Chapter Two
1700s-1800s

I. After the Need for Gunpowder Wanes, Judge Phillips Builds a Paper Mill

"…the lean, shrewd, nervous Yankee type…"

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

Among those loyal to him and his family, Judge Phillips was mythologized as having had a hands-on role in the gunpowder mill. On June 7, 1878, during celebrations honoring the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of P.A., in a story published in the *Boston Post*, the Rev. Alexander McKenzie, a P.A. graduate (class of 1855), claimed that Judge Phillips had worked in the gunpowder mill "from morning to night in his farmer's frock with his neighbors." But of course millworkers had not been his neighbors; they could not have afforded to live near his mansion on Andover Hill, also known as Academy Hill. Nor had he ever been a farmer. Described by the Rev. Bentley as "of a slender form" and "not engaging,"[1] he was and always had been an entrepreneur, seizing business opportunities that presented themselves.[2] And when the Revolutionary War ended in 1783, and the demand for gunpowder waned, Judge Phillips decided that paper-making would be his next concern. P.A., in only its fifth year of operation, would continue to compete for his attention.

The Rev. William Bentley.

Owners of paper mills built earlier in America were men of wealth. They needed to be, because of the capital necessary to begin such an enterprise in the colonies. John Hancock's rich uncle, Thomas Hancock (1703-1764), was co-proprietor of the first paper mill in Massachusetts, erected in 1730 in a part of Dorchester that is now part of the town of Milton. But later paper-makers like Judge Phillips needed more than capital to be successful, because there had begun to be significant competition.

Thanks to Judge Phillips's other essential asset, namely, his political connections, the printers for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts reportedly promised him they would yearly buy at least £1200 of his product. Even before he started, he was said to have had other good prospects in Boston, as well as Cambridge and Salem.[3] But it took a long time for the paper mill to get established. Thomas Hancock had previously been a bookseller and stationer; he had knowledge about imported paper from England. Judge Phillips knew no more about paper-making than he'd known about gunpowder-making at the start of that enterprise. If he had, he would not have thought paper-making could be safely accomplished in the same mill where gunpowder was still being made.

The townspeople surely hadn't forgotten the gunpowder mill's first explosion when, on August 25, 1784, a second explosion occurred, without loss of life, but that was probably just

luck. Five years later, the dual usage was still going on, as evidenced by a letter written by Thomas Houghton (1730-1800), a British emigré who had been hired by Judge Phillips to establish the mill because of his paper-making experience back in his home country.[4] On June 16, 1789, Houghton wrote: "I did not imagine, I could not imagine, such an engagement."[5] Nearly half a year later, on November 5, 1789, when George Washington visited Andover while he was making his first presidential tour, gunpowder was still being produced in the facility, while paper-making continued to be only a work in progress. It isn't known if Washington visited the mill, either inside, outside, or both. If so, he didn't mention it in his diary entry for the day, although he was complimentary about Andover in general, calling it "well cultivated" and "beautiful." He must not have stayed long. After he and Judge Phillips breakfasted together at Andover's Abbot's Tavern, they rode to Lexington, where he "viewed the Spot on which the first blood was spilt in the dispute with great Britain on the 19th. of April 1775."[6]

Around six months after the president's visit, in the summer of 1790, the paper-making part of the mill was at last up and running, and the Rev. Bentley noted in his diary that as Andover's economic-growth potential increased, he had "observed the jealousy of [other] Parishes."[7] Not too far away, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Samuel Slater founded his textile mill in 1793, and soon enough the image of a mill came to symbolize America's industrial might. "In Van Wyck Brooks's words: "Every village with a waterfall set up a textile-mill or a paper-mill, a shoe-factory or an iron-foundry."[8] Andover's paper-making mill struggled to become a viable business entity, however. Uneven quality was one of its problems. As the Rev. Bentley wrote of the two types of paper the mill was producing: "The Essex Mills in Andover have already become negligent of their common writing paper, tho' they are said to produce good printing paper."[9] A couple of years later, the minister repeated his more positive observations about the town, echoing some of what Washington had commented on. ("The situation of Andover being elevated there are fine prospects from its hills, & the view of town is opened in every part, & beautifully diversified.") And some of which he had not. ("There are seven bridges over the Shawshin… There is not much fishing in this river, which is obstructed by the Mills upon it. I saw some children with scoop nets amusing themselves upon it."[10]) He must have been referring not only to the paper-making mill but also to the saw mill and grist mill in Frye Village.

Andover paper mill ream wrapper. American Antiquarian Society.

Finally, in 1795, the paper-making venture became profitable, and that was the condition of the partnership Judge Phillips had promised to bestow on Houghton. Remarkably, though, part

of the mill was still being used for making gunpowder. Houghton had been worried all along about a "misfortune by fire."[11] On October 17, 1796, it came to pass: a third explosion occurred, killing two men. An epitaph on a gravestone in the South Parish cemetery gives the name of one victim, David Hall, his age, "32 years & 8 months," and mourns his "sudden swift remove,/From earth and all enjoyments here; When Christ commands, we must obey/Without a murmur or a tear."[12] It took more two years, but gunpowder manufacturing was at last discontinued in Andover.

It isn't possible to know what this particular paper mill looked like, but architectural-historian Bryant Franklin Tolles Jr., in his analysis of early New England textile-mill architecture, gives a likely description.[13] Based on that, I can picture a wooden rectangle one or two stories high with a gambrel or pitched roof, and small-paned windows, and its internal structure reminiscent of the maritime-building traditions whose ships had provided New England with so much of its early wealth. Shortly after 1810, Tolles writes, the wooden form advanced to a structure of stone, rubble, or brick masonry, often topped by a clock tower whose bell was designed to strike the hours of the workday. At that point, textiles were starting to become New England's chief source of wealth and native-born laborers were being employed to work the deafening looms. The immigrant textile-mill laborers had not yet begun to arrive and be recognized as a population right in their midst that the missionaries needed to convert.

Philip Doddridge.

On February 10, 1802, Judge Phillips died. Two days later, the Rev. Bentley reflected: "His political influence with the majority in Andover has long been lost."[14] If so, that was all the more reason for him to want to be well remembered by the citizenry. But he wasn't going simply to give them a gift. That was not a Calvinist's way. Instead, he provided money for the distribution of "pious" books among the town's "poor and pious Christians." He bequeathed some of it through P.A., specifically a part of the interest on £1000. He gave £3000 directly to the town for the same purpose.[15] The will named well-known titles for the give-away, for example, Westminster Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, Philip Doddridge's *A Plain and Serious Address to the Master of a Family on Family Religion*, Doddridge's *Sermons on the Religious Education of Children*, William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, and John Mason's *Treatise on Self Knowledge.* According to the will, the books could also be distributed outside Andover, "among the inhabitants of new towns and plantations, or other places, where the means of religious knowledge and instruction are but sparingly enjoyed."[16] Never mind that the Rev. Bentley thought the Westminster *Shorter Catechism* was "not only utterly unintelligible to children but to most adults."[17] It was a nod to saving the world, albeit one nearby locality at a time.

Pearson was one of the will's witnesses, as were some other people who had been involved in the formation of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. So was Judge Phillips's elder son, John Phillips (1776-1820).[18] (His younger son, yet another Samuel Phillips, had died in his fourteenth year in 1796.) After his father's death, John Phillips had become a partner in the paper mill. As business partners go, he was not an ideal choice. While at Harvard, he had received from Dad a letter addressing his profligate ways. "[M]y dear child," Judge Phillips wrote, "you will remember, that every other acquirement will be ineffectual, without the government of the temper; and that the longer this is delayed, the more difficult will be the attainment."[19] (Emphasis his.) Alas, he did not reform his ways. In 1809, he was insolvent, leading the Rev. Bentley to tsk in his diary: "… it was thought there was no end to his money. He has been very irregular in his habits & this is the true cause of his sufferings"—his suffering and that of others, since, "by his failure he has involved many in great embarrassment," owing someone in Salem "many thousands of dollars and this is but a part of sustained losses" among residents of that city. The Rev. Bentley predicted that Andoverites would, likewise, "receive a heavy shock, as the credit of the family had given him great opportunities to take advantages of the credulity" of Andover residents, too.[20] But his insolvency may also have been because, two years earlier, Pearson had persuaded him (and the Judge's widow, Phoebe Foxcroft Phillips) to donate substantial funds to the founding of what would become the missionary factory of this project's title.

II. Vengeance, Ambition, and Wounded Pride Begets the Seminary

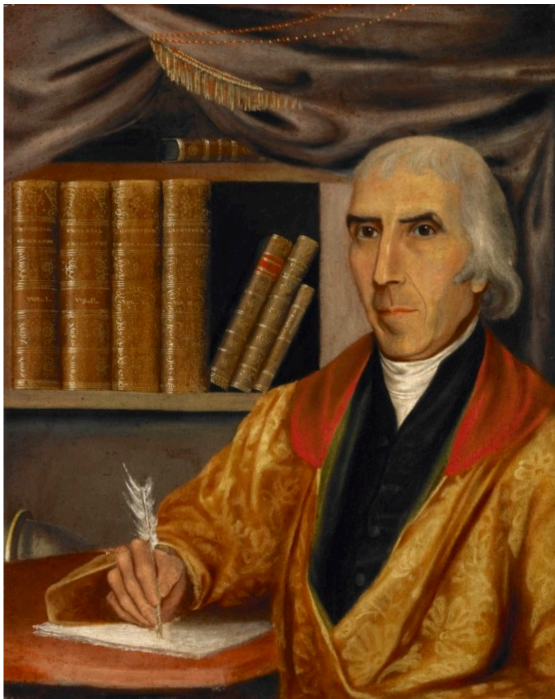
The known desertion of Pearson from Camb., under disappointment, & the want of harmony between the Theological interests at Camb. & And., it is expected will occasion some serious embarrassments to the new institution.

—The Rev. William Bentley's *Diary*, December 19, 1807

Page from Jedidiah Morse, *Geography Made Easy.*

Like Judge Phillips, Pearson had friends in high places—not as high as the Judge's, but as high as a sympathetic minister in a prominent pulpit: that is, Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826). Born in Woodstock, Connecticut, Morse, a "rigid, unlovable man,"[21] went to Yale. In 1783, to finance his final college year's expenses, he started a "Day School of 22 Young Misses" in New Haven.[22] Having to teach geography without a text-book was difficult, he had discovered, so he created his own in manuscript form, which the students copied out. Seeing there was a need for one written by an American, Englishmen's accounts being the only ones available at the time, he enlarged his manuscript and had it printed in 1784 while studying theology with Jonathan Edwards Jr. (1845-1801), son of the *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* Edwards. This became the

contemporary sounding *Geography Made Easy*, which is acknowledged to be the first geography textbook printed in the United States. In 1786, he and David Daggett, a New Haven attorney, debated the question of whether sumptuary laws ought to be established in the United States. Morse took the affirmative side, and his position was printed along with Daggett's opposing argument in the *New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine.* In this debate's format, unlike that of the Harvard graduating class debate in which Pearson participated, each man must have been personally convinced of his views on the subject. According to historian Linzy A. Brekke, the event marked Morse's first appearance as a political advocate and his first public announcement of his social and political views.[23]



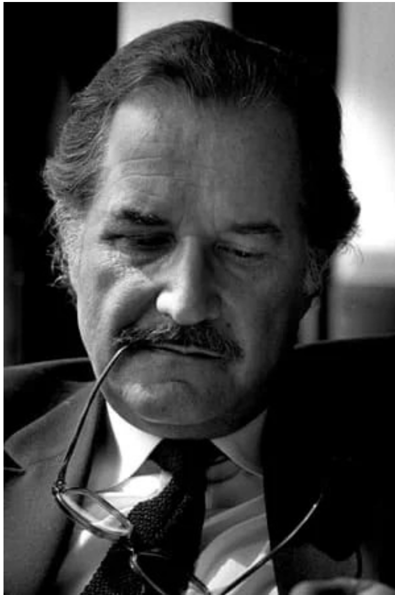
Jedidiah Morse by S.F.B. Morse. Yale University Art Gallery.

In 1789, Morse, who was by then ordained, became pastor of the First Congregational Church in Charlestown, formerly part of Boston, and published a second book, *American Geography.* It was reprinted widely, and when Yale adopted it for its curriculum, that made his reputation. He went on to publish more geographies, including *The American Universal Geography* in 1793. Years later, his son S.F.B. (Samuel Finley Breese) Morse, who was called Finley by the family, was nicknamed "Geography" when he got to Yale. But geography wasn't just the study of physical features in that period. Through his books, the Rev. Morse advocated political positions and imparted specious theories; so did other geographers who followed him, including his contemporary, Nathaniel Dwight, who went so far as to propound the religious and moral virtues of studying geography in his book *A Short But Comprehensive System of The Geography of the World* (1806).[24]

The Rev. Morse, according to his biographer Richard J. Moss, was an old-fashioned sight: "His powdered hair, knee-breeches, silver-buckled shoes with a high shine, and the odd gloves with the fingers cut off contrasted sharply with the dress of the day."[25] On July 9, 1799, likely dressed in that manner, he delivered an address to the incoming students at P.A., one of whom was eight-year-old Finley. The Rev. Morse told the students he was worried about their reading, since books "have been poured into our country by thousands, and circulated with much art and industry among young people … which are replete with concealed, but deadly poison to your principles and morals."[26]

A typewritten narrative in the Morse Family vertical file in the archives at P.A. says Finley was shortly homesick and returned home, reentering the school in 1802. A member of his original class who did not retreat was P.A.'s first indigenous student, ten-year-old Levi Konkapot (spelled "Konkepot" in the P.A. catalog).[27] The Massachusetts government had decreed that he should get an education and paid for that to happen at P.A. for three years.[28] The reason? So that

he might be "the more extensively useful among his tribe and Nation," which was the Ousatonuck or Stockbridge nation.[29] It isn't known if he did become "useful"—a word uttered and written frequently in Calvinist circles in the nineteenth century and well beyond. Mexican novelist and essayist Carlos Fuentes (1928-2012) once facetiously wrote: "I… became the original Mexican Calvinist: an invisible taskmaster called Puritanical Duty shadows my every footstep! I shall not deserve anything unless I work relentlessly for it, with iron discipline, day after day. Sloth is sin, and if I do not sit at my typewriter every day at 8 a.m for a working day of seven to eight hours, I will surely go to hell."[30]



Carlos Fuentes.

By those lights, the Rev. Morse wasn't going anywhere near hell. Not content merely to pastor his flock in Charlestown, he became deeply engaged in religious-magazine publishing. In 1801, he and Timothy Dwight IV (1752-1817), eighth president of Yale and a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, founded the *Mercury and New-England Palladium*, which was designed to provide New England ministers with material for sermons, especially that which stressed the dangers of religious pluralism. Due to the newly won freedoms of the American Revolution, competing religions were gathering congregants into their welcoming folds, and the old, state-supported Congregational churches were feeling vulnerable, more vulnerable than the Enlightenment's ideas, specifically deism,[31] had made them. As numerous sects and denominations got better and better established, the possibilities for worship were quite literally endless.

Charles Brockden Brown's novel *Wieland: Or, The Transformation,* published in 1798, dramatizes the dangers of the situation, as Brown portrayed them. A gothic horror, the story of Theodore Wieland is told from the point of view of his sister, Clara, who regrets that their father devised his own religion and let them do the same, guided only by "lively feelings" rather than "the weighing of proofs, and the dissection of creeds." Touching on the missionary theme, Clara laments that Theodore "had imbibed an opinion that it was his duty to disseminate the truths of the gospel among the unbelieving nation. He was terrified at first by the perils and hardships to which the life of a missionary is exposed… but he found it impossible wholly to shake off the belief that such was the injunction of his duty." Like the Rev. Eliot's, his efforts came to little, however: "His exhortations had sometimes a temporary power, but more frequently were repelled with insult and derision…. The license of savage passion, and the artifices of his depraved countrymen, all opposed themselves to his progress." It's a long, strange tale involving such things as ventriloquism. In the end, Theodore dies by his own hand, while the Wieland patriarch, himself a failed missionary dies by … spontaneous human combustion.

In addition to his publishing activities, the Rev. Morse made missionary trips as an agent of another group with Massachusetts origins, the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America, founded in 1787. One such trip was to the Isles of Shoals off the coast of New Hampshire where he would have encountered both indigenous people and

white settlers. But his forte wasn't preaching; he preferred to publish his words, and in 1805, he founded yet another periodical, *The Panoplist,* to rally for orthodoxy and against Harvard's move against it—to no avail. After the appointments of Henry Ware to the divinity professorship and Samuel Webber to the presidency, Sydney Ahlstrom wrote in *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), the Rev. Morse instead engineered the coalition that begat Andover Theological Seminary, a body whose influence, in just a few years after its founding in 1807 would be "felt all across the county and in far-flung missions abroad."[32] The Rev. Bentley gave Morse credit for the founding, too—or, in his estimation, the blame—writing, rightly, that Morse's role in the Harvard controversy had "cost him the favor of the Clergy who… spare no oppertunity [sic] to bespatter him," but adding, wrongly, "we may expect the noise of this troublesome man is much over," since he was busy writing a new geography.[33]

East Church, Salem, c.1910. Library of Congress.

The Rev. Bentley, similarly, blamed Pearson's "Religious Ambition"[34]—and his pride. For, he stated, the Seminary's existence owed itself not only to "the zeal of the fanatics against the Institute at Cambridge,"[35] but also to the bruising personal snub that Pearson had suffered there. In other words, because Pearson was "not promoted to the Chair of Camb," the Seminary was "contemplated"—and ultimately established—"to gratify [Pearson's] vanity."[36]

To be fair, that snubbing must have gratified the Rev. Bentley: he had a stake in the fortunes of Harvard. A graduate of its class of 1777, he had taught Greek there in a three-year appointment, 1780-1783, after which he became pastor of Salem's East Church. While serving there for the next thirty-eight years, he became one of the first New England ministers to openly profess Unitarian beliefs. In fact, Bentley's biographer wrote, East Church ought to share with Boston's King's Chapel "the distinction of being considered the first Unitarian church in America."[37]

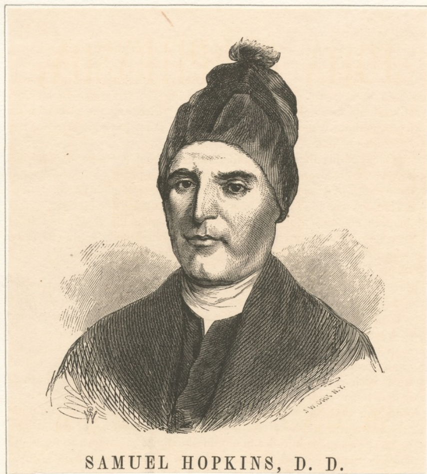
III. Andover Trumps Newburyport as the Seminary's Location

The … associate founders… were plain, uneducated business men who could talk much more intelligently about the precarious methods of making money at sea in those days than about theological questions.

—Owen H. Gates, *An Open Door for Andover Seminary* (1929)[38]

Having won the Rev. Morse's friendship and favor, Pearson published his vision for the Seminary in *The Panoplist*. The institution would, he wrote, be designed to thwart those "who, by philosophy and cunning craftiness, wherewith they lie in wait to deceive, are secretly and assiduously undermining the fabric of Christianity." And who would these thwarters be? He

called upon “a vigorous band of young men, already trained for this holy war, armed with the whole armor of God, and ready for the attack.”[39] The founding of the Seminary was also meant to bolster another key precept of the Calvinist faith, one that would maintain or improve its numbers: that each person had a responsibility to convey the “good news” of the Bible to others via missionary work, either by undertaking it themselves or by supporting those who did.



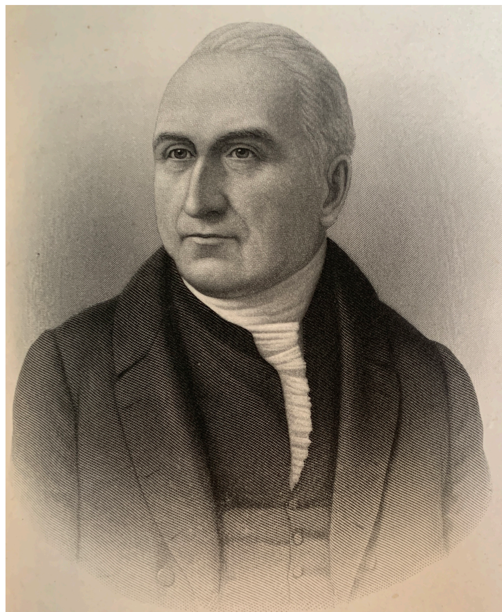
There was an immediate problem with this plan, however. Like-minded people were thinking of combating Unitarians and their ilk by founding a seminary of their own—about twenty miles northeast of Andover, at the mouth of the Merrimack, in Newburyport. They included the Rev. Samuel Spring (1746-1819) and other followers of Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), a Calvinist who preached what became known as “disinterested benevolence,” along with complete submission to God’s will—even if submission meant burning in hell for eternity. (“Are you willing to be damned for the glory of God?” its proponents asked those whose faith they felt needed testing.)[40] Clifford S. Griffin, in his book *Their Brothers' Keepers,* calls Hopkins “the strictest Calvinist of his day.”[41] Both factions, however, knew two seminaries wouldn’t do and that the Hopkinsonians and the Calvinists should join forces against their common enemy. But how did Andover win the location debate?

One selling point was that it would be easier for the group to establish themselves as part of the already existing P.A., since they may have run into hostile governmental parties while trying to incorporate as a separate entity. After all, the state was now constitutionally committed to freedom of religion. The Religious Freedom Act of 1811 was in the offing, and would legally end all formalities between church and state (although Congregationalist churches would continue to be tax-supported in the Commonwealth until its Bill of Rights was amended in 1833.) In any case, one must wonder how a seminary of any sort in Newburyport would have weathered the series of calamities that nearly destroyed the economics of the city in the early years of the nineteenth century. First, there was the Embargo of 1807, imposed by Thomas Jefferson during the Napoleonic Wars. Next, on May 31, 1811, the Great Newburyport Fire ravaged some 250 buildings over sixteen acres. (It led to the Brick Act of 1811 and the Brick Act of 1812; these are the reasons why downtown Newburyport is largely brick today.[42]) Then came the War of 1812 and in its aftermath a boycott of English goods—more woe for Newburyport, and all of New England’s ports.

It’s also true that Andover may have had the more persistent advocate. Pearson, reportedly, rode to Newburyport thirty-six times, some twenty miles each way, to convince the Rev. Spring and the others of what he believed to be the better choice.[43]

As it happened, though, much of the money for the founding came from the losing locale: two of the Seminary-to-be’s benefactors were Newburyport men. One was William Bartlet

(1748-1841), who gave $250,000 in total to the cause.[44] Andover's Bartlet Street is named for him. The son of a shoemaker, he had apprenticed in cobbling—seven years with his father. But "[t]here can be little doubt … that he early conceived the design of becoming rich," wrote the Rev. Daniel Dana in a memorial after Bartlet's death.[45] The "germ of his future wealth" was a small share in a vessel, Dana recounted.[46] From there he eventually acquired a fleet and "was known in a hundred ports," wrote *The Newburyport Herald.*[47] He traded in both the East and West Indies, undoubtedly in products that depended on the toil of enslaved people, but the nineteenth-century perspective is as laudatory as those period accounts tend to be. "He gave away and lost at sea more property than any estate probated in the county of Essex to that date, and still was a millionaire," claimed D. Hamilton Hurd's *History of Essex County.*[48]



William Bartlet.

Bartlet must have seemed truly blessed; secularly speaking, he must have been a savvy entrepreneur, since even after the Jeffersonian embargoes "had killed commerce" in Newburyport and elsewhere on the eastern seaboard, Bartlet thrived.[49] For in addition to his shipping business, he had cotton mills and other factories both in Newburyport and nearby Byfield. And the 1811 fire seemed not to have affected his fortunes, either.

He never did go anywhere his ships went, though. "So busy was this man, so indefatigable in his labors, that in a hundred years, save seven, he never, but once, was seventy miles from the house in which he was born."[50] The house he lived in as a rich man was a grand one on Newburyport's wide, elegant Federal Street, but the myth makers say he never forgot his humble beginnings. He "preserved his [cobbler] 'seat and tools,' handing them down as a family memorial,"[51] and while his surname is sometimes written with two t's, he is said to have preferred the shorter version because he was a simple man with simple tastes and had no need for frills.

The other Newburyport-based benefactor of record, who gave $35,000, was Moses Brown (1742-1827), not to be confused with either Moses Brown (1738-1836) of Rhode Island or Captain Moses Brown of Newburyport, the Revolutionary War naval officer and privateer who was born the same year as "our" Moses Brown.[52] By 1790, Newburyport's second wealthiest man after Bartlet, he eventually became its largest holder of real estate. As an adolescent growing up on a farm in West Newbury, he learned the carriage trade; as a young man, he moved to Newburyport, where he established his own chaise-making and repair shop. With his profits, he invested in the importation of West Indian sugar and molasses, and so again like Bartlett (and so many others who got rich in that period), he, again like Bartlet, benefited from the work of enslaved people. With those profits, he bought wharves, warehouses, and rum distilleries along the Newburyport waterfront.[53] In the warehouses he "stored cargoes arriving at the dull season of the year when they could not be disposed of at a fair price."[54] In 1791, he

bought a big house on another of Newbury's wide avenues, 95 State Street. It had belonged to a U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, Tristram Dalton, a rich man who married money, then lost it all in real-estate investments in Washington, D.C. By that time, Brown had become a shipbuilder and owner of ships, but, once again like Bartlet and unlike a local ship captain (1742-1804) who shared his birth year and name, he never did stray far from home.

A third money man, John Norris (1748-1808), had his principal resident in Salem, and a summer house in what is now North Andover. A baker's son, he was involved in East India trade besides being a lawyer. Unsurprisingly, given his prejudices, the Rev. Bentley was not impressed by him: "He had no talent at conversation & no knowledge of men, but the rigid manners of his life gave him the name of piety which he believed to be sincere & the orthodox had many oppertunities [sic] to try the sincerity of their influence upon him." More cynically, he added, Norris's "invariable ill health, & yet great success made all the world respectful to him."[55] Norris had been planning to give money to missions, particularly in India, the source of much of his wealth. Instead, he is said to have given $10,000 in silver dollars to the Seminary outright and $30,000 more in a bequest.[56]

The fourth major benefactor was Samuel Abbot (1732-1812), son of Captain George Abbot 3rd and Mary (Phillips) Abbot, the Rev. Phillips's sister. That made Abbot the second cousin of Judge Phillips. Apprenticed to another cousin in Boston at age fifteen, Abbot had opened his own business at age twenty-two. He had a store and import business dealing in dry goods, indigo, molasses, spices, chocolate, hardware, nails, gunpowder, and other merchandise. (Besides benefitting from enslaved labor, he owned at least one slave.)[57]A number of his clients and correspondents were Sons of Liberty; he had multiple accounts with John Hancock.[58] After the Revolution, he retired to Andover very comfortably, eventually becoming a justice of the peace and town treasurer. He had always intended to give his money to Harvard. Instead, unhappy with the appointment of Henry Ware, he gave $20,000 to support the founding of the Seminary; and after his death in his eightieth year, the Seminary received an additional $100,000. (In 1812, the year of Abbot's death, $100,000 was the equivalent of more than $2.3 million today.[59])

Known today as Phelps House, it was built in 1809-1812 with William Bartlet's money as housing for the Seminary's first Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, Edward Dorr Griffin. Andover Historic Preservation.

Bartlet, Brown, Norris, and Abbot were all designated as members of the Board of Visitors (i.e., trustees) when the Seminary welcomed its first class on September 28, 1808. (So were the Rev. Dwight of Yale and the Rev. Spring.) According to the *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary,* the student body numbered exactly six: Ephraim

Abbot (1779-1870) of Newcastle, Maine; Winthrop Bailey (1784-1835) of Berlin, Massachusetts; John Field (1780-1827) of Hardwick, Massachusetts; John Frost (1783-1842) of Sandgate, Vermont; Adoniram Judson (1788-1850) of Malden, Massachusetts, more about which later in this chapter; and Nathaniel Swift (1783-1833) of Warren, Connecticut.[60] (Abbot, Bailey, and Swift had begun studying divinity at P.A. with the Rev. French.) Others soon joined those six, and three years later sixteen men comprised its first graduating class. Like Abbot, Bailey, Field, Frost, Judson, and Swift, all but two had come from small New England farming towns—young men who would otherwise have lived out their lives in their rural communities. The two outliers were from Newark, New Jersey. (A third man from Newark, Lewis Le Conte Conger, designated as a "Non-Graduate" in the Seminary's alumni catalogue, died on January 6, 1810, age twenty-two, and is buried in the cemetery on the P.A. campus.[61] Four others who matriculated in 1808 did not stay to graduate.)

At the Seminary's dedication in the fall of 1808, Eliphalet Pearson was ordained and given the title of Professor of Sacred Literature. He taught only for one year. His former P.A. student, Josiah Quincy III, never a fan, had a theory as to why; as he wrote in his memoir: "The domineering temper of Dr. Pearson made him so disagreeable to his colleagues… that he resigned his Professorship, & left them to enjoy, undisturbed by his presence, the fruits of his industry & labor."[62]

IV. America's Foreign Missionary Movement is Catalyzed in Andover

For men to plunge headlong into an undertaking of vast change,… they must be wholly ignorant of the difficulties involved in their vast undertaking. Experience is a handicap.

—Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer* (1951)

The first five American Protestants who became foreign missionaries were all Seminary graduates—a fact often downplayed in official histories. That's because a smaller core of those young men had previously organized themselves elsewhere. The story has often been told, but I'll summarize it here. In August of 1806, several undergraduates at Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, led by Samuel J. Mills, spent a day outdoors fasting and praying for the "heathen" abroad.[63] When a thunderstorm interrupted them, they took shelter under a haystack. Over the years, the Haystack Prayer Meeting, as it became known, was given the status of a seminal moment, especially since the trio shortly formed a secret club called the Brethren, whose members committed themselves to foreign missionary work. Why secret? Public opinion was against them. Parents, if they had known about their sons' aspirations, would have been against them, too, unwilling to sacrifice their progeny to the vicissitudes of unknown climates and cultures. Accordingly, the Brethrens' constitution was written in cipher and although the original has been lost, a copy was found in the late nineteenth century in a trunk in the Seminary's library along

Samuel J. Mills.

with other early records of the society. “We are a company of decided missionaries and our inquiry is not ‘whether,’ but only ‘where’ and ‘when’ we shall go on a foreign mission,” they wrote.[64]

That’s how things stood when two of them, Mills and James Richards, arrived at the Seminary in 1809, bringing the club with them and expanding it by inviting a select few others to join. Among them were Adoniram Judson, Luther Rice, Samuel Newell, and Samuel Nott, each of whom professed to be just as eager as the Brethren’s founders to fulfill what they believed to be their duty to spread the holy word beyond U.S. borders. It is these seven who are given the credit for being the advance guard of the American foreign missionary movement; it is they whose names were chiseled on the missionary boulder on the P.A. campus, although as I’ll relate, after their vanguard moment they took very different paths.

On June 10, 1810, several of them met with one of their Seminary professors, Moses Stuart (1780-1852), to talk about their bold idea. The Rev. Stuart was convinced, and believed there was no time to waste. Like many others in the period, he thought the return of Christ to Earth would take place in the year 2000, by which time we had all better be converted—or else. Bringing the millennium close to home, Edward Dorr Griffin (1770-1837), the Seminary’s first Professor of Sacred Rhetoric, declared that the Second Coming would take place in none other than Massachusetts. In a sermon he preached in 1813 at the dedication of a new meeting house in Sandwich, on Cape Cod, he gave the reasons why. He noted the state’s “long succession of godly ancestors” and the fact that its soil, the first to receive “the footsteps of the pilgrims,” had been “amply sprinkled with the tears of pious prayer.”[65] (By then, he had already left the Seminary, having been offered a position he couldn’t refuse: the pastorship of Park Street Church, where he continued to expound his local theory.[66])

Edward Dorr Griffin.

Notably, the Rev. Stuart helped some of the Brethren arrange an audience with the General Association of the Congregational Church while its leadership was meeting at Bradford Academy, about ten miles north of Andover.[67] That is when and where where Mills, Judson, Nott, and Newell argued their case. Only those four went to the meeting because the Rev. Spring, who had also been convinced of the sagacity of sending American missionaries abroad, advised them not to be overwhelming or seem overly aggressive. Their strategy worked. The result was the founding of the American Board, whose sponsored missionaries came exclusively from the Seminary for decades.

But before any missionaries went anywhere, there was the matter of securing a charter for the American Board from the Massachusetts Legislature. The task was accomplished, but not before two sessions of heated debate. William E. Strong, in *The Story of the American Board*, published in 1910, wrote that “the historic objection was made that [missionary work] was designed to afford means of exporting religion, whereas the country had none to spare, to which Judge [Daniel Appleton] White, of Newburyport, made reply, as profound as clever, that ‘religion was a commodity of which the more we exported the more we had remaining.’”[68] At least it seemed that way, since, inspired by the sacrifices the missionaries and their families were making, congregations began to donate increasing amounts of money to support the cause. The names of the American Board’s sup s can be perused in the organization’s printed annual reports, and since they were eventually listed town by town, it’s an easy exercise to look up contributions made by Andoverites through the years. (I mentioned a few in my Author’s Note.) It is touching to read these entries, and a little disturbing. Wouldn’t many of them have been better off spending their pittances on their own sustenance? Besides, pittances would never be enough to fund such an ambitious operation. Large bequests were needed, especially for the American Board’s launch, and in the end, that came from the estate of the widow of Seminary benefactor John Norris, much to the disgruntlement of the ever vexed Rev. Bentley.

The Norris summer residence as it looks today. Known as the Parson Barnard House, it is owned by the North Andover Historical Society.

Hearing the news, he disparaged John Norris not for the first time, saying he was “a man of great wealth but of the weakest intellect” who in life had fallen “into the hands of the fanatics who finding him without children fed upon the honey of his hive.” And now, the minister groused, even though he was dead, Andover was getting more money from the same source. “On the last Sunday,” he wrote, referring to March 17, 1811, “[Mary Norris] was abroad at public worship & in the evening with her friends, but she was taken with some internal obstruction which soon terminated in a mortification. As soon as the danger was known the house was [descended upon by] the fanatic priests, the relatives were discharged…, the friends excluded, & these fanatic priests proceeded in their great work of turning her great interest into the use of the Church. They gave 30 th. D. [i.e., $30,000] to the institution & 30 th. more to the missionaries they are to patronize.” It was, in his opinion, “[a]nother of the vile transactions of fanaticism in our times.”[69]

But the Rev. Bentley wasn’t the only one who objected to the gift. Angry Norris heirs brought a lawsuit, and a bill was introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature that attempted to prohibit the practice of deathbed wills being made to the advantage of religious organizations. On November, 24, 1811, the Rev. Bentley wrote that the court proceedings, although they were

East India House, London.

decided in Andover's favor, had "exposed the shameful practice of haunting the bed of the dying, & let the world see the conduct upon this occasion."

The omniscient narrator of Sinclair Lewis's 1949 novel *The God-Seeker* refers to the American Board as the "Vatican." James A. Field Jr., the scholar who wrote that the American Board was our country's first multinational corporation, once compared it to the U.S. Navy Department and the U.S. State Department, too, since it had to deal with "the problems of overseas transfers of funds" and implemented the same solution as the U.S. government: "the use of the international banking facilities of the English firm of Baring Brothers."[70] Something like it would have come into being eventually, but without that gathering of young men in Andover—if would-be clergy had still been scattered around New England, studying privately and singly with individual pastor-mentors—its formation certainly would have been delayed, and it probably would have taken much longer for it to evolve into the powerful organization it became.

As opposed to the U.S.'s first multinational corporation, the *world's* first multinational corporation, the East India Company was also "the first to run amok," William Dalrymple, a multifaceted scholar (historian, critic, curator) based in Delhi, observes in *The Anarchy: The East India Company, Corporate Violence, and the Pillage of an Empire*, published in 2019.[71] But before that happened, the EIC grew to control almost half of global trade, dealing in spices, cotton, tea, silk, and enslaved Africans, transporting them to Asia. By the eighteenth-century, it had effectively become the colonial ruler of large portions of the Indian subcontinent. Not about to let a bunch of missionaries destroy what they were building, it vehemently opposed any evangelizing activity in their territory. To their way of thinking, missionaries were their competitors, rival suitors for the hearts and minds they needed to conquer for their own, earthbound purposes. They worried that proselytizing could lead to civil disturbances, if not rebellion.[72] A story goes that when an American man spoke to Lord Wellesley, later the Duke of Wellington, of the duty of promoting the education of the Hindoos, he replied in so many words that Great Britain had seen enough of the effects of that in the North American colonies and the experiment would not be repeated.[73]

And so when the first five American missionaries disembarked in Calcutta in June of 1812, after a four-month journey, the EIC ordered them to leave, go back where they came from, the official excuse being that they were not English subjects and had no right to be there. It didn't

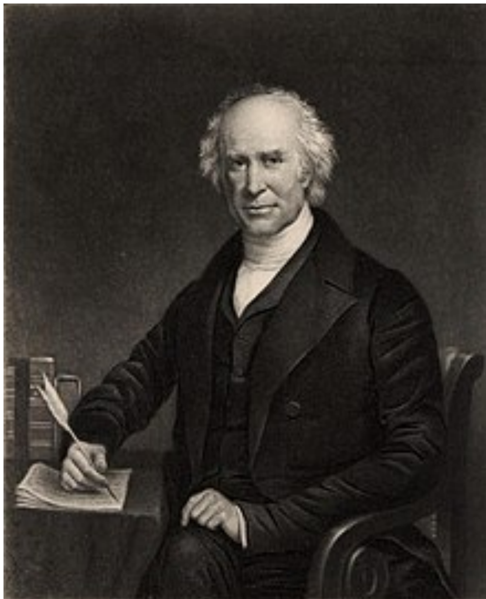
help that by then England and the United States were fighting the War of 1812. Instead of going home, however, they dispersed to places relatively nearby. Their final destination had not been India anyway. They had been headed for Burma (Myanmar) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) by way of India, since, initially, the American Board had thought it best for them to keep out of British missionaries' way.

V. Leonard Woods Creates a Missionary Saint

The alabaster box was not broken in vain! Leonard Woods wrote her life. It has … made many a missionary.

—Regarding the *Memoirs of Mrs. Harriet Newell,* in "The Apparent Waste of Missions," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. XI., No. 3 (March 1888)

The sacrifices expected of missionaries were outlined by the Seminary's first Professor of Christian Theology, Leonard Woods (1774-1854), in a sermon delivered immediately prior to the departure of the first five young men, three of them with wives in tow, in February of 1812. "The fervant [sic], devoted Christian presents himself a living sacrifice unto God," the Rev. Woods intoned; "and counts it a privilege to do and to suffer any thing for the advancement of his cause. . . . The sacrifice of property and pleasure; … imprisonment, and death lose their terrors, and become more attractive than any earthly good… This is the principle which governs and animates the church of Christ."[74] Those sentiments were often repeated by him and others when subsequent missionaries were sent on their way.



Leonard Woods.

Eighteen years later—that is, eighteen years too late for these first missionaries and others that soon followed them to take up their own assignments—the American Board published a booklet of orientation, *Manual for Missionary Candidates of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, filled with practical information. One portion pertained to the sea voyage. One fairly mandatory piece of advice went like this: "When the vessel has left the wharf, the berths should be put in order and the luggage adjusted as soon as possible, to be in readiness for sea-sickness. Missionaries have sometimes stood gazing at the land and other objects, or conversing with each other, till sea-sickness has come on, and they have then been compelled to pass several days in circumstances more unpleasant than can easily be described."[75]

Before embarkation, the *Manual* stated, missionaries should not take a long time for farewells: "Better for the health of the missionary and his wife, and for all concerned, that they should be short. It is painful to see missionaries, and especially their wives, come on to embark, wearied out, and perhaps their health materially and permanently affected, by a succession of

long continued, spirit-consuming farewells… You are probably to see each other no more in this world. Leave them as if such were your expectation. At the same time let there be no worldly sorrow." You'll meet again in heaven, they were reassured.[76]

As the ship was leaving the pier, the *Manual* said, it was best not to sing: "The crew are then hurrying to all parts of the vessel to set the sails, and the singing is necessarily troublesome and annoying to the pilot and officers."[77]

Once at sea, they should not interrupt the captain or any officer when they were taking their solar or lunar observations or while engaged in calculating their reckoning. A little harsh was the idea that they should refrain from asking the crew to explain their instruments at any time; but learning the different names of the parts of the ship was recommended. Nor should they ever find fault with the food, their accommodations, or the ship itself: "Commanders of vessels are exceedingly sensitive on all these points."[78]

As for practicing their proselytizing skills while en route, the *Manual* cautioned: "It will be well to postpone all direct efforts for the conversion of the seamen, until the good will of the captain and officers is secured, and the ship is fairly at sea."[79]

The *Manual* also recommended protocol regarding Sabbath: "This is not infrequently a delicate subject to manage, and nothing should be said respecting it to the captain, or to any person on board ship, until the missionary company have decided upon the manner in which it shall be done." One person should ask the captain when he is alone and it should be requested "as a *favor*, and not as a thing confidently expected."[80]

But perhaps the *Manual*'s most important recommendations were those that had to do with marriage, the most crucial one being that a wedding (and, it was understood, sexual relations) should take place as close to departure as possible, especially if the missionary and his wife anticipated a long voyage. In other words, childbirth in a foreign land was bad enough; pregnancy and childbirth onboard ship often ended tragically.

After the short life of Harriet Newell (1793-1812) and that of her baby ended in Port Louis on the Isle of France (now called Mauritius), *Memoirs of Mrs. Harriet Newell, Wife of the Rev. Samuel Newell, American Missionary to India* became a publishing phenomenon. The book, printed by Flagg and Gould in 1814, made her not only a missionary martyr (as mentioned in my author's note) but a veritable missionary "saint," complete with relics. In years to come, at the Seminary, in a museum of sorts called the "Missionary Room," along with idols ("Gods of the heathen") reportedly on display, was a twig from a tree that had grown over her grave. This, despite the fact that in its final form the book, compiled from some of her private writing (letters, diaries), was as much the work of the Rev. Woods as Harriet Newell, since it was he who reconfigured it for a reading public. But that didn't matter to early nineteenth-century readers. What they did seem to mind was that the book was a money-maker; as early as the first year of its publication, in response to "mistaken reports," *The Panoplist* published a disclaimer, stating that the unnamed compiler had "no pecuniary interest in the work, and never expects any profit from it."[81]

In the twenty-five years following the first edition, a new one would be printed almost annually in all the major cities of both the United States and Great Britain. Influential is too weak a word to describe it. The Newell memoirs verifiably inspired missionaries to join the cause. Just one example among many: Elnathan Gridley (1796-1827), who graduated from Andover with the

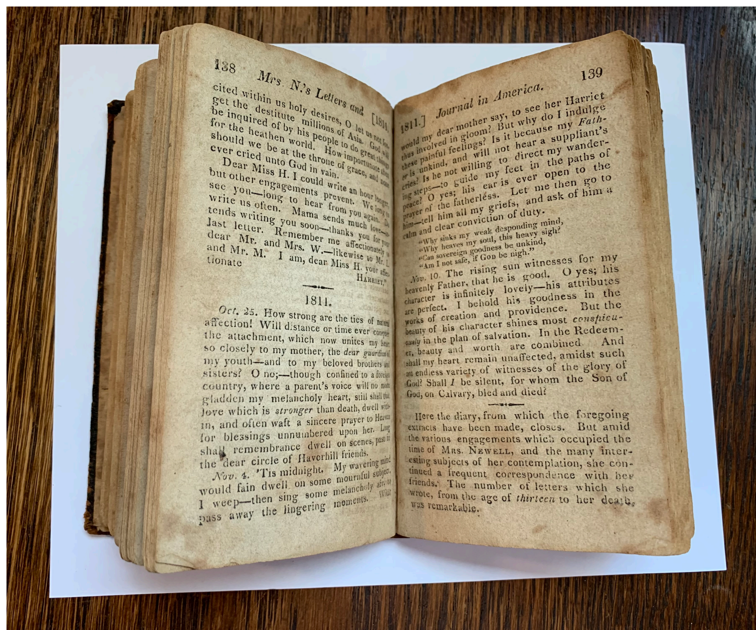
class of 1823, came across the book at a formative stage in his life. "My thoughts were first turned to the subject of missions … by a friend who had been reading the Memoirs of Harriet Newell," he wrote. "He seemed very desirous to have an education, that he might preach the gospel to the heathen. I thought that I too should like to go … and feel the privations, and endure the hardships of a missionary life. My view of the subject was then romantic in the extreme; still it led to much reflection, and exerted, as I apprehend, an important influence on my subsequent plans."[82] Indeed, Gridley went to Smyrna in 1825; he died in Caesarea on September 27, 1827, age thirty-one.

Along with her memoirs, Harriet's image was widely distributed. Samuel T. Armstrong, the well-known printer and bookseller of Boston, offered "the Likeness of Mrs. Newell, printed on fine paper, fit for frames."[83] The portrait of her as a wide-eyed wisp and the *Memoirs*'s hagiographical text had its far-reaching, secular effects, too. Mary Kupiec Cayton, a historian of religion in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century New England, has published her research about the sudden naming of girls "Harriet Newell" in the period. Not counting Harriet N.'s or simply the increase in Harriets, already a popular choice, Cayton found that, while the given name Harriet Newell does not appear in genealogies prior to 1814, it begins to show up that year and continues to be a notable choice for daughters for some time thereafter.[84]

In 1815, one of the Rev. Woods's own daughters was named, with a flourish, Harri*ette* Newell Woods.[85] In 1887, as Mrs. Harriette Newell Woods Baker, she published her father's biography. The frontispiece of *Reminiscences and Records of my Father, Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., of Andover* is his most often reproduced likeness, showing him seated at a desk, quill pen in hand, with a firm gaze and hard-edged jawline and brow. Harriet's physical opposite, he was in real life an imposing figure at 6'2". Never a missionary himself, "[h]e followed the 'dear missionaries' to their separate fields of labor with letters of affectionate counsel and advice," she wrote. Regarding the Newell memoirs, Mrs. Baker quoted her father as saying: "'The Life of Mrs. Newell,' by a widely extended influence, has done more good than she would probably have effected in a long life of usefulness."[86]

The book does live on and on. In 2023, a husband-and-wife team of rare-book dealers came to our house to bring my husband a clock to repair. Having learned of this project, the wife had brought along with her an old copy of the *Memoirs* for me. (The title page is gone, so I don't know what edition it is.) Prefaced by elegies, the journal part of the book begins in 1806, when Harriet is thirteen, just after her parents have sent her from Beverly, Massachusetts, to board at Bradford Academy, where a religious revival is going on. She chronicles her resistance to it, but

in time breaks down, and on August 6, 1809, upon hearing a sermon delivered by "the Rev. Mr. MacF." in Newburyport, she is born again, and finds, in the typical manner of the converted, that her perspective on life has changed completely. "How foolish, how trifling is the conversation of the children of this world! Give me but my Bible… and I would willingly surrender every thing else on earth." In April of 1811, she receives a proposal of marriage from Samuel Newell, who has already determined that he is going to be a foreign missionary. She waivers, since it means she will be required to "quit the scenes of my childhood, and go to a far distant country." In August, she resolves to go, to be "engaged in [God's] glorious service, among the wretched inhabitants of Hindostan" and begins to anticipate the scene: "All will be dark, every thing will be dreary, and not a hope of worldly happiness will be for a moment indulged." But she is prepared for her sacrifice, eager to bring "the glad tidings" of the gospel to those "who spend their wretched lives in worshipping dumb idols."



138 Mrs. N.'s Letters and [1811.

cited within us holy desires, O let us not for-
get the destitute millions of Asia. God will
be inquired of by his people to do great things
for the heathen world. How importunate then
should we be at the throne of grace, and none
ever cried unto God in vain.

Dear Miss H. I could write an hour longer,
but other engagements prevent. We long to
see you—long to hear from you again. Do
write us often. Mama sends much love—in-
tends writing you soon—thanks you for your
last letter. Remember me affectionately to
dear Mr. and Mrs. W.—likewise to Mr. L.
and Mr. M. I am, dear Miss H. your affec-
tionate

HARRIET."

1811.

Oct. 25. How strong are the ties of natural
affection! Will distance or time ever conquer
the attachment, which now unites my heart
so closely to my mother, the *dear guardian* of
my youth—and to my beloved brothers and
sisters? O no;—though confined to a foreign
country, where a parent's voice will no more
gladden my melancholy heart, still shall that
love which is *stronger* than death, dwell with-
in, and often waft a sincere prayer to Heaven
for blessings unnumbered upon her. Long
shall remembrance dwell on scenes, past in
the dear circle of Haverhill friends.

Nov. 4. 'Tis midnight. My wavering mind
would fain dwell on some mournful subject,
I weep—then sing some melancholy air, to
pass away the lingering moments. What

1811.] Journal in America. 139

would my dear mother say, to see her Harriet
thus involved in gloom? But why do I indulge
these painful feelings? Is it because my *Fath-
er* is unkind, and will not hear a suppliant's
cries? Is he not willing to direct my wander-
ing steps—to guide my feet in the paths of
peace? O yes; his ear is ever open to the
prayer of the fatherless. Let me then go to
him—tell him all my griefs, and ask of him a
calm and clear conviction of duty.

"Why sinks my weak desponding mind,
"Why heaves my soul, this heavy sigh?
"Can sovereign goodness be unkind,
"Am I not safe, if GOD be nigh."

Nov. 10. The rising sun witnesses for my
heavenly Father, that he is good. O yes; his
character is infinitely lovely—his attributes
are perfect. I behold his goodness in the
works of creation and providence. But the
beauty of his character shines most *conspicu-
ously* in the plan of salvation. In the Redeem-
er, beauty and worth are combined. And
shall my heart remain unaffected, amidst such
an endless variety of witnesses of the glory of
God? Shall *I* be silent, for whom the Son of
God, on Calvary, bled and died?

Here the diary, from which the foregoing
extracts have been made, closes. But amid
the various engagements which occupied the
time of MRS. NEWELL, and the many inter-
esting subjects of her contemplation, she con-
tinued a frequent correspondence with her
friends. The number of letters which she
wrote, from the age of *thirteen* to her death,
was remarkable.

Author's copy of *Memoirs of Mrs. Harriet Newell, Wife of the Rev. Samuel Newell, American Missionary to India.*

Of the book's 250 pages, 158 of them comprise material dated before she gets onboard the merchant vessel in Salem that, after springing a serious leak, finally reaches sight of India on June 14, 1812. Seeing a boat "filled with Hindoos" approaching theirs, Harriet writes in a letter to a Mrs. K., "My heart burns within me while I write. O my friend, will these degraded pagans ever be brought to Jesus?" When the group is forced by the EIC to leave, she and the Rev. Newell board another leaky vessel that on its way to Port Louis is forced to return to the safety of land, in Coringa (today's Korangi), where "natives are numerous." On board ship, she had begun to feel unwell, having been "seized with a violent bowel complaint." But in Coringa, she is feeling better. On September 14, she writes to Adoniram Judson's wife, Ann Hasseltine Judson (1789-1826), who is still in Calcutta, and reminisces about their days together at Bradford Academy, when India in their imaginations was "painted in … lively colors." She says Coringa, with its "trees of fruit" and "banks of sand" matches what "fancy gave in former times." She is in high spirits and seemingly returned to good health. Three days later, however, she writes her final letter. It is addressed to another of the missionary wives, Roxana Peck Nott (1785-1876). She does not mention the pregnancy (and never does in the book, as edited by the Rev. Woods), but longs for female companionship, perhaps because of it. "But," she says, "I know that an infinitely wise and good God will order every event for the best. My will ought to be wholly swallowed up in his." And so it was.

VI. The Destinies of Andover's First Five Foreign Missionaries Play Out

Until good Christians undertake in good earnest to evangelize the world, their creeds and their conduct will be contradictory, sinners will be quick to see it, and when they see it they will be hardened in unbelief.

—Gordon Hall and Samuel Newell, *The Conversion of the World* (1818)

Reliant on rhetoric and mathematics, *The Conversion of the World. Or, the Claims of Six Hundred Millions and the Ability and Duty of the Churches Respecting Them*, had no narrative pull or charismatic personalities at its heart. Often, the Revs. Hall and Newell scolded their readers; none of them, it seemed, was doing enough to save the world for Christ. But that all turned out to be okay. Like Harriet Newell's *Memoirs*, the book, printed by Flagg and Gould for the American Board, became a blockbuster.

"Idolatry and superstition" prevailed over most of the human race, the co-authors wrote. Most of the globe was "covered with Egyptian darkness, filled with wretchedness and polluted with crimes!" they exclaimed. But that wasn't their main point. The gist of the book was printed in italics on the fourth page: "*It is the duty of Christians to send forth preachers in sufficient numbers to furnish the means of instruction to the whole world*." *Numbers* was the key word in the sentence. *Conversion of the World* was heavy with statistics to support its plea, calculating the world's population to be eight hundred million and the number of Christians two hundred million. Subtracting one number from the other got them their subtitle: *Or, the Claims of Six Hundred Millions and the Ability and Duty of the Churches Respecting Them*. "Six hundred millions of the human race who want the gospel, and less than four hundred Missionaries to impart it to them!"

Four hundred was the more important number in the equation, especially considering the attrition rate. "Now to make ample deduction for the mortality and defection of Missionaries," Hall and Newell wrote, "let it be supposed, that of all those who are sent forth at any given time, one third die or leave the work in seven years, two thirds in fourteen, and the whole in twenty one years." Therefore, they concluded, sixteen thousand should be sent forth every seven years, although not indefinitely, since, they believed, the converted "heathen" would themselves become missionaries to their unconverted people. As it stood now, they said, "The mode of conducting missions at present, in most cases, [was] in fact like sending one soldier to storm a fort, five to conquer a province—a hundred to subjugate an empire!"

As readers may have already guessed, the book wasn't meant to be merely informational. The calculations were a prelude to asking for funds, five or six dollars per Christian annually: "No doubt, the deeper the churches drink of the cup of self-denial at home, the more effectually their Missionaries abroad will imbibe the same heavenly spirit." They noted that the Roman Catholics had built "splendid" churches in far-off places. "Why will not Protestant Christians do as much to advance the glorious kingdom of their Redeemer among men?" Of the defections and deaths, Hall and Newell noted that the Roman Catholics had overcome the same difficulties, and so had those engaged in commerce. Besides, they wrote with unfounded confidence, only faith,

"…we may safely conclude that the mortality of Missionaries, even in the unhealthy climates, will be less in future than it has been in years past."

These co-authors knew how many were called and how few were actually chosen. When the book came out, their colleague Samuel Nott (1788-1869) had already gone home. Earlier, in Calcutta, an American plying the East India trade, Henry Lee, a graduate of P.A. (class of 1792), had encountered Nott and Hall. In a letter to his sister, Lee wrote that they "appeared to me to be mad." They were, he went on, "at present in the grossest ignorance of everything but the particular profession they are engaged in. I pitied them most sincerely; they probably have good intents, which is more than one could venture to say of some of their patrons and directors, who sent them upon this impractical scheme."[87] However foolish they looked and however ignorant they were, each of them seemed at the time to be undeterred. On October 12, 1813, Hall wrote to James Richards, who was still in Andover waiting for his own assignment: "The embarrassments we experience, will, in all probability, soon be removed. I think you may safely tell all the missionary brethren, that there is no adequate cause for their relinquishing their purpose." To another correspondent, Hall wrote: "While here, we have been diligent in acquiring the language of the heathen." That is, he and Nott were both studying Mahratta. As Nott wrote to his parents of those lessons: "A very talkative black gentleman, is to sit by us, and beat it into us, three or four hours a day. As yet we do nothing as preachers—but shall hope to if we stay."[88]

Samuel Nott.

If we stay is a telling phrase, especially since by *we*, he may have meant himself and Roxana, although the Notts did seem at first to be committed to the life they had chosen, and Roxana quickly bore two healthy children, Samuel Nott Jr. and Harriet Newell Nott. But Nott Sr. was frequently ill, and on that account, the family returned to the United States in 1816.

Perhaps it's also telling that sooner than one might have expected, given his physical complaints, Nott was well enough to preach. In fact, his sermon on the "Idolatry of the Hindoos" was delivered within months of his arrival home, at the annual meeting of the Female Foreign Mission Society in Franklin, Connecticut—one of the many organizations that women were founding and joining to support missionaries in the field. "Recently returned from among the heathen, with the recollections of their idolatry still fresh in my mind, I feel under special obligation to plead their cause," he told the assembled group.[89] He admitted displeasure with his own results abroad, but sounded resigned to do what he could without returning to the field. "No discouragements can ever free us from our obligations [to the heathen]," said Nott, who, pastoring, teaching, and writing, lived until age eighty-one.[90]

Luther Rice's tenure in India was even shorter than Nott's. His complication was that he'd had a change of soul—as opposed to a change of heart: he became a Baptist after his arrival. His retreat from Congregationalism was a problem for the American Board; only

Congregationalists and Presbyterian were sanctioned and salaried by the American Board; what is more, at the time, there was antagonism between Congregationalists and Baptists. Aware of the consequences, Rice nonetheless made the change, then in September of 1813 returned home. For several years he raised funds for Baptist missionaries' work and formed branches of the Baptist Auxiliary Society throughout the eastern United States. In 1817, he conceived of the idea of founding a Baptist college in Washington, D.C. Columbian College, which opened in 1821, was its result. In 1873, Columbian College became Columbian University, then in 1904, the nondenominational George Washington University. Rice's papers are housed there. They include a journal he kept, which doubled as an account book. A note appended to it says the double duty "proved problematic in 1826 when his unconventional bookkeeping led to an investigation of his practices, which had nearly bankrupt the fledging school. The investigative committee, after being thoroughly flummoxed by this and other editions of Rice's journals, determined that he was clear of any immoral conduct but was a 'very loose accountant…. with very imperfect talents for the disbursement of money.'" Accounting was not taught at the Seminary; maybe it should have been.[91]

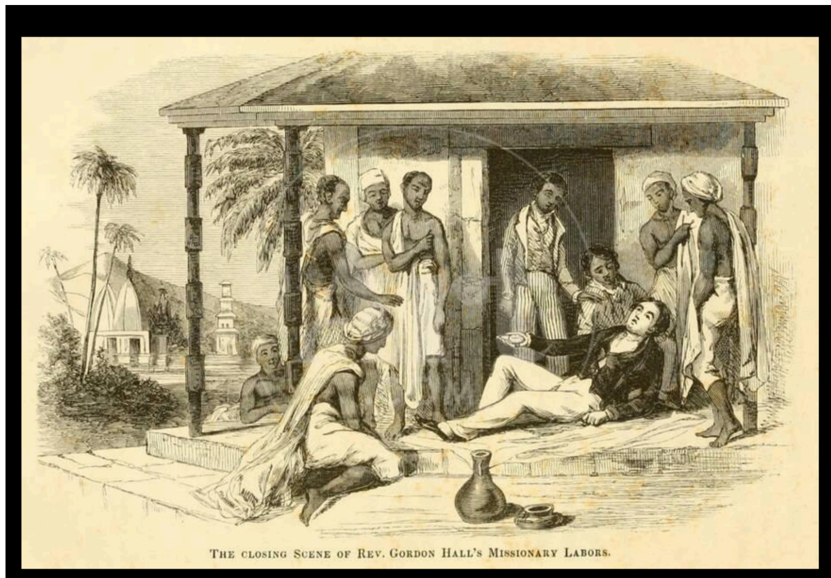
Adoniram Judson.

One of those for whom Rice raised funds was Adoniram Judson, who had likewise become a Baptist upon his arrival in India. He had found himself drawn to the Baptist point of view during the sea voyage. Having spent those long days on the ocean studying the Bible more intently than usual, he had became convinced that the New Testament "furnished no authority for infant baptism."[92] That is, he no longer believed a symbolic sprinkling was legitimate; he wanted to be dipped or immersed in something like a river. After both he and Ann Hasseltine Judson officially converted to the Baptist faith, they worked for the Baptists in Burma for the rest of their lives.[93] And although there is a Judson Road in Andover, and 1 Judson Road was once used to house P.A. faculty, the American Board and Seminary histories don't make much of him or Luther Rice, either.

Like Rice, the Rev. Hall had gone to India as a single man. In 1816, he married thirty-three-year-old Margaret Lewis. Born in Wales, she had worked in London in her youth as a governess for the Mackintosh family. When the children's widowed father was appointed Recorder of Bombay in 1802, she was sent for and remained with the Mackintoshes until 1810 when they returned to England. Afterwards, it isn't certain but likely that she worked as the head of a small school for the children of British government officials until somehow she and Hall met.[94] By that time, she knew the language and culture well, and that knowledge was a help to Hall. In 1825, however, she left India with two of the Halls' four children, sons ages two and four. The other two had died, and she had been advised by a physician to return with them to the United States. The Rev. Hall was implored but refused to go with them. "My dear Margaret, do

you know what you ask? I am in good health…. Do you think I should leave my Master's work? Go with our sick boys. I will remain and pray for you. And let us hope God will bless the means used to preserve the lives of our dear children."[95] His prayers were only half effective. The older boy died on the voyage and was buried at sea. She and the younger boy were preparing to return to India in 1826 when word came that the Rev. Hall had died of cholera five months earlier, age forty-one.

Six years after his wife's death, the Rev. Newell married Philomela Thurston of Bedford, New Hampshire, in Bombay—a match arranged by the American Board.[96] Their only child was born the following year, and named … Harriet Atwood Newell. In the spring of 1821, the Rev. Newell died, age thirty-six. It was cholera that got him, too.



The Closing Scene of Rev. Gordon Hall's Missionary Labors.

The Conversion of the World's co-authors insisted that missionaries not bypass places where diseases like cholera raged: "Since a sovereign God has fixed the habitations of millions of the heathen in unhealthy climates, and since he has positively commanded his disciplines to preach the gospel in *all* the world, to every creature, it must be the duty of somebody to penetrate these sultry regions and there proclaim a Saviour's love." However, until a sufficient number of missionaries could be supplied to all parts of the world, there needed to be a rigorous process of selecting sites. To their way of thinking, the northern and western parts of Asia, despite the health risks, should be the first priority, since, they estimated, almost five-sixths of all the "heathen" in the world resided in Asia as a whole. Secondly, they argued, the American Board should target the west coast of Africa, since it was the main locus of slave trafficking. "Christians [had] now an opportunity of repairing, in some degree, the wrongs they [had] done the poor Africans for centuries," they wrote.

The American Board did send missionaries to Africa soon enough. One of the first was J. Leighton Wilson, who studied Arabic at the Seminary during the Summer of 1833. But in the 1840s, trying to avoid antagonizing its slave-holding benefactors and converts, the American Board officially positioned itself as being neutral on the slavery question. It was an indefensible moment, spiritually, logically, even politically, but the institution's leadership, including the Rev. Woods and others with connections to the Seminary, defended it anyway. If the American Board had come out as anti-slavery, would it have made a significant difference in the history of that

evil in the United States? Of course, no one can say, but as I'll show, the stance had serious consequences for the missionary movement.

[1] Bentley, February 2, 1802. Regarding the "slender" comment, it may belie a bit of envy. The Rev. Bentley himself was not quite five feet tall and weighed two hundred lbs., according to a biography by J. Rixey Ruffin, *A Paradise of Reason: William Bentley and Enlightenment Christianity in the Early Republic* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 4.

[2] In 1776, Phillips at age twenty-three had engaged John Mycall of Newburyport to reprint for resale Thomas Paine's *Common Sense.* The pamphlet by the corset-maker-turned-radical-advocate for American independence was advertised in Newburyport's *Essex Journal* on April 26, 1776.

[3] Bailey, 582. Salem was then one of most populous towns in the United States, destined to rank in the top ten until 1820, based on U.S. Census data.

[4] According to a May 30, 1983, letter from Mary F. Morgan, a New England Historic Genealogical Society archivist, to former PAA archivist Ruth Quattlebaum, a copy of which is in the collection of ACHC: "I have been able to place Houghton in England, before he came to Andover. He came from Market Rasen, Lincolnshire, and made paper at Tealby and Barrow-on-Humber in Lincolnshire and across the river in Yorkshire."

[5] ACHC, Ms S556, William A.Trow collection (hereafter WAT), Sub-group IV, Series D, Sub-series 1-b-1, letter from Thomas Houghton to Judge Samuel Phillips, June 16, 1789.

[6] https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-05-02-0005-0003-0005 Retrieved April 26, 2023.

[7] Bentley, April 2, 1791.

[8] Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1936), 4.

[9] Bentley, April 8, 1791.

[10] Ibid., April 24, 1793.

[11] ACHC, WAT, Sub-group IV, Series D, Sub-series 1-b-2, letter from Thomas Houghton to Judge Samuel Phillips, June 9, 1792.

[12] Bailey, 349.

[13] Bryant Franklin Tolles Jr., "Textile Mill Architecture in East Central New England: An Analysis of Pre-Civil War Design," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. CVII, No. 3 (July 1971), 227.

[14] Bentley, February 12, 1802.

[15] *A Brief History of the American Tract Society, Instituted at Boston, 1814: and its Relations to the American Tract Society at New York, Instituted 1825* (Boston: Press of T.R. Marvin, 1857), 5.

[16] HUA, Eliphalet Pearson papers, HUM 79, Box 1, Folder 73.

[17] Quoted in Ruffin, 65.

[18] Ibid.

[19] ACHC, WAT, Sub-group IV, Series D, Sub-series 1-a-3, letter from Judge Samuel Phillips to John Phillips, May 8, 1794.

[20] Bentley, October 27, 1809.

[21] Richard J. Moss, *The Life of Jedidiah Morse: A Station of Peculiar Exposure* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), ix.

[22] "The Family Papers of Jedidiah Morse," *The Yale University Library Gazette,* Vol. 10, No. 3 (January 1936), 52.

[23] Linzy A. Brekke, "'The Scourge of Fashion': Political Economy and the Politics of Consumption in the Early Republic," *Early American Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2005), 111-13. See also Richard J. Moss, *The Life of Jedidiah Morse: A Station of Peculiar Exposure* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 29. f.n. 32. *New Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine*, October 5, 12, 1786. The debate took place on September 13 , 1786.

[24] See Laurence M. Hauptman, "Westward the Course of Empire: Geography Schoolbooks and Manifest Destiny, 1783-1893," *The Historian,* Vol. 40, No. 3 (May 1978), 423-440.

[25] Moss, ix.

[26] See Jedidiah Morse, *An Address to the Students of Phillips Academy in Andover,* July 9, 1799 (Charlestown: 1799).

[27] *Biographical Catalogue of the Teachers and Students of Phillips Academy Andover 1778-1830* (Andover: The Andover Press, 1903), 45.

[28] *Acts and Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston: Printed by Young & Minns, MDCCC; Reprinted by Wright & Potter, 1897), Chapter 113, February 7 and February 23, 1801.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Carlos Fuentes, "How I Started to Write," *Myself with Others: Selected Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1988), 6.

[31] Deism: trust (belief, faith) in a transcendent God whose design is discernible through reason, rather than revealed through unprovable miracles.

[32] Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 394. The first edition was published by Yale in 1972.

[33] Bentley, May 7, 1809.

[34] Ibid., September 25, 1808.

[35] Ibid., March 14, 1811.

[36] Ibid., September 25, 1808.

[37] Ruffin, 95.

[38] Owen H. Gates, *An Open Door for Andover Seminary* (Boston: The Fort Hill Press, 1929), 2. Gates stated that there were three associates, but actually there were four. Gates didn't name the three he was referring to.

[39] Quoted in Stephen E. Berk, *Calvinism versus Democracy: Timothy Dwight and the Origins of American Evangelical Orthodoxy* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1974), 181.

[40] For more information, see Stephen Post, "Disinterested Benevolence: An American Debate Over the Nature of Christian Love," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Fall 1986), 356-368.

[41] Clifford S. Griffin, *Their Brothers' Keepers: Moral Stewardship in the United States, 1800-1865* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1960), 6.

[42] See *Particular Account of the Great Fire at Newburyport… Extracts from the Newburyport Herald, the Boston Gazette, and other Local Newspapers* (Newburyport, 1811).

[43] 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), 1633.

[44] "William Bartlet," *Andover Advertiser,* August 4, 1855. Reprinted from *The Newburyport Herald.*

[45] Daniel Dana, *A Tribute to the Memory of William Bartlet, Esq.* (Andover: Gould, Newman, & Saxton, 1841), 17.

[46] Ibid.

[47] "William Bartlet."

[48] Hurd, 1804.

[49] "William Bartlet."

[50] Hurd, 1806.

[51] "William Bartlet."

[52] Henry K. Rowe, *History of Andover Theological Seminary* (Newton, MA: Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, 1933), 21.

[53] Finding aid for Moses Brown's papers at Harvard's Baker Library. https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/resources/519 Retrieved December 27, 2023.

[54] Finding aid for Moses Brown's papers at the University of New Hampshire. See https://library.unh.edu/find/archives/collections/brown-moses-papers-1792-1801. Retrieved April 30, 2023.

[55] Bentley, December 22, 1808.

[56] Rowe, 21. Of the idea that $10,000 was tendered in silver, Owen H. Gates wrote of hearsay: as related to Gates by the Rev. Leonard Woods, Norris said: "'Why, my wife says that your object and the cause of Missions is the same thing.'" On hearing that, Woods claimed Norris took "'ten thousand silver dollars from the bank, put it up in firkins, and devoutly consecrated it to God."' Gates, 10.

[57] Finding aid for Samuel Abbot's papers at Harvard's Baker Library. See https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/11/resources/685 Retrieved April 23, 2023.

[58] Ibid.

[59] https://www.officialdata.org/us/inflation/1812?amount=100000 Retrieved November 14, 2023.

[60] *General Catalogue of the Theological Seminary*, 29, 31-32.

[61] Ibid., 33.

[62] PAA, EPP, Box 2, Folder 4, "Recollections of Eliphalet Pearson by Josiah Quincy, 1860," handwritten. Later published in *Life of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts (*Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1868).

[63] A monument denoting "The Birthplace of American Foreign Missions 1806" was erected at Williams College in 1867. It lists Mills, Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byram Green as the principals. A note on Rev. Doug Showalter's blog, on the CLA website, presents this important, qualifying information: "1. The agreement the students reached at that haystack was to *send* the gospel overseas to Asia's non-Christians. While Samuel Mills Jr. had already dedicated himself to be a foreign missionary, that *doesn't* seem to have been the case with the other four students at that meeting." "2. At the Haystack Prayer Meeting, one of the five students, Harvey Loomis, *disagreed* with the other four. Loomis thought it was premature to send the gospel overseas to Asia, as he feared those missionaries would be murdered. So, he neither supported the idea nor joined the other four students at the haystack in their prayers for foreign missions." (All emphases his.)

[64] Houghton Library, ABCFM, 85.9, Box 1, Special Topics A-B, "The Brethren Society."

[65] Edward Dorr Griffin, *A Sermon, Preached October 20, 1813, at Sandwich, Massachusetts, at the Dedication of the Meeting House, Recently Erected for the use of the Calvinistic Congregational Society in that Town* (Boston: Nathaniel Willis), 33.

[66] The Rev. Griffin was pastor of Park Street from 1811 to 1815, after which he became president of Williams College.

[67] Bradford Academy was a co-educational secondary school when it was founded in 1803 by the First Church of Christ. Ann Hasseltine, who would become the first of Adoniram Judson's three wives, was a student there in 1806. So was Harriet Atwood, who would marry Samuel Newell.

[68] William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 141.

[69] Bentley, March 24, 1811.

[70] James A. Field Jr., 39.

[71] William Dalrymple, *The Anarchy: The East India Company, Corporate Violence, and the Pillage of an Empire* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 396.

[72] Not until 1833 was "the permanent presence of missionaries in India fully sanctioned." See Arthur MacGregor, *Company Curiosities: Nature, Culture and the East India Company, 1600-1874* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2018), 36-37. By then, Parliament had passed the East India Company Charter Bill, which removed the EIC's right to trade.

[73] *Heroes and Martyrs of the Modern Missionary Enterprise,* edited by Lucius E. Smith (Providence: RI: O.W. Potter, 1857), 128.

[74] "A Sermon Deliver[e]d at the Tabernacle in Salem, February 6, 1812 . . . ," in *Pioneers in Mission*, edited by R. Pierce Beaver (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1966), 257-258.

[75] *Manual for Missionary Candidates of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1840), 25.

[76] Ibid., 20.

[77] Ibid., 25.

[78] Ibid., 28.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 26.

[81] *The Panoplist*, June 1814, Vol. X., No. 6, 184.

[82] *Memoirs of American Missionaries, Formerly Connected with the Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions in the Andover Theological Seminary: Embracing A History of the Society, etc.* (Boston: Peirce & Parker, 1833), 130-131.

[83] A depiction of her Haverhill birthplace was printed and sold by A.B. Jacques of Boston in 1853, forty-one years after her death.

[84] See Mary Kupiec Cayton, "Canonizing Harriet Newell: Women, the Evangelical Press, and the Foreign Mission Movement in New England, 1800-1840," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 69-93.

[85] *Reminiscences and Records of my Father, Rev. Leonard Woods, D.D., of Andover* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 1887), 50.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Frances Rollins Morse, *Henry and Mary Lee, Letters and Journals, with other family letters, 1802-1860, prepared by their grand daughter* (Boston: Privately printed, 1926), 150-151.

[88] *Panoplist and Missionary Magazine,* Vol. X. No. 5, May 1814.

[89] Samuel Nott, *A Sermon on the Idolatry of the Hindoos, Nov. 29, 1816, Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Female Foreign Mission Society, of Franklin, Connecticut.* (Norwich: Hubbard & Marvin, Printers, 1817), 7.

[90] Ibid., 7, 9.

[91] Special Collections Research Center, The George Washington University, Luther Rice papers, MS0260, Journal of Luther Rice, 1815-1820.

[92] Francis Wayland, *A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D.* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Co.; London, Nisbet and Co., 1853), Vol. 2, 82.

[93] For information about the other two women who were married to the Rev. Judson after Ann Hasseltine Judson died, see Arabella W. Stuart, *Lives of the Three Mrs. Judsons* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1872).

[94] Daniel M. Hall, *Gordon Hall: A Family Portrait of a Committed Man* (Reading, MA: Self-published, 1973), 19.

[95] Quoted in Daniel M. Hall, 22. His source was Horatio Bardwell, *Memoir of Rev. Gordon Hall, A.M.*: *One of the First Missionaries of the Amer. Board of Comm. for For. Missions, at Bombay* (Andover: Flagg, Gould and Newman, 1834; New York: J. Leavitt, 1834), 212.

[96] Emily Conroy-Krutz, “The Forgotten Wife: Roxana Nott and Missionary Marriage in Bombay,” *Early American Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1, Forum: The Global Turn and Early American Studies (Winter 2018), 84.