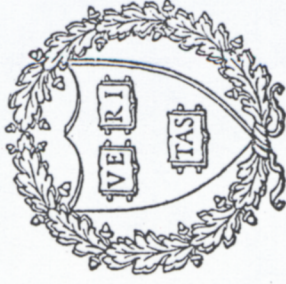


HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

CLASS OF 1908



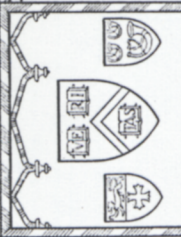
PART I

Cambridge, Massachusetts
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1936



HARVARDIANUM
IN NOVA ANGLIA
MDC LXVIII



COLLEGIUM
CANTABRIGIAE
A.D.

Original in the Harvard University Library

Macedonian cry entertained more practical views on finance than simply to hand the collections to Harvard. Having doubtless observed that none of the moneys contributed 'towards the conversion of the Natives' by the Weld-Peter mission had been put to that use, they proposed to control the fund themselves, and select their own disbursing agents. Consequently, Parliament in 1649 incorporated 'The President and Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England.'¹ This 'New England Company', as it was called for short, was the charitable foundation that provided generous support for the devoted labors of John Eliot, Thomas Mayhew, and as many others as could be induced to enter that somewhat tangled Vineyard of the Lord. An intensive drive for funds was instituted among the parliamentary army and in every English county, by which means over £16,000 was raked in by the end of 1654. The major part of the receipts was invested in English landed property; but in ten years £4,673 10s 9d was transmitted to New England for distribution by the Commissioners of the United Colonies.²

In 1651, President Dunster inquired of the Commissioners whether some small trickle of this silver stream might not irrigate the College Yard? The Commissioners promised to see what they could do, and in a letter to their agent at London suggested that 'an eye may be had in The destrebutions to the enlargement of the Colledge at Cambridge wherof there is great need and furtherance of learning not soe Imediateely Respecting the Indian Designe.'³ Out of this suggestion came the Harvard building known as the Indian College. Therein, it was hoped, Indian youths might acquire a university education, which (through some obscure workings of the academic mind) was confidently expected to qualify them as teachers and converters of their pagan brethren. Although the failure of this enterprise was so complete as to raise among modern readers the suspicion that it was merely a blind to get a new building for Harvard College, there is no reason to suppose it to have been anything but straightforward and sincere. From the founding of Virginia to the American Revolution, the delusion persisted that

1. See *F. H. C.*, pp. 321-22, for the attempt of friends of Harvard in Parliament to put a 'rider' on this bill which would obtain some of the funds for English education at Harvard.

2. Summary in S. E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, p. 299, quoting in introduction to G. P. Winship, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

3. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, ix. 198.

XVII

THE INDIAN COLLEGE AND PRESS¹

1655-1698



President Dunster had been one of the earliest advocates of Indian education in New England; it was his ambition to make Harvard the Indian Oxford as well as the New-English Cambridge.² But many years elapsed before the native American came into the Harvard picture; John Eliot did not even begin the preliminary work of conversion until 1646. In the first tract describing his efforts, 'The Day-Breaking, England,'³ the authors propose to make President Dunster the recipient, and Harvard College the trustee, of funds contributed in England for Indian conversion and education.

The 'Day-Breaking' tract made a deep impression on English puritan circles; but the gentry who hearkened to the

1. Materials on the Indian College and the press after 1655 are very scattered. Mr. Matthews has collected most of the extant quotations on the building in his introduction to the College Records (*C. S. M.*, xv. p. lxxxii ff.). The Records of the United Colonies of New England, as printed in *Plymouth Colony Records*, x, are the principal source; and are supplemented by George Parker Winship, *The New England Company of 1649 and John Eliot* (Prince Society, 1920), and *Some Correspondence between the Governors and Treasurers of the New England Company and the Commissioners of the United Colonies* (J. W. Ford, ed., London, 1897). The original correspondence is still in possession of the New England Company at its office, 26 Bloomsbury Square, London. For the press, see bibliography in *F. H. C.*, 344 n., and add Mr. Winship's introduction to *The New England Company*; Wilberforce Eames, *Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible, and on his other Translations and Works in the Indian Language* (1890), a reprint from J. C. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* (1891); C. A. Duniway, *Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* (Harvard Historical Studies, xii, 1906); and important documents in *Proc. M. H. S.*, 1st ser. xx. 265-68 and 2nd ser. xi. 240-53.

2. See *F. H. C.*, under 'Indian' in index; and note reference to Indians in the Charter of 1650, Chapter I, above. For another puritan project, see Force, *Historical Tracts*, 1. no. 13.

3. London, 1647, p. 24; 3 *Coll. M. H. S.*, iv. 22. The tract is attributed both to John Wilson and to Thomas Shepard.

there wanted but money and organization to make scholars and ministers out of selected Indians.¹ And if university learning was necessary to penetrate the deep and holy mysteries of the faith, why should it be denied to redskins? Long before Virginia had been thought of, the policy of training native teachers had been tried, and with much success, by the Spaniards in Mexico;² but the Spaniards knew what the English never learned, how to temper the wind to the shorn lamb.

THE INDIAN COLLEGE

In 1653 the trustees of the English Society instructed the Commissioners of the United Colonies to erect at their expense 'one Intyre Rome att the College for the Conveniencye of six hopfull Indians youthes . . . which Rome may bee two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable'; and in September of that year, the United Colonies authorized the College to erect such a building, at a cost not exceeding £120, 'besides glasse.'³ The College was reported to be 'in hand' in September 1654.⁴ Dunster, in the meantime, had submitted a larger plan than had been contemplated, which the Commissioners accepted, provided the building 'exceed not thirty foot in length and twenty in breadth.'⁵ And in preparation, the Commissioners entered at Harvard, as Scholars of the London Society, John and Thomas Stanton, two brothers reputed to 'have good skill in the Indian language,' with the intent of fitting them to be tutors to Indian students. They were to live either 'in the College or in some private house till the new buildinge for the Indians bee redy to receive them.'⁶

1. See *F. H. C.*, pp. 411-16, for the Virginia proposal and Dr. John Stoughton's scheme; and Lyon G. Tyler, *Williamsburg, The Old Colonial Capital* (1907), for Indian education at the College of William and Mary. The experiment there was not such a complete failure as at Harvard and Dartmouth, since no attempt was made to take Indians beyond grammar-school learning.

2. Thomas Shepard knew something of what had been accomplished in Mexico and Peru — *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648), p. 3; 3 *Coll. M. H. S.*, iv. 39. Father Le Jeune opened a *séminaire* for Indians at Notre-Dame des Anges in Quebec around 1633. It was notoriously unsuccessful, and remained open but five years. Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au xvii^e Siècle* (1895), i. 282-84. Another, opened in 1668, had the same short and inglorious history. Francis Parkman, *Old Régime in Canada* (1902 ed.), p. 223.

3. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 107, and *C. S. M.*, xv. p. lxxxii ff.

4. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 120.

5. *Id.* 128.

6. *Id.* 128-29. They were the sons of Thomas Stanton of Southerton (Stonington, Conn.), professional Indian interpreter for the United Colonies.

The college inventory of December 10, 1654 mentions no Indian College,¹ and there is no certain evidence of its having been completed before 1656, when President Chauncy proposed that its vacant rooms be used 'to accomodate some English Students.'² Judging from the descriptions we have of the Indian College, when finished, it evidently underwent another enlargement after Dunster's plan for a twenty by thirty structure had been accepted; it must have been doubled in size, at least. The Royal Commissioner who saw it in 1665³ described it as 'a brick pile of two bayes,' meaning two units, or stair-cases;⁴ and Daniel Gookin, ten years later, described it as

A structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three or four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accomodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accomodate English

1. *C. S. M.*, xv. 208. Mr. Matthews suggests that the 'One small house unfinished, intended for a printing house,' in the inventory, means the Indian College; but it is possible that Treasurer Danforth would thus have admitted the Ethiopian in this pious woodpile? The Governing Boards on May 9, 1655, state that 'The Revenue of the Presse . . . must at present be improved for the finishing of the Print-house' (Appendix A, doc. 6). As the wealthy English society was footing the bills for the Indian College, it seems very unlikely that the Corporation would have spent press revenue on it, even had they been so crude as to call it a printing-house. It seems much more probable that a small one-room house was being built in the Yard for the college press, to relieve the President's Lodging of its presence; and that this house was put to other and possibly baser uses when room was found for the press in the Indian College.

2. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 168.

3. 'At Cambridge they have a wooden colledg, and in the yard a brick pile of two bayes, for the Indians, where the Comissioners saw but one. They said they had three or four more at scholle. It may be feared that this colledge may afford as many schismatics to the Church, and the Corporation as many rebels to the King, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented.' Document in Public Record Office, calendared in *Calendar State Papers, Colonial, 1661-68*, p. 346; printed in Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, iii (1853), 112. Another copy, in the Clarendon Mss. at the Bodleian, is printed in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1869*, p. 87. It omits 'in the yard,' but adds after 'saw but one,' 'one was lately dead.' A third contemporary copy, once owned by Governor Hutchinson, is printed in his *Collection of Papers* (1769), p. 421. The Clarendon copy is endorsed 'writ by Col. Cartwright, one of the King's Commissioners on his Return from America,' in 1665.

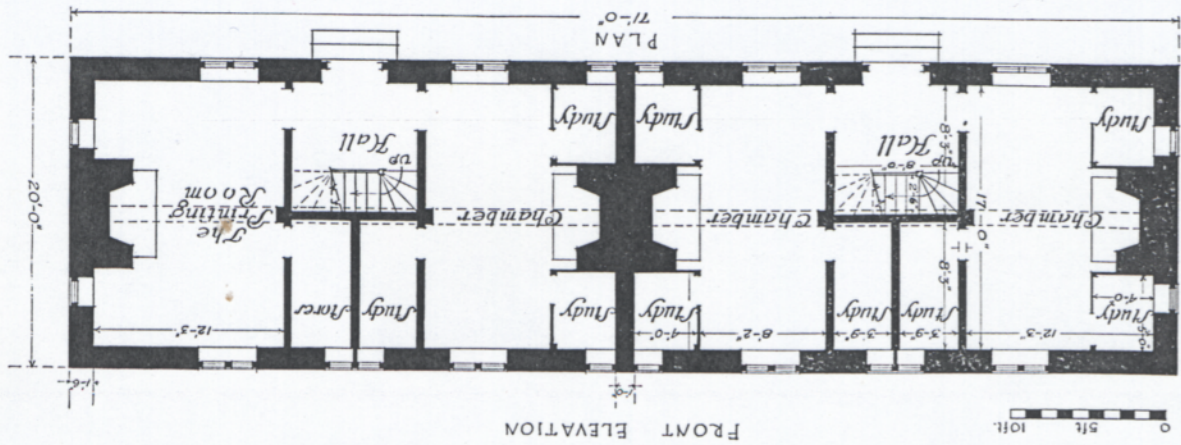
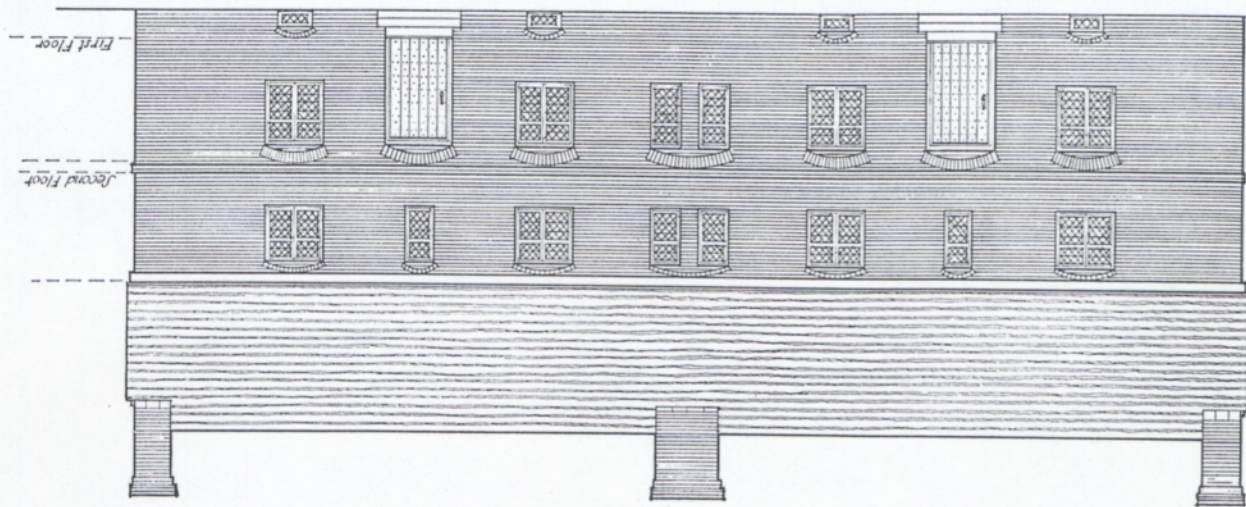
4. Cf. *N. E. D.*, 'Bay' sb¹ 2, 'the space lying under one gable, or included between two party-walls.'

scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college.¹

Following these brief descriptions, and a careful comparison with other New England brick buildings of that century,² Mr. Harold R. Shurtleff has made the conjectural reconstruction of the Indian College here depicted. It is evident that the structure was of brick, in two entries; that it was intended to accommodate twenty students; and that it must have cost in the neighborhood of £400.³ Mr. Shurtleff's plan gives room for twenty-one students, three to a chamber and a study for each, when one of the ground-floor chambers is allotted to the printing room.

The Royal Commissioners, the only contemporaries who mentioned the Indian College's location, merely place it 'in the yard.'⁴ The exact site in the College Yard has never been definitely ascertained; but I see no reason to differ from the conclusion of Andrew McFarland Davis, that it was on the Goffe lot, touching the present limits of, and at right angles to, Matthews Hall.⁵ That was the natural site and orientation for it, balancing the Old College, and forming with it, the President's Lodging, and Goffe College a symmetrical group.

1. Gookin's 'Historical Collections of the Indians in New England,' 1 *Coll. M. H. S.*, 1. 176.
2. Such as the Peaselee Garrison House (1675) at Rock Village, Massachusetts; the Hazen Garrison House (1694) at Haverhill; and Stoughton College (1699). The first two have end chimneys. Mr. Shurtleff's arrangement of chambers and studies is similar to that of contemporary buildings at the University of Cambridge, and to the plan afterwards adopted for Massachusetts Hall, which also had end chimneys. Other details have been suggested by plans in J. Frederick Kelly, *Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut* (1933), and by Mr. Shurtleff's knowledge of seventeenth-century brick dwellings in Virginia.
3. Compare calculated costs of the Old College (about £1000), in *F. H. C.*, pp. 273-74; of Old Harvard, in Chapter XX, below; of Stoughton College (Chapter XXIII), in 1698-99, after Massachusetts currency had begun to depreciate. From these calculations I have deducted £400 as a reasonable cost in 1655/56 for the building depicted by Mr. Shurtleff.
4. See above, p. 343 n.
5. When the cellar was being excavated for Matthews, in 1871, a debris of brick, and, according to one authority, 'a line of ancient wall,' were unearthed (*C. S. M.*, xv. p. lxxxix, quoting *N. E. H. G. R.*, xxv. 227 and *Harvard Graduates' Mag.*, 1. 367-68, 373-74). John L. Sibley, in his *Private Journal*, 1. 143 (ms., M. H. S.), for 1847, noted that near the crossing of the paths that lead from the north entry of Hollis to the east entry of Holworthy, and from the west entry of Holworthy to the north entry of University, there was discovered underground 'an arch of bricks, very old shaped bricks. . . . It is conjectured that they indicate the locality of the old Indian College.'



ELIOT BIBLE AND INDIAN LIBRARY

The Cambridge printing press, which had been located in a room of the President's Lodging since about 1646,¹ was either given or sold to the College by President Dunster before his resignation. It appears as college property, valued 'with all its appurtenances' at £80,² in the inventory of December 1654.³ The press was still in the Lodge the following May, to the great annoyance of President Chauncy; but how soon thereafter he was relieved of its clatter cannot be determined. The first definite statement that the Indian College was being used to house the press occurs in Gookin's description of 1674. A 'Print-house,' as we have seen, was under construction as late as May 1655.⁴ It may of course have been abandoned, and the press shifted to the Indian College as soon as that unwanted structure was finished; but it may also have sojourned for a time in this special 'Print-house,' somewhere in the College Yard. The latter hypothesis seems more probable; and a likely date for the removal of the printing plant to the Indian College is 1659, when a new printing press and outfit arrived to be used for the Indian Bible.

The series of books in the Algonkian language, written or translated by John Eliot and printed at the charge of the 'New England Company,' were the most notable — and least useful — production of the press in this period. Samuel Green printed an Indian Primer, at a cost of £10, around 1654;⁵ and the next year, as a trial balloon for the Bible, there appeared Eliot's translation of the Book of Genesis. No copy of either has survived.

Three years later, Eliot wrote to the London Society that his translation of the entire Bible was finished. They had not yet

But Sibley afterwards drew a line through this entry. A survey of the College Yard in 1812 shows a privy at the exact point described.

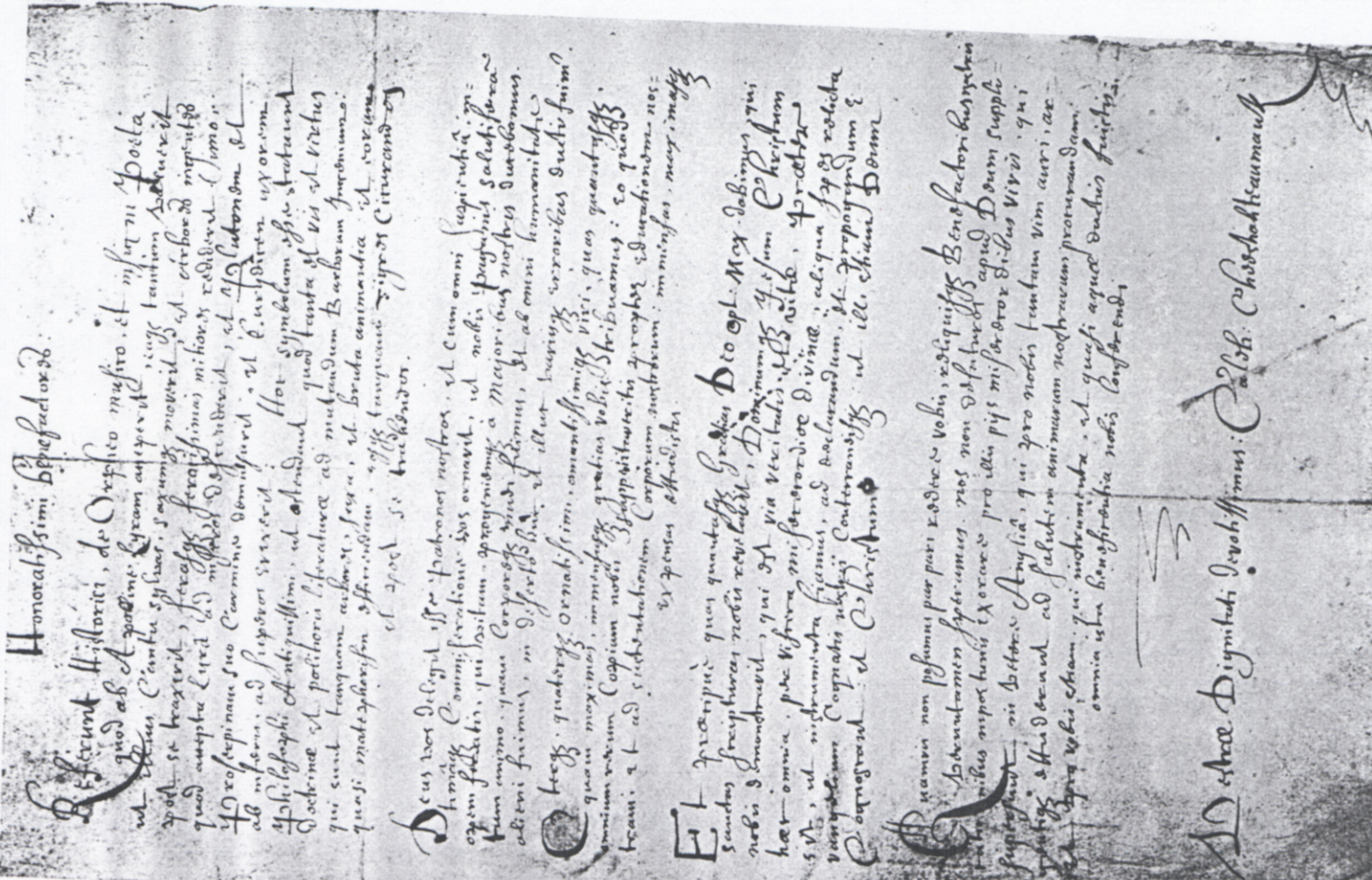
1. See *F. H. C.*, p. 346.

2. Stephen Day testified in 1656 that 'Mr Dunster sould the presse to the collidge upon his removal from thence' (*Proc. A. A. S.*, n. s. v. 297). Before his removal, he made a contract, advantageous to the College, with Samuel Green, who undertook at his own charge all labor and expenses of printing and repairs of the press, and received all profits from sales, allowing the College a royalty of 10s per sheet. *Some Correspondence*, p. 12.

3. *C. S. M.*, xv. 209.

4. Appendix A, doc. 6. Cf. p. 343 n.

5. *Proc. A. A. S.*, n. s. v. 302; Wilberforce Eames, *Bibl. Notes*, p. 1.



committed themselves to the expense of printing it; but as puritans they could not resist the logic that without the Bible, propagation of the Gospel would be a mere fraud. Governor Endecott and the Commissioners added their entreaties to Eliot's; and in 1659 the Society sent over a new press and enough brevier type to set up at the same time four pages of the Old Testament and four of the New. The new press was the property of the London Society, not of Harvard College; and President Chauncy complained that no rent or royalty had been paid the College for its productions, 'to which all impressions from the foundation of it belonge, together with the licensing, correcting, and oversight of bookes printed.'¹ It is interesting that Chauncy should have claimed this privilege for Harvard; but his line of reasoning appealed neither to Robert Boyle nor to the Commissioners, who justly observed that press and outfit belonged to the London Society, which also paid the printers' wages (and also, they might have observed, provided the 'overhead'). 'Yet nevertheless,' they wrote to the London Society, 'if you shall please to order any encouragement to the Colledge, on this or any other Consideration wee shall thankfully embrace it.'² It does not appear that the New England Company took the hint.

Sergeant Green had already printed one sheet of the Indian Bible, containing the first eight pages of Matthew, when in the summer of 1660 there arrived from England a competent but irresponsible young printer named Marmaduke Johnson, sent out at Eliot's request by the London Society to help the work forward. Johnson was given the privileges of a college servant,³ and Master Eliot sent an Indian convert to devil for him and for Green. The Bible proceeded slowly, at the rate of eight pages a week. At one point it seemed as if the whole thing would be given up, when the Restoration of 1660 invalidated the London Society's charter; but the New England Company was promptly reorganized, under a slightly different and even longer title, and with the Honorable Robert Boyle as Governor.⁴

1. November 2, 1664. Archives of New England Company; printed, with incorrect date, in *Some Correspondence*, p. 9.

2. *Id.* 13. Boyle's letter is *ibid.*, pp. 5-8.

3. *C. S. M.*, xv, 57, 59.

4. 'Society or Company for Propagation of the Gospell in New England, and the parts adjacent, in America.' The charter is printed in [H. W. Busk] *Sketch of Origin and Recent History of the New England Company* (1884), pp. 55-72.

Unpleasantness arose when Johnson, who had left a wife in England, violently wooed a Cambridge maid, one of the nineteen children of Sergeant Green, who sued him for this 'presumptuous and wicked attempt.' The Court tolerantly sentenced Johnson merely to pay Green £5 damages, and to return to England and his proper wife 'with the first opportunity that he may'—i.e. after the Bible was finished.¹ By the time that was done, President Chauncy was able to report that Marmaduke, 'though he hath bene in former times loose in his life and conversation, yet this last yeere he hath bene very much reformed.'²

Within a year of Johnson's arrival, the New Testament was finished; and the entire Bible of 1200 printed pages, a colossal task for this little hand press and small font of type, was ready in 1663. It was dedicated to Charles II, to whom a copy was presented by Robert Boyle. Unfortunately, diplomatic business interrupted the interview, so we shall never know what the Merry Monarch thought of the first Bible printed in his overseas dominions, or in the New World.

Typographically, the Indian Bible is a credit to the Cambridge press. The workmanship is good; the title-pages show an artistic appreciation of the use of type and of simple ornament. As to the quality of the translation, doubt has been expressed ever since Eliot's day as to whether his language could be understood by those for whom it was intended. J. Hammond Trumbull, a great scholar in the Indian languages, declared that Eliot's translation 'was probably as good as any *first* version that has been made, from his time to ours, in a previously unwritten and so-called "barbarous" language. It is certainly much better than some modern specimens of mission-translation.'³ The dialect used by Eliot was understood⁴ by Indians throughout central and eastern Massachusetts, in the Plymouth Colony, and on Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, where, a hundred years ago, some of the ancients were still reading their *Mamusse Wunnetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God*. Naturally er-

1. C. A. Duniway, *Development of Freedom of Press in Mass.* (Harvard Hist. Studies, xii, 1906), p. 44. Middlesex Court Records, Docket Book, Pulsifer transcript, i, 249-50.

2. *Some Correspondence*, p. 9. Johnson's wife eventually died, and he married the daughter of Goodman Cane, the college janitor and odd-job man.

3. J. Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (1880), i, 473.

4. As I have been assured by Professor Frank G. Speck of Pennsylvania, the leading living authority on Algonkian.

rors were made in translating words or ideas for which there was no near Indian equivalent. Throughout the Bible, wherever the word 'virgin' occurs, Eliot uses a word that means 'a chaste young man.' That was because chastity was accounted by the Indians a masculine virtue. They had a word for 'virgin,' but seldom any occasion to use it. No doubt it seemed much more suitable to the Indians to have the bridegroom met by ten 'chaste young men.'

OUTPUT OF THE COLLEGE PRESS

An embarrassing situation arose in 1665, when Johnson returned from a voyage to England with a press and type of his own,¹ with some new fonts for the New England Company's press in the Indian College, and with sole authority to manage that press. After vain attempts to obtain permission to open a printing establishment in Boston, Marmaduke set up his independent printery in Cambridge; but little business came his way. Most of his work was done at the Indian College, either as employé of the London Society, or in association with Green as college servant with the title College Printer.²

Marmaduke Johnson's bumptiousness and Sergeant Green's jealousy led to considerable squabbling over the press and outfit sent over in 1659. This was cleared up after 'Carolus Chancelus Coll: Harvar: Præses, cum Sociis, eorumque Consensu,' had appealed to the Honorable Mr. Boyle in a Latin letter, of which this paragraph gives the gist:

Itaque cum Typi nostri, et Characteres Collegii antiquiores, quos prius habuimus, diuturno usu valde attriti sunt, et ad usum Typographicum inepti sunt, id a vobis obnixè petimus, et ab indulgentia vestrà, ut Collegio nostro gratis ex dono vestre Magnificentie concedatis, Viz, Characteres et Literas typographicas, et ad Typographiam utensilia, tam quæ ad primam Impressionem Bibliorum transmisistis, quam quæ per Johnsonum Typographum vestrum postmodum ultro prioribus addidistis.³

1. At least so he regarded it; but his widow deposited in 1677 that he had borrowed the money for it from the New England Company, and the County Court ordered his executors to deliver it to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. Suit of the Commissioners v. Johnson's estate, June 19, 1677, Middlesex Court Records, Docket Book, Pulsifer transcript, III. 174, and mss. in Court Files.

2. C. S. M., xv. 57, 59; Samuel Sewall, *Diary*, I. 3.

3. October 27, 1669. Archives of N. E. Company; printed in *Some Correspondence*, p. 62.

In reply, the ever generous London Society ordered their entire printing outfit delivered to the Harvard Corporation on an indefinite loan, 'for the Colledge use and Improvement.'

In the meantime, most of the commercial printing at Cambridge continued to be done under college auspices, either by Green alone, or by Green in unwilling partnership with Johnson. During the years 1655-72, inclusive, there are known to have been issued from the Indian College presses about one hundred books and pamphlets, of which fifteen were in the Indian and eighty-five in the English language; and the number of broadsides and leaflets, of which all record is lost, must have been considerable. Of the English books, twenty-five were printed in the first half, and the other sixty in the second half of Chauncy's administration.⁴ Almost any day the students, when passing through the Yard, could peer through the windows of the Indian College, and watch the Indian 'devil' James Printer sweating at the hand lever, Marmaduke feeding in sheets of paper and removing them with that neat-fingered deftness of the trained printer, and Sergeant Green setting up type for the next sheet. The college printing office became a boon to Harvard alumni who had manuscripts to print, and to the reading public in New England; it even brought the College a little revenue.⁵

Routine work, such as annual theses, quæstiones, and almanacs; laws of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, and Connecticut; catechisms, primers, and psalm books, continued to come forth; as well as sundry original offshoots from colonial brains, which were no longer acceptable to publishers in England; and reprints of English books. For instance, Chauncy's 'Gods Mercy' (his Commencement sermon of 1655); election sermons by Norton, Mitchell, Higginson, Shepard, and Oakes; Richard Mather's 'Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester' (1657); controversial literature on the Half-Way Covenant; Davenport's (or Cotton's) 'Discourse About Civil Government' (1663);⁶ Norton's 'Three Choice

1. C. S. M., xv. 52 (Sept. 27, 1670). Cf. *Some Correspondence*, p. 35.

2. Count made in Evans's *American Bibliog.*; Johnson's separate imprints not included. For the other Indian books printed by Green and Johnson, see Wilberforce Eames, *op. cit.*

3. £20 from 1654 to 1663, according to Treasurer Danforth's accounts; C. S. M., xv. 213.

4. Isabel M. Calder, in *N. E. Q.*, III. 88, and C. S. M., xxviii. 91.

and Profitable Sermons' (1664); Shepard's 'Wine for Gospel Wantons: Or, Cautions Against Spirituall Drunkenness' (1668); Samuel Danforth's 'Astronomical Description of the late Comet or Blazing Star' (1665);¹ the Funeral Elegy on Governor Winthrop by 'Perciful Lowle,' first and worst of the Lowell poets;² John Cotton's 'Spiritual Milk for Babes in either England, drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments' (1658), which reached immortality in the New England Primer; Thomas Vincent's narrative of the great London plague and fire (1668); the Earl of Winchilsea's 'True and Exact Relation of the Late Prodigious Earthquake and Eruption of Mount Aetna' (1669); a local translation of Guy de Brès' *La Racine des Anabaptistes* (1668); Nathaniel Morton's 'New-England's Memoriall' (1669), the first history of an English colony to be printed in America; Increase Mather's 'Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather' (1670), the pioneer American biography; and Michael Wigglesworth's 'Day of Doom' (1662). In that epic of intense imagination and terrific implication, Green and Johnson captured a best seller. The entire edition of 1800 copies was sold out within a year; two more editions were called for within the decade; and for a century more it continued to be reprinted and sold in both Englands.³

By 1662, the Harvard press had become important enough to stimulate the General Court to pass an act which begins the long and inglorious history of book censorship in Massachusetts. 'For prevention of irregularities and abuse to the authority of this country by the printing presse, it is ordered, that henceforth no copie shall be printed but by the allowance first had and obtained vnder the hands of Captain Daniel Gookin and Mr Jonathan Mitchel.'⁴ Exactly what abuses were apprehended is not clear.⁵ The Quakers, who were pestering the

1. See Chapter X.

2. Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1869), II, 465-67. The unique copy of this broadside (n.d. but before 1665) is in the 'Winthrop Book of Deeds,' M. H. S.

3. F. O. Matthiessen, 'Michael Wigglesworth, a Puritan Artist,' *N. E. Q.*, I, 490-504, esp. p. 492.

4. *Mass. Bay Recs.*, iv, part. ii, 62. An earlier censorship bill had been passed by the Deputies, but rejected by the Magistrates. 2 *Proc. M. H. S.*, xi, 246-47.

5. C. A. Duniway in *Development of Freedom of the Press in Mass.*, p. 43, suggests that Chauncy's position against the Half-Way Covenant had aroused apprehension, and that this also explains the discourtesy of not including him among the licensers.

Colony that year, could hardly have broken through President Chauncy's guard. Possibly it was feared that Marmaduke Johnson might branch out into amorous balladry, or that John Reyner and his witty classmates would publish some of their mock theses.¹ In May 1663 the danger was presumed to be over, and the censorship was raised; but two years later, coincident with Marmaduke's returning from a voyage to England with a new press of his own, and proposing to set up for himself at Boston, the General Court forbade any printing to be done outside Cambridge, and appointed a new licensing board, consisting of Chauncy, Mitchell, Thomas Shepard (A.B. 1653), and John Sherman, the minister of Watertown.² We do not know what this board may have prohibited; possibly some plays or romances that Johnson would have liked to try on this virgin market—for he was brought up short for publishing Henry Nevile's fictitious travel book 'The Isle of Pines' without licence. In one instance, the licensers' permission to print was overridden by the General Court. A translation of the famous *Imitatio Christi* was already in press, in 1669, when the General Court, on 'being informed that there is now in the presse, reprinting, a booke, title Imitations of Christ, or to that purpose, written by Thomas a Kempis, a Popish minister, wherein is conteyned some things that are less safe to be infused among the people of this place,' recommended to the licensers 'the more full revisall thereof, and that in the meane time there be no further progresse in that worke.'³ President Chauncy and his committee declined to be responsible for an expurgated version, and the Imitation of Christ did not appear in Massachusetts. This incident portended many such clashes, in years to come, between an educated and comparatively liberal university community and a jealous and narrow-minded legislature.

After 1675, when John Foster (A.B. 1667) had established a new printing office in Boston, the business of the college press began to fall off. Five years later our Dutch visitors found nobody in the printing room of the dilapidated Indian College. A glass window had been replaced by a paper sash, and this

But Chauncy had merely taken the respectable, ultra-conservative sort of position, which is seldom denied freedom of the press.

1. See Chapter VII, and Appendix B.

2. 2 *Proc. M. H. S.*, xi, 243.

3. *Mass. Bay Recs.*, iv, part ii, 424.

too was broken; they peered through, and 'saw two presses with six or eight cases of type,' which impressed them not.¹

The press was not abandoned, however. That same year (1680), Green brought out the *Wusku Wuttestamentum* or New Testament of the second edition of the Indian Bible, and the whole Bible reappeared in 1685. Typographically it was inferior to the first edition; Marmaduke Johnson was missed, and the type that he had carried off and sold, still more so. In 1691 Samuel Green took into partnership his son Bartholomew, who was soon to set up for himself; and after publishing Cotton Mather's 'Ornaments for the Daughters of Zion' in 1692, the college press quietly folded up.² It had served the community well as the only press in all the English Colonies for almost forty years; and it had maintained sound typographical standards. Almost every printing and publishing house in New England can trace its ancestry to the little college 'printery' operated by the Days and the Greens.

INDIAN STUDENTS

The earliest Indian college student of whom we have any record came to Harvard too early to live in the Indian College. This was John Sassamon, a disciple of John Eliot who eventually became scribe and interpreter to King Philip. It was the murder of Sassamon by order of his chief, after he had betrayed Philip's designs to the English, that precipitated the Indian war. A pamphlet published at London in 1675, 'The Present State of New England,' by a merchant of Boston who signed himself 'N. S.', begins 'About five or six Years since, there was brought up (amongst others) an Indian in the Colledge at Cambridge, named Sosoman'; it proceeds to tell the story of Sassamon's treachery and murder.³ Five or six years is certainly inaccu-

1. See Chapter XXI.

2. Mather's *Daughters of Zion* was the last book printed in Cambridge until 1800, when William Hilliard set up a printing establishment. During 1775-76, the *New-England Chronicle*; or, *The Essex Gazette* was printed at Cambridge, and in Stoughton College. S. A. Green, *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions* (Boston, 1902), p. 17.

3. Reprinted in *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (Charles H. Lincoln, ed., 1913), p. 24. The same statement is found in the second edition of *The Present State* (London, 1676), copy in M. H. S. Although Increase Mather wrote his *Brief History of the War* in part to correct the errors in *The Present State*, he does not deny Sassamon's Harvard connection; and the statement is repeated in T. Hutchinson, *Hist. of Mass. Bay*, 2d ed., i. 285, and in Francis Baylies, *Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth* (1830), ii. part iii. 25-26.

rate, since Sassamon by 1670 was a man of forty-five to fifty years old, and had permanently taken up his abode with the Wampanoags. A Massachusetts Indian, born at Ponkapoag under the shadow of the Great Blue Hill, he had served with the English in the Pequot War, helped John Eliot to translate the Bible,¹ and taught for a time at Natick, before entering the service of Alexander, Philip's brother. One would be inclined to discount the story of Sassamon's Harvard affiliation were it not for the fact that in the college Steward's accounts, under the debits of John Eliot, Jr. (A.B. 1656), is found this entry for the quarter ending in December 1653: 'by Sasaman' 7s 7d 1q.² It seems likely, then, that the Apostle Eliot sent Sassamon to Harvard for a term or more, to brush up on Divinity before preaching at Natick. He probably lived in the village, and spent the seven shillings sevenpence farthing for sizings at the college buttery.

According to 'N. S.', Sassamon was not the only Harvard man at King Philip's court. In the fight at Pocasset Swamp near Fall River, in July 1675, there 'were killed King Philip's Brother, his Privy Councillor, (being one formerly Educated at Cambridge) and one of his chief Captains; the Heads of which three were afterwards brought to Boston.'³ Other contemporary references to this Harvardian 'Privy Councillor' are wanting. He is the Unknown Soldier of King Philip's War.

About the time that the Indian College was ready for occupancy, the Commissioners for the United Colonies began sending 'hopeful young plants' to Cambridge; but records show that most, if not all, were being schooled, probably with the intention of entering Harvard, by Elijah Corlet, master of the Cambridge Grammar School.⁴ The ranks of those candidates

1. Samuel G. Drake, *Book of the Indians* (1841), book iii. 9-13; Herbert M. Sylvester, *Indian Wars of New England* (1910), ii. 229-30.

2. C. S. M., xxxi. 150.

3. *Narratives of the Indian Wars* (Lincoln ed.), p. 31. Misquoted in Hutchinson (*Hist. of Mass. Bay*, 2d ed., i. 291 n.) as 'a brother of Philip's, a privy-councillor and chief captain, who had been educated at Harvard college, was killed in this fight.' Samuel G. Drake believes that 'N. S.' confused two fights, and can find no trace of the P. C. *Old Indian Chronicle* (1867), pp. 133-34 n., 148 n.; *Book of the Indians* (1841), book iii. 28 n.

4. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 262-63, and see index. Apparently about twenty Indians were studying under Corlet at Cambridge or Daniel Weld at Roxbury, between 1655 and 1672. Corlet's pupils were examined by President Chauncy at Commencement 1659, and 'gaue good Satisfaction' to him and the Overseers 'conserning their growth in the knowledge of the lattin tongue.' *Id.* 217.

for admission were relentlessly thinned by tuberculosis, 'hectic fevers,' and other ills consequent on the change in their diet and mode of living.¹ Absence of any names of aborigines, except Sassamon's, in the extant Steward's accounts, seems proof presumptive that no Indian entered upon the regular college course for the A.B. before 1660, when these accounts end; and I have been unable to find definite evidence of more than four having entered college thereafter, during the seventeenth century.²

The first of this unfortunate group, variously known as Caleb Chiscarui, Cheeschaumuck, Cheeschaumuk, Cheshchaamog, and Checshahteaumuck, holds the solitary distinction of representing his race among colonial Harvard graduates.³ The second was Caleb's classmate Joel Iacoomis, as he signs himself on a fly-leaf of a Comenius *Janua Linguarum* that he owned in college.⁴ Governor Winthrop of Connecticut in 1663 sent to the Honorable Robert Boyle, Governor of the New England Company, two complimentary addresses from Joel and Caleb — 'the writing is with their owne hands' — together with the assurance that he had heard 'ready answers from them in latin to many questions . . . propounded to them in that language,' and that he had heard them 'expresse severall sen-

1. 'One of the Indian youths at Cambridg died this summer, the other foure, proceed in their learning to very good encouragement so we are informed from thence by Mr Danforth with whom they sojourne. Two youths at Roxbury that were initiated with mr Wells died also this sommer (in which hath beene much mortality amongst the Indians) the other two are yet with him. These are all at present that are maintained at our charge, who have so much exercise of their owne language, as there is no feare or danger of their forgetting it.' Commissioners to Richard Baxter, Sept. 10, 1660, Baxter Miss. (Dr. Williams Library, London), iv. 206.

2. A monitor's bill for the year 1663-64, printed in Franklin B. Dexter, *Historical Papers* (1918), p. 1, and *Proc. M. H. S.*, x. 403, shows two Indians, Cheeshahteaumuck and Iacoomis, in the Class of 1665; but none in the other three classes. The *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 277, show charges of £44 12s 3d for two Indian freshmen — undoubtedly the same two — in college in 1661-62 and £19 12s 6d for their books. The United Colonies' own Report to the London Society in 1663 (*id.* 294) mentions two in the College, and five at 'Inferior scooles.' The Bay Colony's report to the Royal Commissioners in May 1665 says, 'there are eight Indian youths [at Cambridge], one whereof is in the college, and ready to commence batchiler of art, besides another . . . murdered by the Indians at Nantucket; and at other schools some ready to come into the college.' *Mass. Bay Recs.*, v. 108-99. The Royal Commissioners evidently visited the College at this very time, when Caleb was not yet B.A. and Joel *fuit*. Even Daniel Gookin could 'remember but only two of them all, that lived at the college at Cambridge; the one named Joel, the other, Caleb.' *1 Coll. M. H. S.*, i. 173.

3. Sibley, II. 201-04.
4. *G. S. M.*, XXI. 186.

tences in Greek also.¹ Caleb's address to his 'most honoured benefactors,' still preserved in the archives of the Royal Society in London, is here reproduced in text and facsimile:

Honoratissimi benefactores

Referunt Historici, de Orptheo musico, et insigni Poeta quod ab Apolline Lyram accepit, eaque tantum valuerit ut illius Cantu sylvas, saxumque moverit, et Arbores ingentes post se traxerit, ferasque ferocissimas mitiores reddiderit imo, quod accepta Lyrâ ad inferos descenderit, et Plutonium et Proserpinam suo Carmine demulsuerit, et Eurydicen uxorem ab inferis ad superos erexit: Hoc symbolum esse statuunt Philosophi Antiquissimi, ut ostendant quod tanta et vis et virtus doctrinæ et politioris literature ad mutandum Barbarorum Ingenium: qui sunt tanquam arbores, saxa, et bruta animantia: et eorum quasi metaphorsin efficiendam, eosque tanquam Tigres Citurandos et post se trahendos.

Deus vos delegit esse Patronos nostros, et cum omni sapientiâ, intimâque Commiseratione vos ornavit, ut nobis Paganis salutiferam opem feratis, qui vitam, progenjemque à Majoribus nostris ducebamus. Tam animo, quam Corporeque nudi fuimus, et ab omni humanitate alieni fuimus, in deserto huc et illuc variisque erroribus ducti fuimus. O terque, quaterque ornatissimi, amantissimique viri, quas quantasque, quam maximas, immensusque gratias vobis tribuimus: eo quod omnium rerum Copiam nobis suppeditaveritis propter educationem nostram; et ad sustentationem Corporum nostrorum: immensas, maximasque expensas effudistis.

Et præcipuè quas quantasque Gratias Deo Opt: Max. dabimus, qui sanctas scripturas nobis revelavit, Dominumque Jesum Christum nobis demonstravit, qui est via veritatis et vitæ, præter hæc omnia, per viscera misericordiæ divinæ, aliqua spes relicta sit, ut instrumenta fiamus, ad declarandum, et propogandum evangelium Cognatis nostris Conterraneisque ut illi etiam Deum cognoscant et Christum.

Quamvis non posumus per pari redere vobis, reliquisque Benefactoribus nostris veruntamen speramus. nos non defuturos apud Deum supplicationibus importunis exorare pro illis pijs misericordibus viris, qui supersunt in vetere Angliâ, qui pro nobis tantam vim auri, argentique effuderunt ad salutem animarumstrarum procurandam: et pro vobis etiam, qui instrumenta, et quasi aquæ ductus fuistis: omnia ista beneficentia nobis Conferendi

Vestree Dignitati devotissimus:

CALEB: CHEESHAHTEAUMAUK.

The fate of these two Indian youths, educated with such pains and at such cost, was tragic. Joel, not long before the Commencement of his class, made a visit to his kindred at Martha's Vineyard. On the passage home his vessel was cast away on Nantucket; and those whom the sea spared were 'murdered by some wicked Indians of that place. . . Thus perished our hopeful young prophet Joel.' Sir Cheeshahcaumuck contracted tuberculosis the first winter after his graduation, and died within a few months, although 'he wanted not for the best means the country could afford, both for food and physick.'

In communicating the news of Joel's death and Caleb's illness in September 1665, the Commissioners remarked that six Indians were in school with Weld and Corlet, and 'one is lately entered into the Colledge a towardly lad and apt witt for a scholler.' In a copy of Cicero *de Officiis* (London, 1629), which also belonged to two members of the Apostle Eliot's family, is found the inscription 'John Wompowess His Booke 1665.' On the fly-leaf opposite, someone has drawn a crude sketch of a meetinghouse, with the legend 'John Savage his meeting house the king of it I say.' It seems likely that John was the 'apt witt' just entered freshman, and that one of his classmates was responsible for the jibe.

If we have identified him correctly, this 'apt witt' was John Wampus or Wompas, a Nipmuc sagamore from Hassanamesit (Grafton, Massachusetts), already a man grown, and married. If he did attend Harvard, John had the wit to leave early, instead of remaining to die; for in September 1666 we find him buying for £78 a neat little house and lot facing Boston Common, on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral. John Wampus is generally described in contemporary documents as a mariner, but he was ashore often enough to get into the Suffolk County Court for drunkenness, and also to appear as plaintiff against his wife, who gave him a severe beating on one of these occasions. The close of King Philip's War found John ingloriously in Boston jail for debt; but there his freshman English proved useful. A well-worded 'humble Petition of John Wampus alias

1. Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections* (1 *Coll. M. H. S.*, I. 173); *Some Correspondence*, pp. 13-14.

2. *Some Correspondence*, p. 14. The freshman of 1665 may, however, be the 'Job (one of your Schollars at Cambridge)' appointed to the Praying Indian town in Marlborough, according to Eliot's letter of Sept. 6, 1669 (*id.* 28; name confirmed by Archives of N. E. Company).

White' crossed the seas 'to the King's Most Excellent Majesty,' alleging that his loyal subject, a gentleman of large landed estates, had been basely imprisoned for a mere fifty shillings, and praying his gracious Sovereign to issue a royal command to 'Sir John Leverett Knight Governor of Massij Chussitt Bay' that he be released forthwith. Petitions from Indians were sufficiently rare at Whitehall to receive prompt attention; and on August 22, 1676, Carolus Rex commanded his 'trusty and welbeloved' Governor of the Massachusetts Bay that John Wampus *alias* White 'may have Justice done him and what favour the matter will fairly beare.' But Governor Leverett knew Wampus only too well — his son Hudson lived next door — and the resourceful John managed to regain his liberty only by breaking jail. Prudently he went to sea for a few months, until the matter blew over. Upon his return he set up as roving realtor in the Nipmuc country and made several successful sales of property, including the entire township of Sutton, eight miles square, that was not his. Thenceforth he seems to have prospered.

Only one other Indian student can be found who attended Harvard during the life of the Indian College. This was Eleazar, of the Class of 1679. He died before graduation, but not before producing an elegiac poem in Latin and Greek on the death of the Reverend Thomas Thacher.²

John and Thomas Stanton, the two probationer fellows, had as little success as the Indians. Thomas, if he actually entered Harvard, did not stay long; but John became a sort of permanent undergraduate, receiving annual stipends of £20 to £25 from the New England Company from 1658 to

1. R. M. Lawrence, *The Site of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1916), pp. 39-52; *C. S. M.*, xxix. 267, 330, xxx. 1056; 5 *Coll. M. H. S.*, ix. 138-39; Suffolk Court Files, 1642, 2426; Suffolk Deeds, libri v-xiii (see indexes). His petition to the King, which bears every evidence of having been written in his own hand, is in the Public Record Office, C. O. 1/37. 174; the answer by one of the King's secretaries (4 *Coll. M. H. S.*, II. 223) is carelessly addressed to 'Sir John Leverett, Knight,' as Wampus had described the Governor from his own imagination, in the petition. This has been relied upon by Leverett family historians to prove that the Governor had lately been knighted! (*N. E. H. G. R.*, xxxv. 272-74, 350-53.)

2. *Magnalia*, book III. 153; the Greek part is printed above, p. 196. An English phrase in heroic couplets may be found in *The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle* (Boston, 1744), I. 166-67. Only one other Indian is known to have entered Harvard in the colonial period — Benjamin Larnel of the Class of 1716, 'An Acute Grammarian, an Extraordinary Latin Poet, and a good Greek one,' according to President Leverett. He, too, died in college. Sibley, II. 202-03.

1663,¹ despite repeated admissions from the Commissioners for idleness and 'miscarriages' such as 'slinging of stones at Mr Stedmans glass Windows . . . as also of giving base and filthy language.'² Finally the Commissioners, despairing of ever being able 'to Reap in due time the fruite of their charges,' turned Stanton away. The burden of Caleb's and Joel's instruction fell upon President Chauncy.

Stanton's worthlessness was so notorious that in 1664 President Chauncy asked for a new Indian tutorial system. Schoolmasters and college tutors who 'have to deal with such nasty salvages' (so, with singular tactlessness, he wrote to Robert Boyle) should have a 'fit salary' in return for their 'greater care and diligent inspection: as it used to bee in Colleges in universities in the education of fellow Commoners which in Oxford hath bene no lesse than 2*li* by the quarter.'³ One imagines Robert Boyle and the Council of the New England Company smiling at this somewhat forced analogy between 'nasty salvages' and gentleman-commoners of Oxford. Possibly they replied that it would be time to think of a new tutorial system when the college authorities caught a few more Indian pupils. The next letter that the London company received from New England told of the murder of Joel, and the impending death of Caleb.

If the Indians could not absorb higher learning to any advantage, and if their tutors also proved wanting, something might be done at Harvard to train white missionaries to the Indians; at least so thought President Chauncy. Before he became President, the Lady Dorothy Cecil left by will £200 to him and to John Cotton 'hoping that they will improve it, to further the conversion of the Indians.' Chauncy laid out half the sum in a farm on the Brighton side of the Charles, which paid £12 rent for a time, and invested £30 in an 'adventure to Cape fere,' which he never saw again. When called to account for Lady Cecil's bequest, in 1664, all he could show for it was £26 paid to help through college John Holmes of the Class of 1662, and one other student unnamed, on the express

1. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 167, 189, 206, 207, 219, 252, 265, 277, 288-89, 296. He appears to have lived with Corlet; his name does not occur in the Steward's accounts.

2. Middlesex Court Records, Docket Book, Pulsifer transcript, 1. 187. Session of October 4, 1659.

3. November 2, 1664. Archives of New England Company; printed in *Some Correspondence*, p. 10.

stipulation that they study the Algonkian language and prepare themselves for missionary work. 'But both of them failed me in this greate designe,' he sadly admits.¹

DECLINE AND LIQUIDATION

As early as 1656, when the Indian College was not more than a year old, President Chauncy began to hint that Harvard could find better use for it than to house Indians, and the Commissioners for the United Colonies cheerfully accorded him permission to 'Improve the said building to accomodate some English Students.'² And after 1665 it was 'principally improved for to accomodate English scholars,' as Gookin admitted.³ In the absence of records we cannot tell who roomed there or what the study rents were; the building was not even kept in proper repair, and after the completion of Old Harvard Hall in 1677, only the printing room seems to have been occupied.

In 1692, when Samuel Green concluded his long and faithful labors at the college press, and the Corporation declined to compete with the new printing offices in Boston, the Indian College became merely a deserted and unsightly reminder of a noble experiment that had failed. The Corporation in 1693 voted that it be taken down, provided the charge exceed not £5; but found no takers. As soon as the building of Stoughton College was foreseen, President and Fellows wrote to London asking permission, since the Indian College 'is gone to decay and become altogether Uselesse,' to use its bricks for the new building, provided that any Indians who entered Harvard in future 'should enjoy their Studies rent free in said building.' Permission was granted; a contract was made with the builder of Stoughton to take the old structure off their hands; and in 1698, records Samuel Sewall, 'the old Brick Colledge, commonly called the *Indian* Colledge, is pull'd down to the ground.'⁴

1. 'The testimony of Mr Charles Chauncy of Cambridge,' Sept. 27, 1664, and 'A Faithful Relation of the Account of Charles Chauncy,' mss. owned by Mrs. Francis R. Stoddard, of New York. Holmes did not graduate, but became minister of Duxbury. Cf. his accounts in *C. S. M.*, xxxi. 269.

2. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, x. 168.

3. *id.* 190.

4. *C. S. M.*, xv. pp. lxxxii-lxxxiv.

The permission was renewed for another year in 1657;

So ended in a heap of bricks the first serious attempt of the English to provide university education for American Indians. It was a failure, even more pathetic than costly. Even now one reflects with sorrow on poor Joel, Caleb, and Eleazar, imbued with ambition to be the schoolmasters and saviors of their people, toiling against every healthy instinct of their race to achieve that proficiency in the Seven Arts and Learned Tongues without which, so their white masters insisted, they could never qualify as purveyors of regenerating grace. Yet in spite of this example, the same experiment was later tried on a much larger scale by Eleazar Wheelock, and met with failure equally conclusive.