

## II

### AMERICAN COLONIAL COLLEGES<sup>1</sup>

**D**URING the period of a little over a century and a half that elapsed between the founding of Virginia and the American Revolution, nine colleges were founded in the English Continental colonies for higher education. All these colleges are in existence today; and six of them—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, the University of Pennsylvania, and Brown—have developed into universities. They are the ancestors, direct or indirect, of all the institutions of higher learning in the United States; with the important exception of those that are under the control of the Roman Catholic Church; and even these have to some extent conformed to the pattern set by our earliest colonial colleges. From time to time since the Revolution, new streams of influences from England, France, and Germany have affected American higher education; and the addition of professional schools

<sup>1</sup>A summary of the dates of founding, etc., of these nine colleges may be useful. "Collegiate Instruction" means the beginning of instruction leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree, as distinct from instruction of secondary-school grade.

	<i>Founded</i>	<i>Opened</i>	<i>Collegiate Instruction Begins</i>	<i>First Degrees Conferred</i>	<i>First Charter Granted</i>
Harvard . . . . .	1636	1638	1638	1642	1650
William and Mary . . . . .	1693	1695	1724?	1772?	1693
Yale . . . . .	1701	1702	1702	1702	1701
New Jersey (Princeton) . . . . .	1746	1747	1747	1748	1746
Philadelphia (U. of Penna.) . . . . .	1749	1751	1754	1757	1755
King's (Columbia) . . . . .	1754	1754	1754	1758	1754
Rhode Island (Brown) . . . . .	1764	1765	1765	1769	1765
Queen's (Rutgers) . . . . .	1766	1771	1772	1774	1770
Dartmouth . . . . .	1769	1770	1770	1771	1769

## American Colonial Colleges 247

and graduate schools has overshadowed the liberal arts colleges; yet the arts college is still the core of higher education in America as in England; the four-year course for the B. A. is still the goal of the great majority of Americans who go beyond high school. And despite numerous efforts of educational reformers to abolish it, and repeated, logical demonstration that the four-year arts course is an anomalous thing, having no place in a rational scheme of education, it is still with us, and intends to stay. If it had not filled a real want in American life, or repeatedly demonstrated its value, we should long ago have eliminated the liberal arts college, or consigned its curriculum to the secondary schools, as Continental Europe has done with the old Arts course.

All but one of the colonial colleges—Philadelphia, which became the University of Pennsylvania—were either founded by religious bodies, or placed under some sort of religious control and supervision. One of their primary functions was the training of a learned American clergy to serve the colonial churches and people. Yet none of them were narrowly sectarian in the sense that students of other creeds were excluded or even unwelcome; and all attempted as best they could, with the scanty means at their disposal, to provide a liberal education in the accepted Renaissance sense of the word—an education that would introduce youth to the best thought and literature of the past, sharpen his mind to a keen instrument for the acquisition of knowledge, discipline his intellect and form his character so that he would be both able and ready to play a prominent part in the affairs of men. We have lately heard so much of “leadership” in connection with college graduates, that the word has become a bit stale; yet it does represent the humanist idea of a college education, including rather than replacing the medieval motive of professional preparation that dominated earlier European universities.

A college education in colonial times was supposed to make a young man a gentleman, a member of the governing class; and it generally did. The colonies were governed, the American Revolution was led, the Federal and State constitutions formed and administered, largely by college graduates. These institutions of learning succeeded both in transmitting to the community their philosophy of life, and in impressing their alumni with an obligation to serve the community, rather than using it for personal glory or enrichment. Naturally the public responded, both by supporting the colleges and by trusting their graduates. An example of this, in striking contrast to democracy's attitude toward college men today, is the petition of a New England town to the colonial legislature. They complain that a certain Master of Arts living among them refuses to serve as selectman, although he is not employed in the schools or the ministry or as a physician, which would let him out. They request the legislature to put pressure on him to serve, asking how a town can be expected to run its municipal affairs properly if educated gentlemen will not take posts of responsibility!

Harvard, the first college in the English colonies to be founded, was not the earliest suggested. The first proposal came from England. The Virginia Company of London, which included among its officers several Oxford and Cambridge men, planned as early as 1617 to found a university and an Indian college at Henrico on the James River. Nothing more was heard of the university; but the movement for an Indian college (which had it been really started, would certainly have been taken over by the English settlers) went so far as the collecting of money, the laying out of land, and the appointment of a rector. The money, however, was misappropriated; and when the Virginia Company of London was abolished in 1624, the whole project collapsed, the Virginians themselves making no effort to bring it to fruition.

Hence the leadership in American higher education was lost by Virginia to a less ancient and splendid colonial unit known as New England.

Harvard College was established at a place which had been a wilderness six years before, in a colony whose history was less than ten years old, and by a community of less than ten thousand people. The impulse and support came from no colonizing company, church, government, or individual in the Old World, but from an isolated people hemmed in between the forest and the ocean, who had barely secured the necessities of existence. No such achievement can be found in the history of modern civilization; and in the eight centuries that have elapsed since Abaelard lectured by the Seine, there have been few nobler examples of courage in maintaining intellectual standards amid adverse circumstances than the founding and early history of the Puritans' college by the Charles.

The state which so early established this college was no common plantation, and her inhabitants no ordinary people. They were Puritans, representing the left wing of the English Reformation, fleeing from the Anglo-Catholic reaction led by Archbishop Laud. They had come over under university-trained leadership, intent on transplanting English society whole, shorn only of what they regarded as corruptions. About one hundred alumni of the University of Cambridge and thirty of Oxford came to New England before 1646; which means that there was at least one college man to every thirty-five families, a proportion much higher than existed in England of that day, or than exists in the United States of today. These English university men naturally wished their sons to have the same educational advantages as themselves, and it would have been far beyond their means to educate them in England.

Undoubtedly the dynamic motive in founding our earliest

colonial college was religious. It was the nature of their faith that made Puritans more keen on education than any other class of Englishmen—the same reason that led Calvinist Scotland, Switzerland, and The Netherlands, to do more for education than many larger and wealthier countries. A supply of learned clergy was an imperious necessity if the Puritan way of life were to continue; and the experience of Virginia showed the difficulty of importing competent clergy from the Old Country. In a ritualistic church, a mere formal education would enable a minister to “get by”; but the Puritans required men “mighty in Scripture” to expound the Word. The teaching function, implicit in every Christian ministry, was explicit and almost exclusive in the Puritan ministry. And in those simple days teachers were supposed to know the subject they professed, not merely to be trained in teaching methods by teachers’ teachers at teachers’ colleges. Hence no amount of godliness, good will, or inspiration could compensate for want of learning. Down to the American Revolution and beyond, only a “learned” minister could qualify for a Congregational, Anglican, or Presbyterian Church in the Colonies. He must be learned not only in the Sacred Tongues, but in the vast literature of exegesis and interpretation that had grown up around the Scriptures. There was nothing more dangerous and detestable, in the eyes of most English Protestants, than an uneducated preacher presuming to interpret Scripture out of his own head.

Thus, as an early pamphlet, “New Englands First Fruits,” puts it: “After God had carried us safe to New England, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear’d convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to lave an illiterate

Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."

In the fall of 1636, the General Court or legislature of Massachusetts Bay, presided over by twenty-three-year-old Governor Harry Vane, voted £400, almost one quarter the total tax levy for that year, "towards a schoale or colledge." In the fall of 1638, a few weeks or months after the College had opened in a small dwelling house at Cambridge, there died in nearby Charlestown a young graduate of Emmanuel College named John Harvard, leaving half his fortune (some £750) and all his books (some 400 volumes) to the College, which was promptly given his name. The first freshman class (Harvard, 1642) had one advantage that was shared by the Class of 1916 at the Rice Institute, there were no sophomores or upper-classmen to haze and torment them. But they had a poor time of it for all that. These pioneer American freshmen were half-starved by Mistress Eaton, the first Master's wife, and imposed upon by her corps of slut-tish servants, who drank their beer, consumed their cheese, and slept in their sheets. And for scholastic or disciplinary lapses, they were flogged frequently and unmercifully by Master Nathaniel Eaton. Just as the second college year was opening, things came to a head. Eaton had a dispute with his assistant, who talked back, whereupon the muscular president proceeded to "reform" him with a walnut tree cudgel "big enough to have killed a horse," says a contemporary chronicler. The Eatons were haled into court, and cross-questioned. Mrs. Eaton expressed her regret that the students should have been served sour bread and stinking fish, "and for their wanting beer a week together, I am sorry that it was so," said she, "and should tremble to have it so again." That confession was enough for the Puritan magistrates. Flogging they were used to at the English col-

leges; but beer was as much a necessity in education as books. Eaton was fined and dismissed, and fled the colony; eventually he died in a London jail.

Practically a fresh foundation was made in 1640 when Henry Dunster, a Cambridge Master of Arts thirty years old, was engaged as President. Dunster recalled Eaton's pupils to the scene of their freshman floggings, and began all over again. American education owes more to Dunster than to any other educational founder; for it was he who insisted that Harvard College should have the standards of an English university college. The college building already begun was finished, and there the first Commencement in the United States was held in 1642, when nine young men were created Bachelors of Arts according to a simplified form of the ceremony used at the University of Cambridge. This conferring of degrees was the boldest, though not the most important thing, that President Dunster did; for it was equivalent to a declaration of independence. In Europe, the right to grant degrees was a prerogative of sovereignty which universities derived from Pope or King; Harvard College did so by no higher authority than that of the colonial legislature. And she was justified when, only seven years later, the University of Oxford admitted an early Harvard graduate to equivalent standing there, thus recognizing our first colonial college as a full-fledged member of the Republic of Letters.

As a matter of prestige, this recognition was important; but other achievements of the founders of Harvard were more substantial. In the first place, they insisted, in spite of the country's poverty, on providing college life for their students. It would have been simple enough to have hired a room or two for lectures, paid some of the learned ministers around Boston to drop in and lecture once or twice weekly, and otherwise have let the students shift for them-

selves. The only recorded letter of advice they had from England counselled exactly that; and many later American colleges have been started in just such a way. But the Puritans wanted more. They knew from their English experience that education consisted not merely in lectures and books, but in the common life of a society of scholars; students living in the same building with their tutors, praying and playing, learning and fighting, eating and drinking together.

It would have been natural, too, to economize on building; to have put up with a makeshift, or have erected one of the barn-like structures that did for churches in early New England. But the first Harvard building, the "Old College," was described by a contemporary as "very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall and a large library with some Bookes in it" and "convenient" chambers and studies. Indeed, one of the early chroniclers recorded that it was "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness." One can almost hear the aboriginal Yankee grumbling over all this luxury for "scollers"! There was a dining hall with high table and college silver for the fellows (but wooden trenchers for the students); a vast college kitchen; butteries whence beer was dispensed for breakfast and afternoon "bever," and wine for the commencement feast; a library where John Harvard's four hundred volumes were placed and others kept coming in (nucleus of what has become the greatest university library in the world); great square chambers where three or four students slept, with tiny box-like studies let into the corners, so each could have a little privacy for his work. But the authorities always contrived to have a tutor or graduate student in every chamber, to counsel and befriend the younger lads.



Thus Harvard reproduced, as early as 1642, the English "collegiate" way of living in a society of scholars; and all our colonial colleges followed suit. Even those like King's and Philadelphia that were located in the midst of a growing city, provided a suitable building with dining hall, chambers, and studies, and required their students to live in college. Unfortunately, many later American institutions of higher learning lost sight of the value of this system. Some provided inadequate dormitory accommodations, or none, leaving their students to shift for themselves in lodging or boarding houses, as at the continental universities. The result in almost every case has been that the students, growing tired of this dreary way of living, formed residential fraternities, which for all their Greek letters have been a shabby and barbarous substitute for the humane community life of the colonial college. And in the nineteenth century, the industrial era, the notion arose that any sort of building was good enough for a student or a professor; many an American university campus today is cluttered up with pretentious barns and architectural monstrosities that date from an era when scholars were supposed to live plain and poets to starve in a garret.

The Rice Institute was more happy. Her founders wisely sifted the past for good principles, and did not make the mistake of supposing that there was nothing to be learned from eight centuries of university history. They provided students with the means to lead the collegiate life, in buildings of intrinsic and extrinsic beauty that any university of the world may envy. But in order to restore the full collegiate life that our colonial colleges enjoyed, and that the Oxford and Cambridge colleges have at all costs preserved, it will be necessary to introduce a tutorial system of instruction, and to have the tutors live in the dormitories, among

the students. Classroom contact between teacher and scholar is not enough to civilize the young people who flock to American universities.

Since the Renaissance every leading university of Europe had acquired a university press, so Harvard must have one too. As early as 1639, the first printing press in the English colonies was imported, and began grinding out psalm-books, colony laws, commencement broadsides, and almanacs. These last were always compiled by some "Philomathematicus," a young graduate student skilled at mathematics; and on the blank pages he and his friends printed poems and scientific essays of their own composition. On this little hand-press in the College precincts was printed John Eliot's translation of the Bible into Algonkian, the first Bible printed in the New World, or printed anywhere in a barbarous and hitherto unwritten tongue. No one can fairly deny that the Puritans took their missionary duties seriously! Toward the end of the century the commercial printers took up publication, and there were no more American university presses until the nineteenth century.

Although early Harvard paid due heed to the luxuries and amenities, she did not neglect the necessities. President Dunster's course for the B.A. reproduced as nearly as possible the Cambridge curriculum. It was just such a combination of medieval philosophy and Renaissance humanism that Cambridge taught in his undergraduate days. Freshmen, whose average age at entrance was about sixteen, were required to be able to speak, read, and write Latin, and to have begun Greek. In college they studied the Bible, six of the Seven Arts (Music was the one omitted), the Learned Tongues (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), and the Three Philosophies (Metaphysics, Ethics, and Natural Science). They had exactly the same methods as in the medieval universities

—lectures read out of books, quizzes on the lectures, English orations, and Latin declamations to practise their Rhetoric; Latin disputations to practise their Logic and Philosophy. There was less emphasis on classical belles-lettres than at Cambridge, to be sure; but among the authors that the Harvard students studied in the seventeenth century were Cicero, Sallust, Horace, Terence, and Ovid, in Latin; and in Greek, Isocrates, Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus and the minor pastoral poets, Theognis of Megara, Simonides of Ceos, Sophocles and extracts from other dramatists; together with the Greek Testament and the Christian Greek authors Nonnus, Phocylides, and Duport. In Hebrew they did not get beyond the Old Testament, and the New Testament in Syriac. In Mathematics early Harvard was defective, as Oxford and Cambridge were at the time; but some of the students at least learned enough to do plane surveying, a practical need in a new country, to study navigation, and to make the calculations for the New England farmers' almanacs.

Science until about 1655 or 1660 was wholly medieval and Aristotelian; after that Bacon, Descartes, and Copernican Astronomy began to seep in. By 1672 the College had a telescope, with which Thomas Brattle, a young graduate, made observations of the Comet of 1680 that were used by Sir Isaac Newton in his great *Principia*; and in the eighteenth century the scientific lectures of Professor John Winthrop, F.R.S., gave such men as Count Rumford a start on their scientific careers. Undergraduates studied catechetical divinity in a Puritan manual by William Ames; but the professional study of Theology for a minister's career began only after taking the B.A. degree. The graduate student remained in residence, studying Theology with the President, and tutoring the undergraduates as a college fellow, to earn

his keep; or he studied at home, or obtained private instruction from a minister; after the lapse of three years he came up for his M.A., and took the first pulpit that became vacant.

It is abundantly clear from her curriculum that Harvard was not a divinity school, but a religious College of the Liberal Arts, such as people understood them at that time. Uriah Oakes, one of the clerical presidents, addressed a graduating class as *Liberales, liberaliter educati*—"gentlemen, educated like gentlemen." The same principle applies to the other colonial colleges. All (except Philadelphia) were founded from religious as well as purely educational motives, the training of ministers was one of their functions, but professional training for the ministry began only after taking the first degree. A liberal education, the education of a *liber homo*, free man or gentleman, in the earlier meaning of that much abused term, was aimed at by our colonial colleges; it was only after they had been long established, when they proved too liberal for the more narrow-minded elements in the community, that we find the claim advanced that they were primarily divinity colleges. In the corporate charter that Dunster obtained for Harvard in 1650, creating a corporation of President, Treasurer, and five Fellows, with perpetual succession—and this Charter is still in force today—there is no mention of training parsons, or of divinity; the purpose of the College is declared to be: "The advancement of all good literature, artes, and sciences." You will observe that the Rice Institute motto "Literature—Science—Art" is a succinct paraphrase of this declaration of purpose in the Harvard Charter, granted almost three centuries ago. There was no conscious imitation, of course; but a natural kinship; for these three departments of human knowledge—Letters, Arts, and Sciences—have been central to university instruction and research since the sixteenth century.

The Harvard Charter of 1650 also declared the purpose of the College to provide "*All other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this Country in knowledge: and godliness.*" Hence it may be said that the entire development of American higher education for three centuries was portended in 1650. President Dunster even sought funds for medical and legal instruction, but with no other result than a vote of the General Court that Harvard College might every four years have a malefactor's corpse to dissect, "if there be any such." Training for the other learned professions would come in good time, when needed; it was enough in the seventeenth century to provide a sound course in the Liberal Arts and Philosophy, which was equally suitable for a general education or as a background for specialized training.

The first charter of Yale (1701) declares a purpose to establish a school "wherein Youth may be instructed in the Arts and Sciences who thorough the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for Publick employment both in Church and Civil State." Arts and Sciences—the traditional liberal education; God's blessing—without which knowledge would be vain and useless; "Publick employment"—not private business or money-getting; in Church and State—not Church alone. We are yet far, in 1701, from the modern notion that any citizen with stout lungs is fit to be Governor or Senator. The colonists wished their rulers to be men of learning; not deep scholars, but at least acquainted with history and philosophy. In the middle ages, when the nobility were illiterate, Kings had to choose their ministers from the Church. Half the point of Renaissance education was to fit laymen to be rulers in the civil state, hence the emphasis on Greek and Roman history and oratory. "His-

tory," wrote that stout old Puritan, Samuel Clarke, to young Lord Brooke, when going to college in England, "will be a recreation and yet you will find it exceedingly useful and profitable, and that which doth very much accomplish a Gentleman. Its the Sovereign Judge of all men, and all exploits."

Yale was given by the Connecticut Colony a form of government that has in general been followed by American colleges and universities ever since. Instead of incorporating the President and teaching fellows, as in England and at Harvard, the Connecticut legislature incorporated a self-perpetuating board of clerical trustees, who had full powers to "hire and fire" the President and Tutors, and make academic arrangements over their heads. Undoubtedly the reason for this change was the desire to keep the College under a firm ecclesiastical control; for the Harvard tutors, in the previous decade, had shown a tendency to flirt with liberalism. The Harvard men who founded Yale were of an earlier vintage; and, consciously or unconsciously, they poured the new Connecticut college into the mould that Harvard was showing a tendency to break through. These traditionalist tendencies were strengthened by the forced resignation of an early Rector of the College, Timothy Cutler (A. B. Harvard 1701), after his defection to the Anglican Church; and during the rest of the colonial period, Yale was the most conservative of the American colleges in curriculum and temper. She seems to have gone in more for "character building" (that now hackneyed phrase) than her rivals; it is typical that beside the roll of revolutionary statesmen of which other colleges boast, Yale places Nathan Hale, the young man who regretted that he had but one life to give for his country. Even within my memory, Yale was the favorite university of pious New England Congregationalists, who

regarded sending a boy to Harvard as putting him on the high-road to perdition. Yet "Mother Yale" was little if anything behind "Fair Harvard" in preparing graduates to play a leading part in their communities as laymen or divines.

The charter of William and Mary College (1693) was explicit as to the religious motives of that foundation: ". . . to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners" (a translation of the Ciceronian phrase *bonae litterae et mores*); "and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the Western Indians." Supplied with the finest (now the oldest) college building north of Mexico, and located at Williamsburg, capital of the proud and wealthy Old Dominion, life at William and Mary was characterized by an Oxonian sparkle and gaiety that the other colonial colleges lacked. It was necessary for the President and Masters, in 1752, to forbid scholars to frequent gaming tables, own race horses, or keep "fighting Cocks." Many Virginia parents, in fact, felt that the Williamsburg social life, and the drinking bouts at the Governor's Palace were demoralizing to their sons, and sent them instead to Presbyterian Princeton. From about 1750 to the American Revolution, William and Mary gave the larger part of their education, from the age of seven, up, to a number of future statesmen. Very few of her alumni became ministers; but the College did much to shape the peculiar genius of Virginia for political leadership. Moreover, in giving the mind of Thomas Jefferson its early bent toward educational experiment, William and Mary became, like Harvard, a mother of universities.

It requires explanation that the Southern English colonies from Maryland to Georgia, and the English West Indies,

which, taken together, were the most populous and wealthy section of the English colonies before the Revolution, did not establish a single college for higher education between 1693 and the Revolution. Even William and Mary operated only as a Latin grammar school for twenty years<sup>1</sup> at least. It was not until 1729 that a faculty of six professors was appointed, and a "Philosophy School" or College department created, with a two years' curriculum for the B.A. As late as 1762 the College contained few boys above fifteen years old, and seldom granted degrees. Very similar in history was the one British West Indian foundation of the colonial period designed for higher education. Codrington College, Barbados, was provided for under the will of Christopher Codrington in 1703, but not opened until 1745; and it functioned purely as a secondary school until 1829.

Despite many brave efforts, the old South has never quite overcome this early Northern lead in higher education. One reason, doubtless, was the plantation system, which made it difficult to support grammar schools that might prepare boys for college; but another was the religious complexion of the section—Episcopalian and Methodist. The Anglicans had no such incentive as the dissenters for establishing a college, since they could always obtain ministers from England, often with their salaries paid by the Anglican missionary organization. The Methodists, as we may call those Anglicans who were affected by the Great Awakening of 1741, gradually withdrew from the Established Church, and wanted hot-

<sup>1</sup>Lyon G. Tyler, *Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College* (1905), p. 1. But in a letter to me dated December 1, 1932, Dr. Tyler states that there is no positive evidence of collegiate instruction being given before 1729, or of degrees being granted before 1772. It is probable that they were occasionally conferred at an earlier date, since President Stiles of Yale recorded in 1762 that President Yates of William and Mary said "that they *seldom* conferred Degrees." And as a professor was appointed in 1726 I infer that instruction corresponding to that of Harvard was offered at that date.



gospelling rather than learning from their pulpits. The first of the numerous Methodist colleges in the United States was Wesleyan University in Connecticut, which was not founded until 1830.

Princeton, the College of New Jersey, was a child of the "Great Awakening," that religious revival that tore through the Northern Colonies in the wake of George Whitefield, shaking down converts like apples. The Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, who began emigrating to the Middle Colonies in large numbers early in the eighteenth century, were just as insistent on a learned clergy as the New England Puritans; but after the first generation of Scotch-educated parsons died out, the American Presbyterians were at a loss for good ministerial material. William Tennent, a graduate of Edinburgh, established in 1726 at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, a private school popularly called the "Log College," for the training of Presbyterian divines. Without a charter, he could not grant degrees; and the "Log" alumni were accused of having more enthusiasm than learning. Accordingly, the Philadelphia Synod of the Presbyterian Church, in 1738, ruled that no candidate for orders who did not hold a degree from Harvard, Yale, or a European University, should be licensed by a presbytery, until his educational fitness had been passed on by a committee of the Synod. Mr. Tennent's former pupils resented this edict, split off from the Philadelphia Synod, and when George Whitefield began his revivalistic tour of the Colonies in 1739, took him to their bosom; but they were candid enough to see the wisdom of strict educational requirements. Forming a new synod in New York, they united with two Presbyterian pastors already in that city—Jonathan Dickinson, a graduate of Yale, and Ebenezer Pemberton of Harvard—applied to the Royal Governor of New Jersey, and in 1746 obtained a charter as

the College of New Jersey. The Log College at Neshaminy then folded up.

The first Princeton Charter describes it as a college "for the education of youth in the learned languages, and in the liberal arts and sciences"; and further provided that the trustees must not exclude "any person of any religious denomination whatsoever from free and equal liberty and advantage of education, or from any of the . . . privileges . . . of the said college, on account of his . . . being of a religious persuasion different from the said Trustees" (who were mostly Presbyterians). In spite of these liberal provisions, the college has been attacked on the ground that it was not fulfilling its original and unique purpose of training for the Presbyterian ministry! Yet in the colonial period, the College of New Jersey was already supplying the Presbyterian churches of the Middle Colonies and the Valley of Virginia with a devoted and learned clergy, and providing a liberal education for young men who became physicians, lawyers, planters, and statesmen. Owing to her location, and an early reputation for sound discipline, Princeton attracted a larger Southern contingent than the other Northern colleges. The Federal Constitution owes much to the taste for ancient history and political science that Princeton inculcated in her distinguished son, James Madison.

Protestant sects have differed greatly among themselves in the past as to the desirability of education for clergy. The English Puritans, Scotch Presbyterians, and the Church of England all recognized this need; but the Quakers had no use for clergy of any sort. That is why Philadelphia had no institution of higher learning until she was already the most populous city in the English colonies. The early Baptists, too, were indifferent to learning, since the college-trained clerics with whom they came in contact generally

refused to admit that the baptism of children was unscriptural; but in 1762 the Baptist Association of Philadelphia decided that it could no longer depend on divine inspiration as a qualification for ministers. The Liberal Arts college that they founded was not located at Philadelphia, where Baptists were a rather poor and socially under-privileged sect, but at Providence, Rhode Island, which wanted a Liberal Arts college, and where the leaders in business and society were Baptists. The College of Rhode Island, or Brown University, as it was renamed after the Revolution from a local benefactor, declared the same purposes in her charter of foundation as the earlier colonial colleges, with a thrifty note of utility in addition. She proposed to form "the rising generation to virtue, knowledge and useful literature, thus preserving in the community a succession of men duly qualified for discharging the offices of life with usefulness and reputation." And Baptists from all parts of the colonies gave her the opportunity; Brown had the most national student body of any colonial college.

It is not until the establishment of the Philadelphia Academy, in 1749, that we note a new deal in American education; and not a very new deal at that. Pennsylvania and Philadelphia had managed to get along without an institution of higher education for over half a century from their foundation, although since 1689 the Penn Charter School had provided an excellent secondary education on the traditional English model. It needed an enterprising Yankee to prod the smug Philadelphians into action. Benjamin Franklin's "Proposals" for the Academy, printed in 1749, are significant for his educational philosophy. Excusing his adopted Province for her backwardness in higher education, he says that in a new country "Agriculture and Mechanic arts were of the most immediate importance; the *culture* of *minds* by

the *finer arts* and *sciences*, was necessarily postponed to times of more wealth and leisure." Those times are now come; "and since a proportion of men of learning is useful in every country . . . it is thought a proposal for establishing an *Academy* in this province, will not now be deemed unreasonable." Specifically, he proposes a residential college in or near Philadelphia where "those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental" shall be taught, "regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended." Only those "intended for Divinity" and Medicine should study Latin and Greek; for the majority Franklin proposes an essentially modern course in English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Ethics, Natural History, Modern Languages, and even the History of Commerce. The practical appeal of these proposals struck a new note; Franklin's friend George Whitefield wrote to him sadly, "I think there wants *aliquid Christi* in it, to make it as useful as I would desire it might be." And the Philadelphia Common Council responded in the same utilitarian spirit: among the benefits they "expected from this Institution," were, saving the expense of sending boys "abroad" for an education; qualifying "our Natives" for public office, and "a Number of the Poorer Sort . . . to act as Schoolmasters . . . the Country suffering at present very much for want of good Schoolmasters, and oblig'd frequently to employ in their Schools, vicious imported Servants, or concealed Papists." And finally these "benefits" are driven home by the lively hope "that a good Academy erected in Philadelphia . . . may draw numbers of Students from the neighboring Provinces, who must spend considerable Sums yearly among us."

Franklin's proposals elicited a subscription of £4,000, which enabled the Philadelphia Academy to open in 1751. It began like William and Mary as a secondary school, yet

as the first progressive school in the Colonies. For the board of twenty-four trustees, only two or three of whom had a university education, fell in easily with Franklin's enlightened theory that the time had come to break away from exclusive attention to Latin and Greek. The Philadelphia Academy anticipated the elective system by offering three distinct courses, or "schools" as they were called; the Latin School, with a regular classical curriculum, intended for future doctors and divines; the English School, for the average boy who wanted modern languages, English composition, history, and geography; and the Mathematical School, for future surveyors, sea captains, and Ben Franklins.

At this time the project of a college in New York was the subject of public discussion, to which two pamphlets: "Some Thoughts on Education" and "A General Idea of the College of Mirania" were contributed by a twenty-four-year-old alumnus of the University of Aberdeen, who was tutoring in a gentleman's family on Long Island. William Smith, as this young scholar was named, was an adept at dressing up well-worn educational theories in a way to make them seem novel and progressive. His description of the idyllic "College of Mirania" differed only in detail from the curricula in vogue at Aberdeen and Cambridge two hundred and fifty years before; but it was so well expressed that the interest of Benjamin Franklin was aroused, a meeting between them was arranged, and as a result, the homespun philosopher persuaded his trustees to appoint William Smith Provost of Philadelphia Academy, with the special function of teaching Liberal Arts such as "Logick, Rhetorick, Ethicks and Natural Philosophy" to advanced students. Smith accepted; and in May, 1754, began this advanced instruction, corresponding to the four classes of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. The next year, the Trustees obtained a new

charter as "The Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia," which gave them for the first time the right to grant academic degrees. The first class, of seven students, graduated B.A. in 1757; and the M.A. was granted to them three years later, according to the immemorial custom.

Provost Smith's course for the B.A. degree has been widely praised by historians of American education as a "new departure" from the traditional Arts and Sciences and Philosophies, but it actually contained little if anything that was not then being taught at Harvard, Princeton, and William and Mary. Provost Smith, with the tenacity of a Scot and the zeal of an Anglican convert, insisted, despite Franklin's wishes, in teaching the traditional subjects for the first Arts degree, and in a religious spirit. The same old methods of lectures, recitations, declamations, and disputations continued; students were "every day called to converse with some of the ancients"; Metaphysics, which Franklin tried to do away with, was stressed; and, as Dr. James J. Walsh justly remarks, none of our colonial commencement theses "are quite so redolent of Scholasticism as the Philadelphia theses."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, one gathers from the records that the Philadelphia College was more inspired by the spirit of that age, the "Century of Enlightenment," than her colonial rivals and contemporaries. She was less conscious of transmitting a "sacred heritage," and more eager to serve the immediate needs of the community. Although Provost Smith was himself a clergyman, and boasted in his first commencement

<sup>1</sup> *Education of the Founding Fathers* (1935), p. 218. The Philadelphia Commencement Theses for 1763 are printed in the *New England Quarterly*, v. 517-23. The seal adopted by the Academy under Provost Smith shows a pile of seven books, labelled with the traditional subjects, and crowned by *Theologia*, the traditional "Queen of the Arts."

sermon that "there is not a greater regard paid to . . . pure evangelical religion in any seminary in the world than here," the Philadelphia College, in comparison with the other colonial colleges, was secular in control, and spirit. Very few clergymen were on the Board of Trustees, and the teachers did not have to be members of any particular church. And in 1765 the Philadelphia College took a decidedly forward step, in appointing one of her first graduates, Dr. John Morgan, who had subsequently taken an M.D. at Edinburgh, "Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physick," and his friend Dr. William Shippen, "Professor of Anatomy and Surgery." These appointments founded the first medical school in the United States. Medical degrees were granted as early as 1768. So Philadelphia College is justly entitled to the honor of first among our colonial colleges attaining university status; and when reorganized in 1779, she was properly rechristened the University of Pennsylvania.

King's College, the nucleus of Columbia, followed hard in the footsteps of Philadelphia, and then stood almost still for a century; the astounding growth of Columbia University in the last forty years has been, as her most recent historian frankly remarks, "a function of the growth of the city" of New York.<sup>1</sup> That early zeal of the Netherlands for higher education, which resulted in the founding of five universities *flagrante bello*, was not translated to New Netherlands, and English New York continued the purely trading traditions of Dutch New Amsterdam. In 1753, when the city had a population of 13,000 or over, there were said to be only thirteen college graduates living on Manhattan Island. Yale and Princeton were near enough to satisfy the collegiate ambitions of Congregational and Presbyterian New Yorkers, but the number of unsatisfied New Yorkers was growing.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick P. Keppel, *Columbia* (1914), p. xi.

These were not so much the staunch adherents of the Dutch Reformed Church (who established their Queen's College at New Brunswick, New Jersey, in 1770), as the Episcopalians; and it was they who founded (or, as their enemies alleged, captured) the first college in New York. It began with a lottery, authorized by the New York Assembly in 1749; but the Anglicans pushed it through.

King's College was chartered by George II in 1754, with an imposing Board of Trustees of which the Archbishop of Canterbury was titular chairman, and in which a majority of the members were Anglicans. Trinity Church, in return for conveying a parcel of New York real estate to the College, obtained a stipulation in the charter that the President should always be an Episcopalian, and that the college chapel services should be according to the Book of Common Prayer. Religious freedom was not, in this instance, bartered for a mess of pottage, since the real estate was not very far from Wall Street, and extended from Broadway to the Hudson River. But these provisions seemed outrageous to the numerous non-Anglicans of New York; and as the Episcopalians were connected with the Royal Governor's party in the Assembly, the King's College charter became the target of bitter attack. It was denounced as an imposture by the non-Anglicans, a "detestable plot," a "political engine," an entering wedge for Bishops and tithes and religious persecution. In consequence, only half the money raised by public lottery for a college was given to King's; but the other half was more than made up by gifts from wealthy Anglicans, indignant at this "robbery," and by an Anglican missionary society.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, graduate of Yale and convert to the Church of England, was chosen the first president of King's, and for many years the College was staffed with Harvard and



Yale graduates. The purposes of the College, as President Johnson stated them in his first public announcement, were "to instruct and perfect the Youth in the Learned Languages, and in the Arts of reasoning exactly, of writing correctly, and speaking eloquently"; in Mathematics, Physics, "and everything useful for the Comfort, the Convenience and the Elegance of Life," and finally, "to lead them from the Study of Nature to the Knowledge of themselves, and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to him, themselves, and one another"—a statement reflecting the fashionable philosophy of the era. Perhaps the most interesting thing about this earliest Columbia University advertisement is its consistency with the recent correspondence-school literature emanating from the same institution, so blithely ridiculed in Dr. Abraham Flexner's recent book. King's College is already talking down to the public. President Johnson does not say Logic, but the Art of Reasoning; instead of Natural Philosophy, he specifies "Meteors, Stones, Mines and Minerals, Plants and Animals," in other words, Columbia thus early proposes to reach out to the unlearned world for fresh college material—and she certainly has succeeded!

Much the same trouble was experienced by King's, as by William and Mary, with inadequate preparation of her students for college studies. "Our great difficulty," wrote President Johnson in 1759, "is that our grammar schools are miserable, so that we are obliged to admit them very raw. Our first year is chiefly grammatical. We shall never do well till we can have a good school of our own." Accordingly, a preparatory department was soon established; a few years later, Queen's College in New Jersey experienced the same want, and found the same solution. President Johnson, however, admitted no compromise as to the studies of the higher classes, following Harvard and Yale in insisting on

the study of Hebrew, which he considered a "gentleman's accomplishment," as well as Greek and his own favorite subject, Philosophy. As in Philadelphia, the brave announcement of modern and practical subjects was soon forgotten, and a conventional college curriculum was established, with Latin disputations and orations at Commencement. This does not seem to have been what the young men of New York wanted; for in the earliest register of students admitted to King's one finds remarks such as "in his 2d year went to merchandize," "Removed to Philadelphia College," "Left College in his 2d year after having behaved very indifferently," against a considerable number of the matriculants' names.

King's made a bid for university status with a medical school only a year after Philadelphia; she acquired six part-time medical professors as early as 1767, and granted her first medical degrees in 1769. Only the outbreak of the Revolution prevented her obtaining a new charter from George III as a university. Apart from this school of medicine, King's, until the occupation of New York by the King's forces, was a liberal arts college of the traditional type, educating such men as John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, who were soon to be colleagues or rivals of the Adamses of Harvard, Madison of Princeton, Hopkinson of Philadelphia, and Jefferson of William and Mary.

The problem of supporting the earliest colonial colleges was exceedingly difficult, and interesting to us, as it shows a gradual adaptation to American social and economic conditions. No university since the middle ages has been wholly self-supporting. It has always been necessary to supplement the fees that students pay from some other source. The English who settled Virginia and New England were unused to supporting education out of taxation. Their schools and university colleges were maintained by endowments, largely

in the form of land that yielded rent. Harvard College of necessity plowed her original £400 from the colony, as well as John Harvard's benefaction, into the first college building. And before that building was completed, the great depression of 1641 set in owing to the stoppage of immigration by the English Civil War. Governor Winthrop, recording this first slump in the stock market, wrote that a cow worth £20 in the spring of 1640 fetched but £8 in December, and £4 in June; the Puritan fathers were face to face with the now much advertised Economics of Abundance, and there was a mighty cow slaughter, for which the cattle owners were not paid. As a Harvard wit verified in an early Almanac:

. . . since the mighty *Cow* her Crown hath lost,  
In every place she's made to rule the roast.

Where to get the wherewithal to run the College? The students paid their fees in grain, meat, and every kind of farm produce and shop goods; but there were limits to what the college steward could work off. The Colony, following a European precedent, granted the College the revenue of a ferry which was the shortest way from Boston to Cambridge; but unfortunately the ferry tolls were paid in wampum, the only fractional currency that New England used. President Dunster complained that all the counterfeit wampum, stones and dyed shells, that the Indians worked off on their customers, returned to the College in ferry toll. A modern college treasurer, ruefully contemplating handsomely engraved certificates issued by Samuel Insull and Ivor Krueger, may sympathize with President Dunster three centuries ago, picking over several hundred yards of wampum in the hope of salvaging a few fathoms of genuine shell.

The next financial expedient that Harvard tried was an endowment drive in England, conducted by two Overseers of the College. But the English Puritans were busy waging a

civil war, and not feeling very generous. About £400 or £500, however, were collected; most of it went to pay debts contracted for the college building, some was laid out in books, pewter, dishes and table linen; and £162 6s. 4d. was applied to scholarships. It is interesting to note that in the absence of investment securities, the only way for the College to get an income from this fund was to lend it to the Colony, which paid a moderate interest on it to the College. This earliest American college scholarship came from a wealthy Puritan widow, Lady Mowlson. Thomas Weld, the Harvard endowment agent, who secured this contribution, tried to divert a bit of it for his own family. He induced Dame Mowlson to request the Harvard authorities that "John Weld now a scholler in the said colledge shall haue the said stipend till he attaine the degree of Master of Arts." Unfortunately John did not last long as a "scholler in the said colledge." In company with another minister's son he was caught burglarizing a Cambridge house, "publickly whipped" in the college hall by President Dunster, and expelled.

For teaching fellowships to relieve President Dunster of the entire burden of instruction, money was raised by what was called the "Colledge Corne." Every family in New England was asked to contribute annually a quarter-bushel of wheat, or a shilling in money, "for the mayntenance of poore Schollers"; and although not everyone did so, enough wheat flowed in from all parts of New England to maintain for eight years two or three graduate teaching fellows, and several undergraduate scholars. The frontier contributed as well as the coast towns; a remarkable demonstration of the value that the New England Puritans placed on higher education. And it is interesting to note that £3 worth of wheat, undoubtedly the largest per capita contribution, came from

Springfield, the remote little fur-trading post where the founder of the Rice Institute was born, one hundred and seventy years later.

This instance of the devotion of a poor people to learning has been repeated again and again in the history of American colleges and universities. In some cases, the first college building has been put up by voluntary labor, with donated materials; in others, the money has been raised from the pennies of Sunday school children, the collection plates of country churches, and little contributions of fifty cents and a dollar from underpaid parsons. One of the most touching instances of this sort was told me at Hudson, Ohio, about the founding of Western Reserve College in 1826. One farmer said he would be responsible for hauling all the stone for the foundation from quarries ten miles away; it took his boy one trip almost every weekday in the winter months to haul that stone with yoke of oxen and "stone-boat." The wife of another farmer promised \$50 a year for ten years, from the proceeds of her butter and eggs. In those days the prevailing wage for common labor was thirty-seven and a half cents, eggs sold at four cents a dozen, and butter at six and a quarter cents a pound. So it took about a thousand dozen eggs and one hundred and sixty pounds of butter to make a single annual contribution; but the farmer's wife—and the farmer's cows and chickens—made good. A community that puts devotion like that into a college will never let it down, as long as the college does its duty.

Nevertheless, local enthusiasm has certain disadvantages. In the Middle West it has often resulted in five or six small, struggling, inadequately financed colleges being established where one university would have served the community far better. The first illustration of excessive localism is in the early history of Yale. For twenty years this poor little college

wandered from Brandford to Killingworth and thence to Saybrook, and up the river to Wethersfield, and down again to Milford, before the Colony put up a building at New Haven and so anchored it there. One year there were three separate Yale commencements in three different towns! Yet in this distracted period, before the college even had a name, there graduated from it a young man with the most profound and original intellect of any colonial American—Jonathan Edwards; and Edwards, after a life of single-hearted devotion to philosophy and theology, died in office as president of the fourth colonial college, at Princeton.

In addition to securing scholarships, Harvard revived, and as far as America was concerned founded, the tradition of student service. That had always existed in the English university colleges, where "sizar" were a class of students who went through on reduced fees in return for menial service. Harvard, anticipating the trouble of later self-help colleges in getting the boys to keep their rooms tidy, employed professional bedmakers; but several students received grants for "wayting in the hall," doing clerical work for the President, ringing the college bell, and acting as college butler, which meant serving out the statutory half-pint of beer and hunk of bread for breakfast.

At an early date, Harvard began to receive grants and legacies of lands from which she was expected to collect the rent. But in a new country, land was a drug on the market, and few cared to be tenants when all could be landowners. The fate of almost every college landgrant was to be squatted upon by some stout frontiersman, who invited the College Treasurer to "come and get it," which he was seldom in a position to do. With some urban parcels of real estate the College was more fortunate, although Boston had nothing like the "Queen's farm" that King's College was

given in New York City. As early as 1699 a Harvard graduate built a new dormitory for his alma mater; and from English Puritans and dissenters came many valuable gifts, including a farm in England which the College owned until the present century, and whose rents, compounded and carefully reinvested, now yield about \$900 a year for two scholarships to the founder's kin. In 1655 Massachusetts undertook to pay the Harvard President's salary, and continued to do so until after the American Revolution.

Thus, in modern terms, Harvard "sold" college education to the community; and at the same time learned the lesson that political bodies are a very precarious support for higher education. More and more she came to depend on gifts and legacies of individuals, her own alumni and others. And this source has been the main support of American universities ever since; for it must be remembered that state universities are still in a small minority, both as to numbers, and as to revenue. There has been a great deal of objection to this "capitalist" method of supporting our colleges, and not alone from the radical side. Some years ago there was much talk of "tainted money," but most colleges and universities have since comfortably concluded that the use to which the money has been put removes the taint. And there has been far less interference with academic freedom by individual donors or corporate trustees in the endowed universities than by politicians in the state institutions.

Yale followed the Harvard method of support by small state grants and private gifts. The College of William and Mary was founded in 1693 in Virginia, which had existed for eighty-six years without acquiring the habit of making gifts to higher education. Accordingly, William and Mary was early provided with a considerable endowment in English lands, the rents of which were supposed to be used for Indian

education (but were not invariably spent for their behoof) ; and, following the usual means of supporting continental universities at that time, the College was assigned certain state revenues. An export tax of a penny a pound on tobacco and the office of the surveyor general, with all the land fees incident thereto, were granted to William and Mary. Although these two sources furnished ample support during the Colonial period, they collapsed in the Revolution ; and as the wealthy planters of Virginia had never been trained into giving up large sums for education, the College of William and Mary fell on evil days. Her late President, Dr. Lynn G. Tyler, saved her from extinction fifty years ago ; her new President, Mr. John Stewart Bryan, is endeavoring to make her into a first-class liberal arts college. Every friend to American higher education, and to the noble tradition of Virginian statesmanship that William and Mary did so much to create, will wish him well.

Princeton, being founded by canny Scotch Presbyterians, began her financial operations with a questing in England, Ireland, and Scotland, which netted a relatively large sum. Philadelphia and King's College obtained permission from the Archbishop of Canterbury for a joint "drive" in England, in 1762. King's, as we have seen, had been launched on the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the provincial legislature ; and in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this became a common means of raising money for even the most religiously minded colleges.

Dartmouth College has the most amusing and distinctive history, financial and otherwise, of all the colonial colleges. It began as an Indian institution. It was a persistent delusion of the colonial English that the proper way to civilize the native American was to send him to college. Harvard had a building erected by a missionary society in England, and in-



duced perhaps five or six Indians to enter it; only one of them graduated and he died within a year. Another almost graduated, but went home for a vacation just before Commencement, and was knocked on the head by his non-collegiate relations. William and Mary tried Indian education with somewhat better success; for she limited her endeavors (so far as the Indians were concerned) to the three R's, and did not kill them with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. But this did not discourage—nothing could discourage—Eleazer Wheelock, graduate of Yale, minister by profession, evangelist and educator by choice.

It started when an Indian named Samson Occum, one of the last though not quite the last of the Mohicans, came to Mr. Wheelock seeking schooling. The same year two Delawares turned up; and one of the parson's parishioners gave land for an Indian charity school. This so encouraged Mr. Wheelock that he determined to found a college for Indians alone. A born American advertiser, he hit on a master stroke of propaganda, and sent Occum to England to solicit funds; for Occum, by this time, had graduated from the charity school and begun ministering to his people. He was a living proof of what Wheelock claimed, that any Indian could be educated and civilized as well as an Englishman. Occum preached acceptably in the leading dissenting churches of England before great crowds, playing up tactfully the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," but not overdoing it. He was received by the King and treated as a social equal by the good and the great. A board of trustees for the College was organized in England with Lord Dartmouth, the most socially prominent dissenter, as President of the Board. In less than two years (1767-1768) Occum and his partner collected £11,000, the largest single fund ever raised for a colonial educational purpose.

As soon as the rumor of this great haul reached New England, some two-score towns in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire fell over one another in eagerness to attract the College. With so much competition, Wheelock was able to pick and choose. At this time, John Wentworth, royal governor of the northern New England province, was trying to "put New Hampshire on the map," as the saying is. His Excellency cared very little for Indians, but a good deal for prestige; and with a docile, almost hand-picked legislature, he was in a position to bid high for the new college. Wheelock was offered a whole township and a royal charter if he would establish his college in New Hampshire. He accepted; and in 1769 the charter was issued, incorporating Wheelock and Wentworth, and ten others, as the President and Trustees of Dartmouth College. It was named after Lord Dartmouth, partly out of gratitude for his heading the board of English trustees under whose authority the endowment had been collected, but mostly in the lively hope of favors to come. As with the gentleman after whom Yale College was named, the first installment proved to be the last.

In the matter of the site, President Wheelock outwitted Governor Wentworth, who was eager to develop the northern section of New Hampshire, where he owned extensive lands. He therefore offered the College an entire township in the White Mountains. All the New Hampshire trustees were in favor of it. But Eleazer Wheelock knew what he wanted. He was too old to start a college in a complete wilderness, the towns further south bid handsomely for the college, and finally he induced the Governor and Trustees to settle on the town of Hanover, which donated a lot of a thousand acres.

In the summer of 1770, Eleazer Wheelock said farewell to his Connecticut parish, closed his Indian charity school—

which even then was mostly attended by white boys—ordered them to report at Hanover in the fall, went there himself to superintend matters, and sent for his family. The list of necessary supplies that he drew up to be transported by river flat-boat and ox-team includes a gross of tobacco pipes and “100 lb. or more of tobacco”; but I find none of the “Five Hundred gallons of New England Rum” so prominent in the balladry of Dartmouth.

The College was duly opened in the fall; and in August, 1771, President Wheelock had the pleasure of presiding at what must have been one of the most picturesque commencements in American history. Imagine a stump-studded slash in the primeval pine forest; in the center of the clearing a rude, unpainted frame structure which served as the college hall; next it the President’s log mansion, and before the hall a stage of rough boards, ascended by a single inclined hemlock plank. White students in homespun, Indians in cast-off clothing, and for contrast, Governor Wentworth in white powdered wig, flowered silk waistcoat, sky-blue coat, satin breeches, silk stockings, and silver-buckled shoes; gentlemen of his suite also arrayed in the brilliantly colored silks and satins of a colonial governor’s court. They had come over forest trails, well provided with food and drink, as gay a cavalcade as ever attended a class reunion. Four students, all transfers from Yale, took bachelor’s degrees. Commencement was conducted in the manner that Harvard and Yale had made classic: salutatory oration; Latin oration which, we are told, produced “tears from a great number of the learned gentlemen”; disputation in Latin on the question whether Knowledge of God may be acquired by the Light of Nature; baccalaureate poem; Latin valedictory by the President’s son; and an anthem, “composed and set to music by the young gentlemen.” The only new note was a speech

by one of the Indian students, delivered from the branch of a pine tree, for he was too shy to stand on the board platform in the semicircle of grandees. After the ceremony, the gentlemen sat down to a plain dinner in the college hall (the President apologizing for the state of the college's unique tablecloth), while outside the few undergraduates and the many frontiersmen who came to see the fun, were regaled with a barbecued ox and barrel of rum. Governor Wentworth and his friends, in gratitude for their entertainment, later presented President Wheelock with a magnificent silver punch bowl—a gesture typical of Wentworth and his times. Dartmouth College was going strong, but not as an Indian college. It was simply the first in a new series of frontier schools of higher education, with which the New England people have marked their passage into the northern wilderness, and across the continent.

More than any other American college, Dartmouth is the lengthened shadow of a man. Yet Wheelock is a baffling character, of whose sincerity there will always be question. It was charged at the time that his Indian propaganda was a mere bluff to extract money from pious Britons, in order to make himself president of a college for white boys. Whenever anyone accused him of this, Wheelock retorted that his white students were being trained to become Indian missionaries; or that his enemies were preventing the Indians from attending. It is true that only two Indians ever received a degree from Dartmouth in Wheelock's day, that the curriculum, copied from that of Yale, made no concession to their peculiar needs, and the college turned out frontier parsons, school-teachers, and lawyers, rather than Indian missionaries. Wheelock appears to have been sincere enough in his ambition to educate Indians; but once the College was founded, his interest shifted from the aborigines to the

institution. He wanted Indian students if they could be had, but above all Dartmouth College must live and grow. In a century and a half it has become the most popular liberal arts college in the northern United States; and the Indian race has had a very neat and appropriate revenge in the mural decorations of the new Dartmouth Library by José Clemente Orozco.

Thus, higher education had an excellent start in the Thirteen Colonies. Nine colleges were founded as a basis on which universities could be built, and two of them—Philadelphia and King's—had made good steps toward university status before the Revolution. Largely for religious motives and under ecclesiastical auspices, selected groups of young Americans were given the privilege of a liberal education; and so abundantly did colonial college graduates, as lawyers, physicians, statesmen, and divines, repay community sacrifice and individual benevolence, that one of the first results of American Independence was the multiplication of colleges.

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON.









