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THE EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCE OF ABERDEEN IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY VIRGINIA

By A. Bailey Cutts

Colonial ingenuity is all very well as a means of explaining those features of our institutions which were from the first indigenous. It is the easiest and often the only way. The American degree-granting college, because of its radical variations from Oxford and Cambridge precedent has been pointed out as typical of such New World inventiveness. Undoubtedly many features were new; yet both Scotland and Ireland possessed post-Reformation universities that were prototypes, in all essentials, of the colonial institutions for higher learning. Moreover, Virginia as the scene of the first undertaking of the kind on this side of the Atlantic furnishes an interesting clue to the sources from which this new college pattern was derived. Before considering these, however, it is important to bear in mind that the accepted "hallmark and crucial differentia of a university is the right to confer degrees."[1]

> In England "the university—[consisting] of the Chancellor, Masters and scholars—is one corporation, and each of the colleges distinct and independent societies with their separate codes of laws."[2] But that these distinct institutions are united by a common purpose "into one comprehensive whole." Moreover, "a college, **ex vi termini,** implies a corporation; and in fact [they all were founded as] civil eleemosynary corporations. The University is also . . . a civil but not an eleemosynary corporation. It is independent of the corporations of the colleges, but the colleges are hardly independent of it,"[3] as the corporate members of the collegiate foundations are corporate members of the university also, and are entitled to its privileges.

The resulting federation of institutions comprises what is known in England as a "University." The organizations of Oxford and Cambridge have much in common. They are governed, and were in the Seventeenth Century, by a system loosely analogous to the government of the United States. Each of the several colleges legislates for itself and each is represented in a council that legislates for the university as a whole. We shall have occasion later to consider the university offices separately.

> Scottish Universities, on the other hand, "approximated in type and organization to the course of university development on the continent and were more influenced by it."[4]

Four outstanding points of contrast with the English are worth noting:[5]

> I. Scottish Universities were comparatively non-residential. The system of colleges as autonomous places of residence for undergraduates, with their separate endowments and governing Heads and Fellows, in separate and imposing buildings never took

1 C. Grant Robertson: **The British Universities** (London, 1930) p. 18.
2 Mark Pattison: "Suggestions on Academical Organization." (Edinburgh, 1868) p. 46.
3 **Ibid.**, p. 7, quoting Dr. Wm. Stebbing of Chancery Bar.
4 C. G. Richardson: **The British Universities** (London, 1930) p. 17.
5 **Ibid.**, p. 15.

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root in Scotland. . . . The Scottish undergraduate made his own arrangements, . . . for board and lodging; and the university, responsible for the provision of teaching, neither accepted the responsibility for, nor exercised the control, of his social life and welfare which the intricate coordination between university and colleges so completely provided at Oxford and Cambridge.

II. At the two English seats of learning, the liberal and continuous flow of endowment and benefactions went to the colleges. In Scotland gifts, on a smaller scale—for Scotland, like the colonies, was far poorer than England—went to the endowment of professional chairs and teaching. Hence in Scotland the university professoriate played a large part in the teaching, organization of departments, curriculum and examinations, which fell in Oxford and Cambridge largely to the members of the individual colleges.

III. Scottish universities were usually situated in large towns and more closely associated with the life of all classes in the civic community, which acquired a share in the administration of the University and, through a mixture of civic and academic persons in the "governing bodies," paved the way for Boards of Trustees in America (which even came to be incorporated as **the university**).

IV. National development and institutions in Scotland made the universities more democratic and less expensive. Consequently they were attended by a far more representative group of students.

The above characteristics applied to the universities of Scotland as a whole. Each institution had in addition features peculiarly its own.

In the Quatercentenary "Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen" one finds the following proud sentence: "The University of Aberdeen, beyond all others, is the Teacher's University, and one of the most laudable traditions she can boast is this spontaneous encouragement of the educator she has trained."[6] The additional observation that "Many of our teaching alumni went to America where their work is still recalled with high appreciation"[7] constitutes a challenge which the present writer will endeavor to uphold.

The population of Virginia, from the first British settlement in 1607, was composed of loyal, if sometimes discredited, adventurers who came to America bearing, on the whole, no such fundamental grudge against the established order of Church and State in the Mother Countries, as did the Puritans who settled New England shortly after. Unlike the dissenters who sought religious and political freedom for themselves in New England, the men who settled Virginia were imbued with a powerful sense of Empire—of an intimate and dependent relationship with Great Britain through the Company. In time they came to regard the heretical settlers of the New England Colonies with the same lofty contempt as did Anglican England and the Crown.

It was natural, therefore, that any plans for establishing seats of learning in Virginia during the first quarter of the Seventeenth Century would come of necessity from the Company in London. It was equally natural that the character of such institutions would be drawn from those which had best succeeded under similar conditions. Scotland and Ireland[8] offered obvious examples. James IV had lamented in his appeal to the Pope for a "Bulla" to establish the first university in

6 Aberdeen University Studies, No. 19, p. 352.
7 Ibid., No. 19, p. 353.
8 S. E. Morison: **Founding of Harvard College.** (Camb., 1935) p. 121.

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Aberdeen, that "there are certain places in the northern parts of our Kingdom where dwell rude men, ignorant of letters, almost untamed . . . owing to their distance from the Universities."[9] So in 1495, King's College and University was founded under the leadership and endowment of Bishop Elphinstone* to benefit a "remote portion of Scotland cut off from the rest of the kingdom by arms of the sea and very lofty mountains."[10]

This Scottish foundation revealed the Pope's familiarity with Paris and Bologna in its constitution. There were to be the usual four faculties—Theology, Common and Civil Law, Medicine, Arts "and any other Faculty." Provision was made for the appointment of a Rector, Regents, Masters and Doctors, "empowered to promote meritorious students, after examination, to degrees of bachelor, licentiate (teacher), doctor and master, and all other distinctions in the various faculties."[11]

This much of the foundation constituted the university, as a self-governing corporation. More unusual was the fact that it possessed only **one** college, (whereas Oxford and Cambridge each possessed nearer a score),[12] which was likewise a self-governing corporation. Because the two corporate bodies were identical, the **college** and **university,** as at Glasgow, were easily confused. "King's University and College" as it came to be called, was unique in several other respects, not the least of which was the provision made for the inclusion of a preparatory grammar school as an integral part of the institution.[13] Elphinstone's charter implies that it was necessary to make special provision for the peculiar circumstances of an uncultivated and isolated place such as Aberdeen. But the duty of the Humanist was, after all, a subordinate matter. Latin was not regarded as an end in itself. "It was merely the necessary preliminary to the more important subjects for the sake of which the university existed."[14]

In England the existence of a large number of college preparatory schools—either of the "town grammar"[15] or the aristocratic "Public School" type, of which Winchester 1387, Eton 1441, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Rugby, Charterhouse, Harrow and St. Paul's were outstanding[16]—obviated the necessity for a preparatory department in English colleges. The innovation at Aberdeen was unique at the time.

In 1593, another college was founded by the Earl Marischal† some distance away at New Aberdeen. In recognition of the fact that it was a post Reformation foundation, the Charter denominates it the **"Academia," "collegium"** and **"gymnasium,"** but only once as a **Universitas.**[17] The founder was an alumnus of King's, who had studied later in Geneva, and the fact that he drew up the Charter and submitted

9 Sir Alex. Grant: **University of Edinburgh** (London, 1884) p. 28.

10 **"Homines rudes et litterarum ignari et fere indomiti"**—Bulla of Alexander VI in **Fasti Aberdonensis,** pp. 3-6.

11 **Ibid.,** pp. 3-6.

***Note.**—Elphinstone had been the first Dean of the Faculty of Arts in Glasgow University while a canon in that city. cf. Glasgow University Munimenta, Vol. 2, p. 28.

12 Charter of May 22, 1497 in **Fasti Aberd.,** p. 11.

13 R. S. Rait: **The Universities of Aberdeen** (Aberdeen, 1895) p. 56.

14 **Ibid.,** p. 57.

15 M. R. Brailsford: **The Making of Wm. Penn,** (London, 1930) p. 27.

16 H. D. Sheldon: "Student Life & Customs," p. 55.
E. Godfrey: **Homelife in the 17th Cent.** (London) p. 46.

†Marischal had been a member of a Commission of Visitation appointed by the Scottish Parliament to make reports on reforming King's College, particularly the replacement of regent-teachers with professors. The failure of the Commission to achieve results prompted the Earl to found Marischal as the embodiment of his reforms. Morgan: **Scottish University Studies,** p. 142.

17 Rait: **The Universities of Aberdeen,** pp. 151, 254.

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it to Parliament for ratification instead of to the King foreshadows a practice which later became general only in America. Great stress was laid upon the organization and conduct of the **college,** and little upon the University, which was entitled to grant degrees in Arts only. This was unprecedented. Marischal College furnishes the missing link between the British University and the American college patterns. Moreover, the American practice of permitting students to reside outside the college walls found official sanction in New Aberdeen where only the Principal, three Regents, six alumni or student bursars, a steward and a cook were required to "live in a collegiate manner, that is, having meals and sleeping within the walls of the 'Academia.'"[18]

In 1617, and again in 1622, Patrick Copland, "Preacher to the Navy and Fleet of the East India Company," one of the earliest graduates of Marischal College,[19] and a journalist of note, substantially endowed a Chair of Divinity in the College:[20]

> "Forasmekle as I being a borne citizen of the burgh of Abirdeen within the kingdom of Scotland, and being brought up from my childhood in their grammar school and Colledge untill I passed my course in Philosophie, I acknowledge myself hereby bound and obliged to benefite their communwealth and to advance their Schooles and College so farre as lyes in my possibility."[21]

Shortly after this the seafaring philanthropist turned his attention to the crying need for education in Virginia. Considering that the colony was then without so much as a grammar school, one finds a naive ambitiousness in the instructions sent out by the Company under date of November 18, 1618:

> "Whereas, by a special grant and license from His Majesty, a general contribution over this realm hath been made for the building and planting of a **College** for the training up of the children of those infidels in true religion and moral virtue and civility, and other Godliness, we do therefore, according to a former Grant and Order hereby notify, confirm and ordain that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of an **University** at the said Henrico in time to come, and that in the meantime preparation be made for the building of the said **College** for the children of the infidels according to such instructions as we shall deliver."

Here a nice distinction has been drawn between the terms **university** and **college**—a distinction which was entirely ignored by the founders of Harvard seventeen years later, and subsequently by every Colonial institution of learning that did not have one of the Aberdeen institutions among its antecedents. The foundation at Henrico, as outlined above, was to become a university with constituent **colleges,** of which the seminary for Indians was but one.[22]

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18 Rait: **The Universities of Aberdeen,** p. 254.

19 **Aberdeen University Studies,** No. 19, p. 343. Also **Fasti Aberdonensis, MDXCIII-MDCCCLX.**

20 Letter, Copland to David Wedderburn, May 2, 1615. (D. Wedderburn was the head of the grammar school at Aberdeen, had taught in both universities and was acting Principal at King's in 1614.) See Rait, p. 147.

21 See also letter to Robert Blair, father of the founder of William & Mary College, Feb. 12, 1646-47, in W. & M. Quart. II, 9, p. 301.

22 Prof. Mansfield Forbes, historian of Clare College, Cambridge, agrees with this interpretation. cf. S. E. Morison: **Founding of Harvard Coll.** (Cambridge 1935). Note p. 121.

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The next provision is equally in accordance with English and Scottish practice:

> "And we will and ordain that ten-thousand acres, partly of the lands they impaled, and partly of the land within the territory of the said Henrico, be allotted and set out for the **endowment** of the said **University** and **College** with convenient possessions."[23]

This wording might almost have been taken from the Charter of King's College.

Among the promoters of the enterprise were several experienced educators—the Rt. Hon. William Hubert, Earl of Pembroke, who had been bred at Oxford, a Knight of the Garter, and one day to be Chancellor of Oxford (1629); Henry, third Earl of Southampton, a product of Cambridge, to whom had been addressed Shakespeare's dedication of "Venus and Adonis"; Sir Thomas Roe, another product of Oxford, who represented his Alma Mater in Parliament from 1640-1644, and bequeathed the Bodleian Library a collection of antiquities; Sir Dudley Digges, also from Oxford, an eminent explorer, scholar, and ambassador to Russia; Dr. Thomas Winston, who studied both at Cambridge and the University of Padua, and was a medical professor at Gresham College, London; nor must we forget Nicholas Ferrar, a Cantab, who was to play a leading role in the Company's affairs. Most actively interested of all was his friend,[24] the indefatigable Patrick Copland.

In order to ascertain the proportional influence of these diverse forces acting toward the formation of the first institution for higher learning in the New World, one must look behind the scenes in London.

As an educational force, Copland had already practiced what he preached not only in Aberdeen but among the redskins of Virginia. When he returned to London from a first visit to the colony, he brought with him "a talented Indian youth whom he had taught chiefly by signs to speake and reade and write the English tongue and hand, both Romane and Secretary within less than the space of a year."[25]

The lionizing of Copland's young protegé probably did more than anything else to "clinch the argument" in favor of educating the "Red Indians." King James personally chose the name "Petrus Papa" for him when a public Baptismal was arranged in London. Soon afterwards teacher and pupil sailed for the Far East aboard the **Royal James,** but not until the seeds of a great enterprise had been well sown. Samuel Macock, a Cambridge scholar, was appointed a member of Gov. Yeardley's council along with three ordained ministers to assist in organizing the project. The Bishops of the Church of England, at Royal request, contributed fifteen hundred pounds sterling to the Indian College,[26] and, what is more significant, "The gentlemen and mariners of the Royal James, belonging to the East India Company, being met at Cape Bona Speranza by some English ships outward bound, and certified of the prosperity of Virginia, did then upon the exhortation of Mr. Copland their minister, bestow the sum of £70 towards the building

23 Mss. Instructions to Yeardley,—Virginia Records, Small Folio, Library of Congress.

24 Records Virginia Company, I, pp. 532-3. cf. History of Clare College, Cambridge (Mansfield Forbes Ed.) Vol. II, p. 452.

25 Patrick Copland, **Virginia's God Be Thanked.** Sermon preached 1622. Quoted by Forbes, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 449. Latin epistles from this Indian youth to the Governor of the East India Company are preserved and show how well qualified Copland was to teach.

26 Ms. Trans. of Va. Co. of London (May 26, 1619). Lib. of Congress. **Hist. of Coll. of Wm. & Mary** (Richmond, 1874) p. 34; H. B. Adams: **Bur. of Ed., Circular 1** (Washington, 1887) p. 11.

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of a 'free school' in Virginia."[27] We perceive that the Aberdonian remembered well the lesson of his Alma Mater: that the university was child to the grammar school and could not exist without it.

His friend and mouthpiece, John Ferrar laid the donation and suggestions for founding the school before the Court on Oct. 24, 1621.[28] A committee was at once appointed to treat with him and he was rewarded by being made "a free brother of this Company."

That same year, the first college preparatory school in the history of American education, the creation of Copland, was presented with a thousand acres of land, five servants, and an overseer. The Virginia Court thereupon thought fit "in honour of the said East India [Company] Benefactors," that the school should be built and the thousand acres "set out in Charles Cittie to be called the East India Schoole . . ." "It was thought fit also that this (as a **Collegiat** or **Free Schoole**)* should have dependence on Henrico Colledge in Virginia, which should be capable to receive Schollers for the Schoole, into such Schollerships and Fellowships as the said Colledge shall be endowed withall, for the advancement of schollers, as they shall rise by degrees and deferr in learning."[29] Here we see the lengthened shadow of both Marischal and King's.

During the first legislative session ever held in North America, provision was made for the preparatory training of the Indian youths as well.[30] Each settlement was admonished by just means to procure a certain number of Indian boys, of which the most promising "in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of literature, so as to be fitted for the colledge intended for them."

This conception of a single university faculty and government as the connecting link between residential colleges of fellow tutors and scholars is a typically British feature of the Henrico plan. The preparatory affiliations are reminiscent of Aberdeen, while the segregation of natives and Englishmen bears a striking resemblance to the division of students into "Nations" according to their place of birth—a distinctly Scottish feature.

Copland was first named as Rector of the East India School and then of the University.[31] (His Alma Mater recognizes him as the real founder of both.)[32]

This office, which in all medieval universities of Scotland and the continent was second only to that of the Chancellor, carried with it civil and criminal jurisdiction over members of the University.† At Aberdeen, the Rectorship received even greater prominence, since it was the only one mentioned both in the Papal Bull and Charter founding King's College; yet the method of his election by faculty and students was not prescribed there as it had been at St. Andrews and Glasgow.

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27 Letter of London Co. to Va., 1621, quoted in Macalister **Coll. Contributions,** Sec. Series, No. 2, p. 71.

28 **Va. Co. Records, I,** pp. 532-3.

*This contemporary explanation, coming as it does from England, is of the utmost significance, as it describes Free School as **collegiate** school, one "that gave a liberal education in preparation for the universities." Gov. Wm. Berkeley undoubtedly had such in mind when he cast his much-quoted aspersion upon free-schools in 1671.

29 From Broadside at Alnwick Castle, printed in 1622 (London), quoted in **Macalister Coll. Contributions,** Sec. Series, No. 2, p. 76. See also **Abstracts of Proceedings of Va. Co.,** Vol. i, pp. 146-48.

30 **Ibid.,** 63.

31 Va. Co. Court Records, II, pp. 77-91. cf. Bruce: Inst. Hist. of Va. 17th Cent., p. 347.

32 Aberdeen U. Studies, No. 19, p. 23.

†Morgan: **Scottish Univ. Studies,** (Oxford, 1933) p. 10.

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> In the Scottish Universities, however, "he was the active head and chief ruler. He took a prominent place in all academic meetings, and so important was he that in some of the Universities on ceremonial occasions he wore a special robe, and was preceded by an attendant carrying a white staff of silver. He summoned and presided over general congregations of the supposts [students] for considering and regulating matters affecting the welfare of the University. . . . He and the Nations elected a number of assessors or **deputati** not fewer than four—one from each nation —to form a sort of advisory council to the Rector in the discharge of his difficult official duties, and especially in connection with his judicial functions. He was judge in cases both civil and criminal, affecting the undergraduates of the University. He was generally required by the foundation Charter to make a formal visitation of the University each year to inspect everything connected with the work, administration and buildings . . . and to make a report in writing to the Chancellor."*

It is not too much to presume that similar authority would have fallen to Copland. And since there were as yet neither faculty nor students the initiative was taken by a temporary Committee[33] appointed to deal with the college (eight in number, including Sir Edwin Sandys and the two Ferrar brothers) who acted as a board of lay trustees—for which we find a precedent in the Colleges at Aberdeen, but in neither of the English Universities.

The report of this body

> "touching Mr. Copland's placinge and entertainment in Virginia they having thought fit to be made Rector of the intended Colledge there for the conversion of the infidells and to have the Pastoral charge of the Colledge tenants about him, etc."

was followed with his additional appointment "to be one of the Counsell of State in Virginia."

That the large endowment of land might prove a source of income, settlers were sent over by the Company as tenants under a gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber, "that excellent scholar" George Thorpe, who had been appointed to act as Director of the College and superintendent of building operations.

These auspicious beginnings prompted Copland to preach a sermon in London, the extravagance of which was only surpassed by the irony of Fate. Its title was "Virginia's God Be Thanked" and its substance such a picture of the colony as would have tempted the Angels from Heaven.

Hardly had the self-congratulations of the Company died away, however, when shocking news of the Indian massacre of March 22nd reached London. More than a quarter of the Virginia population lay dead, among them Director Thorpe and most of the fifty tenants.[34] Continually this catastrophe has been cited as the death knell of the College and the School. Yet some of the Company must have recognized a tragicomedy in the gruesome anti-climax to Copland's sermon, for they published a Ballad entitled "Good News From Virginia," which was sung to the tune of "All Those That Be Good Fellows."[35]

That a dogged spirit of determination lay behind this flippancy is manifest in the first letter written to the colonists after receipt of the

*Morgan: pp. 18-19.
33 Records, II, pp. 77-91.
34 E. D. Neill: Virginia Vetusta, p. 329-30. cf. Forbes, op. cit., II, p. 455-6.
35 Va. Co. Records, No. 630, p. 189.

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news. The survivors were instructed to proceed with their homes, work for the community and to retain the brickmakers so as "to have material on hand for the erecting of the fabrick of the colledge."[36] This is the only hint we are given of the possible architectural character that the ill-fated University of Henrico was to have assumed. We know little of Thorpe or where he was educated, and only one more entry in the Records separates the building from complete oblivion; George Sandys, brother of Sir Edwin, famous translator of Ovid's **Metamorphosis,** and treasurer of the colony was urged "by particular request" to take charge of the college affairs, after the death of Thorpe; that "the work, by the Grace of God, shall proceed."

Mr. Forbes, who is concerned primarily with those sponsors who were alumni of Clare College, Cambridge, suggests, not without reason, that but for the scheme's abandonment "the College might well have risen in the likeness of Barnabas Oley's ranges (East and South blocks) of the Old Court of Clare.[38] [See Cut]

Whatever its model, we are safe in assuming that a quadrangular plan would have been chosen, from considerations of defense as well as tradition. Clare was a fairly typical example of an English residential college built on the old "closed" quadrangle principle, which drew its inspiration either from the monasteries of the Middle Ages or the great manor-houses, and contained all of the rooms necessary to lodge students and faculty as well as servants of the foundation.

> "The official buildings are always ranged [continuously] about a single quadrangle, one side of which stands in a street, and the entrance is through an archway on this side. At Queen's College, for the first time in an existing college, this archway appears as a gateway with four flanking turrets, a distinctive feature in Cambridge collegiate architecture [a feature which Clare did not possess]. The entrance to a college is usually not in the middle of the side in which it occurs. The chapel occupies the north side, probably because it was convenient to reserve the warmer south side for chambers. The [Dining] Hall is on the side of the quadrangle opposite to the entrance, with the Buttery, Pantry, and Kitchen in convenient proximity. The through-passage, universal in medieval halls, leads into the second court, if there be one, or into the gardens. The Master's Lodging is at the High Table end of the Hall, with which it communicates by a private door. . . . The Combination [or Common] Room is sometimes at the same end of the Hall as the Master's Lodging . . . a gallery in some form appears very generally in connection with the Master's chamber or lodge. It was probably intended to provide a place in which the Master might take exercise in wet weather and it was therefore called 'The Master's Walking Place' (deambulatorium magistri).
>
> "The arrangements thus rapidly reviewed reproduce exactly those of the manor-houses of the period."[39]

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36 Letter of London Co. to Virginia Colony, Aug. 1, 1622, quoted in **Virginia Vetusta,** p. 330.

38 Forbes, Vol. II, p. 447.

Note.—The influence of the Ferrars upon Henrico was probably as great as that of Copland. The brothers served on the College Committee of the Company, which met in their father's house, and the latter not only urged Nicholas to aid Sir Edwin Sandys in the undertaking, but made the largest charitable bequest in his will (March 23, 1619-20) to the Indian College. Nicholas Ferrar, p. 60. cf. Forbes: II p. 445-457.

39 J. Willis Clark: Introduction to Loggan's **Cantabrigia Illustrata** (Cambridge, 1905).

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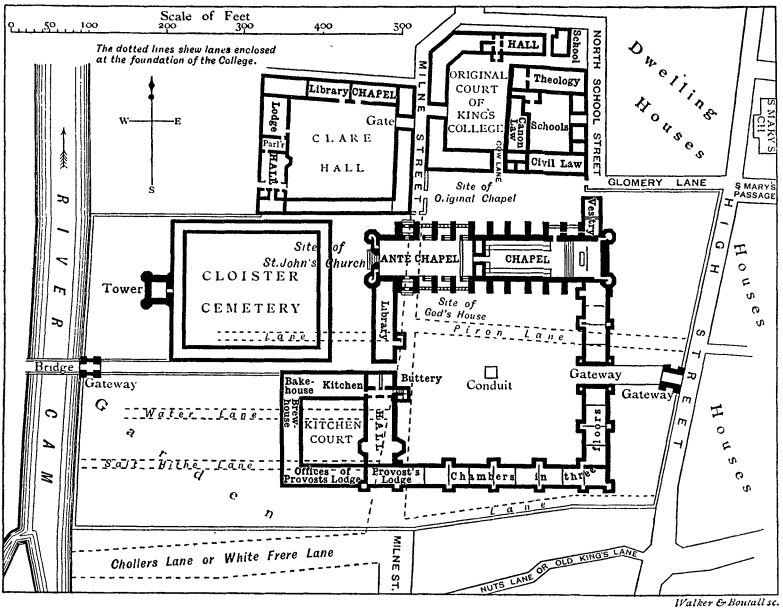

Plan of Clare College, Cambridge, showing its relation to King's College (as described in the Will of King Henry the Sixth) and the University Schools.
[From Clark's introduction to "Cantabrigia Illustrata."]

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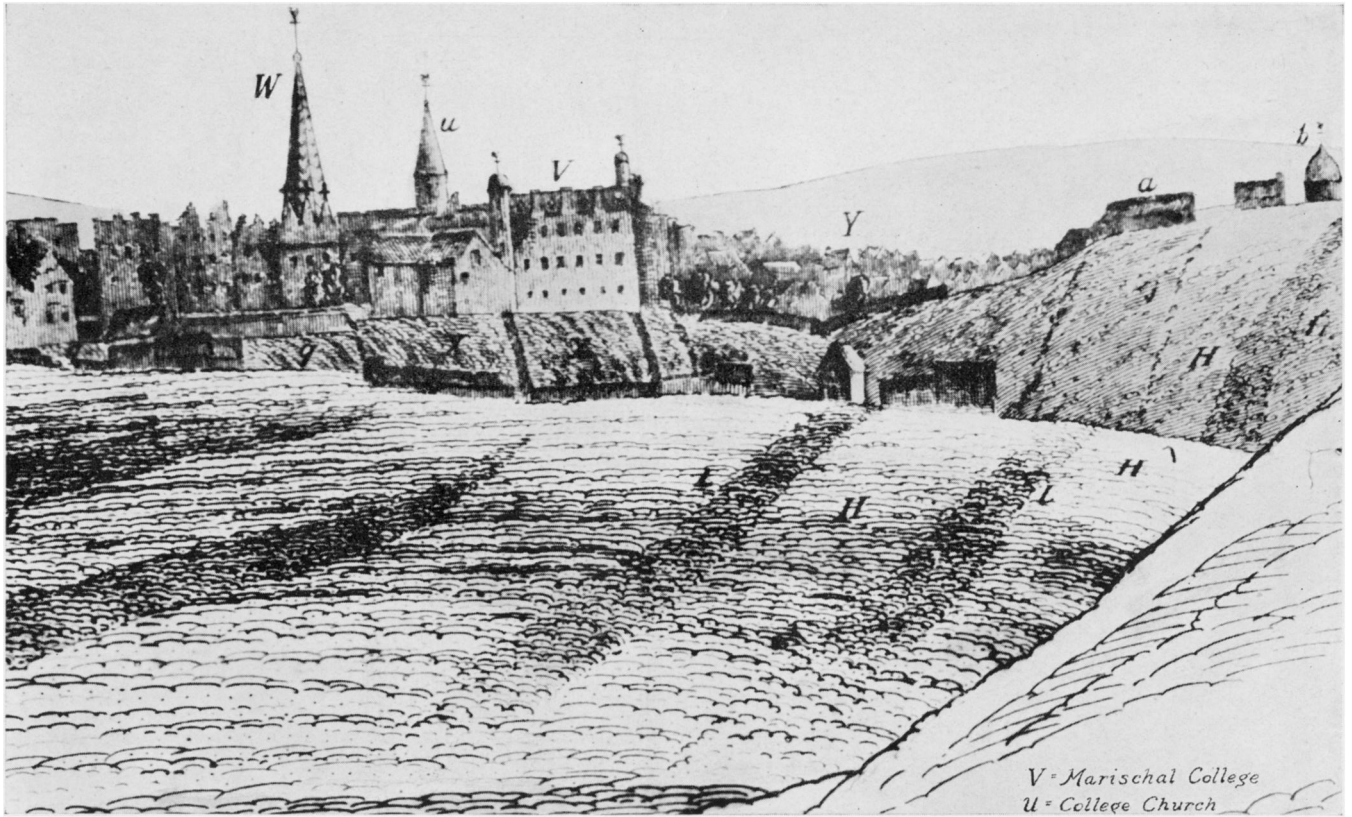

Marischal College, Aberdeen

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In Cambridge only at Trinity Hall and Jesus College was this ground plan modified by previous monastic buildings incorporated in the college structure.

Originally the colleges were designed to house only the faculty and servants, the students being obliged to find lodging elsewhere in the town, but after the Reformation, students came to be admitted into the college precincts. This arrangement required more commodious establishments and resulted, among other things, in the gradual breakdown of the closed quadrangle form, in favor of a three-sided court, open but for a low wall on the fourth. Although the movement began as early as 1565 at Caius College, Cambridge,[40] it did not affect the architecture of Clare, the Oxford Colleges, or those in Scotland, and we shall delay a discussion of its possible effect upon William and Mary until later.

Contrary to the case in England—where the Universities were founded by Papal Bull considerably before their separately endowed colleges, and possessed class rooms (the "Schools"), libraries and facilities for university administration and gathering, quite distinct from buildings of the privately owned colleges—Glasgow and both of the Aberdeen colleges were established as individual universities outright. This necessitated the incorporation of **university** accommodation in the **college** quadrangles.

In Scotland, as in Ireland* and later in America, the degree of poverty dictated the extent of such accommodation. Though the buildings were known as "colleges," it was their collegiate amenities, rather than the indispensable university features, which were curtailed. Thus we find the original Gothic quadrangle of King's in Old Aberdeen [see cut] consisting of Church, Library, Dining Hall, Kitchens, the Great School Room, the Second School, the Grammar (Preparatory) School and only chambers enough to accommodate the governing and teaching members of the foundation,[41] with a few charity scholars.

Marischal College, founded only twenty-five years before Henrico, occupied the remnants of a **"Gray frier"** convent in New Aberdeen,[42] and although these makeshift quarters enclosed only two sides of a court, they composed with the college church, roughly speaking, a quadrangle. This ensemble formed an embryo "campus" rather than a continuous court. The Marischal students occupied a house some distance away, which was donated for the purpose, and the Town Grammar School was closely affiliated with the College as a preparatory department. Under such conditions it is not surprising that the discipline and ordered way of life fostered by the cohesive and easily supervised English College pattern was jeopardized in Aberdeen. We find only too much historical evidence to bear out the fact.

Our illustration of the original College prior to its remodeling by the father of the Brothers Adam in 1734 is part of a "Prospect of Aberdeen" discovered in a rare volume of **Abredoniae Vtrivsque Descriptio**[43] shown to the author by Dr. Kelly, restorer of King's College

40 Commis. Docts., ii, 262 in History of Gonville and Caius Coll., Chapt. 2, Vol. I, p. 165.

*Note.—It is just possible that the form and constitution of Trinity College, Dublin, might have influenced the sponsors of Henrico to some extent. Wm. Newce and Daniel Gookin of County Cork began the transfer of Irish folk to Virginia in 1621, and Copland mentions the Irish immigrants in his "Virginia's God Be Thanked" Sermon, 1622.

41 Norman Macpherson: **Chapel and Ancient Buildings, King's College** (Aberdeen, 1890).

42 **Abredoniae Vtrivsque Descriptio,** Spalding Club Reprint (Edinburg, MDCCCXLII), p. 11.

43 James G. Parson: Spalding Club Ed., Edinburgh MDCCCXLII.

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Chapel there, and is the only known delineation of the building as Copland and Blair saw it.

It was this institution, his Alma Mater, that Copland had twice endowed with a Chair of Divinity, and we may well imagine that it formed the basis of any plans he entertained for a New World College.

However short-lived the enthusiasm of other sponsors may have been after the abrogation of the Virginia Charter in 1624 (and we know that only three years later it was abandoned to its fate, the various benefactions being given over to the Governor and Council), to Copland living in the Bermudas and to his friend Nicholas Ferrar, the undertaking continued to offer a challenge. Among John Ferrar's memoranda[44] for his **Life of Nicholas Ferrar** is this assurance:

> "Mr. Copland, a minister in ye Summer Isles, his old acquaintance, was of the opinion that Nicholas Ferrar would in ye end leave all ye Old World and go to Virginia in ye New World and employ those excellent rare gifts that God had given him, such his thought no man in ye world had better, and spent his talent in America, 'and if he do (said Copland) I will never forsake him but wait upon him in that glorious work.' This man in ye Summer Isles had ye news of his (Nicholas') burning his books upon his Grave [an inexplicable procedure] but believed it not and decried it."

Peckard's **Memoirs** contain additional assurance that the Scot waited upon Ferrar to come to Virginia and teach.[45] But Henrico was as dead as the illustrious cantab. Only the College plantation with its tottering farmhouses and tobacco barns remained as a ghost of the ideal, and even those were razed to the ground by the "Great Gust" of 1667.[46]

Yet the efforts of Patrick Copland were to bear fruit in the colony before the end of the century. He had been a college mate and correspondent of the man whose son was one day to found the first successful College in Virginia. As evidence we have a letter[47] from Copland piquantly dated "12th of the 12th month, alias February 1646-47" addressed to the elder Blair in Aberdeen and expressing concern over the rumored vacancy of his Chair of Divinity in Marischal College. Is it not altogether likely that from this source, the young James Blair first learned of the great work still remaining to be done in Virginia.

Copland wrote this letter at a time when the colleges of Aberdeen were in the throes of a "noble experiment." Ever since the foundation of Marischal in 1595, these rival institutions, each possessing University powers, had proved a source of recurrent friction and embarrassment. Although they were situated in separate communities something over a mile apart, all logic and precedent pointed to union under a common academic government. The very fact that Marischal College was endowed with a minimum of University features lends strength to the contention that some such amalgamation with King's was contemplated from the beginning. But the elder resented the institution of the younger, and a fierce antagonism early developed between them.[48]

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44 Skipton: Little Gidding and the Non Jurors; The Church Quart. Review, Oct., 1921, pp. 65-66.

45 Cf. "Two Lives," ed. Mayor, pp. 248-51.

46 **Nicholas Ferrar**, ed. Carter, p. 63. Dr. Swem believes this land was intended for the college proposed in 1661.

47 **W. & M. Quart.**, II, 9. p. 301.

48 R. S. Rait: **The Universities of Aberdeen**, pp. 338-39.

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In 1639 Montrose had marched his army to Aberdeen and forcibly converted the colleges to Covenanting Principles.[49] In 1641, when King's was under Presbyterian management.[50] the Scots Parliament passed an act

> "to uneit and erect the two colledges of Aberdene, vis, the old college thairof and the new, collit Mareschellis Colledge, in one joynt universitie to be callit in all time cumming King Charles' universitie."

The colleges were to remain separate and the rights of patronage were preserved to each.

According to Rait,[51] a leading authority,

> "This union continued for twenty years in the Statute Book, but was never really in operation owing to the opposition of Marischal* College. In January 1645, a meeting of the united university was summoned for the purpose of electing a chancellor. The Marischal College members did not attend. The King's College dignitaries made choice of the unfortunate George Gordon, the Second Marquis of Huntly."

The Marischal College Principal wrote a letter expressing his doubts and that of the patrons of the college. His successor, however, along with the Principal of King's, attended convocation of "the remanent of the university" twice during the school year of 1650-51.[52] Documents continued to recognize the **Universitas Carolina** well into the Eighteenth Century,[53] although the act of confederation had been abrogated by parliament after the Restoration in 1661.

In despite of every impediment placed in his path by the colonial government of Virginia,[54] Cecelius Calvert, the Second Lord Baltimore, finally had succeeded in having his Charter to the great slice of Virginia lying north of the Potomac ratified by Charles I. Thereafter the Royal province of Virginia and the proprietary province of Maryland went their separate ways. Culturally, institutionally, and economically, however, the two were closely related, and educationally they were destined to be allied for almost a century.[55]

If it had been apparent to the Virginia Company early in the century that any hope of establishing higher education in Virginia depended upon their efforts, it was equally apparent to the Virginians of two generations later, that

> "If the colony was ever to possess a seat of advanced instruction, it must be founded chiefly, if not entirely, by the generous contributions from the inhabitants themselves, for there

49 R. S. Rait: **The Universities of Aberdeen,** pp. 140-42.
50 **Ibid.,** p. 150.
51 R. S. Rait: **The Universities of Aberdeen,** p. 151.
*This was largely aroused by the fact that the Marischal library was moved to King's College, as providing the best accommodation, thereby placing the younger college in a dependent position. Curiously enough during the last quarter of the 18th Century, it was Marischal that met opposition from King's when on three distinct occasions "Plans for Union" were again drawn up.
52 **Ibid.,** p. 151.
53 Ms. Letter from Headmaster of Charterhouse School, 1749, King's College Library.
54 Maryland Archives, Proceedings of the Council, 1636-1667.
55 Hugh Jones: **Present State of Va.** (1724), Sabins Reprints, p. 85.

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was now no single body in England resembling the Company which would use a direct and powerful influence to induce the English people to give money in support of such a scheme, or would expend large sums on its own account to assure success."[56]

With a view to the establishment of a dual institution combining the features of a preparatory school and a college, the General Assembly passed three acts in rapid succession, about the time of the Commonwealth's fall in England. The first of these,[57] dated May 29th, 1660, provided that

> "Whereas the want of able and faithful ministers in this country deprives us of these great blessings and mercies that allwaies attend upon the service of God, which want, by reason of our great distance from our native country, cannot in probability be allwaies supplied from thence, **Bee it enacted** that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchase for a colledge and free-schoole,[58] and that there be with as much speede as may be convenient houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers."

Of such preparatory departments another Aberdeen alumnus, probably our greatest educator of the following century, wrote the following:

> "In the Mother Country, where there are so many noble foundations for grammar learning, and so many private academical institutions to raise youth for the Universities, there is no occasion for such preparatory schools in them. But the case is very different in the colonies."[59]

In the same month, the self-styled "Grand Assembly" passed an act[60] authorizing a petition to "the Kings most excellent Majestie" for his letters patent to collect and gather the charity of well-disposed persons in England "for the erecting of **colledges and schooles** in this countrye." This was followed by a request for the King to appeal in writing to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge "to furnish the Church here with ministers for the present." It was moved that the petition be recommended by the Royal Governor, Sir William Berkeley.

This procedure, for all of its orthodoxy, resulted neither in the establishment of "colledges" nor of a "collegiat schoole." Whatever the reason, it was not for want of legislation, for we find additional testimony[61] of "several considerable sums of money and quantities of tobacco" having been donated "out of charity and devotion," followed by an elaborate system suggested to facilitate the collecting of subscriptions. But this undertaking failed even more completely than those of Henrico and Palmer's Island.*

56 P. A. Bruce, **Institutional Hist. of Virginia in the 17th Century,** Vol. 1, p. 374.

57 **Laws of Va.,** Oct. 1660-61, 13th, Charles II.

58 Cf. note 29.

59 Dr. William Smith: "A Plan for the College of Mirania." (N. Y., 1753 Edition) Note p. 104.

60 Henings **Statutes at Large, 1660-1682,** Vol. II, p. 30.

61 **Ibid.,** p. 37.

*Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis, the pretentious university scheme planned by a Londoner, Edward Palmer, for an island at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, to which he had received a patent from the Virginia Company in 1624. Nothing came of the scheme.

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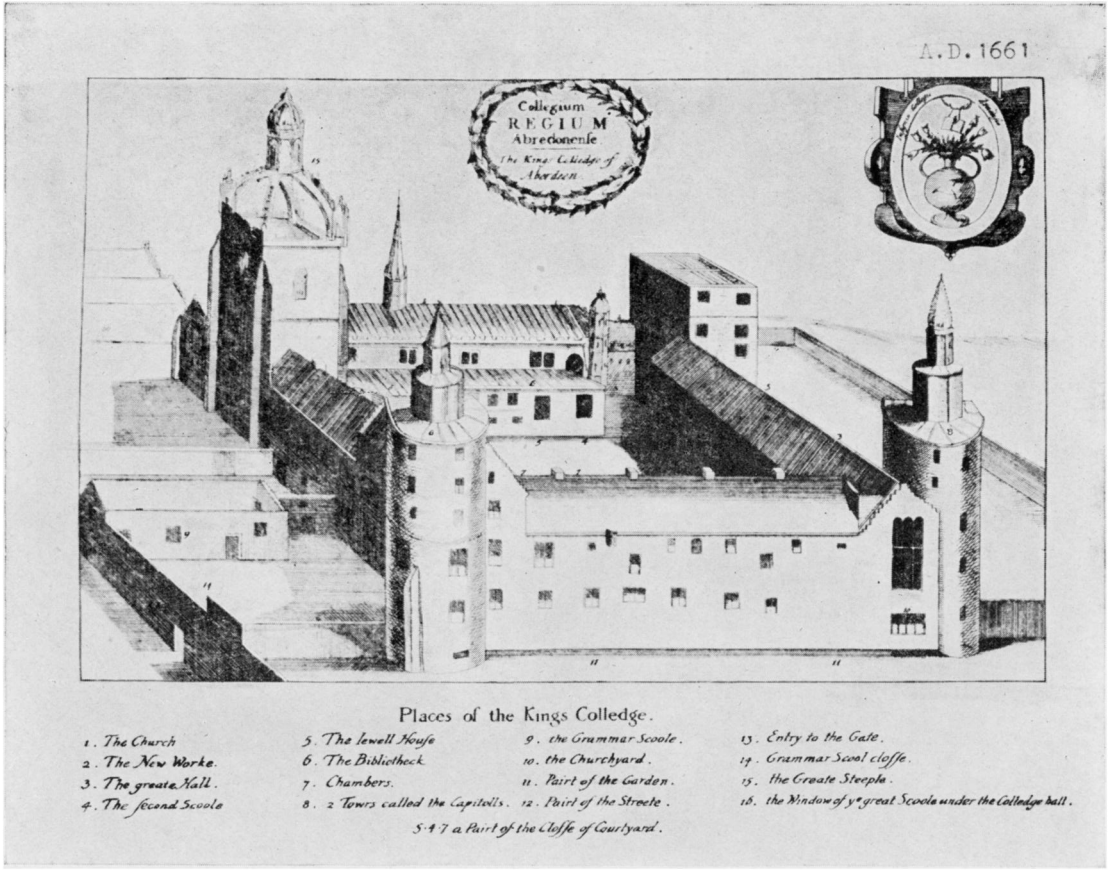

King's College, Aberdeen, 1661

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Bruce[62] suggests three possible causes of the failure: Inadequate aid in Britain, insufficient wealth in the colony, the extremely unpopular character of the "Grand Assembly" which for 14 long years usurped the people's rights that anything it supported was foredoomed to public disapproval.

The fact is that no one yet possessed the crusading zeal of a Copland. Among the planter class of this period there was a notorious paucity of interest in education.[63] It was for

> "the convenience of shipping" that they built their plantation houses "along the sides of rivers . . . whiting, after the English manner, the inside of their houses with mortar made of burnt oyster shells instead of lime."[64]

And it was "for the **convenience of shipping"** also, we suspect, that they left the educational problem unsolved for another thirty years. In the following decades coming events cast their shadows before, both in Maryland and Virginia. But attempts to establish "a free donature school and college, Protestantium Anglia" in the former province proved abortive.

In 1685, at the instigation of the Bishop of London, James Blair, the Banffshire lad who had attended Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1667, then Edinburgh, and whose father had looked after Copland's interests in the former city, came to Virginia as the Bishop's Commissary, taking over the Parish duties at Henrico. Fateful name! It was not long before the proposed college and preparatory school, after being confined to the statute books for 28 years, received "an unexpected" endowment of twenty-five hundred pounds from a few wealthy gentlemen in the colony and their merchant friends in [London]. Commissioner Blair lost no time in calling the clergy into convention, urging them to take the initiative toward establishment of the College.[65]

As a result Lieutenant Governor Nicholson, an ardent friend of education, seized the first opportunity, thereafter, to propose that the worthy project which these "pious men" had undertaken be given every encouragement.[66] Then, while the Assembly settled down to a leisurely consideration of proposed sites, Blair was commissioned to sail by the first boat for London to secure a Royal Charter.

The choice proved to be a stroke of genius. A less level-headed and devoted emissary might have become embroiled in the intrigue with which official London seethed. He admits having written "memorials" equivalent to three quires of paper before obtaining the friendly counsel of the Bishop of Worcester,[67] who advised him to approach the Queen. Blair writes to Nicholson, justifying his delay,

> "That the King is in Flanders"; the Bishops, who might help, are scattered over the length and breadth of England. Worst of all, his own superior, the Bishop of London, "is at this time under a great cloud and mighty unwilling to move in any Court busi-

62 **Inst. Hist. of Va. in 17th Cent.,** p. 377.
63 H. B. Adams: **Circulars of Information,** Bur. of Educ. (Washington, 1887) p. 14.
64 **An Account of Va.** by Thomas Glover, June 20, 1676. From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (London).
65 Mss. of 4th Speech, **W. & M. Quart.,** Vol. 10, p. 333. cf. Life of Blair in Dictionary of Am. Biog.
66 **Colonial Entry Book,** 1680-95, p. 372.
67 The London **Times,** December 8, 1931, p. 9, quoting Nicholson's Mss.

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ness."[68] So he turned to the Queen, "The best friend we could have in business of this nature."

The King returned from abroad and "After the load of the Parliament business was a little over, the Archbishop gott the King himself to name a day for presenting the address," writes Blair. "It was November 12th in the Council Chamber before the Council sat. I was introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury and my Lord Effingham (the Bishop of London) should have been there, but was that day taken again with a violent fit of the stone. [In view of what Blair has already written concerning the Bishop's status, one wonders if it was indeed the 'stone' that detained his Lordship!] I kneeled down and said these words, 'Please, your Maty., here is an humble supplication from the Government of Virginia for your Majesty's Charter to erect a free school and college for the education of their youth,' and so I delivered it into his hand. He answered, 'Sir, I am glad that the Colony is upon so good a design and I will promote it to the best of my power.' "[69]

One can almost hear the excited thump of the Commissary's heartbeats as the letter unfolds. The King's assent was won! It remained only to procure the Charter from the Attorney General, and, according to the oft-repeated story of Franklin, it was he who, upon being told that the College would save the Virginians' souls, cried "Souls? Damn your souls! Make tobacco!"[70] This was disappointing. So was the discovery that the Archbishop of Canterbury, "the person I depend upon for managing of it with the King and Queen," was imprisoned in Lambeth Palace by the freezing of the Thames "so that he could neither get to Court or Parliament but by coming round by the Bridge."[71] That was too tedious for the Lord Archbishop, and the Charter had to wait!

Notwithstanding "the violent opposition of some great men who had a mind to keep this country in perpetual darkness and could not endure that the publick moneys . . . should be diverted to such pious uses,"[72] in the end the Charter was secured and the Aberdonian returned in triumph to Virginia. He carried with him an order for a "Colledge Seale" (to be granted by the Royal College of Heraldry) and it is quite likely plans, as well, for a quadrangle designed by the great Sir Christopher Wren.[73]

[The Royal bounty toward William and Mary College included not only 20,000 acres of land, which was a customary form of endowment, but £2,000 as well, with the provision that the Surveyor-General should be an appointee of the president and

68 Mss. Letter to Nicholson in Private Papers of Francis Nicholson, S. P. G. Va., Part I, 1680-1704, Library of Congress.

Note.—This is one of the Mss. folio of 320 pages recently discovered in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, thanks to research incidental to the restoration of Williamsburg, Va.

69 Ibid.

70 Works of Benjamin Franklin, Ed. Jared Sparks, X, III. For another version cf. **W. & M. Quart.**, II, Vol. 10, p. 337.

71 Reprinted in London **Times**, December 28, 1931, p. 10.

72 1699 Speech, **W. & M. Quart.**, II, Vol. 10, p. 334.

73 Hugh Jones: **Present State of Va.** (London, 1724), p. 26.

Cf. Robert Beverley: **Hist. of Va.** (1722 Ed.), pp. 215, 216.

Cf. also **The Williamsburg Restoration**, (Williamsburg, 1931), p. 21.

Note.—Wren was in charge of H. M. Office of Works and renowned as a college architect. (Cf. Willis and Clark, **Architectural History of University of Cambridge**). We know also that Blair was an admirer of Wren's Chelsea Hospital (cf. **W. & M Quart.** (2), Vol. 8, p. 237), to which Jones likens the college building.

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faculty, which privilege put considerable political power into the hands of the institution. Most significant of all, the college was declared to be the joint seat of higher learning for Maryland as well as Virginia, in recognition of which fact, both colonies henceforth paid a tax of one penny a pound on all exported tobacco, to provide a permanent revenue for the college.[74] As a consequence, the rights and privileges of Virginia students were extended to the youth of Maryland by the faculty.[75]

Nor did Blair forget himself in this business. When the Charter was read before the General Assembly, it revealed that he had been appointed to both the Presidency and Rectorship of the college.[76]

In the sense that the uni-college institutions of Scotland (Glasgow, King's, Edinburgh and Marischal) were indeed universities, the provisions of the William and Mary Charter (which denominated it a "place of universal study") constituted a university as well as a college for Virginia. Apparently this fact was recognized by contemporaries, for a speaker[77] at its first exercises, in the presence of all the dignitaries of the province, referred to "this University."

What the Charter of William and Mary aimed to do was to kill two birds with one legal stone. In short, to incorporate both a university and a college by means of a single "Letters Patent."[78] (Earl Marischal had accomplished this exactly a century before in Aberdeen.)*

At William and Mary, the formal document[79] "created a college out of laymen."[80]—That is to say, from members of a non-academic community. This body formed the "Senate"[81] and was to act as temporary custodian of all college property until "the said College shall be erected, made, founded and established, when the President and masters or **professors** [and this last term is indicative of a **university** faculty rather than of a college staff] . . . " Provision is then made for the "Senate" to continue as the "sole and undoubted Visitors† and Governors" after these "or the longest livers of them" had transferred to the faculty the said property in accordance with the terms of the Charter. There was to be a Chancellor,[82] (chosen every seven years by the College Senate or Board of Visitors) who should act as

74 W. & M. College Charter.

75 Hugh Jones: **Present State of Va.** (London, 1724), p. 84.

76 Minutes of Assembly, May so, s1, 1691. **Ibid.**, April 28, 1692. This was predicted as a precautionary measure by Blair in a letter to Nicholson, 1691. Cf. Library of Congress photostats—Gt. Britain, S. P. G., Virginia, Part I (1680-1704).

77 Cf. W. & M. Quart., Second Series, Vol. 10, p. 333.

Note.—In the Charter of the similarly constituted Trinity College, Dublin, Queen Elizabeth expressed the hope that it would one day become "mother to a university." (cf. Morison, Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, 1935) Note p. 121.) Apparently other colleges were contemplated for the future, but in the meantime Trinity was to exercise the degree-granting power of a university.

78 Wm. Stebbing of Chancery Bar, quoted in Pattison: "Suggestions on Academic Control," p. 7.

*In 1743 a heated controversy arose between the Univ. of King's College, in Old Aberdeen, and Marischal College as to whether the latter was in reality a **university** possessing the degree-granting power in Law, Medicine and Divinity as well as in Arts. The matter was placed before the House of Lords who decided that it was a university since it had "enjoyed the rights and privileges of a university, undisputed and unquestioned for upwards of 150 years, and that various sovereigns had treated it as such." See also Plans for Union, 1754, 1793. (King's College Library, Aberdeen.)

79 Kirkpatrick: **Academic Organization and Control**, p. 47.

80 William & Mary College Bulletin, 6, p. 3.

81 Cf. **Munimenta Alma Universitas Glasguensis,** Acts of Senatus, Jan. 6, 1623. Glasgow.

†Investigation by groups of outside Visitors were common in Scotland. The founder of Marischal College had been a Parliamentary Visitor to King's College before founding his own.

82 Charter of William & Mary, Article II.

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> "Patron of the College, such as one as by his Favor with the King, and by his interest with all other persons in England may be enabled to help on all college affairs. His advice is to be taken especially in all such arduous and momentous affairs as the college shall have to do in England."[83]

It is upon his advice, assistance, and recommendation that the "Senate" shall rely in case a new president, master or professor is needed from the Mother Country.

This "Senatus Academicus" corresponds to its Scottish prototype[84] in that it is invested with all real administrative authority, and even after the incorporation of the faculty it might "hold a court of convocation" and "treat, confer, consult, advise and decree concerning statutes, orders and injunctions."[85] It was to be presided over by an elected "Rector"* who, in the necessary absence of the Chancellor, performed his duties. The Chancellor, together with the Senate and its officers, may be considered as constituting the **university** feature of William and Mary. The fact that the professors were appointed by the "Senate" upon the assent of the Chancellor[86] lent to the faculty a definite **university** character. The President, moreover, as head of the college was obliged to attend all convocations of the "Senate" in order to report upon the condition of college finances and other matters. But like the Principal at Edinburgh and the Heads of certain English Colleges, the president was also to have a "watchful eye over the masters and professors" in his college, and was in effect definitely a **college functionary,** possessing no power to remove any of the Senate's faculty appointees, or to alter any important decision of that body. Only over the domestic affairs of the college proper was he given control as superintendent;[87] although, upon occasion, he might exert a powerful influence through the Chancellor, being Head of the Church in Virginia.[88] The President presides at meetings of the faculty, and with them[89] enjoyed the very British provision of "full and absolute power, liberty, and authority to nominate, elect and constitute one discreet and able person, as their representative . . . to be present in the House of Burgesses, of the General Assembly of our colony in Virginia, and there act and consent to such things, as . . . shall (God Willing) happen to be enacted." Since the College Senate, as in Edinburgh* was not "in residence" at the college, the choice of a representative to the Assembly of the Colony quite rightly was left to the faculty.

The derivation of such features is unmistakable. European universities and those of England have always guarded jealously their self-governing privileges and complete freedom from outside control. The first two Scottish Universities, St. Andrews and Glasgow, perpetuated the tradition of academic independence.[89a] It remained for Bishop Elphinstone, as the founder of King's College, Aberdeen, to first put into

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83 Pres. Madison's Letter to G. Washington (1788), quoted in Bur. of Educ. Circular I—1887, p. 34.

84 Its name is undoubtedly derived from the "Senatus Academius" of the Scotch Universities.

85 Charter of William & Mary, Article V.

*This Second Office in the Universities of Scotland was annually elected (as at Bologna) by all the members of the University—students and masters—through the **Nations,** into which they were divided, each of the latter, naming an elector. A. Morgan, Scottish U. Studies (Oxford, 1933), pp. 10-22.

86 Charter of William & Mary, Article IV.

87 Letter of Pres. James Madison, Aug. 1, 1780, quoted in Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, p. 446.

88 Tyler's Address on Early Courses at William & Mary.

89 Charter of Wm. & Mary, 1693, Article XVIII.

89a Ross: Universities of Canada, Gt. Brit. & U. S. (Toronto). Sir A. Grant: The U. of Edinburgh (London, 1884), p. 31.

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practice the principle of non-resident government. He was responsible for a unique clause in the Papal Bull establishing his institution (1494). It created a regulating body [Senatus Academicas] composed not only of himself as Chancellor, the Rector, the resident Doctors and a number of Licentiates and Scholars, but provided, as well for the inclusion of

> "not less than two of the Privy Councillors of Scotland, for the time being **(ac duobus adminus di Regis Scotiae pro tempore existentis conciliariis)** to frame ordinances and statutes for the well-being and conduct of the University."[89b]

The inclusion of these non-resident civic members is as significant for the history of American colleges as for the Scottish. Later it had been proposed to include a local minister and the Principal of Edinburgh and St. Andrews.[90]

Maryland, duly impressed, watched the growth of Virginia's educational first-born with the jealous interest of a foster-parent. As early as 1694, the governor, the secretary, and the speaker of the Maryland House had addressed a letter[91] to the Chancellor of William and Mary and Head of the Church of England in America, "The Rt. Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London" in which they said:

> "Under so glorious a reign wherein by God's providence His true religion has been so miraculously preserved, should we not endeavor to promote it, we should hardly deserve the name of good Protestants or good subjects, especially considering how noble an example is set before us by their Majesties' royal foundation now vigorously carried on in Virginia. We have therefore in assembly attempted to make learning a hand-maid to devotion, and founded[92] free schools in Maryland, **to attend** [prepare for] **their college in that colony.** We are confident you will favor our like pious designs in this province, wherein in instructing our youth in the orthodox religion . . . and fitting them for the service of the Church and State in this uncultivated part of the world, are our cheerful end and aim."[93]

Thus was founded the first college preparatory school in the Southern Colonies, initiating an educational alliance under which the younger colony eventually grew restive.

Within a year the Lord Bishop complied by sending to Maryland a Scottish schoolmaster, Mr. Andrew Geddes.[94] But the Assembly's interest in education was largely verbal, and in the end the Scotchman was

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89b Ross: Universities of Canada, Gt. Brit. & U. S. (Toronto). Sir A. Grant: The U. of Edinburgh (London, 1884), p. 29-30.

In 1640 the Rector of Edinburgh was given the general inspection of the University with the assistance of 6 assessors selected from the Town Council, the ministers of the city and teachers of the University. Morgan: S. U. Studies, p. 20.

90 Rait: **Universities of Aberdeen,** p. 114.

91 Quoted in B. C. Steiner, **Circular of Information,** U. S. Bur. of Educ., No. 2, 1894, pp. 19, 20.

92 **Ibid.,** p. 19—"A school on each shore, at Oxford and Annapolis, resp."

93 Again, Dr. Bray, referring to the founding of King William's School, writes from Maryland to the Bishop of London, that one collegiat or free school has already begun in Annapolis "chiefly for fitting such as are disposed to study divinity, to be further educated at His Majesty's College Royal in Virginia, in order upon their return to be ordained by the Bishop of London's suffragan residing in this province." (G. B. Stiener: **Hist. of Educ. in Md.,** p. 22.) S. P. G. Ms. Va., Pt. I, 1680-1704, Library of Congress.

94 Maryland Upper House Records, Sept. 25, 1695.

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> "placed out as under-master to the college school in Virginia to save a present charge and to gain himself the more experience [until] the school here is built."[95]

Following in Mr. Geddes' tracks to Williamsburg during the last years of the century, one might have discovered many discrepancies between the fine language of the charter and actual conditions at Middle Plantation.

In the course of the protracted conflict between Governor Nicholson and President Blair, the following commentary was made by a protagonist of the former.

> "By Blair's discourse, one would think that there's a college actually . . . founded and established . . . whereas it is no more than a grammar school . . . not forgetting the President with his salary of 150 pounds a year, and are these your Masters? 'Tis well there was not a Dancing-master as there is now (1705) or a fencing master as there was formerly! Will you make your Negroes into Fellows for the best gentlemen's sons in the Country? Are they concerned in the Discipline of the school? The boys resent this ill at your hands and . . . wished that they had the shot that they might have lodged a little of it in your Negroes' posteriors! . . . You must needs remember that remarkable passage . . . when you threatened to kick Mrs. Young down the kitchen stairs because she had provided victuals for the boys, which she was obliged to do by virtue of her office, for she kept the college table and you put her in such a fright (by your mincing looks and by shaking and shoving her as she stood on the top of the stairs) when you had almost pushed her down with your cane against her breast, if two of her maids had not run up and supported her, that she bound herself by an oath that she would not keep the college table one hour longer than her year was out. And," the writer adds significantly, "she was as good as her word, which laid you under the necessity of keeping it."[96]

The statutes of the Aberdeen Colleges[97] as well as those of English Colleges expressly prohibited the masters' marrying; although the principal at King's, Aberdeen, had broken the rule in 1643.[98] President Blair, likewise, managed to have his family and servants live in college with him, but for the professors

> "engaging in marriage and the concerns of a private family" was declared to be "contrary to the principles on which the college was founded."[99]

There are not lacking other evidences that this attempted adherence to Old World tradition was fraught with difficulties. Mungo Ingles, the grammar master, complains[100] of Blair's unwillingness to fit up his quarters in the college despite the orders of the Senate. After having done so himself, the "grammarian" further charges that:

> "When I got into the chamber at the school and prayed for the use of the porch chamber for my servant to ly in and put my

95 Maryland Upper House Records, June 3, 1697.
96 Ms. "Reply to Malicious Libel." (W. & M. Col. Library) p. 5.
97 Rait: Universities of Aberdeen, p. 261.
98 Munro: Extract from Sessions Records. ii, p. 208.
99 Hist. of W. & M. Col., (Murphy Ed., 1870) p. 45.
100 Virginia Magazine of Hist., Vol. IX, pp. 153-4.

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> things in, that I might not be pestered with them, he crowded a **mechanic** into it though he told me in England that I and each of the Masters should have each of us a whole house and garden to ourselves." [This was the Aberdeen practice].

So Mungo left for good.

Nevertheless, President Blair moved among his scholars with all of the self-assurance of a prelate in Rome. He took his position and the infant seminary very seriously—far more seriously, in fact, than did anyone else—and was apparently determined to temper the stream of young life flowing through its corridors with all of the Scottish austerity* that he associated with his early undergraduate days.[101]

College or not, it was an extraordinary institution for the New World, and Blair, an untiring "publicity agent,"† was determined that his charges should establish its reputation. Accordingly, on the first of May in the last year of the century, the scholars held their first public exercises in the presence of the Governor and his Council, both Houses of Assembly, and the parents and faculty. Middle Plantation was as yet but a hamlet, and the ceremony was designed with a two-fold purpose, of further interesting the public in the education offered and of launching a scheme for the removal of the provincial capital from James Cittie thither. Five speeches were delivered by the students on this occasion, and if one may judge from the majority of their tone and content, the Rev. James Blair had more to do with them than the mere "allotting of titles."[102]

For lucidity of argument they rival the age-old method of "examination by disputation." In addition, several throw a new light upon early American social history, and the contempt—perhaps born of spite—in which the educational advantages of England were held.[103]

Despite this brave front, like conditions in Scotland and America continued to produce like results. Francis Fontaine, "first Professor of University learning"[104] did not arrive until 1716, and Professor Jones wrote eight years later that

> "the nature of the Country scarcely yet admits of a possibility of reducing the collegians to the nice method of living and studying observed in Oxford and Cambridge."[105]

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*Governor Nicholson complained to Lucy Burwell, "It is well for me that Blair was not my schoolmaster, else he had now laid to my charge things that I did when I was a schoolboy," and another critic of Blair wrote to the Bishop of London:

> "Can't an English Church and Clergy under an English establisht government be governed without a Scotch Commissioner being sent over them? This is worse than Dutch or French officers over an English Army. Can't our universitys and ye whole Kingdom aford an English man qualified to preside over our clergy without being forced to send a Scotch man . . . others are pleased to say that ye Scotch have already engrossed almost all your trade of these parts of the world and must they govern our Church too?" (Cf. Photostats, Great Britain S. P. G., Virginia, I, 1680-1704; films 92-97.)

In Blair's defense it must be admitted that Gov. Nicholson incited the students to play practical jokes on the president, and at one of the meetings of the Senate lost his temper, and defamed the wives of some of the company present. (Ibid., Film 175.)

101 W. & M. Quart., 2nd Series, Vol. 10, p. 252.

†Among the S. P. G. ms. is a letter to Blair from JOHN LOCKE, the great philosophical writer, in which he mentions aid he has given and wishes the college well. See appendix at end of this contribution, pp. 248, 249.

102 W. & M. Quart., 2nd Sec., Vol. 10, p. 325.

103 Ibid., p. 323.

104 Letters of Gov. Spotswood, Vol. II, p. 167.

105 Hugh Jones: Present State of Va., p. 27.

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As a matter of fact, it was less the nature of the country than the inadequate facilities for enforcing the rules and properly confining the students "in statu populari" that played havoc with discipline in the college. All of this could have been different had the original plans for a closed quadrangle been carried out. As it was, a lack of funds conspired with the adaptations of "gentlemen there"[106] to reduce it to an open-sided quadrangle "not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital," after the Caiun principle, which had also been followed in the college building at Harvard.[107]

Assuming that Sir Christopher or his associates were responsible for the design, a letter[108] he wrote on the subject of straight block buildings vs. quadrangles for college living is illuminating:

> "I perceive the name of a quadrangle will carry with it those whom you say may possibly be your benefactors, though it be much the worse situation for the Chambers and the Beauty of the College . . . and if I had skill in enchantment to represent the pile first in one position then in another, I should certainly make them of my opinion . . . But to be sober, if anybody, as you say will pay for a Quadrangle, there is no dispute to be made; let them have a Quadrangle, though a lame one, somewhat like a three legged table."

Whoever the architect, we are safe in assuming that Blair's preferences carried great weight. Certainly the proximity of the parish church, and the separate but adjoining location of the Grammar School and later of the President's House bears more than a casual resemblance to the arrangement at King's College in Aberdeen.[109] It signaled the beginning of the ascendancy of the "campus" over the "court" in American collegiate architecture with an attendant breakdown of discipline and ritual within the college precincts.*

By the end of the Seventeenth Century the cornerstone of an American system of higher education based, perhaps unwittingly, upon the Aberdeen model, had been laid securely in Virginia. The inclusion of a preparatory department as an integral part of the college was one of its characteristics. A Board of lay trustees was another. Last and most far-reaching in its effect has been the development of degree-granting colleges on the one hand and non-resident universities on the other, in both of which the old collegiate way of life (collegealiter) has all but disappeared.†

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106 Hugh Jones: **Present State of Va.**, p. 26.
Cf. **Williamsburg Restoration** (Williamsburg, 1931), pp. 16, 25.

107 S. E. Morison: **A Conjectural Restoration of the Old College at Harvard.** Bulletin of Soc. for the Preservation of New Eng. Antiquities, Vol. XXIII, No. 4.

108 Ms. Letter C. W. to President of Pembroke College (Trinity College Muniment Collection).

109 **Abredoniae Vtrivsque Descriptio,** Spalding Club Edition, (Edin., 1842), p. 25.

*Jones writes that:

> "The college was intended to be an entire square . . . two sides of which are not yet carried up. In this part are contained all conveniences of cooking, brewing, baking, etc., and convenient rooms for the reception of the president and masters with many more scholars than are as yet come to it. In this part are also the Hall and the schoolroom." (Jones: **Present State,** p. 27.) The trustees were able to report by the middle of October, 1695, that "two sides of the square have been carried up to the point of the roof; and the roof soon to be put on and shingled."

†LETTER OF JOHN LOCKE TO JAMES BLAIR

London 16 October 1699.

You that know my bad health & some part of my business in town will I doubt not pardon the slowness of my return to your letter of February last, especially since it contains nothing of business to be donne but gratefull reflections on what has been donne with an ever grateful opinion express of

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that service which you imagine you had from my hand in the doing of it. I shall not undertake to answer all the great compliments you make on this occasion. I take them, as I ought, to be the language of your civility. But this gives me leave to say that if I have been any way instrumental in procuring any good to the country you are in, I am as much pleased with it as you can be. The flourishing of the plantations under their due and just regulations being that wh. I doe & shall always aim at—whilst I have the honour to sit at the board I now doe.

I hope the Colledge grows and flourishes under your care. I would be glad to know whether yu caried over with yu a Baroscope and Thermoscope from hence when you went over last. For I think a constant register of air kept there would not be only of great generall use to the improvement of natural philosophie, but might be of particular advantage to the plantation itself, by observations to be made upon the changes of the air.

I know your country has many natural curiosities; such of them as come in your way & are not difficult of transportation, I should receive as an obligation from yu, more particularly all seeds of all strange & curious plants, with an account of the soils they grow in, & the best season you observe there for sowing of them. Amongst other things you will do me a favour to send me a plentiful stock of peach stones of yr best sorts of peaches. I am

Sr
Yr most humble servant,
JOHN LOCKE

To Mr. Commissary Blair
at the Colledge in Virginia.

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