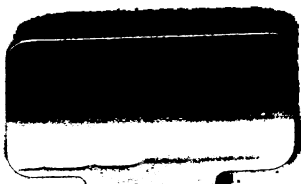
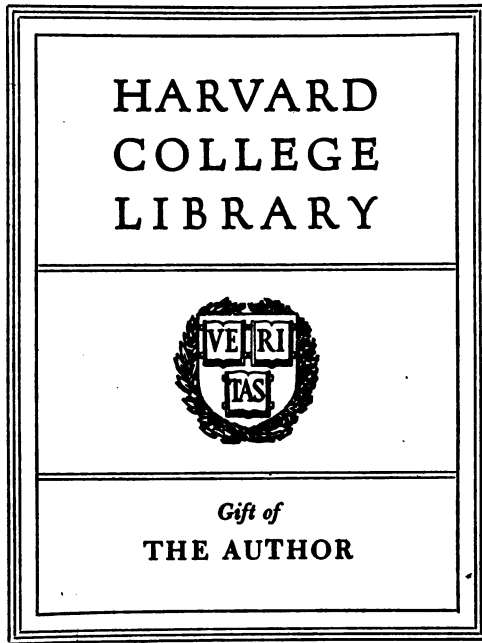


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“INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES”

IN THE

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY

FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

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FRANKLIN B. DEXTER.

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THE
INFLUENCE OF THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES
IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

AT the stated meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, held Feb. 12, 1880, Professor FRANKLIN B. DEXTER, of Yale College, New Haven, Conn., a Corresponding Member, was introduced, and read the following paper on the "Influence of the English Universities in the Development of New England":—

New England civilization received its first efficient impulse from the arrival of the Massachusetts Company, bearing their charter, in June, 1630; and in any attempt to trace a connection between liberal education on the other side of the water and the progress of New England, this date must mark the real beginning.

For, though half a dozen university men (Brewster, Blaxston, Higginson, Skelton, R. Smith, and Bright) had reached New England before 1630, not one of them continued within the limits of the Massachusetts Colony long enough to bear a hand in, or even to witness, the beginning there of the new era, in connection with the establishment of the public school, the printing-press, and the college, during the fruitful period from 1636 to 1647. But before this period had expired, the number of university men who had immigrated to New England had mounted up to at least ninety; there may perhaps have been half a dozen more, at present not identified;—

enough, it is probable, with the few who came in the next generation, to make a total of a hundred names.

Of this body almost three-fourths were from the University of Cambridge, — known as a special stronghold of Puritanism from the middle of the sixteenth century onward. At Cambridge had been educated the Protestant sectaries who had led the revolt against the notion of a national church, — Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, John Penry, Francis Johnson, Richard Clifton, John Robinson; *all* in fact of the more noted Separatists who had a university training, except Henry Jacob. And when we recall that the same *Alma Mater* nurtured such other strong men of the Puritan party as Burton, Cartwright, Whitaker, and Ames, Sibbes, Preston, Davenant, Lightfoot, John and Thomas Goodwin, Cromwell, Fairfax, and Milton, we get some idea of the historical environment which helped to mould the educated leaders of New England.

In the archives of the university the matriculation registers, which received at the opening of each month the record of those who had entered at any of the separate colleges during the month preceding, are still extant (with the exception of an unfortunate gap from June, 1589, to June, 1602), and of ready access, in the Registry's office, in the Pitt Press Building, with the accompanying list of degrees granted at the ending of the academic course. The matriculation book contains merely the names of the students, roughly classified by rank, and the colleges which they have entered; the admission books of the particular colleges occasionally supplying additional items of information, such as age and parents' names, with varying degrees of fulness.

The statute interval between matriculation and graduation was four years of three terms each, though, by a lax construction, it was common to reduce this period by one term, or even by more; and, judging from the known ages in the case of the New England immigrants, the average seventeenth-century age, at admission, was not far from seventeen, and that at graduation about twenty.

On these official lists the first name belonging to our history is that of William Brewster, who was matriculated on the 3d of December, 1580, at the oldest of the college foundations, St. Peter's or Peterhouse. We had already the statement in Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" that Elder Brewster "spent some small time at Cambridge," and, as was rightly inferred, without graduating; but hitherto the first known date in his life has been the reference (also in Bradford) to his presecue with Secretary Davison, when the

cautionary towns in the Low Countries were given up to England in 1585.

After Elder Brewster, no New England name appears until that of John Phillips, of Catharine Hall, who graduated in 1596, and was a temporary resident in Massachusetts from 1638 to 1641. By the time of his graduation, at least three others of our future immigrants (Robert Peck, Ralph Partridge, and Nathaniel Ward) were domiciled in Cambridge; and for the next forty years there was never a smaller number — sometimes upward of twenty — in residence together. The roll, fullest about 1620, closes with Nathaniel Norcross, also of Catharine Hall, who graduated in 1637, and was in Salem a year or two later.

About seventy New Englanders are thus traced to Cambridge University; and more than twenty of them were connected with Emanuel College, notorious almost from its foundation, in 1584, as a Puritan seed-plot. Though outstripped in numbers by Trinity and St. John's (which were then, as now, the largest of the colleges in the university), Emanuel stood easily in the next rank, as to size, and equal to any in scholarship; nor were the least brilliant names in its teaching body during this period those of John Cotton and Thomas Hooker.

Next, but far below this, in popularity with the New England fathers, were Trinity, where eight or nine of them are enrolled (including in this number the illustrious name of John Winthrop, the elder, who was a student here from December, 1602, till some time in 1604),* and Magdalen and St. John's, each with seven. Sidney Sussex, sometimes classed with Emanuel as a special nursery of Puritans, chiefly because it was Oliver Cromwell's college, has but three of our names on its lists, of whom only the Massachusetts agitator, John Wheelwright, was a contemporary of the Protector. The other greatest name of Cambridge in the Puritan period is that of John Milton, resident in Christ's College from 1625 to 1632. None of the transatlantic heroes seem to have been inmates of Christ's at the same time with her greatest son; but undergraduate fellowship easily overleaps college boundaries; and it is pleasant to recall that Thomas Shepard and John Norton, Roger Williams and Abraham Pierson, John Harvard and Henry Dunster, were a part of the busy throng that paced the same streets and drank of the same influences, side by side with John

* See "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," vol. i. pp. 54-59.

~~Milton and Jeremy Taylor.~~ In like manner, it may help to fill out our conception of the gentle Elder Brewster to remember that he was an undergraduate at Peterhouse with John Penry, the Puritan martyr. So Peter Bulkley, the pastor of Concord, may, as Fellow of St. John's, have shared in the training of the great Earl of Strafford; and the pure fame of President Chauncey may gain an added light as we picture him in daily intercourse, year in and year out, with the saintly George Herbert, while both of them were Fellows of Trinity.

Passing now to Oxford, the question is a natural one, why we find but about one-third as many New England names as at Cambridge. The argument from locality will not explain so great a difference, though doubtless the eastern counties furnished the larger number of the Cambridge men on our list, as they furnished, in general, a greater proportion of the total emigration than any other section. As to this last, the best available data make the metropolis naturally the largest feeder to New England, and Kent, in the extreme south-east, probably the next largest; after which, with a distribution of numbers fairly proportioned to their several areas, come closely the group of strictly eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; but Wiltshire, Devonshire, Somerset, Hants, Dorset, and Surrey, in the south, Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, in the southern midland, and Lancashire, in the north-west, fall not far below the previous group in the quota contributed to the peopling of New England.

If we look further for reasons why Oxford drew to itself so much less of the element we are seeking than did Cambridge, I venture to suggest that one fact should be remembered, that by far the most conspicuous figure in the former university from 1604 to 1621 was William Laud, Fellow and afterward President of St. John's College, and that the influences typified by his name made Oxford an unattractive place to men whose natural development led them in later years to these Colonies.

It may well be significant that not a single student from St. John's shared in the settling of New England; significant also, perhaps, that in the scant roll of twenty-four Oxford men who came over, must be counted no less than five (Norris, Davenport, Parker, Mather, Vane), who left the university before completing the formalities of matriculation and subscription, — of whom were the two most notable of all the number, John Davenport and Richard Mather, though Davenport afterward returned for a degree upon examination. There was something incompatible between the spirit which fostered Laud and the spirit which founded New England.

For access to a ~~carefully verified and~~ alphabetically arranged index to the original matriculation and subscription registers at Oxford, I was indebted a few months ago, while in London, to the generous kindness of Colonel Joseph L. Chester, LL.D. The entries are more full than the corresponding records at Cambridge, containing as they do the age of the matriculant, and, to a great extent, the residence and rank in life of the father. A conveniently arranged copy of the roll of degrees conferred by Oxford before the beginning of the printed catalogue (1659), can be consulted in the Bodleian Library, among the voluminous manuscript collections of Anthony Wood.

The New England names begin with the matriculation at Exeter College, in 1595, of John Maverick, the son of a Devonshire clergyman, and himself one of the pastors of the congregation which paused for a while at our Dorchester, on its way to Windsor in Connecticut; and the list is closed, in 1652, with the graduation of James Allen, whose service as a minister of the First Church in Boston lasted into the 18th century. Over this stretch of nearly sixty years the few who came to New England were scattered by twos and threes, and for brief periods, at no time being more than five at once, and with no representatives, as there were at Cambridge, among the body of instructors (except at the very end), to create a community of sentiment and a central bond.

I should add that of course these original sources at both universities have been before examined by other inquirers, — as, for instance, by Mr. Savage, — and that it cannot be expected that many discoveries remain; but the following New England names have not, I believe, before been identified with either university. Thus, I find of Massachusetts pastors, educated wholly or in part at Oxford: Joseph Avery, Stephen Bachiler, Richard Blinman, Henry Green, Joseph Hull, John Maverick, and Edward Norris, — with John Warham and Nicholas Street of Connecticut. So the Cambridge list is increased by the names of three Plymouth ministers, Christopher Blackwood, William Leverich, and Ralph Partridge; and of four in Massachusetts, Edmund Brown, George Burdett, Robert Fordham, and Thomas Waterhouse; as also by George Fenwick, the founder of Saybrook, who was matriculated at Queen's in 1619, and Ephraim Huet, Mr. Warham's colleague at Windsor. On the other hand, it may be asserted with some confidence, that a few who have been credited by tradition with university training were really never matriculated; in which list must be placed John Lothrop of Scituate, Charles Morton of Charlestown, James Noyes and John Woodbridge of

Newbury, Herbert Pelham of Cambridge, and Thomas Peters of Saybrook.

In addition to the Oxford and Cambridge men included in these summaries, there were here and there among the first comers a few who had studied at other universities, the most notable, perhaps, being the younger Winthrop, from Dublin, and Nathaniel Eaton, the first head of Harvard College, from Franeker, in Holland.

We commonly reckon the aggregate of the New England immigration down to 1643 at somewhat over 20,000 persons, or 4,000 families, of whom thus only one person in every group of forty families proves to have been of university antecedents. The result implied by such a statement in figures may not seem greatly significant, but, in fact, the character of the element thus singled out chiefly determined the character of the civilization established.

Turning to trace this emigration more in detail, we begin with the Mayflower company.

Elder Brewster, with his year or two of uncompleted study at Cambridge, was, so far as appears, the only man of university training in the Colony from the landing in 1620 till the arrival of the first settled minister, Ralph Smith, in 1629; nor was it till eight years later that there was any marked and permanent addition to this number.

The dearth of intellectual impulse in Plymouth Colony is sufficiently shown by the well-known fact that it was fifty years from the landing before the first public school was established. And it is equally evident that the lack of schools (owing, of course, largely to the poverty of the people) quenched the desire for higher education. In the volume which Mr. Sibley has published, of biographies of the earliest graduates of Harvard College, coming down to 1658, only one native and two residents of Plymouth Colony are included. The native (Isaac Allerton, of the class of 1650) caught the college fever at New Haven, where his father, after long wanderings from Plymouth, had finally settled, and the two Chauncey boys (graduates of 1651), born in England, can only be called occasional residents of Scituate, from whose uncongenial soil they and their father escaped as soon as possible. In the same length of time, one only of the ninety-eight graduates of Harvard had settled within the Plymouth boundaries,—Thomas Crosby, of the class of 1653, who was preaching without formal ordination to the church in Eastham. At the same date, the summer of 1658, besides this solitary witness for Harvard, stationed on the further side of Cape Cod Bay, the only English university men left in the Colony, of some dozen and a half who had found a longer

or shorter refuge there, were the three pastors, Nicholas Street, of Taunton, who was to migrate a few months later to New Haven, on account of inadequate support, Samuel Newman of Rehoboth, and William Wetherell of Scituate. In seven (Plymouth, Duxbury, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, Bridgewater) out of the eleven towns in the Colony, the pastorate was vacant or not yet established; so that it happened that these four individuals were at once the entire clerical and the entire learned order among a population of perhaps as many thousand souls. Still further to show the low state of religion and learning, it may be added that the six towns in which the pastorate was now vacant waited on the average for ten years each before settling other ministers, and when this step *was* accomplished, such an experience as that at Marshfield, where an illiterate layman (Samuel Arnold) was ordained with no other sanction or ceremony than the laying on of hands of two illiterate lay brethren, was not uncommon. Or, take another indication of the intellectual life, in which Massachusetts Bay a little later showed such great activity. Up to this date of 1658, and even beyond it, the only publications, I believe, which originated within Plymouth Colony were those of Edward Winslow (including the Journal called "Mourt's Relation,") and two sermons by William Hooke. There was, too, some revision by Samuel Newman of his Concordance to the Bible, which had already been published before his coming hither.

John Robinson said with truth in his farewell letter to these Pilgrims: "You are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest"; and the slender means which they brought with them and the poverty of the soil which they cultivated conspired for their easy riddance of all their occasional visitors whose powers were at all suited for a wider field. Such men as John Norton, and Charles Chauncey, and William Hooke, and Roger Williams came and passed on to more promising surroundings in other Colonies; and, putting these aside, I doubt if there was a single educated man of anywise remarkable mental gifts—judging by the standard which the neighboring Colony of the Bay furnished in abundance—who settled there; unless the patient industry of Samuel Newman, the concordance-maker, entitles him to exception, with those who do not gibbet him with Dr. Johnson's definition of a lexicographer, as a "harmless drudge."

The glory of Plymouth Colony lies in the simple faith and courage of the Mayflower company, but we scan the history of her territory in vain to find a single man of comparative eminence in the State or national councils, or a single name that can be remembered in the lit-

erature of Massachusetts or the world. And it seems the simplest justice to emphasize the marked contrast between her experience and that of the Colony at the Bay, both founded on the same lines of high religious purpose and steady English common sense, as eminently suggestive of the force and guidance lent to the building of a State by the presence of a body of educated men. The want of the stimulus due to a learned class is as truly seen in the barrenness of the intellectual and political history of Plymouth as the value of such a stimulus is seen in the development of the next succeeding settlement in Massachusetts Bay.

In that settlement, William Blaxston, who graduated from Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1617, and may thus have been a pupil of Hooker or of Cotton, and who presumably emigrated in 1623 to the south side of Massachusetts Bay, so becoming the pioneer of university men within the later limits of the Colony, needs but the barest mention, as his prompt withdrawal removed him from contact with the Colony history.

The story is a familiar one, how in 1629 the Massachusetts Company organized in London under its new charter, and sent over its first supply of colonists, 400 strong. Four ministers were provided; one of them, Francis Bright, from Oxford, but four years out of college, too good a Churchman to put up with the nonconformity of Puritans, and so returning by almost the first opportunity to England; a second, Ralph Smith, too rigid a separatist to enjoy the decent respect for former church ties which he found here, and so at once transferring himself to plainer Plymouth; and the other two, Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, from Cambridge, in the full maturity of their powers, and for the brief span of life that was left them (one dying in 1630, the other in 1635) centres of influence in the Salem community.

But Salem was quickly subordinated to the leadership of the greater company which came with Governor Winthrop and the charter in 1630, when the political life of the new Colony began in earnest. How rapid and fruitful was its growth we do not need to be told. My only object is to point out the working of the leaven which the English universities supplied.

We saw just now that it was nine years before the settlement at Plymouth secured a minister, who was also the first university graduate whom her soil entertained. Contrast with this the progress of Massachusetts Bay in the nine years from 1630. Within these years at least threescore university men came from the mother country, and (be it specially remembered) most of them persons of matured expe-

rience. Three-fourths of the whole number remained within this Colony of their first choice, scattered from Hingham on the Plymouth border to Dover on the north and to Springfield in the far-off west, through the score of towns, with perhaps 9,000 population, which made up the government of Massachusetts. The two centres of the thriving body were Boston and the newly named Cambridge, where the infant college was already in operation; and half these forty or fifty scholars of the old world were within five miles of the one or the other of these centres. It is not extravagant to say that such a concentration of scholarly men gave the community a tone which it never has lost: and that however subsequent generations on the same spot may have utilized their larger opportunities, the learned element in this first age enjoyed a predominance to which we are strangers.

In 1640, emigration to New England practically ceased, in the prospect of radical changes at home, and the tide actually began to flow backward; but the foundations had been secured, and the men who remained were strong enough to hold the results until, with the aid of the college at Cambridge, the supply of home-trained material began to be ready to take the place of the elders.

There can be no question that the Colony owed the early establishment and the vigorous support of Harvard College to the exertions of those who were familiar with the Cambridge and Oxford of the mother country, or, if we need still further to limit the proposition, to the educated ministry of these towns. The ministry was not in Massachusetts, as in Plymouth, an ill-appreciated rarity. Up to the time when Harvard graduates were ready to take up the work, there had been some threescore ministers regularly inducted into Massachusetts pulpits; and certainly not more than half a dozen of the whole number were destitute of university training. The overpowering force of so uniform an example made a liberal education seem essential to the perpetuity of the decent order of the churches; and the result secured in its train the progress of New England and that of the nation. It is hazardous to transpose history; but I do not think it rash to say that a failure to plant and endow Harvard College for five and twenty years — that is, until the most of the generation of educated men who came over had passed away — would have so stunted and paralyzed the social progress of Massachusetts, as to have altered essentially the whole course of events bearing on national history in which Massachusetts has had a part.

As offshoots from Massachusetts, the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were established in 1636 and 1638, but not without seri-

ous remonstrance from the mother colony, which, during the few years that yet remained of English emigration, used her best endeavors to prevent any of the stream from being diverted to the new channels. This policy was in the main successful; but the spirit of regard for education was already strong enough in the leaders of both the new Colonies to insure the same kind of development as in Massachusetts, if under less favoring circumstances. The overshadowing influence of the luxuriant intellectual life at the Bay may seem to have interfered to some extent with the independent and symmetrical growth which Thomas Hooker and John Davenport planned for the societies which they planted. Davenport's plans, for instance, embraced, as we know, the common school, the grammar school, and the college; but, though he only accomplished the establishment of the first two, the third eventually followed, in direct if distant consequence of the influences he set in motion. And in the mean time, up to the date of the founding of the Collegiate School at Saybrook, one in every eight or nine of the graduates of Harvard came from the Colonies in Connecticut. John Davenport's own opportunities of university training had been of the briefest, his residence as an undergraduate being interrupted at the threshold, and his degree in divinity being given on examination after he had begun to preach; and, besides his two colleagues (Hooke and Street), and Abraham Pierson, of Southampton and Branford, there were no men of English university training connected for any great length of time with the New Haven Colony; but, as the late Professor Kingsley long ago remarked (*Historical Discourse at New Haven*, p. 41), with his usual perspicacity, "Neither the system of common schools, nor of those of a higher class, originated in any strong expression of public opinion, but was devised and carried forward by such men as John Davenport."

To such men it is owing that we can point to a schoolmaster employed in New Haven during the first year from its foundation, — a fact not paralleled in any other of the first settlements, and to the further fact that the ordinance of Dec. 25, 1641, "that a free school shall be set up in this town, and our pastor, Mr. Davenport, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance is meet to be given to it out of the common stock of the town," antedates any similar order found elsewhere, and contributes, it may be, a new idea to the world.

The leading university men in the other Connecticut settlements, at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, were a trio of graduates of Emanuel College, — Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Sher-

man, — with John Warham of Oxford. Sherman early transferred himself to New Haven; while the others remained as moulding forces of the Colony. Under them and their associates, the progress of Connecticut was so secure and so rapid that in little more than a generation she had twice the number of towns that the New Haven Colony had, with double the wealth, and more than double the acknowledged territory of that at first exceptionally rich and prosperous jurisdiction, and was enabled by the logical force of events, seconded by *finesse* on her own part to which New Haven would hardly have had recourse, to absorb her more uncompromising neighbor.

At Rhode Island and Providence Plantations there is little to detain us. The fact that Roger Williams was a Cambridge Bachelor of Arts may have been of inestimable importance to him in developing and moulding his own mental constitution, and so a large factor in working out the destinies of his plantation; but it went for nothing in the eyes of his neighbors, and failed in a manner of exercising its due influence on his own time and on later generations. Besides Williams, so far as appears, William Blaxston, dwelling apart in hermit-like seclusion, was the only other person in those districts who held any traditions of university life.

Through such channels as these New England traces a large part of what has been noble in her history back to ideas inherited from Cambridge and Oxford. If any one doubts, let him try to imagine, if he can, what the Providence settlement would have been *without* Roger Williams, or Connecticut without Thomas Hooker, or New Haven without John Davenport, or even Plymouth without Elder Brewster; let him try to construct the story of Massachusetts Bay, suppressing the presence and the influence, in person and through their posterity, of Winthrop and Saltonstall and Bradstreet; of Wilson and Cotton and Mather; of Eliot and Norton and Shepard; of Nathaniel Ward and Sir Harry Vane; of Harvard and Dunster and Chauncey; and the scores of other less conspicuous men, who were still most essential parts of the character and growth of town by town the whole settlement over, as they might be enumerated. Blot out of the early New England annals the lives of these her educated leaders, and you have lost the clew to all that was to follow. There might still have been a New England, but how different in spirit and in possibilities of power; and, if we may guess at her history, it would have to be written in the words of the Hebrew prophet, "That which the palmer-worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker-worm eaten; and that which the

canter-worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten"; for what the Indian had failed to despatch with torch and tomahawk would have been the easy prey of New France on the north, and New Netherland on the west, while Old England was busy with her own civil wars; and what these had failed to divide would have fallen, like the elder colony of Virginia, into the hands of the rapacious and unprincipled courtiers of the Restoration, or would have been added to the conquests from Dutchmen and Frenchmen, as a subject province in which the traditions of liberty had already lost their meaning.

Or let the contrast be with the actual, and not with the possible: How *did* the development of New England compare with the contemporary progress of Virginia? Successful colonization there began in 1607; and we have a detailed census of the population in 1624, which gives the result of seventeen years' experience. The ships of the Virginia Company had brought over in this period some seven or eight thousand persons; but complaint had been loud among the resident authorities from the first that the bulk of the immigrants were either too idle or too incompetent to earn a living; and these volunteer colonists, whose misconduct had been so shameful as to require the strong hand of martial law to restrain them, with its penalties of incredible rigor, — which made it, for instance, death for one of them to pluck a flower in his neighbor's garden, or to kill even a single barnyard fowl belonging to himself (unless, indeed, the general in supreme command of the Colony had first given formal consent), — these precious volunteer colonists had been afterward reinforced by sundry shiploads of convicts, emptied out of overflowing English prisons, and of London street Arabs, "of whom," says the record, "the city was specially desirous to be disburdened"; and, crowning injustice of all, family life, at first discouraged, had been introduced with infamous method, by despatching authorized kidnappers to go up and down through quiet English villages and seize by force hapless maidens, who might be transported, and bought as wives by the highest bidders. The ordinary and extraordinary accidents of life, pestilence and famine, internal strife and Indian massacre, desertion to the red man's wigwam and to the mother country, had reduced the seven or eight thousand emigrants by 1624 to a beggarly total of 1,275 persons, of whom over 1,000 were males. But two considerable settlements had been planted in these seventeen years, — those at James City and Elizabeth City, — in which about a third of the entire population was gathered, the rest being scattered in smaller groups or on isolated plantations. In the whole Colony there were resident but four clergymen, not more than one of whom

(Hant Wyatt, a brother of the Governor, and private chaplain to his family and retinue) was a university man; the only other representative of liberal education being the Colony physician, Dr. John Pott, a Bachelor of Arts at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1610.

Besides this census, all personal details in the period are conspicuously wanting; but it is certain that nothing deserving the name of intellectual or religious life had gained a foothold. There is, to be sure, in the proceedings of the earliest representative assembly of Virginia, in 1619, a reference to a project for a "college"; but let no one suppose this a forerunner of Harvard. It was not a college for English children, but an Indian school, proposed in deference to the purpose avowed in the charter by which Virginia was granted, "for the propagation of the Christian religion and reclaiming of people barbarous"; and, moreover, it was only a project on paper, for which donations were received from England, but which never got into operation. That the college of William and Mary was chartered generations afterward, in 1693, was due to the enterprise of a single persistent Scotchman, James Blair, though not even his zeal could make the early period of its history a success.

As for civil liberty, a representative assembly had indeed been instituted; but its legislation was not valid until reviewed by the Company in London. Financially the Colony had not been prosperous; and the natural disappointment of the London stockholders at this result cast further blight on the progress of the venture; while the exigencies of home politics gave the king a speedy reason for revoking the Company's charter, and for governing Virginia himself.

The census quoted is in connection with the report of royal commissioners, sent over to inquire into the state of the Colony; and the substance of that report was that those of the emigrants who had escaped death by sickness, famine, or massacre, were living in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages; that the country had yielded as yet few or no staples of food; and that nothing but stringent and peremptory measures would save the enterprise from destruction.

Such was the inglorious conclusion of seventeen years' colonization in Virginia. At a later time came a new emigration, which supplied new elements of power.

To Massachusetts Providence had denied the doubtful blessing of a luxuriant soil. In every other respect how did her first seventeen years eclipse the elder colony, in performance and in promise! Her numbers, with all the depletion caused by sending forth flourishing offshoots, must

still have been at least a dozen times more than Virginia could boast. No scarcity of food, nor malarial scourge, nor bloody mutiny, nor Indian massacre, had decimated the northern as the southern settlement. The form of government was truly, not doubtfully, representative; no company of merchants or nobles beyond the seas exercised any right to impose laws or introduce governors and generals. The administration of justice was in the Colony's name. The oaths of allegiance for freemen and for sojourners recognized no sovereign outside the Colony borders. Massachusetts was her own mistress, and ruled her house well; nay more, she had consolidated the neighbor states into a confederacy, in which her own will was the leading spirit. The Virginia system of scattered plantations along the river-banks, with here and there a fort and store, rejoicing in the title of a city, was replaced here by thirty vigorous townships, each an organized republic, composed in law of persons united for the purpose of establishing a church and a plantation, with an educated minister, who was in most cases the prime mover in all the greater interests of the community.

For more than half the brief life of the Colony the college at Cambridge had been in successful operation; and now, in this year of grace 1647, a system of common and grammar schools for every township was deliberately marked out,—a step of progress which New England learned from no precedent in the mother country, or in any older colony of English or of foreign planting. Close on the establishment of the college had followed the importation of a printing-press, which soon came to be college property, as part of the dowry of the first president's wife. It served for immediate and pressing uses (men could not do without fresh almanacs, and psalm-books, and copies of the laws); but the voluminous treatises which learned pastors of Massachusetts churches stood ready to print had long to be sent across the sea for perfection of typography.

It is needless to ask if these things were paralleled in Virginia at any such date. We cannot forget her bigoted governor's characteristic boast, a quarter of a century later, that "We have no free schools, nor any printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."

But let me not be thought, in suggesting these contrasts, to lay an undue stress on the mere membership of a university, in the case of certain leaders, as comprehending all that was needed for the development of New England. The experiment of self-government might well have failed, if the leadership of Winthrop and Hooker and Davenport and their fellows had been weighted down by a motley crew of unthrifty, irresponsible vagrants. It was "government of the peo-

ple, and for the people," but none the less needfully "by the people," and dependent on their common support and intelligent co-operation. I only claim that the guiding and directing force was supplied by an element which was itself moulded on the banks of the Cam and the Isis, under the influence and refinements of the best culture which the England of that day could give.

And, again, these comparisons of the southern and northern colonies are totally independent of the question, which had ultimately the greater number of picked settlers of *gentle* birth and breeding. It may be well to admit at once that New England enters into no such competition. The circumstance that only three out of all the Mayflower company can be traced to English homes is significant, if not typical; and those who have given most attention to New England family history are the most impressed with the hopelessness of the attempt — I mean in the great majority of cases — to trace the fathers of New England in their English origin, and especially to connect them with families of position or title on that side the Atlantic. The greater honor lies perhaps in just this descent from the humble stock of English common people of indistinguishable ancestry. It is enough to know that the primitive aristocracy of New England was an aristocracy of intellect consecrated to duty, and not of blood; that her peerage and her knighthood were honors direct from the creative hand of God, and not from the touch of a monarch.*

* The accompanying tables give the details as to residence at Cambridge and Oxford, with the degrees taken; parentheses are used to show that a person was a member of the college named, but not long enough to receive a degree.

1830.

R. I

Jonat'
William

A. & M
Symmes,

dstreet,
William
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John I

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	1630.	1635.	1636.	1635.	1640.
	R. Denton, B.A.	John Knowles, Fellow. (H. Knollys.)	Nathl Norcross, B.A.		
		Ralph Wheelock, B.A. & M.A.			
	Jonathan Burr, B.A. & M.A.	William Wetherell, B.A. & M.A.	Robert Child, B.A. & M.A.		
	B.A. & M.A. (Edmund Brown.)				
	Symmes, B.A. & M.A. (J. Oxenbridge.) (G. Firmin.)	William Leverich, B.A. & M.A.			
EMAN	dstreet, B.A. & M.A. (R. Saltonstall.)	William Walton, B.A. & M.A. (John Sherman.)			
	A. & M.A. John Ward, B.A. & M.A. T. Waterhouse, B.A.	Thomas Shepard, B.A. & M.A. John Harvard, B.A. & M.A.			
	Samuel Stone, B.A. & M.A.				
GONV	John Miller, B.A.	Robert Fordham, B.A. & M.A.	Thomas Allyn, B.A. & M.A.		
JESUS.	John Eliot, B.A.				
	John Rayner, B.A. Henry Dunster, B.A. & M.A.	Samuel Eaton, B.A. & M.A.			
MAGDA	John Knowles, B.A. & M.A. Richard Gibson, B.A.	Peter Hobart, B.A. & M.A.			
PEMBR	C. Blackwood, B.A. Roger Williams, B.A.				
PETER	John Norton, B.A. & M.A.				
QUEEN	F. Fenwick.)				
ST. JO	John Fiske, B.A.	Thomas Thornton, Preacher & Fellow. (?)	Nicholas Baker, B.A. & M.A.		
		Thomas Carter, B.A. & M.A.			
SIDNEY	George Moxon, B.A.				
	George Burdett, B.A.				
TRINITY	as Thornton, B.A. & M.A. (?)				
	B.D., and Fellow.	A. Pierson, B.A.			
TRINITY	Larkham, B.A. & M.A.				
UNCE					

1835.	1840.	1845.	1850.	1855.
(Green.)				
			Sam ^l Lee, M.A. & Proctor. (J. Allen.)	
			James Allen, B.A., M.A., & Fellow.	
an, B.A.				
			S. Lee, Fellow.	

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