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Religious Factors Influencing Education in Colonial Virginia

Charles William Duffy
Loyola University Chicago

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RELIGIOUS FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATION
IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA

by

Charles William Duffy

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for the Requirements of the
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CHAPTER I

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The beginning of English colonization in North America which began with the establishment of the colony of Virginia in 1607, was accompanied by the transplanting of the educational, religious and governmental traditions of the Old World on the soil of the New. Since the first schools of Virginia were primarily under the watchful care of the Established Church of England, they will be better understood after a glance at the educational interests of that Church in the mother country.

At the time England launched out to colonize North America early in the reign of James I, the Episcopal Church was enjoying the position of being the only recognized religious authority in the land. In England, since its earliest history, the task of educating the children was looked upon as a spiritual concern and as such it was conscientiously tended to by the entire clergy. Prior to the religious upheaval, which colored the late years of Henry VIII, the majority of schools--grammar and university--were directly connected with the Roman Catholic Church as cathedral, chantry, collegiate church, guild, monastic, or other schools.¹ However, whether the program of English education is looked at during the pre-Reformation or post-Reformation years, it was an ecclesiastical

¹ L.F. Anderson. History of Common School Education. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909, 199.

institution.

That various legislative measures instituted and executed during the reign of Henry VIII, namely, the dissolution of the smaller monasteries in 1536 and the suppression of the larger in 1539 and the Chantries Acts of 1546 plus those inaugurated by Edward VI, dealt a stunning blow to English education there is little doubt.² It was through the enactment of these measures that ecclesiastical property and institutions were placed in the hands of the Crown. This was done "on the ground that they were improperly administered, or turned to superstitious uses, and with the implication that the funds could be better applied."³ The high aim of which the Chantries legislation spoke, namely,

the alteration, change and amendment of the same certain chantries, colleges and free chapels, and converting to good and godly uses, as in erecting grammar schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the Universities, and better provision for the poor and needy,⁴

was not attained. From the hands of the King some of the confiscated church estates--either through sale or grants passed into the possession of private citizens--and the properties or moneys raised from them, were

²James Gairdner. "Henry VIII", Cambridge Modern History. Edited by Sir A.W. Ward, Sir G.W. Prothero and Sir Stanley Leathes. New York: MacMillan Co., 1934, II, 468.

³Foster Watson. The Old Grammar School. Cambridge: University Press, 1916, 27.

⁴James E.G. DeMontmorency. The Progress of Education in England. London: Knight & Co., 1904, 40.

frequently used for purposes far removed from the realm of education. Whatever may have been the contention of the kings and their ministers, the Chantries legislation of Henry VIII and Edward VI did not result in the immediate advancement of learning;⁵ the hindrance was regrettable. Many of the former, well-established schools were never reopened and some of those that were, were reconstructed on less generous endowments and on a smaller scale.⁶

However, the withdrawal of Roman Catholic authority and influence, which up to the Reformation directed the educational program of the entire nation, did not sever the ties between religion and education. It merely transferred that responsibility into the hands of the clergy of the duly recognized Episcopal Church.

Since the control of the nation's education—from grammar school through the university—is, or was, then imperative to the life of a vigorous State Church, the clergy of the Episcopal Church was firm in asserting its control and was just as fixed in its policy that the schools of the land be "sound" as was the Roman Catholic clergy. As would seem most reasonable, the first place to receive the attention of the church authorities—once they were sufficiently awakened to its importance—was the position of the schoolmaster. The status of the English schoolmaster was unique in the sense that, although he might be a layman, he was nevertheless "a cleric in . . . that his work was

⁵Ibid., 41.

⁶Gairdner. "Henry VIII", 468.

clerical in character for teaching was considered to be a spiritual concern, was carried out in an ecclesiastical institution and was supervised by Church authorities."⁷ For many years prior to the Reformation, it was the practice of the bishops to issue licenses to those whom they believed were spiritually as well as intellectually qualified to teach. Just when this practise of licensing started is not certain, but its usefulness to the churchmen in keeping unsound teachers out of all schools--especially those schools which were beyond the immediate, day-to-day supervision of the Church--can be clearly seen. Nevertheless, it is of interest to note that, during the troublesome years of Henry VIII and Edward VI's reign, the bishops and other clergy of England seem to have overlooked the merit of the policy of licensing and also to have ignored the intelligent precaution of examining the religious convictions of the schoolmasters. The ecclesiastical authorities' failure in these matters is the more remarkable when one considers the tremendous religious influence that the average schoolmaster exerted daily on youth of the nation. As a matter of fact, the conduct of the classes in England at that day was not unlike that of a Seminary today. For example, before the studies of the day would commence it was the duty of the schoolmaster to lead his pupils in a short period of prayer; then, too, there was a time during the day when he was obliged to instruct his class in matters of religion; again, it was his responsibility to see to it that his

⁷Norman Wood. The Reformation and English Education. London: Geo. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1931, 51. Hereafter this book will be referred to under the author's name.

students were regular in their church attendance and devotional habits. The English schoolmaster was indeed a cleric in the broad sense. Accordingly, if his religious convictions were not those of the established order, he could easily become a thorn in the side of the ecclesiastical authorities.⁸

The fact that Mary I and her ministers of State lost no time in reviving the policy of licensing as a means of ridding the schools of all who were not orthodox Roman Catholics seems to have impressed the importance of that practice upon the opposition.⁹ In fact, they were so impressed with the usefulness of that policy that, as soon as Elizabeth was declared Queen, they used it to remove all schoolmasters and professors who were not in accord with the religious position of the Established Church. Thus, it may be stated that from about 1559 the clergy of the Episcopal Church took up in earnest the supervision of education in England.¹⁰ An attempt to ferret out teachers, preachers and others who were not in agreement with the doctrinal position of the Church was made in the form of a national law which was formulated during Elizabeth's reign. That law, which had the awkward title, "The Act for the assurance of the Queen's Majesty's Royal power over all estates and subject within Her Highness' Dominions," required everyone who was in or intended to be in Ecclesiastical Orders, "all schoolmasters and public and private

⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁹ Ibid., 54-56.

¹⁰ Ibid., 69.

teachers of children," and all persons who were connected with law or who were officials of government to take a solemn oath "before he or they shall be admitted, allowed or suffered to take upon him or them to use, exercise, supply or occupy any such vocation, office, degree, ministry, room or service."¹¹

The bishops not only relied upon civil law, but also used the strength of canon law to substantiate their influence on education. They frequently sent inquiries to the parish clergy regarding the educational situation as a whole in the various communities; and usually definite information was sought about the religious convictions and practices of all those who taught children either publicly or privately. In 1580, the Archbishop of Canterbury was so concerned about the number of schoolmasters who were "falling off" from the established religion of the realm that he was moved to write a letter to the bishops urging them to examine all who taught and those who were found to be "corrupt or unworthy" were to be replaced by "fit and sound persons."¹²

Just what measure of success the Church of England had in removing undesirable instructors in a given period of time it is difficult to ascertain; however, the evidence leads one to the conclusion that, although the clergy was having its difficulties with the non-conforming schoolmasters, the situation was at the time of the settlement of

¹¹ Ibid., 57-58.

¹² Cornelius Heatwole. A History of Education in Virginia. New York: Macmillan Co., 1916, 9.

Virginia "well in hand."

By way of summary, the program of the Church pertaining to the local schoolmaster was three-fold: first, he was to be doctrinally orthodox, which was verified by the second step; namely, he was to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles; and lastly, he was to take the oath of supremacy.¹³

Thus it is seen that, when the administrative and doctrinal ties with Rome were cut and the Crown was declared to be the Head of the Church of England, the churchmen lost no time in asserting the continuance of the policy of ecclesiastical control of education.¹⁴

As might be expected the concern of the Church did not limit itself to the mere supervision of the teaching personnel. It also reached into the internal organization of the schools, setting forth the acceptable curriculum. However, since this is not the subject of this paper, there is no need to deal more fully with the schools of England. The value of this brief consideration of the interest of the Episcopal Church in education will be realized more clearly as the unfolding of this system is seen in the New World.

¹³ Wood, 75.

¹⁴ Watson, 71.

CHAPTER II

ANGLICANISM TRANSPLANTED

That the Episcopal Church was in the early years of the seventeenth century interested in the colonization of America and aware of the dawning of a new era is evidenced by the fact that one of the original petitioners of a charter from James I, which was granted in April, 1606, was an Episcopal minister, named Reverend Robert Hunt;¹ and also the interest by the Episcopal Church is noted by the closing words of a sermon delivered by John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, to the members of the Virginia Company. Said he:

Those among you that are old now, shall pass out of this world with this great comfort, that you contributed to the beginning of the Commonwealth and the Church, although not to see the growth thereof to perfection; Apollos watered, but Paul planted; he that begun the work was the greater man. And you that are young men may live to see the enemy as much impeached by that place, and your friends, yea, children, as well accommodated in that place as any other. You shall have made this island, which is but as the suburbs of the Old World, a bridge—a gallery to the New, to join all to that world that shall never grow old, the kingdom of Heaven.²

¹ Francis L. Hawks. Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America. New York: Harper & Bros., 1836, I, 17.

² Quoted by Edward D. Neill. Memoir of Rev. Patrick Copland. New York: Chas. Scribner & Co., 1871, iv.

Sometime before the Virginia Company set sail for America, James I issued a document in which the roll of the Church was clearly stated.

That the said presidents, councils, and the ministers, should provide that the Word and Service of God be preached, planted and used, not only in the said colonies, but also, as much as might be, among savages bordering among them, according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England.³

Although the colonizing interest of the Virginia Company of London was in large measure motivated by the desire of the settlers and stockholders to realize a commercial profit on their investments, it is of interest to note that the religious factor played no small part in their venture. In a tract entitled, A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation, which the Virginia Company published in 1609, it was stated that the primary objective of the Company was not to make profits for their stockholders or even to add to the honor of England, but

to preach and baptize into the Christian Religion, and by propogation of the Gospell, to recover out of the armes of the Devell, a number of poore and miserable soules, wrapt up into death, in almost invincible ignorance; to endeavour the fulfilling and accomplishment of the number of the elect, which shall be gathered out all corners of the earth; and to add one myte to the Treasury of Heaven.⁴

³James S.M. Anderson. History of the Church of England in the Colonies. 4 volumes. Waterloo Place: Rivingtons, 2nd Edition, 1856, I, 166.

⁴Robert H. Land. Henrico and Its College. Reprint from William and Mary College Quarterly, xviii, no. 4, October 1938, 470.

The English writer, Robert Gray, in the following words called upon his countrymen not to lose sight of the Christian motive in promoting the colony of Virginia:

Farre be it from the hearts of the English that they should give any cause to the world, to say that they sought the wealth of that Countrie above or before the glorie of God, and the propogation of his Kingdome.⁵

It appears as though the officials of the Company believed that, because the religious element was so much an integral part of their enterprise, they were justified in taking possession of the Indians' land; and that they were also justified in expecting every Christian Englishman to contribute to the support of the settlement. One English pastor was so impressed with the Christian tenor of the new colony that he called upon his parishoners to support it with their "person, purse and prayer."⁶

In another publication of 1609, called the Nova Britannia, the officials to justify their colonists' intrusion into the Indian possessions on the ground that it was to the natives' spiritual and temporal well-being.

. . . Our coming thither is to plant ourselves in their country, yet not to supplant and root them out, but to bring them from their base condition to a far better. First, in regard to God the Creator, and of Jesus Christ their Redeemer, if they

⁵Ibid., 471.

⁶Ibid.,

will believe in him. And secondly, in respect to earthly blessings, whereof they have now no comfortable use.⁷

That these words regarding the religious factor in the colonization of Virginia were not empty gestures is evidenced by the fact that the home office of that Company in its instructions to Sir Thomas Gray in 1609, suggested that perhaps the best practical method to use would be to begin in trying to get a number of Indian children whom they could educate in the religion and manners of the English. Again, in 1612, the colonists were addressed:

And for the poor Indians what shall I say; but God, that hath many ways showed mercy to you, make you show mercy to them and theirs. . . . This is the work that we first intended, and have published to the world to be chief in our thoughts, to bring those infidel people from the worship of devils to the service of God. And this is the knot that you must unite or cut asunder before you can conquer those sundry impediments that will surely hinder all other proceedings, if this be not first preferred.

Take their children and train them up with gentleness, teach them our English tongue and the principles of religion; win the elder sort by wisdom and discretion, make them equal with your English in case of protection, wealth, and habitation, doing justice on such as shall do them wrong. Weapons of war are needful, I grant, but for defense only, and not in this case. If you seek to gain this victory upon them by strategem of war,

⁷
Ibid.

you shall utterly lose it and never come near it, but shall make your names odious to all their posterity. Instead of iron and steel, you must have patience and humility to manage their crooked nature to your form of civility.⁸

Just what measures, if any, the colonists or their pastors adopted for the training of Indian youth at the early date is not known. Parenthetically, it may be stated that one of the reasons why there is a lack of educational information from Virginia for the first ten years is that until around 1619 there were very few children--that is, white children--in the colony. That fact in turn is explained by another--namely, that there were few white women in the settlement.⁹

⁸
Ibid., 473.

⁹
Heatwole, 27.

CHAPTER III

EARLY COLONIAL ATTEMPTS IN EDUCATION

Meanwhile, in England the King was not unmindful of the educational needs of his colony in America. Accordingly, in 1617, he sent a message to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, calling upon him to invite the clergy and people under his care to assist, in a financial way, in the establishment of a Christian college in the colony.¹ That document is of special interest for two reasons: namely, that it is held to be the first announcement of an English monarch expressing any concern for the educational well-being of his overseas possessions; and then, too, it is a reliable indication that James, as Head of the English Church and nation, had solemnly accepted his Christian obligation to uphold and carry the Gospel to all his subjects.²

The king's message read:

Most Reverend Father in God, right trustie and well beloved Counsellor, Wee greeete you well. You have heard ere this time of ye attempt of diuerse Worthie men our Subjects to plant in Virginia (under ye warrent of our Lr es patents) People of this Kingdome, as well as far ye enlarging of our Dominions, as for propagation

¹Edward Neill. "The Earliest Effort to Promote Education in English North America," Macalaster College Contributions. 2nd Series, No. 2, 1892, 61.

²Anderson. I, 255.

of ye Gospell amongst Infidells; wherein there is good progress made, and hope of further increase: so as the undertakers of that Plantation are now in hand wth the erection of some Churches and Schooles for ye education of ye children of those Barbarians wch cannot but be to them a very great charge, and aboue the expense wch for ye civill plantation doth come to them. In wch wee doubt not but that you and all others who wish well to the increase of Christian Religion will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the zeal and devotion of our well minded Subjects, especially those of ye Clergie. Wherefore Wee doe require you, and hereby authorize you to write yor Letters to ye severall Bishops of ye Dioceses in yor Province that they doe giue order to thes Ministers, and other zealous men of their Diocese, both by their owne example in contribution, and exhortation to others, to moue our people within their several charges, to contribute to so good a Worke in as liberall a manner as they may, for the better aduancing whereof our pleasure is that those Collections be made in all the particular parishes four severall tymes, within these two years next coming: and that the seuerall accounts of each parish, together wth the moneyes collected, be retourned from time to time to ye Bishops of ye Dioceses, and by them be transmitted half yearly to you: and so to be delivered to the Treasurer of that Plantation, to be employed for the Godly purpose intended, and no other.³

Encouraged by the favorable response to the King's appeal the Virginia Company in November 1618 (at which time the Colony covered an area of about 70 miles along the James River and had a population of

³
Ibid., 255-256.

around 2000, of which 600 were white⁴), sent the following letter to America.

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, moral virtue, civility, and for other godliness, we do therefore, according to a former grant and order, hereby ratify and confirm and ordain that a convenient place be chosen and set out for the planting of a university at the said Henrico in time to come, and that in the meantime preparation be there made for the building of the said college for the children of the infidels, according to such instructions as we shall deliver. And we will and ordain that ten thousand acres, partly of the land they impaled, and partly of the land within the territory of the said Henrico, be allotted and set out for the endowing of the said university and college with convenient possessions.⁵

The guiding hand in this move was Sir Edwin Sandys who, when the Virginia Company was reorganized in April 1619, became its presiding officer and treasurer. Sir Edwin played an active part in the proposed policies for the school at Henrico. It was he who persuaded his colleagues to set aside a thousand acres of the future college for the training of Indian children and to allot the remaining nine thousand

⁴Alexander Brown. The First Republic in America. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898, 328.

⁵Neill. "Education in English North America". 15-16.

acres for the education of the children of the English settlers.⁶

By the summer of 1619, the clergy of England had already received from their parishoners the sum of 1500 or about \$7500 which was handed over to the treasurer of the Virginia Company for the erection of the College and University at Henrico. One of the most energetic solicitors of funds was Dr. King, the Bishop of London, who is credited with having raised about two-thirds of the churchmen's contribution. In recognition of his efforts, Dr. King was made a member of the Virginia Company and its Council.⁷

Besides the moneys that were formally collected from each diocese, the Virginia Company received a number of generous donations from individuals in the form of moneys, books and various articles for the school chapel.

Although the response to the appeal for funds for the erection of a Christian school for the training of Indian and English children in the colony was generous and the Virginia Company's interest in establishing a school was sincere, nevertheless, officers of the Virginia Company deemed it best to put off the actual erection of the college at Henrico for the time-being. Sir Edwin, who was the initiator of that step, got his colleagues to agree to a plan whereby some of the funds

⁶ Herbert B. Adams. "The College of William and Mary," Circulars of Information for the Bureau of Education. Washington, D.C.: Gov't. Printing Office, No. 1, 1887, 11.

⁷ Edward L. Goodwin. The Colonial Church in Virginia. London: A.R. Mobery & Co., 1927, 54.

the Company had received would be spent to send fifty good men to cultivate and take up their residence on the college property. It was decided by Sir Edwin and the newly created College Committee that the fifty tenants would receive as their wage one-half of what they made off the land. The other half, which was estimated at 500, was to be set aside for the annual endowment of the future school.⁸

The above mentioned College Committee was made up of some of the worthiest members of the Virginia Company. They were Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir John Wolstenholmes, Mr. Deputy Farrar, Dr. Anthony, and Dr. Gulstone.⁹ In spite of the fact that Sir Edwin was not a member of the Committee, yet he apparently directed its policy.¹⁰ For instance, it was his opinion and the opinion of the members of the Committee that the majority of the proposed fifty tenants be unmarried men and also that they be not only farmers but tradesmen, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, and the like.¹¹ It was also recommended that a clergyman be sent along with the tenants. For his services, the minister was to receive free transportation, a servant, fifty acres of land, and 40 stipend per year.¹² Evidence is not available showing whether or not this last recommendation was carried out. In August 1619, the English ship, Bona

⁸ Anderson. I, 256.

⁹ William Stith. The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia. New York: Reprinted for Joseph Sabin, 1865, 163.

¹⁰ Ibid., 163.

¹¹ Land, 477.

¹² Ibid.

Nova, which had been chartered by the Virginia Company, set sail for America with the fifty College tenants among the passengers.

Prior to the sailing of the Bona Nova, a meeting of signal historical importance was taking place in the Episcopal church of Jamestown, Virginia--namely, the first legislative assembly of North America, which was in session from July 30 to August 4, 1619.¹³ In response to the invitation of Governor Yeardley, twenty-two elected burgesses from the eleven towns, plantations, and hundreds were present. The names of the localities represented and the men who were the spokesmen "of all the English race then in America", were:

For James City: Capt. William Powell, and
Ensign William Spence.
For Charles City: Samuel Sharp, and
Samuel Jordan.
For the City of Henricus (Dutch Gap): Thomas
Dowse, and John Polentine.
For Kiccowtan (Hampton): Capt. William
Tucker, and William Capp.
For Smythe's Hundred: Capt. Thomas
Graves, and Walter Shelley.
For Martin's Hundred: John Boys, and
John Jackson.
For Argall's Guifte: Capt. Thomas
Pawlett, and Mr. Gourgaing.
For Flower dieu Hundred: Ensign
Rosingham, and Mr. Jefferson.
For Lawn's Plantation (Isle of Wright):
Capt. Christopher Lawne, and Ensign
Washer.
For Ward's Plantation: Capt. Warde,
and Lieutenant Gibbs.

¹³ Edgar L. Pennington. The Church of England in Colonial Virginia.
Hartford, Connecticut: Church Missions Publication Co., 1937 &
1938, 23.

For Martin's Plantation: Thomas Davis,
and Robert Stacey.¹⁴

When the meeting was called to order on July 30, there were two Episcopal pastors present who "added the dignity of the clergy to the Assembly." They were the Reverend William Wickham of Henrico and the Reverend Richard Bucks who was the pastor of the church in which the Assembly met.¹⁵ During the six days that the Assembly was in session, twelve of the thirty-four acts that were passed were concerned with "matters of morality, of religion, or of Church discipline." This fact is of interest since it removes the

frequently assumed attitude that the early planters of Virginia were godless and un-moral men, and that the laws for the regulation of their moral conduct and religious worship were imposed upon them from without and were not framed and adopted by themselves and of their own free volition.¹⁶

The Assembly was sympathetic toward the movement for the establishment of the proposed schools at Henrico. As an indication of its cooperation in the Church's "plan for educating Indian children and drawing from them a native ministry," it declared

that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion, each town, city, Borough, and particular plantation do

¹⁴W.R. Garrett. History of the First Legislative Assembly Ever Convened in America. (n.d.), 12, 13.

¹⁵Ibid., 17f.

¹⁶Goodwin, 50.

obtaine unto themselves by just means a certine number of the natives' children to be educated by them in true religion and civile course of life--of which children the most towardly boyes in witt and graces of nature to be brought up by them in the first elements of litterature, so to be fitted for the College intended for them that from thence they may be sent to that work of conversion.¹⁷

The months following the arrival of the College tenants at Henrico saw the initiation of two more educational projects in Virginia under the auspices of the Virginia Company of London. The first of these two ventures was planned for Smythe's Hundred as a "feeder" to Henrico College.¹⁸ This project, which was the first attempt to establish a free school for Indians in America, was initiated by the generosity of an Englishman whose identity is not known.¹⁹

It was proposed that the students be enrolled at the age of seven years, and until they were twelve years, they were to be given instruction in the Christian religion and in reading English; from their twelfth year until they were twenty-one years of age they were to be taught some trade.²⁰ Unfortunately, this worthy ideal was unable to

¹⁷Goodwin, 55.

¹⁸Ibid., 61.

¹⁹Philip A. Bruce. Institutional History of Virginia. New York & London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, I, 1910, 344.

²⁰Ibid.

stimulate the enthusiasm of either the colonists or the officials in London; therefore, it came to nothing.²¹

The other educational venture of the Virginia Company was the plan for the erection of the first elementary free school for white children exclusively in Virginia.²² That institution, which was called East India School, was the dream of an Episcopal clergyman, the Reverend Patrick Copland, an English chaplain of the merchantship, Royal James.²³ It must be remembered that up until about 1619, when the Virginia Company of London began sending English orphans²⁴ and also some prospective brides to Virginia, the colony was made up of unmarried Englishmen²⁵. In 1621, Chaplain Copland, who by his friendship with Sir Thomas Dale had become impressed with the need of churches and schools in the American colony, had so interested some of the ship's passengers and the members of the crew in the needs of Virginia that they contributed some 70 which they asked him to deliver to the Virginia Company to be used either toward the building of a church or a school. Copland was so moved by the fine response of the people to the needs of Virginia that he began writing letters to his friend in India, urging them to send what moneys they could in order to advance

²¹Louis B. Wright. The First Gentlemen of Virginia. San Marno, California: The Huntington Library, 1940, 99.

²²Bruce, 346.

²³Hawks, I, 38.

²⁴Heatwole, 27.

²⁵Mary Schuyler Phillips. Colonial Virginia. For the Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio, 1915, 29.

the Christian cause. ²⁶

Because of his consideration and desire to promote the welfare of Virginia, the officials of the Virginia Company of London saw fit to make Chaplain Copland a free brother of the Company and also to further reward him with a grant of land.

On October 30, 1621, a committee which had been appointed by the members of the Virginia Company, met with Mr. Copland to consider the most profitable way to employ the funds he had solicited. Minutes of this particular meeting read as follows:

It beinge, therefore, nowe taken into consideration whither a Church or a Schoole was most necessarie, and might nearest agree to the intencons of the Donors: It was conceaued that forso-much as each pticular plantacon, as well the generall, either had or ought to have a Church appropriated unto them, there was therefore a greater want of a Schoole than of Churches:

They therefore conceaued it most fitt to resoluue for the erectinge of a publique free schoole, wch, being for the educacon of Children and groundinge of them in the principles of religion. Ciuility of life and humane learninge seemed to carry with it the greatest weight and highest consequence unto the plantacons as that whereof both Church and Comon wealth take their originall foundacon and happie estate, this beinge also like to proue a work most acceptable unto the Planters, through want whereof they haue bin hitherto

²⁶ Edward D. Neill. History of the Virginia Company of London.
Albany, New York: Joel Munsell, 1869, 251.

constrained to their great costs to
send their Children from thence hither
to be taught.²⁷

The same committee declared that the school should be located at Charles City, which was not far from Henrico, and that it should be dependent upon the university that was to be established at Henrico. They also recommended that 1000 acres be set aside for the school and that the colonists be asked "to put their helping hands towards the speedy building of the said schools."²⁸

Interest increased and definite plans concerning the East India School were laid. By spring of 1622, the Virginia Company had sufficient funds to send a Mr. Leonard Hudson, a competent carpenter, accompanied by five other tradesmen or apprentices, to build the first English schoolhouse in Virginia.²⁹ Copland and the Virginia Company committee spent a considerable amount of effort in their search for the best kinds of curriculum material and for the most capable principal and teacher for the school. Concerning the former, a special grammar textbook, entitled "A consolation of our Grammar Schools," was designed by a prominent English clergyman and teacher, Mr. John Brinsley,³⁰ the brother-in-law of Bishop Hall. This textbook was to

²⁷ Ibid., 254.

²⁸ Ibid., 255.

²⁹ Ibid., 309.

³⁰ Pennington, 26.

be used by

all those of the inferiour sort and
all rude countries and places, namely,
for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the
Sommer Ilands . . . for the more speedy
attaining of our English tongue: . . .
for the perpetual benefit of these our
Nations, and of the churches of
Christ.³¹

After a lengthy search for a competent teacher in England, it was
decided to allow the colonists to choose one from among themselves.³²
Before the master would be acceptable, however, the Virginia Company
stipulated that he was to have been licensed by the Governor of
Virginia.³³ In addition to supplying the schoolmaster and all the
necessary books for the students, the committee offered to give the
schoolmaster 100 acres of land after he had served five years.

By the end of February 1622, the ground work for an energetic
educational program in America was rather well laid. Captain George
Thorpe and his tenants were busy getting things in shape at Henrico,
making good use of contracted builders.³⁴ Meanwhile, the Reverend
Patrick Copland, who had just been appointed rector of the intended
college, was realizing his dreams in that carpenters were already
working on the East India Grammar School at Charles City.³⁵

³¹Neill, "Education in English North America," 72.

³²Neill. Virginia Company, 309.

³³Neill. "Education in English North America," 77.

³⁴Neill. Virginia Company, 330.

³⁵Land, 489.

So it was that in 1622 the first major step in the field of education in North America was about to be taken. Thus, through the united efforts of the King, the Churchmen, the Virginia Company of London, and the Colonists there were about to be established the first free preparatory school for white children, "a college for the education of Indians, and a seminary of learning for the English."³⁶ Unfortunately, by early spring, these institutions, which were founded on spiritual considerations and which gave promise of being a blessing to both natives and whites, received the first of two death blows--namely, the Indian massacre on March 22, 1622, at which time both Henrico and Charles City were nearly wiped out by fire.³⁷ Among the 347 colonists who were killed was George Thorpe and sixteen college tenants.³⁸ The second, and perhaps the severest blow to these educational projects, was delivered on June 16, 1624 when the King dissolved the Virginia Company of London.³⁹ Although brief mention of these schools are to be found in various records of the colony for the next few years, for all practical purposes, the first Christian schools of North America were dead.⁴⁰

³⁶ Stith, 163.

³⁷ Goodwin, 69.

³⁸ Pennington, 27.

³⁹ Land, 496.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 497.

CHAPTER IV

THE VIRGINIAN ENVIRONMENT INTO WHICH EDUCATION CAME

There is almost unanimous agreement among authorities as to the facts that have thus far been presented. Unfortunately, the authorities are not in such total accord as to the spirit, strength, and provisions that the Virginians made for education during the following 150 years. Upon investigation, the writer is brought to question the position of those whose conclusions are similar to that of Worthington Ford, who declares that the few traces of actual educational institutions make it seem probable that the highly rated colonial culture of the Virginians was in part fictitious.¹ If one were to be so unhistorical as to attempt to measure the accomplishments of Virginia's colonial educational system with the standard of a later period, she would quite naturally be at a great discount, but measured by the educational standards of colonial times, she was not in the least inferior to colonies of New England.² In so speaking of Virginia, it is not to be implied that every community was supplied with a school. It is

¹Worthington C. Ford. "Education in Colonial Virginia," The Nation Magazine. New York: J.H. Richards & Co., Nov. 6, 1890, 357.

²William and Mary Quarterly Historical Magazine. Edited by Lyon G. Tyler. Williamsburg, Virginia: William and Mary College, 1st Series, 1892, 74.

unlikely that such was the case in any of the colonies. The fact that there was no such abundance of educational facilities in Virginia is accounted for by several factors—some brought over from England and others local and not by reason of an attitude of indifference toward education.

Bruce has stated that Virginia, more than any other colony, had so transplanted into her soil the social, political, and educational traditions of the mother country that it was "as if some English county had been moved bodily overseas."³ It took generations for the Virginians to make any drastic changes.⁴ Chief among the educational traditions that the Virginians inherited was the conviction that there was a sacred bond between the Church and the school and that the entire educational program (in every parish) should be permeated with a religious bias.⁵ Another English heritage that found expression in the colony was the different types of schools, such as the parson's school, the endowed Free School, and the "small pay" school, which was sometimes the product of the tutorial system. Still another was the parish system.⁶

³Philip Bruce. History of Virginia (1607-1763) I. Chicago & New York: The American Historical Society, 1924, 277.

⁴Edward Ingle. "Local Institutions of Virginia," Johns Hopkins University Studies III. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, Feb.-Mar. 1885, 15.

⁵Edgar W. Knight. Public Education in the South. New York: Ginn & Co., 1922, 12.

⁶Charles M. Andrews. Colonial Folkways. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921, 133.

Colonial Virginia's inadequate educational facilities, for its people cannot in justice be laid to the blame of the Established Church for any such reason as that it bred an "aristocratic and selective" conception of education, which was based on the belief that the common folk were created to work and not to think.⁷ If one is to see clearly the basic reasons for such meagre provisions for wide-spread education, there must be a recognition of certain local factors. No local factor was more instrumental in creating such a condition than the plantation system. That system was influential, not only in determining the educational tenor of the colony, but was the factor that most effectively invaded every sphere of its corporate life. In fact, the foundation of the corporate life of Virginia was an economic—the tobacco plantation—and not a political one—such as the village.⁸ Tobacco was the key to wealth and prestige. It built the political structure, drew sharp lines of social distinction, and moulded the religious and educational life of the colony.⁹ For many years, tobacco was the major produce that was used as legal tenure and, as such, was given to the parish minister as part of his stipend.¹⁰

⁷ Edgar W. Knight. Education in the United States. New York: Ginn & Co., 1930, 64.

⁸ Bruce, History of Virginia, 273.

⁹ Knight, Education in the United States, 62.

¹⁰ Alice Morse Earle. Child Life in Colonial Days. New York: Macmillan Co., 1909, 69.

The inevitable result of the plantation system was the formation of a rural society with all the usual accompanying factors—such as a scattered population, few sizeable towns, absence of community government, plus the institution of white and negro servitude.

Towards the close of the 17th century an "advisive narrative" was sent from Virginia to the Bishop of London, who was also the spiritual overseer of the colonies. The unknown author of that letter was concerned about the harm the colony was inflicting upon itself and the Church through neglecting to provide adequate school facilities of a greater number of its children, and he acknowledged the reason for such neglect in these words: "This lack of schools in Virginia is a consequence of their scattered planting. It renders a very numerous generation of Christian children born in Virginia . . . unserviceable for any great Employment in Church or State."¹¹ These several local factors were the greatest obstacles to any enthusiastic promotion of universal education in colonial Virginia.¹²

Appropriate for consideration now are the kinds of settlers that came to early Virginia. It is of interest to note that before the landing of the Pilgrims in New England the colonists of Virginia had built home and churches and shops in Jamestown, begun farming, made some efforts to establish schools, convened a legislative Assembly,

¹¹ Ibid., 66.

¹² Knight, Education in the South, 22.

instituted trial by jury and election by ballot.¹³ The early settlers left a worthy heritage. After the massacre of 1622, the population of the colony was only about 1250;¹⁴ by 1642, it was 15,000; by 1670, it was 38,000; by 1700, it was 70,000;¹⁵ and by the time of the Revolutionary War, it had reached 500,000.¹⁶ The bulk of that population consisted of English, Scotch, Irish, French, Italian and Dutch.¹⁷ Such remarkable increases in population were due to several particular causes.

A large percentage of the increase that occurred between 1642 and 1670 was brought about by the entrance into Virginia of those staunch supporters of the Stuarts, who found themselves unable to submit to the dictates of Cromwell. Many who came at that time were of the finest social and intellectual calibre.¹⁸ Fortunately, such persons did not wait for times of distress before they came to the colony. Among the various inducements that Virginia offered that class of

¹³Tyler's Quarterly Historical & Genealogical Magazine. Edited by Mrs. Lyon G. Tyler. Charles City, Virginia: Holdcroft Post Office, 1919- , X, 26.

¹⁴Thomas J. Wertenbaker. Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia: Published by the Author, 1910, 150.

¹⁵Phillips, 33, 38.

¹⁶Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Edited by Clayton Terrence. Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Historical Society, 1893, XXXVIII, 398.

¹⁷R.A. Brock. The Colonial Virginian. Richmond, Virginia: William Ellis James, 1891, 6, 10.

¹⁸Phillips, 33.

Englishman, the following were the most powerful: its loyalty to the Crown, its comparative freedom from religious unconformists,¹⁹ the fertile land, the reasonable price of land, and the opportunities for wealth that the sale of tobacco offered to those who were industrious.²⁰

During the 17th century, in particular, a sizeable percentage of Virginia's population was composed of Scotsmen of no small social standing.²¹ When, in time, those immigrants became the leading citizens of the colony, they undoubtedly sought to foster certain lines of social distinction, which in some measure lasted well beyond the colonial period. However, such class differences that were fostered did not attain to the same degree of contrast as those that were practised in England and in some of the other colonies. The fact that, in 1736, the majority of Virginians were enjoying the privilege of suffrage, is a sound indication that the aristocratic element was not in complete control of the colony²² as was the case in Massachusetts.²³

For the most part, the members of the Virginian upper class either made their fortunes or retained them through the sale of the magic plant, tobacco, which was grown on their large estates. Although there

¹⁹Bruce, History of Virginia, I, 276.

²⁰Knight, Education in the United States, 61.

²¹Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 295.

²²William and Mary Quarterly, XIX, 1st Series, 68.

²³Ibid., VII, 1st Series, 66.

were energetic members of the upper social strata in the colony from its earliest days, for about the first one hundred years there was no marked contrast between their mode of living and that of the smaller planters in their communities.²⁴ They did not live in baronial splendor. They were simply farmers who, because of the size of their fields, found it necessary to maintain several white or negro servants to cultivate the crops.²⁵

During that first century, there were very few beautiful private homes or churches or public buildings. That is perhaps best accounted for by the newness of the settlement, the danger of Indian uprisings, and the time and energy spent in working in the fields.²⁶ Although bricks were manufactured very early and used in the colony, the abundance of timber made it the choice of both the rich and poor throughout most of the colonial period.²⁷ From about the beginning of Virginia's second century until the Revolutionary War—the period known as the Golden Era—the wealthy planters began increasing their acreage, purchasing more negro slaves and improving their estates.²⁸ Throughout that period their concern for stateliness and ornamentation of their

²⁴Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 110.

²⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VIII, 442.

²⁶Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 110.

²⁷Ibid., III.

²⁸Thomas J. Wertenbaker. The Old South. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942, 29.

properties was not much less than that of the European nobility.²⁹ In spite of the fact that many acres did separate the Virginian planters from close association with their neighbors and so tended to nurture a spirit of independence, nevertheless, their interests were not confined to their particular estates but were as extensive as their county.³⁰ It is likely that such necessary isolation explains in part the warm spirit of hospitality that the Virginians are said to have extended to all guests. Therefore, it can be seen that, although the wealthy Virginian planters were probably the most conservative³¹ and loyal subjects of the King and the Established Church in the American colonies³² and, although their contact with the mother country was frequent and, although they sought to inculcate into the life of the colony many of the old country customs and divisions, the plantation system interfered with a perfect imitation of England.³³ The large plantations and scattered population were in sharp contrast with the congested rural districts of the Isles, and the absence of an active community life made such familiar organizations as the coffee house, political club and literary society impractical.³⁴ It was not until the colonial period

²⁹Wertebaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 110.

³⁰Edward Eggleston. The Transit of Civilization from England to America in the Seventeenth Century. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1901, 288.

³¹Ibid., 276.

³²Bruce, History of Virginia, 166.

³³Bruce, History of Virginia, 166.

³⁴Ibid.

was drawing to a close that the plantation system was replaced by the growth of cities.³⁵

These men, living on scattered plantations were the ones who influenced not only the political and social activities of Virginia, but also had a considerable share in the direction of the life of the parish churches largely through the offices of vestrymen and churchwardens.

Within ten years after the original colonists had established themselves in the vicinity of the James River, tradesmen and small independent farmers and planters from England began arriving at the port of Virginia. The coming of these settlers formed the nucleus of the middle class of Virginia. These people did not hazard the long ocean voyage out of any spirit of adventure. They came to America in an effort to escape the pressure of economic limitations that was their lot in England.³⁶ The fact that the London Company and later the Crown, sought to encourage freemen to settle in Virginia by allotting from fifty³⁷ to one hundred³⁸ acres for each member of the family induced many to join the colony. Included in this middle class was a rather large number of white indentured servants who entered the colony in considerable force around the middle of the 17th century.³⁹ Many of

³⁵Ingle, 118.

³⁶Knight, Education in the South, 11.

³⁷Heatwole, 17.

³⁸Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 150.

³⁹Ibid., 155.

these persons did not come nor were they sent to America to engage in any menial tasks. The term "servant" as applied in colonial parlance referred to all types of employees, who had agreed to work under contract stipulating the length of service and kind of remuneration.⁴⁰

Of course, the term was also broad enough to include those who performed the strenuous and menial chores that had to be carried out in the colony.

Because of the opportunities for work and the low cost of land, it was not unusual for the industrious indentured servant, after his contract expired, to settle down in Virginia on a small farm of his own. Like the independent farmer who, because of the size of his family, acquired from 300 to 400 acres, the freed servant worked his land without the assistance of any hired-hands.⁴¹ Also, since the two prerequisites for the profitable cultivation of tobacco—large acreage and many workers⁴²—were beyond his means, he devoted only a small section to it and planted corn and apple and peach trees in the rest. Cows and hogs were important sources of his income.⁴³ Before negro slaves became numerous, it was not uncommon for the released servant, if he wanted to stay in Virginia and if he did not buy land, to hire out as a worker in the tobacco fields. Sometimes, he became the foreman of a wealthy

⁴⁰William and Mary Quarterly, VII, 1st Series, 66.

⁴¹Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 152.

⁴²Ibid., 156.

⁴³Ibid., 205.

planter's estate in which case he received part of the crop as his pay.⁴⁴

A rather large segment of the indentured group was made up of political prisoners who were shipped from Scotland, Ireland, and England. The introduction of these men, whose only crime was that they offended His Majesty's Government, was to the cultural advantage of the colony, in as much as they were often members of the professional and better educated set of the British Isles.⁴⁵

So it was that early in the colonial period a middle class, which was composed of independent farmers, tradesmen, merchants, and cultured or aggressive servants, was firmly established in Virginia.⁴⁶ This group was larger and was in as comfortable circumstances financially and as influential a position politically and as well supplied educationally as the middle class in Massachusetts.⁴⁷ These were the people who formed the bulk of the local congregations on Sunday, who were not without a voice in the vestry meetings of the parish, and who frequently held minor offices in the local and county administrations.⁴⁸

The third class that completed the framework of Virginia's colonial

⁴⁴Ibid., 183.

⁴⁵Heatwole, 18.

⁴⁶Ibid., 20.

⁴⁷William and Mary Quarterly, VII, 1st Series, 68.

⁴⁸Heatwole, 17.

society consisted of the lowest paid white laborers and the negro slaves.⁴⁹ Although the slave population became quite large, the fact that the slave's needs were cared for by his master made him less of a social problem for the community than the poor white. In spite of the fact that the poor whites had a difficult time of it, largely because of the employment of slave labor, which deprived them of some of their already meagre income,⁵⁰ yet, neither their number nor their condition was anything like that of the peasantry of Europe.⁵¹ Nevertheless, their living was seldom above the subsistence level. In order for them to eke out even that wretched living, it was necessary for them to endure the most severe hardships. Facing the blistering sun in the swampy mosquito infected tobacco fields was a task that proved fatal to hundreds and broke the health of thousands of their number.⁵²

Some indication that these poor whites were not so numerous as to be startling or even as large as the similar class in other colonies is given in the recorded impressions of contemporaries of colonial Virginia. The Virginia historian, Robert Beverley, who published his book in 1705, declared that the colony was "the best poor man's country in the world"⁵³ and as evidence of that he called attention to the low

⁴⁹Ibid., 20.

⁵⁰Wertebaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 208.

⁵¹Ibid., 146.

⁵²Ibid., 170.

⁵³Robert Beverley. History and State of Virginia in Four Parts. London: R. Parker, 1705, Bk. IV, 39.

rate of the taxes that were levied to care for the poor. In 1724, the Reverend Hugh Jones, the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the College of William and Mary,⁵⁴ prepared an account of Virginia as it was then. The Reverend Mr. Jones stated that the colony was so favored with natural wealth and employment and good wages that vagrancy and poverty were at a minimum. The same authority states that the majority of the poor, who found it necessary to seek support from the parishes, were the victims of physical handicaps.⁵⁵ Just two years before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, a British officer named J.F.D. Smythe, wrote of his impressions of the Virginians that he gathered as he traveled among them from 1769 until the War.⁵⁶ His conclusion on this point was similar to that of Beverley. Said he, "The real poor class were in Virginia less than anywhere in the world."⁵⁷

Before taking up the work that the Established Church endeavoured to carry on in the interests of the education of the residents of Virginia, it will be well to consider briefly the character and position of the clergymen who served the colony during the colonial period.

Some writers have named the power of the Established Church and a poorly disciplined clergy as obstacles in the path of Virginia's

⁵⁴ Goodwin, 341.

⁵⁵ Hugh Jones. The Present State of Virginia. London: J. Clarke, 1724, 48 Passim.

⁵⁶ Tyler's Magazine, VIII, 7.

⁵⁷ William and Mary, VII, 1st Series, 75.

spiritual as well as educational progress. While such an indictment may be sustained by pointing to the careless living of certain churchmen and measuring that conduct by the standards of the 20th century, yet, on the whole, it seems to be too much of an over-all condemnation and certainly too harsh a judgment of the spirituality or the educational interests of the majority of churchmen. On the other hand, a refutation of such a condemnation of the Church in Virginia does not deny the presence of some unworthy men within its ranks nor does it fail to recognize that there were times when the spiritual health of that Church was none too vigorous. That Virginia was founded in the time of irreligion and spiritual paralysis in some measure explains the presence of some of that type of clergymen in the colony.⁵⁸ Dr. Goodwin, an Anglican, made a thorough and honest effort to search out the merits and demerits of the clergy of his Church who were assigned to serve the diocese of Virginia in the colonial period. Of the 600 Episcopal clergymen, whom he named and whose activities he was able to determine, less than 40 were charged with conduct unbecoming a pastor.⁵⁹ If these figures are truthful, it is unreasonable to speak of the colonial clergy as being disreputable. It is unfair to magnify the unspirituality of such a small number of men so as to besmear the reputation of the whole body of the Virginia clergy that served commendably during the 175 years of the

⁵⁸ Goodwin, 92.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 245-340.

colonial period.⁶⁰ Although it is clearly evident that the Virginia clergy, who were ardent conformists, were not as emotional in their pastoral ministrations as the evangelical pastors of the New England colonies, that in itself is no indication of a lack of spirituality or concern for the souls of their parishoners.⁶¹ C. G. Chamberlayne, writing in the William and Mary Quarterly, has challenged those critics who contend that the colony's Colonial Church was a spiritual failure to account for the spirituality of the leaders of the Revolutionary era, 90% of whom, he declares, received all their Christian training from Episcopal churches in the colony. He also asks them to account for the cordial reception that was accorded the preachers of the Great Awakening of the 1740's.⁶²

In as much as the clergy and laity of the Episcopal Church had been thoroughly trained since youth to look to the Bishops for guidance, strength and encouragement in their spiritual life, the Established Church in colonial Virginia suffered a loss as the consequence of being 3000 miles removed from the residence of its spiritual advisor, the Bishop of London.⁶³ The colony was without an American bishop until

⁶⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXVIII, 399.

⁶¹Ibid., 397.

⁶²William and Mary Quarterly, X, 2nd Series, 360.

⁶³Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXii, 213.

the close of the colonial period. In an effort to become better informed as to the well-being and the needs of his American diocese, in 1687, the Bishop of London inaugurated the appointment of worthy Virginia clergymen to the dignity of Commissary. Whereas, the office of Commissary as an informative agency was of value, as an effective spiritual guide or monitor, it was of little value because of poorly defined responsibility and authority.⁶⁴

Because there was no Bishop in America, the Churchmen and His Majesty's Government in England transferred to the Colonial Governors the right to induct into a parish a pastor who had been duly nominated by the vestrymen of the parish.⁶⁵ If the candidate for the parish were not already ordained, he was obliged to make the trip to England and receive his ordination at the hands of the Bishop of London.⁶⁶ Fortunately, the governors were not too abusive of their authority in this matter. Perhaps the greatest check on any attempted misuse by the governors of the right of induction was the unorthodox insistence of the Virginian vestries that they be permitted to choose or pass on the clergymen they were pledged to support.⁶⁷ As early as 1643, an Act of Assembly confirmed the vestries' right of selection and

⁶⁴Ibid., 214.

⁶⁵Ibid., 215.

⁶⁶William and Mary Quarterly, VIII, 1st Series, 82.

⁶⁷Goodwin, 93.

presentation of their pastors.⁶⁸ This authority of the vestrymen acted, not only as a safeguard against interference from the civil authorities, it was also, since the vestrymen voiced their approval or disapproval every year, an effective check upon any unworthy behaviour of the clergy.⁶⁹ Fortunately, on the whole, both governors and vestrymen were looking for and finding pastors of spiritual quality, blameless life, sound judgment and good education.⁷⁰

Intellectually, the 600 clergymen who served the more than 50 huge parishes of colonial Virginia during the colonial period were the equals of any citizen of the colony who cared to boast of his education.⁷¹ The vast majority of them possessed the finest educational training that was offered at the schools and universities of England, Scotland, and later, Virginia. In addition to that, most of them had the best social connections in their native country.⁷² Bruce states that there is no record of a native Virginian serving as an ordained pastor in the 17th century. Most of them were Englishmen.⁷³ It was not until after 1707, when the Union of Scotland and England was consummated, that the Scotch

⁶⁸ Bruce, History of Virginia, 284.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 32, 284.

⁷⁰ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXii, 210.

⁷¹ Andrews, 130.

⁷² Bruce, History of Virginia, 285.

⁷³ Ibid., 284.

pastors, who later made such a fine reputation as preachers and teachers, came to Virginia in any appreciable numbers.⁷⁴ As soon as the Divinity School of William and Mary began graduating students, the parishes looked to it for their ministers. That congregation was considered highly favored which was able to persuade a young native Virginian, who was a graduate of that seminary, to make the long trip to London under the sponsorship of the Commissary or the Governor to receive Holy Orders and to return to serve as its spiritual leader.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Brock, Colonial Virginia, 10.

⁷⁵ Goodwin, 94.

CHAPTER V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATION AFTER 1624

As the records of both Church and secular history substantiate, the clergymen of colonial Virginia did not consider that their primary task was to promote the cultural tastes of the people; nevertheless, they played no small part in keeping education and other cultural pursuits alive in the colony. These were the men who performed a commendable service to education in Virginia,¹ for they, above all else, were convinced that education was not so much a civic obligation as it was a sacred trust.

The tangible progress of the churchmen's contribution to education can be seen throughout the entire school set-up, which included such types of schools as the parish school, the apprentice system, the old field school, the free school, tutors and the private school, and The College of William and Mary.² The pastor's influence or the Church's influence as a whole on these institutions was of varying importance. In individual cases, no one can evaluate the efforts of pastors; however, in the broad sense suffice it to say that he labored in all these schools. This can be seen in a discussion of each of them.

¹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXVIII, 297.

²Ibid., XIX, 221.

The first to be discussed is the parish school.

The work and the influence of the parish ministers of early Virginia were not confined to things spiritual—unless one includes in that term a place for the concern for the secular as well as the religious instructions of the parishioners. Such was the content of that term in colonial Virginia—just as it was in England. As a whole, the pastors were looked upon as the "accredited guardians"³ of the education of the children and, as a teaching force, they were respected. Those who were conscientious in their usual ministerial obligations and diligent in the task of teaching the youngsters of their parishes, held a well-deserved high place in the minds of their parishioners. Those on the other hand, who were negligent of their responsibilities, were accorded a deserved disrespect.⁴ Fortunately, this number was very few;⁵ in fact, it was with complete confidence that the Virginians entrusted the education of their children to the parish pastors.⁶

In Virginia, the parishes were quite large. Many of them extended for 60 miles and some were nearly the size of the county.⁷ However, the clergymen of the colony sought to build, and often had built, their churches about ten to fifteen miles apart. One pastor served two or

³Earle, 67.

⁴Ingle, 58.

⁵Bruce, History of Virginia, 327.

⁶Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 332.

⁷Eggleston, 290.

more churches. The desire was to establish a church within walking distance (about eight miles) of the people of the smaller parish.⁸ It was in this vicinity that the "parson's" or parish school had its place. Since there is no information as to the exact location of these schools, it is reasonable to deduce that few, if any, school buildings were constructed. It is very likely that the class sessions were held either in some part of the church building or in the pastor's residence.⁹ It is of interest to note that many of the churches were constructed according to Grecian architecture with the approximate dimensions of 60x40, and a seating capacity of from 300 to 500.¹⁰

Because the large number of the prospective pupils of the parish school lived in such out of the way places, it was difficult and sometimes inadvisable to have a school in the neighborhood of each church. In some localities, the only ones who could attend classes were those who were fortunate enough to own horses and who could be spared from working in the fields.¹¹ Then, too, the economic situation in some families of the parishioners made it necessary for the children to help in the daily farm routine. At these seasons of the year, when it was convenient for the parishioners to send their children to school, many of the pastors were most busy. Whether or not there were regular parish

⁸ Goodwin, 88.

⁹ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 332.

¹⁰ Goodwin, 87.

¹¹ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 293.

schools in connection with the local churches, there were times when the vestries thought it the duty of the pastors to see that their parishioners' children and servants spend some time in learning. Many of the vestrymen were of the opinion that, since the churches were supported by the taxes from the parish, it was the double responsibility of their clergymen both to preach to and teach their parishioners. During those special periods, there was compulsory attendance because of the importance placed on knowing the catechism and Prayer Book. It is likely, although there is no evidence, that some of the pastors spent some time instructing their young parishioners in subjects of a secular nature. Unfortunately, in certain localities, such times of compulsory attendance were the only conditions under which many an average child received anything resembling an education.¹² It must not be understood that there was any thought during the colonial period either among the clergy or laity that the average child could claim any right to an education.¹³ Rather, education was thought of and used primarily as a means of promoting the well-being of the Church.¹⁴ It was not only the desire of the local clergy and vestries that Virginia have an ample number of parish schools, but the deep concern of the authorities of the Episcopal Church in England that provisions be made for the youth of the New World. In pursuance of that interest, the Bishop of London urged each church within the parishes in which the

¹²Goodwin, 90.

¹³Pennington, 43.

¹⁴Tyler's Quarterly, VI, 80.

pastor was otherwise engaged to encourage their lay reader to undertake to establish a school in the parish.¹⁵ This was a hope rather than a reality, for colonial Virginia was not to realize the benefits of having a school in connection with every church.

As the members of the colonial clergy saw it, the purpose of education was to build Christian character.¹⁶ When they took up the task of teaching, whether it was in their parish schools or in any other kind of school, it was not simply because they wanted a better living "for the provisions for the support of the clergy was by no means meager."¹⁷ Many of the pastors assumed the roll of teacher because they looked upon it as a Christian obligation that they were in a position to fulfill.¹⁸ The mere imparting of information was not considered by them to be the chief end of the teacher's task. Although the diligent pastor-teacher was concerned about increasing the mental horizon of his young pupils, his primary objective was to fill their minds to capacity with Christian thoughts.¹⁹ Concerning the curriculum that the clergy formulated in an effort to carry out their ideal, it must be admitted that, since they left no records or notes indicating their procedure, it can only be

¹⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII, 157.

¹⁶C. Meriwether. Our Colonial Curriculum 1607-1776. Washington, D.C.: Capital Printing Co., 1907, 14.

¹⁷Goodwin, 94.

¹⁸Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 332.

¹⁹William Meade. Old Churches and Families of Virginia. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1910, II, 489.

assumed that in order to carry out their convictions they taught the students "to believe and live as Christians,"²⁰ to read some passages from the Bible and Prayer Book, to write in a simple hand, and other rudimentary subjects. The supplies that were recommended by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an auxiliary of the Episcopal Church, and which were available to the pastors who conducted parish schools were the Primers, hornbooks, A.B.C. books, spellers, catchisms, Psalters, Bibles and the manual, "The Whole Duty of Man."²¹

With the fine support and interest of the Bishops, vestries, and parishioners and the available textbooks, one would conclude that the parish school would prosper; however, because the clergymen knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew²² and had the highest educational ideal, it did not follow that he was an efficient schoolmaster able to produce accomplished gentlemen. For instance, John Page who became one of Virginia's Governors remarked of his pastor-teacher, the Reverend William Yates (pastor of Abingdon Parish, in Gloucester, 1755),²³ that for an intolerably long time he had drilled his students out of Lilly's Grammar and there was not a sentence of it which the teacher explained.²⁴ On the other hand, there were those who resembled the Reverend James Willson of

²⁰ Knight, Education in the South, 27.

²¹ Ibid., 26.

²² Eggleston, 287.

²³ Wm. S. Perry, Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, Hartford, Conn.: Church Press Co. 5 Vols. 1870-1878, I, 429.

²⁴ Wertenbaker, The Old South, 31.

whom the people had high esteem as a teacher, for in 1658 his parishioners employed him to instruct their children. As an expression of their faith in his ability they furnished him with a leased home to be used as a schoolhouse.²⁵ Thus, it was with these characteristics that the parish schools endeavoured to meet the educational needs of Virginia.

As is to be expected, there were within each parish dependent children who, had it not been for the churches, would have realized no educational opportunities. Being aware of this, the parish vestries throughout the colony endeavored to provide some sort of solution by the way of apprenticeships. This system was an heritage from England and was as effectively put into action by the powerful Virginia vestries as it was in England. Under this system, the vestries shared with the county courts²⁶ the roll of welfare agencies for orphans²⁷ and the children of the poor;²⁸ and for that purpose the vestries were permitted to collect taxes.²⁹ In the eyes of both Church and County officials chief among the items that made the general welfare of the children was education. In the case of an orphan, if the child was left without sufficient funds, he became the ward of the vestry or County Court which in turn placed him in a respectable family in which he was to serve and

²⁵ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 333.

²⁶ Beverley, Bk. IV, 25. William and Mary Quarterly, X, 1st Series, 209.

²⁷ Wm. W. Hening, The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619. Richmond, Va.: 13 Vols., 1819-1823.

²⁸ Ibid., II, 298.

²⁹ William and Mary Quarterly, V, 1st Series, 219.

to learn a trade.³⁰ Invariably, the vestry insisted on the fulfillment of the Apprenticeship Laws under which the family was obliged to see to it that the child be given some instructions "in the Christian religion and in the rudiments of learning."³¹ In the case of the child, who inherited more than enough money or property to supply his living expenses, the vestry or the court saw to it that he received as much education as his funds afforded.³² All assigned guardians were required by law to render a strict account of all moneys that were expended for the maintenance and education of the child.³³ There was another law which the churchmen had considerable influence in fashioning; that was the right to transfer the care and education of the children of disreputable parents to the courts.³⁴ Likewise, the vestries were empowered by law to care for the children of the poor in much the same manner as they cared for the orphans.³⁵ In each case, if the child had been for a reasonable length of time with a particular master and yet was found to be unable to read a portion of the Bible or to write in a legible hand, the vestry assigned the child to another home.³⁶ Though the educational opportunities

³⁰Guy F. Wells. Parish Education in Colonial Virginia. New York: Teachers College of Columbia University, 1923, 1.

³¹Hening, I, 260, 416; II, 293; III, 375.

³²Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 308.

³³Hening, I, 260.

³⁴Ibid., IV, 212.

³⁵Ibid., IV, 32; II, 298.

³⁶William and Mary Quarterly, V, 1st Series, 220.

of the average poor or dependent child was limited, it was not altogether neglected.³⁷ The records of the colonial laws and the parish vestry books show that the Virginians made an honest and earnest effort to secure and maintain for those unfortunates the benefits of a primary education.

These various instructions of the courts and the vestries are some indication that competent and experienced teachers were not uncommon in parishes.³⁸ While not all these teachers were clergymen, nevertheless, the Church kept careful supervision over them and was jealous of their religious, moral and educational qualifications. The deep concern of the Church is clearly seen by its unwillingness to entrust the care of the children of the colony to ungodly or incompetent teachers, or to those who were unfriendly to the doctrines of the Established Church. As a safeguard against such undesirables gaining entrance into the field of teaching, the Church insisted for many years that each schoolmaster and tutor hold a certificate of competency. During the early part of the colonial period, such a certificate was secured only from the Bishop of London, later from the Governor and still later from trustworthy and competent persons in the various counties.³⁹ Such a certificate or license not only testified to the holder's qualifications as an instructor, but also to his morals and conformity to the Church.⁴⁰ From time to

³⁷Wright, 116.

³⁸Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 313.

³⁹Ibid., I, 335.

⁴⁰Ibid., I, 334.

time throughout the colonial era, it was the practice of the governmental officials in England to issue proclamations to the colonists in which would be embodied some word regarding the licensing of ministers and schoolmasters. The following are such proclamations, which were issued by Lord Howard of Effingham in 1685.

Whereas the Lord Bishop of London under whose Spiritual Care this his Majesty's Plantation of Virginia is held to be out of his great Zeal and Pious desires . . . that no Minister coming under that Qualification be admitted allowed or received to read or Preach any Sermons or Lectures in any Church or Chapel within this his Majesty's Dominion unless he or they be first approved by the Bishop of London and that no School Master be permitted or allowed or any other Person or Persons instructing or Teaching Youth as a School Master so to Practise before license obtained from me. Pursuant whereto he . . . forbids any person to Officiate as a School Master without his license to be obtained by testimonials of his Character and Conformity from some⁴¹ understanding persons of the Parish.

And we do further direct that no School Master be hence forward permitted to come from England and to keep School within our Colony of Virginia without the license of the said Bishop.

And that no other person now there or that shall come from other parts be admitted to keep School without the License first had.⁴²

Besides proclamations, there were such laws enacted as the Schism

⁴¹Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XIX, 7-8.

⁴²Ibid., XIX, 342.

Act of 1714, which prohibited unlicensed persons from giving instructions in any form. The enforcement of such laws deprived the dissenters from holding teaching positions of any kind.⁴³ It is well to remember that as a whole the Virginians from the Governor down were ardent supporters of the Episcopal Church.⁴⁴ It has been estimated by Governor McLaren Brydon that at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War out of a population of approximately 500,000 not more than 16,000 were dissenters;⁴⁵ thus, by far the majority were Anglicans who would have little desire to violate such restrictions.

The next type of school for consideration is the community school, which is commonly called the Old Field School. Because it was usually located in some vacant tobacco field, it received that name. Nevertheless, there were communities that preferred to erect these school-houses on the county court property.⁴⁶ This was the most popular type of school in Virginia. Its popularity was in part the result of the combined efforts and interests of the few immediate neighbors of the school. Then, too, there the children were given the privilege of learning "upon very easie Terms."⁴⁷ Of course, not every community

⁴³ Knight, Education in the South, 25.

⁴⁴ Bruce, History of Virginia, 166.

⁴⁵ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXVIII, 398.

⁴⁶ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 332.

⁴⁷ Beverly, Bk. IV, 40.

was in a position to maintain a school. Neither would that have been wise considering that

the pupils were so widely scattered that to accomodate them all, the number of school houses to be erected would have been out of proportion to the number of children to be taught, and far in excess of what each community could have afforded to construct.⁴⁸

Like the New Englanders, the Virginians of the community in which there was a school paid for the construction or purchase of the school building and employed the teacher.⁴⁹ Thus, all the authority was in the hands of the communities and the Church's official interest was limited to the granting of licenses to teachers who met its qualifications.⁵⁰ However, since the local clergyman always considered the children of the several communities of his parish an important part of his charge, he showed a good deal of interest in the teacher and in the content and method of his teaching.⁵¹ It is well to notice that when the local pastor or another clergyman was the teacher of the Old Field School or community school, it was known as the parish school.⁵² What has already been said of the Parish school must be repeated here.

⁴⁸Brace, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 294.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Heatwole, 49.

⁵¹Clifton Johnson. Old-Time Schools and School-Books. New York: MacMillan Co., 1925, 24.

⁵²Heatwole, 50.

Because of the absence of documentary evidence, the cost of such schools to the community and to the pupils and the subjects taught are not known.⁵³ One bit of documentary evidence that has been uncovered is mentioned by Bruce. That authority states that each teacher of the community school made a contract with the parents of the pupils. One schoolmaster of York County, in 1680, charged 20 shillings a year of each student. Another, in 1689, charged 17 pounds of tobacco for one month or 50 pounds per quarter and for 5 months it was 85 pounds of tobacco.⁵⁴

The next type of school to be considered is the Free or endowed school. In contrast to the failure in the establishment of the first Free School, which was discussed in a previous chapter, there is the record of the commendable success of the Free School in Colonial Virginia. At an early date, wealthy conscientious planters, and some who were not so wealthy, gave gifts for the promotion of education of the children of those who were not poor enough to come under the jurisdiction of the Apprenticeship Laws nor well enough financially to afford to pay even the "easie Terms" of the community schools.⁵⁵

About 12 years after the fading of the dream of Chaplain Patrick Copland and 4 years before the founding of Harvard, a wealthy parishioner

⁵³Ibid., 52.

⁵⁴Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, 342.

⁵⁵Andrews, 133.

of Isle of Wright, named Benjamin Symmes, left the first legacy for the promotion of education in the English colonies.⁵⁶ According to his will, dated February 12, 1634-5, Symmes bequeathed a 200 acre estate on the Poquoson, which was between Yorktown and Point Comfort, plus the income from the sale of the produce of his live stock.⁵⁷ The provision of the will stipulated that the money that was raised from the sale of the first increase of cattle was to be used for the erection of a schoolhouse. The money raised from subsequent sales was to be used for the education of the poor children of the two adjoining parishes of Elizabeth City and Kingston.⁵⁸ Within 14 years of the founding of Symmes Free School, so many Virginians had followed his good example that one of the colonists could write to his friends in England:

I may not forget to tell you we have a free school, with two hundred acres of land, a fine house upon it, forty milch kine, and other accomodations. The benefactor deserveth perpetual mention, Mr. Benjamin Symmes, worthy to be chronicled. Other petty schools we have.⁵⁹

By 1705, the Free Schools of the colony had grown both in size and reputation. In that year, the historian, Robert Beverly, wrote of them in this agreeable vein:

⁵⁶ Neill, Virginia Carolorum, 112.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 113.

There are large tracts of Land, Houses, and other things granted to Free Schools, for the education of Children, in many parts of the Country; some of these are so large, that of themselves, they are a handson maintenance to a Master. . . . These schools have been founded by the Legacies of well inclined Gentlemen, and the Management of them, hath commonly been left to the Direction of the County Court, or to the Vestry of the respective Parishes, and I have never heard that any of those Pious Uses have been mis-apply'd.⁶⁰

The first to emulate Mr. Symmes was a physician of the same County, named Dr. Thomas Eaton, who died a few years after Symmes. Dr. Eaton's endowment of the school, which was to give an education to the children --especially the poor children--in another section of Elizabeth City County, was larger than Mr. Symmes'. It consisted of 500 acres of the finest cultivated land, 2 slaves, 12 cows, 2 bulls and 20 hogs, and a house completely furnished.⁶¹ Like Mr. Symmes, Dr. Eaton placed the supervision of his school in a Board of Trustees, which consisted of the local pastor, the church wardens, and the county.⁶² It was the task of the trustees to appoint the schoolmaster to whom they entrusted the management of the funds necessary to maintain the school.⁶³ Both of these schools served their respective parishes throughout the colonial

⁶⁰ Beverley, Bk. IV, 40.

⁶¹ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 354.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Heatwole, 46.

period and became well known. Two of the factors, which worked to bring that about, were: the pride that the Virginians took in seeing the beginnings of an effort to make the benefits of education accessible to the children of those who were in financial straits; both schools were fortunate enough to be placed in the keeping of the most respected and ablest men in the county who saw to it that the schools were manned by the finest teacher available.⁶⁴

Although the Symmes and Eaton Free Schools received a considerable amount of attention from the Virginians and later from the historians, they were not the only Free Schools in Virginia during the colonial period. Bruce, who seems to be the best informed authority on Virginia, states that it is only in the vestry books of the many parishes and the County records that one can find definite documentary evidence of the names, locations and conditions of those schools and, since a great number of them have been destroyed, much of that information is denied the historian.⁶⁵ One of the best sources of information as to the interest the colonists had in education and concerning the locations of the schools in the colonial wills. The provisions of some of those wills make it clear that there was an appreciable number of Virginians who were interested in endowing a new school or supporting one already established.⁶⁶ Heatwole records the following persons as having made such

⁶⁴ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 356.

⁶⁵ Ibid., I, 359.

⁶⁶ Ibid., I, 358.

bequests for Free Schools in their will before the 18th century.

1. In 1652, Hugh Lee made provisions for a Free School in Northumberland County.
2. In 1655, John Moon, of the Isle of Wright County, left a gift to an established school.
3. In 1666, Richard Russell, left a gift to an established school in Lower Norfolk.
4. In 1668, Mr. King left 100 acres for the establishment of a school.
5. In 1675, Henry Peasley, founded a school in Gloucester County, gave 600 acres, 10 cows and one breeding mare.
6. In 1675, Francis Pritchard, Lancaster County, gave large estate for the establishment of a school.
7. In 1685, William Gordon, of Middlesex County, left 100 acres for a school.⁶⁷

Of the wills bequeathing lands, houses, and funds, etc., for Free Schools, the following are of interest in that they make mention of the Role of the churches in those schools. The first, the will of John Yeates, a member of the Lower Parish of Nansemond County, who even before his death had established two schools, is given here in part because it is a good example of the concern of the colonists for the promotion of education and because it embodies those provisions that were most frequently stipulated in the wills of the wealthy Christian Virginians.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Heatwole, 46-48.

⁶⁸Ibid., V, 30-34.

Item. What books I have or shall give for the use of the school or schools, may be in the desks of the schoolhouse under lock and key in every schoolhouse as I have provided, that when the children have read those books they may be there ready for other children also.

Item. I give unto the lower parish, formerly so-called, when I have lived so long, ten pounds in cash, being in my desk to buy books for the poorer sort of inhabitants in the same part of the parish, as the "Whole duty of man"; also for procuring Testaments, Psalters, Primmers for my several schools before mentioned, and be immediately paid by my executor unto such trusty person as the gentlemen vestrymen living this side of Nansemond river think meet for procuring the same

Item. It is my will and desire that those gentlemen vestrymen living this side of Nansemond Parish river, may have the management of the disposal of the rents yearly, and the hire of my negroes aforesaid forever.

It is my will and desire that after this, my will is proved in court and recorded, it may also be recorded in the vestry book belonging to this side of the river as aforesaid, for readiness on occasions.⁶⁹

Some others who left their estates in the trust of the vestries of their respective parishes were:

Mrs. Mary Whaley, who died in 1742-3, gave the schoolhouse, land and about 500 to the pastor and vestrymen of Burton Parish "to teach the neediest children of the same parish . . . in the art of reading,

writing and arithmetick."⁷⁰ Mrs. Whaley founded that school, which was called "Mattey's School" before her death in memory of her son.

James Reid, 1764, gave some property to the vestry of Christ's Church Parish, Urbana County, for a Free School.⁷¹

Colonel Humphrey Hill, 1774, left 500 in trust to the pastor and vestrymen of St. Stephen's Parish, King and Queen County. The first item of the will read:

I give unto the minister, wardens, and vestrymen of the Parish of St. Stephens aforesaid, & to their successors forever, the sum of five hundred pounds in Trust, to be by them put out at interest on Land security and the Interest becoming due, or arising thereon, to be annually paid to such school masters as shall teach one or more children whose parents are unable to pay for the Instruction of such child or children themselves, and to no other use forever, to be paid by my Executors as soon as they conveniently can, and not longer than three years from the time of my decease.⁷²

Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, who later became the wife of the Reverend Mr. Smith, a President of William and Mary in 1753, endowed a very good Free school in the Upper Parish, in Isle of Wright County.⁷³

In 1702, the Reverend John Farneffold, who for more than 30 years

⁷⁰ William and Mary Quarterly, IV, 1st Series, 13.

⁷¹ Ibid., VI, 1st Series, 83.

⁷² Ibid., XVI, 1st Series, 97.

⁷³ Ibid., VI, 1st Series, 77.

was pastor of St. Stephen's Parish in Northumberland County, by his will founded a Free School in that parish.

I gave 100 acres where I now live for the maintenance of a free school and to be called Winchester schools for fower or five poore schildren belonging to ye parish and to be taught gratis & to have their dyett lodging & washing & when they can read the Bible & write a legible hund to dismiss them & take in more . . . , and for the benefit of the said school I give five cows and a Bull, six ewes, and a ram, a carthorse & cart and two breeding sowes, & that my two mulatts girles Frances and Lucy Murrey have a yeares schooling . . . , & for further encouragement of a schoolmaster, I give dyett, lodging & washing & 500 pds of tobacco & a horse, Bridle & Saddle to ride on during his stay, the place where the school is to be directed my will is to have it near my dwelling house, some part of which may serve for a school house till another may more conveniently be built. Item what schools books I have in my study I leave for ye benefitt of ye schools. Then my will is that some of my estate be sold for the maintenance of the said schoole. . . 74

In those cases where a parishioner had established a Free School before his or her death, that party usually exercised the right to engage the instructor if he desired; providing, as always, that the one chosen could meet the requirements necessary to secure a certificate of competency. Upon the death of the benefactor, such responsibility fell

⁷⁴
Ibid., XVII, 1st Series, 245.

to the offices of the church named in the will.⁷⁵ An example of that relationship between the donor and the teacher was that of Mrs. Whaley. However, when she died, the pastors and vestrymen of Burton Parish selected the teachers. Twenty-three years after the death of Mrs. Whaley, the pastor and the church board, who were the trustees of the school, advertised in the Virginia Gazette of September 14, 1766, that they were going to hold a meeting in the church at Williamsburg for the purpose of considering a schoolmaster.⁷⁶

Just a brief mention may be made concerning the children who attended these schools. Even with the purpose of the Free School being to supply the poor with the rudiments of learning, yet all the students did not enter without tuition. For instance, the Symmes School admitted some students at 3l a year. Likewise, in the Eaton School, where there was a goodly number of the pupils who received their instruction gratis, there were always present those who paid.⁷⁷

Those children of reasonably well-to-do parents in many cases received their education from tutors and private schools. This brings the discussion to the fourth type of school functioning in colonial Virginia.

No forms of education practised in the colony were more successful

⁷⁵ Ibid., VI, 1st Series, 79.

⁷⁶ Ibid., IV, 1st Series, 10.

⁷⁷ Ibid., VI, 1st Series, 76.

than the use of tutors and the private schools. One authority states that education in Virginia "was largely a private matter."⁷⁸ Because of the isolation of the wealthy Virginian's plantation home, there was a danger that his children's education would be limited only to what he himself could give. This was a real danger the intelligent Virginian wanted to avoid. The tutorial system was the answer.⁷⁹ Although the Virginians patronized the schools of England and Scotland to an extent not known in the New England Colonies,⁸⁰ there were those in the colony, who, although they desired such an education for their children were, because of the risks of the voyage and the long separation, forced to forfeit it.⁸¹ Just how many children from the colony were educated in England or Scotland is not known because of the destroyed evidence in America and in England.⁸² However, the traditional British education was quite effectively carried to the colony by the English and Scotch tutors and teachers, many of whom were clergymen of the Established Church.⁸³ In those days, it was not unusual for indentured servants to be charged with the responsibility of tutoring their master's children.

⁷⁸ Andrews, 137.

⁷⁹ Wertenbaker, Old South, 25.

⁸⁰ William and Mary Quarterly. VI, 1st Series, 172-6.

⁸¹ Bruce, History of Virginia, 286.

⁸² Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 317.

⁸³ Wright, 113.

As has already been stated, these men often had the finest educational background. Many of them proved to be competent teachers.⁸⁴ The tutors, in general, had a great influence in moulding the intellectual tastes and character of the wealthy Virginians.⁸⁵ Neither the colonists nor the tutor nor the teachers underestimated the importance of a high ethical concept.⁸⁶ A good example of this conscientiousness is seen in an advertisement placed in the Virginia Gazette by a John Walker, a newly arrived teacher from London, who was seeking students. It read in part:

. . . but as the noblest end of erudition and human attainment; he will exert his principle sic endeavors to improve their morals in proportion to their progress in learning, that no parent may repent his choice in trusting him with the education of his children.⁸⁷

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the tutor and the teacher, as in many instances, the planter permitted the tutor of his children to admit neighborhood children for a tuition fee.⁸⁸ If the planter had a large family and the neighbors were not too far away, it was customary for him to construct a private schoolhouse on his estate.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia. I, 328.

⁸⁵ Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. II, 198.

⁸⁶ Meriwether, 16.

⁸⁷ William and Mary Quarterly. VII, 1st Series, 178.

⁸⁸ Ibid., VI, 1st Series, 5.

⁸⁹ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia. I, 329.

Such an estate had Colonel Carter. On his property was a five room, two story brick schoolhouse where his sons, the tutor, and the foreman of the plantation slept during the school season.⁹⁰ In these private schools, classes were usually held daily. Some teachers were successful in securing a written agreement whereby the parent promised not to interfere with the child's studies in such a manner as requesting him to do chores during class hours.⁹¹ Also, in that contract could be found the amount of compensation to be paid, the length of the school term, whether or not the master would provide meals, lodging and laundry, and whether or not the teacher was expected to do anything other than classroom work.⁹² The customary terms of the contact were: 20, room and board, and laundry.⁹³

Since the desire for classical education for their children was often sought by the wealthy families of Virginia,⁹⁴ in the closing years of the colonial period, it was necessary for the ambitious tutor or teacher to know how to teach the classical authors if he wanted to be engaged by them.⁹⁵ Some indication of what subjects were frequently taught by these instructors is seen in an advertisement inserted in the Virginia Gazette

⁹⁰Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian, 117.

⁹¹Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 329.

⁹²Ibid., I, 324.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Wright, 116.

⁹⁵Wertenbaker, Old South, 34.

of May 2, 1771. It was paid for by a young clergyman, who was seeking a parish in which he could serve as both pastor and teacher. These are the subjects that he felt qualified to teach: Latin, Greek, French, English, Bookkeeping, Algebra, Geometry, Surveying, Fortification, Gunnery, Navigation, and the use of globes and maps.⁹⁶

As would be expected not every teacher was prepared to give instructions in all the subjects named in the above ambitious list; however, that list is valuable in that it names the subjects most popular in that day. The common texts used during the colonial period were: Lillies Latin Grammar; Comenius's Janua Linguarum Resestata; The English Rudiments; Euclid; Hodder's Arithmetic; Goldmine of the French Tongue.⁹⁷

The nature of the subjects taught in the tutorial and private schools made it an ideal position for the clergyman teacher who, in some cases, had not many years before finished his student days in a University or Seminary where such subjects were taught. Some of the clergymen of the Established Church, who rendered commendable service to Virginia by teaching in these two types of schools as listed by Goodwin⁹⁸ were:

⁹⁶ William and Mary Quarterly, VII, 1st Series, 179.

⁹⁷ Wertebaker, Old South, 25.

⁹⁸ Goodwin, 246-319. These dates indicate the times when the above mentioned clergymen assumed their clerical duties in Virginia.

Reverend Robert Andrews — 1773
 Reverend Jonathon Boucher — 1762
 Reverend Henry John Burges — 1775
 Reverend Thomas Burges — about 1750
 Reverend David Currie — 1730
 Reverend William Douglas — 1749
 Reverend William Fyfe — 1724
 Reverend James Maury — 1742
 Reverend Walker Maury — 1786
 Reverend James Pasteur — 1739
 Reverend William Proctor — 1745
 Reverend James Wilson — 1658
 Reverend William Yates — 1745

The William and Mary Quarterly⁹⁹ adds the following names:

Reverend Archibald Campbell
 Reverend Thomas Martin
 Reverend James Marye
 Reverend John Todd

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography¹⁰⁰ adds:

Reverend William Smith — 1729
 Reverend John Gemmill — 1729

Along with the advancement of primary and secondary education as it was found in Virginia went the slower development of higher education. The Indian massacre of 1622 prevented the ideal of establishing the first institution of higher education in English North America from becoming a realization; however, even in spite of this catastrophe, the desire for such an institution never completely left the Virginians. With the dissolution of the London Company in 1624, the colonists lost a staunch educational promotor. After a few years, they realized that, if they were

⁹⁹William and Mary Quarterly, VI, 1st Series, 4.

¹⁰⁰Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXII, 227.

to see a school of the college level in the colony, it would probably be established without much help from the Crown.¹⁰¹ Even though many in Virginia realized the disadvantage that their scattered and none too numerous or wealthy population laid upon them, nevertheless, by 1660 they were convinced that the colony should, could, and would support a College and Free School once such an institution was erected.¹⁰² In that year, the General Assembly, knowing the Church's need of, and sensing the desire of the people for a school of higher learning, enacted the following:

Whereas, the want of able and faithful ministers in this country deprives us of these great blessings and mercies that always attend upon the service of God, which want, by reason of our great distance from our native country, cannot in probability be always supplied from thence, Be it enacted, that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a college and free school, and that there be with as much speed as may be convenient, housing, erected thereon for entertainment of students and scholars.¹⁰³

Within a short time other enactments, relating to the proposed schools, were made by the General Assembly. Governor William Berkeley, his associates, and the people showed remarkable interest in the

¹⁰¹ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 374.

¹⁰² Ibid., I, 375.

¹⁰³ Clews, 357.

successful promotion of the project.¹⁰⁴ Earnest efforts were made to raise the needed funds through subscriptions both in the colony and in England, but to no avail.¹⁰⁵ The political and economic pressure that settled around both England and Virginia smothered the second attempt on the part of the Virginians to supply themselves with the benefits of a native school of higher learning.¹⁰⁶

After the failure of the second attempt to establish in Virginia a College of the same standing as Oxford and Cambridge, it took thirty years before conditions were such as to assure the attainment of that worthy objective. By 1690, several factors had been and were working to awaken a larger interest in higher education for the colony. These factors were: the general financial well-being of the colonists, an increase in population, the development of a sense of local pride—the desire to see the colony in possession of the best educational facilities—, and the good offices of Governor Francis Nicholson and Commissary James Blair.¹⁰⁷ To these two men go places of honor in the history of higher education in Colonial Virginia.

In the summer of 1690, the Reverend Mr. Blair, who was the Commissary of the Bishop of London, assumed the initiative in an effort to secure

¹⁰⁴William and Mary Quarterly, VI, 1st Series, 83.

¹⁰⁵Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 376.

¹⁰⁶Heatwole, 71.

¹⁰⁷Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 380.

official governmental sanction for the erection of the long awaited schools. At that time, he was immediately successful in persuading the Governor and his council, and the Convention of Clergy to adopt the proposal for a College. When the proposals were presented to the General Assembly for approval, the interest of that body was encouraging. After some delay the proposals were approved in May, 1691, and a petition to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary.¹⁰⁸ Even before the final approval of the General Assembly, conscientious individuals and organizations were endeavoring to build up a fund for the schools. Not the least conscientious of these groups was the Convention of Clergy of James City. On July 25, 1690, they sent the following letter to the Merchants of London soliciting their assistance. The letter read:¹⁰⁹

To ye Hon^{ble} Merch^{ts} of London, esp sich
as Traffick in Virginia:

Honorable Gentlemen—The Lient Govern^r,
Council, Gentry and Clergy of this Collony
being at p'sent about a Charitable design
of erecting & founding a Free Schoole &
Collegge, for the Education of our Youth,
a constant supply of our Ministry, &
p'haps a foundation for y^e Conversion of
our neighboring Heathen to y^e Christian
Faith, they have not only contributed
very liberally themselves, but being
well assured of yo^r Kind Dispositions
towards this poor Country, they have
commanded us to send y to enclosed
Breefe, & withall in their names to
entreat, not only yo^r own charitable

¹⁰⁸ William and Mary Quarterly, VI, 1st Series, 84.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., VII, 1st Series, 161.

subscripcions towards soe good a work;
 but also yo^r Intercessions wth such
 of yo^r Friends & Acquaintance as y
 know to be men of Publick Spirits, or
 to have any p'ticular respect to this
 pl. Your good example herein as it will
 be rewarded by God, soe shall never be
 forgotten by us, & we hope our Posterity
 will have occasion to bless yo^r memorys,
 & to Record your names among their first
 and chief Benefactors; Thus commending
 this pious & charitable work to God's
 blessing & yo^r Liberality,

Honble Gent: we subscribe ourselves
 Your faithfull and ready serv^{at}

James Blair, Commis:

Pat: Smith, Sur:

Sam: Eburn, Sur:

Denel Pead, Sur:

John Farenefold, Sur

Because of his unstinted efforts in the promotion of the College among
 the colonists, the General Assembly deemed the Reverend James Blair the
 most acceptable man to present their petition to the King and Queen. He
 went to England as the agent of the General Assembly of Virginia, and it
 took two years before his mission was completed.¹¹⁰ During that time, he
 lost no opportunities in making Virginia's spiritual and educational needs
 known to the English people, the royal dignitaries and to his super-
 iors.¹¹¹ When he left Virginia for England, it was the expressed wish
 of the General Assembly that, in all the features of his mission, he was
 to consider himself under the direct supervision of his superiors, the

¹¹⁰ Heatwole, 72.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.¹¹² The Reverend Mr. Blair informed these, his superiors, that the granting of Virginia's petition was vital to the spiritual growth of the Established Church in America, and he spared no effort to emphasize the advisability of having that proposed institution in the hands of men, clergy and laity, who were confirmed conformists.¹¹³ Both of these ecclesiastical dignitaries were instrumental in insuring the favorable reception of his petition.¹¹⁴ At the end of two years, all the legal transactions had been favorably concluded. The institution was to be named, The College of William and Mary, in honour of its generous benefactors. The following donations made up the original endowment of their Majesties' Government to the College:

1. 1986
2. Tax on the export of tobacco from Maryland and Virginia to other British colonies.
3. 10,000 acres of land in the Pamunkey Neck in Virginia and 10,000 acres on the Blackwater,
4. the quit-rents of the colony, which were estimated at 1000 a year.¹¹⁵

Some of the distinctiveness of the establishment of this school is noted in that it was the first corporation in America to be recognized by the royal will; it was the first English College to receive from the College of Heralds, in 1694, a coat of arms; it took rank with Oxford

¹¹² Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 385.

¹¹³ Ibid., I, 390.

¹¹⁴ Clews, 360.

¹¹⁵ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 388.

and Cambridge as "Their Majesties Royal College of William and Mary,"¹¹⁶ and like those schools it enjoyed the right to send a representative to the legislature--even though for the first ten years it was operating as a Grammar School.¹¹⁷

It was not until after Blair returned to Virginia that the General Assembly agreed upon the Middle Plantation or Williamsburg as the site of the school. Although in theory the College of William and Mary was a civic institution and its first Board of Trustees was appointed by the Legislature, which also tended the support of the school, it was nevertheless largely under the influence of the Established Church.¹¹⁸ This may be seen in the requirements insisted upon for the members of the Board. They were (1) to take the customary oaths of office, (2) to comply with the laws of England and Virginia, and (3) respect to the fullest the canons of the Episcopal Church.¹¹⁹ That a strongly religious principle motivated that institution is, perhaps, best seen in the purpose for which it was founded. That purpose as it is recorded in the official Statutes of 1727 was:

There are Three Things which the
founders of this College proposed to them-
selves, to which all its Statutes should

¹¹⁶ William and Mary Quarterly, VI, 1st Series, 84.

¹¹⁷ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 398.

¹¹⁸ Tyler's Magazine, VI, 80.

¹¹⁹ Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, I, 386.

be directed. The First is, That the Youth of Virginia should be well educated to Learning and good Morals. The second is, That the Churches of America, especially Virginia, should be supplied with good Ministers after the Doctrinal Government of the Church of England; and that the College should be a constant Seminary for this Purpose. The Third is, That the Indians of America should be instructed in the Christian Religion, and that some of the Indian Youth that are well-behaved and well-inclined, being first well prepared in the Divinity School, may be sent out to preach the Gospel to their Countrymen in their own tongue, after they have duly been put in Orders of Deacons and Priests.¹²⁰

The method formulated to perform this purpose was through the establishment of four distinctly different types of schools, which were located on the one campus. Since authorities have discussed this aspect of the College in detail, only a brief mention of these schools will be made in this paper.

First, the Grammar School, opened in 1694, and which functioned alone for the first ten years, majored in teaching young men the classical subjects in preparation for entrance in the School of Philosophy and the Divinity School.¹²¹ Second, the Indian School, founded on the endowment given by the Englishman, Robert Boyle, gave elementary instruction only to Indian Boys in reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechism.¹²² Third, the

¹²⁰ William and Mary Quarterly, VI, 1st Series, 245.

¹²¹ Heatwole, 79.

¹²² Ibid., 83.

Philosophy School, which accepted only those young men well read in the classical subjects, taught more advanced work in two fields of learning --namely, Natural Philosophy and Moral Philosophy. In the Department of Natural Philosophy, they were taught physics, metaphysics, and mathematics; in the Department of Moral Philosophy, the subjects taught were rhetoric, logic, ethics, natural and civil law.¹²³ Fourth, the Divinity School which was the Theological Seminary, trained men to be ministers in the Established Church. The classes consisted of Hebrew, Bible and discussions "of common places of divinity and the controversies with heretics."¹²⁴

Irrespective of what the school was, the Reverend Mr. Blair, who was the President of the College for fifty years, set a certain standard which was required of all teachers. These were (1) that they keep definite and reasonable hours of teaching, (2) that they teach no bad books, (3) that they know how to censor without being severe, (4) that they be examples to the boys, (5) that they require the students to do a certain amount of concentrated study, examine them frequently and hear them debate, and (6) that they show the students the appropriate respect and liberty according to their age and character.¹²⁵

¹²³William and Mary Quarterly, XIV, 72.

¹²⁴Ibid., 73.

¹²⁵Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII, 162.

There follows a list¹²⁶ of the clergymen, who officiated at the College of William and Mary during the colonial period.

President:

James Blair 1693 - 1743
 William Dawson 1743 - 1752
 William Stith 1752 - 1755
 Thomas Dawson 1755 - 1761
 William Yates 1761 - 1764
 James Horrocks 1764 - 1771
 John Camm 1771 - 1777
 James Madison 1777 - 1812
 John Brocken 1812 - 1814

Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy

Hugh Jones 1717 -
 Richard Graham 1749 - 1758
 Thomas Gwatkin 1770 - 1773
 James Madison 1773 - 1777
 Robert Andrews - Mathematics 1784 -
 James Madison - Natural Philosophy 1784 -

Moral Philosophy

William Dawson 1729 - 1749
 William Preston 1744 - 1757
 Jacob Rowe 1758 - 1760
 Richard Graham 1761 - 1770
 Sam Henley 1770 - 1777
 Robert Andrews 1779 -
 James Madison 1784 - 1812
 John Brocken 1812 - 1814

Divinity

Bartholomew Yates, Sr. 1729
 John Camm 1749 - 1757 & 1763 - 1772
 John Dixon 1770 - 1777

Oriental Languages

Francis Fontaine 1729 - 1749

¹²⁶ Goodwin, 341.

Masters of the Grammar School

Mungo Ingles 1694 -
 Arthur Blackamore 1710 - 1716
 Mungo Ingles 1716 - 1717
 Hugh Jones 1717 -
 Edward Ford 1737 - 1739
 Thomas Robinson 1742 - 1758
 Goronwy Owen 1758 - 1759
 William Webb 1760 - 1762
 James Horrocks 1763
 Josiah Johnson 1767 - 1772
 Thomas Gwatkin 1773 - 1774
 John Brocken 1725 - 1729

Masters of Indian School

Charles Griffin 1718 - 1720
 John Fox 1729 - 1736
 Robert Barrett - 1737
 Thomas Dawson 1738 - 1755
 Emmanuel Jones, Jr. 1755 - 1757
 Samuel King 1766 -
 Thomas Davis 1768

These men and numerous supporters, who have not been mentioned in this paper, are among the earnest and sincere educators who have labored in laying the firm educational foundations of Colonial Virginia.

In conclusion, education in Virginia during the colonial period was in the main a religious concern with the purpose of specifically preparing the wealthy class to take its place in the affairs of Church and Government. However, this was not to the neglect of the so-called "common people" for as stated in this paper their interests in and opportunities for education were not any less than those of any other English North American colony nor even those in the Mother Country itself.

In the light of our present day educational systems the idea of Church controlled education may appear to some as inefficient. However,

the pioneering done in Virginia under the direction of the Established Church served as a good example for the American educational ideal.

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A reliable source of information; however, other works were found more valuable.

James S.M. Anderson.

History of the Church of England in the Colonies.

Waterloo Place: Rivingtons, 2nd Edition, 1856, 4 Vols.

Good study of the influence and work of the Established Church overseas. Well documented with full footnotes.

L. F. Anderson.

History of Common School Education.

N. Y. Henry Holt & Co. 1909.

Aims to present a clear picture of the nature and functions of the non-professional school. The author begins with the schools of ancient Greece and Rome, and England and Germany during the reformation, the early colonial period in North America, on down to the Twentieth Century.

Too general to be of value.

Charles M. Andrews.

Colonial Folkways

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921

(Vol. 9 of The Chronicles of America Series.) Allen Johnson, Editor.

A well written account of the home, school, and recreational life of the colonial American.

Robert Beverley.

History and Present State of Virginia in Four Parts.

London: R. Parker, 1705.

An inquiry into the natural wealth, the industries and trade, the Indians, and the government of Virginia from 1607 to 1705. Valued chiefly for its description of early Virginia. Not considered very accurate as history.

Robt. Alonzo Brock.

The Colonial Virginian.

Richmond, Va.: William Ellis James, 1891.

A brief address delivered by the author who was Secretary of the Virginia and of the Southern Historical Societies.

Alexander Brown.

The First Republic in America.

Boston & N.Y.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1898.

A study of the founding and establishment of the North American colonies compiled from the suppressed records in England. Written from a "patriotic" point of view.

Philip A. Bruce.

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N.Y. & London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910, 2 Vols.

A study of the religious, educational, military, and political conditions of early Virginia based largely on source material. The chapters on the educational and literary interests of the colonists are invaluable to the students of colonial Virginia.

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Chicago & N.Y.: The American Historical Society, 1924.

A fine general treatment of the colony.

James E.G. DeMontmorency.

The Progress of Education in England.

London: Knight & Co., 1904.

One of the best authorities on English Education. Well written and useful work.

Edward Eggleston.

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W. R. Garrett.

History of the First Legislative Assembly Ever Convened in America. Nashville, Tenn.: no date.

Useful in that it contained a list of the delegates and their respective districts.

Lacks authorities and in places anti-clerical.

Edward L. Goodwin.

The Colonial Church in Virginia.

London: A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1927.

The best general treatment of the religious life of Virginia from 1607 to the Revolutionary War that has yet been published.

Marked by learning, good judgment, and impartiality.

Francis L. Hawks.

Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America.

N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1836-39. 2 vols.

A presentation of the outstanding events in the starting and progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia and Maryland.

Cornelius Heatwole.

A History of Education in Virginia.
N.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1916.

Considered one of the best texts on education in Virginia. Follows education through the colonial, national and modern periods. The author made use of Bruce's works on colonial Virginia.

William Walter Hening.

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Richmond, Va. 13 Vols. 1819-1823.
Published according to an Act of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed February 5, 1808.

Filled with unique and indispensable material for the student of colonial Virginia. Covers the period 1619 to 1792.

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These studies touch many aspects of colonial Virginia history and have presented in an orderly way the smattering of facts to be found in old books, in documents, and in journals.

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A valuable history of the colony during Governor Spotswood's administration. Interesting and trustworthy study of the livelihood, the religion, social customs, and the political life of the Virginians.

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A fine ecclesiastical history of Virginia. The power of the local vestries is well discussed. Very valuable appendix relating to the Established Church.

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From July 1919 until 1921, this publication filled the place formerly held by the William & Mary Quarterly. Both are filled with source material and excellent editorials and reviews.

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The richest publication of Virginia's early history. Much material gathered from private libraries. Touches every phase of the life of the colony, political, social, economic, educational, and religious. No historian of Virginia can afford to neglect this set.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Charles William Duffy has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

January 21, 1946
Date

Paul Finney
Signature of Adviser