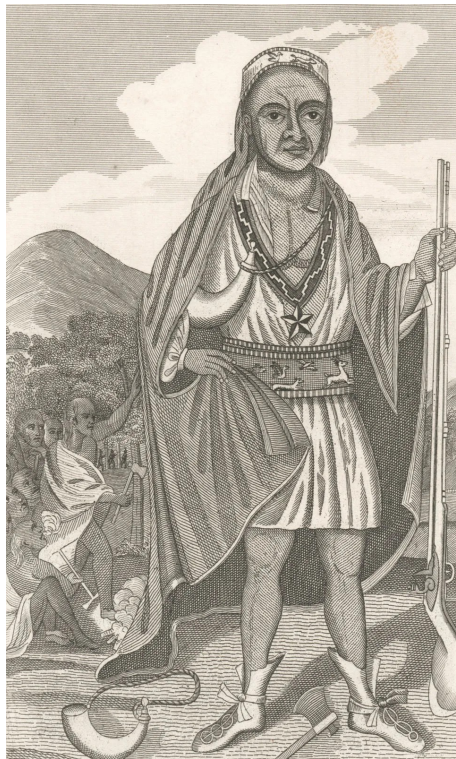


Cutshamache, with £6 in hand, portrayed in a headdress appropriate for a member of a nation of the Great Plains, not New England. It was designed in 1896 for the town’s 250th birthday celebrations.

Cutshamache, who sold to the Rev. Woodbridge on behalf of the indigenous community what is now known as Andover, North Andover, and sections of Lawrence for “ye sum of £6 and a coate.”⁹ The sale wasn’t outright, although it might as well have been. For what it was worth, Cutshamache’s people retained the easily revoked privilege of planting crops and taking alewives “for their own eating; but if they either spoil or steal, any corner or other fruite, to any considerable value, of ye inhabitants there, this liberty of taking fish shall forever cease.”¹⁰ Of course, it’s always unclear whether the indigenous people who “sold” land understood the implications, the concept of private real-estate holdings being alien to them.¹¹

Sarah Loring Bailey, author of *Historical Sketches of Andover*, published in 1880 and often quoted and referred to ever since, acknowledged that the sum paid to Cutshamache was

“paltry,” but added that “the buyers could hardly blame themselves for a transaction which, at the time, the sellers professed to be satisfied with.” As a “Christian commonwealth,” she noted further, “the colony took measures for promoting the welfare of the Indians,” devoting “zealous labors to [their conversion] from heathenism, and instructing them in the knowledge of the true God.” To her late nineteenth-century mind, it wasn’t Andover’s fault that only a few were “converted and civilized” while the many “learned all the vices and none of the virtues of the white man.”¹² She did, nonetheless, admit that, despite Andover being on outwardly friendly terms with its indigenous people for decades, she suspected “often a deep hatred of the invaders and a jealous fear of their powerful God.” She even went so far as to say that the colonists “did much to increase this hatred, for... in place of faith and prayer, the Indian often met fraud and force.”¹³ Again, though, one does have to wonder if those friendly seeming terms included the eras of, say, King Philip’s War, King William’s War, or Queen Anne’s War, each of which threatened the stability of the Andover settlement to varying degrees. Andoverites, after all, built their share of garrison houses, one of which doubled as the home of the Abbots—a first family



King Philip.

that produced so many offspring the historian of today’s Andover’s South Church calls them the Rabbits. Near present-day Central Street in Andover proper, where South Church is located, its white spire reaching into the sky, the Abbot garrison house was situated in the then otherwise unpopulated part of town.

Though they did abide garrison houses, Andoverites balked at the idea of aiding in the construction of a “wall” when, by Bailey’s account, it was “ordered by the Court that a fence of stockades or stones, be built eight feet high from Charles River to Concord River, in Billerica” that, combined with obstructions created by other waterways, “could complete the circuit of some twenty towns, including Andover.”¹⁴ Bailey’s book doesn’t say whether any part of the proposed perimeter ever was constructed. Maybe it was left unfinished, just like a certain other controversial American border wall of the twenty-first century.

Andover’s preferred defense was simply soldiers on guard in those communal fields of grain. Ironically, when the first attack occurred, on April 8, 1676, the one person killed, twenty-four-year-old Joseph Abbot, was working in one such field with his thirteen-year-old brother, Timothy, who was taken captive. Having been surprised by their attackers, they could not reach the garrison, their home, in time. According to Bailey, whose reference was Thomas Cobbett’s *A Narrative of New England’s Deliverances* of 1677, Timothy “was brought back in August by a squaw who took pity on his mother.” In Cobbett’s words: “And Good-wife Abbot’s boy of Andover was brought home, almost starved, by a poor squaw that had always been tender to him whilst in captivity.”¹⁵ Based on their recent research, however, Lisa Brooks and Allyson LaForge

speculate that Abbot's return was "possibly related to the end of war" at least on certain fronts or a peace treaty signed in Cocheco, i.e., present-day Dover, New Hampshire.¹⁶

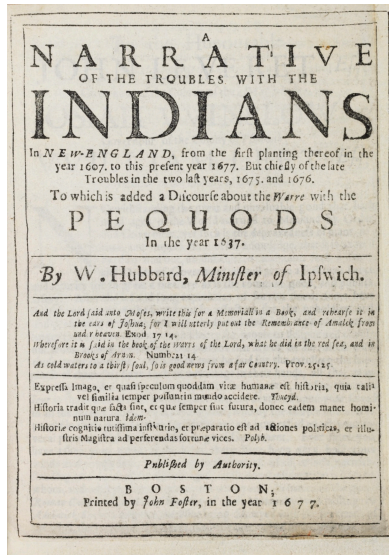
George Chandler wrote in his genealogy that the older Abbot son, Joseph, who had fought with the colonial army in an early portion of King Philip's War, during the Great Swamp Fight at Narragansett (present-day South Kingston, Rhode Island), "probably made some resistance; and there is a tradition that he killed one or more of them before he was slain."¹⁷ Using almost identical wording, Bailey asserted the lore as fact, describing the young man as someone "[who] made a brave resistance, and killed one or more of the Indians..."¹⁸ It seems very likely that Bailey embellished the details of Chandler's book, which was published three years before hers came out. In any event, the tally is not at odds with the historical statistics:



Charles Smith.

while King Philip's War resulted in the deaths of more than 2,500 settlers, the number of indigenous people killed was at least twice that number.¹⁹ As for captives, both sides took their share, the one side because it was part of their warfare culture, the other because it was expedient.²⁰ For example, according to a compilation of archived documents by historian Jenny Hale Pulsipher, during the same April of the Abbot brothers' incident, "an Indian girl," age ten or twelve, was taken near Quaboag by Jonathan Fairbanks, who petitioned the Massachusetts Bay Colony for her possession.²¹ Pulsipher's compilation goes on for twenty-two pages even though, she says, it isn't comprehensive—only what she found while researching her book *Swindler Sachem: The American Indian Who Sold His Birthright, Dropped Out of Harvard, and Conned the King of England*, published in 2018.²²

In 1888, with those wars in the distant past, the Rev. Charles Smith, pastor of Andover's South Church, tried to square the realities of the deaths and atrocities committed by both sides. "Our custom has been to call these natives of the soil savages; they have been pictured to us as by nature cruel, blood-thirsty, as delighting in the torture of women and babes, as destitute of honor or humanity," he wrote when assigned to contribute the Andover section to D. Hamilton Hurd's *History of Essex County, Massachusetts*. "That they were in time of war, or when they felt themselves to have been grossly wronged, cruel in the extreme and relentless savage, killing and burning without mercy, there can be no question."²³ He admitted, however, "as between [Andover's] citizens and the Indians, in the balancing of the good and evil received each from the other, it would be difficult to find the score against the red man."²⁴ In the end, however, the Rev. Smith attributed the violence of indigenous people to their lack of Christianity, not their sense of justice or their desperation. Without mentioning the missionary work that had been attempted in earnest since the days of John Eliot (1604-1690), he said people "must remember that the Indian had never been trained in the teaching of Christ."



The Rev. Smith made no mention, either, of the indigenous peoples' own spiritual beliefs and practices—beliefs which had been summarily dismissed by the Rev. Hubbard in his 1677 publication, *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England*. “As for their religion,” he wrote, “they never were observed by any of the first comers or others, to have any other but what was diabolically, and so uncouth, as if it were framed and devised by the devill himselfe, and is transacted by them they used to call pawwows, by some kind of familiarity with the devill... It is not worth the while either to rite or read what it was...”²⁵

When Hubbard's *Narrative* was completed in 1682, the Rev. Eliot, in turning the manuscript over to the Massachusetts Historical Society, praised his Ipswich contemporary as “the most eminent minister in the county of Essex: equal to any in

the province for learning and candor, and superior to all his contemporaries as a writer.” When the institution finally published the work, in 1815, so did the Cambridge printers Hilliard and Metcalf, who used the Rev. Eliot's words for what in our contemporary times would be called a “blurb”—he, whose first attempt to preach to indigenous people, in Algonquin, in Dorchester Mills, part of present-day Boston, was by his own account a failure. (They “gave no heed unto it, but were weary and despised what I said,” he wrote in 1647.²⁶) And how could it not have failed? He was trying to convert them with an austere, text-based religion; this was to compete with the



The Rev. John Eliot. Huntington Library, on loan to the National Portrait Gallery.

rich, dream-centered animism of their own, eons-old spiritual beliefs? And what dialect had he learned? By the sixteenth century, the many small nations along the Eastern seaboard “shared a somewhat similar cultural heritage” but “spoke different dialects of a common Algonquian language.”²⁷ In 1942, Kenneth B. Murdock, a historian who taught at Harvard and specialized in the intellectual and theological history of seventeenth-century New England, called *Narrative* “probably the best history of King Philip's War to be written by a New Englander who lived through it.”²⁸ That is the perspective of a white man about another white man's work, however. Since then, there has been significant reconsideration, not only by Brooks and LaForge but by many others.²⁹ It is dangerous to condemn personages from the past for failing to understand what we today can so easily see, but Charlotte Helen Abbott saw it in 1895. In “Our Red Brothers,” she wrote in the *Andover Townsman*, the town newspaper that succeeded the *Andover Advertiser*, that after listening to the hair-raising stories, “I still kept within my soul a feeling that the trouble was all our fault.” “Read both sides for yourselves,” advised Abbott, an amateur genealogist and self-described “spinster.”³⁰ “Hubbard's book bristles

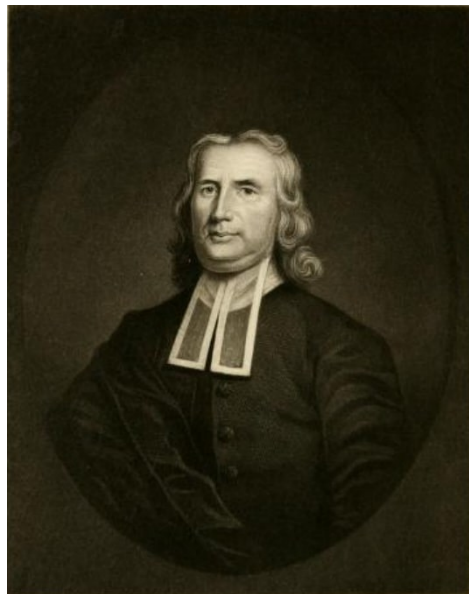
with epithets and praises to God for the slaughter of these ‘Savage miscreants with some kind of a religion learned of the Prince o’ Darkness.’”³¹

II. The First Phillips Fatefully Arrives

New England resembled Scotland . . . the hard soil, the ice, the granite and the Calvinism.

—Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (1936)

Even before the threat of attacks had subsided in Andover, people were moving into the southern part of town, where previously only the communal farms and the Abbots’ garrison house had been permitted. The decision wasn’t the result of bravado on the part of the families who relocated. The north was simply becoming too populous, evident especially when everyone tried to attend church services together. A new meeting house was needed, but the question of where it should be built was controversial. In solving the problem, the colonial government in



Samuel Phillips (1690-1771) by John Greenwood.

Boston split the parish in two. The new one, South Parish (the South Church of today), picked a location for its church building, meeting house, parsonage, burial grounds and schoolhouse to be erected on land given by a member of the Abbot family. In the summer of 1709, the congregants, consisting of twenty-one women and fourteen men, broke ground; just a few months later, on October 19, 1709, the first meeting for parish business took place, and the first use of the space for worship occurred in January of 1710.

The government got involved in Andover’s church business because in the eighteenth century, parish and town were synonymous. A theocracy at its founding, Massachusetts, along with the other New England colonies, established Congregationalism as its religion, and every colonial household was taxed for the support of its Congregational church. It followed that each church was a center for both religion and politics; with no separation between the two, the ministry was a form of public office, with one’s minister being also, in a very real sense, one’s mayor. And when ministers traditionally served one church for a lifetime, the fit had better be good.

The services in South Parish were initially conducted by temporary ministers. One of them was Samuel Phillips (1690-1771), who preached his first sermon for the congregation in April of 1710. A graduate of Harvard’s class of 1708, the twenty-year-old was the son of another Samuel Phillips (1657-1722), a Salem, Massachusetts, goldsmith. There had been no wealth in the family previously: the goldsmith’s father, also named Samuel Phillips (1625-1696), had been minister of a parish in sprawling Rowley, which at the time included portions of today’s Byfield, Groveland, Georgetown, and Haverhill. (As a five-year-old, that Samuel Phillips had crossed the ocean on the *Arbella* with the poet-to-be Anne Bradstreet and Massachusetts Bay Governor John

Winthrop, arriving in Salem on June 12, 1630.) So the preaching urge had skipped a generation, and now it was back. Or preaching was simply a sound career choice for the time.

After Harvard, in 1708-1709. Samuel Phillips had taught school in Chebacco, today's town of Essex, Massachusetts. Would-be ministers typically spent a few years teaching while they completed their theological studies and practiced writing and delivering sermons to congregations that would have them on a temporary basis. During his school-teaching years, Samuel Phillips had preached a bit in Norton, a settlement south of Boston. And he might well have stayed there, but, according to George Moor's nineteenth-century account of South Parish, *Historical Manual of the South Church*, "the influence of the minister of the old Parish of Taunton," adjacent to Norton, "was unfavorable,... and he was not ordained."³² And so it was that, due to someone's random unfavorable opinion, Samuel Phillips was not hired in Norton but instead was hired in Andover, and, after being ordained on October 17, 1711, and marrying Hannah White (1692-1773) the following year, he began to raise the family that would determine the town's destiny.



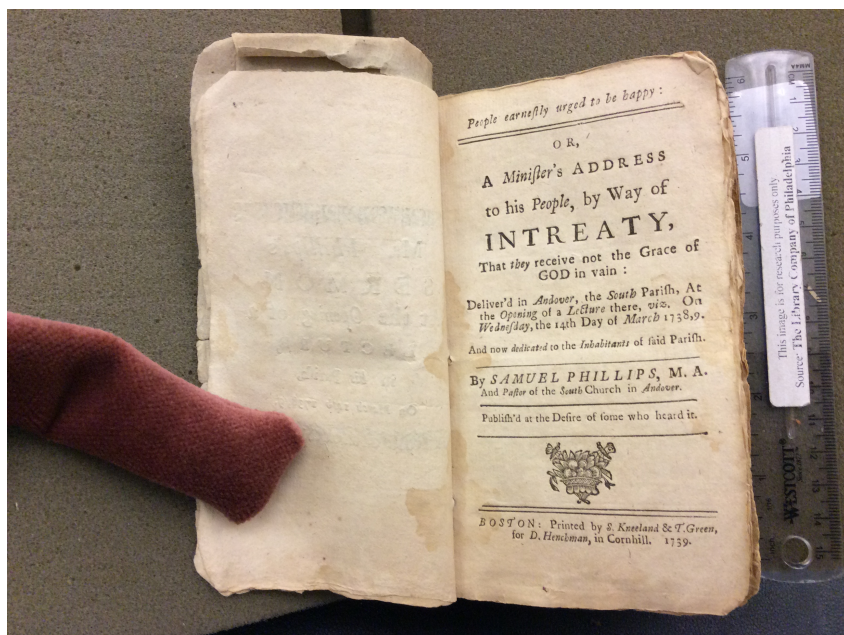
Benjamin Abbot House. Courtesy of Andover Center for History and Culture.

There is a sprawling, red clapboard house at a bend in the road on the way out from Andover towards the section of town that is known as Ballardvale. It's called the Benjamin Abbot house, even though its namesake died in 1703 and never lived there. It's just that he was thought to have lived there earlier than he did, because the house was erroneously dated earlier, too, to 1685. (Its original part was actually built the same year that the Rev. Phillips took the pulpit in South Parish: 1711.) The source of the error can be traced to something Margaret T. Abbott (who preferred her name to be spelled with two t's) wrote about it in 1952 in the course of tracing "Ten Generations of Abbots in America."³³ Margaret Abbott also noted accurately in the same research report that in 1692, Martha Allen Carrier was arrested for witchcraft, her neighbor Benjamin Abbot having named her as the cause of his foot swelling and the open sore on his side. They had bickered for years, previously over land boundaries, and she had threatened him. As a result of her refusal to say she was a witch, she was hanged in Salem, where a plaque

memorializes her and condemns what happened to her and all the others caught up in the hysteria.³⁴

All of which is to say that some of the Andover people to whom the Rev. Phillips was charged with ministering could be as small-minded, superstitious, and vindictive as anyone, including their cohorts in Salem, which has received virtually all of the witch-trials celebrity ever since. Andover was New England to its core, a place where busybodies thrived, keeping an eye on their neighbors, and those neighbors included their minister. Typically, he wore the black robe and distinctive short, white linen neck bands that had long been the traditional symbols of clerical authority. He wore the uniform even in the summer heat and especially while traveling. The idea was to let strangers know they were encountering a man of the cloth, literally, so they would be on their best behavior. It was also to remind the man himself to be on his own best behavior, since, dressed that way, he would be so recognizable.

In all the Rev. Phillips served as minister of South Parish for sixty-one years. About halfway through his tenure, in 1739, in a footnote to *People Earnestly Urged to Be Happy*, a sermon he published that year, he mentioned the second, replacement South Parish meeting house, completed five years earlier: "... we have not had, till of late, an House spacious enough



Samuel Phillips, *People Earnestly Urged to Be Happy*. The Library Company of Philadelphia.

to accomodate [sic] so many of the People of the Town, as do, many times, attend the Lecture."³⁵ It's a statement that attests to Andover's growth and, as a result, the Rev. Phillips's growing influence in the region as, week after week, his constituency assembled to hear his lengthy sermons.³⁶

Harry S. Stout of Yale Divinity School, in *The New England Soul* (1986), has made the case for how influential sermons, by anyone on any subject and at any length, were in New England's past. He estimated the number of sermons preached in seventeenth- and

eighteenth-century New England by computing the total number of years preached by all the Congregational ministers and multiplying by a hundred (an average of two sermons a week).³⁷ What he found was that the "average weekly churchgoers in New England ... listened to something like seven thousand sermons in a lifetime, totaling somewhere around fifteen thousand hours of concentrated listening." What is more, he wrote, "These striking statistics become even more significant when it is recalled that until the last decade of the colonial era

there were at the local level few, if any, ... public speakers offering alternative messages. For all intents and purposes, the sermon was the only regular voice of authority.”³⁸

But that is not the only way the Rev. Phillips influenced the townspeople of Andover. Among the five children he and Hannah raised, there was a son they named Samuel Phillips. That Samuel Phillips (1715-1790) went into business of an unspecified kind: there aren't any known records elaborating on its nature. He also got involved in Andover's political life, holding office, and he was a deacon at his father's church. On Christmas Eve of 1744, he and his wife, Elizabeth Barnard (1716-1789), lost a child. The Rev. Phillips noted in his diary that that grandson, also named Samuel Phillips, had lived thirteen months and eighteen days.³⁹ Eight years later, on February 5, 1752, Elizabeth gave birth to another boy—yet another named Samuel Phillips.

Of her seven children, that child alone survived to adulthood, and it is he who figures larger than all the other Samuel Phillipses in Andover's history.

III. Samuel Phillips Jr. Builds a Gunpowder Mill

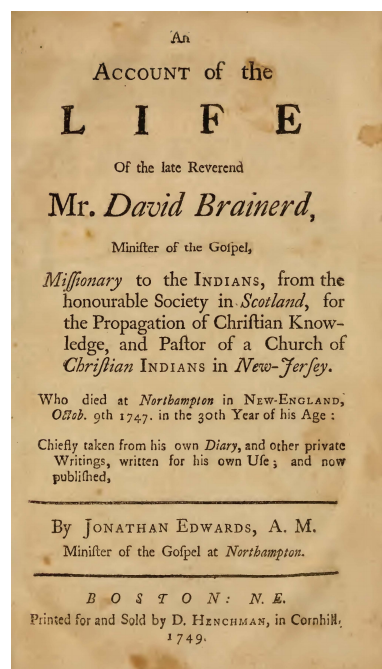
All that term she tried to inspire Eunice to become at least a pioneer missionary in some deadly and dangerous zone of the earth, for it was intolerable to Miss Brodie that any of her girls should grow up not largely dedicated to some vocation.

—Muriel Spark, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (1961)

The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was founded in Edinburgh in 1709 to establish schools and promote the faith in “uncivilized” parts of the Scottish Highlands and among the indigenous people of America. The Anglican organization, an independent sequel to the New England Company, hired missionaries in the colonies, including

David Brainerd (1718-1747) after he was expelled from Yale in his third year for sympathizing with the religious revivals being inspired by the preaching of British-born evangelist George Whitefield (1714-1770) and for having been overheard remarking that a certain college tutor of his, a Mr. Whittelsey, had “no more grace than this chair.”⁴⁰ In December of 1742, he began working on Long Island, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and along the Massachusetts-New York border. Still in his twenties, he died of tuberculosis in the Northampton home of Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758).

Two years later, Edwards published *An Account of the Life of the Late Rev. David Brainerd*, purportedly based on Brainerd's private diary (as opposed to his public journal), but it was heavily annotated and edited, and in the end, mostly the work of Edwards, whose byline it bore. “My spiritual conflicts to-day were unspeakably dreadful,” the account says Brainerd wrote on January 14, 1743, “heavier than the mountains and overflowing floods.”⁴¹ In the nineteenth century, the book became



recommended reading at the Andover Theological Seminary, then a major influence on both domestic and foreign missionary movements, and is the most frequently reprinted book by Edwards to this day. Up until that publication, Brainerd was better known than Edwards, who was merely local, preaching his sermons to the men and women sitting before him in the pews of the Congregational church in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, about 140 miles to Andover's west. But it was eventually Edwards who became the more significant figure—he, whose revision of Calvinism's basic teachings is pegged approximately to the beginnings of a wave of revivals later collectively known as the Great Awakening.⁴²

Calvinism is the theology that had been carried across the Atlantic by the English Calvinists, known as Puritans, because they wanted to “purify” the Church of England. One of its central tenets was that everyone was born morally corrupt—or “depraved,” as the Calvinists preferred to call it. Tied to that was their belief in the doctrine of the “predestination” of one's soul to either heaven or hell and an individual's inability to change that eternal sentence through

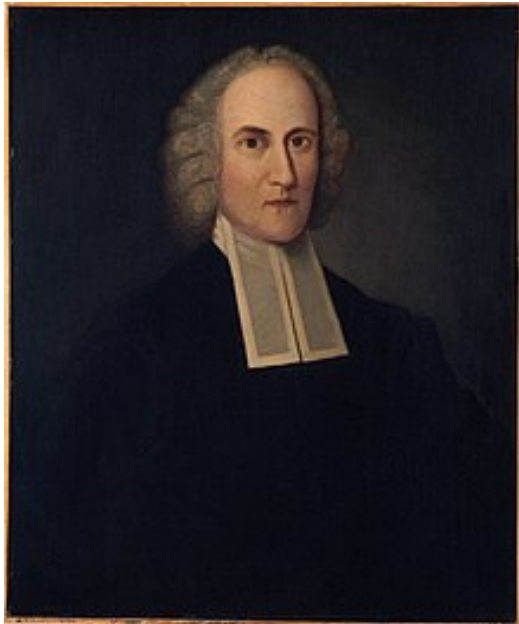


John Calvin.

moral behavior or anything else. In Muriel Spark's 1961 novella, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, Miss Brodie's nemesis, her precocious student, Sandy, reflects on that dastardly concepts of foreordaining and “election”: “In some ways the most real and rooted people whom Sandy knew were Miss Gaunt and the Kerr sisters who made no evasions about their belief that God had planned for practically everybody before they were born a nasty surprise when they died. Later, when Sandy read John Calvin, she found that although popular conceptions of Calvinism were sometimes mistaken, in this particular there was no mistake, indeed it was but a mild understanding of the case, he having made it God's pleasure to implant in certain people an erroneous sense of joy and salvation, so that their surprise at the end might be the nastier.”

That's harsh. As Edwards put it in *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, “the foolish Children of Men do miserably delude themselves in their own Schemes, and in their Confidence in their own Strength and Wisdom; they trust to nothing but a shadow.” That is,

they were “born of the corrupt human race; and not as born of God.” But in his radical reworking of Calvin's original teachings, he provided hope. In a genius moment in American theological history, he preached that people could give evidence of their election through an emotional conversion experience. That is, they could be born *again*. According to Edwards, that was the sole (soul) marker of election and the only guaranteed admission ticket to heaven. It was hallelujah-invoking news, welcomed like manna by his Calvin-weary parishioners, but it came with a new sort of stress. People not only had the responsibility of inducing the conversion experience in themselves; it was incumbent upon them to convert others. The new twist on Calvinism meant everyone needed to be a missionary now.



Jonathan Edwards.

While it was Jonathan Edwards who provided the message, it was George Whitefield who is credited for truly sparking the Great Awakening, after he started touring the colonies in 1735. In the words of Colin Brummit Goodykoontz, a historian who studied missionaries in the American interior, Whitefield “transformed a series of local, sporadic revivals into an intercolonial, nonsectarian religious disturbance which shook colonial society to its foundations.”⁴³ Contrarily, Claude M. Fuess, P.A.’s. headmaster from 1933 to 1948, claimed in his history of the town of Andover, published in 1956, that the Rev. Phillips “did not like the evangelicalism of the English pulpit orator, George Whitefield,” and that while Whitefield was “largely responsible for the Great Awakening, the influence [of it] on Andover was negligible.”⁴⁴ But according to historian Richard D. Shiels, a specialist in American religious history, that isn’t true. As he wrote in a lengthy piece in the *Journal of the Early Republic*, the Great Awakening merely came late to Andover—at

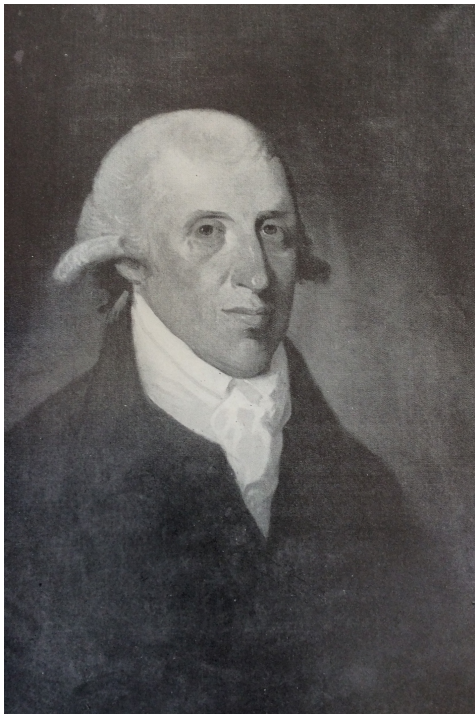
about the time the First Great Awakening ended and the Second Great Awakening began.⁴⁵

Incidentally, Joseph Tracy, a Congregational minister, coined the term when he wrote *The Great Awakening: A History of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Whitefield and Edwards*, published in 1840. Later, scholars divided the phenomenon into two periods. More recently, historian Thomas S. Kidd, in *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America*, published in 2007, has argued that there weren’t two separate Awakenings, and that the First simply continued on, with the “new evangelicals successfully convinc[ing] thousands of Americans that their conversion by the grace of God was the single most important goal of their lives.”⁴⁶

Evangelicals of today say that awakenings and revivals are God’s work. Secular humanists believe they are the result of upheavals brought about by societal change. Regardless of what any individual reader believes, the Great Awakening did indeed come to Andover, which was growing apace, and, if anything is certain, it is that growth brings change with it. Social historian Philip J. Greven Jr. published his findings about Andover’s growth in 1970, six years after he earned his Ph.D. at Harvard.⁴⁷ His book, *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts*, covers the period from the 1640s through the 1770s. A thoroughly researched and original work, it analyzes the ways in which Andover fathers transferred land holdings to their sons—or didn’t. As he discovered, “Compared to most farming communities, Andover was relatively crowded by the mid-eighteenth century.”⁴⁸ And so, after the town’s farmable land became scarce and the cost of acreage rose sharply, some young men were forced to move themselves elsewhere to begin their independent lives. Or they could stay here and get involved in a trade.

Three sons of an Andover farmer, John Frye Jr. (1672-1739), whose estate included slightly more than six-hundred acres, did not become farmers, perhaps, Greven noted, because John died intestate and his land holdings had to be divided among his five (out of seven) surviving sons. The portions—more than one hundred acres each—seems plentiful enough, but not when one considers the work required to get rocky soil to produce viable crops. Accordingly, one of those sons set himself up as a blacksmith; two others became hatters. Other trades plied in Andover, according to Greven’s research, included weaving, carpentry, joinery, shoemaking, tailoring, and tanning.

By 1718, manufacturing of a sort had begun, too. In that year, Samuel Frye, John Frye’s grandson, set up both a saw mill and a grist mill on the Shawsheen River in what later became known as Frye Village (today’s Shawsheen Village). But it was the Rev. Phillips’s grandson—the most important Samuel Phillips of this story—who established the first real “manufactory” of significance in Andover, the first consequential machine in Andover’s Leo Marxian garden, so to speak. In 1775-1776, while in still in his early twenties, Samuel Phillips Jr., as he was then known—the man that the Rev. William Bentley (1759-1819) of Salem described in his celebrated diary as “exceedingly attached to interest so as not to leave a pure reputation near him” (“interest” here meaning “profits”)⁴⁹—dammed the river and started a gunpowder factory to supply George Washington’s troops. Two years earlier, Samuel Phillips Jr. had been elected elected town clerk and treasurer of Andover, following the lead of his father, who had held town positions for the fourteen previous years. Typically town offices were held in early New England towns by its wealthier, more prominent citizens, and would tend to remain in families, “and thus a sort of aristocracy existed,” noted Perry D. Westbrook in *The New England Town in Fact and Fiction*.⁵⁰ Andoverites, in choosing the Phillips family to govern them, were behaving true to form.



Samuel Phillips Jr. (1752-1802)

But why did the making of gunpowder happen here? Besides being politically well-placed locally, Samuel Phillips Jr. had made significant connections to the Sons of Liberty. On July 19, 1775, he joined Samuel Adams and John Hancock, among others, as the appointed Andover delegate to the Provincial Congress in Watertown. Through that channel a “resolve” was passed “Encouraging Mr. Samuel Phillips Jr. to manufacture gunpowder” for one year.⁵¹ But connections may not have been all that necessary to secure the deal. Washington couldn’t afford to be too picky. Procuring gunpowder was a constant problem throughout the war, with predictable, dire results. One infamous example: when patriots ran out of gunpowder on Bunker Hill, the British, on their third try, captured it.

Eliphalet Pearson (1752-1826) became Samuel Phillips Jr.’s partner in the mill. Childhood chums, the two had been educated together in Byfield at the Governor Dummer School (now the Governor’s

Academy), then at Harvard. Shortly after graduation (class of 1773), perhaps aided by his long-time friend, Pearson got a job teaching at a grammar-school in Andover. The schoolhouses of the period were one-room shanties. The teacher heard the children's readings from the Bible and recitations from other religious texts; the town minister and his wife would customarily visit. The young Pearson was also studying theology and practice-preaching, hoping to be a minister and have a parish himself one day. And although he was eventually ordained, "he was never settled."⁵² Years later, Pearson's son Henry Bromfield Pearson wrote that his father had a



Eliphalet Pearson.

"weakness of sight" and that is why he failed to realize this ambition.⁵³ But as noted below, his personality was more problematic than any physical defect he may or may not have had, and it can be surmised that a parish would have not easily taken him on till death did them part.

The gunpowder mill was built not far from where South Church was erecting another new meeting house, since, with its congregation now numbering 573, a bigger structure was needed yet again.⁵⁴ The Rev. Jonathan French (1740-1809), a former Harvard classmate of both Pearson and Samuel Phillips Jr., was the minister now. South Church had hired him in 1772, its pulpit having been vacated one year earlier by the death of the Rev. Phillips. The Rev. French would have been the one to visit Pearson's schoolhouse shanty. But Pearson was through with teaching children now. Acting as the mill's chemist, he devised the formula that would be used to make the product.

Exactly how he got his expertise in chemistry isn't

known. He didn't study it at Harvard, where chemistry wasn't part of the curriculum until 1782.⁵⁵ Maybe he didn't study it anywhere and that is why, along with Phillips's lack of manufactory experience, the mill was not a raging success. Washington himself is said to have complained about the product's poor quality. As a result, two Frenchmen were eventually ordered to Andover to oversee the remaking of the operation and British prisoners of war were subsequently employed to help run it.⁵⁶

Worse than poor quality gunpowder, however, at least for the town, was an accident at the mill that occurred on June 2, 1778. Captain Nathaniel Lovejoy, an eyewitness whose progenitors came to Andover in 1650, wrote of the event in his diary: "... about 3 o'clock the Powder House took fire It was destroy'd together with the Magazine & Three Men Destroy'd in the Explotion."⁵⁷ The diary of another Andoverite, Philemon Chandler, says the disaster and loss of life caused "great consternation within the town."⁵⁸ It must have been a general moment of reckoning for townspeople. According to Bailey, there was "considerable local feeling about the danger of the mill,"⁵⁹ and work did not resume there until some months later.

IV. Phillips Academy's First Headmaster, Eliphalet Pearson, is Dubbed "The Elephant"

Finis origine pendet. (The end depends upon the beginning.)

—Phillips Academy's secondary motto; the first and better known is *Non sibi.* (Not for oneself.)

It's no excuse, but neither Samuel Phillips Jr. nor Eliphalet Pearson had their full attention on the gunpowder mill. On April 30, 1778, a little over a month before the explosion occurred, classes had begun at Samuel Phillips Jr.'s new enterprise, the "Phillips School," as Phillips Academy was initially called. He had bought land for it piecemeal from Andover farmers at one of the highest elevations in town, funded by his father and his uncle John Phillips. Pearson was P.A.'s first headmaster.⁶⁰

Of the school's first class of fifty-one students, thirteen came from Andover, the rest from the surrounding region. The students's ages ranged from six (Josiah Quincy III of Boston) to twenty-nine (James Anderson of Londonderry, New Hampshire).⁶¹ That youngest student was the son of Josiah Quincy Jr. and Abigail Phillips, a member of the extended Phillips family. The child was sent away to school because his father had recently died and he and his mother were



Josiah Quincy III.

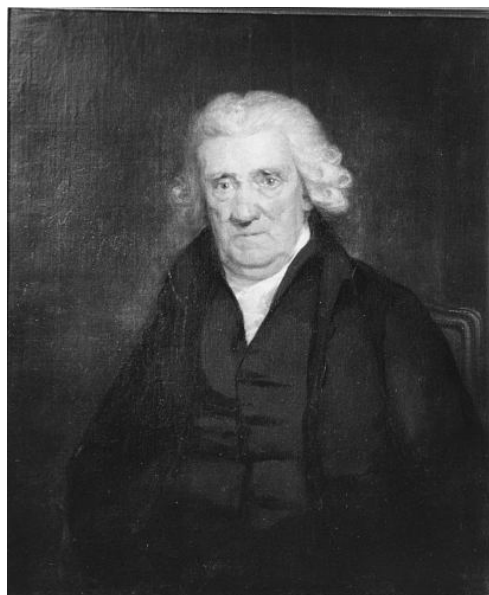
living with his maternal grandfather, William Phillips, "a man of tyrannical & unamiable character, and it was desirable to remove an active & noisy boy from his household."⁶² Alas, in being sent to Andover, Josiah was delivered from one tyranny into another. "I was compelled to sit with four other boys on a hard bench four hours in the morning, & four in the afternoon & study lessons I could not understand," he wrote.⁶³ Their teacher: Pearson. Numerous secondary sources quote Washington as saying of him: "His eye shows him worthy not only to lead boys, but to command men." But it's merely hearsay: as it turns out, someone said that some students said that George Washington was said to have said this. It's wiser to stick with what others are known to have written or said about him—for example, those students of his who not so affectionately called him "The Elephant."

Besides his first name, the inspiration for his moniker was his ponderous size and gait. Oliver Wendell Holmes, a student in a class that followed Quincy's, recalled his "large features," "conversational *basso profundo*," and the way "the house shook from cellar to garret at his footfall."⁶⁴ But that alone would not have made his bad reputation as a teacher. He was a "distant & haughty" figure, as described by Quincy. "I have no recollection of his ever having shown any consideration for my childhood," he wrote. "Fear was the only impression I received from his treatment of myself, or others."⁶⁵ Pearson, for his part, told Quincy's mother that her son didn't

have the intellectual capacity for Harvard, his aspiration, and advised her to take him out of the Phillips School forthwith and place him in a counting house. However, Quincy did in fact enter Harvard, at age thirteen, and graduated with highest honors in 1790. Then, on June 2, 1829, he was installed as Harvard's fifteenth president.

If only Pearson had learned by the example of his own preparatory-school teacher, in Byfield, Master Sam Moody. As a local historian of the early twentieth century, John Louis Ewell (1840-1910), wrote of him in *The Story of Byfield*: "Master Moody was not a scholar of encyclopedic range, but what he did know he knew and taught with marvellous thoroughness. He was a strict disciplinarian, but of a unique type. He let all his pupils study aloud in the same room; at times he would unbend and become the most rollicking boy in all the school, and he used to interrupt the routine of the day, when the season was favorable, if high water occurred during the school hours, so that every pupil might make sure of his bath. He had charge of the Academy some twenty-seven years. No portrait of him has come down to us, but we can easily picture him to our minds from the descriptions of his pupils; a large man with strong features, wearing a long green flannel gown and a tasselled smoking cap, with a full assortment of instruments of punishment within reach, such as ferule, long flat rule, and switches of various sizes, adapted to the boys of different ages; and his five hundred and twenty-five pupils proved the rare excellence of his training by the remarkable proportion of them who attained eminence in after life. ... Master Moody will be remembered as he was in his prime, eccentric and severe, but most severe toward himself, devoted to his boys, thorough in storing and developing their minds, and watchful to cultivate their Christian manliness—at once a pioneer and a prince among American teachers."⁶⁶

Besides P.A., Samuel Phillips Jr. had more distractions that took his focus away from the gunpowder mill. In 1782, he began to build a mansion for his wife, Phoebe Foxcroft Phillips, and their three children that was planned on a scale beyond anything then known in Andover. His



Henry Bromfield. Harvard Library

memoirist, the Rev. John L. Taylor (1811-1884), although he had not witnessed it himself, wrote that the whole town was there for the raising of the timbers from New Hampshire.⁶⁷ In 1781, Samuel Phillips Jr. had been elected to the State Senate of Massachusetts and appointed Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Essex County by John Hancock. He was called Judge Phillips thereafter, and so will I here.

Like Judge Phillips, Pearson, too, married and had children. In 1780, Priscilla Holyoke (1739-1782) became his first wife. Thirteen years Pearson's senior, she was the daughter of Edward Holyoke, who had been president of Harvard for thirty-two years before his death in office in 1769. In 1785, three years after Priscilla died giving birth to the couple's daughter, Mary Holyoke Pearson, he married Sarah Bromfield (1757-1831), who descended from a Boston family that had traded in rum, sugar, and molasses, and whose father, Henry Bromfield, owned a successful shipping

firm that, among other activities, exported tobacco produced by enslaved laborers in Virginia.⁶⁸

But then there was a big change for The Elephant. In 1786, one year into that second marriage, he left Andover for Harvard, having been hired to be the college's Hancock Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Languages after Stephen Sewall was dismissed for intemperance. Reportedly, though, Pearson's Hebrew classes became so small he was asked also to teach English grammar and rhetoric, and to correct English exercises and themes.⁶⁹ Robert H. Pfeiffer, a theologian, minister, museum curator, and historian, in "The Teaching of Hebrew in Colonial America," attributed his diminished class size to Harvard making the study of Hebrew optional the year after Pearson got there. One has to wonder, though, if the diminishment also had to do with The Elephant's personality. Whatever the reason, the situation could not have sat well with him, and when, as we shall see, he returned to Andover, he claimed to have spent the last third of his twenty years in Cambridge unhappy.⁷⁰

V. Pearson and Colleagues Promote the "Benefits" of Being Enslaved

Students, to you 'tis giv'n to scan the heights
Above, to traverse the ethereal space,
And mark the systems of revolving worlds.
Still more, ye sons of science ye receive
The blissful news by messengers from heav'n,
How Jesus' blood for your redemption flows ...

—Phillis Wheatley, "To the University of Cambridge, in New England" (c.1767)



Harvard College during the Revolutionary War

As a student at Harvard, Pearson had distinguished himself by a single act on the final day of his college years. On July 21, 1773, as part of the graduation exercises, he and another student engaged in a public debate. Starting with Harvard's first commencement in 1642, it had become tradition for the exercises to include a debate on a topical subject in front of an audience. This time, Pearson and his opponent, Theodore Parsons (1751-1799), tackled the question of whether the enslavement of Africans was compatible with natural law. It elicited so much comment it was published in pamphlet form, so we have the very words that both Pearson and Parsons spoke.

A few months later, on September 1, 1773, Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, the best known poem of which is "On Being Brought from Africa to America," would be published in London.⁷¹ (Before that publication, Wheatley [c. 1753-1764] was already well-known for her 1771 elegiac poem in memory of the Rev. Whitefield.⁷²) The "Africa" poem's most famous lines are: "Some view our sable race with scornful eye, / 'Their color is a diabolic die.' / Remember, *Christians*, *Negros*, black as *Cain*, / May be refined, and join th' angelic train." Dismayingly, she also expressed gratitude for having been enslaved: "'Twas mercy brought me from my *Pagan* land, / Taught my benighted soul to understand / That there's a God, that there's a *Saviour* too: / Once I redemption neither sought nor knew." (Emphases hers.)⁷³ Pearson expressed the same logic—that enslaved Africans were lucky to have been brought to a place where they would be exposed to Christianity—in the Harvard debate.



Phillis Wheatley.

Debaters everywhere prepare to defend both sides of a question and research them equally in order to anticipate responses to likely arguments. They believe that understanding in depth both sides will help the audience see the truth through the test of ideas in competition—the

dialectic. Besides, depending on the style of the debate, they may not have the opportunity to choose the side they will argue. Often, it's decided by a coin flip. I could not discover how sides were chosen at Harvard in 1773, but while Parsons, the son of a minister who, not so incidentally, owned three slaves, argued against slavery, Pearson argued in the affirmative, stating that slavery was "agreeable to the law of nature," citing the idea that the "right of authority [to subordinate] others, independent of all voluntary contract on the part of the subordinate," was "universally acknowledged."⁷⁴ He also argued that, as Wheatley likewise wrote, the enslaved people's delivery into slavery here was "a blessing," because ours was a "land of light, humanity, and christian knowledge." This, Pearson said, was the case no matter how "faulty" any slaveholder might be "in point of unnecessary cruelty."⁷⁵

After Harvard, Parsons trained to be a physician. During the Revolutionary War, he served as a surgeon, but disappeared at sea while on the privateer brig *Bennington*.⁷⁶ He was twenty-eight. There is no extant record of how he genuinely felt about slavery. More important, the same goes for Pearson, but the question of "Negroes" came up again and again after Pearson and others founded the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1803. Modeled on a British organization of a very similar name, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (established in 1698), Pearson's Society was predated by one year the Boston Female Society for Propagating the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge. The men's group, though, is claimed to have been the first American association created strictly for the purpose of distributing religious tracts and books; and with consequences for Andover, print became Pearson's forte.

On April 20, 1802, Harvard named him to a printing committee. He was charged with procuring a press and "suitable fonts of types," and also with making "an agreement with some person to be employed by the College as their printer."⁷⁷ On October 25 and 26, 1802, an account of Debts & Credits shows that a printing press, apparatus, and types had been bought.⁷⁸ Committees are often a bugaboo for an academic, but Pearson must have been happy to have acquired this expertise, since he needed printed matter for the Propagation group. Its president for many years as well as its acting secretary, he cultivated his connections and sent tracts widely.

P.A. graduate Francis Lightfoot Lee II (1782-1850) of Alexandria, Virginia, son of Declaration of Independence signer Richard Henry Lee, acknowledged in a letter to Pearson the "pamphlets you were so good as to send me," and gave him encouragement. "There is no doubt the general utility of your plan of distributing moral and religious tracts where they can be circulated and read," he wrote on January 18, 1804. However, he informed Pearson, there were difficulties with the plan. "In many parts of Virginia," he wrote, distribution would be difficult "on account of the thinness of population," and perhaps ineffective anyway, because of "the ignorance of some people." Not that thickly settled, sophisticated areas, like Washington, D.C., would, in his opinion, be any more receptive. "The city Washington has drained Alexandria of much gaiety and idleness; for men of fashion and fortune [are] finding less amusement in the latter than the former place, which is the seat of courtly dissipation and splendor readily resort[ed] thereto."⁷⁹

On June 7, 1804, another correspondent, William Hollinshead (1748-1817), a minister in Charleston, South Carolina, acknowledged his receipt of tracts from Pearson with gratitude. "A

numerous class of the citizens of S.C. have long been destitute of any regular means of instruction on the subject of religion,” he wrote, “and owing to a variety of causes, continue in a lamentable state of darkness.” He did have a special request: he wanted him to recommend the tracts more likely to be read by “the inferior classes of readers.”⁸⁰ One assumes he was referring to whites only, since blacks were not permitted to read. Nonetheless, in the same letter, the Rev. Hollinshead mentioned to Pearson that more “Negroes” were coming into his congregation, and he noted the irony of it. “Poor creatures—destitute of many of the privileges of civil life; they seem to be distinguished by the favor of Heaven above many of the wise, the learned, & the polite.”

He went on to profess the same argument about the “benefits” of being enslaved that both Wheatley in her poem and Pearson in his graduation debate had expressed: “What an exchange have they made from a state of heathenism to that of the light & liberty of the Sons of God— Thus their affliction has become a blessing, & the greatest good arrives to them out of what is generally esteemed one of the greatest evils. They have seen their days of sorrow; but they enjoy a present consolation, & in the end shall reap everlasting life.”

The Rev. Hollinshead wrote Pearson once again, on August 22, 1804, saying he had made even more progress with blacks, but not with whites: “Since my last [letter] a considerable revival seems to be going on among the negroes—We have baptized 23 since January... Among the white people I have never witnessed more coldness & indifferency.” On March 18, 1806, in thanking Pearson for yet more tracts, and noting that yet more enslaved people had become Christians, he repeated the message that earlier had been voiced by both Wheatley and Pearson and that decades later would be taken up by anti-abolitionists, about “the avarice that forced [Africans] from their native soil”: “[W]hat an exchange have they made by this wonderful providence, of heathenish darkness for the glorious light of the gospel of the Son of God!”⁸¹

Meanwhile, Pearson was making few friends at Harvard. John Eliot (1754-1813) (no relation to the missionary) referred to him as “Megalonyx,” after the genus of long-limbed ground sloths with oversized, crab-like claws that walked the earth in North America during the Pleistocene epoch.⁸² In 1804, Eliot had joined Pearson as a fellow of the Harvard Corporation, the college’s governing board. Describing his senior colleague as “ill-humoured” and “ever ill mannered,” Eliot noted that, being a new addition to the board, he was an especially marked target of Pearson’s abrasive, bullying manner.⁸³ Pearson’s days at Harvard were numbered anyway at that point. The college was in the throes of a revolution. Calvinists, including Pearson, wanted someone from their theological camp to be appointed Harvard’s new Hollis Professor of Divinity. The previous one, David Tappan, had died, and Calvinists were the usual choice. Instead, Henry Ware, a Unitarian, was chosen. Worse, a similarly liberal theologian, Samuel Webber, was selected as Harvard’s new president—this, despite Pearson having been named acting president right after the



John Eliot. Harvard University Archives.

previous president's death, and having anticipated being named president himself, even though he had never been seriously considered for the post. What else could Pearson do? On March 28, 1806, he resigned from Harvard in a conspicuous huff, leaving Cambridge and returning to Andover, determined to found a rival school, a seminary, where he hoped (and no doubt prayed) that the orthodox values of his Puritan progenitors would be taught and spread throughout the world.

Someone did once say he never had been such a zealous Calvinist until after that fateful snub. But who could ever prove it? In order to do so, one would have to have looked into his very soul.

¹ Toponym is the term for the name bestowed by colonizers on a place already named by its indigenous residents. Boston and Andover are certainly two. Discovering, verifying, spelling correctly, publishing, and disseminating the ancient names I leave to someone else.

² Edward Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England* (London: 1654), quoted in Cyrus M. Tracy, *Standard History of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Boston: C.F. Jewett & Co., 1878), 53.

³ William Hubbard, *General History of New England from the Discovery to MDCLXXX* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1848), 17.

⁴ The northern and southern parts of town officially split into North Andover and Andover on April 5, 1855.

⁵ Quoted in Cyrus M. Tracy, *Standard History of Essex County, Massachusetts, embracing a history of the county from its first settlement to the present time, with a history and description of its towns and cities* (Boston: C.F. Jewett & Co., 1878), 53.

⁶ George Chandler, *The Chandler Family. The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler Who Settled in Roxbury, Mass. 1637* (Worcester: Printed for the Family, Press of Charles Hamilton, 1883), 4.

⁷ Toponym is the term for the name bestowed by colonizers on a place already named by its indigenous residents. Discovering these place names and spelling them properly I must leave to someone else.

⁸ See Alvin M. Josephy, *500 Nations: An Illustrated History of North American Indians* (New York: Knopf, 1994).

⁹ "At a General Court, at Boston 6th of the 3rd m, 1646" (in the Gregorian calendar, May 16, 1646). Quoted in Ryan Wheeler, "Cutshamache and Cochichawick." <https://peabody.andover.edu/2021/05/13/cutshamache-and-cochichawick> Retrieved April 13, 2022.

¹⁰ Quoted in Sidney Perley, *The Indian Land Titles of Essex County Massachusetts* (Salem: Essex Book and Print Club, 1912), 39; *Records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Boston, 1853), II, 159.

¹¹ In a talk titled “Indigenous Andover,” given online on April 12, 2022, to members of AVIS (formerly known as the Andover Village Improvement Society), Ryan Wheeler, P.A.’s director and chair of archaeology, referred to it, I think rightly, as the “so-called sale.”

¹² Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover (comprising the Present Towns of North Andover and Andover), Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1880), 164.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 166.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 175-176; Thomas Cobbett, “A Narrative of New England's Deliverances,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 7, 1853, 218.

¹⁶ Lisa Brooks is the author of *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018). See also the book’s “digital companion” at <https://ourbelovedkin.com/awikhigan/index> Retrieved April 13, 2022.

¹⁷ Chandler, 7.

¹⁸ Bailey, 173. In the same passage, Bailey further speculated without supplying any facts that “the savages knew who were the men in town who had helped murder their brethren in the swamp fight” and may have targeted Joseph Abbot.

¹⁹ Robert E. Cray Jr., “‘Weltering in their own blood’: Puritan Casualties in King Philip’s War,” *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Fall 2009. Cray says that his estimates came from *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God by Mary Rowlandson with Related Documents*, edited by Neal Salisbury (Boston: Bedford Books/St. Martin, 1997).

²⁰ Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 5.

²¹ Quaboag Plantation, founded in 1660, is made up of the present-day Massachusetts municipalities of Brookfield, West Brookfield, North Brookfield, and East Brookfield, as well as parts of Warren and New Braintree.

²² “Indian Captives, Servants, and Slaves in the Era of King Philip’s War 1673-1755,” compiled by Jenny Hale Pulsipher. <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/data/2/> Retrieved February 1, 2021.

²³ D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with biographical sketches of many of its pioneers and prominent men* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888), 1561. Charles Smith is one of several Charles Smiths who attended the Seminary. This one, a graduate of the class of 1845, was pastor of South Parish for one year, 1852-1853, and again from 1861 to 1876. See his biography in *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary Andover, Massachusetts 1808-1908* (Boston: Thomas Todd, Printer, 1909), 216-217.

²⁴ Hurd, 1562.

²⁵ William Hubbard, *A General History of New England from the Discovery to MDCLXXX* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1848), 34-35.

²⁶ Letter of John Eliot to T.S., Sept. 24, 1647, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 3rd series, IV, 50.

²⁷ Josephy, 181.

²⁸ Kenneth B. Murdock, "William Hubbard and the Providential Interpretation of History," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Vol. 52, Part 1, April 1942, 15.

²⁹ See, for example, Christine M. DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998); and Michael G. Laramie, *King William's War: The First Contest for North America, 1690-1697* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2017).

³⁰ The copy of *The Record of Andover during the Rebellion*, compiled by Samuel Raymond (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1875), that is owned by the Andover Center for History and Culture (hereafter ACHC), is inscribed, "From the Estate of Charlotte Helen Abbot," and signed, "Charlotte Helen Abbot, Spinster."

³¹ Charlotte Helen Abbott, "Our Red Brothers," *Andover Townsman*, October 25, 1895.

³² George Mooar, *Historical Manual of the South Church in Andover, Mass.* (Andover: Printed by Warren F. Draper, 1859), 96.

³³ <https://mhl.org/sites/default/files/files/Abbott/Abbott%20Family.pdf> Retrieved April 16, 2022.

³⁴ In 1711, the same year that the Benjamin Abbot house was built, Martha Allen Carrier's family received from the Massachusetts government a small recompense, 7£ and 6s, for her wrongful conviction and death.

³⁵ Reverend Samuel Phillips, *People Earnestly Urged to be Happy, Or A Minister's Address to his People, by Way of Intreaty* (Boston: S. Kneeland & T. Green, 1739).

³⁶ *People Earnestly Urged to Be Happy* is thirty-six pages long, an average count for the Rev. Phillips's published sermons.

³⁷ Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 317.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁹ American Antiquarian Society (hereafter AAS), Samuel Phillips, Diary, Mss. Octavo Vols. P. *An Astronomical Diary, or, An Almanack 1744*. The Rev. Phillips noted that cause of death was “quinsey”—an old term for a peritonsillar abscess.

⁴⁰ Jonathan Edwards, *The Life of David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians*, (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1853), 19.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 55

⁴² Seminarians in Andover still revered Jonathan Edwards in 1903, so much so that in October of that year, the Seminary celebrated the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth with a two-day event to which the public was invited, as were nine Edwards descendants. (See “Memory of Jonathan Edwards Honored by Noted Theologians at Andover Seminary—Bicentenary [sic] of His Birth Fittingly Celebrated,” *Andover Townsman*, October 9, 1903.) Besides a series of sermons (see *Exercises Commemorating the Two-hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Jonathan Edwards: Held at Andover Theological Seminary, October 4 and 5, 1903* [Andover: Andover Press, 1904]), the event featured an exhibition of artifacts in the chapel. They included notes of sermons preached by Edwards to the Mohicans and a manuscript of an account of Mrs. Jonathan Edwards’s religious experiences of January 19, 1742, narrated by her to her husband, and recorded (but significantly edited) by him. (See Jonathan Edwards, *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* [Boston: Printed and sold by S. Kneeland and T. Green in Queen-Street, 1742].) There was also on display a fragment of Mrs. Edwards’s wedding dress, now in the collection of Yale University Library. See <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2004542> Retrieved February 17, 2024.

⁴³ Colin Brummitt Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (Caldwell, ID: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939), 68.)

⁴⁴ Claude M. Fuess, *Andover: Symbol of New England, The Evolution of a Town* (Andover: The Andover Historical Society and the North Andover Historical Society, 1959), 156.

⁴⁵ See Richard Shiels, *Journal of the Early Republic*, Religion in the Early Republic, Vol. 5, No. 2 (Summer 1985), 223-246.

⁴⁶ Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 323.

⁴⁷ Philip J. Greven Jr., *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁴⁹ William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1905-1914), February 2, 1802. Presumably he meant “self-interest” or “interest” as in profits.

⁵⁰ Perry D. Westbrook, *The New England Town in Fact and Fiction* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1982), 37. This isn’t just a phenomenon of the past. As I write this, Andover’s town moderator is Sheila M. Doherty, who replaced her father, the late James D. Doherty, town moderator for the twenty-nine years before her election in 2007.

⁵¹ *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, XIX,203-204, quoted in Edward Moseley Harris, *Andover in the Revolution: A New England Town in a Period of Crisis, 1763-1790* (Andover: Walsworth Publishing Company, 1976), 66.

⁵² John Lewis Ewell, *The Story of Byfield, a New England Parish* (Boston: George E. Littlefield, 1904), 142-145.

⁵³ PAA, Head of School records, Eliphalet Pearson, Box 2, Folder 10, “Henry Bromfield Pearson, 1795-1867,” undated manuscript copy of a paper written by Pearson’s son, “Respecting Dr. Eliphalet Pearson.”

⁵⁴ Moorar, 67. The third meeting house was built in 1788. It was replaced with the fourth and present structure in 1861. <https://preservation.mhl.org/41-central-st-0>. Retrieved February 13, 2021.

⁵⁵ See Joe W. Krauss, “The Development of a Curriculum in the Early American Colleges,” *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (June 1961), 64-76.

⁵⁶ The Massachusetts government contemplated removing the soldiers, possibly for use in a prisoner exchange. They may have done so despite a letter to a member of the Board of War from Samuel Phillips Jr., who protested their removal, pointing out that “some have married, had children, taken the oath of allegiance, paid taxes, and become useful members of society.” Quoted in Bailey, 348, who cited “Pickering papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.” i.e., Col. Timothy Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, December 24, 1779, Vol. 17, 317. According to the genealogy of the Chandler family, at least one British deserter, William Hill, settled in Andover, too. His son Richard D. Hill married Deborah Chandler.

⁵⁷ AAS, Nathaniel Lovejoy, Diaries, 1762-1809, Mss. Octavo Vols. L.

⁵⁸ Quoted in Matthew E. Thomas, *Historic Powder Houses of New England: Arsenals of American Independence* (Charleston: The History Press, 2013), unpaginated. <https://books.google.com/books?id=coWNCQAAQBAJ&pg=> Retrieved March 19, 2021.

⁵⁹ Bailey, 347. Charlotte Helen Abbott, *Early Records of the Lovejoy Family of Andover*. [https://mhl.org/sites/default/files/files/Abbott/Lovejoy Family.pdf](https://mhl.org/sites/default/files/files/Abbott/Lovejoy%20Family.pdf) Retrieved March 18, 2021.

⁶⁰ Phillips Academy is “commonly called simply Andover,” writes Paul V. Turner in his essay, “The Campus as Palimpsest,” in *Academy Hill: The Andover Campus, 1778 to the Present* (Andover: Addison Gallery of American Art; and New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2000). It’s certainly true in the wider world, but Andover townspeople don’t refer to it that way, preferring P.A., since the term *Andover* obviously designates the town itself. To avoid confusion, here it will be called P.A.

⁶¹ *Biographical Catalogue of the Trustees, Teachers and Students of Phillips Academy, Andover, 1778-1830* (Andover: The Andover Press, 1903), 25-26.

⁶² PAA, Head of School Records, Eliphalet Pearson Papers (hereafter EPP), Box 2, Folder 15, labeled, “Bibliographical Sketch of E. Pearson by a Critic.” The sketch is an unsigned, typewritten manuscript, undoubtedly written by Josiah Quincy III. Similar words and sentiments can be found in *Life of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts, by his son Edmund Quincy* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1867), 26. “Mr. Phillips was advanced in life, of a stern and peremptory temperament. I was noisy, heedless, and troublesome, and it was for his interest as well as for mine that we shied be separated.”

⁶³ PAA, EPP, *ibid.*; Quincy, 25.

⁶⁴ Oliver Wendell Holmes, *The Poet at the Breakfast Table* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1872), 15-16.

⁶⁵ PAA, EPP, *ibid.*; Quincy, 24.

⁶⁶ John Louis Ewell, *The Story of Byfield: A New England Parish* (Boston: George Littlefield, 1904), 116-117.

⁶⁷ John L. Taylor, *Memoir of His Honor Samuel Phillips* (Boston: Congregational Board of Publication, 1856), 114-115.

⁶⁸ Pearson’s first father-in-law had a connection to slavery, too. A plaque affixed to Harvard’s Wadsworth House on April 6, 2016, reads: “Juba & Bilhah [no surnames recorded]/Lived and worked here as enslaved persons in the household of President Edward Holyoke/(1737-1769).” <https://www.harvardmagazine.com/2016/04/harvard-acknowledges-slave-connections> Retrieved May 4, 2022.

⁶⁹ Robert H. Pfeiffer, “The Teaching of Hebrew in Colonial America,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 45, No. 4, Tercentenary Issue (April 1955), 370.

⁷⁰ See Samuel Webber, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Harvard College, Relative to the Late Disorders in that Seminary* (Cambridge: Printed by W. Hilliard, 1807).

⁷¹ <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/45465/on-being-brought-from-africa-to-america> Retrieved January 18, 2021.

⁷² The Rev. Whitefield fell ill, died, and was buried in Newburyport. The poem was published as a broadside and a pamphlet in Boston, Newport, and Philadelphia, and subsequently with Ebenezer Pemberton's funeral sermon delivered in London in 1771. It urges preachers to include "Africans" in their mission and to tell them: "If you will chuse to walk in grace's road,/You shall be sons, and kings, and priests to GOD." The poem in its entirety can be read here: <https://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/wheatley/whitefield/whitefield.html> Retrieved April 23, 2022. Of course, the literary achievements of the enslaved Wheatley could take her only so far. Her byline on it was not "Phillis Wheatley," but "PHILLIS, a Servant Girl of 17 Years of Age, Belonging to Mr. J. WHEATLEY, of Boston:—And has been but 9 Years in this Country from Africa." Maybe it doesn't matter: her original name is unknown, and when the Wheatley family gave her its surname, they chose Phillis as her "Christian" name because that was the name of the slave ship that had brought her here.

⁷³ Or maybe it wasn't gratitude. In a new biography, *The Odyssey of Phillis Wheatley: A Poet's Journey through American Slavery and Independence* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 2024), historian David Waldstreicher argues that these lines are "artful whiteface mockery of pious racists." He believes that they are delivered in a "mocking or satirical instead of a beseeching voice." As Andrea Brady, a professor, poet, and small-press publisher, notes in her review in *The London Review of Books*, January 4, 2024, 15-17, Wheatley's poem has long been controversial. Henry Louis Gates has acknowledge that it is "the most reviled poem in African American literature"; Alain Locke said it was a product of "the Old Negro from whom one must turn away." Whether, in Brady's words, "Wheatley fawned on her white masters and denied her Blackness; or wrote poems that rejected slavery and racialization with almost miraculous prescience," readers must decide for themselves. "Her work is ripe for revisionist readings that look beyond her habits of accommodation and flattery to her willingness to confront her century's disasters."

⁷⁴ Theodore Parsons and Eliphalet Pearson, *A Forensic Dispute on the legality of enslaving the Africans, held at the public commencement in Cambridge, New-England, July 21st, 1773. / By two candidates for the bachelor's degree* (Boston: Printed by John Boyle, for Thomas Leverett, near the post-office in Cornhill, MDCCLXXIII [1773]), 11-12.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁷⁶ Peter Galison, "21 July 1773: Disputation, Poetry, Slavery," *Critical Inquiry* 45, Winter 2019, 381; his source: "Massachusetts Slaves," *The Youth's Companion*, December 19, 1907, 652. See https://archive.org/stream/storybyfieldane00ewelgoog/storybyfieldane00ewelgoog_djvu.txt Retrieved March 4, 2021.

⁷⁷ Harvard University Archives (hereafter HUA), Records of the Board of Overseers, Vol. IV, May 22, 1788, to September, 12, 1805. "Voted that a printing press and suitable fonts of types be procured for the College, to be under the direction of the Corporation; and that the President and Professor Pearson [form] a Committee to see to the procuring of the press and types."

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ PAA, Head of School Records, Eliphalet Pearson, Box 2, Folder 1, “Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1802-1818.”

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² The name in Greek means “giant claw.” For more information, see <http://iceage.museum.state.il.us/mammals/jefferson's-ground-sloth>. Retrieved March 9, 2021.

⁸³ Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston: Starr King Press, distributed by Beacon Press, 1955), 278, quoting from notes copied into the “Commonplace Book” of John Eliot’s brother Ephraim Eliot.