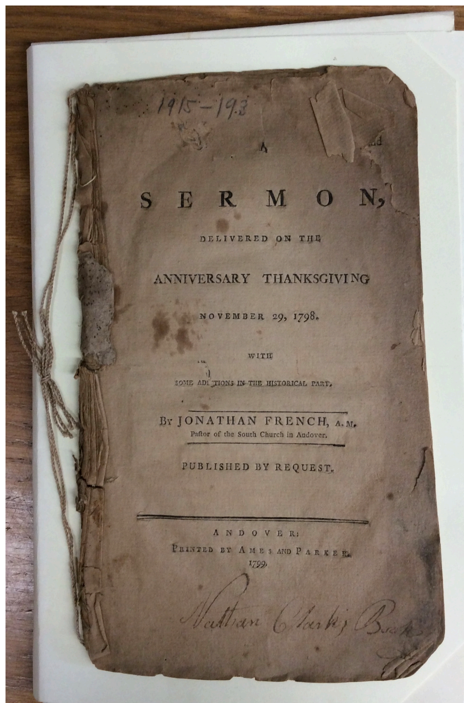
Chapter Three
c.1799-1820s

I. Andover Produces its First Imprints

O blessed Captivity! no other perfect liberty…
—The Rev. Samuel Phillips, *A Word in Season. Or, The Duty of People to Take and Keep the Oath of Allegiance to the Glorious God* (1726)

Eliphalet Pearson acquired printing know-how and contacts while on Harvard's printing committee. Long before that, he pushed the idea of proselytizing via print. But what he had in mind after he left the college and co-founded the Seminary was not merely making use of an already-established printer in Cambridge or Boston. He wanted a Seminary-controlled printing house right on campus, in a town that, unlike many other New England communities of similar size, had never had much of any kind of printing house before.

Until 1800, when the iron hand-press was invented, significantly upping the ante for those who wanted to enter the printing trade, all a would-be printer needed, besides "a sound floor, adequate natural light, and a source of clean water,"[1] was a wooden press, a cheap and very portable contrivance. In Andover, beginning in late 1798 or early 1799, a partnership called Ames & Parker must have had just that when it produced Andover's first imprints. Two are extant. One is a pair of captivity tales; the other, a sermon delivered to parishioners of South Church by its second pastor, the Rev. Jonathan French. In other words, one is about perceived darkness; the other, perceived light.


A
SERMON,
DELIVERED ON THE
ANNIVERSARY THANKSGIVING
NOVEMBER 29, 1798.
WITH
SOME ADDITIONS IN THE HISTORICAL PART.
BY JONATHAN FRENCH, A.M.
Pastor of the South Church in Andover.
PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.
ANDOVER:
PRINTED BY AMES AND PARKER.
1799.

The Rev. Jonathan French's Thanksgiving Sermon. Andover Center for History and Culture.

Presented as a thirty-one-page booklet, the so-called thanksgiving sermon didn't have anything to do with the Pilgrim feast; our Thanksgiving Day celebrations didn't begin until the Victorian era. Rather, it was one of those typical, topical sermons intended as a public, lower-case thanksgiving, literally for giving thanks, usually delivered on a Thursday, not a Sunday, as this sermon was, on November 29, 1798. (I conservatively date this imprint to 1799, although some bibliographies say 1798.)

It's a reasonable scenario that the Rev. French's Harvard connection with Judge Phillips helped secure for him the South Church position vacated by the 1771 death of Judge Phillips's grandfather. Once settled in Andover, the Rev. French got involved with P.A. He gave the dedicatory sermon on April 30, 1778, the day classes began; and he was a P.A. trustee and the school's "clerk" from that year until his death in 1809. Josiah Quincy, who, as we know from Chapter Two, had nothing good to say about Pearson, wrote lovingly of the Rev. French, with whom he lived as a P.A. student for eight years, from age

seven to fifteen. When as often happened he came home from class in tears, the Rev. French "soothed, supported, and encouraged" him.[2] When he contracted scarlet fever, he slept in the same bedroom as the Rev. French and his wife while they nursed him back to health. So, at least in Josiah Quincy's estimation, he was a good man.

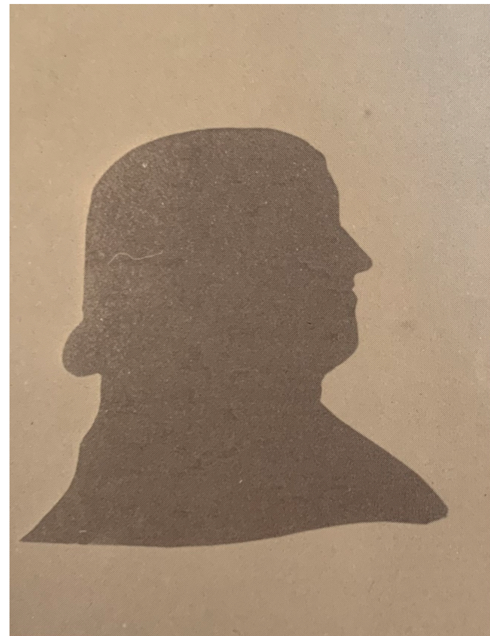
However, since this project examines the idea of some people telling other people what's right and wrong, it is not an insignificant fact and seems appropriate to mention that the household of the Rev. French included enslaved people named Salem, Rama (alternatively known as Rhena, Remy, Ream, and Rema), and their sons, Cyrus and Titus. (It's also relevant since, as mentioned and as will be shown, the slavery question and the American Board's decision to remain neutral on the subject would begin to impede its mission and missionaries as early as the 1830s.)

"When Rev. French was ordained, he got the slaves that went with the parsonage as part of his compensation and in recognition of his status and position," Edward L. Bell, a senior archaeologist at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, writes in his comprehensive book, *Persistence of Memories of Slavery and Emancipation in Historical Andover*, published in 2021. Whether they were "gifted by the Phillips family to the French family" or whether they were church property merely passed on, Bell was unable to discover. They "may have been considered to accompany the office and household of the ministry, as [early Andover historian Abiel] Abbot put it, 'like Russian serfs, passed with the parsonage to the successor.'"[3] What isn't in question is that, as Bell states, "the practice of slavery was unmistakably associated with the church through Rev. Phillips and Rev. French's positions, and by the presence of an enslaved family in the parsonage."[4]

View of Newport, c.1740. The Preservation Society of Newport County. Loan from Alletta Morris Cooper. Photograph by John Corbett.

And lest any reader argue that I'm guilty of presentism, by then there already were books being written about slavery's immorality, most relevantly by Samuel Hopkins, the theologian who had inspired the Hopkinsianism of the Newburyport faction of the Seminary's founders.[5] When the Rev. Hopkins lived in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, he himself owned a slave

whom he sold (not freed) before relocating to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1769. But seeing how commodities produced by enslaved labor had created great wealth there, where slaveholding was common among anyone who could afford it, his eyes were opened. In 1776, he published *A Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, showing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American States to Emancipate all their African Slaves*; in 1791, he disseminated *The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade and of the Slavery of the Africans;* and in 1793, *Discourse upon the Slave Trade and the History of the Africans*. So a semblance of our present ideas about the unqualified nature of slavery's evil were readily available to anyone in the late eighteenth century who cared to acknowledge them.

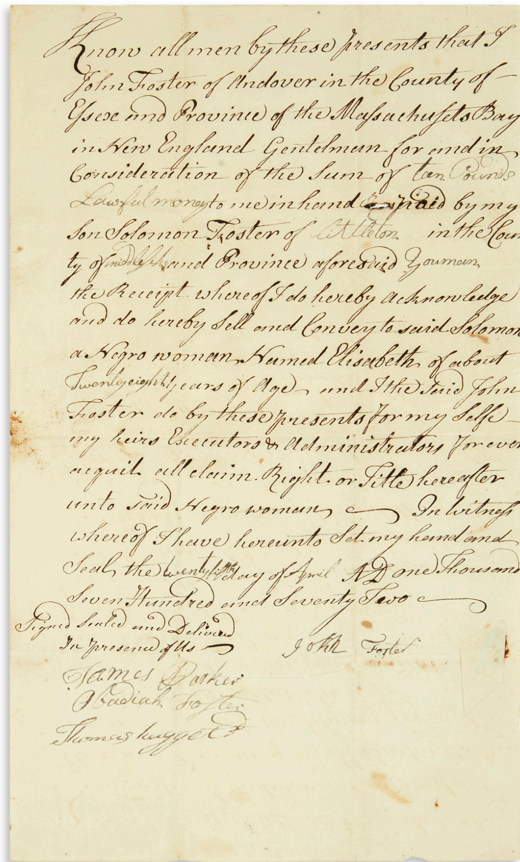


Jonathan French. Contemporary silhouette. Center for History and

In 1856, when the Rev. John L. Taylor, pastor of South Church from 1839 to 1852, delivered a sermon about the Phillips family and its legacy, he mentioned that the Rev. Phillips used to walk from the parsonage "flanked by his black body servant" (Salem) and that Mrs. Phillips similarly walked with "her servant" (Rama).[6] It was a detail the Rev. Taylor said he had learned from eye witnesses. (He hadn't been born until 1811, forty years after the Rev. Phillips's death.) Without crediting the Rev. Taylor, Claude Fuess used the same detail in his town history. "It was a slow and stately procession," he wrote of the foursome, "which the congregation rose to greet as it entered the church door."[7] For both the Rev. Taylor and Fuess, the depiction was intended as a point in the Phillipses' favor. They were the town's royalty. George H. Moore, in *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts,* published by the New-York Historical Society in 1866, thought he was making a comparably positive statement when he reprinted an 1760 document devised by the Rev. Phillips and titled "A Form, For a Negroe-Marriage." Addressed to Salem and Rama, the form legalized their common-law relationship. The fine print, however, expressed the idea that their duties to him and his wife took precedence over their duties to each other as a married couple.[8] But while Rev. Phillips at some point became concerned about the couple's marital status, he didn't seem to mind their status as enslaved people. He also was making pretty sure that his household's needs were met, no matter what.

Nor were the Rev. Phillipses the only Phillipses to own "servants." According to Bell, Judge Phillips and his family were served by Cato Phillips (1768-1853), who remained with them until May 24, 1789, when he emancipated himself and changed his name to Cato Freeman.[9]

Incidentally, in all of New England, enslaved people were referred to as "servants." The euphemism "servants for life," pertaining to Indians, Negroes, and mulattos aged fourteen to forty-five, was used by the Massachusetts Tax Valuation in 1771.[10] But as Bell observes, the word "masked hard-working lives marked by surveillance, lack of control, segregation, confinement, objectification, base brutality, and familiar isolation."[11] What is more, neither



Know all men by these presents that I
John Foster of Andover in the County of
Essex and Province of the Massachusets Bay
in New England Gentelman for and in
Consideration of the Sum of ten Pounds
Lawful money to me in hand paid by my
Son Solomon Foster of Littleton in the Coun
ty of Middlesex and Province aforesaid Youman
the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge
and do hereby Sell and Convey to said Solomon
a Negro woman Named Elisabeth of about
Twenty eight years of Age and I the said John
Foster do by these presents for my Self
my heirs Executors & Administrators for ever
acquit all claim Right or Title hereafter
unto said Negro woman — In witness
whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and
Seal the twenty fifth day of April AD one Thousand
Seven Hundred and Seventy Two —
Signed Sealed and Delivered
In presence of Us —
John Foster
James Parker
Obadiah Foster
Thomas Leggett

Bill of sale for "a negro woman," signed by John Foster of Andover. Swann Galleries.

"slave" nor "servant" was necessarily used when referring to people of color in Andover, their status understood. A two-item lot sold at Swann Galleries in New York in 2020 is a case in point. The first item in the lot was a bill of sale showing that John Foster (b. 1701) of Andover sold to his son Solomon Foster (b. 1743) of Littleton, Massachusetts, "a negro woman named Elizabeth of about twenty-eight years of age" on April 25, 1772.[12] The price was "ten Pounds." The second item, another bill of sale, dated June 15, 1778, indicates strongly that Solomon Foster lost the same woman at some point and was now reacquiring her from Peter Bulkley of Littleton. Bulkley, the bill says, was selling her along with "the last child the sd Elizabeth had." Given the additional enslaved person, the price was now "Thirty pounds."[13]

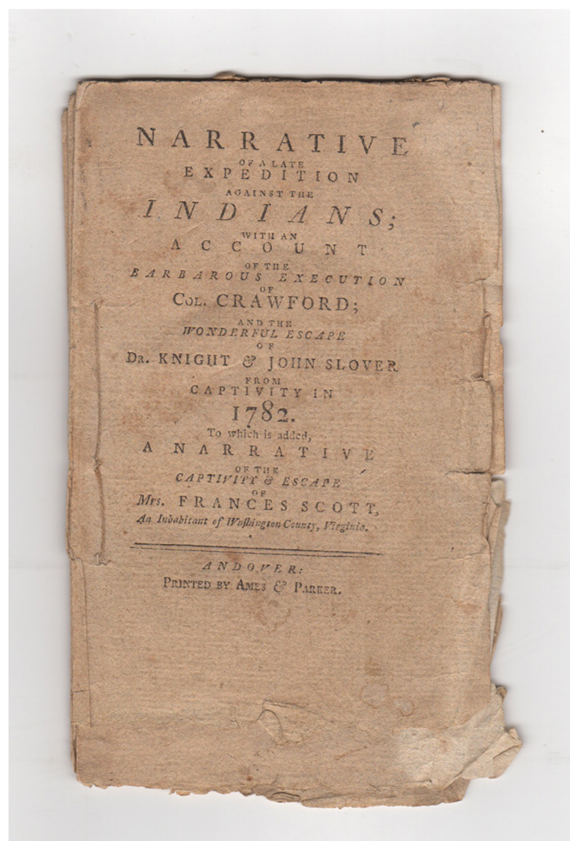
As for why enslaved people, once freed by Massachusetts law in 1783, stayed on as "servants" (who invariably earned "slave" wages), Bell writes, these compromised men, women, and children usually had no place else to go. Besides, if they had wanted a life beyond servitude, how would they have achieved it without education or any other means forward?

Apropos the second imprint, it is ironic that the stories of Salem et al qualify as captivity narratives of a kind—as do the stories of their progenitors, who were literally captured in Africa—albeit not like the ones we know by that name and that constitute the literary genre to which that second imprint belongs. Roy Henry Pearce, author of *Savagism and Civilization* (1953), one of the earliest academic explorations of ideological representations of Native Americans in Western thought and in American literature, wrote that these tales "of barbarity and bloodshed" were, particularly in the late eighteenth century, "everywhere the thing."[14] But to be successful they did have to provide readers with what was expected.

Writers of our first captivity narratives, published in the seventeenth century, made sure to present to their readers the kind of anthropological details about their captors that Mary Rowlandson, for example, provided in hers. ("I laid down my load, and went into the wigwam, and there sat an *Indian* boiling horse-feet, [they being wont to eat the flesh first, and when the feet were old and dried, and they had nothing else, they would cut off the feet and used them]…"[15]) What came to matter just as much by the time Ames & Parker was printing its captivity narratives in Andover was their propagandistic qualities. The United States was expanding rapidly, and many of the most popular titles, the ones that citizens clamored for,

provided, unconsciously or otherwise, the justification for dispossessing or outright destroying those who got in their way.

The first captivity narrative of the Ames & Parker pair—the lavishly titled *Narrative of a Late Expedition against the Indians, with an account of the barbarous execution of Col. Crawford; and the wonderful escape of Dr. Knight & John Slover from captivity,* first published in 1783—tells the stories of Dr. John Knight, who escaped his capture; Col. Crawford, an "old warrior among the savages" (he had served under Washington in the Continental Army), who was captured and killed; and John Slover, another escapee and the supplier of myriad gory details about the whole encounter. It is absolutely true that indigenous people captured enemies—captives were proof of victory—and often tortured them to death in prolonged rituals. The objective was not only punishment but the channeling of communal grief for those that the captors themselves had lost.[16] The better to portray them as mindless "barbarians," Hugh Henry Brackenridge, the editor of *Narrative of a Late Expedition,* deleted all mention of the fact that Col. Crawford was executed in retaliation for the infamous Gnadenhütten massacre of ninety-six indigenous people in Ohio on March 8, 1782. Unarmed Christian Delawares (also called Lenni Lenape or Lenape), they had been converted by the Moravians.


NARRATIVE
OF A LATE
EXPEDITION
AGAINST THE
INDIANS;
WITH AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
BARBAROUS EXECUTION
OF
COL. CRAWFORD;
AND THE
WONDERFUL ESCAPE
OF
DR. KNIGHT & JOHN SLOVER
FROM
CAPTIVITY IN
1782.
To which is added,
A NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTIVITY & ESCAPE
OF
Mrs. FRANCES SCOTT,
An Inhabitant of Washington County, Virginia.

ANDOVER:
PRINTED BY AMES & PARKER.

Narrative of a Late Expedition. **Courtesy of James E. Arsenault & Co.**

In addition to providing anthropological details and a propagandistic agenda, successful writers of late eighteenth-century captivity narratives made sure to include a religious dimension, portraying escapees as having been saved by their belief in God. The second tale in the Ames & Parker pair, *Escape of Mrs. Frances Scott, an Inhabitant of Washington County, Virginia*, relates that on June 29, 1785, "painted savages" killed Mrs. Scott's husband and their four children, took her captive, and their chief, an "old man" who no longer went out hunting with the younger men, was assigned to guard her. A month into her captivity, while he was preoccupied with graining a deer skin—traditionally, women's work—she was able to steal away. She spent another month wandering in the wilderness, engaged in "serious meditation" and "devout exercises," and surviving on "no other subsistance [sic] but chewing and swallowing the juice of young cane-stalks, Sassafras leaves, and some other plants she did not know the names of." Finally, guided by divine providence in the form of a "beautiful bird" and then another just like it, she chose a path that led to a white settlement appropriately called New Garden. "Thus, in the third month of her captivity, she was unexpectedly though joyfully

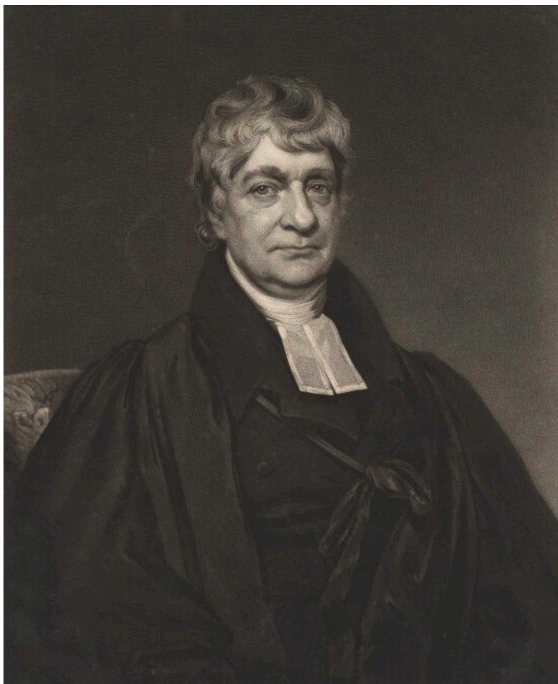
relieved from the dreadful impending death by famine," a third-person narrator tells us. "[H]ad she taken the other [path], she never could have returned." And so she was home again, although suffering from residual effects, the epilogue concludes: "Mrs. Scott continues in a low state of health, and remains inconsolable for the loss of her family, particularly bewailing the cruel death of her little daughter," an eight-year-old who was "tomahawked and stabbed" while in her mother's arms.

Ames & Parker likely sold their tales in local taverns. Besides selling alcohol and food, taverns housed travelers and provided traditionally male forms of entertainment, like boxing, bear-baiting, and cockfighting. These establishments also served as early post offices, polling places, and courtrooms. Pertinently, they were centers of information, posting official communications and providing newspapers and other reading materials. Ministers disapproved of them, but they were nonetheless a focal point of cultural life in the late eighteenth century and beyond.[17]

The tavern in Andover known as the "Ye Ames Tavern" was built between 1794 and 1800 on what is now Elm Street.[18] The dates fall within the boom period for taverns, identified as 1780-1830 by historian Ian R. Tyrell. The boom occurred because of the building of more and better turnpikes (which in turn created a twin boom for the stage-coach business). Was the Ye Ames Tavern's keeper the "Ames" of the Ames & Parker partnership? Andover Historic Preservation has identified a Parker in connection with an Ames. He is James Parker Jr., who gave the land for the tavern to "to Benjamin Ames, gentleman, and Joshua Lovejoy Jr., yeoman, on Christmas Day in 1773." The same lot was "transferred to Benj. Ames senior to his son Benjamin Ames Jr. on August 8, 1800."[19] If a member of the Ames family had been one part of the duo, had a member of the Parker family been the other part? It is tempting to make that assumption, but like many ephemeral printing operations of the period, Ames & Parker left no records, so an assumption is what it must remain.

Elm House, identified by Andover Historic Preservation as the former Ye Ames Tavern.

There is no indication that Andover had any other printing house in the decade following Ames & Parker's brief appearance. Then, in 1810, just as the Seminary was graduating its first class, twenty-one-year-old Galen Ware (b. 1789) arrived directly from an apprenticeship in William Hilliard's shop in Cambridge.[20] After serving his own apprenticeship, Hilliard had set up shop a few minutes' walk from Harvard Square on what is now Hilliard Street. In 1802, when the Harvard Corporation voted to procure its own printing press and type, engage a printer, and establish a university press, the college had hired him. If not for fate, Hilliard might well have gone to Harvard himself, like his two older brothers, instead of merely printing for the college. But when their clergyman father died suddenly, that left the younger Hilliard unable to afford the tuition and needing to learn a trade. Pearson certainly knew him from being on Harvard's printing committee. He probably knew Galen Ware, too, and perhaps enticed him to come to Andover after his apprenticeship with Hilliard was over. It doesn't take a great leap, either, to imagine that having a printer at the Seminary with a Hilliard pedigree would have appealed to Pearson in his quest to create a Harvard rival in Andover.



Melvill Horne. National Portrait Gallery, London.

Records show that Ware began to operate a printing press on the corner of what is now Andover's Main and Chestnut streets.[21] They also show that he married a woman named Catherine Smith of Cambridge in June of 1810, and that a son was born to them on May 11, 1811.[22] But the family was gone by 1812, when Ware is known to have worked as printer in Northampton,[23] and only two items he published in Andover—the same number as his equally short-lived predecessors—are extant.

One is *A Sermon [on Exod. xx. 13] delivered at Bedford, Mass., by Samuel Stearns on July 1, 1810 after the death of Mr. David Bacon who was shot through the body, June 25 by Mr. William Merriam*. After the murder of Bacon by Merriam is reviewed, it's a sort of Murder 101 survey of killing in time of war, in self-defense, and as the result of dueling. There are also discussions of suicide, the insanity defense, and intemperance, "not a vice by itself," but one that leads to vice and crime via passion, rage, and fury.

The other imprint seems ready made for distribution at the Seminary, whose graduates were expected to go out and convert the world, even though the American Board did not yet exist. It is *A Collection of Letters Relative to Foreign Missions; Containing Several of Melvill Horne's "Letters on Missions," and Interesting Communications from Foreign Missionaries.* The Rev. Horne (c.1761-1841) was a Methodist minister in Shropshire, England, who worked as a missionary in Africa in the period 1792-1793. Despite his lack of success, the letters implored others to follow his example there and elsewhere.[24] Mary Kupiec Cayton notes that Harriet

Newell's girlhood reading included a newly reprinted American volume of works by the Rev. Horne[25]—perhaps the very one printed by Ware.

His words were challenging, sometimes chilling. He said that those who became missionaries should expect "to die in the harness," and if a prospective missionary could not imagine doing so, "that man has not the soul of a genuine missionary." He addressed the objections to foreign missionaries, acknowledging that their lack of success so far was "the most fatal objection." To that, he retorted, "We have not taken proper steps to insure success. We have hardly dared to *hope* for it." To the idea that there were plenty of heathen at home to be converted, he argued that "ministers who go abroad so far from being felt as a loss at home, will be the means of doing more good among us, than if they had continued in England. For foreign Missions will have the same influence on religion, as foreign commerce has upon agriculture and manufactures. As Christianity prevails abroad, so it will flourish at home." Difficulties? "The Jesuits surmounted them all. The Moravians have done the same." In responding to the idea that missionaries would produce a revolt in the African colonies, he asked rhetorically for an example, claiming he had never heard of one.

There *were* difficulties, though. After having sixteen in its first graduating class, the Seminary had only six in its second, in 1811, and none of them became a foreign missionary, while only two got involved in home missionary work. Perhaps in acknowledgement of that reality, some members of the Brethren, the club that had begun at Williams and was brought to Andover by its founders, organized the Society of Inquiry Respecting Missions—the Society of Inquiry, for short—a would-be missionaries' club similar to their own but not secret and less stringent. The Brethren, meanwhile, persisted in enforcing their rigid standards. C.M. Clark, the discoverer of the club's early records in the trunk in the Seminary library, described its first case of a dismissal—or "dismemberment," as the Brethren called it. On September 22, 1812, it was voted that a "Bro. F." be ousted for, as Clark wrote, "the failure to go abroad as a missionary, the culprit having succumbed to the allurements of some parish at home."[26]

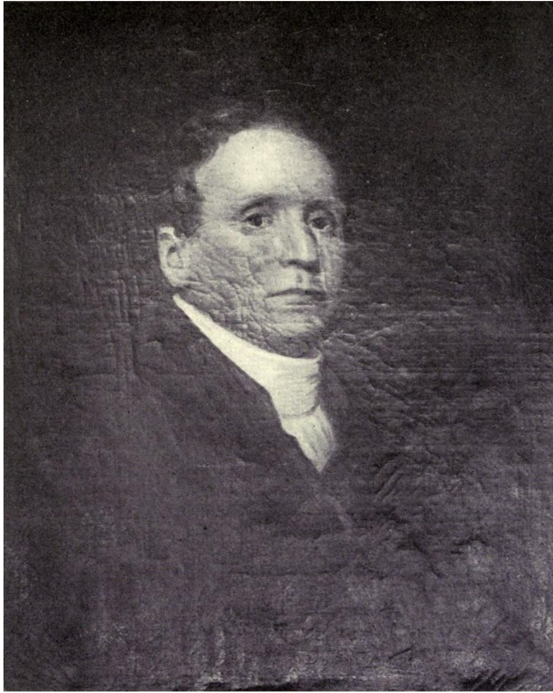
II. The Printing House of Flagg and Gould Begins Auspiciously

The day is coming, when men will be accustomed to reckon the establishment of a tract or a moral society, or a prayer meeting, among the instruments of ushering in the glory of the church, and the salvation of the world.

—Ebenezer Porter, *Great Effects from Little Causes* (1815)

At the time, the summer of 1809, it seemed unrelated to the development of printing in Andover that Mark Newman (1772-1859), P.A.'s third headmaster (after Eliphalet Pearson and Ebenezer Pemberton), resigned his position. But in retrospect the departure marks the start of a chain of events that presaged the establishment of Flagg and Gould, a religious press that produced many of the most important publications of the Andover-based mass-missionary movement.

Actually, Newman may have been forced to resign. The academy's graduating class in the year of his departure totaled a mere eighteen students. Two years earlier, it had graduated a more typical number: forty-three.[27] "This decided falling-off was caused partly by the increased



Mark Newman.

attention the Trustees gave to the new seminary," Claude Fuess wrote in *An Old New England School,* his history of P.A.[28] The Rev. Bentley, never at a loss for words, wrote: "The Jesuits' College at Andover has changed the Character of Phillips Academy which Mr. Newman has lately left since the revolution which Mr. Pearson has made in that quarter."[29] But, Fuess added, albeit without having been a firsthand witness to it, P.A.'s slump was due "far more [to] the fact that Newman was not the man to command the confidence of parents."[30]

As described by one who knew Newman—John Dalton Flagg (1823-1907), the son of the Flagg in the Flagg and Gould partnership—he was "a very quiet sort of a man," "of a lethargic nature," and "lazy as the ox."[31] Born in Ipswich, he was graduated from Phillips Exeter Academy, which had been founded in 1781 by Judge Phillips's uncle John. He went from there to Dartmouth, originally intending to become a clergyman, but apparently didn't find a parish willing to accept him. He next tried to secure the mastership of a town school somewhere unspecified, but, according to a report in the P.A. archives, his short stature and slight build had made the committee doubt "his power to control boys who had conquered the two previous masters. He begged for a trial, and waiting patiently till the tallest & stoutest youth led the riot; [Newman] called the master rebel to the middle of the room, [and] gave him a round flogging."[32] Why the committee didn't take him on after that display isn't revealed in the documents. In any case, in 1793, he became an instructor at P.A.

In another of his books, *Men of Andover,* Fuess heaped more criticism on Newman, characterizing him as "indecisive and fumbling."[33] Maybe so, but one good decision he made in 1795, the same year he assumed the P.A. headmastership, was to marry Sarah "Sally" Phillips (1765-1811). Newman's senior by seven years, the daughter of William Phillips of Boston was a second cousin to Judge Phillips—not a bad family connection to have in Andover.

When Newman left P.A.'s administration, he didn't go far. He opened a store, dubbed the "Old Hill Store," because it was on the hill—known variously as Andover Hill, Academy Hill, and, with the establishment of the Seminary, Zion's Hill—on which P.A. and the Seminary were situated. In the beginning Newman was selling chiefly groceries, farming supplies, textiles, ready-made clothing, hardware, and alcohol. At Harvard's Baker Library, the business records of Samuel Abbot, the Seminary benefactor, show he bought from Newman on March 29, 1811, three pecks of grass seed, one quart of peas, and one skein of silk. On June 11, 1811, he bought a gallon of oil and a half-bushel of salt. And on June 20, 1811, a half-gallon of brandy and some linen cloth.[34] Eventually, in 1812, Newman began to sell stationery and books. Andoverites trace the history of today's Andover Bookstore to the Old Hill Store, and boast that it is the oldest

The Old Hill Store. Razed in the 1890s, it was situated on patch of land where today there is a stand of trees on a road leading up to some of P.A.'s vast athletic facilities. Andover Center for History and Culture.

continuously operating bookstore in the United States. A sign on its door says "Est. 1809." But even if Newman had started selling books immediately, which he did not, the oldest operating bookstore in the United States is the Moravian Book Shop in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, established in 1745.

John Dalton Flagg wrote that, as a seller of books, Newman proved true to form, in that "nothing suited him better than to get a quid of tobacco into his mouth and [with] his legs resting on another chair, [he would] tell his customers to help themselves, pointing to where the book might be found." Flagg observed further that customers in search of a title would be asked to "charge it to themselves… A great many did not pay."[35] This sort of personality was not the one to make Andover a printing center of renown, and Pearson surely knew that. But, according to the lore, it was Pearson nonetheless who chose Newman's Old Hill Store to become the site of the Flagg and Gould printing house that in 1813, after Pearson secured a printing press for it, began its business life there.

John Dalton Flagg's father, Timothy Flagg (1792-1833), and Abraham J. Gould (1792-1868) both arrived in Andover at age twenty-one. Like Galen Ware, Flagg had been a Hilliard apprentice. His apprenticeship papers, in the collection of the Andover Center for History and Culture, show that he had made his contract with Hilliard seven years earlier, on December 23, 1806, when he was fourteen. The seventeen-year-old Ware was the witness.[36] (That Gould, too, was trained at the Hilliard shop is often asserted and reasonably assumed although not proven by known paper documentation.)

Two of Flagg and Gould's first publications were reprints of works by British evangelicals: the Rev. William Romaine's *A Choice Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ* and the Rev. Thomas T. Biddulph's *Short Sermons Designed for the Use of Those, Who Have But Little Time or Inclination to Read Longer Discourses.* Their contents pages say, respectively, "Printed

for Mark Newman by Flagg and Gould" and "Published and Sold by Mark Newman. Flagg and Gould, Printers." So somehow the hapless ex-headmaster had become not only a seller of books but an issuer of them, too. That same first year, Flagg and Gould also printed its first book in Hebrew type, its pages purportedly having been typeset from handwritten sheets that were the notes Moses Stuart used to lecture to his Seminary classes. On December 12, 1813, the Rev. Stuart wrote a letter about the book to Pearson and sent him a copy, asking for his opinion of it: "I shall place much dependence on your Remarks. Please to write them down." Happily for book history, since such information is often unobtainable, he mentioned the number of copies printed: "only about 120."[37] Both Flagg and Gould must have been exposed to Greek and Hebrew fonts while apprenticed to Hilliard, because books in those languages were being printed in the shop. It may be the reason why they were able to produce so quickly not only the Rev. Stuart's Hebrew book but, the following year, the firm's first book in Greek type, *A Harmony in Greek of the Gospels, with Notes*.

Hebrew and Greek texts were definitely obscure—a print run of 120 would not keep a print shop solvent, even with subsidies—but the expanding network of seminaries modeled after Andover's would soon create a consequential, new demand for them. Seminarians required such lexicons to aid their analyses of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages—a big part of what their education was all about. (The Old Testament was originally written in Hebrew, then a Greek version was adopted by early Christians. Greek was also the language in which the New Testament was originally written. The translation of the Bible into English was not attempted until the late fourteenth century, but as the narrator of Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1869 novel, *Oldtown Folks*, observes, "proof-texts [were] quoted from it as if it had been a treatise written in the English language by New-Englanders."[38])

Timothy J. Flagg. Andover Center for History and Culture.

Seminarians also needed chrestomathies, i.e., anthologies of literary passages, in those same languages, meant as aids to study; reprints of British and other religious classics; theological treatises; and sermons of all types, the best of which seminarians were supposed to consider as models for their own, upcoming duties in church pulpits or in missions. These types of theological publications would become Flagg and Gould's bread and butter. The press also churned out numerous assemblages of missionaries' diaries and letters, the posthumous ones compiled and edited, like Harriet Newell's, by others, often enough people in whose interest it would have been to disseminate inspirational stories in order to fill its ranks with future missionaries and its coffers with donations.

Of all the publications that bear the imprint of Flagg and Gould, tracts were perhaps even more consequential than the Newell memoir. Printed in countless editions, *The Dairyman's Daughter* was the best known and most widely reprinted and translated tracts of all time.

Subtitled *An Authentic Narrative*, it is the purportedly true story of one Elizabeth Wallridge, her piety, and her early death. It was written by her pastor, the Rev. Legh[39] Richmond, for the London Religious Tract Society in 1809. The Rev. Richmond was also the author of *The African Servant* (also known as *The Negro Servant*). Likewise presented as *An Authentic Narrative*, it tells of how an enslaved man, who is bought by a British naval captain, is "saved" by conversion to Christianity. It recounts how the man yearns to be baptized once he gets to America. Why? "Because me know that Christian go to heaven when he die." Of the captain, the man says: "And he be good master; he give me my liberty, and make me free, and me live with him ever since." The story ends with the man hoping that a ship will carry a missionary back to his home country, so his parents might hear "the good news of salvation."

Tracts were already a familiar proselytizing tool by the time Eliphalet Pearson was sending them down South through the mail in bundles while affiliated with the Massachusetts Society for both Christian Knowledge. Founded in 1803, the organization predates the Connecticut Religious Tract Society founded in 1807 by Timothy Dwight IV and his associates at Yale, and the New York Religious Tract Society, founded five years later. But in 1814 tracts became the essential instrument when the New England Religious Tract Society was founded by Seminary professors and members of its board. As its regional name implies, it began more ambitiously than the other groups, determined to make tracts even cheaper and even more plentiful than the bulk of them already were—an idea which is said to have originated with Ebenezer Porter.

The Rev. Porter (1772-1834) was hired in 1812 as the Seminary's second Professor of Sacred Rhetoric to replace Edward Dorr Griffin. He had been preaching in Washington, Connecticut, where he had succeeded the Rev. Noah Merwin as pastor of the First Congregational Church and married his daughter Lucy ("Patty") Pierce Merwin (1778-1841). As the story told by his biographer goes, the Rev. Porter had been in Andover for less than a year when he "called one morning at a book-store"—Newman's Old Hill Store—"to purchase a few small books for distribution. He took up one and inquired the price, and was answered '*eight* cents.' The thought occurred to him that books of that size might be printed for *three* cents, if benevolent individuals would unite to publish them in a cheap form and in large quantities."[40] These would be more affordable to the "benevolent individuals in the neighborhood" who could buy them for free distribution. The idea was taken up, and in less than three months, fifty different tracts were being produced in the Flagg and Gould print shop.

Flagg and Gould early on also printed one of Porter's own sermons, *Great Effects Result from Little Causes*.[41] According to the tract society's history, "tens of thousands" of that number alone were circulated over the next few decades.[42] True to its title, the booklet comprises both good and bad examples of "little causes" that resulted in "great effects." One of the negatives was Eve's decision to give Adam the apple: "In itself, how small was this action; but it ruined *a world! One* hand did the deed, in *one moment,* but *hundreds of* millions have been involved in the consequences, through *sixty centuries.*" One of the positives was the giving away of a tract. "That tract, dropped on the high road, or given to a stranger, may carry comfort… or conviction to some careless heart; may reclaim some profligate, awaken some drunkard to sobriety, some sabbath-breaker or swearer to saving reform…"

A “servant” named Almira Quacumbush lived with the Porters in their large house on campus. When she died in 1834 at age thirty-four, she is said to have worked for them for thirty years—that is, from age four. The information documenting that fact is chiseled into granite on her headstone in the P.A. campus cemetery, where she is buried next to the Porters. What her work life was like isn’t documented, but it’s reasonable to assume she performed tasks that were by turns backbreaking (e.g., moving the heavy furniture of the period that was designed to roll,

Ebenezer Porter by Ralph Earl Jr.

Lucy Porter by Ralph Earl Jr.

however awkwardly, on casters), tedious (dusting at a time when, even though the unpaved streets were watered to help manage it, everything got thickly and constantly covered with it), and loathsome (emptying bedpans). And although the Porters had no children for Quacumbush to look after, the Rev. Porter may have needed more than the usual tending. He was said to have been an invalid with lung trouble, which, among other things, “rendered public speaking irksome.”[43] But if that was the case, I do wonder how he sawed and split wood for exercise, as he was alleged to have done. For health reasons, nonetheless, he spent winters in places like Charleston, Savannah, St. Augustine, and New Orleans, as well as Havana, where enslaved people were far more populous than they were in New England, even though his letters addressed the issue of slavery only obliquely, when he wrote things like: “Bob the waiting man, is hopefully pious, and has learned to read the Bible which I gave him last year.”[44]

Mrs. Porter stayed home in Andover during those winters: she had religious work of her own to do. According to Sarah Stuart Robbins, daughter of the Rev. Stuart, a prayer meeting was led every week by Mrs. Porter in her home. In *Old Andover Days*, published in 1908, Robbins recalled they were known as “Jews’ Meetings,” designed solely by Mrs. Porter to forward “the conversion of the despised, downtrodden Hebrews.” Held on Friday nights, the meetings

included prayers led by Seminary students. Whether they realized the irony that Friday was the Jewish sabbath isn't mentioned in Robbins's account.

Ralph Earl Jr. (c.1785-1838) painted a pair of portraits of the Porters in 1804 when they were newlyweds in their twenties—the same year Quacumbush began to work for them as a four-year-old. The Rev. Porter looks appropriately ministerial, in black robes and white bands, with his hand holding open his place in a book. Mrs. Porter looks pleasant enough, in a lavender, lace-collared dress and bangs arranged in curled strands across her high forehead. But by the time Robbins encountered her, the woman was, in a word, grim. "Just where the dividing line may safely be drawn between common sense and religious fervor it would be difficult to say," she wrote. "That the two things are often unwisely separated, no one who knew Mrs. Porter can ever doubt. Living entirely sequestered from society, occupying the great house alone with her husband and one servant, … shutting out from it sun and air and even God's beautiful light, she made it a place in which the 'sorrowful spirit' brooded over everything."[45] To be fair, in the period in which the Porters lived, a house's shutters were customarily closed to keep the heat out in summer and the cold in winter, but Robbins, whose book was published in 1908—the year the Seminary left Andover, having graduated its last class of three[46]—makes a valid point.

Gravestone of Almira Quacumbush. "For 30 years she was a faithful domestic in the family of Rev. Dr. Porter and died in full Christian hope May 3rd 1834: aged 34 years."

III. In Doing Good, Flagg and Gould Does Very Well

The Italians are affable and polite, but haughty and revengeful. They are, for the most part, bigoted Roman Catholics.

—Joseph Emerson Worcester, *A Geographical Dictionary* (1817)

Another of Flagg and Gould's earliest imprints, published in 1814 and republished many times thereafter, was co-authored by Samuel J. Mills (1783-1818), who had been the informal leader of the original Brethren members at Williams College. He had also been instrumental in the early meetings with both the Rev. Stuart and the General Association in Bradford when foreign missionary work was first presented as a plausible undertaking for Americans. But the American Board did not select him to go with the initial group to Asia, perhaps thinking he would better serve the organization in other ways. And so in 1812-1813, under the combined patronage of the Massachusetts Missionary Society and the Connecticut Missionary Society, Mills and a fellow Seminary graduate, John F. Schermerhorn (1786-1851), went on an extensive fact-finding trip into the American Interior. What they wanted to discover was the current state of morals on the frontier. They also wanted to find out what other denominations' missionaries were competing for the white settlers' and indigenous people's souls.

The pair followed a route from Ohio to Indiana to Kentucky and Tennessee to the Mississippi River to New Orleans. Upon their return they wrote a meticulous report titled *Correct View of That Part of the United States Which Lies West of the Allegany Mountains, with Regard to Religion and Morals.*The fifty-page pamphlet concluded with a statement by Mills. "It was a revelation in facts and figures to the East of what had been an unknown country as far as religious statistics or conditions had been concerned," he wrote. "It was more than a revelation; it was an inspiration, an incentive, an imperative to go forward and possess the land in the name of the Lord." He was particularly eager to redo what rival denominations had already done, or tried to do.

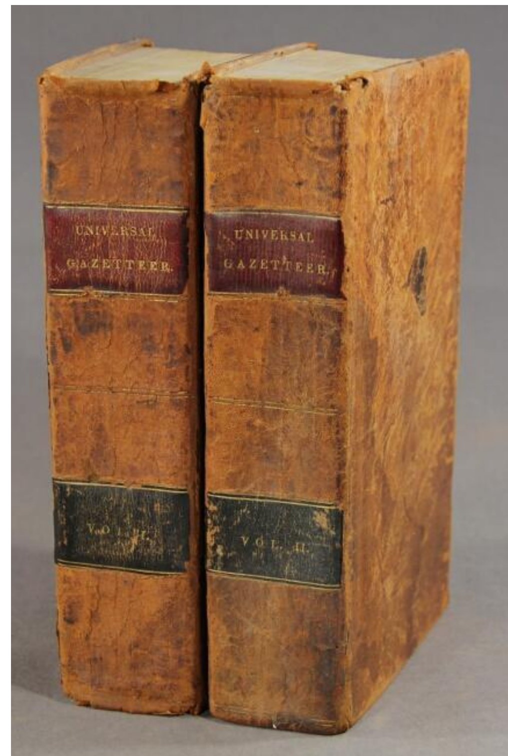
In Ohio, for example, the pair had noted a "wild enthusiasm" for Christianity, which had "raged" through several counties a few years earlier, but said that "eye witnesses" had told them "there is great reason to believe, that it was principally terror and fear which induced members to join those societies; for this work began and ended with the earthquakes,[47] in these counties; and the whole strain of preaching by the Baptists and Methodists was, that the end of all things was at hand, and if the people were not baptized, or did not join society, there was no hope for them." Granted, they acknowledged, some real conversions had occurred, but "many, who joined their societies during the earthquakes, have already left them."

They wrote even more damnably of their rival Baptists: "The preachers of this denomination are generally illiterate; few are possessed of good common English learning, and there are also some, that can neither read the Scriptures, nor write their name." That doesn't sound at all like the Judsons and Luther Rice, but maybe Mills, who must have been disappointed by their defection, having been their leader back at the Seminary, had them in mind

when he and Schermerhorn wrote that the Baptists also paid too much attention to "feelings"—like the fictional Theodore Wieland of Charles Brockden Brown.

They wrote, too, in great detail about the various indigenous communities they had encountered, concluding that it would be "highly desirable in a missionary view to find a tribe uncontaminated by the vices of the whites, and where the iniquitous trade by his treachery has never learnt the Indian to deceive or by his persuasion to get drunk." This is a common theme that runs not only through non-fiction accounts but fiction as well. In 1987, when Brian Moore published his novel *Black Robe,* about the Jesuits' missionary efforts in seventeenth-century Canada, he included this conversation between indigenous men, Chomina and Awandouie. Chomina: "We have become greedy and stupid like the hairy ones." Awandouie: "Perhaps that is how the Normans will destroy us. Not in war, but by a spell that makes us like them."

In the summer of 1814, the Massachusetts Missionary Society sent Mills on a second, months-long trip to the same regions. This time, along with more fact-finding, he and another Seminary graduate, Daniel Smith (1789-1823), went with the intention of distributing tracts and other materials. Their mode of transportation was a horse-drawn cart. From the Flagg and Gould shop they carried 15,000 tracts, fifty copies of Harriet Newell's memoir, as well as thousands of New Testaments and Bibles printed in English and in French (for Louisianans). Notably, they brought no materials in any indigenous languages. Creating those translations presented a difficult set of problems, and a conundrum. The nineteenth-century philologist J. Hammond Trumbull wrote in *Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England* that before the time of John Eliot, "an idea generally prevailed, that Indians must be taught English, before they could receive religious truths."[48] The publication of Eliot's Bible changed that way of thinking, except that the translation's effectiveness depended on speakers of Algonquin learning to read on a printed page what for eons had been a perfectly adequate, though complicated, oral language system. (That is, it seemed complicated to English speakers. Commenting on the length of many Algonquin words, Cotton Mather scoffed in *Magnalia Christi Americana,* his "ecclesiastical" history of New England: "One would think they had been growing ever since Babel, unto the dimensions to which they are now extended."[49])



Joseph Emerson Worcester, *A Geographical Dictionary*.

In 1817, Flagg and Gould printed a massive, secular book, a blockbuster titled *A Geographical Dictionary, or Universal Gazetteer; Ancient and Modern in Two Volumes.* Its author was P.A. graduate (class of 1805) Joseph Emerson Worcester (1784-1865), a New Hampshire native, who had worked on his father's farm until arriving at P.A. at age twenty-one. He graduated in two years, since the requirement for receiving a P.A. diploma in the

nineteenth century was passage of the examinations in however many or few years it took. Those who passed the exams quickly saved money on room and board.

Worcester then taught school in Salem before college at Yale. In 1812, he returned to Salem, where he founded his own school, but gave it up in 1815 to become a private tutor. (One of his students was Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was confined to his home while recovering from an injury.[50]) In 1816, Worcester gave up teaching and moved to Andover, and worked on his geography, which, split into two volumes, was nearly two thousand pages long.

But what did Worcester know of the world?—he, who had lived and would continue to live for the rest of his life only in New England? Here are snippets from four typical examples from the A, B, and C sections of *A Geographical Dictionary*: "[Arabs] seldom laugh, and never weep: to do either in their opinion shews great weakness; and on this account they have very little esteem for a man who weeps or laughs much." "The Roman Catholic religion is established in Bavaria in its worst form—full of bigotry, intolerance, and profligacy…. the people are indolent, uneducated, and vicious." "The climate in Biledulgerid, [now, along with Barbaria, part of Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya] is hot and unhealthy; the people lean, and of a swarthy and shriveled complexion. As to their character, they are represented as lewd, treacherous, thievish, and cruel." "The general character of the Chinese is represented as a strange compound of pride and meanness, of affected gravity and real frivolity, of refined civility and gross indelicacy, of great apparent simplicity and openness in conversation, attended with a degree of art and cunning of which a European has no conception. Of all people they are said to be the most exempt from drunkenness. They are remarkable for national vanity, and for a timid and vindictive disposition."

Hannah Trow Flagg. Andover Center for History and Culture.

Other geographies of the period were no better than his, Jedidiah Morse's included. Both authors heavily relied on secondary sources, a then perfectly acceptable practice. Anyway, Worcester eventually gave up being a geographer; instead, he took up writing dictionaries, and engaged in an extended rivalry with Noah Webster. The dictionaries would not be printed by Flagg and Gould, but it didn't matter. Producing religious material was its lucrative niche. The evidence was apparent to any Andoverite who knew where its two principals lived. In 1819, Flagg had moved into a large clapboard house he had built for his wife, Hannah Trow Flagg, and their children, that is now designated as 234 South Main Street, on land contiguous with P.A.'s real estate. In the same year, Gould finished building a "twin" house for his wife, Zeruviah Griffin Gould, and their family at 238 South Main Street. In 1823, Flagg and Gould's bookbinder, Jonathan Leavitt (1797-1852), and his wife, Louisa A. Leavitt, built a similar house at 244 South Main Street, having bought buildable land from the Goulds. The three homes, all white clapboards and all still standing, are the reason why that portion of South Main Street got the name Publishers' Row, which, in Andover Historic Preservation circles, it retains today.

In 1825, the New England Religious Tract Society gave itself an even more expansive appellation, the American Tract Society, and fought off an attempt by the New York Religious Tract Society to merge with it, relinquish the new name, and move the headquarters to Manhattan. According to the slant of the authors of *A Brief History of the American Tract Society*, "its location in an inland town—twenty miles from Boston—occasioned embarrassment in its mechanical and mercantile operations; rendered transportation and communication with the different parts of the country difficult and expensive; and almost forbade the full union of evangelical denominations, for which the spirit of its constitution provided. It was plain that, as a society for the whole country, the location must be in New York or Boston." But the subject of this change of venue awakened in Andoverites "the most anxious solicitude," the history goes on, and the first overture was rejected. As the New England leadership saw it, the organization's "roots had struck too deep in New England soil, to be transplanted."[51]

And yet a move to New York was eventually approved, after $25,000 was raised for the building of a new headquarters. The American Tract Society was established in New York on May 11, 1825, and the New England group began to function as an auxiliary.[52] Flagg and Gould continued to print for the Society, but so did others, including a former employee and neighbor, Leavitt, who had moved with his family to New York, where he entered into a partnership with his brother-in-law Daniel Appleton, who had a publishing and bookselling business. Leavitt went on to have his own publishing firms. There was plenty of work for everyone. Harlan Page, who worked for the Society's General Depository in New York, wrote on December 15, 1826, to his parents back home in Coventry, Connecticut: "Within a little more than a week we have sent off, for different parts of our country, not far from 1,700,000 pages of Tracts."[53]

Agents were the purveyors of those reams of tracts. Both before and after the merger and move to New York, the Society recruited many of them straight out of the Seminary. William Allen Hallock (1794-1880) was hired after his graduation with the class of 1822. His unpublished journal, from the

William Allen Hallock's "Brief Journal." Congregational Library & Archives.

period 1822-1823, while he was working in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, reveals both the physical and mental difficulties of the job, which usually involved walking to get from place to place. On Christmas Day in 1822, he wrote: “Large blisters on my feet.” Three days later: “Feet blistered & raw; got discouraged.” Then, on January 2, 1823, there was this trying scene in Temple, New Hampshire, prompted by a difference of opinion about how the money collected by the Society was being spent: “Father Miles wished gospel spread, but … Har. Newell gravestone cost $60. His family looked sideways at me and laughed. I refused to stay to tea—but walked 4 miles in damp snow. He had a fresh horse ready to be unharnessed but would not offer to carry me. He had no sympathy for a poor tired Ag. Next morning took a severe cold.”[54]

On March 15, 1823, he apparently did manage to go some distance on horseback, but after he was thrown over its head he “lamed” his arm when he landed on frozen ground. Nonetheless, he began that day a circuit of twenty-six towns, a journey of 182 miles. On April 25, 1823, he reported, “I have travelled 383 miles, mostly on foot; and collected $434.45.” On September 11, 1823, back in Andover, he wrote of working “10, 11, & 12 hours in a day… & when I have lain down on my bed my mind as been so agitated in relation to my work, that I have not slept, till 1, 2, 3 o'clock A.M. I say not these things to complain, or boast, but to free myself from the charges of idleness.”

After those trials, Hallock was rewarded. During the Society’s first year in New York, he was appointed its secretary. For the next forty-five years, he “had full responsibility for editing every work the Society published,” supervising each publication, and sometimes writing them himself. After that, he acted as honorary secretary until his death at age eighty-six.[55]

What did Eliphalet Pearson think of all that his efforts—in promoting tracts, co-founding the Seminary, and bringing Messrs. Flagg and Gould to Andover—had wrought? I could find no cache of papers that held the answer. What we do know is that, despite giving up his Seminary professorship after only one year, he stayed involved, living on campus and boarding P.A. students, including Francis Cabot Lowell Jr. (class of 1815), son of Francis Cabot Lowell (class of 1786), who brought British technology and methods to the textile industry and its factories in the Merrimack Valley after his famous act of industrial piracy.[56] Pearson also cultivated a small farm in Andover through 1820. The vicinity of Pearson Street in present-day Andover, near the commuter railroad station and the town’s “Public Safety Center”—the police and fire departments—was its location.

Then, after the death of his father-in-law, Henry Bromfield (1727-1820), who had been a Boston merchant, he and his family moved to Bromfield’s farm in the Massachusetts town of Harvard, where, for the remainder of his life, he was “actively & successfully engaged in agriculture,” according to his son Henry Bromfield Pearson’s reminiscences.[57] The house on the Harvard property was a hundred years old; its barn was “surrounded by a noble avenue of trees” that “had been placed at a safe distance” from it. Unfortunately, Pearson “caused [the barn] to be moved up & joined on to the house, & a few years after his death, it took fire from some unknown cause, & caused the destruction of the mansion & many noble elms.”[58] A gothic moment? A freak accident of nature? Or an act of God? One’s conclusion depends on one’s state of faith. Pearson died on September 12, 1826, age seventy-four. Two weeks later, Josiah Quincy wrote that the man “was coldly remembered” and, despite his legacy, “his name & memory [were] regarded with neither respect or affection.” But, he evenhandedly added, “he was no

Pearson Street. Bird's eye view, 1882. Andover Historic Preservation.

ordinary man, & I cannot refrain from remembering him with much respect and some affection."[59]

IV. Clergy and Slaveowners Back the Missionary-Minded American Colonization Society

There go, arm in arm, a New-England divine and a southern kidnapper; and there an ungodly slaveholder and a pious deacon; each eyeing the other with distrust, and fearful of exciting a quarrel, both denouncing the poor, neglected, free black man as a miserable, good-for-nothing creature, and both gravely complimenting their foresight and generosity in sending this worthless wretch on a religious mission to Africa!"[60]

—William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832)

When Mills and Smith returned from their trip into the American interior, Flagg and Gould printed their sixty-four-page *Report of a Missionary Tour through That Part of the United States Which Lies West of the Allegany Mountains.* Similar to the similarly titled book that Smith and Schermerhorn had written after their excursion, there was one difference: this one included descriptions of conversations with enslaved people. In New Orleans on March 13, 1815, for example, they met an enslaved man above Natchez, Mississippi, on the banks of the river: "[He] seemed to love religion, and often recommended it to his comrades," they wrote. "Yet he had no Bible. We gave him one, and he received it with strong expressions of joy and gratitude." Mills and Smith, in the suggestions for future missionaries that were a part of their report, expressed a

particular desire to have missionaries sent to the cities of the South. Smith did go back as an ordained minister, taking up the pastorship in Natchez, then Louisville. Mills, on the other hand, became a home missionary in New York City and helped to establish the African School in Parsippany, New Jersey. Founded in 1816, it was designed to educate "young men of Colour to be Teachers and Preachers to People of Colour"[61]—a mini missionary factory, if you will.

Mills also got involved with people who, failing to imagine how freed slaves could ever live integrated with whites, began to work toward sending them "back home" to Africa. "We must save the negroes or the negroes will ruin us" he declared.[62]

The originator of the idea of colonizing Africa by African Americans is most often identified as Britain's Granville Sharp (1735-1813), who worked to end his country's slave trade through passage of the Slave Trade Act in 1807.[63] Sharp was "always the zealous friend of the African race," Archibald Alexander, a Presbyterian minister and professor at Princeton Theological Seminary, wrote in a history of the movement, published in 1846. After the American Revolution, the British did in fact resettle thousands of formerly enslaved Americans in Sierra Leone. During the war, they had sought refuge with the British and fought alongside them. Resettling them in Africa—not in Merrie Olde England—was the solution that Sharp devised. It turned out to be a terrible idea with tragic consequences for the many who lost their lives to disease and warfare with natives unhappy with intruders. But the idea had its base of self-interested supporters as well as its naively idealistic ones.

Paul Cuffe by Chester Harding.

In his history, the Rev. Alexander hastened to add, eager to share the credit (but actually inadvertently sharing the blame), that Newport's Rev. Hopkins had simultaneously pushed the same idea as Sharp. Being millennium-minded, however, he wanted the freed slaves not only to inhabit a more hospitable land (the "land of their forefathers," after all) but to be tasked with missionary duties; to, in the Rev. Alexander's words, "civilize and evangelize the savages of that dark continent."[64]

Distracted by the Revolution, the idea's supporters let it drop. The Rev. Hopkins had been dead eight years when in 1811 an American man of color, Paul Cuffe (sometimes spelled Cuffee), with the best of intentions, reignited it, founding the Friendly Society of Sierra Leone. A successful whaler, sea captain, ship builder, and maritime businessman, Cuffe (1759-1817) paid for the resettlement of thirty-eight of his fellow African Americans in 1816. He didn't consider it a utopia; he thought they could develop trades and find prosperity in Africa more easily than they could in the United States, even though that is what he had done. He was raising the funds to send more settlers when he got sick and died. Meanwhile, Mills and Robert Finley, a New Jersey

based Presbyterian minister, after a meeting with members of the U.S. Congress on December 21, 1816, co-founded the Society for the Colonization of Free People of Color of America.

Some African American leaders had supported the efforts of Captain Cuffe; they did not support the Mills-Finley organization, whose founding president was George Washington's slaveholding nephew Bushrod Washington (1762-1829).[65] He and other plantation owners made no secret of seeing colonization as a way for the country to rid itself of freed slaves, considering them a threat, liable to inspire runaways or rebellions; some of them also viewed colonization as a way to banish enslaved people who were too old or otherwise unable to work. Imagining a future when slavery would be abolished, but unable to imagine the integration of the races, Thomas Jefferson, an advocate of colonization since the days of Rev. Hopkins, wrote in 1811 that he considered it "the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off" the black population.[66]

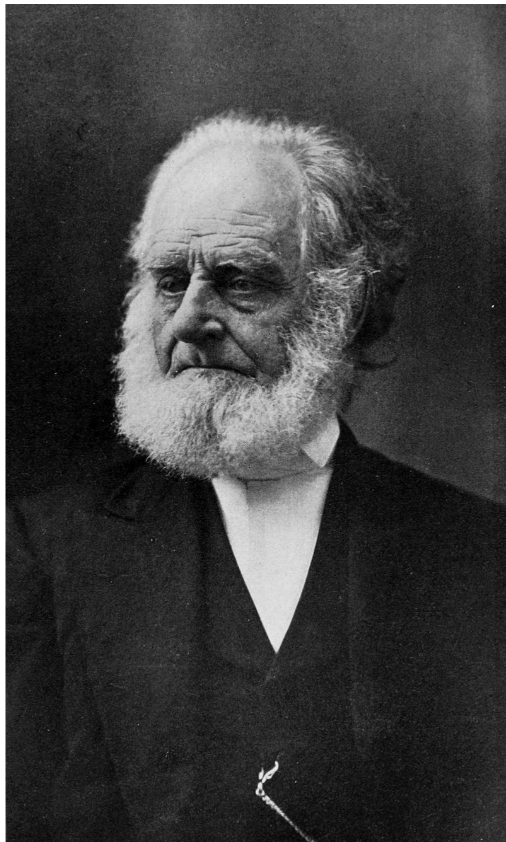
Abolitionists, black and white, including Frederick Douglass, were not fooled by the cynical practicality of segregationists. They recognized and revealed the colonization movement for what it was—an expulsion—like the one that in the 1820s and 1830s would force hundreds of thousands of indigenous people to leave their homelands in the South via the Trail of Tears. Still, some blacks were willing to sign up for resettlement, especially considering the clergy's blessing of it, and in early 1817, Mills and another Seminary graduate, Ebenezer Burgess, sailed to Africa as scouting agents to secure a place for the scores of people they expected to go there. That same year, the Rev. Finley was elected the new president of the University of Georgia; he died within three months. Mills would not live to see what became of the movement, either. He arrived in Africa with "a stricture on the lungs, and a dangerous cough."[67] The symptoms subsided during his trip, but on his sail home with Burgess in June of 1818, he caught a bad cold and got feverish; he was buried at sea, age thirty-six.[68]

Joseph R. Andrus was chosen as the next scouting agent of what had become known as the American Colonization Society. A member of the Seminary's class of 1816, Andrus had not completed his studies due to his own poor health; and even though his health was still not ideal, he sailed for Africa anyway, on January 21, 1821. Arriving with him in the second week of March were twenty-eight free black men, women, and children.[69] A month later, Andrus contracted with a Bassa king for a large tract of land in what is now Liberia. Andrus had thus accomplished his task, but, according to the Rev. Alexander, who did not elaborate further, "having been an eye-witness of the ignorance and wretchedness of the Africans in their own country," Andrus decided to resign his agent position and work in Africa "in the simple character of a Missionary." Alas, Andrus's health failed him again, and he died in Africa on July 28, 1821, age thirty.[70]

The organization continued on, and continued to be condemned. William Lloyd Garrison denounced its "pernicious, cruel, and delusive character."[71] He was particularly appalled by the idea that the would-be settlers were being encouraged to become missionaries to the natives. "For absurdity and inaptitude, it stands, and must forever stand without parallel. Of all the offspring of prejudice and oppression, it is the most shapeless and unnatural," he wrote.[72] At the Seminary in Andover, however, the missionary aspect was a selling point. On January 9, 1824, Leonard Bacon (1802-1881), a Society of Inquiry member who had graduated with the class of 1823 but was continuing on as a resident licentiate, wrote to William Meade of Millwood,

Virginia. He was asking for his help in creating a school for "promising young negroes who may afterwards become the magistrates & the teachers & especially religious instructors of their countrymen." The Rev. Meade, an Episcopal minister, had been at the meeting in D.C. when the organization was founded; he had supported it ever since. Bacon told him that he envisioned the school being established in the United States, then being transferred "with all its appendages to Africa." Emphasizing the missionary aspect of colonization was the best way to fundraise for the effort in New England, he wrote. "It will connect the subject in their minds with that spirit of missionary enterprise which is abroad in the land."[73]

The Rev. Meade may have had his own ideas about fundraising tactics, at least in the South. In 1813, he had published a compendium of pro-slavery polemics, believing that slavery wasn't evil; yet, contradictorily, he claimed that Christian principles would teach masters to treat their slaves well. So Bacon was probably hoping an education plan would appeal to him.


Leonard Bacon.

Bacon and other Society of Inquiry members apparently did fundraising for resettlement, too; or they were pegged as likely candidates to do so. On June 9, 1824, Bacon received a letter from Ralph Randolph Gurley saying "colonists, to the number of one hundred & five, embarked in the ship Cypress at City Point, Petersburg [Virginia], on Sunday last." The coast would be about $3000 ("which is much cheaper than any preceding one)," wrote the Rev. Gurley (1797-1872), a Presbyterian minister who worked for the American Colonization Society for fifty years. "Eleven hundred dollars of this sum are yet to be collected." Anticipating that other ships would sail from Boston, D.C, and "a third from some southern port," he told Bacon he believed "the whole country will soon feel the claims of our institution."[74]

For years, both P.A. students and Seminarians debated the pros and cons of colonization while settlers died of tropical diseases as well as warfare with Africans unhappy about colonizers in their midst. As William Lloyd Garrison remarked in *Thoughts on African Colonization,* published in 1832, he knew of no instance where colonization had resulted in a happy outcome.

[1] Richard-Gabriel Rummonds, *Nineteenth-Century Printing Practices and The Iron Handpress*, 2 Vols. (Newcastle, DE, and London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, in association with Five Roses Press, 2004), Vol. I, 9.

[2] "Annals of the American Pulpit," *Andover Advertiser*, January 3, 1850.

[3] Bell, 122.

[4] Ibid. Charlotte Lyons, South Church's historian, wrote in an unpublished essay on deposit in the South Church archives: "When [Reverend Phillips] died in 1771, I think Mrs. Phillips gave the slaves, Salem and Remy, to Rev. Jonathan French at the parsonage." I.e., Lyons thinks that Salem and Rama were Mrs. Phillips's to give. See Lyons, "South Church: Founding History and Abolitionism: An Essay Regarding New Facts," March 2011.

[5] There is also the early calling out by Anthony Bénézet (1713-1784), who published *An Epistle of Caution and Advice, Concerning the Buying and Keeping of Slaves* in 1754 and other writings along the same lines, and his founding of the Society for the Relief of Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, in Philadelphia in 1775.

[6] John L. Taylor, *A Memoir of His Honor Samuel Phillips* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1856), 9.

[7] Fuess, *Andover: Symbol of New England, The Evolution of a Town* (Andover: Andover Historical Society, 1959), 156-157. The same image is included in Shiels, 226.

[8] See George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New-York Historical Society, 1866).

[9] Ibid., 119. The original letter is owned by the North Andover Historical Society.

[10] See https://legacy.sites.fas.harvard.edu/~hsb41/masstax/masstax.cgi Retrieved December 29, 2023.

[11] Ibid., 39.

[12] John Foster is also known to have owned Rose Foster, who in 1751 married an enslaved man, Pompey Lovejoy, for whom Andover's Pomp's Pond is named.

[13] Swann Galleries, Lot #7, March 26, 2020. N.B.: The sale was actually on May 7; the catalogue is dated earlier, because, due to the pandemic, the sale was delayed. Dates of birth of the Fosters are from https://mhl.org/sites/default/files/files/Abbott/Foster%20Family.pdf Retrieved April 23, 2022.

[14] Roy Henry Pearce, "The Significances of the Captivity Narrative," *American Literature,* Vol. 19, No. 1 (March 1947), 10.

[15] The first edition of Mary Rowlandson's *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson (also known as The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* was published in Boston. It is known only from eight pages that were used as lining papers for another book. The second and third printings of 1682, published in Cambridge, were followed by a fourth version, issued in London. A second edition—"Carefully Corrected, and Purged from abundance of Errors which escaped in the former Impression"—was published in Boston in 1720. Source: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mary-Rowlandson. Retrieved September 27, 2023.

[16] For an up-to-date study of indigenous peoples' warfare techniques, see Wayne E. Lee, *The Cutting-Off Way: Indigenous Warfare in Eastern North America 1500-1800* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2023).

[17] Ian R. Tyrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum American, 1800-1860* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979), 21.

[18] https://preservation.mhl.org/21-elm-street Retrieved May 6, 2022.

[19] Ibid.

[20] https://ia600905.us.archive.org/8/items/newenglandhistor1912newe/newenglandhistor1912newe.pdf Retrieved October 5, 2023. Some sources say that Ware was born c.1792, but that would mean he left Hilliard not at the standard age of twenty-one but at eighteen without completing his apprenticeship—an unlikely occurrence. I could find no death date for him in any of the records I searched.

[21] https://preservation.mhl.org/71-main-street-0 Retrieved October 5, 2023.

[22] https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/moa/AFJ7549.0002.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext;q1=Andover Retriever September 30, 2023.

[23] Records for the [Northampton, MA] *Democrat*, 1811-13. "With the issue of Jan. 7, 1812, the paper was 'printed by Galen Ware, for the Proprietors.'" https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/44806598.pdf Retrieved September 30, 2023.

[24] "Returning to England after just fourteen months in Africa, Horne attempted to mitigate his guilt and sense of failure by setting out his recommendations for the conduct of overseas missions" by publishing his letters, Suzanne Schwarz writes in "An Evangelical Clergyman and Missionary Advocate: The Career of the Reverend Melvill Horne, Minister of Christ Church, Macclesfield," a revised version of her Presidential Lecture for The Historical Society of Lancashire & Cheshire, delivered on April 22, 2004. Schwarz continues, quoting from a letter written by Horne on February 12, 1793, that he "anticipated that 'my unsuccessful attempt may give rise to the more successful labours of men wiser and better than myself.'" See https://www.hslc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/153-2-Schwarz.pdf Retrieved February 26, 2024.

[25] Cayton, 75.

[26] "The Brethren Society."

[27] *Catalogue of the Trustees, Instructors and Students of Phillips Academy, Andover* (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1819).

[28] Fuess, *An Old New England School,* 131.

[29] Bentley, December 31, 1809.

[30] Fuess, *An Old New England School,* 131.

[31] PAA, Warren Fales Draper vertical file, correspondence, retyped, not original ms., letter to Draper from Flagg, November 14, 1903.

[32] PAA, Head of School Records, 1786-1873, Box 1, Folder 3, "Newman, Mark, 1795-1810." Unsigned. Perhaps worth noting is that teaching wasn't a predominantly female occupation until after the Civil War, for a variety of reasons, among them being the increasing availability of more lucrative factory jobs for men. When the men left the profession, women had to find other ways besides the threat or actual use of physical force to control their co-ed classrooms.

[33] Fuess, *Men of Andover: Biographical Sketches in Commemoration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Phillips Academy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), 111.

[34] Harvard Business School, Baker Library Special Collections, Samuel Abbott Business Papers, 1754-1819 (inclusive), Mss. 761, A122, Box 58, Folders 5-9.

[35] PAA**,** Warren Fales Draper vertical file, correspondence, retyped, not original ms., letter to Draper from Flagg, November 14, 1903.

[36] ACHC, Ms. #1936. 021.1 Indenture, Timothy Flagg. * This document, showing Galen Ware's signature, is my evidence of his Hilliard apprenticeship, along with a mention in a letter from John Dalton Flagg to Warren F. Draper, which makes reference to the same signature. (PAA, Warren Fales Draper vertical file, correspondence, retyped, not original ms., letter to Draper from Flagg, November 14, 1903.) I know of no other writer-researcher who has published (or, perhaps, even noticed) this pertinent detail.

[37] The letter to Eliphalet Pearson is quoted, without reference to a source, in D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Essex County, Massachusetts, with biographical sketches of many of its pioneers and prominent men* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1888), 1635. Note: The Rev. Charles Smith, previously mentioned, in Chapter 1, was the author of the Andover section of this book.

[38] Definition of "proof-text": a passage of the Bible offered as an example to support a theological argument, doctrine, belief, principle, or position.

[39] His name is sometimes erroneously spelled Leigh.

[40] Lyman Matthews, *Memoir of the Life and Character of Ebenezer Porter, D.D* (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1837), 327-328.

[41] See *Great Effects from Little Causes: a sermon, delivered Sept. 13, 1815 at the anniversary of the Moral Society in Andover by Ebenezer Porter* (Andover: Flagg and Gould, 1815).

[42] *A Brief History of the American Tract Society* (Boston: Press of T.R. Martin, 1857), 8.

[43] Lyman Matthews, *Memoir of the Life and Character of Ebenezer Porter, D.D., Late President of the Theological Seminary, Andover* (Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1837), 55.

[44] Ibid., 103.

[45] Sarah Stuart Robbins, *Old Andover Days: Memories of a Puritan Childhood* (Boston" The Pilgrim Press, 1908), 113-117. The reference is to Samuel-1 1:15: "... And Hannah answered and said, No, my lord, I [am] a woman of a sorrowful spirit."

[46] They were Paul Gordon Favor, who, after graduation, became a pastor in Littleton, Massachusetts; Daniel Irving Gross, who did the same in Marshfield, Massachusetts; and Wallin Eleazer Ribel, who spent three years as a missionary in Sierra Leone prior to attending the Seminary, and then took a pastorship in Columbus, Ohio.

[47] See "Summary of 1811-1812 New Madrid Earthquakes Sequence," U.S. Geological Survey https://www.usgs.gov/programs/earthquake-hazards/science/summary-1811-1812-new-madrid-earthquakes-sequence Retrieved November 16, 2023.

[48] J. Hammond Trumbull, *Origin and Early Progress of Indian Missions in New England with a List of Books in the Indian Language Printed at Cambridge and Boston 1653-1721* (Worcester, Massachusetts: For Private Distribution, 1874), 6.

[49] Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England* (Hartford: Silas Andrus, 1820), Vol. 1, Book 3, 507.

[50] Matthew Higgins, J*oseph Emerson Worcester: A Distinguished and Gracious New England Lexicographer* (Concord, NH: Duncross Books, 2007), 5.

[51] *A Brief History of the American Tract Society,* 22, 23, 37.

[52] Lawrance [sic] Thompson, "The Printing and Publishing Activities of the American Tract Society from 1825 to 1850," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. 35, Second Quarter 1941, 86.

[53] William A. Hallock, *Memoir of Harlan Page, or the Power of Prayer and Personal Effort for the Souls of Individuals* (New York: American Tract Society, 1835), 137.

[54] CLA, MS0087, "Brief Journal of the Agent of the New England [Religious] Tract Society (William A. Hallock), 1822-1823.

[55] Griffin, 77.

[56] *Biographical,* 76-77.

[57] PAA, EPP, Box 2, File unnumbered, labeled "Copy of a paper written by Esquire Henry B. Pearson, respecting Dr. Eliphalet Pearson."

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., Box 2, Folder 4, "Recollections of Eliphalet Pearson by Josiah Quincy, 1860," handwritten. Letter dated September 27, 1826.

[60] Ibid., 41.

[61] https://scarletandblack.rutgers.edu/archive/collections/show/15#:~:text=The Parsippany school was founded,space of black identity formation Retrieved February 23, 2024.

[62] Thomas C. Richards, *Samuel J. Mills: Missionary Pathfinder, Pioneer and Promoter* (Boston, New York, and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1906), 190.

[63] Archibald Alexander, *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1846), 48.

[64] Ibid., 49.

[65] Bushrod Washington, a U.S. Supreme Court justice, lived part-time at Mount Vernon, which he had inherited from his president-uncle. When he moved there, he brought his own enslaved workers with him. They joined those who were already there. See https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/slavery/mount-vernon-after-1799/ Retrieved February 27, 2024. N.B.: Bushrod Washington should not be confused with Bushrod Washington Jr. (1785-1830), the son of William Augustine Washington and a grandnephew of the president. That younger Bushrod was sent to P.A. as a ten-year-old in 1795. Other Washington relatives who were P.A. alumni include Francis Lightfoot Lee II, the correspondent of Eliphalet Pearson who is featured in Chapter Two.

[66] Quoted in Henry Noble Sherwood, "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," *Journal of Negro History,* Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1917), 210.

[67] Gardiner Spring, *Memoir of Samuel John Mills,* 2nd ed. (Boston: Perkins & Marvin; New York: Leavitt & J.P. Haven, 1829), 196. The first edition was published in 1820.

[68] Upon his return from his trip with Smith in 1817, Burgess was ordained, then became a pastor in Dedham, south of Boston, as well as a trustee of both P.A. and the Seminary. He did stay involved with the colonization organization, by funding it, working with its auxiliary groups, and serving as its vice president at one point in 1830s. Keeping his interests otherwise mostly close to home, he published *The Dedham Pulpit:Or, Sermons by the Pastors of the First Church in Dedham in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* and an account of his own family tree, *The Burgess Genealogy.*

[69] Alexander, 132.

[70] *Memoirs of American Missionaries,* 82.

[71] William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: Or, an Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society* (Boston: Garrison & Knapp, 1832), iv.

[72] Ibid., 25.

[73] PAA, Colonization Correspondence, Society of Inquiry, Box 165, Andover Theological Seminary Records, Yale Divinity School Library. https://fromthepage.com/phillipsacademyarchives/student-anti-slavery-rebellion-1835/colonization-correspondence-1824?page=2 Retrieved February 27, 2024.

[74] Ibid.