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The Brafferton Estate: Harvard, William and Mary, and Religion in the Early Modern English Atlantic World

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The Brafferton Estate: Harvard, William and Mary, and Religion in the Early Modern
English Atlantic World

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A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Lyon G. Tyler Department of History

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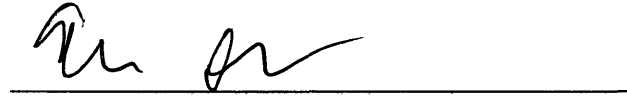
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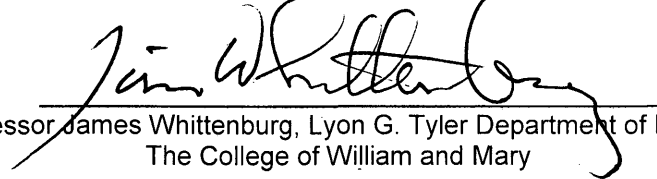
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ABSTRACT

Natural philosopher Robert Boyle is perhaps best known for his contributions to modern science, but his connections within the seventeenth-century English Atlantic world made possible another significant legacy: the funding of both the “Indian College” at Harvard and the Brafferton School for Native Americans at the College of William and Mary. In his will, Boyle requested funds be allocated to “charitable purposes,” especially converting Native Americans to Christianity. After his death, his executors used the funds to purchase the Brafferton Estate in Yorkshire. Of the rents generated by this estate, the New England Company and Harvard received a fixed amount, and the remaining rents were allocated to William and Mary. While this is a familiar story, scholars have left certain questions about this estate unanswered. Given the intense religious conflicts of seventeenth-century Britain, that an Anglican institution in Virginia and a staunchly Puritan institution in Massachusetts drew funding from the same source demands an explanation that scholars have not yet provided. What forces in the English Atlantic world were capable of bringing Anglicans and Puritans into the same orbit? By examining the records, correspondence, and account books in the Brafferton Estate Papers, I demonstrate that overlapping financial interests, connections amongst the English colonial elite, and shared attitudes about religious “others” made this connection between seventeenth-century William and Mary and Harvard possible.

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Introduction

The last governor of the Dominion of New England, Edmund Andros, spent the winter of 1688-1689 in Fort Charles, Pemaquid, Maine, securing the fringes of the Dominion from both French and Native incursions. He received news directly from James II in January of the escalation of tensions in England. By March, rumors of revolution reached the remote Maine fort. It would not be long before, emboldened by the Glorious Revolution, Bostonians would openly rebel against Andros and all other Anglican authorities of the Dominion. Shortly after, Andros returned from Maine to Boston and attempted his escape, but was finally arrested by Puritan rebels.

The short-lived Dominion of New England, created in 1686, dramatically altered both the power structure and geopolitical landscape of British North America. It brought together and nullified the original colonial governments of New York, Massachusetts Bay including its Maine territory, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; Plymouth and New Haven would never be discrete colonies again, later integrated into Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, respectively, after the Dominion's dissolution. Yet the transformations that resulted from the Dominion were not limited to geopolitics. To New England colonists, especially Puritan Bostonians, Andros stood for all the Dominion government's corruption and Anglicanism. As governor, he shut down town meetings, attempted to bolster the influence of the Anglican church in the new colonial government, and was perceived as having an inappropriate influence over the colony's intellectual center, Harvard College. Furthermore, as a high Anglican, Puritans anxious about Native incursions accused Andros of colluding in a Popish plot to undermine New England's Calvinist Protestant stronghold.¹ Tensions over the religious future of Britain—and the British

¹ Mary Lou Lustig, *The Imperial Executive in America: Sir Edmund Andros, 1637-1714* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 2002), chapters 8 and 9. For further reading on the 1689 Boston Revolt, see Owen Stanwood, *The*

Atlantic—raged on both shores. To say the least, religion and politics ran hot in the seventeenth-century British Atlantic.

Once the political situation cooled, Andros finally returned to English colonial America from London a few short years later, taking up the position of governor of Virginia and settling in Middle Plantation, later the site of Williamsburg, in 1692, safely ensconced amongst fellow Anglicans, albeit with some interpersonal tensions. “Despite his humiliation in Boston,” Andros “emerged as a shrewd bureaucratic survivor in the ashes of the Stuart dynasty.”² But before Andros left London for Virginia, the Reverend James Blair arrived in London from Virginia, hoping to secure funding for a fledgling college project in the colony. Blair, an Anglican Scottish clergyman, served as the rector for the Henrico Parish, which had seen its attempt at a college and Native American education in the colonies end in the Indian Massacre of 1622 seventy years earlier. In 1690, Bishop of London Henry Compton named him Commissary of the colony.

Blair arrived in London with a goal, but not an entirely formulated plan. The Virginia General Assembly appointed Blair to obtain the charter and funds, but left the instructions vague and the details to him. He needed an audience with the recently ascended monarchs King William III and Queen Mary II, but he also understood that obtaining a secure source of funding first would help his case. The college would need financial backing, but when he left London for Virginia, he did not yet know where that funding would come from at the onset.³ Fortunately for Blair, he was in the right place at the right time. Blair connected with the executors of the estate

Empire Reformed: English America in the Age of the Glorious Revolution (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) and Stephen Saunders Webb, *Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998).

² Eric Nellis, *An Empire of Regions: A Brief History of Colonial British America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), p. 143.

³ For further background on Blair's securing of funds in London, see Thad W. Tate, “Colonial College, 1693-1782” in Susan H. Godson et al., *The College of William and Mary: A History* (Williamsburg, VA: King and Queen Press, 1993); Daniel Esten Motley, *Life of Commissary James Blair, Founder of William and Mary College* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1901), p. 25-28.

of Robert Boyle. Boyle, a well-known natural philosopher, member of the Royal Society, the New England Company, and son of Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, left all funds after the settlement of debts and other uses specified in the will, to “pious and charitable uses” up to the discretion of his executors. Boyle’s executors established “The Charity of the Honorable Robert Boyle of the City of London Deceased” by purchasing the Brafferton Estate in Yorkshire. Blair managed to get an audience with the executors and secured the residue of the rents from the estate for his college project, provided that the funds were used to educate Native Americans in Virginia.⁴ Finally, after guaranteeing funds, Blair obtained a royal charter for the college, named The College of William and Mary for the monarchs who undersigned its inception. Blair returned to the tidewater with copies of the charter. He gave Edmund Andros, now governor of Virginia, a personal copy.⁵

As Andros learned of the new college’s relationship to Robert Boyle’s estate, he would have quickly become aware of the estate’s relationship to another institution with Indian education in mind. Between the failure of the Henricus College and Blair’s enthusiasm to try again for a college in Virginia, another college project had come to fruition during the mid-seventeenth century. Of the funds generated by the Brafferton, Boyle’s executors allocated £90 per year to the Company for Propagating the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in North America, commonly called the New England Company by contemporaries, £45 of which supported the Indian education and missionary efforts of Harvard College.⁶ In other words, the College of William and Mary dipped into the same coffers as the very people who had chased Andros from New England and toppled his Dominion government to begin with. A testament to

⁴ Brafferton Estate Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, the College of William and Mary, Series I, Box 3, Folder 1, “Rules and Methods for Disposition of Rents and Profits.”

⁵ For a more complete treatment of the charter and its contemporary copies, see Frank B. Evans, *The Story of the Royal Charter of the College of William and Mary* (Williamsburg, VA: Botetourt Publications, 1978).

⁶ BEC, Series I, Box 3, Folder 1, “Rules and Methods...”

Blair's prowess and connections, William and Mary secured the lion's share of estate funds; the residue of the rents was often far higher than the New England Company's fixed annual sum. However, that these institutions shared funding at all is remarkable. Andros was not the only elite Virginian with both ties to William and Mary and fresh memories of the Boston revolt; Francis Nicholson, named as a member of the Board of Visitors in the charter, had been lieutenant governor of the Dominion of New England during the crisis and followed Andros to Virginia again in the capacity of lieutenant governor until 1692. While Andros was present on the northern hinterlands of the Dominion of New England during the chaos, Nicholson was in New York, attempting to prevent the rebellion from spreading west.

From this, one would expect bitter reactions from both Virginians and Bostonians toward this arrangement. How could these two institutions possibly draw funding from the same source without protest or resentment? And yet, despite these expectations, they apparently did share funds without even a murmur. The documentary record of the Brafferton Estate certainly demonstrates tensions, but primarily local ones amongst the colonial elite in Virginia and Massachusetts respectively. If men involved in either the founding of William and Mary or the administration of Harvard in the 1690s resented sharing funds with the other, they apparently did not spill ink over the issue. How is it possible that these two institutions, founded on opposing religious and political ideologies, entered into this relationship without complaint? What forces working in the early modern English Atlantic made this arrangement possible? In the face of the bitter religious and political strife of the seventeenth-century British Atlantic, I argue that the explanation for Puritan Harvard and Anglican William and Mary's indirect financial association is threefold: Andros, Blair, Boyle, and a host of other elite English or Anglo-American men occupied an elite social network contingent upon charity and missionary organizations that

transcended denominational boundaries, that that elite social network was possible in the context of a movement away from conflict between Protestants, especially Anglicans and Dissenters, to a convergence of a unified Protestant front against Catholic nations, and that conversion of Native Americans to a form of Protestant Christianity and English culture was crucial to this interdenominational push for Protestantism to triumph in the New World.

The papers in the Brafferton Estate Collection support this explanation both in the language of civilization and Christianity used in correspondence and other documents and in the ways that Brafferton funds were spent by the institutions that benefitted from it. The Brafferton Estate Collection is divided into two series: the first series is papers related to the Brafferton Estate in possession of the College of William and Mary. The sources in this series are well-trodden and are available digitally via the Digital Archive at the Special Collections Research Center in Swem Library. For this set of sources, rather than bringing substantial new documentary evidence to light, I relate these sources to larger historiographies that previous scholars have not, in many cases simply because the particular historiographical apparatus I use to analyze them did not yet exist at the time of that scholar's writing.

While the first series consists of material at William and Mary related to the Estate, the second series consists of images of materials from various archives in the United Kingdom related to the Brafferton Estate. Significantly, this series is largely made up of account books of the Estate, but also includes other papers relevant to the Estate such as appeals to the Lord Chancellor and correspondence between men such as James Blair, Francis Nicholson, and Alexander Spotswood. Historians and other scholars have not yet considered the material in this series simply because few scholars have written about the Brafferton Estate since Swem Library acquired the UK material in the late 1990s and early 2000s. This additional material not only

buttresses themes evident in the sources in the first series, but also gives us substantially more information about the actual finances of the Estate than does the scant information in the first series.

Taken together, both series in the collection contain primarily two types of evidence. The first type of evidence is correspondence, legal documents, meeting minutes, promotional tracts, and other manuscript sources in the Brafferton Estate Collection. For this set of sources, I examine the language used related to Christianity and place it in a larger context of religious trends in the British Atlantic at this time. Scholars writing on the Brafferton Estate often quote the documents' use of terms like "orthodox," "civilization," or "Christian religion," but no historians have yet acknowledged the significance of both Anglicans and Puritans using a shared lexicon of Protestant Christianity writ large. I integrate these uses of language to describe Christianity by two opposing factions within the broader context of the early modern British religious landscape. These sources demonstrate the shared ideological undercurrents of both colleges' religious persuasions.

The next type of evidence is financial: invoices and account books. The methodology used for much of the Brafferton Estate is analyzing correspondence, promotional tracts, and other written materials, but the UK material is largely comprised of account books for the Brafferton Estate. A full analysis of those account books with an eye for economic history remains to be written, but I comment on basic features of the account books in order to speak to their political and economic context. Many historians have noted that the New England Company received £90 annually and correctly noted that William and Mary received the residual rents, but none have commented on the striking disparity that that arrangement creates. In fact, few even make the distinction that Harvard College only received half of that £90 sum. Scholars'

lack of precision when discussing the Brafferton Estate's funding of both colleges' Indian schools means that the historiography does not give a clear picture of just how much more money William and Mary was receiving relative to the New England Company and Harvard. The UK account books do make clear the drastically unbalanced nature of this relationship, and it was substantial. In some years, William and Mary's Indian school brought in sums as high as eight times the £45 that went to Harvard. A full quantitative analysis of the account books from the UK material in the Brafferton Estate Collection is not the aim of this thesis, but they give us a more complete understanding of how this estate functioned and demonstrate the arrangements that made it possible.

The histories of William and Mary, of Harvard, of their Indian schools, and even of the Brafferton Estate itself are well documented. The record is so complete that little scholarship on any of these topics has been produced in the past thirty years. However, since scholars have traversed the Brafferton Estate Collection and other primary sources related to the colleges' early histories, many new historiographical trends have emerged in historians' conceptualization of British colonial America. Since the last serious scholarly treatments of the Brafferton Estate, the Atlantic world paradigm has altered traditional perceptions of British colonial America, emphasizing transatlantic connections and a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between colony and metropole.⁷ Understanding Harvard College, the College of William and Mary, and the Brafferton Estate in an Atlantic world context brings to light not only the interconnectedness of all three in a British context, but also as they exist in an Atlantic world crowded with competing empires and peoples vying for financial and cultural capital.

⁷ For an overview of Atlantic world historiography, see Allison Games, "Introductions, Definitions, and Historiography: What is Atlantic History?" *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (April 2004), pp. 3-7.

The historiography of the College of William and Mary has largely been driven by local and institutional interests, but has produced a significant body of work to draw from in detailing the College's early history. Lyon Gardiner Tyler's work constitutes one of the first substantial scholarly treatments of the history of William and Mary. Writing only a year after the College became a public institution, with new life breathed into it after the American Civil War's trying effect on the College, Tyler made a conscious connection between the institution's past and its implications for the present. Anniversaries also prompted writing; *The College of William and Mary: A History* was published in 1993 simultaneous with the College's tercentennial.⁸ These surveys of the history of the College, though prompted by institutional concerns contemporary to their authors, compromise the most comprehensive treatments of William and Mary's archival record. In addition to surveys of the College's entire history, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, details its colonial history. However, works such as *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge* are not necessarily intended for a scholarly audience.⁹ While there are works that are scholarly and works that focus on the College's early history, few accomplish both, and for none are those two purposes central. Yet these works with a specific audience in mind—those interested in the institution itself and not necessarily scholars—are still significant resources in the information they present. Analytical or not, these works saved me countless hours in the archive recovering what they already have. Karen Stuart's 1984 thesis on the Brafferton School at William and Mary is still considered one of the most complete recent treatments on the School, and this thesis would have taken far longer to write without the help of her findings and interpretations.¹⁰ I am

⁸ Lyon Gardiner Tyler, *The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work, 1693-1907* (Richmond, VA: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907); Godson et al., *The College of William and Mary: A History*.

⁹ J. E. Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsburg, VA: The College of William and Mary, 1976).

¹⁰ Karen A. Stuart, "'So Good a Work': The Brafferton School, 1691-1777," Master's Thesis, Lyon G. Tyler Department of History, The College of William and Mary.

indebted to institutionally-driven works for the background information they provide, but I interrogate the evidence to make a larger argument about the English Atlantic, rather than simply crafting a narrative of events.

The historiography of Harvard has similarly institutional leanings, though I uncovered more explicitly scholarly treatment. Harvard, too, had a tercentennial work and experienced a flurry of scholarship on its early history during the 1930s.¹¹ However, there are fewer works that map Harvard's entire history than works that focus on specific moments in its history. As such, I was fortunate to find more material relating to the institution in the seventeenth and eighteenth century for Harvard than for William and Mary. John D. Burton's article "Crimson Missionaries: The Robert Boyle Legacy and Harvard College" is one of the most recent and targeted looks at the Brafferton Estate's effect on Harvard, and Burton's engagement with primary sources related to Harvard that I have not accessed helps to flesh out this thesis.¹² Additionally, the background on the political and religious culture of the College will help answer the questions posed for this paper. Just as the historiography of English colonial America itself looks at the imperial context more centrally since the advent of the Atlantic world paradigm, the historiographies of both Harvard and William and Mary can benefit from this line of inquiry.

Understanding the meaning of education in the early modern British Atlantic provides crucial insight into the motivations expressed in the Brafferton Estate Collection. That historiography, too, has developed significantly since the last treatments of the Estate. European Protestants, especially English Protestants, relied on literacy as a transmitter of religion. The

¹¹ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936); Morrison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935); Morrison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1936).

¹² John D. Burton, "Crimson Missionaries: The Robert Boyle Legacy and Harvard College," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 1, pp. 132-140.

work of historians such as Bernard Bailyn and James Axtell on English colonial education sheds light on its importance as a means of cultural transmission. Though a focus on colleges and universities is lacking, several scholars have answered Bailyn's call for more scholarship on English colonial education itself. Bailyn and others have argued that education—and educational institutions—are a primary method of cultural transmission, and were therefore crucial to maintaining English identity in colonial projects. Bailyn's *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* argued that education, defined broadly beyond the institutional context, is the primary means by which young people are acculturated, a particularly important aspect of a society geographically separated from its nation of origin. "The rebirth of the history of education," James Axtell wrote in 1974, "can be dated from 1960... It was Bailyn who redefined the scope and nature of education, pointed to the broadly cultural dimensions of the educational process," including informal, familial passing on of knowledge and culture in the definition of education, not simply institutional endeavors. For the highly literate faith of Protestants, even Protestants as disparate as Anglicans and Puritans, proficiency in reading the Bible and other religious texts was instrumental to functioning as a Protestant. In Puritan Massachusetts, the General Court passed a 1647 law requiring all towns with more than fifty families to appoint a schoolmaster.¹³

However, this scholarship and line of inquiry was already available to some earlier scholars examining the Brafferton Estate. More recent scholarship on education in the English Atlantic, especially education of Native Americans, further clarifies the role of education in English colonial America. Protestants in the English Atlantic world held a particular idea of

¹³ James Axtell, *The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974); Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970).

education, but their intentions for Native American education were even more focused. Among scholars who study Native Americans who interacted with English colonists, especially in the capacity of education and missionary efforts, there is considerable discussion over the degree to which English conversion of Native Americans to Christianity also constituted a cultural conversion. In the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars began to articulate that a relationship existed between converting Natives to Christianity and also expecting those converts to live an English lifestyle in dress, food, housing, labor, and other customs. The “praying towns” of New England, especially the one in Natick, are well-known to scholars. The missionaries responsible for New England “praying towns” certainly understood English culture and Christianity to be mutually linked to their idea of “civilization.”¹⁴ The aim of the colleges to be a civilizing force for white people and the aim of the colleges to “civilize” Native Americans were often conflated, which is reflected in the Brafferton Estate Collection.¹⁵ This historiographical turn in the studying of Native American missionary and education efforts sharpens scholars’ understanding of the implications of both Harvard and William and Mary’s expressed commitment to bringing civilization to the wilderness rather than taking those constructions for granted as previous historiography has done.

¹⁴ Colin G. Calloway, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988); Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007).

¹⁵ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4.

From Sectarian Strife to Universal Protestantism: The Brafferton Estate's Seventeenth-Century Religious Context

Although animosity between the established church and those dissenting created storms of controversy throughout the seventeenth century, as late seventeenth-century English Protestants came into contact with diverse groups—Iberian and French Catholics, Native Americans, and Africans—they began to aim to create a global, uniformly Protestant world. Much of the literature on religion in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century British Atlantic emphasizes a united Protestant front against both non-Europeans and Catholics of all backgrounds. Perhaps a “uniformly Anglican Atlantic” was not possible, but Protestants of all persuasions attempted to establish a “shared culture that united believers from different Protestant churches (and different ethnic and racial backgrounds) into a common Anglophone spiritual orientation.”¹⁶ Works such as *Protestant Empire* and other recent scholarly monographs and articles on church history in the British Atlantic are increasingly uncovering this Protestant world, sometimes referred to as “Universal Protestantism.” “As a result of cultural encounters,” Pestana writes, “all religions were changed—European Christianity no less than Native American spirituality.”¹⁷ All Protestants at this time thought of Protestantism writ large, but especially their own denomination, as “purer” and more “apostolic.”¹⁸ Catholics and “infidel” Native Americans alike existed outside of this universal Protestantism. Many scholars consider this “Universal Protestantism” a result of the Glorious Revolution; clearly, many English men and women preferred a Protestant Dutchman to a Catholic but British monarch by far. As such,

¹⁶ Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 6.

¹⁷ Pestana, 1.

¹⁸ A.G. Roeber, “The Waters of Rebirth: The Eighteenth Century and Transoceanic Protestant Christianity,” *Church History*, Vol. 79, No. 1, pp. 40-76.

“militant Protestantism” characterized the political culture of English colonies, especially following the Glorious Revolution. While anti-Catholicism was not new to the British Atlantic in the 1680s and 1690s, the “tense geopolitical situation” served as the catalyst for an anti-Catholic fever pitch.¹⁹ An underlying fear of a cryptopapist plot to undermine or overthrow the English government ran through the entire British Atlantic, redirecting religious animosities away from one another and toward a common enemy.

The New England Company, one of the major benefactors of Boyle’s Estate, benefitted from this changing Protestant world in its creation. In his history of the New England Company, William Kellaway writes: “The safe passage of the act [that created the Company], at a moment when the Long Parliament had little time and less inclination to discuss the conversion of New England’s savages, must stand as a monument not only to Winslow’s persistence and powers of persuasion... but also to those who, if only for a moment, abandoned their sectarian quarrels in order to promote a common Christian cause.”²⁰ Significant, however, is the founding date of the NEC: 1649, the beginning of the Interregnum, a period in which institutional Anglicanism was absent from British political life. This simultaneously explains why the NEC was a primarily Puritan affair at its inception and why later Anglican elites like Boyle became involved in the Company once Anglicanism could come out of hiding. This makes the NEC an early example of a joint-stock company with a sectarian bent, but that attracted elite men of a plurality of religious persuasions.

The Universal Protestantism of the late seventeenth century is evident in correspondence and documents that continuously make use of phrases such as “orthodox” and “Christian

¹⁹ Stanwood, *The Empire Reformed*.

²⁰ William Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649-1776* (Barnes and Noble, 1962), 16.

Religion,” utilized by both Puritans and Anglicans.²¹ Even before the moment in the 1690s in which this Universal Protestantism thrived, the rhetoric used for justifying the colleges’ existence was often couched in orthodoxy, though it was used only to describe one’s own Protestant denomination. In letters, legal documents, and appeals of support for the colleges, the propagation of religion was emphasized, often described as “true” or “orthodox.” In publications promoting Harvard during its early years, such as “An Humble Proposal the Inlargement of University Learning in New England...” soliciting support for the college, and Mather’s *Magnalia Christi Americana* and *New England’s First Fruits*, portraying a successful young college. Calling for financial support for Harvard, “An Humble Proposal” portrayed one of Harvard’s priorities as the “propagation” of “a Godly Orthodox and Learned Ministry...” In *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Mather distinguishes between the “Church” as “true Doctrine of the Protestant Religion, with a Disposition to pursue the Reformation begun in the former Century,” and the Church of England as a “certain Faction, who together with a Discipline very much Unscriptural, vigorously prosecuted the Tripartite Plot of Arminianism and Conciliation with Rome, in the Church, and unbounded Prerogative in the State.” Church of England had been their “mother,” but a cruel one, who “turn[ed] them out of Doors...” Harvard helped to secure part of the “New World” for what the Puritan colonists of Massachusetts considered “true” religion.²²

While the use of “orthodox” in the early seventeenth century likely meant the author’s specific Protestant denomination, by the late seventeenth century, after the Glorious Revolution, it came to mean Protestantism itself. When William and Mary was first established, it, too, was promoted as an institution that would spread “orthodox” religion in America. A letter from King

²¹ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4.

²² Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, London, 1702; *New England’s First Fruits*, London, 1643; “An Humble Proposal...” London, 1659.

William III to Edmund Andros, then Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, dated March 1st, 1693 outlined the priorities of the college in asking him for financial support. The college existed “for the better Encouragemt of Arts and Sciences and the Propagation of the true Orthodox Christian Faith.” Spotswood, in justifying his decision to allow tributary Powhatans to remit their tribute if they sent a son to the school, referred simply to “Christianity,” without any further specification.²³ The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge or SPCK, a missionary organization that many men connected to the Brafferton Estate belonged to, used “the generic language of ‘religion’ and ‘Protestants,’” aiming to attract an international coalition of Protestants that valued Protestant identity above English identity.²⁴ In the introduction to the anthology *Conformity and Orthodoxy*, editors Lake and Questier call attention to the diversity of definitions of “orthodox” in early modern England. Although there were clear differences in both theology and practice between different Christian factions in early modern England, “stark confessional claims to religious identity, orthodoxy, and conformity were all subject to contemporary contest and negotiation.”²⁵ That documents related to the Brafferton Estate, William and Mary’s early history, and Harvard’s early history all invoke the term “orthodox” without any acknowledgement of dissonance is evidence to the flexibility of the term.

Undoubtedly, sectarian prejudice still carried on in the lives of the men involved in this arrangement. In looking for someone to pen a tract against Quakerism, the SPCK recommended Blair to the Bishop of London as the person best fit to do it.²⁶ As detailed earlier, Edmund Andros was all but chased from New England to Virginia after Puritans grew dissatisfied with an

²³ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Spotswood, 26 July 1712.

²⁴ Katherine Carté Engel, “The SPCK and the American Revolution: the Limits of International Protestantism,” *Church History*, Vol. 81, No. 1, 89-91.

²⁵ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds., *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Suffolk, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), xviii.

²⁶ James Blair Papers, Series I, folder 6.

Anglican governor who favored his network of elite Anglicans over the interests of Puritan colonists.²⁷ Religious tensions among faculty and students at Harvard ripped the institution asunder, creating a third player on the English colonial college stage, Yale. For all that their elite contemporaries practiced “toleration,” it seemed to break down on the periphery of the empire. For Puritans, even more so than Anglican Virginians, schismatic tendencies already ran hot. However, they ran hot internally within their particular denomination, while cooling off in relation to those outside Puritanism.

Significantly, there is no indication in the Brafferton Estate Collection, or in any other primary sources consulted for this project, that tensions or animosities ever flared up between William and Mary and the New England Company or William and Mary and Harvard. We cannot be certain from the sources in the Brafferton Estate Collection to what degree religious differences were consciously considered, if at all. On the side of each of the colleges, the other college was seldom alluded to. The only record of interaction between William and Mary and Harvard via the Brafferton Estate is a misplaced request by William and Mary to the New England Company for Brafferton timber. That the New England Company granted it, albeit without the authority to do so, demonstrates a relative lack of animosity. Harvard sometimes complained of not receiving promised funds, but it is uncertain if William and Mary’s far higher profits were ever brought up; perhaps few people had access to the account books and therefore few knew about the disparity.²⁸ While both Harvard and William and Mary kept strong connections with London, there was very little by way of a connection between the two colleges. To Harvard Puritans, heretics in their midst were far more of a concern than heretics as far down

²⁷ See chapter ten, “The Glorious Revolution: England and New England, 1688-1689—Part 1” in Mary Lou Lustig, *The Imperial Executive in America: Sir Edmund Andros, 1637-1714* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 2002).

²⁸ Kellaway, 174-175.

the Atlantic coast as Virginia, explaining why a split between Harvard and Yale was necessary when there is not so much as a shrug in the documentary record about sharing funds with the College of William and Mary.

The creation of the Brafferton Estate and the founding of the College of William and Mary benefitted from a moment in the Protestant Atlantic, its international scope ushered in by the Glorious Revolution, in which Protestant unity against Catholics and other “infidels” trumped the previous religious divides of the seventeenth century. The very same fear of a “popish” or foreign threat that forced Andros to flee Boston also influenced the Brafferton Estate. Ancillary to this shift was the development of the idea that Protestantism was synonymous with civilization. A shared idea of what makes for “civil” society made it possible for the two colleges to share funds for the same purpose: civilize those who were not.

Light in the Darkness: The Brafferton’s Ideology of Civilization

In the late seventeenth century British Atlantic, “each colony defined itself to one extent or another as a bastion of true religion amid popish and pagan darkness.”²⁹ Discourse surrounding the Brafferton Estate, William and Mary, Harvard, and the two colleges’ Indian schools, similarly utilized the language of light and darkness to describe the differences between their British Protestant religion and all others. This precluded conflict between Anglicans and Dissenters that characterized the early and mid-seventeenth century. Consensus on what constituted civility and barbarism formed the underlying ideological understandings that allowed for Harvard and William and Mary, and Puritans and Anglicans more generally, into the same orbit.

²⁹ Standwood, 13.

Despite diverse motivations for undertaking colonial projects on the part of monarchs, companies, and individuals, Christianizing Native Americans was a priority of English colonization even before colonial projects were underway, and that priority could trump sectarian animosity. As early as 1585, Richard Hakluyt (The Elder), in promoting a voyage to Virginia, listed “the glory of God by planting of religion among those infidels” first in a list of “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage toward Virginia.”³⁰ Other promotional tracts, including those by Richard Hakluyt the Younger, listed conversion of Native Americans to Christianity as a motivation for colonization. More specifically, they appealed to competition with Spain; if the English did not get there to teach them the “reformed religion” first, the Spanish would convert them to the “popishe” religion instead.³¹

In promotional literature and in official correspondence, a frequently stated priority of colonization of English North America was not only the conversion of Native Americans to Christianity—albeit different incarnations for different groups—but also an adoption of English culture and sympathies. *New England’s First Fruits* linked Christianity and civilization, describing Native Americans’ “infinite distance from Christianity, having never been prepared thereunto by any Civility at all.” The English themselves, before Christianity, “that time that God sent light into our coasts,” were “almost as darke and rude as the Indians themselves.” The document also relayed anecdotes about Indians who simultaneously converted to Christianity and wished to become more English.³²

New England’s First Fruits considered it an objective of the English to “Let the world know, that God led not so many thousands of his people into the Wildernesse, to see a reed

³⁰ Richard Hakluyt the Elder, “Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage Intended towards Virginia in 40. And 42. Degrees” (1585) in Peter Mancall, ed., *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640* (New York: Bedofrd/St. Martin’s, 1995), pp. 33-44.

³¹ Richard Hakluyt the Younger, “Discouse of Western Planting” (1584) in Mancall, pp. 45-61.

³² *New England’s First Fruits*, London, 1643.

shaken with the wind, but amongst many other speciall ends, this was none of the least, to spread the light of his blessed Gospel, to such as never heard the sound of it.”³³ Appeals for support for the College of William and Mary stressed the importance of the school both so that “Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary... and that ye youth may be piously educated in good Letters and manners” and “that the Christian Faith may be propagated amongst ye Western Indians to ye Glory of Almighty God...” A letter from King William III to Edmund Andros in 1694 emphasized the college’s significance as a “means to propagate the Christian faith in places where they have not yet had the opportunitys to receive it.”³⁴ Both colleges fulfilled their respective colonies’ objectives of spreading their version of Christianity to indigenous peoples in North America.

Shared conceptions of what constituted “civilization” was an intellectual undercurrent common to both Anglicans and Puritans and, consequently, both colonial colleges. Elites in both colonies wrote of Harvard and William and Mary as marks of civilization. The word “civilization” itself is not often used, but other frequently employed language—that of “infidels” in the “wilderness,” living in “darkness” and in need of “civill” education—suggest that people in Britain and around the British Atlantic world conceived of their culture and religion as more advanced and Native culture and religion as inferior. *An Humble Proposal*, in soliciting funds for Harvard, placed Harvard in this context: “Hence it was, that they so willingly suffered the spoiling of their goods, the leaving of their dearest friends, the loss of their native Country, to the peril of their lives, both by Land and Sea; and though the Lord hath led them to a Wilderness, where they have been as a People separated from their brethren and exposed to dwell alone in solitary places, yet they can and do declare to the praise of his love and goodness, that he hath

³³ *New England’s First Fruits*, London, 1643.

³⁴ King William III and Queen Mary II Papers, Special Collections Research Center, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

not been a barren Wilderness to them, nor a Land of Darkness, but hath testified his signal owning of them, by providing for them in those ends of the earth, where he hath set them down in quiet habitations...” *New England’s First Fruits* also portrayed the college as a milestone in colonial development: “After God has carried us safe to New-England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our lively-hood, rear’d convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and to perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust.”³⁵ Puritan New Englanders viewed the inception of a school of higher learning as ushering in what they considered a civilized society, both because it could locally educate the colonial elite but also because it brought Native peoples into its cultural and spiritual orbit.

Anglican Virginians viewed the College of William and Mary in the same light. A controversy that erupted over the salary for the first president of William and Mary, James Blair, necessarily conjured the ideological foundations of the College and its Brafferton School. At stake in the controversy was whether or not Blair should be paid his salary as president of the college before it was even accepting students, let alone holding classes. Those arguing in favor of Blair procuring a salary necessarily had to justify what William and Mary contributed to Virginia in ideological terms, offering an opportunity to see the rhetoric of civilization and orthodoxy at work. A description of the scandal noted Blair’s “Zeal for promoting Religious and Virtue,” and the need for a college in “this your Majestys Dominion where your Youth is deprived of the benefits of a Liberal and Virtuous education...” A letter from the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge to Blair in 1743 praises Blair for laying a “good foundation for Posterity.” When forced to defend the necessity for the college and its

³⁵ *New England’s First Fruits*, London, 1643.

founders, an appeal to “posterity” and leaving an institution to future Anglo-Virginians was an accepted and explicit motivation for the college. In both colonies, the colleges were self-conscious efforts to plant light in a “Land of Darkness,” civilization in a “Wilderness.” In some documents, funds that went to William and Mary's Indian school referred to the aim of the funding as “Propagating the Gospel in Virginia.” It is referred to as such in one copy of the Rules and Methods.³⁶ While the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England existed, there was no Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in Virginia. And yet, someone, consciously or not, mimicked its name in reiterating the purpose of Brafferton funding of William and Mary.

Their shared ideas of civilization should be considered in the context of the changes that colonization brought to English thinking. Collapsing of differences was an English phenomenon that was in part a response to the overwhelming amount of difference English people were suddenly exposed to during the late sixteenth century. Essentializing differences, whether of gender, religion, or race, helped English men and women to neatly conceptualize a world with such vastly different peoples in it. Confronted with difference, English people struggled to essentialize the idea of civilization in order to articulate their superiority to all other peoples.³⁷ Coupled with universal Protestantism, early modern English people began to see the world through a lens of a universal barbarism, extending beyond racial others to include European Catholics.³⁸ Again, as detailed earlier, Protestant solidarity could even go beyond the English with international Protestantism on the rise. This shared ideology provided fertile ground for arrangements like the Brafferton Estate that encapsulated diverse religious affiliations.

³⁶ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 6.

³⁷ Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1996).

³⁸ Szasz and Calloway

Spreading an English—or Protestant—conception of a civilized life required a particular strategy to pragmatically achieve. For Native Americans, an approach based in “international Protestantism” was two-pronged: both converting them to Protestant Christianity while simultaneously shielding them from Catholic influence. In any context, it was possible for English Protestants to unite against Catholics, but it was especially easy for English Protestants to unite against Catholic conversion of “infidels.” This highlights the Brafferton’s purpose as a diplomatic tool; it was not simply that men like Blair were concerned for the souls of Natives, but also for their loyalty to English colonists in the midst of a grand global imperial contest. Conversion of Native Americans to English religion and culture was not just desired, it was necessary for survival, a fact too well understood by Virginians still influenced by the memory of the 1622 massacre. Influencing Native Americans before Catholics could get to them was a frankly discussed motivation of Protestant missionaries at the time, and the schools and missionaries funded by the Brafferton Estate were no exception. It was not that religion was a smoke screen for diplomatic intentions; in the early modern mind, there did not exist a meaningful difference between the two as we would recognize today. One would not need to use religion to hide diplomatic intentions because there was nothing to hide.³⁹

Social and political networks among Englishmen were crucial to the Brafferton Estate’s success, but so was maintaining networks between Anglo-Virginians and Native peoples. Alexander Spotswood, who became governor of Virginia in 1710, was responsible for many of the diplomatic relationships created by the Brafferton school and arguably more concerned with diplomatic relationships with Native polities than most people with some connection to the Estate. From its inception, an explicit aim of the Brafferton Estate at William and Mary was to

³⁹ Engel, 102. Here Engel addresses concerns that scholarship that uncovers imperial motives leads to doubting the sincerity of religious belief.

have Native boys become both Protestant and culturally English and then convert other Native Americans to the same. In explaining the benefits of the Indian school, Alexander Spotswood wrote of his “great hopes in time of converting the whole Nations.”⁴⁰ Spotswood was a member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and was largely responsible for procuring the funding to rebuild the College after the 1705 fire. His Anglo-American social network did William and Mary well, but his diplomacy with powerful Powhatans and other Native peoples in Virginia made Spotswood easily the most successful recruiter of Native students. 1646, Anglo-Virginians established a tributary relationship with Powhatans. The College of William and Mary exploited this tributary relationship to procure students for the Indian school. In negotiating peace between the tributary Powhatans and the Tuscaroras, then Spotswood proposed to remit the annual tribute from the Powhatans in exchange for two “chief men’s sons” to be educated at the school. The Powhatans accepted the deal. By 1711, the school also boasted the sons of Nottaway, Pamunkey, and Chicahominy chiefs, as well as the “son and cousin of the King of Nansemond,” attended the school. Spotswood used this success as leverage to request funding for a parish and ministers in two “Indian Towns” in Virginia.⁴¹

Using students at the school as a bargaining chip was not always successful. Representatives from the school attended multiple treaty conferences, including the conference of the Lancaster Treaty in 1744, soliciting students for the Brafferton school. At Lancaster, there were no takers—“Brother Assaroga” replied, “We must let you know we love our Children too well to send them so great a Way, and the Indians are not included to give their Children

⁴⁰ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Spotswood, 26 July 1712.

⁴¹ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Spotswood to , 26 July 1712; BEC, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, Spotswood to Bishop of London; Stuart, 4, 14-16.

Learning.” They were similarly rejected at a conference in Logg’s Town in 1752.⁴² Ironically, William and Mary’s attempts to civilize peoples they considered savage and inferior was in reality also a means of diplomacy with powerful Native groups necessary to Anglo-Virginians’ survival. Diplomacy was an explicit motivation of the Brafferton School at William and Mary. Spotswood explained that by having children of tributary Indians at the school, “Christianity” could be used to “ensure their Friendship to the Government.”⁴³

Despite the assumed superiority on the part of English colonists, native peoples had little incentive to adopt Christianity, English culture, or both as a package unless it served a pragmatic purpose. Missionary projects in both New England and Virginia were often more successful when Native communities were less stable. Though few had interest in higher education, missionary efforts in New England in general garnered more converts in the wake of the Pequot War of 1637. With native communities fragmented, indigenous peoples in New England were more easily persuaded to take on English culture, religion, and identity.⁴⁴ Similarly, Native Americans in contact with Anglo-Virginians were not willing to send their sons to the Brafferton School unless diplomatically advantageous to them, which for many powerful peoples, it simply was not. It is clear from the documentary record that Harvard and William and Mary understood and agreed upon a definition of civilization, but the peoples subject to this definition apparently did not.

In an Atlantic world of Protestants united against all opposing forces—Native Americans and Catholic European powers alike—institutions such as William and Mary’s Brafferton School and Harvard’s Indian College aimed to do the work of guaranteeing sound diplomatic

⁴² James H. Merrell, ed., *The Lancaster Treaty of 1744 with Related Documents* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s Press, 2008) 84. Stuart, 55, 56.

⁴³ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Spotswood, 26 July 1712.

⁴⁴ Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies*, 110.

relationships with neighboring Native peoples. English and Anglo-American Protestants hoped that converting Native Americans to a form of Protestant Christianity as well as acculturating them to English dress, language, and ways of life—“civilizing” them—would secure the British Empire’s power in the Atlantic. This took both ideology and real diplomatic work. Both colleges used Brafferton Estate funds to secure English colonial power vis-à-vis Native Americans and the threat of Spanish and French incursion alike. Anglicans in Virginia and Puritans in New England not only agreed ideologically in the superiority of Protestants, especially English Protestants, but used the same mechanisms to maintain it. Maintaining similar projects such as Indian schools relied not only on shared ideology, but shared sources of power and funds.

The Brafferton’s Transatlantic Network

In addition to the development of ideas about race and culture shared by English men and women across religious factions and a push amongst Protestants to unite against all “heathens” and “pagans” alike, the ultimate outcome of the Brafferton Estate is also the result of an interconnected web of English gentlemen and a rising class of merchants. Two phenomena in Stuart Britain explain this interdenominational—if not entirely ecumenical—arrangement: a swell in the number of gentrified men as a result of increased commercial activity bringing wealth to once small-time merchants, and a trend amongst the gentry to make concessions to religious differences in order to continue functioning as the social and economic elite.

Disapproving contemporaries sneeringly called this “toleration;” many at the time continued to believe in a “charitable hatred” of being firm with non-believers.⁴⁵ This was not necessarily

⁴⁵ Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009).

driven by a particularly fervent Enlightenment demonstration of religious liberty; it was a pragmatic characteristic of the English elite. For religious minorities, it ensured their survival. In the midst of shifting dynamics of the English gentry, allowing for more financial upward mobility, status and wealth began to outweigh considerations of one's particular denomination. Connections amongst alumni of Britain's elite universities, shared membership in missionary and joint-stock companies, and common financial interests brought a diverse cast of historical actors together. What made all the moving parts of the Brafferton Estate possible was a web of socially and financially connected English men.

The joint-stock companies of England's "financial revolution" created a web of personal connections between men connected to the Brafferton Estate, and especially to men at both William and Mary and Harvard. Well-represented organizations included the New England Company, the SPCK, the SPG, and the Virginia Company. From a twenty-first century perspective, one might be tempted to divide these companies into "secular" undertakings and "religious" ones. For example, the Virginia Company might be labeled "secular" in that its objectives were primarily financial and the SPCK "religious" for its expressed motivations. However, the goals of both corporations were remarkably similar. The Virginia Company did aim to convert Native Americans to Christianity and the SPCK did have imperial goals in mind. Missionary societies, in many ways, had more in common with arguably secular joint-stock companies than they did with parishes. Because they were not necessarily concerned with the intricacies of theological differences amongst Protestant denominations, they were free to be ecumenical. It was asserted earlier that the SPCK aimed to foster an international Protestant identity, but the majority of members were English. This is not surprising given that one needed to already know

another member before joining.⁴⁶ While missionary organizations prized Protestant identity over English identity in theory, in practice, elite English social networks kept these organizations functioning. Harvard's connection to the Brafferton Estate was through the New England Company, but William and Mary acted as an institution on its own behalf. However, the SPCK was present in the background of the elite social networks that brought men together at William and Mary to begin with.

With Boyle at the center of this arrangement, it is worth asking how an Anglican became so well integrated into a largely Puritan organization. Although the New England Company was known later as a mostly sectarian, separatist organization, it had not always been that way. Boyle and other moderate Anglicans had kept the Company a mixed coalition, but after his death, his social network gradually fell away in favor of a Puritan one. Simultaneously, the creation of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or SPG, in 1702 attracted charitable Anglicans away from the New England Company.⁴⁷ Prior to the SPG, the College of William and Mary was the sole organization capable of distributing funds for missionary activity in tidewater Virginia.

How did William and Mary enter the Brafferton Estate's orbit? Blair arrived in London without yet knowing where he would find any financial backing for the College, but his presence in London in 1692 put him in the opportune time and place to secure funding from the Brafferton Estate. As Boyle's instructions were vague, his executors, a well-connected group of men, needed to make decisions about where the money went. The New England Company was a likely candidate; Boyle, though a moderate Anglican, had been a member of the mostly Puritan-controlled company. In fact, the New England Company was already favored in his will; in

⁴⁶ Engel, 91-93.

⁴⁷ Kellaway, 172.

addition to the clause that created the Brafferton Estate, which did not name any organizations, Boyle also specifically set aside an additional one hundred pounds for the New England Company.⁴⁸ And the New England Company had a secure connection to Harvard College. Increase Mather was commissioner of the Company, its “colonial arm.”⁴⁹ The New England Company had already been supporting the college, giving the executors a project to fund that was already underway. But to secure funding for a college that did not yet exist—and did not even have a charter at that time—Blair had to request an audience with the executors. The timing of Blair's travel to England was advantageous, but it was his personal connections that garnered him an audience with Boyle's executors.

To answer to question of how two disparate Protestant denominations could draw funding for their Indian schools from the same source, many factors converged into the decision making of a handful of elite English men. Boyle’s executors were an especially well-connected group. Richard Boyle, the Earl of Burlington, was tasked with deciding how Brafferton funds were used at William and Mary, along with the Bishop of London. Executor Henry Compton, Bishop of London, became William and Mary’s first chancellor. Compton already knew James Blair in Blair’s capacity as Anglican commissary to Virginia. Compton also had studied at both Oxford and Cambridge, meaning he was tapped into social networks at both elite institutions that influenced both Harvard and William and Mary. Interpersonal connections to the institutions of Cambridge and Oxford accounted for a great deal of the social network of men with the Brafferton Estate at the center. This is an especially important connection considering the aims of both Harvard and William and Mary. Many man were fellows of the Royal Society, perhaps

⁴⁸ BEC, Series 1, box 2.

⁴⁹John D. Burton, “Crimson Missionaries: The Robert Boyle Legacy and Harvard College,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 61, No. 1, p. 133.

not surprising given Boyle's enduring legacy. Common to men at both Harvard and William and Mary was experience aiding in imperial projects.

James Blair's experiences within both the metropole and the periphery of the empire, and access to the elite social networks that connected those two worlds, made The College of William and Mary's access to the Brafferton Estate possible. Blair's upbringing as a lowland Scot instilled in him an imperial ethos from an early age. Scholars such as Margaret Connell Szasz and Colin Calloway have considered a comparative relationship between the religious and cultural conversion of Highland Scots to lowland culture and missionary and education efforts of English to Native Americans. The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, or SSPCK, took on many of the same aims as the SPCK. This research, along with research on Ireland contributes to the idea that there was a method for culturally building an empire that people in the British Isles had already been practicing for centuries.

Other men connected to the Brafferton Estate also had experience in colonial government in Ireland, especially Boyle and his executors. Boyle's father, Richard Boyle, was the first Earl of Cork and Boyle himself was born there. Boyle's father was one of the most significant influences on his life. Richard Boyle initially trained as a lawyer in England, but left for Ireland in 1588. Boyle came to Ireland in the wake of a rebellion that caused the re-distribution of many estates, the Earl of Desmond rebellion. As deputy escheator in Ireland, he played a role in returning confiscated lands to their pre-rebellion state. He was knighted in 1603.⁵⁰ He became quite wealthy from rents from his estates. Hunter argues that this "exemplified the ethos of the English Protestant settler class in Ireland: He constantly sought to maximise the profitability of his lands... In all this, he was driven by a real sense of duty, a belief that he and his fellow settlers

⁵⁰ Michael Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science* (New Haven: Yale, 2009), chapter 1.

were working out God's purpose by colonising and developing Ireland in this way.”⁵¹ Hunter further argues that Boyle's upbringing was opulent and meant cultivate him as a young aristocrat. As a young boy in Ireland born into the said English Protestant settler class, Boyle was immersed in English colonial ethos and culture. Boyle likely internalized very early in his life that English culture and Protestant religion were most desirable and the only way to live a civilized life.

By the time that Blair was well into his tenure as the first president of the College, he had befriended Henry Compton, then Bishop of London, and been made Commissary of the Bishop to Virginia. He had also been rector of the Henrico parish. The 1622 bloodshed happened over thirty years before Blair was born, let alone arrived in Virginia, but a memory of it persisted in Euro-American colonists all over the region, and probably especially so in Henrico. The 1622 “massacre” had also shut down a college that had been operating as an Indian school. Blair, apparently, did not consider that massacre as enough of a deterrent to never try again.

In the early eighteenth century, after Blair became president of William and Mary, he joined missionary societies SPG and SPCK; for the SPCK, he was appointed correspondent for Virginia.⁵² As discussed previously, some scholars interpret the creation of the SPG to be a defining moment in a more sectarian landscape in American missionary activity. Papers from the SPG and SPCK archives related to Blair have been collected into a series of the James Blair Papers in Swem Library. Coupled with his position as commissary of the Bishop of London in Virginia, and it is clear that Blair came to be seen as the go-to representative for the interests of the Church of England in Virginia.

In many ways, William and Mary's ability to procure Brafferton funds was not inevitable and was only made possible by Blair being in the right place at the right time, while the New

⁵¹ Hunter, 12-13.

⁵² James Blair Papers, Series 1, SPCK minutes dated 19 August 1701, Special Collections Research Center, Earl Gregg Swem Library, the College of William and Mary.

England Company, of the two institutions, seems the more intuitive recipient of funds given Boyle's history with the Company. But despite Blair's timing of his trip to London to procure a charter for the College being the key factor that secured Brafferton Funds, Blair's social network overlapped with Boyle's. If anything, given the heavy Anglican presence of most of the men involved with the Brafferton Estate, it is Boyle's connection to the New England Company that is the true lynchpin that secures both of the colonial colleges to each other.

One of the more impressive members of Blair's social network was John Locke. While Locke was not directly connected to the Brafferton Estate in any way, he had been a member of the Royal Society and a colonial administrator on the Board of Trade. Locke is most well-known for his contributions to western philosophy, but he was also an avid supporter of the College of William and Mary, influenced by his friendship with Blair. Blair and Locke co-authored an "appraisal" of "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century." They noted in the list of grievances that "Indians" and "negroes" were not being instructed in the "Christian faith," once again described in the generic even though the audience would have understood that the authors meant Anglicanism. For "Indians," the suggested remedy was "that as many Indian children be educated at the Colledge as may be; and these well instructed in the Christian Faith, (but with all keeping their own language) and made fit to Evangelize others of their nation and language."⁵³ We have already seen it made explicit that English people and Anglo-Virginians were both explicit in their desire to use students at Indian schools as means to convert others, but to have it come from a pairing of two men with elite social networks in England made it all the more salient. Although Locke and Blair's theologies could be seen as at odds, that they moved in the

⁵³ Michael G. Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (April 1966), pp. 141-169.

same social circles speaks to the salience of the power of the elite in the face of religious difference.

Motivation must also be considered against the backdrop of the “financial revolution” in England contemporary to the Brafferton Estate. During the seventeenth century, Britain experienced a transformation in its financial landscape. Changes in the nature of credit made the market more volatile, but also led to an opening up of financial upward mobility. Scholars have long recognized a shift in the makeup of English aristocracy simultaneous with the late seventeenth century. Where once one had to be born into such a position, it was increasingly common for men to rise through social ranks through wealth in merchant activities. This alarmed many of the old guard who felt that a gentleman could not be made through trade alone, but it transformed ideas about what it meant to be a gentleman nonetheless. Charities, missionary projects, and joint-stock companies of all sorts “mushroomed” out of a need for newly wealthy gentlemen to spend their money in a gentlemanly way.⁵⁴ This created financial and social transatlantic networks for which one’s particular Protestant denomination was largely irrelevant.

Philosophies such as casuistry also contributed to how elite men and women (though mostly men) thought of contributing to charity projects. While Boyle was a young man in residence at Oxford in the 1640s and 1650s, he struck up exchanges with many of the more respected intellectuals in England—and in some cases, beyond—about morality and conscience as well as natural philosophy. Having developed the idea that gentleman ought to be charitable, especially to missionary projects, early in his life, his own involvement in missionary projects peaked during the early 1680s, Boyle being in his fifties then and about a decade away from his

⁵⁴ Koji Yamamoto, “Piety, Profit and Public Service in the Financial Revolution,” *English Historical Review*, Vol. 126 No. 521.

death and the carrying out of his estate.⁵⁵ English colonial projects depended heavily on this “financial revolution” for funding. Although colonial projects with varying degrees of religiosity benefitted from the outpouring of funds from this new aristocracy, some projects appealed more to investors’ and donors’ sense of piety than others. In *The Poor Indians*, Stevens argues that pity for Native Americans played a central role in persuading English elite men and women to contribute funds to missionary projects.⁵⁶

Limited interaction between individuals at both colleges may have contributed to a lack of tensions; to apply an anachronistic adage, “out of sight, out of mind.” In the Yale example, clearly students and faculty that disagreed with each other on theology could not co-exist within the same institution, but the permanent divorce appears to have resolved the issue. If relocating from Cambridge to New Haven was enough to douse the conflict, then one can imagine that the distance between Cambridge and Williamsburg was quite enough to prevent tensions. Additionally, the rift at Harvard that resulted in the creation of Yale was an internal Puritan conflict. Universal Protestantism provided for interdenominational cooperation, but did not guarantee intra-denominational peace. In the everyday life of elite men at both colleges, conflict within the college or even the colony was far more present and immediate than conflict outside of it. After Nicholson and Blair’s falling out, Blair was frequently “threatened, scolded at, and abused in the rudest and most insolent manner that fury and malice could suggest” by Nicholson, “and often before a great deal of company.”⁵⁷ The inner workings of these social networks are too nuanced to simply be reduced to aligning denominations against each other.

⁵⁵ Hunter, chapter 12.

⁵⁶ Laura M. Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

⁵⁷ Defense of Blair, BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3.

A possible explanation of William and Mary's connections is to argue its continuity with the Henricus College project earlier in the seventeenth century. To what degree is there continuity between the college project at Henricus that operated briefly as an Indian school before 1622 and the eventual College of William and Mary? The Virginia Company charter for the Henricus project used similar language to that eventually used in the William and Mary royal charter, especially in terms of Christianizing Native peoples and attempting to make them more culturally English. The ethos was certainly within the same universe. As discussed, 1688 changed the course of colonial administration, and so Henricus was more of a contemporary of Harvard than William and Mary. Being founded around the same time, the similarities are striking. However, despite the continuity between the Henricus project expressed in some histories of William and Mary or popular interpretations of the College's history, that continuity is largely a fiction. The inception of both projects came from different individuals, different organizations, and entirely different methods. It appears that when Henricus failed, it failed for good; William and Mary was not a resurrection of the Henricus project. While legally and administratively, Henricus and William and Mary were entirely separate projects, it is still enlightening to consider Henricus's brief history in light of the Brafferton Estate. If the Brafferton Estate reveals elite social networks that held it together, Patrick Copland, rector of the Henricus College, is a significant case study. Copland was a member of the Virginia Company and chaplain to the East India Company. He was also an alumnus of the University of Edinburgh, which also gave him ample elite connections, and where James Blair later also attended. Correspondence shows his connection to Robert Blair. Interpersonal connections built Henricus just as it did William and Mary.

The men instrumental in the working parts of the Brafferton Estate—the Estate’s executors, the administrations of both Harvard and William and Mary, and, of course, Boyle himself—belonged to a transatlantic British (and sometimes international) network of elite men connected by financial and organizational ties. In the context of rapidly shifting socioeconomic dynamics in the British Atlantic, public displays of charity and involvement in missionary organizations served as a marker of status for a rising group of men integrating themselves into elite aristocratic networks through newly gained wealth. This turn in the significance of missionary organizations and charities tempered their denominational agendas, making them attractive to men looking to fashion themselves as members of a particular social class regardless of religious background.

Brafferton Estate Spending

Now that we have examined the intentions behind the Brafferton Estate and the context in which it existed, we may now turn to how the funds were actually distributed and spent. The decisions made by Harvard on how to spend money allocated to the College reflected Christianization coupled with a cultural conversion to Englishness was a goal of their use of the Brafferton Estate. The only Harvard missionary supported by the Boyle Scholarship to actually practice his mission preached at Natick, site of the well-known “praying towns.” When little interest in the fund was generated among undergraduates at Harvard, even more of the funds were given to Natick to rebuild the town church. The Brafferton Account Books and Rules and Regulations of the Estate in the Brafferton Estate Collection at Swem Library provide us with details of how much money went to both William and Mary and Harvard’s Indian schools.

Out of the rents of the Brafferton, a fixed amount of £90 was granted to the New England Company, half of which went to the Harvard Indian College, and the remaining profits went to William and Mary's Brafferton School. How much generally went to the Brafferton School annually? The New England Company began receiving its annual £90 in 1695 and the "The Virginia Colledge" begins appearing in the account books in 1701. It is possible that the residue of the rents was being paid to William and Mary before then, in which case, it hovered around £100, hardly more (and some years less) than the New England Company. Regardless, in 1701, it far exceeded Harvard's funds: a total of £596. Much of that amount, significantly, was made up of gifts. In addition to £70 "from Mr. Boyle," the remainder of the rents, Richard Musgrove gave on six separate occasions, and Christopher Croft remitted funds as well. It is possible that this is the first year William and Mary has its own because it is the first year the College received gifts via the estate.⁵⁸ Harvard, on the other hand, on top of only getting half of the £90 promised to the New England Company, complained that it did not receive its payments regularly.⁵⁹ The Brafferton Estate account books lend support to those complaints; the New England Company disappears from the "disbursements" for a few years at the turn of the eighteenth century, and the residue of rents, if it went to William and Mary at all, was extremely spare. That seems to be caused by increased responsibilities of the Brafferton Estate in those years.⁶⁰ In 1784, William and Mary brought in £381, demonstrating that even near the very end of the College's relationship to the Brafferton Estate, the funding was still over quadruple the amount the New England Company received and therefore eight times Harvard's share.⁶¹ Even though the New England Company was the most natural choice to receive Brafferton Estate funds, the deal that

⁵⁸BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 5.

⁵⁹ Kellaway 174.

⁶⁰ BEC Series 2, Box 2, Folder 5.

⁶¹ BEC, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 2.

Blair managed to get for William and Mary benefitted the latter far more than the fixed amount of £90.

How did this compare to the methods for William and Mary and Harvard to acquire funds for the college for European and Euro-American students? Although the two colleges drew from the same source of funding for their Indian schools, their respective geneses, William and Mary with a Royal Charter and Harvard with a colonial charter, meant that their original sources of funding were quite different. Originally, the New England Company explicitly rejected financial assistance to the fledgling Harvard College. While the 1649 act to establish the company was underway, Nathaniel Bacon and John Gurdon were enlisted to amend the bill to include provisions for funding the College. The amendment was rejected.⁶² Only later with the justification of Indian missionary work could the Company create a relationship with Harvard.

Harvard had been underway for decades before the Brafferton Estate, but for William and Mary, Brafferton funds were secured even before the charter itself. Examining the colleges' respective charters in that light, it is enlightening that rents play a role in William and Mary's funding to begin with. William and Mary received a fixed amount—a little over nineteen hundred pounds—annually from quit rents in the Virginia colony. It also received a penny for each pound of tobacco “Exported from one Plantation to another in America” and “divers Private Gifts.”⁶³ An “Account of the Money Given Towards Building William and Mary College” dated 1700 names donors toward the project. The list is enlightening; it includes important figures such as Miles Cary, Francis Nicholson, and other elite men. It is divided into a list of gifts received in England and gifts received in Virginia.⁶⁴

⁶² Kellaway, 15.

⁶³ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4.

⁶⁴ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3.

While true that Brafferton funds were secured before William and Mary's charter, it is meaningful to consider the two as direct contemporaries; they were only within months of each other. Taking that into account with the "financial revolution" as a backdrop helps to explain the convergence of funding methods. A combination of donations and fixed sums from rents paid the way to the College and Indian school alike. If the Brafferton Estate arrangement and the charter are contemporaries, then it is equally helpful to conceive of Harvard as of another generation of English colonization, more a contemporary of the Henricus project than William and Mary. The Glorious Revolution in 1688 also led to marked changes in English colonial governance. By the 1690s, the oldest successful college in North America was already entering its second generation of administration, funding, and purpose.

Although the Brafferton Estate Collection shows in detail how much cash went to both of the schools, far fewer records exist that show how the money was spent. The directions given were vague; the money was meant for "pious and charitable purposes" and the executors of the estate were given the final say in how those funds were appropriated. The Rules and Methods of how the profits were to be distributed at William and Mary, determined by the Bishop of London and Earl of Burlington, stated that funds should go to sheltering, feeding, clothing, and educating students, as well as paying a school master's salary.⁶⁵ For Harvard, half of the £90 was given to two ministers for converting Natives in New England and half for the President and Fellows of Harvard to use for the Indian College. More formal rules for use of Brafferton funds were drawn up at Harvard in 1712: the college would provide scholarships to between two and four students willing to serve as lifetime missionaries.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 5.

⁶⁶ Burton, 134.

After the money passed into the hands of administrators at William and Mary and Harvard, however, there appears to have been little oversight of their spending decisions. During heated manifestations of the rivalry between Blair and Nicholson, Nicholson enclosed financial records in correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, but those were extenuating circumstances.⁶⁷ Further, rules could be added by the Earl of Burlington (Richard Boyle) or the Bishop of London, the then Bishop being a close personal friend of Blair and having connections to other men at William and Mary. Papers in the Brafferton Estate Collection do not directly provide evidence about money spent on food, but there is evidence of spending on clothing and medicine.

Significantly, the Rules and Methods for William and Mary's use of Brafferton funds specify the Earl of Burlington and Bishop of London, then Henry Compton, should be in charge of funds, and it appears that the position was the intended, and not necessarily the person. Documents from the 1770s continue to name the Bishop of London and Earl of Burlington as distributors of the estate to William and Mary.⁶⁸ Although Blair's connection to the Bishop of London influenced conferring it to him, that it was passed on speaks to the power of the social networks that make up the Brafferton Estate. In the 1650s, Robert Boyle himself developed an intellectual exchange with the then Bishop of London Robert Sanderson about conscience, especially the issue of casuistry.⁶⁹

A curious detail on the invoice for clothing the students gives us clues to understanding exactly what the Brafferton Estate was meant to accomplish. The invoice, titled “Cloathing for the Ingen Boys” and dated November 5th, 1773 lists clothing—or materials for making or mending clothing—and their prices. One would expect to find on an invoice for items such as

⁶⁷ BEC Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3, 1704 Nicholson to Archbishop of Canterbury .

⁶⁸ BEC Appeals to Lord Chancellor 1773 and 1775.

⁶⁹ Hunter, 100.

buttons and oznabrigs, typical for clothing an eighteenth-century person in the British Atlantic, and as all Brafferton students were boys, “mens stockings” is not surprising item, either. However, one line of the invoice lists a “pare of womens stockings.” Barring the school being remarkably tolerant of non-normative gender expression for its time, a reader can reasonably assume that the women’s stockings were not meant to be worn by any Brafferton students. Who, then, was the intended wearer of women’s stockings purchased with funds meant to be used for the education of Native boys? Furthermore, considering how few records exist of how Brafferton Estate funds were spent, prompting suspicion that funds were not necessarily always used as directed, how did men at William and Mary feel confident enough in the legitimacy of that purchase to make a record of it?

The invoice is only for purchases to clothe “Ingen Boys.” Although European or Euro-American boys were educated at the Brafferton, there is no record that the Brafferton clothed them. After all, the boys already likely had their own appropriately English dress. The intended wearer was almost certainly a Native American girl or woman. One possibility is that the stockings were meant for a female family member not resident at the Brafferton Estate. In this case, the loose Brafferton objective to bring Native groups into colonial orbit is apparent. Governor Spotswood also indicates that friends and family visited the students; it is possible that stockings could have been passed off to a girl or woman close to a student.⁷⁰

Although it is possible that the stockings were meant to be worn by a woman not resident at the Brafferton, Native students of the Brafferton School were permitted to have a “servant” accompany them to the school. Depending on which Native groups were represented at the Brafferton School in 1773, it is possible that a male student would have a girl or woman accompany him in a capacity close enough to a European idea of “servant” to merit her presence.

⁷⁰ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Spotswood, 26 July 1712.

Given the gendered division of labor assumed in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic, the Brafferton School was probably desperate for girls and women to perform labor necessary to the function of the school that boys and men lacked the skills and will to perform. In that case, there would be no doubt about the legitimacy of clothing her with Brafferton funds. The possibility that a female servant accompanied a student to the school, the demand for girls and women to perform female-assigned labor, and the evident confidence that the funds were appropriately spent make it likely that the stockings were worn by a woman in residence at the Brafferton than another Native woman. Regardless of whether or not the wearer resided at the Brafferton, that any person who was not a student at the Brafferton School received English clothing purchased with Brafferton funds demonstrates the Estate's wider purpose as a means of transmitting English culture.

A pair of women's stockings is not the only use of Brafferton Estate funds that may not immediately seem like legitimate uses if education devoid of cultural transmission was the goal of the Brafferton Estate. Both the New England Company and William and Mary used Brafferton funds in ways that treated their respective Rules and Regulations flexibly, but in ways idiosyncratic to each institution's objectives and financial needs. £45 of the £90 was for the purposes of supporting local missionaries to Native Americans in the area (but not at the Indian College), but, controversially, some of the congregations of those missionaries were mostly white. It could be that the funds were willfully spent counter to their purpose, but there was much confusion over what counted as legitimate work supported by the funds. Increase Mather was under the impression that a missionary need not wholly devote his time to Indians in order to legitimately benefit from the Brafferton Estate, while others were.⁷¹ Perhaps individual men had individual interpretations about the extent to which the Brafferton Estate was meant to turn

⁷¹Kellaway, 175; Burton, 133.

students and their families into English men and women, but it was an explicit goal of the Brafferton Estate that the boys should establish connections to also "civilize" those close to them in their families or villages. Although this very brief shred of evidence is part of William and Mary's original Brafferton Estate Collection, not the later-acquired UK material, and is even accessible to the public digitally, no scholar has yet commented on the fact that the Brafferton Estate provided clothing to women and girls who were not students.

The College of William and Mary had its own reasons for using funds in ways that did not readily match the instructions. Brafferton Funds were necessary for realizing the College of William and Mary, even if that realization was little more than an Indian school, beyond a written charter. Blair's visit to Boyle's executors during the same stay in England to secure the Royal Charter gave William and Mary the financial stability it needed to begin operation; it did not at that time have sufficient funds to be a college per se, but at least an Indian School could be underway. The position of Indian Master usually went to a young graduate of the College, who then went on to ordination. The Indian Master's salary, room, and board all came from Brafferton Estate funds. In that sense, Brafferton Estate funds provided a stepping stone for Virginian Anglican clergy. That few records of how the College spent Brafferton Estate funds exist suggest that the College was likely using funds in ways they knew they ought not have.

A documented example of the use of Brafferton Estate funds attests to that the funds may have been used more for white students than Native. Blair requested to assigned unused Brafferton funds for the construction of a library in the same building as the Brafferton school. Stuart points out in her thesis that Blair complained of the waste of having a pile of unused money when the College itself was cash-strapped. Blair admitted that white students would likely use the library as well, but assured the executors that Native students would benefit from

the library. Realistically, however, given the curriculum taught to Native students compared to the volumes available in the library, it primarily benefited the English students at the College. There could be similar undocumented cases. The documentary evidence seems to suggest that individuals and groups involved in the distribution of Brafferton funds had conflicting agendas and motivations. Hugh Jones request for help rebuilding the library in 1720 also demonstrates how the library could be argued to be a legitimate use of the Brafferton Estate.⁷²

William and Mary had also been financially set back by fire in October 1705. In September 1706, Blair wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury requesting funding, appealing to the state of the colony after Nicholson's death, but also described the "deplorable state of our poor College," which had been destroyed less than a year previous.⁷³ Sometime between then and March of 1708/9, the "visitors and governours" of the College wrote to the Council of Virginia in America" requesting funds to help rebuild the college. They were granted five hundred pounds toward the undertaking.⁷⁴ Blair, forced to sit and watch Brafferton money pile up while money assigned to the College was stretched thin, would likely be eyeing the Brafferton money. All of this evidence taken together, we see that William and Mary ran right up to, perhaps even pushed, the boundaries of the rules for the funds in two trajectories away from simply feeding, clothing, and educating the boys staying at the Brafferton: bringing English culture to other Native Americans in the area and putting money towards the College itself.

Confusion over the funds' distribution even went so far as to call into question who had the authority to distribute them. Although it seemed perfectly clear who had the authority to do so in the Will and in the Rules and Methods for both the New England Company and The

⁷² BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4, Hugh Jones, 1 October 1720.

⁷³ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 9. The Archbishop is not named, but the style "Your Grace" and other clues suggest that he is the recipient of the letter.

⁷⁴ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 4.

College of William and Mary, in 1772, a representative from the College requested timber from the Brafferton Estate, and the request was made to the New England Company. Of course, it turned out that the New England Company could not deliver any timber, but that both institutions treated the Company as if it did speaks to the miscommunications and misunderstandings of the estate's distribution.⁷⁵ Eventually, the request was made to the Lord Chancellor, who had signed off on the original amount of funds and granted.⁷⁶

The controversy over paying Blair's salary appears in the Brafferton Estate Collection.⁷⁷ As president of the College, the Brafferton Estate did not pay Blair's salary, which begs the question of how it is included among papers related to the Brafferton. It is a summary of affidavits and other evidence related to the controversy and it is marked clearly as a copy, suggesting that it belonged to someone for reference. Affidavits supporting Blair's right to a salary before the College had students or faculty appealed to the importance of Blair's work in "civilizing" colonial Virginia. A description of the scandal noted Blair's "Zeal for promoting Religious and Virtue," and the need for a college in "this your Majestys Dominion where your Youth is deprived of the benefits of a Liberal and Virtuous education..."⁷⁸ A letter from the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge to Blair in 1743 praises Blair for laying a "good foundation for Posterity."⁷⁹ When forced to defend the necessity for the college and its founders, an appeal to "posterity" and leaving an institution to future Anglo-Virginians was an accepted and explicit motivation for the college.

Papers related to the controversy over Blair's salary also appear in the UK material of the Brafferton Estate Collection. Again, these papers reinforce loyalty to the British Empire as a

⁷⁵ Kellaway, 175.

⁷⁶ BEC, Series 2, Appeals to Lord Chancellor 1773 and 1775.

⁷⁷ BEC, Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3.

⁷⁸ Brafferton Estate Collection, Series 2.

⁷⁹ James Blair Papers, Box 1.

justification for Blair's financial support. Although acknowledging Blair's subversion to Nicholson's government, they argue that Blair only did so with England in mind. "[Blair] knew well enough that Virginia was one of the most peaceable and quiet Countries in the World; that no man in it had any of those rebellious notions, and that they had no more thoughts of living without England than young children have of living without their Parents and Friends." In that same account, the author brought attention to a personal affair that likely clouded Blair and Nicholson's relationship. Nicholson courted a "young gentlewoman" who lived with Blair "in great friendship." When she refused to marry him, he was ugly; this author alleges he threatened to kill her brother and father. Blair's brother then courted her, provoking jealousy in Nicholson.⁸⁰ These personal matters overshadow the Brafferton Estate Papers far more than religious differences.

Furthermore, Blair's various controversies during his tenure as president of William and Mary show that political and interpersonal connections could be far more volatile than religious differences. Francis Nicholson and James Blair, presumably religiously aligned, carried out their political rivalry in the bitterest manner possible. In a 1704 letter from Nicholson to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholson bitterly denounced Blair and his "factions." The letter further reveals that Blair sent "Dr. Bill" "prose and verses" related to the controversy. This incensed Nicholson, and he assured the Archbishop that he would find them "Arbitrary, Uncannonical, and Illegal." In exposing it, he hoped that Blair and his "little Scottish faction may Chance to have enough of it."⁸¹ In so doing, Blair tapped into a political tradition in early modern England of writing manuscript libels to criticize the political elite.⁸² This evidence lends

⁸⁰ BEC Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3.

⁸¹ BEC Series 2, Box 2, Folder 3, Nicholson to Canterbury 1704.

⁸² Alastair Bellany, "Railing Rhymes and Vaunting Verse: Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England," in Sharpe and Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Stanford, 1993): 285-310.

validity to the argument that it was political and personal connections that drove the estate because those differences and disagreements were far more explosive than any overt religious differences.

Epilogue: A Fractured Empire

In November 1790, *The Dublin Chronicle* included news in its postscript that the Bishop of London, at that time Beilby Porteus, initiated a suit against the College of William and Mary on behalf of the Brafferton Estate. At stake in the suit was, “Whether, as America is now alienated from the mother country, and being no longer to be considered as British subjects, it ought not to be construed in equity that the devise should be applied to the same purpose in some other part of his Majesty’s foreign dominions?” The Lord Chancellor decided that the charity ought to be “inviolable” and “confirmed forever,” but the relationships to the institutions in former American colonies was to be dissolved. Certain details lead us to question the accuracy of the reporting; the postscript explains that the charity funded The College of William and Mary “in New England” and that William and Mary received a fixed sum of £90 annually, which was actually the sum given to the New England Company, and that an additional £40 was given to missionaries when in reality that number was taken from the original £90. But missing the details, the postscript captured the right spirit; it described the charity’s purpose as “propagating the Christian Religion, amongst the Indians in the back settlements.”⁸³ Eventually, enslaved Africans became the primary focus on the charity, rather than Native Americans.

While marking a break from formerly colonial colleges, the intention of the Estate to “civilize” British America is remarkably steadfast, even if the subjects in need of civilization and

⁸³ *The Dublin Chronicle*, November 20th, 1790, in BEC, Series 1, Box 3, Folder 2.

the contours of British America themselves changed. In Appeals to Lord Chancellor in 1773 and 1775 in the Brafferton Estate Collection, we see that eighty years after William and Mary's charter was granted, language such as "Christian Religion" that universalized Protestantism was still being used. The documents display remarkable continuity of language.⁸⁴ However, unlike in seventeenth-century documents, little appeal is made to the diplomatic purpose of the fund, likely because of the dramatically-changed diplomatic landscape with Native Americans, especially following the Seven Years War. The English Atlantic in 1773 was a much different English Atlantic than that of 1693.

Exactly when did the Brafferton Estate cut ties completely with the two American colleges? Scholars frequently mention that the American Revolution ended the arrangement, but never assign a specific date or moment as evidence of this break. Disbursements records for 1787 and 1789 list neither William and Mary nor Harvard, suggesting that the ties had been cut already by then; the Dublin Chronicle reporting of the break by November 1790 confirms this date as well.⁸⁵ The Estate reoriented itself to its new position within what remained of the British Atlantic after the Revolution. Many other organizations and charities that originated out of the late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century push toward "Universal Protestantism" did not survive the American Revolution, showing the limits of this push for a united Protestant front. By 1794, the "Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West Indies" appeared in Brafferton account books and a donation receipt.⁸⁶

The Brafferton's reorientation toward the remaining British Atlantic usually gets a passing mention by scholars, but few have critically considered what this break communicates

⁸⁴ BEC, Series 2, Box 1.

⁸⁵ BEC, Series 2, Box 1, Folders 3 and 4; Series 1, Box 3, Folder 2.

⁸⁶ BEC, Series 2, Box 1, Folder 5.

about the goals and intentions of the Brafferton Estate. The Brafferton Estate represented a unified English Protestant front that helped secure the presence of the British Empire in North America. The connections made between the Brafferton Estate and the two schools were sturdily built to endure many obstacles, but given its clear imperial objectives, it was impossible for the triangular relationship to survive colonial political independence from Great Britain. The American Revolution challenged “international Protestantism.” The SPCK, a missionary group that connected men from Harvard, William and Mary, the New England Company, and Boyle’s social networks, sided firmly with Great Britain in the conflict.⁸⁷ As the Brafferton Estate changed orientation toward the British West Indies, another portion of the remaining British Empire, the New England Company became a charity concerned with English possessions in present-day Canada and remains a Canadian charity to this day.

Although I argue that the motivations of the Brafferton Estate were an overlapping of religious, social, and imperial motivations, the split shows that by the late eighteenth century, the religious and social ties were not strong enough to carry the weight of the Estate after the imperial ties broke. I began this project envisioning that the religious divisions overcome were the most remarkable feature of the Brafferton Estate. In the end, it was not interdenominational tensions that remade the Estate, but an imperial, political split. The Estate had a good enough relationship with William in Mary as late as 1775 to allow the extraction of timber from the estate in Yorkshire for its own profit. Perhaps it can be said, then, that even though the Estate shows change overtime, the imperial motivations turned out to be the most crucial, so crucial that a break in it resulted in a break up of the charity itself. But, of course, it did not disappear; it

⁸⁷ Engel, “The SPCK and the American Revolution: The Limits of International Protestantism,” *Church History*, Vol. 81, No. 1, pp. 77-103.

continued to serve Great Britain, and later the UK's, imperial aims, regardless of the loss of the two institutions it originally supported.

Native students were not the only historical actors that determined the “success” of the school—For Harvard, Boyle scholarships to white missionaries did not always work out either. The scholarship did not attract many missionaries and for those it did attract, a great deal did not complete their missionary work or did not have success with conversion. Many were successful; while “Harvard had access to the Boyle fund, the college was a leader in the provincial missionary enterprise”.⁸⁸ Boyle’s funding “provided the President and Fellows with an embarrassing problem: they would have had no difficulty in spending the money for the good of the College, but to find missionaries was not an easy matter.”⁸⁹ That the scholarship still managed to result in so many failures highlights that discrepancies between goals in London and realities on-the-ground in the colonies had a great deal to do with the “failure” of the Brafferton Estate’s objectives.

By some assessments, the Brafferton Estate was not “successful” because, by Harvard’s standards, few scholars ever completed their studies; between the implementation of scholarships in 1712 and 1732, only five students committed.⁹⁰ It might similarly be considered unsuccessful by William and Mary’s, because few Native boys became the cultural interpreters they wanted them to be. However, neither institution failed to procure funding; plenty of institutions and wealthy men and women were willing to give generously. Looking at other attempts to create “Indian Schools” in the British Atlantic that resulted in similar financial successes but conversion or educational failures may shed light on the Brafferton Estate. One such example is the short-lived St. Paul’s school in Bermuda, which collapsed due to lack of interest despite its

⁸⁸ Burton, 139.

⁸⁹ Kellaway, 177.

⁹⁰ Burton, 134.

funding.⁹¹ Later, Thomas Lyttleton, who joined the SPCK in 1778, attempted to revive the school.⁹²

One could argue that, for men who worked tirelessly to procure funding for the Indian schools through writing, there was a great deal of success. For most English colonial missionary efforts, although very few Native Americans converted to Christianity or English ways of life, the volume of writing, both manuscript and in print culture, along with the funds amassed, were “ironically” the “primary accomplishment of British mission in the American colonies, as their influence often exceeded the effectiveness of the projects they were written to promote.”⁹³ In promoting the attitude that Native Americans were pitiful and needed to be rescued from their own barbarism, the Brafferton Estate was very successful. Furthermore, the motivations, arrangements, and outcomes of the Brafferton Estate were not static. Just as the New England Company shifted personnel and methods over time, so did the intentions of all involved in the Estate over the course of the eighteenth century.

This project began with a perceived discontinuity; it appeared anomalous that two institutions in the early modern English Atlantic, Puritan Harvard and Anglican William and Mary, would fund their Indian schools with money from the same Estate. However, the correspondence, account books, and other documents of the Brafferton Estate Collection demonstrate the points of consensus amidst religious and political tensions. Elite men in both Puritan Massachusetts and Anglican Virginia were connected to a transatlantic culture of charitable gentlemen, for whom the charity functioned more to bolster their socioeconomic status than to prove their piety to a particular iteration of the Christian faith. While Dissenters and those deeply loyal to the Church of England could not tolerate each other earlier in the seventeenth

⁹¹ George Berkeley, *A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches*, 1725.

⁹² Engel, 99.

⁹³ Stevens, 3.

century—and, in the case of Yale, could not even tolerate dissent within their own ranks through the early eighteenth century—the late seventeenth-century international Protestant community wished to win the world for Protestantism. English men and women of all religious persuasions agreed upon an ideal of civilization that included all Protestants but excluded Catholics and non-Christians, especially non-Europeans. Historians' recent attention to transatlantic configurations allows us to question and problematize institutions and affiliations once taken for granted and see the inner workings of what constituted the English Atlantic world.

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