1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Steward's House, Foreign Mission School

Other Name/Site Number: The Commons

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior, October 31, 2016.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 14 Bolton Hill Road Not for publication: N/A

City/Town: Cornwall Vicinity:

State: Connecticut County: Litchfield Code: 005 Zip Code: 06753

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property	Category of Property
Private: X	Building(s): X
Public-Local:	District:
Public-State:	Site:
Public-Federal:	Structure:
	Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	1	buildings	1
sites	1	sites	0
structures	0	structures	1
objects	0	objects	0
Total	1	Total	2

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register:

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: Domestic/Education Sub: Institutional Housing/Education

Current: Domestic Sub: Single Dwelling

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: New England Farmhouse, Federal

Materials:
Foundation: Cut Stone
Walls: Wood clapboard (exterior), plaster (interior)
Roof: Composite asphalt shingle
Other: Post and beam structural system, gable roof

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

SUMMARY

As a central building of the Foreign Mission School (FMS) in Cornwall, Connecticut, and the site of enduring educational and social politics concerning racial tolerance, Asian and Native American migration, and American religious and cultural identity in the early nineteenth-century, the Steward's House is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1. Founded in 1816 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and in operation from 1817 to 1826, the FMS hosted over one-hundred students primarily from Asian-Pacific and North American nations and speaking at least twenty-four different languages. The Steward's House of the FMS sits today in its original location in historic Cornwall Village, Connecticut, with a slightly reduced surrounding property. The wooden clapboard-faced New England farmhouse maintains a high level of historical integrity from the 1817 to 1826 period of significance, with the majority of the architectural attributes classifying it as a standard Federal-style center-hall farmhouse still in place, and with many of the original materials in both construction and cosmetic details still visible. Additionally, the vista created by the historic façades of the house and its larger setting within Cornwall Village generates an authentic impression of the original site for visitors. This level of integrity and sense of authenticity remain despite alterations to the building in which the singular placement of the additions is relegated to the rear of the house.

LOCATION OVERVIEW

The Steward's House is situated in the community of Cornwall Village within the town of Cornwall in Litchfield County, Connecticut. The town, which lies in the northwest corner of the state, is characterized by a forest-filled landscape in the southern Berkshire Mountains and bounded to the west by the Housatonic River. According to the 2010 US Census, Cornwall spans 46.3 square miles. The town was officially incorporated from Indian Territory in 1740, and the FMS campus was established within the settlement of South Cornwall in 1816, with operations beginning the following year. Presently, South Cornwall is known as historic Cornwall Village, and the built environment maintains strong links to the past with many buildings remaining from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, mixed with buildings dating through the 1920s. Prior to this, in its early years, the town included mostly log-cabin style buildings. The village remains today composed of the three main historic roads: Pine Street, Jewell Street, and Bolton Hill Road. Each of these roads presently link to Highway 4 (Furnace Brook Road).

Without substantial changes to its setting and physical landscape, Cornwall's characteristics have remained consistent with its historic layout, including the roads, boundaries, hills, valleys, and streams. Cornwall is a hilly, mountainous town with striking vistas as depicted in John Warner Barber's 1835 sketch of the village.[1] This sketch portrays a distinctive, historical New England town in a mountainous setting and a church-centered layout. The summits that surround Cornwall reach heights of 1500 feet[2] and many are used for winter tourism today, such as the Mohawk Mountain Ski Resort. Evergreen trees including hemlock, fir, spruce, and pine dominate the vegetation and contribute to a locally-sustained logging industry. There are few bodies of water in Cornwall, but the most significant was once called "the Pond," now known as Cornwall Lake.[3]

In the village center is a late nineteenth-century Town Hall and a white carriage house that is now the Cornwall Historical Society. Not far from the Town Hall, off of Bolton Hill Road (historic West Road) and near the intersection with School Road, stands a plaque that marks the FMS's location. About fifty yards from this

[1] John Warner Barber, "Sketch of Cornwall, Connecticut," 1835, Cornwall Historical Society, Cornwall, CT.

[2] Edward C. Starr, *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut, A Typical New England Town* (Cornwall: Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor, 1926), 15.

[3] Starr, History of Cornwall, 21.

marker, lies another plaque that marks Kellogg's General Store where FMS students (referred to at the time as "scholars") and school officials purchased supplies and mingled with the community.[4] The Steward's House also stands in this portion of the present-day village. Together with a few other houses (the Principal's House; the original residence of the prominent Gold family; and Reverend Timothy Stone's house), these buildings serve as the school's physical memory.

The present inhabitancy of Cornwall remains similar to that of earlier periods, with a current population of about 1,434[5] compared with that of about 1,600 in the early 1800s. Recently, the use of many residences as second homes for New York City dwellers has changed some of the demographics of the town. Though the majority of Cornwall's permanent residents might still identify with the lower to middle class, there is a notable socio-economic divide in the community now due to many part-time residents. With the history of international interaction and exposure through the FMS, and with the out-of-town nature of many current dwellers, Cornwall is a place accustomed to population diversity. Yet the significant historical integrity of the Steward's House within this authentic town context supports the designation of the building as a representative site of the FMS's important transnational history and current seasonal New England destination. All of these aspects invite a discussion of a possible larger historic district nomination.

CAMPUS CONTEXT

During the period of significance (1817-1826) when the school was active, its presence in the settlement of South Cornwall would have been nearly unavoidable. FMS students would have moved regularly between the schoolhouse and the Steward's House, fulfilling their labor hours on the land surrounding the Steward's House and attending church services with the community. The private homes of the school's principal and doctor were also located in the village, along with several other staff members' residences. Notable American geographer Jedidiah Morse describes the extent of the FMS buildings within the village in his 1822 Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs:

> *...there belong to [the Foreign Mission School] a commodious edifice for the School, a good mansion house, with a barn, and other out-buildings, and a garden for the Principal; a house, barn, &. with a few acres of good tillage land for the Steward and Commons; all situated sufficiently near to each other; and eighty acres of excellent wood land, about a mile and a half distant.*[6]

Today, the Steward's House is the only extant building with significant historical integrity that was part of the original complex owned and operated by the ABCFM. The Principal's House is also still standing; however, it has undergone dramatic alterations to all of its historic structure. The Principal's House now includes substantial additions extending from two of its façades that are visible from all angles. The original windows, fenestration pattern, doors, bolection molding, and cornices that might have demonstrated the standards of the original historic architecture have since been replaced. Additionally, much of this renovation work was completed between 2007 and 2014 using modern materials.[7]

[4] John Demos, *Heathen School* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014), 123.
[5] US Census Bureau, Resident Population, Connecticut, 2000, National Archives, Washington, DC.
[6] Jedidiah Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs* (1822), 163.
[7] Cornwall Town Records, Clerk of the Court, Cornwall Village Town Hall (File 730 for 027 Pine Street).

HOUSE DESCRIPTION

Exterior: Historic and Present-Day

During the school's operational years, the Steward's House sat on 5.5 acres of "good tillage land." Built in 1814 by Eber Maxfield, the house represents the simple architectural styles common to the era, particularly the standard Federal domestic features that are typical of New England farmhouses.[8] The original rectangular plan measures approximately 38 x 28 feet, with the front entry and long side of the building facing south to Bolton Hill Road (historic West Road). It is a two-story post-and-beam construction with wooden clapboards. The building sits upon a stone foundation, which forms the cellar, and has a side gabled roof. The gabled roof creates a large walk-up attic space with exposed king-post trusses and beams with visible adze cuts.

The south or front façade of the house exemplifies the symmetry for which Federal style buildings are known. The 5 x 2 window bay arrangement features two closely-spaced windows on the east and west ends of the façade, as well as a fifth bay centered for the window on the second floor and the door on the first floor. These windows are double-hung sashes with 12-over-12 lights and thick wooden muntins. They are adorned with working louvered, wooden shutters. The tops of the second-story windows meet with the sizeable dental molding cornice. The central entryway on the façade includes a thick-paneled door, topped with a tall molded entablature. This entablature holds a rectangular transom window with muntins that create a diamond pattern typical of early Federal examples.[9] At either end of the gabled roof are two chimneys. The east façade retains the symmetrical window layout and the 12-over-12 sashes, featuring two windows on each floor and two small ventilation windows at the attic level. On the eastern end of the rear of the house, the original bulkhead still remains, with access to the cellar.

Several attributes of the house and façades have been altered from their original historical construction. The west and north façades of the house have had alterations to the windows over the years, resulting in window configurations, sash numbers, and materials that are not original. Additionally, the chimney placement and construction has changed from the period of significance. Photos dating to the later decades of the nineteenth century show the symmetrical chimney placement, a standard component of Federal style farmhouses, with wide-brick chimneys rising from the center of the gable and inset from the east and west ends of the house, so that hearths could be constructed within each room. Today, the eastern chimney has been displaced a few feet from its original position, an alteration that probably entailed interior changes to the location of the fireplace (see floor plan).

Historic photos from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century show several iterations of porch constructions on the house. One of the earliest photos of the property, displaying the wider, pre-remodeled chimneys, shows steps leading up to a wooden plank constructed porch floor that spans the south side of the house, with a shed roof attaching to the façade under the second-story windows. A photo from 1894 shows the Steward's House with remodeled chimneys and a wrap-around porch of the same style completely encasing the building.[10] Presently, the porch exists only on the west side of the building. However, as porches did not rise to popularity in the area until the 1840s and 1850s, it is unlikely the original house had a porch.[11] According to Edward Starr's 1926 history of the town, Eber Maxfield had painted the edifice red when he completed it in 1814. Historic accounts from students and visitors to the FMS confirm that it remained this way through this period. The house is currently painted white with black shutters and a red front door.

[8] Virginia McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 200—214.
[9] Ibid., 202.
[10] John Calhoun, photograph of Steward's House, 1894, personal collection of Benjamin Silliman Gray, Cornwall, CT.
[11] McAlester, Field Guide to American Houses, 54-56.

Interior: Historical and Present-Day

The interior of the original house is laid out in a central hall plan that is two rooms deep on either side. This main hallway begins at the front door and ends at the rear of the house with a large panel door, colloquially known as a "coffin door" because of its width.

Currently, the east side of the first floor is taken up by one large room, which extends the full depth of the house and has two doors from the main hall. From the original placement of the chimneys and from comparisons to buildings of comparable style and age, this large space would have originally been two rooms, each featuring fireplaces from the interior chimney structure that divided them, and each with one door to the main hall. Presently, the mid- to late nineteenth-century chimney alterations moved the hearth to a central location on the east wall of the house, showing evidence that this alteration to the floor plan most likely occurred at the same time. Two fireplaces became one, and two rooms became one large room.

The west side of the first floor would have originally had two main rooms—a front room and the kitchen. The walls have since been slightly altered to create a very narrow hallway with a small bathroom that runs alongside the main hall, from the front of the house to the kitchen. The front room includes a fireplace with a Federal style mantle that abuts the large cooking fireplace in the kitchen room. The kitchen, regularly documented as the lively heart of New England farmhouses of this era, still retains the original fireplace, beehive oven, and cabinet components along the south wall.[12] The rear wall of the kitchen is no longer extant and is now open to the addition.

The narrow stairs to the second floor run along the west side of the main hall and face the front door. A door for cellar access is at the rear of the main hall, under the stairs. The second-floor layout closely resembles the ground level. There is a central hall with two chamber rooms on either side. The northwest corner chamber is significantly smaller than the other three as a result of the walk-up attic access. Alterations to the interior architecture of this floor include the additions of closet spaces and some walls, as well as a small bathroom inset on the south end of the second floor main hall which allows access to the southwest bedroom.

Throughout these two floors, doors and hardware are original to the period of significance (1817–1826). The doors are heavy wooden construction with simple cross paneling, and iron strapping and hinges are still in place. Nearly all of the walls in the main room spaces are plaster. Walls added after the period of significance are constructed from either plaster or sheetrock. Throughout the house are the original large wooden plank floors, which are currently natural and unpainted.

NONCONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS

When approached along Bolton Hill Road today, the Steward's House conveys its historic integrity despite a series of nineteenth- and twentieth-century additions to the rear of the building. These additions were undertaken from the 1830s onward, coinciding with the architectural-revision fashions of those times. The house features a rambling, noncontributing addition that extends off of the northwest side of the house's rear façade, perpendicular from the original rectangular plan. This noncontributing addition includes both one- and two-story sections that were repurposed as living space and garage in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historically, the ca. 1834 section was most likely used as living space while the second and third additions were used as a barn and wood shed in the mid- to late nineteenth century, and perhaps even earlier. The two-story portion of the addition, immediately adjacent to the original house, was built ca. 1834. The northwest corner of the attic was extended over this addition, and the construction process left a portion of the

[12] Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America: Written during a Tour in the United States and Canada*, vol. 2 (London: Hurst, Robinson, 1824), 301.

original roof in place at the junction of the new with the old. Wooden shake shingles are intact on this portion of the original roof. The second addition, extending out to the north, was added and altered through the mid-twentieth century, as the full extent of the present-day building appears on a land survey from 1953 but not on one from 1874. The second addition has two bedrooms and two bathrooms on the second floor, and two public rooms on the first floor, a kitchen, and dining room. The third addition was built in 1978; a single-story sunroom, bedroom, and attached two-story garage.

The boundaries of the Steward's House property have been reduced from the original 5.5 acres of land to a present-day 3-acre property. The original land plot was used for agricultural cultivation and outdoor labor during the school's operational years. The house has always remained in the same position within this property. However, there have been alterations to and constructions around the building that do not contribute to the historic core or surrounding landscape. A guest cottage currently stands on the northeast edge of the property. This small building does not date to the period of significance (1817–1826) but was constructed as a supporting building for the neighboring Rumsey Hall School campus.[13] Additionally, the Steward's House property includes a tennis court that dates to the late twentieth century. Both of these noncontributing resources stand on the east side of the present-day site boundaries.

[13] The Rumsey Hall School was an all-male preparatory boarding school established directly to the east of the Steward's House land boundaries at the turn of the twentieth century. The Rumsey Hall School buildings were demolished in the early 2000s.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide:__ Locally:__

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B__ C__ D__

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A X B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__

NHL Criteria: 1

NHL Criteria Exceptions: 1

NHL Theme(s):
II. Creating Social Institutions and Movements
2. reform movements
3. religious institutions
III. Expressing Cultural Values
1. educational and intellectual currents
VIII. Change Role of the United States in the World Community
3. expansionism and imperialism
4. immigration and emigration policies

Areas of Significance:
Education
Religion
Social History
Ethnic Heritage: Asian, Native American, Pacific Islander

Period(s) of Significance: 1817-1826

Significant Dates: N/A

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Eber Maxfield (1766/7-1858)

Historic Contexts:
I. Cultural Developments: Indigenous American Populations
D. Ethnohistory of Indigenous American Populations
5. Becoming Native American
c. The Role of Missionaries in Assimilation
XXVII. Education
H. Special Populations
2. Ethnic Populations

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

SUMMARY

As a central building of the Foreign Mission School (FMS) in Cornwall, Connecticut, as well as the site of enduring educational and social politics concerning racial tolerance, Asian and Native American migration, and American identity in the early nineteenth century, the Steward's House is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1. Founded in 1816 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), and in operation during the period of significance from 1817 to 1826, the FMS hosted over one hundred students speaking at least twenty-four different languages, primarily from Asian-Pacific and Native American nations. The FMS remains the first and last experiment in a domestically located "foreign" mission. As part of the "Second Great Awakening," the FMS was renowned within the civilizing mission and religious movements of the early nineteenth century, impacting important American social and intellectual currents in immigration, education, religious training, and the United States' global influence. Students from China, Hawaii, India, the South Pacific, Europe, and several Native American nations studied Christian texts for English language, grammar, and rhetoric, while also taking arithmetic lessons and learning agricultural chores. Students were trained to carry missionary principles and an American work ethic to their home communities upon graduation. It is important to note that in the early nineteenth century all land west of the Ohio Valley was considered foreign territory. Westward continental expansion bled into the Pacific and beyond.

Due to its ethnic diversity, the campus became a significant site for popular debates about the United States' role across the Pacific. The Steward's House occupied a central position within the school and was intended to embody the main principles of the school's mission as the civilizing site in the students' daily lives. In fact, its dining room, kitchen, and infirmary served as dynamic venues for the intimate exchange of ideas across many belief systems. The informal relationships the students maintained with both school staff and community members in and around the house contributed to a reputation of unrestrained race-mingling that led to the school's eventual closure, specifically after the marriages of two "colored" students with white women from Cornwall. The first of these "improper" relationships occurred in the Steward's House between the Native American student John Ridge and the Steward's daughter Sarah Northrup. These interracial relationships, shocking at the time, evoked a substantial public response that led to wide-scale debates on the status of race and mixed-race in nineteenth-century America, providing a context for significant national conversations on race and religion that continue to the present day. Events in the Steward's House brought early nineteenth-century assumptions about race-mixing *within* the United States into the open, ultimately galvanizing mission work across the Pacific and on Native American lands. Finally, the shaping experiences at the school for two of its most prominent Cherokee students, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, as well as the events of their separate marriages and departures, further suggest the central position of the FMS legacy in nationally significant relations with Native American communities, culminating in the Indian Removal Act of 1835.

Currently a privately owned property, the Steward's House remains a site of cultural significance to numerous communities across the United States and abroad. Descendants of the school's graduates, hailing from the American Southwest and as far as Hawaii and China, regularly return to Cornwall and the Steward's House, the only historically preserved building of the FMS campus today. The Steward's House has also been the focus of a recent exhibition on the history of the FMS site in Cornwall and in related publications. These regular commemorations demonstrate the enduring legacy of the Steward's House and its relationship to the subject of race, immigration, education, and US expansion in the early nineteenth century.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

Early US Transpacific Voyaging

Within months of the 1783 Treaty of Paris affirming an independent American state, US merchants from the northeast sent ships to Asia. Very quickly post-Revolutionary Americans flooded beyond Cape Horn into the Pacific basin in search of whales, resources to trade with China, islands to survey and claim, and new worlds to explore. Although Thomas Jefferson dreamed of a self-sufficient agrarian republic, Americans ardently supported global expansion and free trade. Leaders in the government, including Jeffersonian Republicans as well as Federalists, realized that a strong independent state also required a strong commercial and political presence abroad.[14] American officials and businessmen increasingly viewed claims to the Asia-Pacific as critical to state formation and the prosperity of the nation.[15] The proving ground for imperial statehood, from ancient Rome to the British Empire, had hinged on mastering trade with and knowledge of an exotic sphere; for the early republic, that sphere was the Asia-Pacific.[16]

By the end of the eighteenth century, the largest international frontier remaining to Europeans and Americans was the Pacific Ocean. For two-and-half centuries, the Spanish had been plodding their way across the Pacific between Mexico and the Philippines in the lucrative galleon trade, never much interested in further Pacific exploration. Though Dutch Pacific trading posts were established early and relayed information to Europe about the South Seas, it was not until the imperial rivalries of the global Seven Years War that aggressive Pacific exploration by Europeans began. It was in this context that Britain's Captain Cook, along with his Connecticut sailor John Ledyard, brought the Hawaiian Islands to the attention of the Americans.

During the early republic, trade with the Asia-Pacific dramatically intensified, the fruits and ambitions of which began to show in American public life. These exchanges also included many unforeseen outcomes. Ironically, given the trajectory of the FMS story, Hawaii, Tahiti, and the Marquesas became known as sexual playgrounds for American sailors, who introduced a host of Western diseases into these island societies.[17] Foreign sailors commonly called "kanakas" also began appearing in and sojourning through US seaports, including Henry Opukahaia[18] and Thomas Hopoo of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Indeed, by the mid-nineteenth century, the rapid growth of maritime ethnic diversity on American vessels was such that one out of every five sailors in the whaling fleet was Pacific Islander.[19]

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[14] See Drew R. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

[15] Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 117-26.

[16] See Damon Salesa, "Samoa's Half-Castes and Some Frontiers of Comparison," in Ann Stoler, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 73; Christin J. Mamiya, "Nineteenth-Century French Women, the Home, and the Colonial Vision: Les Sauvages de la Mer Pacifique Wallpaper," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 28, no. 1 (2007): 100-20; David Palumbo-Liu, *Asian/American: Historical Crossing of a Racial Frontier* (Redwood City, CA:Stanford University Press, 1999), 17; Jeannette Roan, "Exotic Explorations: Travels to Asia and the Pacific in Early Cinema," in *Re-Collecting Early Asian America: Essays in Cultural History*, eds., Josephine Lee, Imogene Lim, and Yuko Matsukawa (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002), 193.

[17] See David Igler, The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[18] Henry Opukahaia, a graduate of the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, is today most commonly known by his English name, Obookiah.

[19] David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euro-American Ships* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), 163.

Religious Influence of the Second Great Awakening

It was against this backdrop that Opukahaia, a young "kanaka" stranded in New Haven in the first decade of the nineteenth century, caught the attention of Edwin W. Dwight, a student at Yale College[20] and cousin to then president of the college, Timothy Dwight. President Dwight led New England's evangelical New Divinity movement, popular with the merchants and sea captains of the commercial elite. Dwight, like other New England pastors affiliated with New Divinity, feared the religious and educational disintegration of American republican institutions in the face of apathetic state governments. At the end of the eighteenth-century, Dwight helped found a national Protestant evangelical movement called the "Awakening" in an effort to re-educate Americans in the truth of the gospel and rekindle their moral and religious strength.[21]

Millenarian revivals rapidly spread across the country in the early nineteenth-century and especially more so among the rural middle and working classes. Remote Cornwall experienced three major revivals in the years before the FMS opened.[22] The Puritan concept of "original sin" was replaced by a new, more inclusive belief that opening one's heart to a Christian life at any point in life might guarantee salvation. An important characteristic of this "Second Great Awakening" was its lack of elitism, that is to say, its open embrace of all of God's children. The energetic sermons and cathartic revivals crossed denominational lines among Methodist, Baptist, and old New England Congregationalist pastors alike.

Many of these born-again Christians took on the responsibility of reforming lost souls, including Deists, skeptics, and foreigners. Women in particular established reform societies to tackle various categories of sinfulness such as drunkenness, prostitution, or church truancy, often converting their own husbands.[23] Missions became a fundamental concern, and women's charitable donations of their time, handiwork, and financing proved invaluable. Initially, however, the focus remained on the un-churched settlers along the western frontier and their Indian neighbors, the "heathens."[24]

Rise of US Foreign Missions

Converting "heathens" to Christianity was not a new impulse. From the moment Europeans sailed beyond church steeples in Columbian and post-Columbian voyages as "disciples of Christ," they carried with them a mission of "world saving."[25] Those seeking transatlantic voyages proffered several arguments for doing so, and the earliest of these often described itself as a Christian duty to "save the godless."[26] By the seventeenth century, "praying towns" and schools for Indians had emerged throughout the colonies, the most notable being John Elliot's work among Massachusetts tribal peoples; even Harvard initially offered a Christian education to Indian students. In the mid-eighteenth century, millennially-minded clergy of the "First Great Awakening" stressed the conversion of Indians and Jews as a necessary precursor to the coming of Christ. The result was a sudden spate of mission organizing and founding of schools aimed directly at Indians, a trend that would continue into the early republic and beyond.

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[20] Yale College was renamed Yale University in 1887.

[21] See Kenneth Silverman, *Timothy Dwight* (New York: Twayne, 1969).

[22] These revivals occurred in 1801, 1806-7, and 1811-12. Demos, *Heathen School*, 68.

[23] See Nancy Cott, "Young Women in the Great Awakening in New England, *Feminist Studies* 3 (Autumn 1975); Susan Hill Lindley, *You Have Stept out of Your Place: A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996).

[24] Demos, *Heathen School*, 59-62.

[25] Ibid., 55-65.

[26] An example of this "world-saving" mission is inscribed on the first Massachusetts State seal, which depicts a naked Indian speaking the words, "Come Over and Save Us."

While Anglo-America may have been unwelcoming to working-class foreigners at the time that Opukahia sat outcast on the steps of a Yale College building in 1809, another feverous compulsion to introduce Christ to pagans was mounting once again, this time galvanized by a new American *national* identity. Ezra Stiles, Timothy Dwight's predecessor in the Yale presidency, connected exceptionalist statehood, commerce, and "world saving" in a 1783 speech appropriately titled, "The United States Elevated to Glory and Honor":

> *This great american revolution, this recent political phænomenon of a new sovereignty arising among the sovereign powers of the earth, will be attended to and contemplated by all nations. Navigation will carry the American flag around the globe itself; and display the thirteen stripes and new constellation at bengal and canton, on the indus and ganges, on the whang-ho and the yang-tse-kinag; and with commerce will import the wisdom and literature of the east. That prophecy of Daniel is now literally fulfilling—ishotatu rabbim vetrabbeh badaugnt—there shall be an universal travelling too and fro, and knowledge shall be increased. This knowledge will be brought home and treasured up in america: and being here digested and carried to the highest perfection, may reblaze back from america to europe, asia and africa, and illumine the world with truth and liberty.*[27]

America's rise was thus considered prophesied in the Bible and consisted of carrying knowledge "to the highest perfection" before spreading "the Word" around the world. This was the religious and imperial framework within which foreign missions and the FMS were conceived. Nathaniel Emmons, Yale graduate and New Divine, would concur twenty years later, "There is great reason to believe that God is about to transfer the empire of the world from Europe to America…the last great empire He means to erect before the kingdoms of this world are absorbed into the kingdom of Christ."[28] Emmons, who would become president of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, was one of many influenced by the "Awakening" who felt called to mission work by the promise of a more virtuous political order worldwide, one that could only be initiated by United States citizens.

The American Board of Foreign Commissioners (ABCFM) was founded in Boston in 1810 to promote such work worldwide, becoming the largest missionary organization of the nineteenth century. Its founders were primarily New England Congregationalists, but missionaries from all Protestant denominations were accepted.[29] Its first mission school opened in British India in 1812. Missions among the Native Americans and in other Asia-Pacific regions quickly followed. The ABCFM had its own presses, printing Bibles in foreign languages as well as educational materials. The educational goals of the organization were broad, however, promoting daily work skills and "civilized" living consistent with values of the federal-era United States.[30] The "students" in these ABCFM-sponsored institutions performed quite a bit of labor to maintain the missions and were cared for when sick.[31]

Race Relations and Intermarriage

In his 1783 speech, President Stiles also referenced race, making clear that the United States, a new Christian state, was composed of only those who could identify as "white." Noting the country's propitious growth, he

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[27] Ezra Stiles, "The United States Elevated to Honor and Glory," speech given in Hartford, May, 1783.

[28] Julian Mellen, A Sermon Delivered Before His Excellency the Governor, Boston, 1797; quoted in Demos, Heathen School, 62-63.

[29] A monument in Williamstown, Massachusetts, commemorates the founding of the ABCFM by five students at Williams College.

[30] The ABCFM merged with other similar organizations in the mid-twentieth century, existing today as the United Church Board for World Ministries.

[31] See Charles A. Maxfield, "The 'Reflex Influence' of Missions: The Domestic Operations of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions" (PhD diss., Union Theological Seminary [Richmond, VA], 1995).

said, "The United States may be two million souls, whites, which have been an increase…. Can we contemplate their present, and anticipate their future increase, and not be struck with astonishment to find ourselves in the midst of the fulfillment of the prophecy of Noah?" For Stiles, and many like him, recently-arrived German or Hungarian immigrants contributed to the prophetic growth of the United States but not non-white African and Native Americans, much less those from the Asia-Pacific, both foreign and "colored." Yet within this discriminatory context, tens upon tens of Asian-Pacific sailors, servants, and migrants began arriving in American seaports in the early republic, including Opukahaia.[32]

Statesmen and religious leaders discounted in their "world saving" formula the human intimacy required by mission work. The problem of how to give people a Christian education yet keep them separate had long plagued religious leaders across European colonies.[33] Latin America's *casta* system, or any official hierarchical interracial ordering, was never acceptable in Anglo-America, where only two races and two ways of qualifying race were recognized: white must be 100 percent white, and all the rest black.[34] The young men of the FMS were therefore as often called "scholars" as "colored boys," for black was expressed in many different words in early nineteenth-century Cornwall: "negro," "tawny," "aboriginal," or "son of the forest."

New England's gradual emancipation of black slaves (Indians, Africans, and mixed-race) and its growing population of free people of color put increased pressure on institutionalized forms of racism, including obstacles to public leadership, political participation, and property ownership. Great racial tensions existed throughout the states in the early republic, but especially so in the North, due ironically to its more rapid movement away from slavery as an economic system. Thus, very often the place of free people of color was negotiated locally in towns and villages rather than at the state or federal level. Cornwall's 1790 census listed nineteen enslaved people, but by 1800 there were only four, and none listed subsequently. Cornwall's cemeteries did not allow people of color, but deaths and baptisms were noted in town records for those who were free. By the first half of the nineteenth century, several dozen free people of color were living in northwestern Connecticut. They were well tolerated in Cornwall and even allowed to own property, although it was against state law.[35]

Foreign "colored" students were warmly welcomed by both the people of Cornwall and the broader nationwide community of mission supporters, as long as the young men remained subservient and entirely chaste in their relations with white women. While white American men certainly fathered mixed-race offspring, abroad and within white America, these children were unacknowledged; they did not exist except as black and were therefore unrelated to their white fathers. Following the Revolution, sentiments against mixed-race unions increased in both the North and South, with twenty-eight states instituting laws against "amalgamation" between 1780 and 1860. In New England, only Rhode Island and Maine enacted such laws, while New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, all home to many mission supporters, did not.[36]

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[32] See John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture, 1776-1882* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Caroline Frank, "A Cantonese Merchant in Federal America; Reconsidering the Old China Trade and National Discourse of Maritime Practice," *Transnational American Studies,* eScholarship (forthcoming), http://escholarship.org/uc/acgcc_jtas.

[33] See Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's* History of Sexuality *and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

[34] Bárbara C. Cruz and Michael J. Berson, "The American Melting Pot? Miscegenation Laws in the United States," *OAH Magazine of History* 15: no. 4 (Summer 2001): 81; and Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and Making Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), intro and ch. 1.

[35] Research conducted for the Cornwall Historical Society by Ann Shillinger and Ryan Bachman, 2014.

[36] Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania all introduced anti-miscegenation bills in the 1920s. See Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*; and J. H. Johnston, *Race Relations in Virginia and Miscegenation in the South* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1970).

Members of the Cherokee Nation had their own laws against mixed-race marriages as well, enlarging the scope of consequences for any of the nearly a dozen Cherokee students at FMS who fell in love with white women. As Cherokee society was traditionally matrilineal (in that the mother determined clan membership), beginning in 1819 Cherokee legislation concerned itself with regulating women. Laws enforcing full property rights for women who married white men foiled settler attempts to gain Cherokee land through marriage. Only in 1825 were children of a Cherokee father and white mother recognized as legitimate clan members. Additionally, Cherokee laws concerning marriages with African-Americans were equally as harsh as US anti-miscegenation laws. The Cherokee Nation, therefore, aligned itself more closely with white America on this point.[37]

Immigration and Emigration

In the 1820s, shortly after the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the opening of the FMS, the rate of immigration to the United States—especially that of poorer, non-Protestant Europeans—began to rise dramatically. Unlike previous immigrants, these newcomers often came via "chain migration," consolidating many of one affinity group in any one place and thereby increasing their visibility and the potential for straining the tolerance of locals. Laws to regulate or care for the needy fell to state and local governments, encouraging strong reactions when the implementation of these acts gave community residents an immediate public sounding board. The local attitudes generated from absorbing this new type of European immigrant influenced public responses to immigrants from other regions, especially those who looked different than white Europeans. Only with the Gold Rush, which attracted Asians as well as Americans, would the rate of transpacific immigrants rise sharply, but by then a few Chinatowns had already been established along both US coasts, engendering a growing familiarity with Asians among urban Americans.[38]

At the same time, a colonization movement to send people of color to Africa was established. Wealthy Wampanoag-Ashanti sea captain Paul Cuffee of New Bedford, after being excluded from the cemetery of the very Quaker Meeting House he had built, concluded there could be no living harmoniously with white people. He led a group of thirty-eight African-Americans to found Sierra Leone in 1815.[39] In the same vein, other reform-minded abolitionists founded the American Colonization Society in 1817 with the goal of buying enslaved people from their owners and resettling them in Africa. With about 250,000 free people of color in the North at this time, the idea garnered great support even though the Colonization Society only managed to send 1,400 to Africa by 1830. In another example, the founders of the African Education Society would quite explicitly claim for their 1829 initiative that "instead of creating disquiet in the country," their plan for the education of free people of color would "carry peace and joy to Africa."

Amidst these national and international conversations, those in support of the foreign mission school concept found the mix of education and religion a solution to problems with immigration movements across the United States. It was argued that the mission school could simultaneously export American beliefs to heathen lands and remove those alien bodies from American territory through the act of civilized conversion and cultural evangelism.[40] The founding of the FMS should be placed within this framework: even as early nineteenth-century Northerners sought to "save the heathen," these communities also preferred that people of color,

[37] Fay Yarbrough, "Legislating Women's Sexuality: Cherokee Marriage Laws in the Nineteenth-century," *Journal of Social History* 38: no. 2 (Winter 2004): 385-406.

[38] Ronald Takaki, A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America (New York: Back Bay Books, 1993).

[39] See Brock N. Cordeiro, Paul Cuffe: A Study of His Life and the Status of His Legacy in Old Dartmouth (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Boston Press, 2004); Eric Burin, Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005).

[40] Report of the Proceedings at the Formation of the African Education Society, quoted in Sanchez-Eppler, 2009, 4.

especially those who were educated, Christian, and considered equal in many respects, would ultimately leave to their separate nations.

HISTORY OF THE FOREIGN MISSION SCHOOL AND THE STEWARD'S HOUSE

Establishment and Vision of the FMS

In the years following his arrival in New England in the summer of 1809, the "kanaka" Opukahaia would become integral to the founding of the FMS in Cornwall, leaving after his death in 1818 an influential success story for the school. Opukahaia became legendary for his earnest pursuit of an American education. He captured the hearts and Christian spirits of the New Haven community, where he first resided. When Yale President Timothy Dwight offered Opukahaia temporary residence, it marked the beginning of Opukahaia's formal education and his pursuit of intellectual and spiritual training in New England. Opukahaia would move between eight different towns and at least a dozen different families before being baptized as one of the first Hawaiian converts to Christianity. Opukahaia's situation encouraged his hosts and community members to explore the possibility of creating a formal school in the United States for students like him: "heathens" who were stranded in the United States but who were interested in being "civilized" and "saved" nonetheless.

The town of Cornwall soon became the top location considered by the ABCFM for such a school. Timothy Stone, the Congregationalist minister in Cornwall and an ABCFM member, argued that the people of his town were exemplary Christians. The remoteness of Cornwall allowed few distractions and, moreover, there was a gift of land for the school already in place, and donations had been promised to support its operation.[41] Persuaded thus, the ABCFM named Cornwall the site of the first "heathen" school on United States soil in 1816. Though the school was founded in part to spread Christianity to "pagan" youth, the more significant aspect of its mission was education, training students in academic and religious subjects that were integral to a proper "civilized" and Christian education. Ideally, students would return to their homelands upon graduation, assuming the role of a missionary in their own community, and thus helping to sustain and expand ABCFM's efforts abroad.

By May 1816, the ABCFM established a board of trustees in Litchfield County to make further preparations for such a school in Cornwall.[42] The initial decrees stated that the youth accepted into the institution would be raised "under a regular government and have their business systematized […], inured to habits of industry and regularity, […and taught] the art of government and subordination."[43] Under these injunctions, the FMS began to accept students in the fall of 1816 and commenced full operation by the following spring.

The first students to enroll were Opukahaia, Hoppo, Tennooe, Honoree, and Tamoree, all from the Sandwich Isles (Hawaii). By this point, Opukahaia had attained a significant level of local celebrity[44] due to his previous educational training with students at Yale, his travels through New England, and his conversion and open manner of communication. He served as an exemplar of the FMS's values and what the school hoped to accomplish with its mission. Such a reputation also qualified Opukahaia for full church membership in Cornwall,[45] making him a model student for the rest of the men enrolled at the time. This position highlighted the hierarchies at play within the school as one based on the status a student held with the church; in truth,

[41] Starr, History of Cornwall, 137.
[42] Demos, *Heathen School*, 32.
[43] Charles Prentice, James Harvey, and James Morris to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, August 20, 1816, *ABC 12.1*, 2, no.8.
[44] Demos, *Heathen School*, 69.
[45] Ibid., 73.

however, no amount of spiritual success in such a manner granted Opukahaia or any student full acceptance into the wider community as anything more than "heathens" studying at the school.

During the early months, enrollment grew steadily at FMS. William Kummooolah and George Nahemah-hama, as well as two "Yankee New Englanders," James Ely of Lyme, Connecticut, and Samuel Ruggles of Brookfield, Massachusetts, soon joined the student body. These American students enrolled at the FMS to prepare for missionary work overseas by learning how to manage potential experiences abroad by developing close contact with the "heathens" in Cornwall. As the school's reputation grew, students were brought from other Asian nations. Eventually, the first cohort would expand to include Simon Annance, an Abenaki Indian from Canada, John Windall, a Bengali, and John Johnson from Calcutta, India.[46]

The standard curriculum developed for the FMS centered on religion, utilizing Biblical texts for assignments and instruction in various subject matters. For example, *The Missionary Spelling Book and Reader*, a primer published by the ABCFM, emphasized Christian values in all aspects of daily life and employed Christian proverbs and passages for grammar lessons.[47] The curriculum included general instruction in the English language, geography, arithmetic, reading, rhetoric, writing, and spelling.

Through increasing enrollment and increasing donations, the FMS grew in reputation regionally, nationally, and even internationally. The education the students received at the school attracted the attention of many outside the United States or residing in American Indian nations who wanted to send their children to Cornwall to learn the customs and knowledge of the "civilized" people of the Western world. There was, therefore, within the student body a dramatic range of socio-economic statuses, although in the eyes of the Cornwall community, all students were uniformly labeled "heathens."

To build on the early successes of the school, the ABCFM developed a fundraising program to which thousands of people from a dozen different states made donations to the school. Some of these donations were anonymous, but others were made on behalf of well-known families and organizations, such as female societies and societies for children. Donations were collected as cash, in-kind gifts of food or clothes, volunteer labor, and land.[48] The large and consistent level of aid demonstrates the deep interest the FMS garnered from both the local community and a geographically broader audience.

The FMS Campus

The village of Cornwall was viewed as exceptionally suitable to such training and education due to "the location [which was] apart from the temptations and distractions of larger towns."[49] At the time, Litchfield County was geographically the largest community in northwestern Connecticut while also the least densely populated, and Cornwall itself had a population of around 1,650 inhabitants. Most of these community inhabitants owned and tended to farmland. For this reason, agricultural skills became a central focus of the students' curriculum, particularly in procuring their own firewood for heat and harvesting produce for the meals taken daily at the Steward's House.[50]

Much of the FMS's campus buildings were acquired through donations. The citizenry of Cornwall donated fourteen acres of land as well as the building that would become the main educational site, which had been built in 1797 as a school house. The ground floor of the school building housed one large classroom, while the

[46] Ibid., 70-71.
[47] Ibid., 73.
[48] Ibid., 74-75.
[49] Starr, History of Cornwall, 136.
[50] Demos, *Heathen School*, 67-68.

second floor was refurbished for students' quarters. Located near this school building was the Principal's house. Purchased in 1815 for $625, the Principal's house was acquired before the establishment of the school was complete. It is believed that both the Steward's house and the Principal's house were also used at some point as a dormitory for students, given the tight quarters in the loft of the school building.

The third of the main campus buildings, and certainly the most social and vibrant, was the Steward's house. This building was constructed in 1814 by architect Eber Maxfield and was sold to FMS for $2,000. The exchange of property also included 18 more acres that were used for agriculture by the students and staff of the FMS. The Steward's House was used primarily as a boarding house and dining hall for the students. The Steward's family also resided in the house. This building would become the primary point of care and contact among the students, staff, and visitors from the wider Cornwall community.[51]

The Role of the Steward

According to the FMS "constitution", the role of the Steward was to "superintend the agricultural interests of the school," though the actual responsibilities necessitated far more integral involvement with both the school's operations and the student's daily lives.[52] Over time, the Steward's role expanded to include counseling and skills training. The Steward was expected to reside in the Steward's House on FMS's campus. Thus, because of the consistent level of daily activity that mixed different communities within this house, the Steward remained abreast of the major events and social issues happening within the student body.

The FMS would hire three different Stewards during its years of operation. The first steward and "farm superintendent" of the school was Deacon Henry Hart of Goshen, who took on the traditional role of agricultural supervisor during his term. He remained in this position until early 1822, when he was replaced by John P. Northrup.[53] It was with Northrup's appointment that the Steward's duties were broadened to include supervising the school's landed properties, training the scholars in the art of agriculture, bookkeeping and managing the FMS accounts, assuring a steady supply of firewood, buying and selling livestock, arranging travel for staff and students, providing the students with clothing, and hosting visitors, among others tasks.[54]

The second Steward also increased the level of care given to the students outside of their academic activities and instituted greater involvement between his family and the student body. For example, Lydia Northrup, the present steward's wife, was in charge of the kitchen and cooking. Daily, she prepared bread and meals for all of the students. She also outfitted the students with new clothes and tended to the laundry and repair of these items. Mrs. Northrup was also primarily in charge of the students' medical care. Whenever one of the students fell ill, "he was moved into the Steward's house" to live with the family for as long as was necessary for recovery. Mrs. Northrup's duties fell also to her daughters as housewives in training, the eldest of whom was the young Sarah Northrup.[55]

With the multiple love affairs between students and women in the community occurring under his watch and incurring intense public debate, John Northrup resigned from the position of steward in May 1823 but remained in the house for several months after. In the meantime, Deacon Lorrian Loomis, a Cornwall resident already working with the school, assumed the position of the school's third steward, serving until the close of the school in 1826.

[51] Ibid., 69.
[52] Ibid., 35.
[53] Ibid., 70.
[54] Ibid., 144.
[55] Ibid., 116.

SCHOOL IN ACTION

Students and Staff

The FMS was in full operation between 1817 and 1826. In addition to the steward, the school employed a team of administrators and educators. Its first principal was Edwin W. Dwight (1789-1841), who served from May 1817 to May 1818. The second principal was the regionally-renowned Reverend Herman Daggett, whose appointment lasted from Dwight's departure to 1824. Daggett was significant for managing the school for the longest period of time, taking his leave shortly after the first waves of public backlash hit in 1824. He was succeeded by Reverend Amos Bassett, D.D. The school's assistant educators, who taught for various periods of time, included Reverend John H. Prentice, Reverend H. L. Vail, and two former students who returned as instructors, Horatio N. Hubbell and Bennet Roberts. Jonathan Baldwin taught blacksmithing and coopering. Philo Swift served as the school's treasurer; Reverend Timothy Stone as the superintendent of donations; and Reverend Mr. Harvey as the secretary.[56]

School records document the nationality and number of students in residence. These records exhibit the transnational composition of the small domestic mission school, indicating the reach of the institution's reputation and designating rural Cornwall as an exceptionally diverse site of international exchange in the early nineteenth-century United States. The year the school opened, it housed twelve students. Enrollment doubled to twenty-four by the second year. Four students left as seven others joined in the school's third year, bringing the enrollment to twenty-seven. Included in the new cohort were four "Yankees" (Americans) who were temporarily listed as students in preparation for missionary work in Hawaii. In the fourth and fifth years, enrollment rose to twenty-nine and thirty-five students, respectively. By the seventh year, however, the student body dropped to twenty-four. The FMS experienced another spike in enrollment in its eighth year with thirty-six pupils from seventeen different nations. In its ninth year, the school's population once again decreased, this time to twenty-five. By the time the school closed in 1826, only fourteen students remained.

Between 1819 and 1826, there were altogether ninety-seven students on the official record, not including those who had been dismissed for some sort of noncompliance. The ages of these ninety-seven students ranged from ten to thirty. Among them there were forty-three Indians, nineteen Hawaiians, thirteen Americans, five Chinese, three Marquesans, two Greeks, two Jews, two Malays, two Tahitians, one Bengalese, one Hindu, one Javanese, one New Zealander, one Portuguese, and one Scotch. The year 1819 saw increased diversification of the student body as several Cherokee students arrived in Cornwall. Over the span of its operational years, the FMS taught Native Americans from fourteen tribes: one Abenaquis, eleven Cherokees, five Choctaws, five Delawares, one Mexican, one Mohegan, one Narragansett, two Ojibwas, two Omahas, three Oneidas, three Osages, two Senecas, four Stockbridges, and two Tuscaroras.[57] Due to the variety in national background, the students' prior experiences were also enormously diverse. The majority came from seafaring careers; however, others were military personnel, farmers, barbers, coopers, servants, and students from other schools.[58]

Among these students, Opukahaia and John Ridge would achieve perhaps the most significant post-graduate reputation. After joining the school, Opukahaia began to translate the Bible into the Hawaiian language. He greatly desired to return to Hawaii as a missionary but died of typhus fever in February 1818. His tombstone, erected at private expense, cost $28 and declared that he passed from this world with "a heavenly smile upon his countenance and glory in his soul." Such language suggests both his deep spirituality and the great admiration he commanded from the community of Cornwall, despite the fact that some locals would denounce the grave

[56] Starr, History of Cornwall, 139-144; Demos, Heathen School, 66.
[57] Starr, *History of Cornwall*, 144-152.
[58] Demos, *Heathen School*, 72.

marker as a waste of missionary contributions.[59] A biography of his life, recording his time at the school in length, was written by former FMS principal Edwin W. Dwight and was published in various editions and languages.[60]

John Ridge began his studies at the FMS in 1819. Because of his wealthy background as the son of Major Ridge, a Cherokee commander noted for his service in the Seminole War, Ridge was able to pay his tuition in full and was considerably better off financially than other students, a fact that was well noted in the community. When Major Ridge visited his son in Cornwall, he was reported as doing so "in the most splendid carriage…that had ever entered the town," assisted by "waiters in great style" and outfitted in coats made of gold lace.[61] It is also noted that young Ridge "passed" within the community, meaning that he "did not look [like an] Indian" but instead like a white man.[62] Both of these facts bolstered Ridge's reputation throughout Cornwall and further demonstrate the level of attention the community paid to the school's student body, a public conversation that hinged both on class and race. However, as a student, Ridge suffered greatly from many illnesses and was often a victim of frail health. Therefore, he spent much time being nursed in the family home of the Steward John Northrup, where he became acquainted with the Steward's daughter Sarah Northrup, who aided her mother with the care and housekeeping for the students.

Two of the most prominent Chinese students were nineteen-year-old William Alum and Henry Martyn Alan, who were sent to the school under the sponsorship of the Female Society of Philadelphia for the Education of Heathen Youth. Shortly after their arrival, the principal reported that "they were promising as to abilities and native education, but they have been used to a good living and an easy life...and what is more, they are frequently disagreeing among themselves." Such comments, particularly against Asian populations, reflect common stereotypes. Later records describe Alum as "haughty, irritable, capable but disobedient and dismissed for misconduct."[63] Despite these prejudices, Alum would later serve as translator of Commissioner Lin Zexu, a Chinese scholar and official of the Qing Dynasty whose forceful opposition to the opium trade and hard line policies are considered to be the primary catalyst for the First Opium War. Commissioner Lin wished to find employees with a boarder understanding of the English language and of foreign ways of thought and action to "acquire a more adequate knowledge of the West" and "have the myster[y] of the West unlocked."[64] Thus, Alum's experiences at Cornwall, even despite the community and administration's perceptions of the failure of the FMS's education of Chinese students, led to his eventual profession.

Daily Life

Daily life at the FMS was a product of the prevalent beliefs and culture of the period. Rural New England towns, with their characteristic farms and central churches, were viewed in opposition to the active frontier settlements of the West and booming trading towns. Villages like Cornwall were highly influenced by the Puritanical past of the region and, with the "Second Great Awakening," New England became a hub of

[59] Opukahaia's gravesite in Cornwall Village lays a few steps from the site of the school. Hawaiian family members had his body reinterred in his native Hawaii in 1993, and they offered a plaque placed near the remaining cenotaph commemorating his time in Cornwall as well as his desire to return to Hawaii.

[60] Edwin Wells Dwight, Memoirs of Henry Obookiah…; Who Died at Cornwall, Connecticut, February 17, 1818 (New Haven, CT: Woman's Board of Missions, 1818).

[61] Starr, History of Cornwall, 155.

[62] Ibid., 147.

[63] Ibid., 145.

[64] Carl T. Smith, *Chinese Christians: Elites, Middlemen, and the Church in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 53.

reformist, revivalist, and evangelical activity, leading to the public perception of rural New England as "the crucible of American moral development."[65]

As pupils, the individuals attending the FMS studied penmanship, grammar, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, rhetoric, navigation, surveying, astronomy, theology, chemistry, and ecclesiastical history, among other specialized subjects.[66] Students rose around 5 or 6 a.m. and ate breakfast together at 7 a.m. in the dining room of the steward's house. Daily classes ran from 9 a.m. to noon, and again from 2 to 5 p.m., with all sessions taking place on the first floor of the main school building just across the street from the steward's house.[67] Curricula operated at various levels, as some of the pupils were more advanced in their studies while others where just learning basic literacy. Following the "Lancastrian" model, the more advanced students helped teach the others.[68] The student body was considered exceptional for its diversity in nation and in language; a variety of languages were regularly spoken at the school, including English, French, Spanish, Italian, Maltese, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Portuguese, Malay, Chinese, Hawaiian, Marquesan, New Zealand Maori, Tahitian, Bengalese, Mohegan, Cherokee, Choctaw, Ojibwa, Narragansett, Iroquois, and Abenaquis, among others.[69]

Academics were balanced with mandatory outdoor labor. Students were tasked with the maintenance of the school's agricultural plots and assigned to labor in the fields "two [and a half] days" a week and "two at a time." Additionally, the school enforced strict rules for students' social lives and study times. Students were not allowed to visit "any house or…any family in town," were forbidden from going "to a store (unless they have a liberty)," and were banned from receiving visitors or friends. "Study hour" was an especially highly disciplined occasion in which students were not allowed in each other's rooms.[70] The months of May and September included scheduled vacation times for the school's boarded students; however, only certain pupils were authorized by the administration to "go abroad."[71]

Produced from reformist values and immersed in the revivalist culture of Cornwall, the school's mission not only promoted the values of this rigorous schedule, but also necessitated an overlap between academics and regular religious activity. Examples of this overlap include *The Missionary Spelling Book and Reader*, the school's textbook, which integrated Biblical quotations and proverbs with basic grammar lessons.[72] The account of John Johnson, a native of India and an FMS student, which appeared in a report from the ABCFM in *The Religious Intelligencer* in 1817, also illuminates the intensity of the religious practices within the school's day-to-day operations. Upon admittance to the FMS as "a *Mahometan* by habit" (Muslim), Johnson was recorded as "saying his prayers to the prophet four times a day." Yet the report goes on to explain that after a few days of "diligent and studious" work, Johnson started "to doubt the divine mission of Mahomet" and experienced "great reverence for the [Christian] Scriptures." In addition to this interwoven nature of school and faith, church attendance was an expected part of the students' weekly schedules. With such strict socializing codes, Sabbath practices and church events were the only approved arenas for students to mingle with the local population.[73]

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[65] David Glassberg, *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 133.

[66] Starr, *History of Cornwall*, 140-142.

[67] Demos, *Heathen School*, 72-73.

[68] David Brown correspondence, July 1820–Jan 1821, Foreign Mission School Archive, Cornwall Historical Society, CT (hereafter cited as FMS Archive).

[69] Starr, History of Cornwall, 153.

[70] Henri Opukahaia correspondence 1817, Yale University Archives, New Haven, CT.

[71] David Brown correspondence, July 1820–Jan 1821, FMS Archive.

[72] *The Missionary Spelling Book and Reader*, Textbook Collection from the FMS Library, FMS Archive.

[73] Demos, *Heathen School*, 73.

The FMS students were evaluated by administration, clergy, and a select visiting public at regular intervals. These "examinations" or "exhibitions" filled an entire day's schedule. The morning would commence with a series of reports, speeches, and performances by the students for those in attendance. Such exercises were meant to prove their command of the academic subjects, show their understanding of Christian devotion, and demonstrate their "improvement" since coming to the school or since their last evaluation. The stakeholders lauded the school for its ability to quickly enable students to forgo their "savage" ways for a "civilized" and Christian lifestyle.[74] In the afternoon, the examination day would progress with a sermon at the church. The final portion of the program included a public reading of the "register of behavior" or a ranking of the students based on their conduct, as well as the presentation of awards to students with the highest rankings.[75] An attendee at one such exhibition relates that the events were "grand affairs," and the church was the only venue large enough to hold all of those who wished to attend. This same audience member reported that "the Indian pupils appeared so genteel, and graceful, on the stage that the white pupils appeared uncouth beside them."[76]

On the other hand, students' perspectives on their daily schedules and life at the FMS ranged from highly favorable to critical. At the beginning of the school's tenure, Opukahaia was considered a leader of the student body, excelling in his studies, expressing his fondness for and understanding of the importance of the agricultural labor, and qualifying for a full church membership due to his devotion to his new faith. On the other hand, student David Brown's correspondences with friends and family in the Cherokee Nation illustrate a less favorable view of daily life in Cornwall and the school's practices. Brown found the busy schedule difficult and, despite the devotion to his newly acquired religion that he expressed in his correspondences, seemed unsatisfied with the central focus placed on religious study. He noted the existence of "a library of good books for the Institution," but was disappointed by the fact that the time requirements of the school schedule deprived him "of reading any kind of book much, except the Holy Bible."[77] He also reports on the hard nature of the work assigned during field days, stating that these days of agricultural labor regularly left students "unfit...for study for a day or two."[78] Private records of the school's operations thus reveal the internal story of this intensely structured curriculum. Yet the common thread through the planning for all of these different students was also what linked all of the residents of Cornwall—religion. Indeed, Brown's correspondences demonstrate that religion maintained "a [*sic*] ubiquitous presence" in all of the townspeople's daily lives.[79]

Daily Problems: Behavior Issues & Illness

Official reports about the school emphasized how well the students were doing. In private letters however, it became clear that behavior problems were more common than reported. In some cases, reported misbehavior was an unfair representation of a student's actions. The report was often a result of a conflict between the student's and the missionary's world views. Drunkenness was a key charge against several of the students. Theft was also prevalent at the school, probably a result of some of the class difference between the often well-to-do Native American students and the poorer students. Finally, violence, including several potentially fatal incidents, occurred.

The private and internal records that noted the students' behavior issues regularly assessed their educational progress and used language that made value judgments about their character. Among the students, seventeen were described to have been "capable" or to have had "superior talents" (ten Indians, two Chinese, two Hawaiians, two Tahitians, and one Malay), while fifteen were thought to have "small capacity" (five Hawaiians,

[74] Ibid., 77.
[75] Ibid., 78.
[76] Morse, *Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs*, 245.
[77] David Brown correspondence, July 1820-Jan 1821, FMS Archive; and Demos, *Heathen School*, 101.
[78] Demos, *Heathen School*, 102.
[79] Ibid., 101.

five Indians, one Hindu, one Javanese, one Malay, one New Zealander, and one Bengalese). As to character and conduct, twenty-three students (twenty-one Indians, one Malay, and one Marquesan) are praised for being "faithful," "studious," and "well-behaved." Seventeen (nine Indians, three Chinese, one Greek, one Hindu, one Malay, one Tahitian, and one Scot) were criticized for being "irritable," "disobedient," and "indolent." Among the school's five Chinese students, three were described as "irritable" or "disobedient," two were dismissed, and two others deserted their schooling.

For some, the later perception of the FMS's failure was supported by statistics. Of the ninety-seven students, thirty failed to finish their studies. To be specific, seven students quit (two Chinese, two Indians, one American, one Greek, one Tahitian), seventeen were dismissed due to "small capacity" or bad behaviors (nine Indians, two Chinese, one Hawaiian, one American, one Bengalese, one Hindu, one Javanese, one Malays), and six died of disease. Five of those who died during their time in FMS were from the tropics (three Hawaiians, two Marquesan).

For those students who did complete their studies, thirty-six engaged in missionary work. This group included thirteen Hawaiians (one of whom was later excommunicated for intemperance and Sabbath breaking), thirteen Indians, seven Americans, one Chinese, one New Zealander and one Tahitian. In other words, more than half of those who finished their studies at the FMS committed to some form of missionary work. Among these thirty-six students, twelve supported missionary work outside of what was then considered Anglo-American territory, including transnational travel.

Seventeen students were described as having "superior talents" and twenty-three were appraised for good behavior. It is noteworthy that only five of the thirty-six demonstrated "superior talents" and only eight students were evaluated as "faithful," "studious," or "well-behaved." This corresponds to roughly 29 percent of the perceived capable students and 35 percent of the perceived well-behaved students engaged in missionary work following their graduations. Such a statistic is perhaps below the ideal goal of the FMS, but this figure nonetheless suggests that the mission-focused education did produce a translation of ideas across national boundaries, as many students who engaged in missionary work did return to their native countries.

As noted in many of these reports, sickness, along with behavior, was a threat to the students and to the school from the beginning. Opukahaia died in 1818, and all three Marquesan students, unable to endure the harsh winter climate, also died in Cornwall. Even those who survived, however, were often sick. As mentioned previously, John Ridge spent several months being nursed in the Northrup household to recover from scrofula. Much of this was the inevitable consequence of assembling students from so many different countries and climates together in the era before the existence of most vaccines and antibiotics.

FMS Students and the Community of South Cornwall

Although daily life was strictly regulated by school rules, religion, academics, and labor, and often interrupted by disciplinary actions and illness, the students were not isolated within Cornwall. Instead, students maintained a complex relationship with the surrounding community. Cornwall was originally chosen as the site of the school for two reasons: firstly, "because of its retirement, the salubrity of the air, and the moral character of the people"; and secondly, the people of Cornwall gave what was described in many sources as "a very liberal donation" to the ABCFM.[80] The townspeople quickly learned, however, that the students themselves were an investment that could return this donation several fold. The students began filling both business and familial roles for the townspeople, and these roles became less strict once the youths became officially part of the church. Through ticketed exhibitions and public performances based on their cultural backgrounds and

[80] See Theresa Strouth Gaul, ed., *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

ethnicities, as well as their newly- acquired knowledge, students would help raise money for the school. At the same time, students were becoming more and more integrated into the lives of Cornwall families. This dual identity persisted through the FMS's existence, while students who could not conform were often excused.

On paper, however, strict regulations were kept regarding the students' advent into the community. As one student recalls, pupils were "never allowed to go beyond a certain limit from the school, never allowed into people's dwellings without an invitation, or [unless] sent for an errand from the headquarters." Once baptized however, students were treated with greater leniency and could acquire "a written permit to go two or three miles…and talk with people, and tell them what Christ had done for them."[81] Yet, it seemed such boundaries were only official on paper, and, in fact, the small town provided other opportunities for students to have contact with townspeople, as the names of specific individuals appear in "missives" or letters between scholars and their patrons.[82] One such opportunity may have been at Kellogg's General Store, which not only fulfilled the material needs of Cornwall, but also served as a hub of community life. Names of several students appear in the store's ledger, and one could imagine students sent on errands here may have been tempted to linger in the store in order to enjoy a bit of social time.[83]

As dictated by the school's rules and community's expectations, church also dominated many aspects of social life. Students attended weekly services with the townspeople, providing both a place to see and be seen. The sort of formalized exposure this brought also led to less formal interactions between church members and students. A letter between Mary Stone, Reverend Timothy Stone's wife, and former student William Kummooolah alludes to a time when the Reverend was sick and was cared for by Kummooolah. The tender nature of this action, as well as the fact that Stone and Kummooolah continued to exchange letters after the latter had returned to preach in his native Hawaii, shows the extent to which students had been informally integrated into the community.

Yet, the general interactions between the students and the community members were far from informal. The students were rarely treated as equals. Many regularly enacted performative roles to prove their conversion and civility and also to bring in funds to assure the continuation of the school's missionary work. As referenced above, these performances ranged from speaking tours, examinations, or "exhibitions" that became a formal social occasion for local Cornwall residents.[84]

One such occasion was the inauguration of Herman Daggett as principal of the school in 1818, a ceremony that ended with the "exhibition of pupils." Reverend Chauncey Lee described a particularly dramatic scene when "Simon Annance gave an address in perfect English, followed by others addressing the crowd in Owhyhee." When this group broke into one of the "rude, barbarcus songs" of the Owhyhee people, Thomas Hopoo thrilled the crowd by pointing to his fellow students and stating:

> *such, my dear Christian friends, are the highest amusements of the Owhyhee—these are the sublimest joys my poor ignorant countrymen can boast. They know nothing of the God who made this world, nor of the Saviour who died to redeem it…. O pity them—pray for them and send them the gospel…. The fruit of your benevolence we have richly shared, and we humbly thank you.*[85]

[81] Starr, History of Cornwall, 155.
[82] See Demos, *Heathen School*.
[83] Ledger from Cornwall Archives.
[84] Demos, *Heathen School*, 77.
[85] *Boston Record*, July 15, 1818.

Reverend Lee concluded that "[t]he impression was altogether irresistible" and noted that "the exercises closed with a liberal contribution for the school."[86] This was often the role of the students in the community: both familiar and exotic, a member of the church and "the other" at the same time. Indeed, this tension is one that reflected across all elements of the students' education.

In its initial stage, the FMS received enthusiastic support from Americans across the nation, as well as the local people of Cornwall. It was the local Cornwallians themselves who competed very hard with other towns to win the bid for the school's initial establishment. They provided a wide range of donations, from the school building to the construction materials, clothing, food, labor, and cash. Most likely a result of these enthusiastic conversations and donations, *The Hartford Courant*, one of Connecticut's leading newspapers, reported on the school's opening in early June: "We rejoice to learn that in this state there is […] a Seminary for the education of heathen youth, at which there are twelve of this description from different countries."[87] News spread quickly. A Ladies Education Society in the town of Hadlyme gathered a collection for "the heathen school," and pious residents across New England followed this lead, making contributions in the months and years to come.

However, the public also expressed serious concerns about the sudden appearance of these "heathen pupils." The ABCFM decided to keep the students separate from other regular school systems, since "mingling promiscuously with local youth might expose them to be corrupted in their moral principles" (the "them" in this phrasing seems ambiguous).[88] It was perhaps for this reason that a few American-born pupils were allowed to enroll in the school so as to "provide intercourse with the right sort of Civilized Society."[89] Yet, no matter how hard the school tried to keep the students in an isolated environment, concerns about interracial mixing and intimacy did not cease.

In addition to worries about "improper intimacy" among the students and the community, the difficulty of managing and teaching these "heathen" youths—some in fact not young—became a problem. In a letter from the school's assistant principal John Prentice to the ABCFM, Prentice stated that the school had brought students "from each hemisphere and from various climates, regions, and nations, whose languages, habits, and customs are very dissimilar.… To manage them wisely, is no easy service. They cannot be placed in classes as it is with our own children. There must be almost as many classes as scholars."[90] Additionally, doubts and criticism of the students' learning ability and language capacity emerged, as Herman Daggett complained in another letter, "They come here where they associate & converse almost exclusively with their countrymen, & obtain only a smattering of very imperfect English…. They go through with their spelling book, & read for months and years in the Testament, with almost no advantage."[91] In school records, scattered words such as "dull," "insensitive," "indifferent," "incapable of learning" were also used to describe the students.[92]

Outside the education system, the growing reputation of the school led to both praise and barbs. The FMS was listed as one of three leading *tourist* attraction sites in Connecticut (on equal popularity with Yale College and the Deaf and Dumb Asylum). Ministers from all around the country came to visit the school, convinced of the value in it. But anti-mission opinions believed that the students were so culturally and biologically different that they were incapable of "civilization."[93] Another criticism looked into the students' daily life, thinking that they were luxuriously fed and extravagantly dressed. In a newspaper citation, people doubted "[f]or what purpose are some of these young 'gentlemen' dressed up in the best attire that this country, Europe, or India can afford, or a

[86] Ibid.
[87] Demos, *Heathen School*, 140.
[88] Ibid., 85.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Semi-Annual Report of the Foreign Mission School, Litchfield, CT, June 1825.
[91] Demos, *Heathen School*, 237.
[92] Ibid., 238.
[93] Ibid., 215.

rich treasury."[94] These differing outside opinions of the school and the students remain representative of the dichotomies at play in their daily lives and ways in which they were perceived by and interacted with the local community.

ROMANCE, RACE RELATIONS, AND "AMALGAMATION"

What is today termed "miscegenation" was called "amalgamation" in the 1820s, at least in those rare instances when the topic was even openly discussed. The word referred generally to race mixing but held the underlying assumption that race mixing would inevitably lead to sexual encounters. In 1814, for example, Thomas Jefferson wrote to President Madison's secretary, "amalgamation with the other color produces a degradation to which no lover of his country, no lover of excellence in the human character can innocently consent."[95] Northern abolitionists feared such race mixing as much as any American, publishing anti-slavery tracts with sketches of amalgamated families, featuring black and white children sitting together at a dinner table, formal balls with interracial couples, or mixed-race weddings, all meant to argue against slaveholding and its "fruits."[96]

For all their support of the FMS mission, the staff of the school, the community of Cornwall, and the general American public held this same attitude toward the FMS students. Yet, for the students, courtship was an age-appropriate preoccupation. At the same time, in the mission community's correspondence and in the remarks made by those in Cornwall, there was a tendency to infantilize the young men. Observations about the students made by James Harvey, Cornwall resident and FMS accountant, illustrate this point of view. In responding negatively to the suggestion that the school should move out of the countryside, Harvey argued that the students were "simple, uninformed, and inexperienced Foreigners…credulous, easily flattered, easily imposed upon, and unable to make such discrimination [of] those around them."[97] Such an attitude further supports the great emphasis placed on the kinds of relations the students formed with the community, relations that would become the source of the school's most public problems in its final years.

Improper Intimacy

In April of 1823, Principal Daggett wrote to ABCFM secretary, Jeremiah Evarts, about an "improper intimacy" between a young hired woman and two "coloured boys" that had been discovered two years earlier, during the time Henry Hart lived in the Steward's House:

> *I wish to call your attention to a subject which appears to be nearly connected to the welfare of the F.M.S. The Steward has generally had a girl, or young woman, as cook in his family, who is of course much in the company of the scholars, when they go to their meals, work about the house, or occasionally visit the kitchen at other times. Two years ago a case occurred of improper intimacy between the hired girl and one or two of the coloured boys, which gave us a great deal of trouble, & resulted in the necessity of sending the girl away. We have now another case of this kind, which I fear may be of very serious consequences to one of our most promising Indian scholars, & indeed to the reputation of the School.*

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[94] Ibid., 217.

[95] Thomas Jefferson to Edward Coles, August 25, 1814, reproduced in Frank Shuffleton, ed., *Thomas Jefferson*, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) (NY: Penguin, 1998).

[96] Stipple engravings by Edward Williams Clay, the author of the series "Life in Philadelphia: 'The Wedding Party,' 'Musical Soiree,' 'The Wedding,' 'The Amalgamation Waltz,' 'Johnny Q.' Introducing the Haytian Ambassador to the Ladies of Lynn, Mass, respectfully inscribed to Miss Caroline Augusta Chase, and the 500 Ladies of Lynn who Wish to Marry Black Husbands" (New York: John Childs, 1839).

[97] James Harvey to Jeremiah Evarts, July 26, 1823. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archive, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA. ABC 12.1, vol. 2, no. 38; quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 115.

As a result of these allegations, the young woman was promptly sent away.

This example highlights the fact that relationships between local young women and the students were most likely a regular occurrence, but the story also introduces the high level of concern that such occurrences created within the organization. Principal Daggett pointed to the limited tolerance of the missionary attitude toward signs of "improper" interracial intimacy that could negatively affect the reputation of the school. The situation was foretelling of a more severe backlash from both the FMS and the public if the white female participant in the interracial relationship was not merely "a young hired cook" but held more of a position in the community. Most interestingly, in the same passage, Principal Daggett referred to his students as "coloured boys" when accusing them of being involved in an inappropriate intimacy with a white woman but returned to a more respectful "our promising Indian scholars" in other contexts.

Sarah Northrup and John Ridge

Ridge had suffered from a scrofulous condition of the hip since a boy, and the weather in New England worsened his condition.[98] By the spring of 1821, he was taken to a private room in the house of the steward to be attended to by the steward's wife, Lydia Northrup. Mrs. Northrup was in charge of housework, preparing meals, and nursing sick students, and thus leaned heavily on her eldest daughter Sarah Northrup for help. Mrs. Northrup was also pregnant and "lying-in" during part of her time in the house, had just buried two other daughters, and had four other young children to look after.[99] Sarah Northrup, at the time fourteen-years-old, was sent to take care of the patient, and it was soon revealed that the young nurse and student had fallen in love. According to reports, the doctor in town, Samuel Gold, monitored Ridge as his health improved but suspected that there were other troubles on the young Ridge's mind. Mrs. Northrup, urged by the physician to find out the trouble, questioned the young scholar until he admitted that he had fallen in love with her daughter. When Sarah Northrup confessed the same feelings, the family invented a plan to stop the budding romance by sending her to live with grandparents in New Haven and introducing her to other gentlemen. In response, Sarah Northrup refused to eat and her health deteriorated, forcing her grandparents to send her home to Cornwall.

Ridge's parents were also unhappy when they read in their son's letters his desire to marry a white woman. They had wanted their son to be a Cherokee leader and thought marrying the daughter of a chief would be best, given the family's prominence and the Cherokee law at the time that prohibited Cherokee Nation membership to children born to white women. The potential for Sarah Northrup to put herself in a superior position to other Cherokees also pushed Ridge's parents to object to the marriage. Nevertheless, Major Ridge and Susanna Ridge were persuaded to grant their son wishes when Ridge strongly reaffirmed his love for the Northrup daughter.

In the meantime, the Northrup family came up with another plan to forestall a precipitous decision. In 1822, Lydia Northrup advised Ridge to go home to a better southern climate for his health. The Northrups told Ridge he could marry their daughter if he was able to return to Cornwall in two years without the aid of crutches. By December 1823, Ridge was back in Cornwall without crutches, having been gone a little over a year, and he asked for the young woman's hand in marriage. The Northrups agreed. Within a few months of this decision, Daggett announced John Northrup's resignation as the Steward. Although Daggett did not mention the marriage plans publically, the connection is clear.

The young couple was married "at the house of the father" in Cornwall on January 27, 1824, not by Reverend Timothy Stone, the ABCFM overseer of the school, who had declined to perform the ceremony, but by his

[98] Karen Woods Weierman, One Nation, One Blood: Interracial Marriage in American Fiction, Scandal, and Law, 1820-1870 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010): 14.

[99] John Prout Northrup (1778-1857) Genealogy, accessed on March 26, 2015, http://family.sevenels.net/getperson.php?personID=I1337&tree=sbl.

colleague, Reverend Walter Smith. As John Northrup had resigned his position with the school the previous summer, it is unclear exactly where in Cornwall the ceremony took place. The new Steward, Lorraine Loomis, was known locally as a tolerant man, and he already owned a home in the area where he may have remained until the Northrups were able to leave. Lydia Northrup had given birth to her most recent child only six months earlier, and the family had many small children. It is quite likely therefore that the Northrups were still living in the Steward's House, or that Loomis allowed the marriage to be performed there due to his generous nature.

The FMS March 1824 quarterly report reassured the public that "the teachers and authority…had no concern directly or indirectly in promoting this marriage." Further, Principal Daggett attempted to counter outraged public claims by stating in the *Connecticut Courant* that "the marriage was solemnized in open day, at the residence of Mr. Northrup, and with the consent of the parents, who were both present."[100] Yet in the September annual report of the ABCFM, the marriage was not mentioned.

Harriet R. Gold and Elias Boudinot

The marriage of Harriet Gold and Elias Boudinot was the second and most controversial interracial relationship—"amalgamation"—involving an FMS student, for the wedding belied the ABCFM pronouncement that such a union would never again take place after John Ridge married Sarah Northrup. Boudinot, a younger cousin to Ridge, had arrived at the school in 1819, but he also returned to Cherokee country in 1822 for health reasons. During his two-year absence, he and Gold exchanged letters, and, in 1824, Gold accepted his proposal. She was the youngest and "fairest" daughter of one of Cornwall's leading families and long-time supporters of the FMS. Following news of the Ridge-Northrup liaison, Colonel Benjamin Gold wrote a letter to defend the school against the accusation made by the local newspaper, *American Eagle*, rejecting any "improper relationship" between Cornwall families and the missionary students.[101] The Golds even invited Sarah Northrup and John Ridge into their pew in church when they were publicly shunned the Sunday after their wedding.

Within months, Colonel Gold was surprised to learn of his own daughter's plan to marry a missionary student. Another daughter remarked that their parents "had previously felt that marriage of this kind were not sinful, and now they had a severe trial in the case of their beloved daughter." They tried to discourage Harriet Gold from marrying Boudinot and moving to the Cherokee Nation, but the young woman was enamored by mission work among Native Americans. In early autumn 1824, Colonel Gold wrote to Boudinot prohibiting the marriage. Harriet Gold's health rapidly deteriorated. Her parents interpreted their daughter's illness to be a sign of displeasing God with their decision. With heavy hearts, the Golds told their daughter that they would no longer forbid her to get married, after which she began to recover steadily.

At first, no one, not even Harriet Gold's sisters and brothers, knew about her secret. When she finally informed her beloved brother Stephen, his reaction was described as close to "a mad man."[102] On hearing the news, her siblings who lived outside Cornwall reacted with "sorrow, shame, and fury."[103] One brother-in-law, Reverend Cornelius Everest, did not hesitate to put the blame on the same scapegoat as in the previous intermarriage, Lydia Northrup. When Gold's brother-in-law, Daniel Brinsmade, an agent of the FMS, informed the governing board of her marriage plans in 1825, the agents issued Harriet Gold an ultimatum: break her engagement and a cover-up would be arranged on her behalf, or prepare herself for public humiliation. Harriet Gold did not change her mind about the marriage or becoming a missionary to the Cherokees. The school agents published a special report on June 17 to protect themselves from being linked to the second intermarriage by condemning

[100] *Connecticut Courant*, March 23, 1824.
[101] Weierman, One Nation, One Blood, 16.
[102] Demos, *Heathen School*, 179.
[103] Ibid.

anyone involved as "criminal." This harsh expression, if more than saving public face, reveals the limitations of the missionary community's racial tolerance and ability to ever imagine converts as equals.

Despite this uproar, on March 28, 1826, the couple was married in the parlor of the Gold's home. The wedding dressmaker recalled that "excitement ceased and [Boudinot] came into town unmolested." However, some disagreements were still present. Reverend Timothy Stone, close to both the bride and the groom, declined to perform the wedding ceremony for fear of being abused. It was also reported that armed men had to be prepared for the couple's safety though nothing happened. Sometime later, Colonel Gold wrote a letter to his brother Hezekiah of his impressions during his and his wife's visit to their newlywed daughter's home in the Cherokee Nation. He described his grandchildren as "interesting and beautiful children—[who] would pass in company for full blooded Yankees." He also quoted his daughter, who remarked that she had "never yet seen the time that she regretted coming here… [and] that she envies the situation of no one in Conn." This comment reveals the extent to which racism among the educated, God-fearing people of Cornwall lay in color consciousness.

Henry Martyn A'lan and "Cherry" Stone

The fourth instance of intimate relations between a student and community women did not result in marriage. Henry Martyn A'lan, a Chinese student who had arrived with a compatriot in 1823, created an elaborate friendship album dedicated to a local teenage girl called Cherry Stone, probably one of the daughters of Reverend Timothy Stone. He produced the album in the summer and fall of 1824.[104] Its contents featured personal entries, all written by hand and filled with affection towards Cherry Stone, though most of the content was religious. One section offered "poetry, prayers, an elaborate acrostic built on Miss Stone's name, as well as handsome calligraphic drawings of birds, flowers, landscapes, and people." Some of the writing was in Chinese characters, including words with sexual connotations meaning "beautiful" and "charming." Also included was a drawing of a beautiful Western woman, presumably Cherry Stone. On the opposite page can be found another drawing of a young man with Asian features—presumably A'lan himself. When the book is closed and the pages meet, the two images are perfectly aligned, suggesting an embrace.[105]

The fact that Cherry and A'lan did not do anything to suppress the friendship album with hidden romantic and sexual sentiments might suggest that the two were close. Obviously, A'lan carefully chose how to convey his innermost romantic feeling toward Cherry at the same time that Sarah Northrup and John Ridge so angered the town, and he did so in Chinese, a language no one would be able to understand. Notably, he did not ask Lieaou A'See, also known as William' Botelho, another FMS student who understood Chinese but was quite religious, to contribute to the friendship album, perhaps in another effort to hide its true content.[106]

Miles Mackey, James Terrell, David Carter and White Women

The final instances of "improper relations" are still unknown in scope. The school's agents faced a difficult situation with several "false reports" after the marriage of Sarah Northrup and John Ridge. They encouraged mission supporters not to believe in "slanderous tongues" that could possibly dissuade donors from providing the school invaluable financial support and appeared to work hard to protect the school's declining reputation.[107] In 1825, two Choctaw students, Miles Mackey—a "half-breed," a pejorative term for mixed-race heritage—and James Terrell were suddenly dismissed and "sent off with five dollars each to find their way

[104] Karen Sanchez-Eppler, "Copying and Conversion: An 1824 Friendship Album 'from a Chinese Youth,'" in *Asian Americans in New England: Culture and Community*, ed. Monica Chiu (Durham, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2009): 11.
[105] Demos, *Heathen School*, 173.
[106] Sanchez-Eppler, "Copying and Conversion," 24.
[107] Weierman, One Nation, One Blood, 16.

home, a distance of 1400 miles."[108] The school authorities refused to publicly mention any reasons for their dismissal, but Evarts' official correspondence pointed to "a proposed matrimonial union" as a reason, suggesting perhaps that the men had been planning to marry white women and that school officials had sent the students away to prevent any further disastrous intermarriages.[109] Another similar case was that of David Carter, a Cherokee. As each of these noted examples show, even though white American men had been openly "amalgamating" with Indian women from the outset of European colonization, the reverse scenario of Indian men mixing with white women was intolerable, notwithstanding the story of Pocahontas, which remained a popular tale in the cultural and national American imagination at the time.

SUBSEQUENT PUBLIC DEBATE

The Cornwall marriages led to great public debate. Editorials, letters, and responses to the events are recorded in numerous sources in bitter attack or earnest defense of these relationships, and reactions were felt both locally and nationally. The responses varied with each case, though debates generally touched on issues of race and class in the American context, raising such concerns to the forefront of public debate and leading, ultimately, to the closing of the school itself.

As the first of the intermarriages in the school, and involving two people whose backgrounds made the case that much more intriguing, the Ridge-Northrup wedding sparked the initial public debate, which began as open confrontation. After the ceremony, the Ridges immediately departed for the Cherokee Nation territory. On their journey, the newlyweds were confronted by outraged crowds who had found out about their marriage in newspapers carrying the story from Connecticut south to Cherokee territory in Georgia. Though Ridge faced the crowd with "pride and dignity," for he did not feel that he was by any means inferior to his wife,[110] the public (including preachers, editors, and the general public) rejected the very notion of intermarriage as an unacceptable form of religious manipulation, which was blamed on the school. Isaac Bunce, for example, the longtime editor of Litchfield's *American Eagle*, Cornwall's local newspaper, was at the forefront of denouncing intermarriage. He blamed the FMS for using intermarriage as "a new kind of missionary machinery,"[111] beginning the stirring of local sentiment against the school. Another common discourse was that Lydia Northrup, as the sentimental mother, was to be blamed for allowing the relationship to occur in her own house, while John Northrup, as the family patriarch, was excused for having no direct involvement. Some called for Sarah Northrup to be publicly whipped and for John Ridge and Lydia Northrup to deserve a fatal penalty (the former by hanging; the latter by drowning). Importantly, even in these condemnations, John Northrup was completely removed from any punishment.

If these responses were harsh towards the Northup family, to the Northrup women generally and to John Ridge specifically, the outcry following the Boudinot-Gold marriage only served to deepen the racial and gendered tension while widening public debate to an even greater degree. As stated previously, the school's agents issued a report in response to the rumors of a potential wedding between Boudinot and Harriet. The report was a defense mechanism designed to protect the school from the same kind of attacks levied against it after the Ridge-Northrup marriage, but the agents went further in distancing the school's complicity in this second case. For example, the report emphatically denied the slander that Cornwall's young women had been seen walking arm-in-arm with the school's foreign students, an accusation that had been raised after the first wedding.[112] The agents were careful to insist that the FMS students were not the sort to behave or entice in such a way, a defense repeated in the FMS quarterly report in June 1824. Here again the students are praised as excellent and

[108] Demos, *Heathen School*, 191.
[109] Weierman, One Nation, One Blood, 16.
[110] Ibid., 15.
[111] Demos, *Heathen School*, 154.
[112] Weierman, One Nation, One Blood, 15.

exceptional individuals, unlike others of their race, and therefore not susceptible to issues such as intermarriage, which was given no attention in the report in an effort to dismiss its link with the school entirely: "These strangers…[who] have a skin not colored like…[our] own. They have immortal souls; they have intellectual faculties…. They had every right to expect kindness from their friends and teachers."[113]

The agents' report infuriated the town people. For her own safety, Harriet Gold had to hide at a neighbor's house shortly after its publication, but tensions only mounted. One night, an angry mob led by her brother Stephen burned her in effigy outside her home. Shortly thereafter, the Northrups were forced to leave Cornwall for good for once more Lydia Northrup was accused of arranging this second marriage. Even after her wedding, Harriet Gold's brothers-in-law still opposed the marriage. They exchanged letters expressing their anger and mocking the whole event. Her sisters gradually changed their minds and came to stand against their own husbands, a move that would in time come to affect the men in the Gold household as well.

Harriet Gold privately argued that her desire to marry Elias Boudinot "was lawful in the eyes of God and the state."[114] While some newspapers like *American Eagle* defended the young woman and instead placed direct blame on the fact that her mind had been "poisoned" by years of listening to missionary preaching, *The Niles' Weekly Register* was among the newspapers that truly supported the marriage. This newspaper asked, "Why so much sensibility about an event of this sort?" It also pointed out how "a gentleman who was thought fit…for the office of president, openly and frankly recommended an incorporation of the Indian race with the citizens of the United States, by intermarriages."

This second interracial marriage created tension on the Cherokee side as well. In late September, David Brown, a Cherokee who had attended the Mission School with John Ridge and Elias Boudinot, wrote to Evarts expressing his feeling of confusion and betrayal from the opposition to the marriage. He wrote, "[Many white men] have married Cherokee ladies without censure…so how can it be thought wicked for us to marry among them, especially if some of our white sisters are pleased with such connextions?"[115] Elias Boudinot himself also told Evarts that, "the Cherokees will not send any youths to the school in the future."

Local Public Response

Cornwall citizens seemed to respond in a mixed manner to the establishment of the FMS in their town with popular sentiment vacillating between initial skepticism, excited and popular acceptance, and vocal disapproval. These changes of opinion were of course informed by the two major interracial marriages between students of the school and local Cornwall women. When the committee appointed by the ABCFM proposed the school, very few in the village were pleased with its establishment. They were convinced by the minister upon his return of the importance of the school and the national and international prominence that it would lend the town.[116] Indeed, the establishment of the FMS was widely reported in most early American newspapers as a unique and worthwhile institution of spreading the gospel of Christianity.

Cornwallians and many nationwide were very liberal in their early donations to FMS and provided plentiful monetary and material support to the school. Superintendent of FMS donations reported in 1822 that the liberality of the public to the school increased steadily from its inception to that date.[117] As the design and intent of the school became more widely known, local support of the school grew along with the school's prominence.

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[113] "Quarterly Report of the Foreign Mission School," June 1, 1824. Reproduction at Torringford Public Library, Torringford, CT, quoted in Demos, 162.

[114] Weierman, One Nation, One Blood, 18.

[115] Demos, *Heathen School*, 184-91.

[116] Gaul, To Marry an Indian, 83.

[117] Connecticut Courant, 1822.

The current of support began to change starkly upon John Ridge and Sarah Northrup's marriage, and Cornwall citizens' seemingly underlying unease with the school was publicly unearthed. This public disapproval increased rapidly with Elias Boudinot and Harriet Gold. These events caused great excitement throughout Connecticut and resulted in the burning of effigies of the couple, with one Gold brother lighting the fire as the church bell tolled for hours.[118] This severe reaction, though not characteristic of the whole town, speaks to the intense extremes of public reaction to the interracial marriages.

When John Ridge married Sarah Northrup, newspapers editorialized against the marriage, the school, its teachers, and its missionary goals. Race-baiting and fear-mongering followed and some citizens threatened to destroy the school and force the students to return to their homes.[119] According to the editor of Litchfield's paper *American Eagle*, no white man in town approved of the marriages, except for the two clergy men who performed the marriages and the two separate families involved.[120] The threat of race mixing and its resultant mixed-raced offspring was a motivating source of anger and the editor writes that it was the school's ambition "to break down all objections of colour, and make our daughters become nursing mothers to a race of mulattoes." Though this represented the viewpoint of many outspoken citizens, other voices, though often drowned out in the outrage, spoke out in the couples' defense. Representing a more moderate view, Theodore Sedgwick Gold, in his history of Cornwall published in 1904, wrote that all parties should have taken into account more of human nature and the prejudices of the society they lived in to mitigate this reaction.[121]

While the overriding sentiment was that of the fundamental inferiority of John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, and Native Americans in general, much of the outrage was aimed also at the religious and leadership personnel of FMS. The controversy unearthed resentment on the part of local, white Cornwall citizens who begrudged the attention that the FMS scholars were shown. Many public statements linked the occurrence of the marriages to the special treatment that the scholars were shown, and argued that because the mission leaders treated the students with so much respect, their marriages to white women were inevitable. One local resident described the special treatment in regards to church seating: John Ridge and Sarah Northrup were invited to sit in the deacon's pew at the front of the church which was seen as a significant mark of respect and as "one of the causes…[of] the disgraceful affair," which, in the coming months, would bring "so much excitement and disgust throughout our country."[122] Thus criticism was leveraged equally on John Ridge, Elias Boudinot, the FMS, and seminary leaders who were blamed for the occurrence of the marriages. An anonymous contributor to the *New Haven Register* wrote about the marriages, "These things might be expected when we see people bestow more attention and caresses upon these blacks than upon the sons of respectable citizens. We do not object to the plan of giving the Indian youth an English education; but we think it is carrying the matter too far, to marry them to the American fair…."[123] Thus many citizens blamed the controversy on the influence of the clergy who encouraged the scholars with commendations such as "*lovely* youths, *promising* youths, *hopeful* youths, *amiable* youths, and *interesting* young men,"[124] and thus blind young women and mothers who were supposedly easily influenced by religious leaders.

Thus, not only were the individual young married couples disparaged, larger critiques were aimed at the FMS and its supporting institutions. Spokesperson for the school, Timothy Stone, responded to these critiques against the seminary with a statement on the strangeness of good men doubting the expedience of a novel and singular

[118] Gaul, To Marry an Indian, 251.
[119] Susan Dunne, "'Heathen School' in Cornwall Closed in 1826 amid Racial Brouhaha," *The Hartford Courant*, June 29, 2014.
[120] Demos, *Heathen School*, 154.
[121] Gaul, To Marry an Indian, 85.
[122] Demos, *Heathen School*, 153.
[123] "Letter to the editors," *New Haven Register*, 1824.
[124] "Letter to the editors," *Norwich Courier*, 1824.

seminary such as FMS and goes on to threaten public exposure of these individuals' characters. The school became very defensive against these local attacks that undoubtedly played a part in its eventual closure.

National Public Response

The national reaction to the marriages relied on reprints of the local and regional responses. These accounts were published in whole or in part in newspapers throughout New England, reaching as far as Maine and New Hampshire, though most locally tied to the populations of Massachusetts. The *Salem Gazette* in Salem, Massachusetts, included the Ridge-Northrup marriage in its February 13, 1824 "Matrimony Notice" section. It was the only out-of-state publication among the other five in-state marriage announcements. The notice was also accompanied by an explanation of the bride's father's "eccentricities."[125] Four days later, the *Salem Gazette* printed an editorial response to the Ridge-Northrup marriage announcement, reproduced from the *Norwich Courier*. The short article took "occasion to make some severe, and if true, very just animadversions on the conduct of Dr. Beecher, and three or four other clergymen who were instrumental in bringing about this disgraceful and very unnatural connexion." The author found the FMS and the officiating ministers unjustified "in advising an interesting and worthy female, to at once make herself a squaw, and connect her family to a race of Indians. And one too, at the early age of 16, when the heart is too apt to beat high for romantic and visionary projects." The author concluded with the warning that previous descriptions of Indian youth as "promising" or "interesting young men" has proved to "bias the mind" and "guile the heart of a young female," therefore bringing harm to the community in allowing such intermarriage to occur.[126]

In contrast, an opinion letter sent to the Haverhill, Massachusetts newspaper, *Haverhill Gazette*, on February 21, urged readers to place the frenzied response to the Ridge-Northrup "amalgamation" in "the Connecticut papers" in the wider context of a "policy of most colonists to intermarry with the aborigines. This was the case with the Greeks and Romans who migrated to foreign countries, and with the barbarians who overrun the Roman Empire. The different nations, who 'acquired' Great Britain, mixed with natives." The letter went on to note that such "amalgamation" also occurred among the Spanish in South America, even as other populations remained "exceptions to this policy." Indeed, as the author wrote,

> *we should rather gain than lose by an infusion of Indian blood. Certainly the innate character of the Indian is superior to the Norman or the Dane…. In proportion of limbs, in easy of motion, in eloquence, in quickness of apprehension and retentiveness of memory, the Indians are our masters; in courage, nor our inferiors. What can we boast of, but civilization and religion? Let the descendants of Pocahontas testify, that however it might affect the Indians, we should not degenerate by an intermarriage with them.*[127]

News of the Ridge-Northrup marriage continued to spread throughout New England. On February 24, 1824, in the *Weekly Eastern Argus* in Portland, Maine, made a nod to the negative reaction of this news in the Connecticut papers but provided no other summary of this atmosphere and thus no commitment except perhaps agreement that the ministers, in allowing the marriage, were "instrumental in bringing about this unnatural and semi-savage connexion, and transforming an interesting young lady of 16, into an Indian Squaw."[128] On February 27, 1824, in the Keene, New Hampshire, paper, *New-Hampshire Sentinel*, the Ridge-Northrup wedding announcement was accompanied by the observation:

[125] "Matrimony Notice," *Salem Gazette*, February 13, 1824.
[126] Letter from the Editors, *Salem Gazette*, February 18, 1824.
[127] "Letter to the Editors," *Haverhill Gazette*, February 21, 1824.
[128] "Matrimony Notices," *Weekly Eastern Argus*, February 24, 1824.

> *Much excitement has been caused, in the vicinity, by this 'unnatural connection,' which is stated to have been bro't [sic] about by the influence of some clergymen, and is a source of great unhappiness to all the relatives except the mother. It is defended upon the same principle that Mr. Rolfe chose Pocahontas; and upon Mr. Crawford's theory of 'amalgamation,' as the surest prelude to Indian civilization!*[129]

On the same day another editorial was published in the New Bedford, Massachusetts, paper, the *New-Bedford Mercury*, which discussed how the "plan for civilizing the Indians, by intermarrying with the whites and amalgamating their blood with ours, appears to be going into practical operation in this State." The anonymous author concluded with the statement: "We deem this an act so repugnant to the moral sense of a decent community as to be worthy of public and general reprehension, especially as it is said that three other marriage [*sic*] of the same nature are now in contemplation."[130]

The above editorial was reprinted and expanded upon in the March 2, 1824, issue of the Danville, Vermont, newspaper, *North Star*. The author, remaining anonymous, noted that the general environment of the town of Cornwall allowed this intermarriage to happen because of their "conduct towards those sables and blacks…. The Indians and negroes at Cornwall, it is stated, are treated with more marked attention and respect, than the common citizens, or the sons of worthy respectable farmers—'the females in that place ride and walk out with them by night and by day—spend evenings with them—invite them to tea parties—correspond with them—suffer themselves to be complimented by them—in short, receiving them as the most favored gallants and beaux—while young men of the town, poor white boys, are often cast into shade by their tawny rivals." The author went on to condemn such a society for allowing this "waywardness of youthful fancy, in opposition to common sense and the sterner dictates of judgments," to persist to such a degree that "may often bring a pang to the parent's bosom…that the daughter of his love…[was] to become a nursing mother to a race of mongrels or mullatos [*sic*]."[131]

On March 26, 1824, the *Newburyport Herald* in Newburyport, Massachusetts, published a summary of the responses to the Ridge-Northrup marriage in Cornwall. The editors began by reminding readers "that injurious reports have gone abroad relative to the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, (Conn.) on account of a recent marriage there between John Ridge, a Cherokee youth, and Miss Northrup, the principal of that school" found that no administrator "had any agency in the transaction, or were even made acquainted with the intended union, until near the time it was to be consummated—that it took place under peculiar circumstances, which can never be expected again to recur—that the operations of the school have not the remotest tendency to produce intermarriages between the aboriginals and the whites—and that the marriage rights in question were performed in open day, in presence of, and by the consent of both the parents of the young woman." The editors concluded the article with the explanation: "We mention these facts, not that we are advocates for intermarriages between Indians and whites, but to promote the cause of truth."

Another editorial in the Salem, Massachusetts, *Essex Registrar* on May 20, 1824, was published by a Mr. Bemis who, regretting that the marriage occurred, nonetheless feared "that it may prejudice the minds of some against the school at Cornwall." Bemis attempted to recuperate Ridge and frame him as having "around him all the appearance of civilization; and indeed some of the refinements of life." The author explained that Ridge, after graduating the Cornwall Mission School in 1822, pursued the practice of law on behalf of his Cherokee people. That he returned to Cornwall and "took him a wife" resulted only in pleasure:

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[129] "Wedding Announcements," *New-Hampshire Sentinel*, February 27, 1824.
[130] "Letter to the Editors," *New-Bedford Mercury*, February 27, 1824.
[131] "Letter to the Editors," *North Star*, March 2, 1824.

> *If all the parties are satisfied & happy, surely we have no reason to plain. If the Connecticut ladies wish Cherokee husbands, who has a right to say aught against it? 'De gustibus, nil disputandum.'" Bemis argues that "it may be that the young Cornwall lady has not made a bad bargain; and, considering the talents and the great and laudable ambition of young Ridge, he may yet be found in the councils of our country; and Mrs. Ridge, who now shares so bountifully the sympathies of the public, be figuring at the capitol, not ashamed to own her husband, the honorable son of an Indian chief.*[132]

Nonetheless, when the Boudinot-Gold marriage occurred one year later in Cornwall, another Boston, Massachusetts, paper, the *Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot* from July 2, 1825, noted that the latest intermarriage was proof enough that there was a need for "additional restrictions" to be adopted by the School and community so as to "protect [its] interests."[133] This same small editorial would be reprinted in total in at least two other newspapers in New England: in the *Ithaca Journal* in Ithaca, New York, on July 20, 1825, and in the *Salem Gazette* in Salem, Massachusetts, on July 5, 1825.

ABCFM Response

The response of the ABCFM to the first marriage was one of putting out a small fire and moving forward. In their response to the proposed Boudinot-Gold marriage a year later, fueled by the pressures of an increasingly negative public reaction, they ultimately chose to close the school. This decision was likely difficult given the early treatment and reputation of the school as recorded in the annual reports of the ABCFM from 1817 through 1824. As mentioned previously, there is little doubt that the FMS was once viewed as a rising star in the missionary world. Donations were increasing from across the country and construction of a new school building was in the works. Increasing numbers of students joined the school, and the ABCFM took a more balanced view of the students' modest accomplishments.

The ABCFM learned of the impending Ridge-Northup union in the spring of 1823, and the couple was married in January 1824, following John Ridge's return from the Cherokee Nation in Georgia. John Northrup had already resigned the position of the school steward the previous summer. As stated before, the Reverend Timothy Stone, pastor of the First Church and coordinator of FMS donations, refused to marry the couple, another local minister readily agreed. The Sunday following the wedding, the Golds, one of Cornwall's "best" families and longtime supporters of the FMS, invited the newlyweds to join them in their pew at church. In June 1824, the school issued an important statement affirming its commitment to racial equality: "These strangers of different and distant climes…[with] skin not colored like [our] own. They have immortal souls; they have intellectual facilities."[134] By September's ABCFM annual meeting, there was no direct mention of the Ridge-Northrup wedding. In an oblique passage about the possibility of being "perpetually embarrassed" by events at the school, the ABCFM resolved to take firmer control, ordering more frequent reports on each student. Another smaller hint of what had happened was a concluding note that the school had appointed a new steward.

It was the second marriage that tipped the cart, in part because it succeeded the first event, but also due to the class position of Harriett Gold, as the youngest "fairest" daughter of one of Cornwall's most elite families.[135] When learning about the proposed union in 1825, four local agents of ABCFM, including Dr. Beecher, Reverend Stone, and Philo Swift, Esq. published a letter calling all who were accessory to it "criminal," insulting to the Christian community, and "sporting with the interests of this charitable institution"…."guilty of

[132] "Letter to the Editors," *Essex Registrar*, May 20, 1824.
[133] "Letter from the Editors," *Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot*, July 2, 1825.
[134] Demos, *Heathen School*, 162.
[135] Ibid., 175-176.

this outrage upon public feelings," which resulted "from the impertinent officiousness of a single individual."[136] The FMS assistant principal and Harriett's brother-in-law, Herman Vaill, argued to Harriett Gold that other FMS students would now feel free to follow John Ridge and Elias Boudinot's example should the marriage go through, and thus through her relational interference she was harming the "Cause of Christ."[137]

Meanwhile the FMS's best known scholar, Cherokee David Brown, argued to Jeremiah Evarts, Secretary of ABCFM, that many white men had wed Cherokee women without condemnation.[138] No matter how sympathetic Evarts was, however, Brown's argument fell on deaf ears. At the fall 1825 annual meeting, the ABCFM recommended that the FMS stop admitting pupils.

Not all ABCFM supporters opposed the interracial marriage. A number of missionaries advocated for marriage between Indians and white individuals and did not agree on the stances of the FMS and the ABCFM. Indeed, after the marriage between John Ridge and Sarah Northrup, the FMS published an open letter that merely distanced itself from any involvement in facilitating the marriage, rather than outwardly disapproved of it. Dissatisfied with the school's ambiguity toward the intermarriage, Daniel Buttrick, a missionary working in the Cherokee Nation, wrote the ABCFM home office to express his and his colleagues' disappointment, reminding ABCFM leaders that "the President [George Washington] and Secretary of War [Henry Knox] recommended intermarriage as a means of promoting their improvement." Moreover, John Ridge was, they said, "a man…worthy of respect in any community." This abuse in the North sent a message to the Indian students that they were "a grade of inferior beings" and they were never allowed to have an "affection for [white women] which could never be gratified."[139] In this case, as some native students would conclude in frustration, why live amongst each other?

Similarly, Jeremiah Evarts, Secretary of the ABCFM, also showed his frustration with the position the school adopted toward the marriage between Elias Boudinot and Harriet Gold. "Extremely distressed," he argued the morality of the marriage contract should not be based on "a small variance of complexion" or on the racial lines among "different tribes of men." Like Buttrick, Evarts emphasized that the FMS's position would "irritate the young men, who have been educated at Cornwall" and make them believe that they "are doomed to perpetual inferiority, and that every attempt to rise to an equality with the whites is imprudent & criminal." He also admonished the Cornwall community that Boudinot should "be treated as becomes a Christian & civilized community (should) receive a youth educated…professing a faith in the Gospel of our common salvation."[140] Such an open conversation on these sensitive topics at this early date is noteworthy.

Additionally, Reverend John Gambold, a much-respected Moravian missionary, "was astonished that gentlemen of intelligence, the professed friends of the Indians, should have opposed a connection with Boudinot on the single ground that he is an Indian." Similarly, Reverend William Chamberlain of the ABCFM visited Major Ridge. Ridge asked Reverend Chamberlain for his opinion on the Northerners' strong opposition on interracial marriage with the Cherokees. The man answered, "for my own part…that the young people of the different

[136] Starr, A History of Cornwall, 144.
[137] Herman Vaill to Harriet Gold, June 29, 1825, in Gaul, ed., *To Marry an Indian*, 90-101, quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 183.
[138] Demos, *Heathen School*, 188.
[139] Daniel Buttrick to Jeremiah Evarts, November 4-7, 1824, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, ABC 18.3.1, 1st ser., 4, no. 5.
[140] Jeremiah Evarts to Rev. T. Stone, 26 August 1825, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, ABC 1.01, vol. 5, no. 359-61.

nations should marry as they pleased."[141] Thus, many missionaries themselves supported the intermarriage between Indians and whites even as the institutions they often worked for did not.

Besides missionaries, public opinion also endorsed the interracial marriage not just in defense of the school. Intermarriage would bring the white and Indians many benefits. The *Boston Recorder and Telegraph* concluded intermarriages could prevent "these educated heathen youth…(from) reverting back to paganism," expect "a happy moral influence upon surrounding pagan families," help "unite the Indian tribes to the United States in bonds of permanent friendship," and prevent "those expensive and bloody wars which have hitherto prevailed."[142] Additionally, the *Boston Recorder* further said that the intermarriage was the solution of division between the white and Indians in the long run, which "is the design of Providence", and of reducing the prejudice harbored by two peoples.[143] The *Pilot* (New Haven) even made assumption that if only "intermarriages with the aborigines" had been made from the colonial era, the Indian would have been more civilized, and thus, many unnecessary "oceans of blood and mountains of crime" would have been spared.[144] Besides, the *Western Recorder* (Kentucky) also claimed that the debates on interracial marriage would contribute to the tolerance between the white and Indians. Although acknowledging the intermarriage seemed "inexpedient" to certain people, the article argued that it was moral. More importantly, the debate on this issue drew "the public eyes "to the lamentable condition and prospects of these original sovereigns of America." The article expected "the most enlightened portion of the Christian community" to respond accordingly."[145]

In other words, intermarriage should not have been an issue. *The Niles' Weekly Register* contended that John Randolph, a Congressman, a promising presidential candidate and a descendant of Pocahontas, "boasted of the Indian blood in his veins" and even "openly and frankly recommended an incorporation of the Indian race with the citizens of the United States, by intermarriages." It asked why this issue could produce such "sensibility."[146] Similarly, *The Essex Register* published an article named "Indian Wedding" claiming that marriage was the business of Ridge, Northrup, and their families: "If all parties are satisfied & happy, surely we have no reason to complain. If the Connecticut ladies wish Cherokee husbands, who has a right to say aught against it?"[147]

CLOSING OF THE SCHOOL

Not long after the Ridge-Northrup marriage took place in early 1824, Principal Daggett informed the ABCFM that he intended to retire. His health had been failing for some time, confining him to bed for six weeks that winter. In October 1824, the third FMS principal, Reverend Amos Bassett of Connecticut, took over the position. At the same time, the ABCFM disallowed donation solicitations within Litchfield County, a testament to the intensity of the local response to the Ridge-Northrup marriage. The scandal had certainly taken its toll on Daggett and the school, but there were nevertheless many positive movements. A handful of students returned to their countries to do mission work, and a new group arrived. Meanwhile the ABCFM was making steps toward the construction of a new school building and other infrastructure improvements. Donations were flowing in. Furthermore, the Board approved a plan to admit African Americans, with the goal of sending them to Africa for mission work. This had the potential to expand the school exponentially.

Then the news trickled out about the Boudinot-Gold relationship, and the ABCFM threw its hands up. They said the school had served important purposes, but citing "changed circumstances," announced it was no longer

[141] Jeremiah Evarts to Henry Hill, 2 April 1826, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archive, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, ABC 11, vol. 2, no. 41.
[142] *Western Recorder*, October 4, 1825; quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 187.
[143] *Boston Recorder and Telegraph*, August 26, 1825; quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 187.
[144] *The Pilot* (New Haven, CT), February 17, 1824; quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 155.
[145] *Western Recorder*, October 4, 1825; quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 187.
[146] *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, MD), July 9, 1825; quoted in Demos, *Heathen School*, 186.
[147] "Indian Wedding," *The Essex Register*, May 20, 1824.

accepting new students. Two interracial marriages in two years, and perhaps the prospect of closely engaging with the growing freed African-American community in their midst—not from distant barbarian shores—was a bigger step than even reform-minded evangelical Christians could take on.

In 1826 the FMS had sixteen remaining students, but at its September annual meeting, the ABCFM decided to close the school. Reverend Stone ordered contributions for the new building to be returned and the school properties to be sold or returned to the community. When the school was officially boarded up in January 1827, the reason given publically for this action was the great expense of operating the establishment. The students either went home—not always paid for by the ABCFM—or to other schools. Several of these students remained in the community for years to come, working as laborers for farmers and other residents. The Steward's House reverted to private ownership.[148]

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AFTER SCHOOL'S CLOSING

The significance of the school's closing, in light of these social controversies, remained in the minds of the local and regional public for some years after. Nearly a decade after the Ridges and Boudinots had left Cornwall for Cherokee country, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot became directly involved in the treaty decision that forced Cherokee migration westward in 1835 and were assassinated for doing so. Newspaper accounts of the murders often made mention of both men's time at the FMS, the marriages that led to the school's closing, and speculate about what their "civilizing" and "Christian" experiences in Connecticut must have meant to the men.

In a July 17, 1839, letter to the editor of the *Utica Observer* reprinted in the "The Cherokees" column of *The Pittsfield Sun* from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, J. F. Schermerhorn expressed a high opinion of Ridge following the announcement of his assassination. The author noted Ridge's marriage to "a young lady of very respectable family," with whom Ridge "return[ed] to his nation, after completing his education" at Cornwall's Foreign Mission School. Further adulations were paid to Ridge's "calculated" efforts "to improve the condition of his people, and to raise them from their low and ignorant state, and to save them from ruin and extinction." With interesting effect, Schermerhorn took pains to emphasize how Ridge fought against the United States government's encroachment on Cherokee land in Georgia, and when "he saw that all their…appeals to the sympathies of the American people, and the application to the judicial tribunals of our country, brought them no relief," how Ridge accompanied other members of the Treaty Party to surrender Cherokee land. This was a great risk, according to the author, and testament to the severity of the situation in which Ridge must have found himself to become party to such a treaty, particularly given that "it was death by [Cherokee] late for any person to enter into a treaty with the United States—a law which Ridge himself, in Oct. 1829, had drawn up, and was enacted while he was a member of the National Committee Council." Shermerhorn commended Ridge for making such a "sacrifice, to save, if possible, [his] nation from inevitable extermination and ruin if they continued where they were; and provide for them an asylum." Schermerhorn concluded by urging that Ridge's "memory will yet be cherished and blessed by the latest generations of the Cherokee people…[as] the saviour and deliverer of his countrymen."[149]

In another article in *The Farmer's Cabinet*, published in Amherst, New Hampshire, on July 26, 1839, a journalist expressed remorse at Ridge's murder, noting that he was a "gentleman of polished manners and of sterling sense; a fine speaker, and an amicable, excellent man." The article recounted Ridge's time at the FMS, "where he married a respectable white lady. She accompanied him back to his tribe," first to Georgia and then west to Arkansas. The editors of *The Farmer's Cabinet* reported further that Boudinot had also been murdered at the same time as Ridge and his father. The author mentioned that "Ridge and Boudinot were both educated at the Cornwall School, in Connecticut, and both married white wives—young ladies of respectable families. The

[148] On the closing of the school, see Demos, *Heathen School*, 162-64; Starr, *A History of Cornwall*, 143-44.
[149] J. F. Schermerhorn, "Letter to the editors," *The Pittsfield Sun*, July 17, 1839.

mixing of colors, however, was so offensive to the people, that great excitement followed their weddings, and the result was the breaking up of the school." This time, the author seriously recounted the men's reversal "upon the emigration question," in which both:

> *"joined the ruthless land-robbers in the work of uprooting their own nation, and desecrating the graves…of their fathers. Their plea in justification was, that they saw longer resistance vain, and they might therefore as well make a merit of necessity. The charge of their own nation was, that they were traitors, and that gold was the price of their treason. We doubt not the truth of the charge, since they were assenting to the foul treaty which no man denies was the work of corruption. Their deaths are probably the work of vengeance for their treachery.*[150]

While these perceptions of John Ridge and Elias Boudinot as Cherokee leaders, as well as of the FMS influence on their upbringing, are both clearly biased observations from the time and not reflective of the immense and traumatic political project of Indian removal, the above accounts signify the ways in which public opinion shifted to mourn what these communities considered "successful" stories of the mission school tradition.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The Steward's House is significant as one of three buildings of the FMS, the first and only American Protestant mission school to receive students from other countries and cultures as a way to both civilize and teach them the Gospel with the aim of sending graduates home as missionaries. This domestic mode of evangelization broke with the American mission tradition of migrating to outside communities to spread the Gospel. Commonly during the nineteenth century, American missionaries set up schools in Asia, the Pacific, and in American Indian lands to do evangelical work. Prompted by a wave of non-Christian migrants, however, the ABCFM took a different path, calculating that an American-based education would cost less and perhaps do more "civilizing" work. Moreover, in Cornwall the FMS students would learn from the environment and community to embody the "'habits and customs of civilized life, which they could never be taught in any other way.'" New concepts and crafts such as proper moral values, private property, individualism, mechanics arts, agriculture, and commerce would also be conveyed to the "heathen." The missionaries as well would learn something of the language and ways of other countries without leaving home. No other Protestant institution on US soil had experimented with such a domestic mission model, and none of the handful of other domestic schools enrolling Asian students in the antebellum period did so as early as the FMS, although there were several which later hosted Native American students.

School Building

Along with the Steward's House, the School Building was an integral component to the FMS campus. Standing 20' x 40' and built in 1797, the building was donated by Cornwall citizens to the FMS for explicit use in the school's operations. It "stood athwart the greens in the town Center" and housed a large ground-floor classroom and an upstairs loft adaptable for use as sleeping quarters.[151] After the FMS was closed, the building was returned to the town and used as a general school and lecture room. Unfortunately, this gambrel-roofed, two-story building was demolished in 1873. It was rebuilt and sold in 1955 to the newly formed St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church. No archaeology has been conducted on the site.[152]

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[150] Commercial advertisers, "Letters to the editors," *The Farmer's Cabinet*, July 26, 1839, and August 2, 1839.
[151] Demos, *Heathen School*, 69
[152] See Cornwall Village Map, Cornwall Historical Society.

Principal's House

Construction of this federal-style building began in 1809 and was soon taken over by the school. It was purchased in 1815 while still under construction, as the school urgently needed a place for the principal and his wife. The price paid was $625 for the whole building.[153] It has been noted in a variety of historical accounts that the Principal's house also was used at some point as a dormitory, briefly for at least one student, but this was clearly not the intended purpose of the home in the way that the Steward's House was. Unlike the School Building, the Principal's House stands today but with numerous renovations to the historical appearance and structural frame due to remodeling efforts.

Other Buildings in Cornwall Significant to the FMS

The following homes listed below, while related to the FMS and still extant, remained in private hands throughout the period of significance for the school. Though the following buildings served in some ways to assist the school's mission and support student life from time to time, none of these homes ever became formally part of the school in the same ongoing official capacity as the Steward's House, nor did they generate as much public and social interaction.

Home of Colonel Benjamin Gold and Family

The Golds were active community members both of Cornwall and with the FMS. Colonel Benjamin Gold often raised funds for the school, gathered supplies, and hosted important visitors on occasion. Like the Principal's House, the Gold family occasionally boarded students as a result of an overflow of students, but never in an official or long-term capacity as in the Steward's House.[154] Additionally, the Gold House was likely the location of the marriage between the Cherokee student Elias Boudinot and Harriet Gold in 1826.

Reverend Timothy Stone's Home

This house, build around 1800, was the home of Reverend Timothy Stone, First Church minister, and his family. The ABCFM appointed Stone as "superintendent of donations" for the FMS and local overseer of the school. At the Stone home, the first student and well-known figure Opukahaia lived and received medical care from Mary Stone while sick. Opukahaia died in this building in 1818.

Herman Daggett's Home

After his retirement as school principal, Herman Daggett moved with his wife to this house across Pine Street from his former residence, the Principal's House. The house has had significant additions made to its footprint during recent years, losing much of its historical resemblance.

OTHER ACADEMIES WITH ASIAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS

Some of the characteristics of the FMS existed in other US educational institutions during the nineteenth-century, although none were mission schools established with the explicit intent to return foreign students to home countries so they could convert others to American Protestantism. Additionally, many young men from overseas were educated in private homes in New England, but few in academies. It is interesting to note that while some of the following examples show the intense enthusiasm for the mission model school, none focused

[153] Starr, History of Cornwall, 139.
[154] Demos, *Heathen School*, 125.

as much on the race and nationality of a transpacific and transnational student body in the same way as the FMS in Cornwall, suggesting that the latter indeed remained a significant outlier even at that time.

The Morris Academy

Nearby Cornwall in the town of Morris, sea captain James Morris III began a co-educational academy in 1790, first in his home and then, as the student body grew, in an academy building. It was a trailblazing institution for schooling young men and women together at such an early date, and for continuing in operation for so long (the school closed in 1888). Morris overcame fierce criticism from the community because of these efforts. Due to its "open enrollment," Morris Academy also accepted one or two Pacific Island students, but they lived in private homes. It may be possible to surmise that the students' experience at the Morris Academy, as well as their time in the community living as part of private households, led to the unusual long-term operation of the school and perhaps was known to residents of Cornwall due to its proximity. However, the school did not experience the same level of public debate and response regarding race relations, immigration, and integration in the same manner as the FMS in Cornwall, due to the fact that the students were not recruited based on race or nationality and did not therefore stir many social tensions at the time.

The Monson Academy

The Monson Academy, established in 1806, enrolled a Chinese student in 1847, thirty years after the FMS opened. This student, Yung Wing from Macau, went on to graduate from Yale College, and founded the Chinese Educational Mission in New England.

Chinese Educational Mission (CEM)

After his own experience as the first Chinese who graduated from an American university, Yung Wing convinced the Chinese government to support his idea of providing Chinese youth the opportunity to study in America. Between 1872 and 1881, the Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) brought over one-hundred Chinese students to live and study in New England, where they were immersed in English language, custom, culture, and style.[155] There are no extant buildings remaining for this school in the Hartford, Connecticut, area, where it was located.

Other Examples

Many other institutions accepted at various times students of other nations and races, though not at the same scale as the FMS. The Oxford School in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, enrolled a Japanese boy in 1841; a Roman Catholic School in Baltimore in 1854 accepted another Japanese student, Hikozō Hamada (called Joseph Heco), who went on the become an American citizen. Dartmouth College was founded in 1769 as a Charity School for Native Americans, with language in its charter stating the school's purpose as "for the education and instruction of Youth of the Indian Tribes in this Land in reading, writing and all parts of Learning...as well as in all liberal Arts and Sciences; and also of English Youth and any others." However, the college only graduated a mere nineteen Indian students before the Civil Rights Era, and its founder Eleazer Wheelock was always more interested in educating white youth.

[155] Barbara Austen, "Yung Wing's Dream: The Chinese Educational Mission, 1872-1881," *Connecticut History*, accessed March 29, 2015, http://connecticuthistory.org/yung-wings-dream-the-chinese-educational-mission-1872-1881/.

MISSION SCHOOLS ON AMERICAN INDIAN LANDS

In 1819 the US government passed the Indian Civilization Fund Act, providing support of up to $10,000 for "religious groups and interested individuals willing to live among and teach Indians."[156] Protestant missionaries could pursue religious education only if they also agreed to teach English and secular subjects. Several schools were established soon after this act. The Cumberland Presbyterian Association founded a school for Chickasaw children, Charity Hall, in 1820, and the South Carolina-Georgia Synod established Monroe, a demonstration farm school, in 1822. The Asbury Manual Labor School, near Fort Mitchell, Alabama, existed between 1822 and 1830 and was formed by the United Methodist Missions; Asbury Manual Labor School, near Eufaula, Creek Nation, Indian Territory, was operated between 1850 and 1888 by the United Methodist Missions. Another recognized example was the Tulalip Mission School, which opened in 1857 by Reverend E. C. Chirouse. The school began with eleven students: six boys and five girls. After Congress reduced funds for mission schools, however, the Tulalip Mission School became a federal facility during the winter of 1900 and 1901.[157]

A combination boarding school and demonstration farm model was a forerunner of the "manual labor academy," a model of education considered inappropriate for white children but was deemed appropriate for women, African Americans, and American Indians. The American Indian Boarding Schools established during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were supported by on-going educational initiatives for Native Americans. Like the ABCFM, these institutions were staffed by missionaries of various denominations. Most had worked first in mission day schools before going on to found boarding schools. Examples include the Bond's Mission School or the Montana Industrial School for Indians, both run by Unitarians, and the Harley Institute, near Tishomingo, in Chickasaw Nation, Oklahoma. Prior to 1889, this mission school was known as the Chickasaw Academy and was operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church until 1906.

COMPARATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF STEWARD'S HOUSE FROM STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVE

The relevance of the Steward's House thus surpasses that of any other building related to the broad history of the FMS, not only for its integrity but also for being an ABCFM property. The important and integral role that this house held for the students themselves extends well beyond these physical and legal reasons for determining its historical status. The Steward's House, where a local family lived and worked, was the place where the FMS students had daily meals, talked around the big open kitchen fireplace, and were cared for when sick. The house was linked to the non-academic activities of the students, where other kind of relationships and conversations took place.

For the students themselves, the Steward's House was even more relevant in some cases than the FMS School Building where they had classes. This can be seen in the map of Cornwall made by the Chippewa student George Whitefield, in which the Steward's House is much bigger than the School Building, which was actually not the case. The size of the campus buildings on this student's map thus speaks to the value and importance that the Steward's House had within the students' perception of daily life at the FMS. Additionally, the house was a regular zone of contact for different populations and genders. The relationship between John Ridge and Sarah Northrup began in one of the rooms of the Steward's House, and their subsequent marriage, most likely within the house, is a significant milestone in the history of American race relations.

[156] "1813-2013: A History of American Indian Education," *Education Week*, accessed March 29, 2015, http://www.edweek.org/ew/projects/2013/native-american-education/history-of-american-indian-education.html.

[157] "Assimilation Through Education: Indian Boarding Schools in the Pacific Northwest," University Libraries, University of Washington, accessed March 29, 2015, https://content.lib.washington.edu/aipnw/marr.html#mission.

In light of the comparable institutions presented here, all—except the CEM—either had very small numbers of foreign students or were located far away from white Americans. Yet unlike the FMS, the CEM has no extant buildings remaining, and it operated in an entirely different time period than the early republic. There are therefore no other domestic missionary school to compare to the FMS, and no other US schools admitting large numbers of foreign students in the early republic. Indeed, without the Steward's House and the social and romantic interactions that occurred there, the FMS would have had much less impact on US social history.

CONCLUSION

Within the early republic framework of the Second Great Awakening, the US mission movement, and transpacific expansion, the ABCFM, a commission of non-denominational evangelical ministers, opened the FMS in Cornwall, Connecticut, in 1817. Their unstated goal was to construct and promote a new US national identity in the Asia-Pacific, an arena of intense imperial competition. Cornwall was considered a model of virtue and core American values at that time, with few of the distractions of larger towns and inhabited by devout white Christians who would offer the best influence on foreign students and serve as devoted donors. The Steward's House, one of the three main campus buildings, was considered the "most social and vibrant" site, where the informal interactions and race-mingling between students, school staff, community members, and the steward's family members took place. As a result, tensions mounted between the goal to civilize and save "heathen" youth with a Christian education and their parallel need to ultimately separate the heathen from white Christian women.

The FMS's closure in 1826 was undeniably related to the most well-known marriages between local white women and Cherokee students. After the first, the ABCFM attempted to reassure the public that an interracial relationship would never occur again after the John Ridge and Sarah Northrup marriage, but it did happen, and this time involving Harriet Gold, a young woman of high-class standing, and Ridge's cousin, Elias Boudinot. With these two marriages occurring close together, the FMS was unable to redeem its reputation and regain confidence from an intolerant public with ingrained beliefs in racial hierarchy.

Although the Northrups were forced to leave Cornwall shortly after their daughter's wedding, the events begun in their household would have a lasting impact on domestic missionary movements and on public perceptions of *domestic* transnational American encounters and race relations at the dawn of a period of increasing immigration to the United States. For the first time in Anglo-American history, immigrants were coming in great numbers from regions *outside* Northern Europe, and the US governing elite began implementing new policies to control this immigration and the immigrants themselves.

The significance of the FMS and the Steward's House in particular, cannot be downplayed. It was the first and also the last mission school built for non-Christians in the US territory, and within this school, the Steward's House served as the center of students' daily life. Against the background of the Second Great Awakening, the FMS was a religious experiment. Instead of sending missionaries to "heathen" lands, they brought "heathen" students to the American land, believing that a mission school in religiously pious New England was more efficient and effective than traditional mission schools established within "heathen" settings because it exempted these young students from the pagan influences of their native communities.[158] Despite its closure in the end, its uniqueness in the American religious movement cannot be ignored. Additionally, the diversity of student composition at the FMS provides us with a picture of robust international interactions in the early republic and also America's increasing trade relationship with these regions. Finally, the debate on the interracial marriage at that time has echoed down till today. Two interracial marriages, which occurred at the FMS, led to great controversies and its final closure, which made both white Christians and Native Americans

[158] Joseph Harvey, *The Banner of Christ Set Up* (New Haven: Nathan Whiting, 1819), 23.

believe "racial amalgamation" impossible and the later Indian removal policy inevitable. In spite of its short existence, this decade-long experiment was the embodiment of religious ethos in the Second Great Wakening, the international interaction, American expansionism, and American public attitudes toward racial issues in the early republic.

Both John Ridge and Elias Boudinot came away from the FMS experience determined to live as white men, with all the religious and material trappings and political privileges that such an identity entailed. But their experiences in Cornwall may have led them to concur with a growing consensus that, while perhaps equal in many senses, those perceived as racial others simply could not cohabitate the same space as those perceived as white. As new converts to white Christian leadership, and as perceived as formerly "colored," Ridge and Boudinot learned in Cornwall that they must live apart, suggesting some influence on their party with the later US government treaty to "remove" Indians from the land, an act that would initiate the infamous Trail of Tears.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
__ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
__ University
__ Other (Specify Repository):

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: 3

UTM References:	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	18	638458	4633869

Verbal Boundary Description: The boundary of the existing property at 14 Bolton Hill Road in Cornwall, Connecticut, on which the Steward's House sits follows the lines of the assessor's lot and parcel designation: M:H04 B:02 L:01

Boundary Justification: The nominated property is the real estate parcel that has contained the Steward's House since its construction, as well as a large portion of the surrounding landscape that was integral to the operations of the Foreign Mission School. Approximately two additional acres composed the original property boundaries. This area presently contains mostly forest land or roads (both public and private) and are therefore excluded from the proposed boundary.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

Name/Title: Caroline Frank, Visiting Assistant Professor of American Studies, with students Anni Pullagura, Sarah Dylla, and the students of Brown University class AMST1905M

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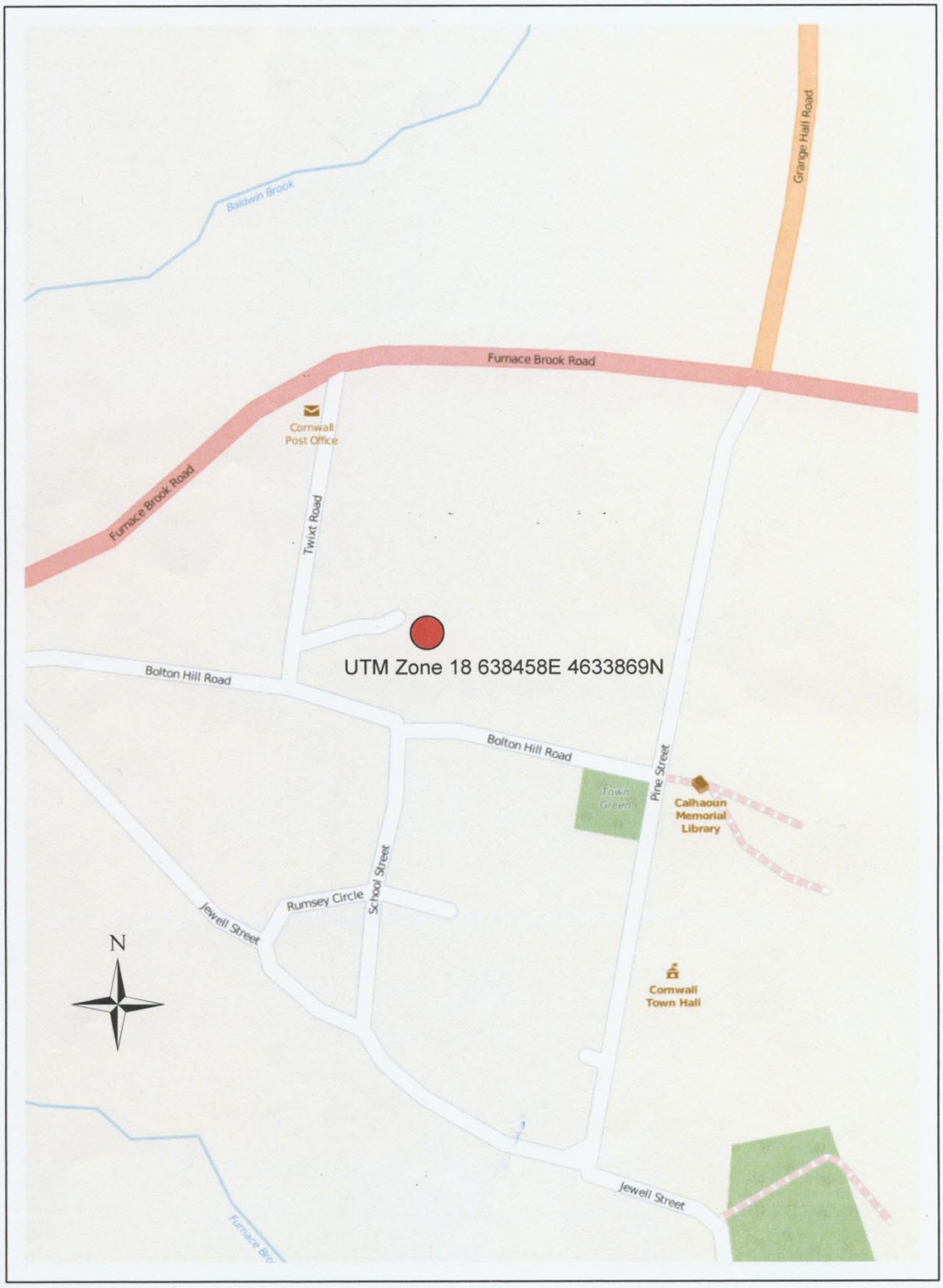
Date: April 1, 2015

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National Historic Landmarks Program
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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM

The Steward's House, Foreign Mission School
Cornwall, Connecticut



Datum NAD84

Te(c) OpenStreetMap and contributors, Creative Commons-Share Alike License (CC-BY-SA)



Exterior (south) of Steward's House



Exterior (southeast) of Steward's House Caroline Frank, photographer, March 11, 2015



Front Entry of Steward's House
Sarah Dylla, photographer, March 14, 2015



Kitchen with original Beehive Oven in right cabinet (above)
Sarah Dylla, photographer, March 14, 2015



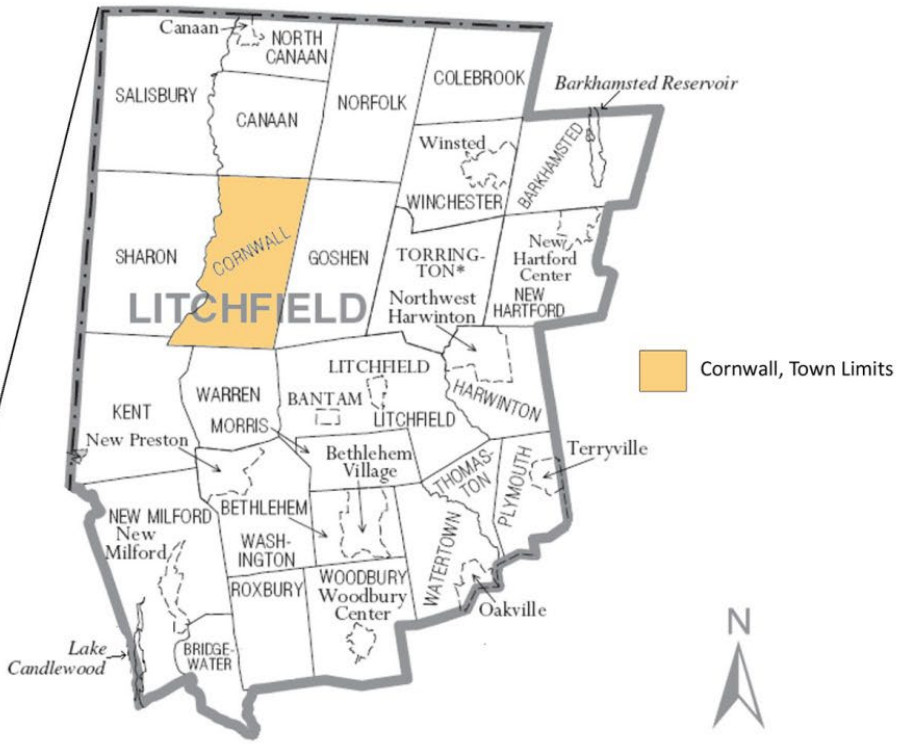
Central Hall, looking north. View includes narrow stairs to second floor.
Sarah Dylla, photographer, March 14, 2015



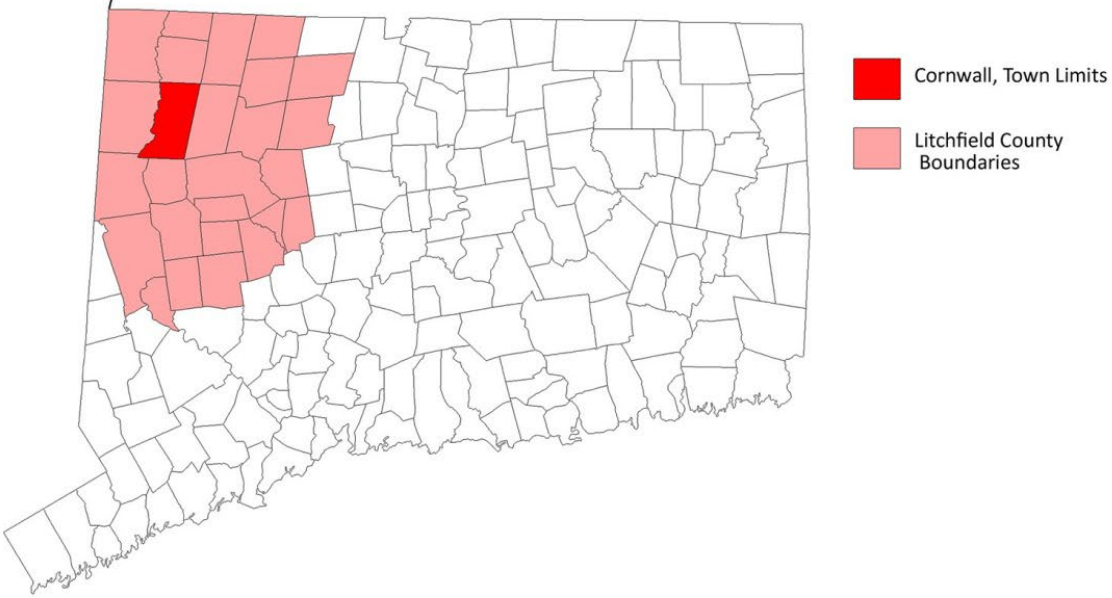
Original wooden shake-shingle gabled roof. View from addition in attic (above)
Sarah Dylla, photographer, March 14, 2015

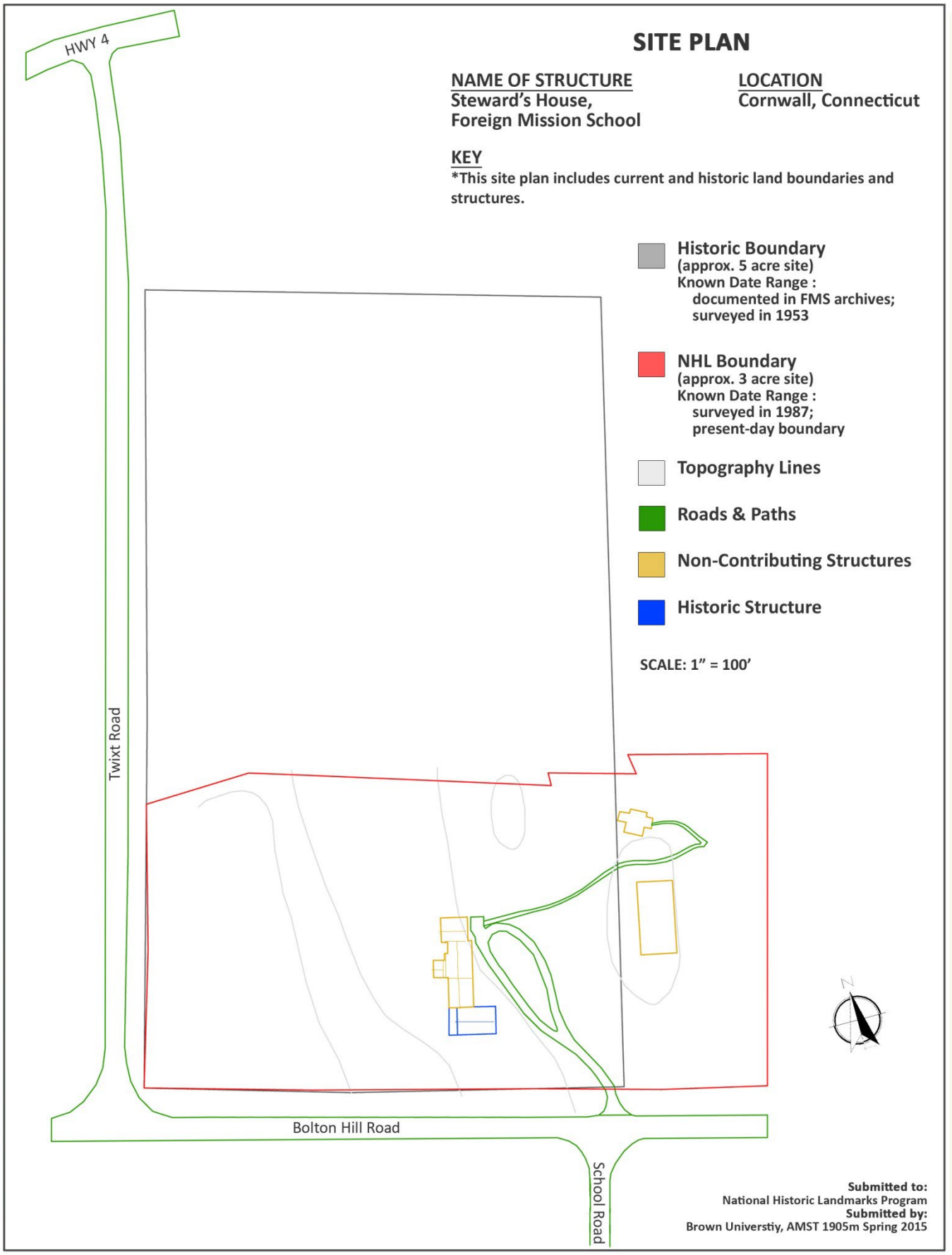
GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT OF CORNWALL

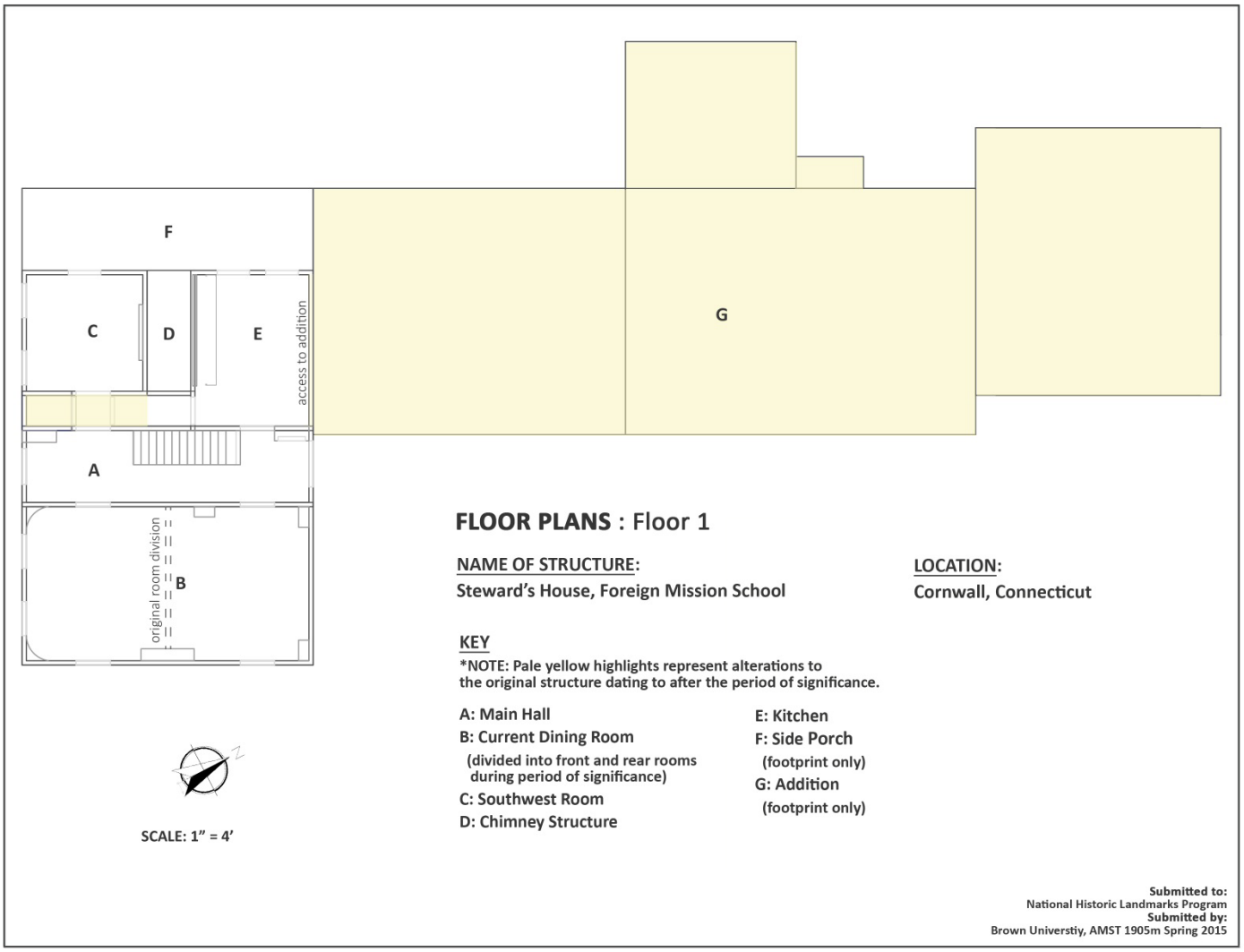
County of Litchfield Designating Cornwall



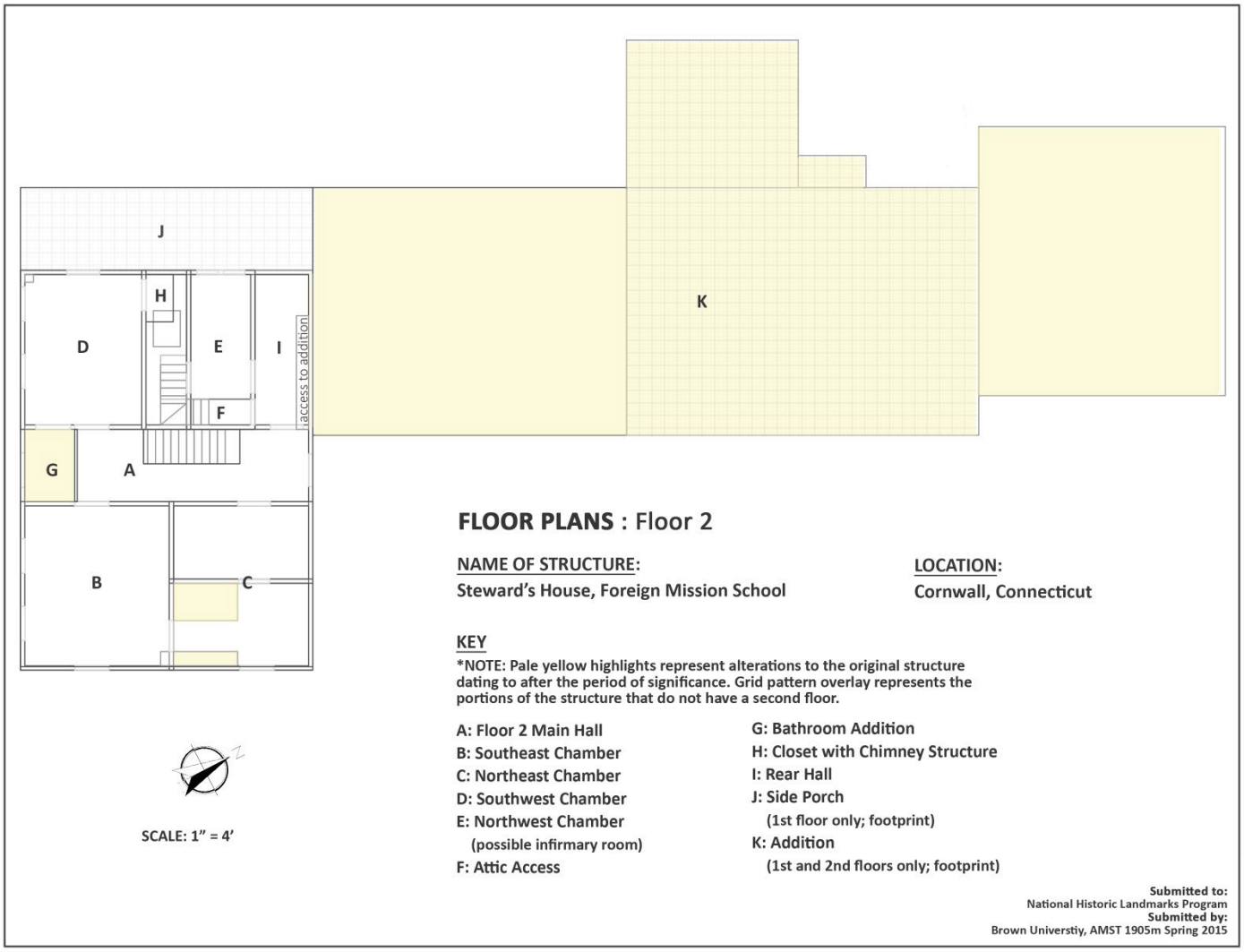
State of Connecticut Designating Litchfield County and Cornwall



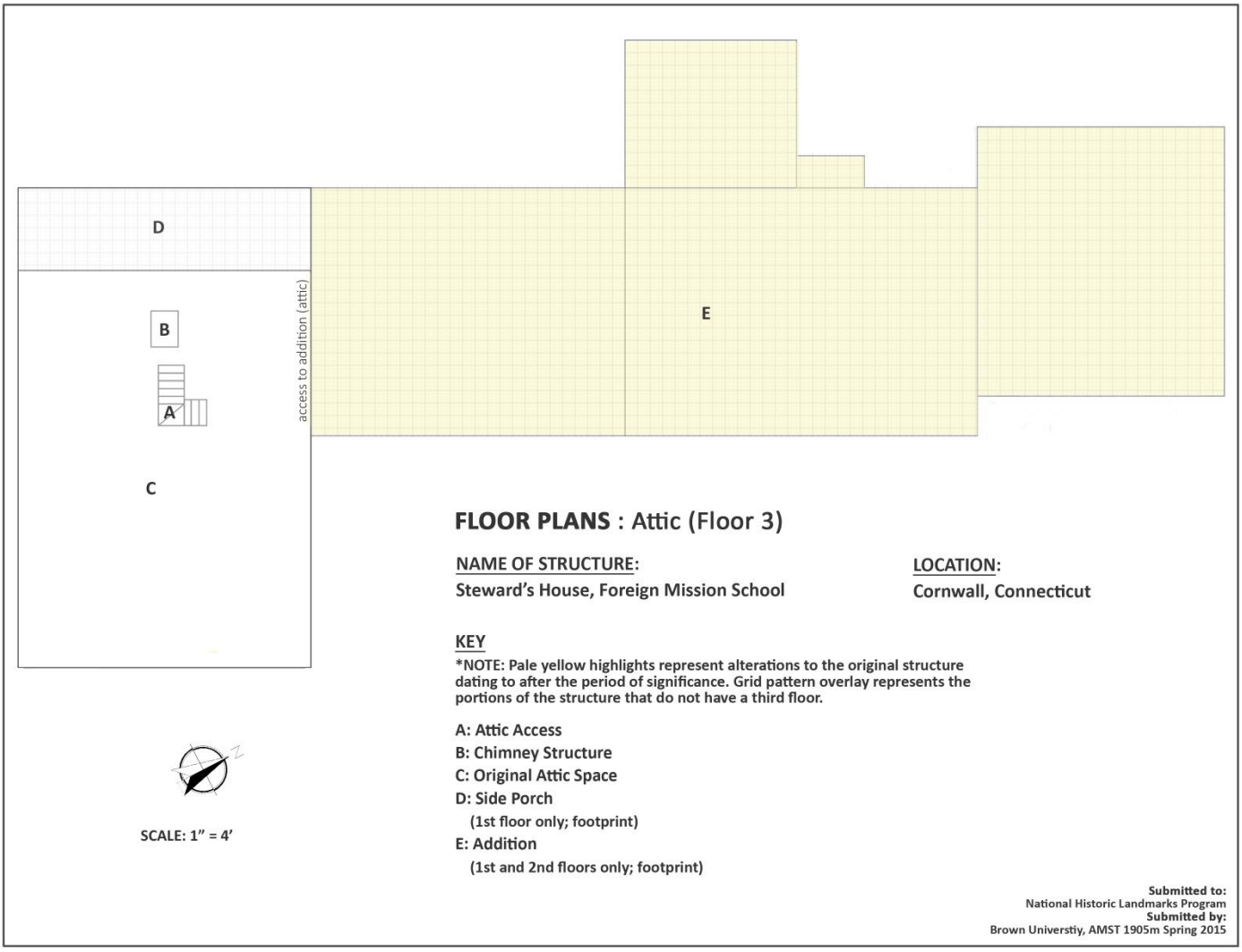

SITE PLAN
NAME OF STRUCTURE
Steward's House,
Foreign Mission School
LOCATION
Cornwall, Connecticut
KEY
*This site plan includes current and historic land boundaries and structures.
Historic Boundary
(approx. 5 acre site)
Known Date Range :
documented in FMS archives;
surveyed in 1953
NHL Boundary
(approx. 3 acre site)
Known Date Range :
surveyed in 1987;
present-day boundary
Topography Lines
Roads & Paths
Non-Contributing Structures
Historic Structure
SCALE: 1" = 100'
HWY 4
Twixt Road
Bolton Hill Road
School Road
N
Submitted to:
National Historic Landmarks Program
Submitted by:
Brown Universtiy, AMST 1905m Spring 2015



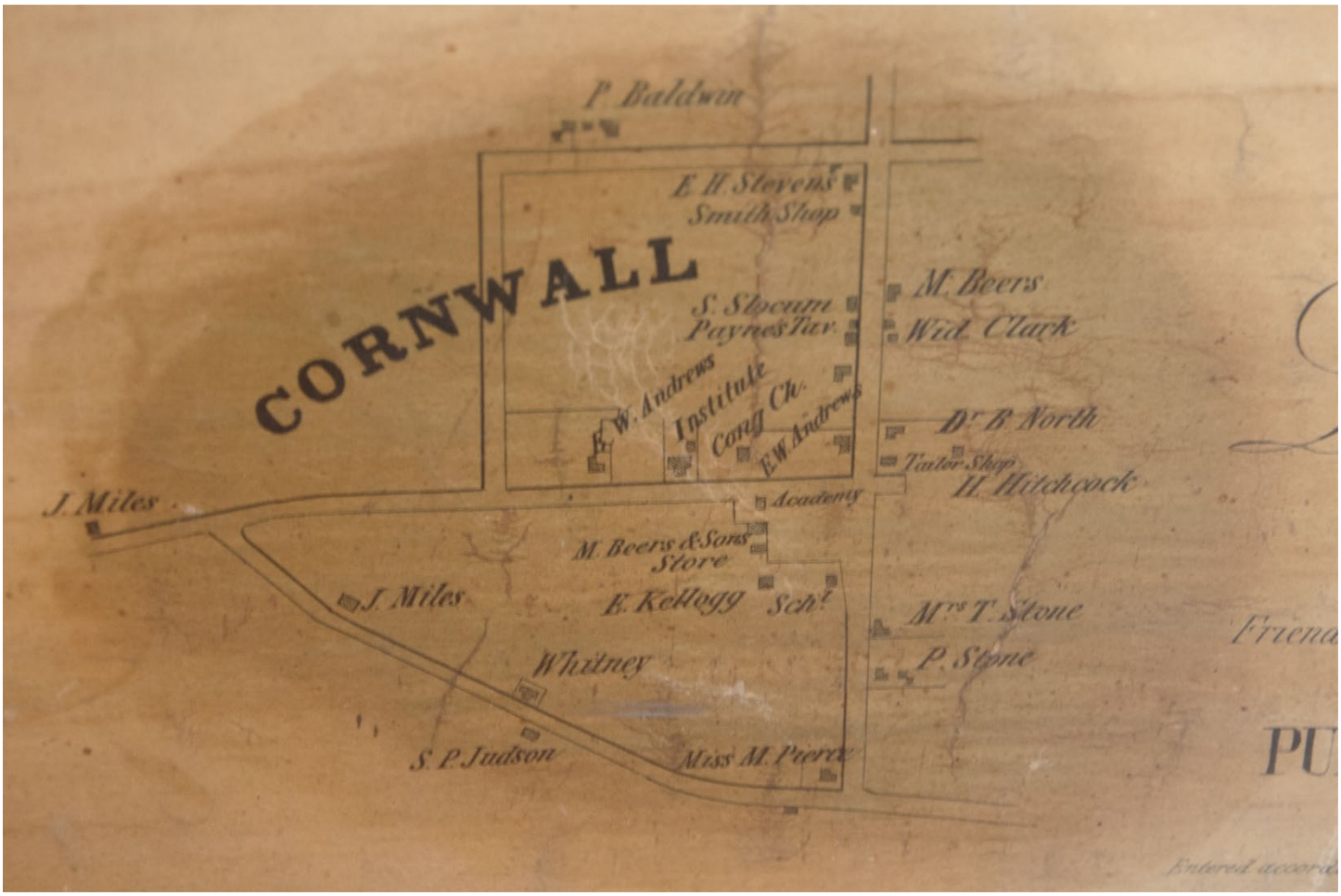
Floor Plan of Steward's House: First Floor
Site Plan by Sarah Dylla



Floor Plan of Steward's House: Second Floor
Site Plan by Sarah Dylla



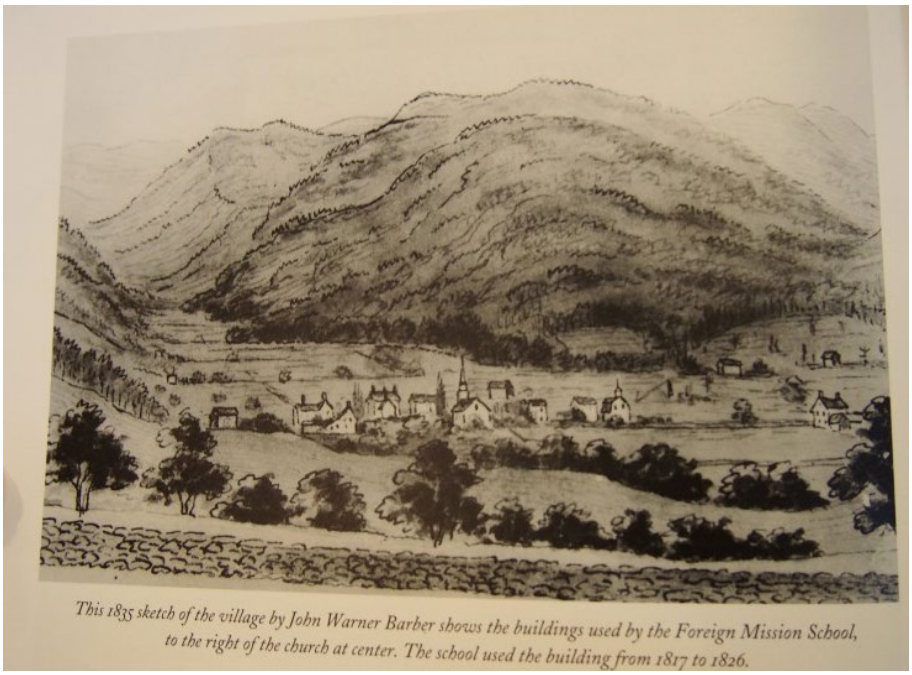
Floor Plan of Steward's House: Attic (Third Floor)
Site Plan by Sarah Dylla



Cornwall Village Detail, Cornwall Map of 1854
Courtesy of the Cornwall Historical Society



Sketch of Cornwall Valley by Student George Whitefield, 1825-26. Steward's house and gardens in center
Courtesy of Cornwall Historical Society



Reproduction of 1835 Sketch of "South Cornwall" by John Warner Barber.
Steward's House visible on far right.



Undated print of Foreign Mission School
Courtesy of Cornwall Historical Society