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The Grammar School of the College of William and Mary, 1693-1888

Carra Garrett Dillard

College of William & Mary - School of Education

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THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

1693-1888

A Thesis
Submitted to
The Faculty of the College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts
in the Department of Education

by

Carra Garrett Dillard
August 1951
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PREFACE

The subject of this thesis was suggested by Mr. Robert Land, Librarian of the College of William and Mary. It was felt that a study of the Grammar School as a separate entity would aid in tracing the development of the different departments and be of value in completing a definitive history of the College. After consultation with Dr. George Oliver, Head of the Department of Education, and with his valued assistance, this study was altered so that it not only gave a history of the Grammar School, but attempted to show its influence on the pattern of Virginia education.

Since most of the research for this thesis was done in the library of the College of William and Mary, the author takes this opportunity to thank the members of the library staff for their kindness and cooperation. She would like to give especial thanks to Mr. Herbert Ganter for his patience and efficiency in locating the old documents and records essential for this work.

The author further wishes to express her gratitude to Dr. Richard L. Morton, who gave so freely of his help and counsel, not only in authenticating the historical research, but in revising the organization and phraseology of this thesis.
INTRODUCTION

In writing a history of the Grammar School of the College of William and Mary and of its significance to colonial education, the problem presents itself under two main heads. The first is to organize the scattered facts concerning the Grammar School from its founding in 1693 to its abolition in 1779 and to present them in chronological and coherent fashion, and in the same manner to separate the facts pertaining to the Grammar School alone from those pertaining to the College proper during the period from its reestablishment in 1791 to 1888. The second part is to compare the life and purposes of the two phases of the school as typical of the periods they represent, to note the changing trends in education which they indicate, and to attempt to analyze the reason for these trends. A minor consideration of the problem is to trace the connection of the College with the present Matthew Whaley School.

This subject should be of significance to those interested in Virginia education and in the College of William and Mary as it presents a picture of a colonial school; the only Virginia school in practically continuous existence throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It supplements the existing histories of the College by presenting the Grammar School, not only in its relation to the College, but
also as a separate institution. By tracing the story of the Grammar School, and by pointing out the contemporary schools in the county, it will also help to fill in the gaps in the history of education in Williamsburg.

After showing the need existing for higher education in Virginia, this study will attempt to show the colony's efforts to meet this need in the establishment of the Grammar School.

The history of the Grammar School of the eighteenth century will be presented in detail and the thesis will try to portray accurately the lives of the masters and scholars and the courses of study they pursued. The Grammar School of the nineteenth century will be presented in less detail since this period is much better known and since the school represented only one of many schools of its type, whereas the eighteenth century school was, for a time at least, unique in its class. The schools of the two periods will be valuable in affording a basis for comparison of the educational policies of their day and will furnish a means of pointing out and analyzing these differences.

While much has been written about the Latin Grammar Schools in New England as typical of education in the North, little has been written of this particular school as representative of education in the South. There is much data on the Grammar School in the College records, but it is included
mostly in its relation to the College rather than as a clear picture of a distinct institution. Since the school was a definite part of the College, there will be no attempt to minimize its dependence on the College, but only to emphasize those differences as they occurred. The importance of the Grammar School lay in the fact that it was distinct, with a definite purpose and organization. It not only filled an immediate educational need, but served as a model and source of inspiration for schools in other communities which wished to set up grammar schools of their own.

The procedure of this thesis will consist in examining the many sources of data about the school, placing the facts obtained in proper categories, and attempting to draw conclusions from them. These sources include such primary materials as follows: The statutes on colonial education; the manuscripts and printed material in the collection of the College of William and Mary; the records of the General Assembly of Virginia; the transcripts of the records of Lambeth Palace, the Commission of Trade and Plantations, and of the Public Record Office of London; letters from the colonial governors, masters and others connected with the College; the catalogues of the College, the journals of the faculty; newspapers, pamphlets and periodicals of the period. The secondary sources include books on education in England and America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,
biographies of the masters and collections of documents and readings on education.

This study will attempt to organize the facts in such a way that they will be more accessible to those interested in following the pattern of Virginia education as reflected in an old Virginia school.
CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The growth of the principle of universal education in the South is marked by three distinct periods. The first period, which was that of transplanting European customs and traditions to America, extended from the date of the first settlements to near the middle of the eighteenth century. During that time the colonists were especially influenced by conditions and practices in the mother country. The second period, from about 1750 to 1810, was distinct for its attempt to modify educational practices so as to meet conditions in the new country. The third period, 1830-1865, was marked by the steady, persistent growth of Jefferson's public school idea. It was against the background of the first period that the College of William and Mary was founded.

The problems of unemployment and vagrancy in England, caused by the "enclosure acts" and the dissolution of the monasteries, were the reasons for the passage of a number of "poor-laws" in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These laws had great effect on the colonies, and their spirit was reflected in the Virginia statutes relating to poor children and orphans.

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While they were not basically educational in intent, they served as a form of compulsory education at a very low level. In the act of 1613, masters of orphans apprenticed to them were obliged to teach them to read and write, and if they failed to do this the children would be taken from them. In 1646 another act empowered county justices to bind out children of such poor families as could not give them good breeding and to keep and educate them at public expense while learning the flax trade. The Gloucester Parish Book in 1716 has instructions to a master to put an apprentice to school for three years until "he has learned to read the Bible and may get his own living." The power of enforcing these poor-laws was largely in the hands of the vestries and church-wardens. Virginia inherited her parish system directly from England. The county was the unit of political representation in the Assembly, but the parishes, governed by the ministers and vestries, handled most local affairs. The vestry had the power to appoint the wardens and overseers of the poor and to apportion and collect taxes for charitable


3 Ibid., I, 336-37.

purposes. Thus the education of the poor was put into the hands of the church and there it remained until 1796, when the adoption of Jefferson's Bill separated church and state.

Since the church concerned itself with education, and since the ministers were usually university graduates of wider education than many in the colony, it was natural that the ministers became school teachers and that the "parson's schools" sprang up. These schools taught either the rudiments of learning or the classics, according to demand, and during the early part of the century provided one of the few sources of education. In 1640, John Waltham in his will placed his child under the care of "a good and godlye school master." Along with the "parson's schools" and sometimes much the same were the "old field schools." This type of school occurred when a group of neighbors joined together and employed a school master to teach their children. The teaching was usually confined to reading, writing, and ciphering. The

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6 Knight, *Public Education in the South*, p. 56.
7 Ibid., p. 28.
8 Ibid., p. 12.
master might well be an indentured servant who was bound for the purpose. Hugh Jones, describing education in Virginia in 1724, says, "In most parishes, there are little schools where English and writing are taught." In 1648, twenty parishes had schools taught by ministers. Blair reported to the Bishop of London in 1724 that he had four such schools in Bruton Parish and that "they are set up where ever there was a convenient number of scholars."

In addition to these schools for which there was a tuition charge, there were a number of endowed schools to which poor children came free, and those who were able to pay a small fee also attended. The earliest attempt at such a school, was the "East Indies school" to be set up in Charles City County. Sir Edwin Sandys, who was instrumental in planning the ill-fated University of Henrico, was also a backer of this plan. The report of the London Company in 1621, makes reference to funds granted for the erecting in Charles City County of "a public free school for the education of children and for grounding them in the principles of school"

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10 Ibid., 12.

11 W. M. Q., VI, 1st ser. (July, 1897), 79.

religion, civility of life and humane learning."\(^{13}\) This was to be a preparatory school for the University of Henrico and the master was to be the Reverend Patrick Copeland, a missionary from India. Sandys said that it would be "most acceptable to the planters through want of which they have been at great cost to send their children to England to be taught."\(^{14}\) The establishment of this school, like that of the University of Henrico, was prevented by the Indian Massacre of 1622.

The earliest endowed school to go into actual operation was the Benjamin Symmes school in Elizabeth City County. An unknown writer, describing Virginia in 1649, commented as follows, "I may not forget to tell you we have a fine free school with two hundred acres of land, a fine house upon it, forty milch kine and other accommodations; the benefactor, Mr. Benjamin Symmes, worthy to be chronicled."\(^{15}\) Mr. Symmes left ample provision for the upkeep of his school. This was in 1634, which, according to Mr. Lyon Tyler, makes it the oldest free, endowed school in the country.\(^{16}\)

\(^{13}\) Ibid., 233.
\(^{14}\) W. M. Q., V, 1st ser. (January, 1898), 173.
\(^{16}\) W. M. Q., VI, 1st ser. (July, 1897), 72.
Another early school was that of Captain Moon, who endowed his school in rather a strange way. He left "four female cattle, by will, to remain for a stock for poor, fatherless children . . . for clothing and schooling, the overseers of the poor to carry out his will."\textsuperscript{17} The Russell school, 1667; the King school, 1669; and the Eaton school, 1689, were also schools of this type.\textsuperscript{18} That there was a sufficient number of schoolmasters in Virginia in the late seventeenth century to constitute a potential source of revenue, is evidenced by a proclamation in 1686 by Lord Howard of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, that "no schoolmaster be permitted or allowed, or any other person or persons instructing or teaching youth as a schoolmaster, so to practice before obtaining a license from me."\textsuperscript{19} The Burgesses, fearing the effect of this law on the schoolmasters, proved their interest in them by sending a petition to the Governor asking that a man be appointed in each county "to examine the masters and to licence them for so moderate a fee as not to cause them to leave so necessary an undertaking."\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{17} W. M. Q., V, 1st ser. (July, 1896), 112.
\textsuperscript{18} S. Fiske, \textit{Old Virginia}, I, 246.
\textsuperscript{19} H. R. McIlwaine, editor, \textit{The Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia}, (Richmond, 1925), I, 508.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 508
Instruction above the elementary level was left almost entirely to tutors and to the small private schools that specialized in the classics. The wealthy planters, who, from the isolated position of many of the plantations and from the condition of the Virginia roads, would have found difficulty in sending their children to school even if schools had existed, usually employed tutors. This system is too well known to necessitate comment, but it is interesting to observe that as late as 1819, this "predilection in favor of domestic education, the gentlemen preferring to hire tutors instead of sending their children to school," was given as a cause of the lack of success of the academies.  

The biographies of famous Virginians of the eighteenth century often refer to the classical education they received at the hands of a minister or master of a small private school. Jefferson went to Mr. Maury's school in Fredericksburg, and James Madison attended Mr. Martin's in Louisa County. Mr. Yates, an Oxford graduate, kept a school of this sort in Gloucester County which was largely attended. John Page, Thomas Nelson, and Edward Carter were among its pupils.  

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The boys who did not attend schools of this type, but were in search of higher education, often went to England to complete their studies. This custom was mentioned in connection with the need for the East India school; and that it continued up into the latter part of the eighteenth century is shown by an advertisement in The Virginia Gazette in 1769. The Academy of Leeds in Yorkshire, England, solicited the patronage of the citizens of Williamsburg and offered many advantages.23

Since the typical schools in England at that period were the Latin Grammar Schools, a brief history of these schools might be of interest. This type of institution had begun originally in the Roman Empire in about the middle of the second century B.C., and had spread throughout the main towns of Italy. Its purpose was to teach Latin grammar and to give a broad cultural acquaintance with classical literature. These schools declined with the Roman Empire. With the rise of the Christian Church, the same kind of education was provided in the monasteries and even later in the schools set up by the cathedrals. Such education remained typical of English public schools as late as the nineteenth century. Since education remained largely in the hands of the Church,

23 W. M. Q., VI, 1st ser. (January, 1898), 173.
it saw fit to give such an education as would help to perpetuate the Christian religion and also would prepare students for the learned professions. Latin was the cultural language of all Europe. Doctors, lawyers, ministers, statesmen, and schoolmasters needed it in their professions. Even minor officials, clerks and surveyors, found it necessary as deeds were often written in Latin. Greek and Hebrew were considered essential to a thorough understanding of the Bible and for the training of young men for the ministry. 24

The rules for the government of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, 1634, show the application of these principles of education to an American school. "The erection of the said school," stated its charter, "is for the instruction of hopeful youths in the Latin and Greek tongues and in other learned languages so far as to prepare such youths for the college and publique service of the country and the church and commonwealth." Furthermore it stated, "noe boyes are to be admitted into the school for the learning of English books but such as have been

24 H. H. Vreeland, Public Secondary Education in Connecticut, 1635-1800, dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Yale, 1941). The discussion of facts pertaining to the origin of Latin Grammar Schools is a brief condensation of material found in this dissertation.
before taught to spell the letters well and begin to read and thereby to perfect their spelling and reading."25

This purpose was much the same as that set up for the Grammar School in the charter of the College of William and Mary. It was to be established "for the immediate education of the youths of the colony in the Latin and Greek tongues."26

25 Rules and Regulations of the New Haven Hopkins Grammar School, transcribed from the records of the school by Lyman Baird, quoted by Elwood P. Cubberly, Readings in Public Education in the United States, p. 64.

CHAPTER II

THE WILLIAM AND MARY GRAMMAR SCHOOL
ITS FOUNDING AND EARLY HISTORY

The hopes of the Virginia Colony for an institution of higher learning for its sons did not begin with the actual founding of the College of William and Mary. In fact, the idea began at the very birth of the colony. In 1619, Sir Edwin Sandys received a grant for a college at Henrico and plans had been drawn up which were overthrown by the Indian Massacre of 1622.¹ A second plan, in 1624, for an Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis was broken up by the death of its chief sponsor, Edwin Palmer.² There is a record that in 1660, his Majesty's Governor, Council of state and Burgesses of the present grand Assembly have severally subscribed several large sums of money and quantities of tobacco to be paid after a place should be provided for Educational purposes.³ This attempt did not materialize, but the idea was kept alive, and in February, 1690, there was a meeting of private gentlemen interested in education, called together by Colonel John Page. This group met again in April of the

¹Herbert Adams, The History of the College, p. 11.
²Ibid., p. 11.
³Hening, Statutes, II, 37.
same year and presented to the Assembly their desires concerning the founding of a college. In the meantime, the clergy added their voices to the demand for the college and drew up a petition which they also presented to the Assembly. This paper was entitled, "A Proposition Drawn by the Clergy to be Transmitted to the General Assembly Regarding the Founding of a College."

This proposition showed that the clergy had given the matter careful thought and that they had definite ideas as to the type of school which would best meet the needs of the community. Since most of the schools of this period were church-sponsored, it was quite natural that this first practical plan for a college should have as one of its main objects the training of young men for the ministry. However, the Divinity School was not to be the only branch; a School of Philosophy was to be included and also a Grammar School. It is noteworthy that in all the early documents, as will be shown, the idea of the free school or grammar school was included as an essential part.

Taking first things first, the need for training scholars in the classics in order to have students prepared

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4W. M. Q., X, 2nd ser. (October, 1929), 333.

for the College, made the Grammar School the first concern of the founders. The proposition further stated that "care be taken for providing able and fitting masters and professors for the said school, viz. for the Grammar School a master and an able usher." That this was no idealistic dream but a practical plan was further shown by the following scale of allowances set up:

To the masters of the Grammar School, eighty pounds with the liberty to take fifteen shillings per annum of each scholar excepting twenty poor scholars who are to be taught gratis . . . to the ushers, fifty pounds each and the liberty to take five shillings yearly of each scholar excepting the twenty aforesaid . . . also that for the better encouraging and enabling of fitting persons to transport themselves into this country to undertake the said place there be advanced and allowed to the President and each professor and master, fifty pounds and to each usher, twenty-five pounds.  

The Clergy also addressed a proposition to the merchants of London and asked them to support "this charitable design of erecting and founding a Free School and College for the education of our youth." The term "free" was used to mean either a school without tuition charges, a charity school, or a school free to teach the liberal arts. In this case the latter definition applied because, except for

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6 Ibid.  
7 Ibid.  
8 Proposal of the Clergy to the Merchants of London for the Founding of a College, P. R. O. C. O., 5/1305, 38.
the aforementioned twenty, tuition charges would be made.

The proposition was received favorably by the Assembly, by the planters, and by their merchant friends. The House of Burgesses subscribed £25 and £2500 was raised in private subscriptions. That these donations were more readily promised than paid was later to be a source of grievance to President Blair; but at this point, the times seemed propitious and Commissary Blair, a doughty Scotsman, was sent over to England to secure a charter for the College and Free School. The Supplication sent by the Colony opens with these words, "Incited by the urgent necessity of this your Majesty's dominion, where our youth is deprived of the benefit of a liberal and virtuous education . . . "

Mr. Blair was given a long list of instructions signed by Governor Nicholson, then Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, among which appear the following:

You shall endeavor to procure from their Majesties an ample charter for a free school and college, wherein shall be taught Latin and Greek and the Hebrew tongue, together with Philosophy, Mathematics and Divinity. In order to do this you shall make it your business to peruse the best charters in England whereby schools and Colleges have been founded . . . . Having attained the said charter, you shall procure a good school master, usher, and writing master to be sent to this country . . . and see to the importation of a fit man to teach arithmetic.

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10 P. R. O. C. O., 5/1306.
This showed that the Governor had in mind, at this instant, the instruction of the younger boys, in other words, the Grammar School. That the plan was to start thus humbly with a grammar school and build up the other departments later was apparent in a letter from James Blair to Governor Nicholson in 1691. It was written from London after a conversation with the Bishop of London:

In England the masters have much easier lives than is designed for our masters here in our own college in Virginia. I can have several young men that are fit enough to be ushers but can not persuade any of the eminent, experienced men to go over. There is one thing that was forgot in my instructions, that is I should have been ordered to provide a President for the college at the same time as the school master and the usher. I thought at first, a Grammar School being the only thing we could go for, a good school master would be enough to manage that.11

Blair went on to say that the Bishop persuaded him (doubtless he needed little persuasion) that a president was necessary for setting up good discipline and that if it were left to the school master, he would keep the boys at their Latin longer than was necessary; also that the masters and ushers would need to be inspected as much as the boys.11

Mr. Blair was successful in his mission. The King and Queen allowed him £2000 from the quit-rents of Virginia, 20,000 acres of land, and a tax of one penny a pound on

tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, together with all fees and profits arising from the office of surveyor-general, which was to be controlled by the College. He received his charter in 1693. In this charter he was appointed President for life, and power was given to establish a college for divinity, philosophy, and languages, and such good arts and sciences. Affairs of the college were to be vested in a college senate, "which should consist of 18 men or any other number not exceeding 20, who were then the Lieutenant-Governor, four gentlemen of the council, four of the Clergy and the rest nam'd out of the House of Burgesses." This group was to handle the endowment of the College and transfer it to the President and masters as soon as the College should be fairly established.

In 1693, land was purchased from Thomas Ballard. Mr. Blair occupied a house on the property in which he set up a school until the college building should be complete.

Meanwhile Governor Nicholson, who had taken a great interest in the College, had been made Governor of Maryland.

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13 *Virginia Magazine of History*, III, 1894, 194.
and had been succeeded in Virginia by Sir Edmond Andros.

Under the new regime, the College fared badly. According to Blair:

The gentlemen of the Council, who had been the forwardest to subscribe, were the backwardest to pay; then every one was for finding shifts to evade and elude their Subscriptions and the meaner People were so influenced by their Countenance and Example, (Men being easily persuaded to keep their Money) that there was not one Penny got out of new Subscriptions nor paid of the old 2500l but about 500l.\(^{14}\)

The surveys on the Pamunkey lands had not been finished and work on the building had not begun. A paper bearing neither name nor date, entitled, "Sir Edmond Andros is an Enemy to the College of William and Mary," tells the tale of the difficulties between Blair and Andros. It said that Andros attempted to make Blair President "in futuro" (after the actual establishment of the College), whereas Blair protested that his presidency began at once, that he was ordered to repair to the place where the College was building and start a grammar school. Blair had been promised a house in the possession of the Governor in which to start his school, but the gentleman refused to give up his tenancy. Finally, after differences with his landlady, Mrs. Page, Governor Andros vacated the house and went to Jamestown, but

\(^{14}\)Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, p. 70.
instead of turning it over to Mr. Blair, he left an old servant in possession to prevent Blair's occupancy. Blair, wishing to open his school, brought his possessions to Williamsburg in a sloop and insisted on moving in.  

It would be interesting to know where the Page House stood. Two houses, removed from Duke of Gloucester Street by Governor Nicholson's orders, as obstructing the view of the College, belonged to a Mr. Page and they may have been the ones used by Mr. Blair for his first school house. 

That, in spite of difficulties, the Grammar School went into actual operation was attested to by a report sent to London in 1694. It listed the following payments made during the year: To Mr. Milligan, usher, £25; to Mr. Ingles, school master, £30; to Mr. Blair, one year at £100, one year at £150; to William Brown, for repairing the school house, £45.  

The Grammar School opened its doors to boys eight years of age and older. That the scholars were mostly youthful at this period was shown by a statement attributed to Governor Andros. A Mr. Philip Clark of Maryland said that while visiting the Governor, he was invited to go and see the

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15 Lambeth Manuscripts, Vol. 942, No. 50. Transcripts in the Collection of the College of William and Mary.  
16 An Account of the College of William and Mary, P. R. O. C. O., 5/1309, A23.
College. "I will show you this College," said Andros, "but you would expect that I should show you the Free School, but I suppose this College is to teach children their A, B, C's."

Mr. Clark was told that a cause of the Governor's sarcasm was that the Reverend Mr. Blair had offended him by saying quite pointedly in a sermon that "whoever withdrew a helping hand from the College would be eternally damned."

Mr. Blair was anxious to get on with the building of his College and Governor Andros was very uncooperative. He had promised bricks, but they were not forthcoming, and work on the building was at a standstill.

Blair went to London and complained to the Commission of Trade and Plantations that:

... their good Governor, who had been the Greatest Encourager in that Country of the Design (on which he has laid out 3500 of his own Money) being at that time remov'd from them, and another put in his Place that was of quite different Spirit and Temper, they found their Business going very heavily.

In response to this complaint, the trustees received a letter from King William, who told them to remove all obstacles from starting the College, and work on the main building soon began.


\[18\] Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, p. 70.

\[19\] Ibid.
In 1697, Governor Andros wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations, in answer to an inquiry as to the state of the College, "that two sides of the square intended, finished, the walls up, and roof setting up." Sir Edmond sent in a report of the work submitted to him by Stephen Fouace, Rector of the Board of Trustees. This report, after describing the condition of the building, ended with these words, "We have founded our Grammar School, which is well furnished with a good school master, usher, and writing master, in which the scholars make great proficiency in their studies to the general satisfaction of their parents and guardians." The good school master referred to was the Reverend Mungo Ingles, a Scotsman and minister of the Church of England. He held the degree of Master of Arts and had had much experience as a school master in England. Blair persuaded him to come over and head his new school. This school, housed in Mr. Blair's residence, consisted of twenty-nine pupils with the aforementioned masters.

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20 Edmond Andros, Letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, P. R. O. C. O., 5/1309.

21 Letter from the Trustees, April 13, 1697, P. R. O. C. O., 5/1309.

22 An annotated biography of Mungo Ingles will be found in Appendix B.

23 William and Mary Quarterly, I, 1st ser. (July, 1893), 130. Hereinafter cited as W. M. Q.
Mr. Blair undertook the housekeeping at first, but later turned it over to Mr. Ingles, much to the latter's disgust. Mr. Ingles complained bitterly and with reason that he did all the work while Mr. Blair drew a larger salary as President of a college which as yet did not exist. That the school had some standing even at this early period was shown by the fact that Governor Nicholson, while Governor of Maryland, sent to it a young schoolmaster of Maryland, Mr. Geddes, in order "to gain himself some experience until a school should be established." 24

Although some progress had been made, Blair was still dissatisfied with the conduct of Governor Andros and denounced him as an enemy of the College and of religion. He went over to England again and brought such pressure to bear that the King removed Andros and, at Blair's suggestion, replaced him by Francis Nicholson. Blair was, at that time, a great admirer of Nicholson and at the scholastic exercises in 1698, a feature of the occasion was the reading of a speech by the Governor in which he praised the literary attainments of the young gentlemen. This affair, the first record of an official exercise at the school, was attended by members of the House of Burgesses and many citizens of the town. The

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Assembly was thanked for their favors to the school by an address signed by the faculty, which at this time still included only President Blair, Mr. Ingles, and James Hodges, an usher.25

Governor Nicholson arrived in Williamsburg to take over his duties and applied himself to the task of completing the building of the College. In May, 1700, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

We have agreed that after Christmas the President shall go live in the building, the Grammar Master, Usher, Writing Master and so many scholars as are willing to board there and the President has undertaken for the first to provide their accommodation.26

This plan was duly carried out and the school moved into the Wren Building. At this time James Allen was added to the faculty as usher and William Robinson was made writing master.27

The school had been in its new quarters only a short time when a quarrel started between Blair and Nicholson, who were both living in the school. The rivalry between Dr. Blair, the President’s brother and the Governor for the hand


27Report made to the Council of Trade and Plantations Concerning Her Majesty’s Royall College of William and Mary in Virginia, July 8, 1702, P. R. O. C. O. 5/1312.
of a Miss Burwell is generally given as a first cause of
difference between them, but the Governor's presence in the
same building with Mr. Blair, who disliked anyone to infringe
on his authority, was probably a contributing cause. However
that may be, the mounting dislike between them led to the
quarrel over the famous "barring out" incident (to be dis-
cussed later) and to an outbreak of acrimonious complaints
to London by Mr. Blair, the Governor, and Mr. Ingles, who
had espoused the Governor's cause. In 1703, Mr. Ingles wrote:

We have the name of a College these ten years in
Virginia, a College which should have consisted of a
President and six masters etc. but instead of such a
College we have only a Grammar School . . . . yet all
this while we have had a President who pockets up yearly
£150 of the College money. If I am not out in my com-
putation he will have enriched his coffers next pay day
with about £1500 of the College cash, which at rate of
ten pounds apiece would have kept fifteen scholars
yearly at the Grammar School. We need masters for the
other subjects besides Latin and Greek but there is no
money to pay the masters. There is only money for the
Grammar Master and ushers and the President besides the
writing master, so this College or rather Grammar School
must fall.

Blair, in response to these accusations, sent an affi-
davit to the Colonial Office in which he berated the Governor
as an enemy of the College. He said that though the Governor
had pretended an interest in it, he had used it only for his
own advantage and had not encouraged the Assembly to assist
the College. He had used the building as a meeting place for

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*Virginia Magazine of History, IX (January, 1902), 251.*
the Assembly and for his own private treats, which had greatly disturbed the routine of the College business. As for finishing the College, he had done so with such haste and with such poor materials that the building was spoiled. He had paid excessive wages and had made additions of his own, and had in this way so despoiled the revenue of the College that the President had had no salary for two years. He further stated that the Governor had not collected the tax on tobacco from Maryland which had been granted to the College and had made the College pay back to him the £200 he had once advanced to it.29

Ingles continued to support the Governor and take issue with Blair on various subjects. He was disappointed at not being given a house that he had been promised and at having to live in the building and do the housekeeping. Since a part of Ingles’ salary came from fees, he was, naturally, anxious to build up the enrollment of his school. He felt that the enmity between Blair and Nicholson, resulting in the removal of several sons of Nicholson’s enemies, kept it from prospering as it should. He was particularly annoyed with Blair for removing his own nephew. He accused Blair of ingratitude to the Governor and said in a letter to the

29 Affidavit of James Blair Concerning the Mal-Administration of Governor Nicholson, April 27, 1704, P. R. O. C. O., 5/1314.
Board, "I am resolved to have no more to do with such a man and will no longer bee a member of a body or corporation of which he is the head." He added, "I do not understand the Turning of a good Design into Bad use, a design of Breeding up youth in learning and virtue and all commendable Qualities into a stalking horse to serve a turne upon occasion or to enrich a particular man." He ended upon a most dramatic note, "My soul come not thou into their secrets and unto their Assembly, my honour be thou not united." 30

These smoldering grievances burst into flame in the final quarrel, in which Ingles espoused the cause of the Governor against Blair. Nicholson lived in the building and took a great interest in the school. He had helped Ingles to find scholars and was on terms of great intimacy with him and the school boys, but on exceedingly difficult terms with Blair. In his affidavit to the Bishop, in which he gave a full account of what he called the "Riot" at the College, Blair even went so far as to accuse the Governor of trying to kill him. Blair said that Nicholson had provided the boys with money for shot, lent them his pistols and under pretense of a "barring out" (an old custom in which the boys barred

the doors of the building against the masters in order to obtain an early Christmas holiday), had made a serious attempt against his life. Ingles also made an affidavit, bolstered by others from the boys involved in the affair, in which he refuted the President's charges. He alleged that the supposed plot was only a schoolboys' prank, that it had happened every year except when the Assembly met there, that the Governor's money went for victuals, not for shot, and that, in short, there was no shot and no conspiracy.

In disgust with Blair and the declining condition of the school, due in his opinion to Blair, Ingles finally decided to resign. He wrote to Governor Nicholson in August, 1705, "I think it is my duty to acquaint your Excellency that I intend to quit the Grammar School (which is commonly and most improperly called the College) both as Master and housekeeper on the 25th of September next." He gave as his reasons that Blair had removed his nephew and influenced seven others to leave, which almost broke up

32 Affidavits Sworn out by the Schoolboys and Mungo Ingles, May, 1705, Virginia Magazine of History, VIII, 143-46.
33 Letter to Governor Nicholson, August 8, 1705, Ferry, Papers Relating to the Church in Virginia, pp. 139-40.
the school, and that Blair had greatly injured the name of
the school by making his scholars appear the "contrivers of a
bad design." He said that Blair painted his scholars as a
company of cut-throats and bandits that takes no more thought
for the life of a man than for the life of a hen, though they
are the best gentlemen's sons in the country and of such vir-
tuous disposition and honest principles as are not to be
matched in most Grammar Schools." He repeated his former
assertion that the College would never be more than a Grammar
School as long as Blair was at the helm.\textsuperscript{34}

When Blair received notice of Ingles' intention to
quit, he wrote to the Bishop that he had been inconvenienced
by the short notice given by Ingles of his resignation since
it was difficult to fill his place. Ingles took exception to
this criticism and launched into another of his colorful
epistles. This was called "A Modest Reply to Mr. Commissary
Blair's Answer to my Reasons for Leaving the College." After
the reasons already stated, he said, "I find it as dangerous
to say anything against the unreasonableness of Mr. Blair's
taking his salary as President of the College, tho' it is at
present only a Grammar School, as it was of old to speak
against Diana and her Silver Shrines." He said that Blair
had always opposed him and that when he had asked for extra

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ibid.}
money for running the whole school after the death of an usher, Blair had refused. He said that Blair gave as one of his reasons for removing his nephew that he had been mistreated by the other boys. "But," denied Ingles, "I never allow the greater fish to eat up the lesser." Ingles contradicted Blair's statement that it would be hard to find a school-master by declaring that there were many good ministers who would be able to fill the place. He thought it would be much harder to find scholars as many of them threatened to leave if Blair remained. He added that Blair considered him ungrateful since he had been responsible for appointing him to the position. His appointment, in Ingles' opinion, was due to the superiority of his recommendations over the other applicants' rather than to Blair. "Need I thank him," he demanded with a fine rhetorical flourish, "for that which my own character and merits procured for me?"35

Mr. Blair, in defending himself to Governor Nott, who had been sent over to replace Governor Nicholson, pointed out that while the College at that point was still clearly a Grammar School and only a Grammar School, the intent of the founders was to make it indeed a college. He closed his letter with these words, "if by various impediments it has

35Virginia Magazine of History, IX, 18.
not attained its intended perfection, it would be more commendable to think of helping it to be what it wants to be than to destroy what it is."36

It would seem as if the struggling school had already troubles aplenty; yet still another setback was added. On October 27, 1705, the main building burned down. In June of 1706, the House of Burgesses agreed to lay a tax on skins and furs for the better support of the College.37 Although this tax act was passed promptly, the work of rebuilding did not immediately begin. In 1709, William Byrd records a meeting of a committee called to discuss plans for rebuilding the College. This committee decided to hire a Mr. Tullitt, who agreed, for the sum of £2000, to undertake the repairs necessary, provided he could use the wood from the College land and that all assistants brought from England come at the College risk.38

While the work of reconstruction was going on, the Board had other problems to attend to. The resignation of Mungo Ingles had left the school without a headmaster. This position was later filled by Arthur Blackamore, a young man

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of unstable temperament. Blackamore was born in London in 1679. He graduated from Oxford and was licensed to teach in Virginia in 1707. He probably began his work that year, though there is no exact date given for his appointment as headmaster of the Grammar School. In 1709, William Byrd spoke of Master Blackamore's coming to play cards with him. He said he brought Colonel Randolph with him as he was afraid to face Byrd alone after having been reprimanded by him for drinking. Later in 1709, there was a meeting of the Board of William and Mary at which they decided to ask Blackamore to leave "for being such a sot." Mr. Blackamore appealed to the sympathies of the Board and presented a petition promising to mend his ways if he were allowed to stay. At the next meeting the Board decided to give him another trial and he remained at the school. Byrd wrote in 1712 that Blackamore had asked for an usher, but since there were so few boys the Board had decided there were not enough to warrant one.

The school did not flourish under Blackamore's administration. Blair wrote to the Bishop of London that

\[39\] W. M. Q., III, 1st ser. (April, 1895), 265.
\[40\] Byrd, The Secret Diary, p. 45.
\[41\] Ibid., p. 98.
\[42\] Ibid., p. 98.
\[43\] Ibid., p. 508.
when Master Blackamore was at the school it declined apace. County gentlemen would not send their sons to a school where the master set such a bad example. Blair said that, upon admonition, the master would reform for a month and seem very penitent, but he would always relapse. He added that the College had been very patient with him, but that when the scholars had been reduced to ten, the Board had met and demanded his dismissal. The College did seem very patient, for at this second decision of dismissal, Blackamore asked for six months in which to settle his debts and the Board not only granted this request, but also asked that the debts be examined and that if they were not more than twenty pounds, they be remitted to him. They also agreed to purchase his books and globes for the College use and "if he behaved himself, to pay him twelve pounds for supplying the College with firewood."

There is something pathetic about Blackamore. He had good intentions and little will to carry them out. For six months his reform lasted and he had decided to apply for Holy Orders and to ask the Board for a testimonial for the Bishop. On the very day his testimonial was to be signed,

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45 Virginia Magazine of History, IV, 170.
however, the unfortunate young man was too drunk to attend the meeting. Some of the Board, not knowing the cause of his absence, had already signed the paper, but Blair felt that the Bishop should not attach too much importance to it without knowing the true situation. Blair wrote that he "could not send any good testimony of his sobriety or good behavior." 46 That, in spite of his weakness, Blackamore was something of a scholar was shown by the fact that his verses to Spotswood were copied in Maryland, as well as in Virginia. This Latin poem, "Ultra Montane Expedition," was presented to Governor Spotswood, November, 1716, after his successful crossing of the Blue Ridge Mountains. 47

Blackamore returned to England much embittered against the College. Blair suggested in a letter concerning him, written to the Bishop, that, "If he were put into orders and sent to some remote place where there would be less temptation to drink, he might do well enough as he had many fits of serious devotion and I often think he would break himself of that unfortunate habit if he could." 48 Whether or not he followed this hopeful suggestion is a matter of conjecture.

46 Fulham MSS, Va. Box 1, 119.
47 W. M. Q., III, 1st ser. (April, 1895), 265.
48 Fulham MSS, Va. Box 1, 119.
In 1711, the College took the first step in emerging from the period in which it was only a Grammar School. Governor Spotswood, anxious for the College to complete her faculty and become a true college, recommended to the Board Mr. Tanaquil Lefevre. Mr. Lefevre was offered a position as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at a salary of eighty pounds. He was a minister of the Church of England and was licensed to preach and teach in Virginia in 1709. There was some delay about his appointment and he did not enter upon his duties at the College until 1711.

William Byrd relates in his diary for April, 1711, that he was "visited by some gents, among them a Mr. Lefevre, a Frenchman of great learning."

Mr. Lefevre became an object of suspicion in Williamsburg from the very first because of a sixteen-year-old girl that he had brought with him. Spotswood said that in England he had passed her off as his wife and that he had not had time to investigate the matter. It was unfortunate that he did not, because the young lady (never referred to except as

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51 Ibid, p. 331.
an idle hussy) had a very bad influence on the professor. She led him into ways of intemperance and neglect of duty so that the Board was obliged to dismiss him. Spotswood said that his irregularities were not due to a vicious disposition and after the lady was deported he had reformed and had taken a position in a gentleman's family. He was mentioned in 1724 as having preached at Jamestown. Mr. Lefevre was not officially a member of the Grammar School faculty, but since at that period there were so few older boys, his classes must have been partly made up of scholars. For this reason he is included with the other Grammar Masters.

Now that both Lefevre and Blackamore had been dismissed, the school was left without a master. Mungo Ingles, whose wrath had apparently cooled, was offered the position. He accepted and once again became Master of the Grammar School.

An important step in achieving college status was in 1717, when the scholarly Hugh Jones was added to the faculty as Professor of Mathematics. Mr. Jones was a minister of the Church of England and a graduate of Oxford, where he had received a Master of Arts Degree in 1716. He was recommended to the College by the Bishop of London and came over to

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52 Spotswood, Official Letters, p. 159.
America on the King's Bounty. Mr. Jones was a man of many talents. Not only was he an accomplished mathematician, but also the author of several treatises on education, among them an English Grammar. His book, The Present State of Virginia, published after his return to England is valuable to historians for the graphic picture it presents of the life of the colony and College. When Mr. Jones was at William and Mary, he served also as a "lecturer" at Bruton Parish and as Chaplain to the House of Burgesses. When Mungo Ingles died, Mr. Jones wrote the Bishop that he would assist the usher with the Grammar School until a good master could be sent over. He became, in addition to his other duties, Master of the Grammar School in 1719 and remained until 1721. Mr. Jones was not entirely satisfied with the system of education as it existed at William and Mary and suggested certain modifications. He proposed that there should be a chair of history and also that there should be provided training in surveying and in such courses as would prepare young men to serve the state. It is from this period that the College was recognized as something more than a Grammar

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55 An annotated biography of Hugh Jones will be found in Appendix C.
School and efforts were redoubled to complete the original design.

When Alexander Spotswood, that most energetic of Governors, had arrived in Williamsburg in 1710, he was much concerned about the incomplete condition of the College. He wrote to the Bishop of London in 1713:

We have in this country a Colledge founded by their late Majesties King William and Queen Mary and lately raised from the ashes by the pity of our present sovereign. This work is far from being completed. The building is still unfinished and the revenue too small to support the number of masters requisite for carrying youth through a course of universal study. I hoped to get a fund settled out of her Majesty's quit-rents to assist the College.  

Spotswood continued his efforts, but by 1716, writing to Francis Fontaine, he referred to the College as having arrived at no greater perfection than a Grammar School. He repeated the resolve, however, of those in charge of it to prosecute the original design of the foundation. In 1721, there was sent to London a very pessimistic report. In a memorandum to the Bishop of London, it was reported that the College was in the same condition as three years before. The front was finished, but the chapel was unfinished. It was managed by a Mrs. Stith, who saw to the necessary linens and victuals, and by one young master, Joshua Fry, who

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58 Ibid., p. 166.
who taught Greek and Latin to about twenty-three boys. The memorandum ended on this discouraging note:

The people of Virginia are at present in a kind of lethargy in regard to so noble a building as well as so pious design as no doubt it was originally, and I know not by what mismanagement of those that have it in their hands, they think it either as cheap or their children's Education as capable of improving elsewhere as in the college, which argues no great dependence on the President.

Spotswood was succeeded in 1722 by Hugh Drysdale, who showed great concern that the College was no further advanced. He was anxious to obtain enough funds to establish the full quota of masters provided for in the charter. To this end he recommended to the House of Burgesses a special tax on all imported liquors to aid the College, to which the House of Burgesses agreed.

President Blair went over to England to discuss this act and to make a report to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations as to the state of the College finances. He said that this tax would bring in a revenue of £200 per year, which would enable the College to add the additional masters


necessary for the transfer, provided in the charter, of the
management of the College from the trustees to the faculty.
He gave at this time the salaries of the masters as follows:
President Blair, one hundred fifty pounds; Grammar Master,
eighty pounds; Usher, fifty pounds; Mathematics Master,
eighty pounds; Philosophy Master, eighty pounds; and Master
of Divinity, one hundred fifty pounds. This showed that the
faculty was almost complete. 61

Meanwhile in Williamsburg there was a debate in the
Assembly as to whether, if the tax act were passed, it should
be for the finishing of the building as originally planned or
for the employing of the extra masters. 62 Governor Nicholson,
now Governor of South Carolina and a member of the Board of
Visitors, came up to lead the opposition to the use of the
money for salaries. The Burgesses, however, agreed to con­
firm the act and to let the money go for "the better support
of the college" and completion of the faculty. 63 Mr. Blair,
having the necessary funds, completed his faculty and in
1729, the trustees transferred the College funds and endow­
ments to the President and Masters, who then constituted the

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61 Report made by Mr. Blair and Mr. Leheup, agent, to
the Commission of Trade and Plantations, Journal of the
62 Ibid., p. 302.
63 Ibid., pp. 324-25.
corporation of the College. The faculty at this time consisted of President Blair; Francis Fontaine, Professor of Oriental Languages; Bartholomew Yates, Professor of Divinity; Alexander Irwin and William Dawson in the School of Philosophy; and Joshua Fry, a "young gentleman of Williamsburg" who was made Grammar Master. Thus the College, at last, came into its own and the period in which the Grammar School was virtually the College was ended. The Grammar School then became (as was always intended) one of the several departments of the College.

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64 The Faculty of Instruction, Adams, History of the College, p. 19.
CHAPTER III

THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS

Joshua Fry, the first Grammar Master after the transfer of the management of the College to the faculty, was a native of Somerset, England. Although called a young gentleman of Williamsburg, he had not come to Virginia until 1720, after graduating from Oxford. He had been associated with the Grammar School for some time and, though very young, had been in charge of the school after Hugh Jones's return to England. In a report made to the Bishop, he was referred to as "a good scholar." Fry remained Grammar Master until 1731, when he was appointed Professor of Mathematics. He held that post until 1744. He later was prominent as a burgess, a surveyor, and a map-maker. Fry was also a soldier. He lost his life in 1755, while serving his country as a Colonel in the Virginia Militia in the French and Indian War.

Fry was replaced as Grammar Master by William Stith. Stith had the distinction of being the first and only native Virginian to become Master of the Grammar School until after the Revolution. He was born in Charles City County in 1707.

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1 Memorandum for His Excellency, 1721, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

2 A biography of Joshua Fry will be found in Appendix B.
He attended the Grammar School in 1720 and, in 1724, he entered Oxford University. He received there his B. A. in 1728 and his M. A. in 1730. Returning to America, he was appointed Master of the Grammar School, and Blair commended him for the thriving condition of the school while under his care. In 1736, he "weari ed of the School" and took a church in Henrico Parish. He remained at this same church until 1751, and while there, worked on his History of Virginia. This history, based on the records of the London Company, covered the earliest period in Virginia history. The Privy Council had ordered these records destroyed when the company was dissolved, but Nicholas Ferrer had had them copied and gave them to the Earl of Southampton. These records, invaluable to historians, came into the hands of William Byrd and from the Byrd library into the possession of Stith. Stith's history was never completed. The volume, published in Williamsburg in 1747, was to be the first of several volumes. Fiske calls it "one of the most admirable of America's historical works" and said that the style is scholarly and the narrative, dignified and graphic.

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4W. M. Q., I, 1st ser. (July, 1893, 135.

5John Fiske, Old Virginia, I, 220-21.
One paragraph from this history seems worth quoting, as it not only illustrates Stith's style, but also gives his point of view on education. Speaking of James I, he said that his tutor, Buchanan, "has given him Greek and Latin in great waste and profusion, but it was not in his power to give him good sense. That is the gift of God and Nature alone and is not to be taught; and Greek and Latin without it only cumber and overload a weak head and often render the fool more abundantly foolish." 6

In 1752, on the death of President William Dawson, Stith was suggested as President of the College. The friends of Thomas Dawson, brother of the late President, were strongly in favor of his candidacy and opposed Stith. During the campaign Stith's enemies brought out against him his liberal religious ideas. Stith, in defending his views, showed himself something of a casuist. He wrote to the Bishop:

I have been represented as being Anti-Trinitarian, Clarkist and the Ld. knows what else, . . . . but always accounted it the safest and most prudent way, to acquiesce in the Church's Definitions without enquiring too nicely and critically into the matter. 7

In spite of the efforts made against him, Stith was made President of the College and remained in that position until his death in 1755.

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6 Ibid., II, 256.
7 Fulham MSS, Va. Box 1, 180.
When Stith resigned as Master of the Grammar School, Blair wrote to the Bishop for advice in appointing a new master. He also recommended to him William Barrett, an usher of the Grammar School, who had been so diligent that he had been appointed to head Mr. Boyle's foundation, the school for Indians, and was on his way to England to qualify for Holy Orders. With the exception of Joshua Fry, all the Masters of the College were ministers of the Church of England. Most of the support of the College, as has been noted, came from public and private subscription rather than from the Church (as was the case with "mission schools" set up by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel), but the bond was strong and it was to the Bishop of London, Chancellor of the College, that Blair and the masters went for help and advice. This influence of the Church on education was further noticed when Blair wrote to the Bishop in search of an usher for the Grammar School. He wrote that he needed an usher, "such as may succeed to Master in case of a vacancy . . . we desire him to be at least a deacon."

The College now entered a more prosperous period. There were sixty boys in attendance, the largest number so

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8 Letter from James Blair to the Bishop of London, W. M. Q., XX, 2nd ser. (January, 1940), 129.
9 Ibid., 132.
This figure was mentioned in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1736, while describing a "deliverance of Verses." The condition upon which the Pamunkey lands were given to the College was that the faculty should present annually to the Governor two copies of Latin verses. This interesting custom continued until the time of the Revolution. According to the *Gazette*, the President, masters, and the sixty scholars went to the Governor's Palace to present the verses in obedience to the charter. The President delivered the verses and two of the young gentlemen recited them.¹⁰

In 1737, Edward Ford was appointed Grammar Master.¹¹ He was born in Bristol, England, and studied Divinity at Oxford. He received his M. A. degree in 1737 and was made a deacon of the Church of England. He remained at William and Mary for two years and then decided to apply for a fellowship at Oxford to become a priest. Both Blair and Governor Gooch wrote letters recommending him, and it is from these letters that we get a glimpse of his character as there is little information about him. Blair said that he was, "a very hopeful and deserving Gentleman," and that he was an excellent Latin and Greek scholar.¹²

¹⁰ *The Virginia Gazette*, edited by Purdie and Dixon, November 5, 1736.
Gooch wrote that he was of unblameable life, sober, modest and virtuous, a good scholar and a credit to the College. He also commended him for his excellent handling "of the only nursery for learning in this country." This was a sweeping statement and cannot be taken literally, but must reflect the scarcity of schools of higher learning at this period.

In 1742, Thomas Robinson was chosen to replace Ford. Robinson was born in Lancashire, England, and received a B. A. from Oxford in 1742. He came over to Virginia that same year and soon after married Edith Tyler. This marriage, being against College policy, caused his dismissal from the school. Robinson was never a man to submit tamely to the Board; so he took his case to the Privy Council. The Council ordered his reinstatement and he returned to the College. From then on, Robinson was never in favor with the Board. They complained of his intemperance and of the confusion and disturbance caused by the presence of his wife and children in the College building. In 1757, the Board met and decided that "because of his bodily infirmities" Mr. Robinson was incapable of discharging the duties of his office and was to

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13 W. M. Q., XX, 2nd ser. (April, 1940), 217.
14 W. M. Q., VIII, 1st ser. (April, 1900), 252.
be dismissed. He was to be allowed to stay on for six months and was to be given a year's salary. The Robinson affair caused the Board to break a precedent of long standing and request the Bishop to send a layman for the Grammar School. The letter states:

The Visitors have observed that appointing a clergyman to be Master of the Grammar School has proved a means of the school's being neglected in regard to the frequent avocations of a minister. His Lordship will please send over a layman if such can be procured, if not, a clergyman.15

Robinson wrote to the Bishop, stating his case and asking his intercession. He said that he had been Master for fifteen years and during that time had no parochial duties. He added that the reason the Board wanted a layman was that he would be more under their thumbs as the Board wanted men "supple as slaves."16

The Bishop failed to intercede for Mr. Robinson and the decree of the Board was carried out. Robinson was ordered to give up his apartment and turn over his keys. Still fighting for his rights, he refused to hand them over, saying that no one had a better right to them than he. The President of the College then had his apartment padlocked. Robinson admitted defeat and finally moved out.17

15 Fulham MSS, Va. Box 2, 38.
16 Ibid., 37.
In 1743, President Blair died, leaving his books and £300 to the College. He had been President for half a century, never losing a battle when he was fighting in the interests of the College. He was succeeded by Thomas Dawson, a former professor of Philosophy.

When the Board finally disposed of Robinson, they made a temporary appointment until a proper master should be found. The Reverend William Davis, an Oxford graduate and minister in Hanover Parish, became Grammar Master and remained until the arrival of Goronwy Owen, the new appointee.  

The Reverend Mr. Owen was one of the most interesting characters to be associated with the Grammar School. He was born in Wales in 1722 and, in 1741, he entered Oxford. After graduating from Oxford he was ordained a deacon, but did not take a church. He served as schoolmaster in several English schools and exercised his literary talents. In 1757, the Bishop of London offered him a position at William and Mary at a salary of two hundred pounds. He came over with his wife and children and took office in 1758. Owen was a man of great scholastic ability. Bishop Porteus called him "the most finished writer of Latin and Greek since the days of the Roman Empire." Lewis Morris, writing of Welsh poetry, said

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18Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, p. 263.
he was the "greatest genius of this age that ever appeared in this country." Owen, like many of the parsons of that day, was quite addicted to drink. One night, with the assistance of William Rowe, professor of Moral Philosophy, he led the students in an affray against the townspeople. The result of this escapade was that Rowe was summarily dismissed and Owen, possibly to forestall similar action, resigned.

After his departure from the College, he took a church in Brunswick County and there he continued his merry ways to such an extent that he was twice haled into court. In spite of his failings, his parishioners loved him and came to his defense when an effort was made to jail him. He remained in Brunswick until his death in 1770.19

Owen's place at the Grammar School was taken by the Reverend William Webb.20 Webb was an Oxford graduate and had had a church in Nansemond County. He remained at the Grammar School for two years and then returned to the ministry.21

We find a picture of the school of this period, seen through the eyes of a visitor, in which the youth of the group


20Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of the College of William and Mary, 1729-1734, February 15, 1758. Hereinafter cited as Journal of the Faculty.

was commented upon. John Whiting wrote that there were about seventy students, and six masters, besides the President, Mr. Yates. The students, according to him were mostly little boys and some about fifteen. The President told him that each boy paid about thirteen pounds per annum, but that they cost the College at least twenty pounds, the difference being made up from College funds. 22

In 1763, James Horrocks, a Master of Arts from Cambridge and a minister of the Church of England, was appointed Master of the Grammar School. 23 He was also Counsellor of State for his Majesty and Rector of Bruton. In 1764, he was elected President of the College and commissary to the Bishop. In spite of all these activities, he continued to head the Grammar School until 1766. Of him it was unkindly said, "he made a tolerable pedagogue in the Grammar School and was removed from the only place he had the ability to fill." 24

Josiah Johnson was appointed Grammar Master in 1766. He was a minister who had preached at Bruton and had evidently impressed his hearers, for William Nelson wrote to a friend that he hoped he would succeed at the Grammar School

23 A biography of James Horrocks will be found in Appendix E.
24 W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 130.
as he performed admirably in church. 25

Johnson married Mildred Moody, 26 an act which almost
cost him his job as the Board still had very definite ideas
against their masters marrying. His administration was
marked by controversies between him and the Board.

During Horrock's administration as President, while
Johnson was Grammar Master, there was an interesting meeting
of the faculty, which gave an insight into the educational,
principles of the times. Certain students had petitioned the
Board that they might omit the classical foundation and
enroll in the school of mathematics. When the Board ruled
that this might be done, the faculty was much opposed and
stated that:

The appointment of a master to teach vulgar arith-
metical and some practical branch of mathematics in order
to qualify them for an inferior position in life would
do more harm than good to the public and could not be
allowed even in the case of extraordinary genius. 27

The pattern of their educational policy was explained
at this meeting: That the plan or method consists in the
pursuit first of classical knowledge; secondly, philosophy,
both natural and moral; and lastly, of such sciences as are
to be the business of the students during the remainder of
their lives.

26 The Virginia Gazette, edited by William Rind, May 26,
1769.
27 Journal of the Faculty, May, 1770.
The faculty went on record also as strenuously objecting to parental interference in selecting a course of study. They state that, "parents can not become conductors of education in a college without throwing it into confusion."28. We see from this that the faculty had a definite, prescribed course of study, that they made few provisions for individual differences, and that they were firmly convinced of the correctness of their judgment.

In 1773, Thomas Gwatkin became Master of the Grammar School.29 He had formerly been professor of Natural Philosophy. Gwatkin, an Oxford graduate and extremely loyal to England, was much disturbed by the revolutionary atmosphere in Williamsburg. He was violently opposed to the idea of an American Episcopate as advanced by Horrocks and Camm, and he aided Professor Henley, also a Tory, in combatting their ideas through the pages of the Virginia Gazette. Mr. Gwatkin was personal chaplain to Lady Dunmore and they must have had a very congenial time in their mutual dislike of the disloyal Virginians. In 1774, "disgusted with rebellious and disloyal collegians," he resigned his position at the College and sailed with Lady Dunmore, who had prudently decided to

28 Ibid.
take her departure for England. 30

In 1775, the Reverend John Bracken was appointed Head- master of the Grammar School. Mr. Bracken had a long and distinguished career, dividing his time between the Church and the College. He came to Virginia in 1772 and was appointed Rector of Bruton Parish Church in 1773. He remained there until his death in 1818, a period of forty-five years.31 In politics, Bracken was an ardent patriot and advocated the colonial cause in a series of articles in the Gazette.32 Henley and Gwatkins opposed him and some of the loyalist element criticized his conduct. However, his congregation stood back of him and passed resolutions stating that his conduct met with their approval. Bracken presented an interesting paradox. He had not long been out of England when the Revolution broke out. By sentiment and tradition he was close to England. His ideas on education and religion were those of the Church of England and opposed to the more radical conceptions of Thomas Jefferson. It would have seemed more natural for him to have been a loyalist, but on the

30 W. M. Q., I, 1st ser. (July, 1893), 73


contrary he was "an avowed and decided partisan of the colonies."33

Bracken lost his position as Grammar Master when Jefferson, a member of the Board of Visitors, decided to abolish the Grammar School. He twice brought suit against the College to show cause why he should not be restored to his former position and to collect the salary he claimed was due him.34 He lost both suits, but the case brought out some interesting differences in viewpoint. Bracken represented the struggle between the old and the new. He represented the old classical education as opposed to modern languages; the influence of religion as against the new school which had dropped its school of Divinity; the need for a preparatory department to train up future students, which Jefferson considered out of place. He also represented the old corporation which considered that dismissal was a matter for the faculty, against the new order which gave final authority to the Board.

During the preceding ten years, the faculty and the Board had had many disputes and the College had not enjoyed as much popular favor as formerly. The General Assembly

33 Goodwin, A Historical Sketch of Bruton Church, p. 49.

34 Call's Reports, III, 573, Rev. John Bracken v. The College of William and Mary, transcript in folder 12, papers of the College.
decreed that all salaries, including the professors', should be paid in money instead of tobacco at the rate of two pennies per pound. The professors protested this treatment and there was much bitter talk between them and the Board, who upheld the ruling. The Board had also incurred the wrath of the faculty by dismissing Mr. Camm and Mr. Johnson, then Master of the Grammar School, for marrying and neglecting their students. After another acrimonious quarrel, the Board agreed to reinstate them, decreeing from henceforth, "upon the Marriage of such professors or Masters that his professorship be immediately vacated."35 This affair caused much discussion in the town. The prolonged dissension between the faculty and the Visitors caused many people to remove their children from the College. Robert Carter is quoted as saying he "could not with propriety send his children to a place whose affairs were in such confusion, where the professors played cards all night in public houses and were often seen drunk on the streets."36

William Reynolds, a merchant of Williamsburg, wrote to his friend John Norton that Mr. Savage was moving from

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35 Proceedings of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, September, 1769, from historical sketch of the College, Catalog of 1870, p. 44.

Williamsburg to Philadelphia, "in order to obtain a better education for his children. The college here in Philadelphia being under exceedingly good regulation and that in our colony quite the reverse, to the shame of the Virginians be it said." Andrew Sprowle, spokesman for an assembly of merchants and traders, being complimented for making a speech better than the professors at William and Mary, replied, "Aye, sir, the parsons do nothing well unless they are paid for it."

The coming of the Revolution severed many ties between the College and England, both financial and traditional. While the break with England meant the loss of English funds and was a setback to the College, the break with the established church left such educators as Jefferson more free to develop their own ideas about education. When Jefferson was elected Governor of Virginia, he introduced many reform bills affecting the church and state. One of the most famous was his "Bill for a More General Diffusion of Knowledge," introduced in 1779. With his new plans for Public Education, a sufficient number of Grammar Schools or Academies would be established by groups of counties to

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38 Ibid., p. 76.
provide an education for all of those fitted to go beyond the elementary stage. Those with the ability to go still farther and who wished to prepare themselves for the professions would be sent to William and Mary, which was to become a true university.39

Thus, as Adams says, "Jefferson's plan was to make William and Mary the roof and crown of the entire educational system of Virginia."40 It was to be a seminary of higher learning only, with all preparatory work relegated to properly qualified schools.

With this end in view, Jefferson took advantage of his election to the Board of Visitors of the College to make sweeping changes in the organization of that institution. He substituted chairs of Law, Medicine, and Modern Languages for the professorships of Divinity and Oriental Languages; and he abolished the Grammar School.41

With this act ends the first period of the Grammar School. It was an important period because, while there were

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39 A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, Proposed by the Committee of the Revision of the Laws of Virginia Appointed by the General Assembly of Virginia, 1776. The committee was composed of Edmond Pendleton, George Wythe, and Thomas Jefferson. The bill was reported to the Assembly, June 18, 1779. Morrison, The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia, p. 111.

40 Adams, History of the College, p. 38.

41 W. M. Q., II, 2nd ser. (July, 1893), 40.
many academies in existence in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and an increasing number in the early part of the nineteenth century, the school at William and Mary was the only one in practically continuous existence during the entire eighteenth century.\footnote{\textit{Morrison, The Beginnings of Public Education in Virginia,} p. 131.} During that period, it was an unique institution. It was much more distinct from the College proper than it was during the nineteenth century when less difference was made between "scholar" and "student."

This fact gives a better opportunity to study conditions in the Grammar School and to find out the educational philosophy upon which it was operated and how its pupils lived and learned.
CHAPTER IV

THE MASTERS AND WHAT THEY TAUGHT

When Blair was making his first efforts to found the Grammar School, he wrote to Governor Nicholson of the difficulty of finding men of experience who were willing to come to America. Granting the truth of this statement, it is a tribute to Blair's persuasive powers that he was able to provide such capable men to undertake the precarious position of heading the new school.

Since there were few schoolmasters in Virginia at that time, Blair naturally looked to England to furnish the type of man he wanted. With the exception of William Stith, a native Virginian, all of the masters before the Revolution were British born, and all were educated at English or Scottish Universities. Joshua Fry, though spoken of as a "young gentleman of Williamsburg" had been in Virginia only a few years before his appointment as Grammar Master.

With the exception of Fry, the masters were all ministers of the Church of England. They were licensed by the Bishop of London to preach and teach in Virginia and a number of them came over with the King's Bounty, that is, their transportation was paid in order to further the cause of education and the church.
The strong bond between the school and the Church of England is shown in the number of early ministers in Virginia who had been connected with the Grammar School as either pupils or masters.¹

The original record book of the meetings of the faculty opens with the words, "In nomine Dei, Patris, Filii et Spiritu Sancti, Amen."² All of the masters swore fidelity to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England when they were admitted to their professorships.

The Bishop of London (and sometimes the Archbishop of Canterbury) was the chancellor of the College; and of all the Presidents, only Bartholomew Yates failed to be appointed the Bishop's commissary in Virginia.³

All of the masters were men of education. Most of them were Masters of Arts from Cambridge or Oxford and were men of real literary attainments. Mungo Ingles wrote no books, but his bitter satirical articles and letters give us our most vivid picture of the first days of the Grammar School. Whether he was lamenting his lot as a schoolmaster

¹The Reverend Edward L. Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia (Milwaukee, 1927), pp. 321-342. Twenty-five ministers connected with the Grammar School are mentioned between 1725-86.

²The Journal of the Faculty, p. 1.

³Herbert Adams, The History of the College, p. 16.
or mocking Blair's account of the attack on his life, he shows himself a master of invective and an artist at description.

Blackamore and Owen, both subject to the weakness of excessive drinking that led to their severing connections with the school, were, nevertheless, well known poets. Owen was considered a true genius. Hugh Jones and William Stith were famed as historians and even the ill-fated Mr. Lefevre was spoken of as "a Frenchman of great learning."4

Three of the grammar masters, Stith, Horrocks, and Bracken, became Presidents of the College, and Joshua Fry acquired fame as a pioneer, geographer, surveyor, and soldier.5

The life of a grammar master must have been hard. In the early period of the Grammar School, almost all of the burden of the school fell upon him. Even in the later periods, the master was required to be in close contact with his pupils. Ingles said that his hours were from seven to eleven and from two to six, and that he spent his lungs "upon a company of children who (many of them) must be taught the same things many times over." He added, "My attendance on the College is constant, the trouble of teaching unspeakable."6

5This general information about the education of the masters is documented under their biographies.
6Mungo Ingles, letter to the Rector and Gentlemen of the Board, W. M. Q., VI, 1st ser. (July, 1897), 88.
The masters were required to live in the College, although Ingles declared that he had been promised a house. He said that he had difficulties even in getting a proper room prepared, and that he had had to get the plastering done himself. Later masters were given two rooms each, in the building, "by no means elegant," which they had to furnish themselves, but were allowed board at the College table.

The masters were discouraged from marrying; not so much from a desire to carry on a monastic tradition as from a feeling that the attention paid to their families and their presence in the building would prevent a strict attendance to duties, and crowd the College. Mr. Robinson's marriage, as has been stated, was one cause of his dismissal. When Mr. Johnson and Mr. Camm married in 1769, the Board of Visitors passed a resolution, "That it is the opinion of this visitation that the professors and masters, their engaging in marriage and the concerns of a private family and shifting their residence to any place without the college, is contrary to the principles on which the college was founded and their duty as professors."

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7 Mungo Ingles, A Modest Reply to Mr. Commissary Blair in Answer to my Reasons for Quitting the College, Virginia Magazine of History, IX, 152.


9 Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Visitors of the College, Adams, History of the College, p. 20.
The salaries of the grammar masters varied from time to time and also depended upon the number of students in their classes from whom they were permitted to take fees. In 1690, it was proposed that the grammar master be paid eighty pounds, with the liberty to take fifteen shillings from each scholar. The ushers were to be paid fifty pounds, plus fifteen shillings in fees. In 1754, the salaries of the masters were raised to £150, of the ushers to £75, and the assistant ushers to £40. Owen came over at a salary of £200, but in 1770, the master's salary was given at £150, 15s. per scholar. Some of the masters, for example, Horrocks and Bracken, were ministers at Bruton Parish at the same time they were at the school and in this way supplemented their salaries. In 1734, the President, masters, scholars and students of the College of William and Mary and all domestic servants belonging to the institution were forever exempted from all taxation, "not only from the tithes but

10 Proposition Drawn by the Clergy, P. R. O. C. O., 5/1305, 39.
11 W. M. Q., VI, 1st ser. (January, 1898), 187.
12 W. M. Q., IX, 1st ser. (July, 1900), 153.
13 W. M. Q., VI, 1st ser. (January, 1898), 177.
14 Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton Church (Petersburg, 1903), p. 118.
from all public, county and parish levies."¹⁵ This is an interesting survival of the old tradition under which the monastic schools were not taxed. Thus, with no taxes to pay and with room and board furnished, the salaries, though small, must have been adequate for the living standards of the times.

Besides the headmasters of the Grammar School, there were a number of assistants who served in minor capacities. The most useful of these were the ushers. Blair was instructed to provide an able usher when he brought over his first schoolmaster. One of Ingles' early complaints was the lack of ushers so that he bore the whole burden of the school. The duties of the ushers were varied. They called the roll, attended the meals to keep order, attended church and chapel with the scholars, and visited the rooms of the boys three times a week in order to report any irregularities.¹⁶

Blair, in writing to the Bishop for a new usher, stressed his desire that he be at least a deacon so that he could assist the masters in reading prayers at chapel.¹⁷ Mr. Emmanuel Jones, one of the ushers, was paid one pistole per boy, in addition to his regular salary, for reading a

¹⁵Hening, Statutes, IV, 433.
¹⁶W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 131.
chapter from the Bible each day to the boys who wished this service. He also offered to teach psalm singing to all willing to pay one dollar down and one pistole at the completion of twenty-four lessons. The ushers were often recruited from the student body. Mr. Thomas Dawson, "being examined by the masters and having given proof of good behaviour," was appointed usher of the Grammar School, June 23, 1737.

The ushers were paid $50 per year at first besides a fee of five shillings for each boy they taught. They were given room and board at the College and also $25 to pay their expenses in coming to the College. The ushers were not considered regular members of the faculty, and though they were allowed to discipline the boys under them, they, themselves, were under the jurisdiction of the faculty. James Hubard was expelled for the "heinous crime" of breaking into a faculty meeting uninvited to protest the expulsion of his brother. His brother Matthew was expelled for whipping the little boys of the Grammar School, and though James excused his conduct as being caused by the heat of

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18 W. M. Q., II, 1st ser. (July, 1893), 57.
19 W. M. Q., XIII, 1st ser. (April, 1900), 22.
20 W. M. Q., IX, 1st ser. (July, 1900), 218.
passion, the faculty after giving him a chance to mend his ways evidently decided that he was past redeeming and dismissed him. John Patterson, asked to justify his conduct in kicking sub-usher Sam Clug, refused to explain and was returned to Philadelphia, whence he came. In 1762, the salaries of the sub-ushers were raised from 40 to 50, and the ushers were then given 175.

While the master of the Indian school at the College was not actually associated with the Grammar School, he did perform the service of teaching the younger boys to read and write and thus prepared them to enter the classical course in the Grammar School. In 1712, Christopher Smith, having very few Indians, petitioned the Board to allow him to teach the English children. For a fee of twenty shillings a year, he proposed to teach reading, writing, and "vulgar arithmetic." The Board granted his request and had a partition put up between the two divisions of his school. This is probably the first example of segregated education.

Writing in the Grammar School was taught by a regular master. Mr. Rose taught his class from five to seven every

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22 *W. M. Q.*, IV, 1st ser. (January, 1896), 204.
24 *W. M. Q.*, IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 45.
evening. Several other writing masters are referred to in the faculty journals. However, the main purpose of the Grammar School was to instruct the scholars in Latin and Greek and to give them a thorough grounding in religion. This purpose is clearly set forth in the Statutes of the College in 1736. The Grammar School was to consist of a master and an usher. It was to teach poor students gratis but accept tuition fees from the other scholars. It states, "Let them [the masters] teach the same books which by law and custom are used in the schools of England. Let the Latin and Greek tongues be taught. We assign four years to Latin and two to Greek. Use no author that insinuates against religion or good morals." The colloquies of Corderius and Erasmus were suggested for use. They gave as their opinion that nothing contributed as much to learning a language as daily dialogues and familiar speaking in the language being learned. The masters were instructed to compose and dictate colloquies fit for plays. The catechism of the Church of England was to be learned in both English and Latin. On Saturdays and the eves of holy days, Castalio's dialogues and Buchanan's paraphrase of the psalms were to be taught.

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26 Journal of the Faculty, May, 1763.
27 Statutes of the College of William and Mary, W. M. Q., XXII, 1st ser. (April, 1914), 287.
28 Ibid.
Only "such lads as have been taught to read and instructed in the grounds of the English language" were to be admitted into the Grammar School. The boys there were thoroughly drilled in the classics and were then given an examination, to determine whether they had made due progress in their Latin and Greek. If the faculty approved, they were promoted to the school of philosophy. However, warns the statute, "let no blockhead be elected for promotion." When the scholar entered the school of philosophy, the College proper, he donned "academical dress" and was henceforth known as a student.

That the work in the humanities was well done was shown by the classical atmosphere that pervaded the entire College. The dissertations of the philosophy students were written in excellent style and fine Latin verses were composed by both professors and students. The large collections of the classics found in Virginia libraries of the period evinced the indelible impression made on their owners by their studies in the Grammar School. The winners of the Botetourt Prize, awarded for the encouragement of classical learning, produced excellent work; William Munford's

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29 Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, p. 84.
30 *W. M. Q.*, XXII, 1st ser. (April, 1914), 287.
31 *W. M. Q.*, II, 1st ser. (July, 1893), 123.
translation of the Iliad was rated high by classical scholars; bi-weekly talks were given in Latin in the chapel; and Latin was taught as a living language. In 1752, upon Mr. Johnson's motion, students in the philosophy department were required by the faculty to speak Latin declamations of their own composition. These exercises were to be performed in the chapel on Thursdays after evening service.

The purpose of the early education was clearly seen in the description of one of its products. President Blair wrote to the Bishop of London in 1735 recommending one of his pupils for Holy Orders, "Mr. Pasteur has made much proficiency in his Latin and Greek and I hope he is well principled and has made a good beginning in the study of Divinity. As for his morals, he has a mighty good character and has been very exemplary and blameless." The letter recommending James Maury to the Bishop was in much the same vein. Blair stated that Mr. Maury had made "good proficiency in the study of Latin and Greek authors and has read some systems of philosophy and divinity." In 1755,

33 *Journal of the Faculty*, September 14, 1752.
35 *W. M. Q.*, I, 1st ser. (July, 1893), 220.
William Stith wrote of the school, "We have students in Divinity and some promising youths high advanced in the Grammar School. Pray God increase the number and grant that we may train many fit to serve Him in both church and state." 36

John Page, writing of his college days, said that he had entered the Grammar School at the age of thirteen in 1756, and had boarded with President Dawson, who tutored him privately. He studied Latin, mathematics, philosophy, naval and military history, mechanics, algebra, and geometry. 37 Since he was in the College from 1761 to 1763, some of the higher branches were evidently college subjects.

Some mathematics must have been taught in the Grammar School since Tanaquil Lefevre belonged to the early period and was listed as a professor of philosophy and mathematics. Hugh Jones, in 1717-1721, taught mathematics as well as philosophy, but as he belongs to the period in which the College was beginning to emerge from the Grammar School, his mathematics classes were probably reserved for those who had graduated from the classics and were ready to enter the school of philosophy, which included higher mathematics. As


37 Virginia Historical Register, III, 146.
has been mentioned already, as late as 1770, the faculty strenuously resisted efforts of the scholars to omit the classical foundation and enroll in a school of mathematics.

There is no specific mention of the teaching of English as such in the Grammar School. It was evidently assumed that the translations from the Greek and Latin into English and the practice in composition given by paraphrasing and composing in connection with the classics would improve the students' command of English, which, of course, it would. However, since Hugh Jones wrote the earliest English grammar on record in America, it is very likely that he made use of it in his classes.\(^3^8\) In 1769, John Stith, in an order to London, wrote, "Please send me the best maps of the world now published and the Arabian Tales to learn my nephew to read."\(^3^9\) William Nelson ordered books and globes for his son in 1767;\(^4^0\) and as early as 1716, Arthur Blackamore, leaving the College in disgrace, sold his books and globes to the College.\(^4^1\) This shows that geography (at least a study of maps) was not entirely neglected. That the curriculum was becoming more varied during the latter days of the school is

\(^{38}\) W. M. Qu., I, 2nd Ser. (January, 1921), 55.

\(^{39}\) Francis Mason, editor, John Norton and Sons, p. 92.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p. 31.

\(^{41}\) Virginia Magazine of History, IV (July, 1896), 170.
shown by an order for books sent in by Robert Nicholson in 1772. These books were for the use of his ward, Joseph Prentiss, a scholar in the Grammar School. The list included Entick’s New Speller, Nugent’s Pocket Dictionary of French and English, Watson’s Horace, Patrick’s Terence’s Comedies, Gignon’s New Speller, Stockhouse’s Graecae Grammatica Rudimenta, Epistolary Correspondence Made Pleasant and Easy (this may have been a private venture), Ashe’s Introduction to Dr. Lowth’s English Grammar, Addington’s Practical Treatise on Arithmetic, Wright’s Treatise on Fractions, Fordyce’s Dialogues on Education, two volumes (a perusal of these should prove enlightening), and Familiar Letters on Various Topics, For Business and Amusement. This would seem a rather comprehensive program, and though the emphasis of the Grammar School was always on the classics, other subjects were apparently added at the discretion of the masters as would best prepare their students for college work.

To summarize briefly the course of study, the following subjects were known to be taught: Latin, 1694-1779; Greek, 1694-1779; religious studies, 1694-1779; writing, 1700-1779; mathematics, 1711-1779; natural philosophy (science), 1717-1779.

42 Francés Mason, editor, John Norton and Sons, p. 245.
Although no master was specifically assigned, from books ordered and from student references, it may be reasonably assumed that the following subjects were also taught: reading, declamation, ancient history, and geography.
CHAPTER V

STUDENT LIFE

A scholar, entering the Grammar School at William and Mary, must have been much impressed by the appearance of the College. The main building was described by Hugh Jones as being approached:

by a good walk and a grand entrance by steps, with good courts, and gardens about it, with a good house and apartments for the Indian Master and his scholars, and outhouses and a large pasture enclosed like a park with about 150 acres of land adjoining for occasional uses. The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modeled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there . . . .

The first two floors at the front were used for classrooms. The dining-room was in the north wing and the basement beneath was used as a kitchen. In 1732, the chapel, which was used for religious exercises and for various College functions, was added. The dining-hall was also used for these purposes. The masters and scholars lived on the third floor and the College students could either live at the College or board in town.2 The President had his own house after 1733, but until then had also lived in the building. The Indians, with their master, lived in the Brafferton.

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2Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia (Richmond, 1907), p. 15.
The scene presented must have been lively and colorful, as the College population was certainly heterogeneous. Dignified masters in clerical garb strolled the gravelled walks or "wore their lungs out" in their classrooms, Indians lolled on the steps of the Brafferton and rested from their labors in learning the "whole duty of man," small boys from the town, half-fearfully, made their way past the Indians to take their turn with the Indian master, and young gentlemen in "academical" dress" harangued each other in Latin or discussed the latest forbidden horse-race. The grammar scholars, laden with books, went swiftly up the front steps to their classes, "sauntering on the steps" being strictly forbidden, and in and out among them ambled the colored servants whose presence in the building caused great pain to Mr. Jones. Mrs. Stith, the housekeeper, accompanied by her maids, might be seen on her way to the attic to administer comfort to a sick scholar and nourish him with tea and wine-whey. To add to the confusion, there was always a goodly gathering of dogs, Mr. Horrocks being the only master to crusade against them.

The school day was long and full, starting at seven. After breakfast the boys went to chapel where prayers were read by a master or an usher and a roll-call was taken. Any absences from chapel were promptly reported to the master.  

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3 Journal of the Faculty, March 6, 1769.
Classes lasted until eleven for the morning session, and at twelve o'clock, chapters from the Bible were read to such students as desired it. On Saturdays and the "eves of Holydays," sacred lessons were given. On Fridays and Saturdays, were also given dancing lessons. Various masters from the town came in to teach "all gentlemen's sons, dancing, according to the latest French Manner." 4 Classes were resumed in the afternoon and lasted until six o'clock. The writing classes were frequently held at night.

The material welfare of the scholars was in the hands of the housekeepers. Mr. Ingles and President Blair had grudgingly performed that function and a Mr. Jackson had respectfully declined reappointment in 1716. 5 After this, all the housekeepers were women. There had been one woman housekeeper before this time. In his description of the "barring out," Governor Nicholson spoke of her encounter with President Blair. The Governor related that the President threatened to kick Mrs. Young down the stairs because she had furnished victuals to the boys for the occasion. "She would have fallen," wrote Nicholson, "for being pushed with a cane had not her two maids supported her. She swore she

4The Virginia Gazette, November 25, 1737
5Virginia Magazine of History, I, (July, 1893), 162.
would resign and she did and Mr. Blair had to keep the
Table. 6 In 1716, Mrs. Barrett was appointed housekeeper at
A salary of £80 per annum. She was given "proper rooms" for
Her apartment and was allowed to have a servant to ring the
Bell, shut the gate, and clean up. 7 A few years later, Hugh
Jones commented that the boys had too much liberty and some­
One should see that the gate was secured at night; 8 so,
Evidently, the gate was not too closely guarded. In 1721,
Mrs. Stith, mother of William Stith, later President of the
College, was the much respected housekeeper. She kept a
Most plentiful table and was "a gentlewoman of great worth
And discretion." 9

Some of the housekeepers did not enjoy the approval
Bestowed upon Mrs. Stith. Mrs. Isabella Cocke was so remiss
In her duties that a special letter was addressed to her by
The faculty. The letter was very tactfully expressed, but
Extremely pointed. Mrs. Cocke was never accused of any
Specific transgression, but from the way in which her atten­
Tion was directed to the proper rule, there was little doubt

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6 A Modest Answer to a Malicious Libel against His
Excellency, Francis Nicholson, W. M. Q., XVI (January, 1908),
1st ser., 182.

9 Ibid., p. 8.
as to what sins she had committed. Since these rules give a picture of living conditions during this period, they will be quoted in part:

A Letter to the Housekeeper. Rules for her future Conduct.

1. That you do never concern yourself with any of the boys only when you have a complaint against them and then address it to his or their proper master.

2. That there always be both fresh and salt meat for dinner and twice in the week as well as Sundays that there be either puddings or ples besides that there always be plenty of victuals; that breakfast, dinner and supper be served up in the cleanest manner possible and for that reason, the Society not only allows you but desires you to get a cook, that the boys' suppers be not as usual made up of different scraps but that there are to be at each table the same sort . . . that when they are sick you, yourself, see their victuals before it be carried to them that it be clean and fit for them, that the person appointed to take care of them be constantly with them and give them their medicine regularly . . . that a proper stocking mender be procured to live in the College as both scholars and masters complain of losing their linen . . . that Phebe Divit be kept entirely to her office of caring for the sick . . . as you know that negroes will not perform their duties without the mistress' constant eye especially in so large a family as the College, we all observe you going abroad more frequently than even the mistress of a private family can do without the affairs of her province greatly suffering. We particularly request it of you that your visits for the future in town and country may not be so frequent, by which means we doubt not but complaints will be greatly lessened.¹⁰

Mrs. Cocke paid little attention to this letter, so little indeed that the faculty referred to her "contempt for their rules" and asked her to find herself another place.

¹⁰Journal of the Faculty, February, 1763.
A Mrs. Garrett was appointed the next year and she evidently was an improvement over Mrs. Cocke as she remained at her post for ten years.\textsuperscript{11} There is no mention of the desired stocking-mender being procured. Mrs. Foster, who had formerly held the job must have found it singularly uninspiring and did not re-apply for it.

In 1775, a new housekeeper, Miss Digges, was the subject of much complaint. A group of boys, led by James Innes, usher of the Grammar School, brought in a petition in which they accused her of many sins. They alleged that Miss Digges had sumptuous fare in her own apartment while they were poorly fed. They said that the sick were neglected and that their linen was lost, and that her conduct had caused "murmurs of discontent throughout the whole college." The faculty called the lady to face her accusers and answer the charges. Professor Thomas Gwatkin defended her, and the testimony of the boys, probably over-awed by the presence of the faculty, wavered so much that Miss Digges was acquitted. The boys were told to stick to their studies and leave such matters to the College.\textsuperscript{12}

Social life at the College, particularly for the grammar boys, must have been somewhat restricted. Blair said

\textsuperscript{11}\textit{Ibid.}, November, 1763.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, May 27, 1775.
that in the chapel they prayed and preached and sometimes they fiddled and danced. There were exercises in the evening at which the boys gave declamations, debates, and Latin plays, and Henry Tucker speaks of going to a barbecue and foot-races. A hint of what the boys did in their spare moments is given in what they were told not to do. Among the forbidden amusements was horse-racing. Not only were the students forbidden to attend the races or make bets, but "that all race-horses kept in the neighborhood of the College and belonging to any student be immediately dispatched and sent away and never again brought back and all this under the pain of the severest animadversion and punishment." Other vices, subject to faculty disapproval, were cock-fighting, frequenting of ordinaries, betting, playing at billiards, or bringing cards or dice into the College. A Mr. Kemp was informed of the displeasure of the faculty for encouraging the students to race and game.

It was also forbidden to scholars to go out of bounds, "particularly in the direction of the mill-pond."

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14 W. M. Q., XXIII, 1st ser. (January, 1915), 278.
15 Journal of the Faculty, September 14, 1752.
16 W. M. Q., II, 1st ser. (July, 1903), 123.
Considering that the session lasted until August, the pond must have been very tempting and this rule hard to enforce. In 1754, the faculty issued a new set of rules: No boy was to saunter away his time on the College steps or be seen playing during school hours. No boy was to presume to go to the kitchen or cause disturbance there. The housekeeper was told that no victuals were to be served in a boy's room unless the boy were really sick. Fuel and candles were to be furnished to boys at their own expense. If a boy were sick, he must pay for a special diet, only tea and wine—whey being furnished free.17

At a later date the boys of the Grammar School were again warned against frequenting public houses. If they were found guilty of this offense, they would be punished at the discretion of the master.18 In 1769, Mr. Horrocks passed an order that no dogs or horses would be allowed on the campus.19 The order against horses was of long standing, but the ban on dogs must have caused great sorrow to their young masters. The rule was evidently not well obeyed because the following year Mr. Horrocks repeated the order, adding that

17 *Journal of the Faculty*, August 29, 1754.
19 *W. M. Q.*, XIII, 1st ser. (July, 1904), 17.
any dogs discovered on the grounds would be destroyed.20

In 1775, the martial spirit engendered by the approach of the Revolution made a new rule necessary. The faculty ordered that no arms or ammunition were to be kept at the College nor in the possession of any scholar. If this offense were to be committed, the scholars were to be deprived of holidays. In case of any destruction of College property, no holidays would be permitted in the Grammar School for a month. They also stated at this time that if the children of the Grammar School asked for a holiday and the master dissented, there was to be no holiday. It was moved that these rules were to be read to the scholars by the Grammar Master.21

The omission of holidays would have been a real deprivation at this time as the rules decreed "that no more than five play-days excepting one afternoon a month should be given during the school term except on the arrival of a new scholar."22 The College had holidays at Christmas and Easter and the summer vacation lasted from August first to October first.

The rules were strict and strictly enforced. The loss of holidays was not the only form of punishment.

20 Ibid., 17
21 W. M. Q., XV, 1st ser. (July, 1905), 136.
22 Virginia Magazine of History, I (July, 1893), 165.
There were a number of cases in which boys were whipped and, for more serious infractions of rulings, they were expelled. The case of Thomas Byrd was an interesting example of the discipline of the period. Thomas broke some windows at the school and was ordered to undergo a whipping. He refused to submit. He was given the choice between taking his punishment or being expelled. He again refused to allow the whipping and went home. His father wrote the faculty and asked if he forced him to submit, would they take him back. The faculty refused, considering that his defiance of their authority constituted a fit cause for expulsion. This showed either great courage on the part of the faculty or an indifference to public opinion, as Mr. William Byrd was a prominent citizen.\(^23\) William Thompson's case was a similar example. He was expelled for an act "of no small violence and outrage in the town." Since he also refused to submit to discipline, he was expelled and "all of our young gentlemen are strictly forbidden from entertaining or associating with him."\(^24\) Mr. Dade and Mr. Christian, having beaten up a gardener over the theft of a plank, were both whipped and Mr. Dade, who was at school on a foundation, was deprived of

\(^{23}\)W. M. Q., XIII, 1st ser. (July, 1904), 22.

\(^{24}\)W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 45.
his scholarship. John Hyde Saunders behaved himself "in a very impudent and unheard of manner to the Master of the Grammar School and likewise refused to comply with the rules of the College unless they were agreeable to his opinion." He was asked to leave, but refused to go unless he was formally expelled. The Board of Visitors expelled him. This same independence of spirit was shown later in Mr. Saunders' case. He became a member of the Revolutionary Committee for Cumberland County and was an ardent patriot. James Barron, who rose to fame as a commodore in the American Navy, left the Grammar School because of a whipping administered by Usher Swinton. The ushers apparently had authority to discipline the younger boys, but they were restricted by the faculty from too much license. Usher Sam Klug lost his position for too frequently whipping the little boys of the Grammar School. Philip Fithian quotes Nancy Carter as teasing her brother Bob about the many whippings he received while he was at William and Mary; so, this form of punishment must have been rather common.

25 W. M. Q., XV, 1st ser. (October, 1896), 139.
26 W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 43.
27 Virginia Historical Register, III, 197.
To balance the punishments, a system of rewards was instituted to encourage high standards of scholarship. In 1768, the faculty resolved "to appropriate the sum of £50 for the purchase of medals and other honorary rewards to be distributed annually by the President and the Masters amongst such students as shall best deserve them by their public examination."29

In 1769, Lord Botetourt presented to the College sufficient funds to establish two gold medals. One was to be for the best student in philosophy and the other for proficiency in the classics.30 In 1772, there was a record that the faculty presented the latter medal to James Madison, who was later President of the College.

From the very beginning, the College had maintained scholarships for boys who could not afford tuition fees. While these were based more on need than ability, unsatisfactory behavior on the part of a holder caused forfeiture of the foundation. The House of Burgesses donated £1000 in 1726 for the support of the College and the founding of scholarships.31 During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when the Board of Visitors and the faculty were at

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29 Journal of the Faculty, June 7, 1768.
30 Lyon G. Tyler, History of the College, p. 52.
31 Journal of the Faculty, June 29, 1772.
logger-heads, the question of scholarships was one cause of
dissent. The faculty felt that they were in a position
to know the attainments of the applicants better than the
Board and wished the awards to be on more of a merit basis;
the Board maintained its right to make the choice.

The influence of the Church of England was strongly
felt in the spiritual guidance of the scholars. Their
clerical masters never forgot that one of the purposes of
the College was to train young men for the ministry and
religion played a large part in the College life. Besides
the chapel exercises and morning prayers, the scripture
readings, and sacred lectures, the boys were required to
attend Bruton Parish Church. The gallery there was set aside
for them and in order that no "Colledge youth," bored by the
long sermons, should attempt to escape, leave was given to
"put a door with a lock and key to the stairs and the
sexton to keep the key."\(^\text{32}\)

The College course at William and Mary at this period
normally covered three years. From the dates of attendance
given in the alumni lists it is evident that a majority of
the students also attended the Grammar School. The thorough
training and constant supervision given the scholars in

\(^{32}\text{W. A. R. Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton}
\text{Church, p. 44.}\)
their formative years, which enabled them to continue their education, should give the school at least partial credit for the place William and Mary alumni have held in Virginia.
Jefferson abolished the Grammar School in 1779, in line with his educational policy which was to make of William and Mary a university. He felt that a grammar school had no place in a college and that proper preparation could be found elsewhere. James Madison, then President of the College, was an enthusiastic supporter of this plan and described the new regime in a letter to Ezra Stiles, July 12, 1780. He wrote that the present society consisted of a president who was to be one of the professors and that there were to be five schools—Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, Law and Police, Chemistry and Medicine, Ethics and Belles-Lettres, and Modern Languages. He added:

The professor of Humanity has been abolished and proper schools for ancient languages are to be set up in different parts of the country from whence properly qualified students are to be sent to the university. The professor of Divinity is also abolished—the establishment in favor of a particular sect not being compatible with the freedom of a republic. The doors of the university are open to all, nor is a knowledge of Latin and Greek requisite for entrance. Students have the liberty of attending when they please and in what order they please, all the lectures they think proper.1

Since proper preparatory schools were to be established by the communities, Williamsburg with commendable promptitude

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1Bishop Madison, letter to Ezra Styles, July 12, 1780, transcript in the library of the College of William and Mary, Folder 11.
set about establishing an academy. Walker Maury, son of the Reverend James Maury who had tutored Jefferson, was invited to become headmaster. The town passed an ordinance in 1782 that the old capitol and the buildings on the Capitol Square were to be made into a residence for a grammar master and a school for the instruction of youth. In 1784, there continued to be so much public interest in the school that a lottery was authorized by the Legislature to help raise funds to support it. The fund to be secured was not to exceed £2000. John Randolph of Roanoke, who was one of the pupils of the academy, gave a full account of its activities. It was, he said, an appendage of the College, at which no professor of humanities existed. The school was well attended by over one hundred boys, more pupils than had ever attended a grammar school in Virginia. There were four classes, attended by ushers. Emphasis was on the classics. Students read Sallust, Eutropius, and Virgil, and gave the plays of Plautus and Terence in the original. In Greek, they studied the Westminster Grammar. This course sounded much like the Grammar School at William and Mary, and since Maury had

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2Hening, Statutes, XI, 152.

3Ibid., 407.

received his education there, his curriculum was doubtless based on that of his old school. Although the support of the school came from the town rather than from the College, the College did take an interest in it, as is shown in a letter written about its work. The writer, "Philomathes," said that the Board of Visitors of the College inspected the school and that President Madison, George Wythe, and John Blair all recommended it. He added that he had trusted his sons there and was well pleased.  

When Walker Maury gave up his academy in 1788, many citizens of the town, among them George Wythe, busied themselves in seeking to reestablish the Grammar School at the College.  

This endeavor was successful and, in 1791, the Grammar School, for the second time, opened its doors at the College of William and Mary. The Reverend John Bracken, who had been the last master under the old regime, became its head. His position was described as professor of humanities and master of the Grammar School. He was assisted by Mr. Humphrey Harwood.

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5 Letter signed "Philomathes," The Virginia Gazette, June 28, 1786.


7 W. M. Q., XXIII, 1st ser. (January, 1915), 278.
Mr. Jedidiah Morse, who was touring the South in 1792 in order to collect material for his *American Universal Geography*, made a short visit to Williamsburg. He was not at all impressed by what he saw and wrote about the town and College in a most unflattering vein. He said that, "the admission of learners of Greek and Latin had filled the College with children, this rendered it disagreeable and degrading to young gentlemen already prepared for entering on the sciences and they were discouraged from resorting to it." He mentioned the exclusion of the ancient language department but not its reinclusion. St. George Tucker, moved to wrath by this article, wrote a pamphlet in which he scored the geographer and his pretensions to universal knowledge, and in so doing gave a good description of the new Grammar School. He said that the school was in a flourishing condition and that there were sixty boys, two professors, and an usher. The young gentlemen of the philosophy and law departments boarded in the town, but the grammar scholars lived at the College. Their board and tuition amounted to twenty guineas per annum. In October,

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1792, Mr. Tucker wrote to Mr. Bracken to inquire about the schedule of his son, Henry, who was a scholar in the school. Mr. Bracken replied that there were two classes in the Grammar School and that when a scholar graduated from the higher class, he became a "student" and assumed academic dress. He taught Henry's class on Tuesdays and Thursdays and gave them a holiday on Wednesday.\textsuperscript{10} How the rest of the week was occupied, he did not say.

The Grammar School continued uneventfully through the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1806, the Richmond Enquirer contained several notices of interest about the school. It announced that semi-annual examinations for the grammar boys would be held on February 11, 1806. It also carried an advertisement about the school. Board, "in plain but decent style," could be obtained at the school at thirty dollars per quarter. An usher was required at the Grammar School. He would be paid £100 per year, must be of good moral character, and be skilled in Latin and Greek.\textsuperscript{11}

During the next decade, the Grammar School seemed to have gone into a gradual decline and soon closed. This fact was noted in the Enquirer in August, 1812. It stated that

\textsuperscript{10}Letter from President Bracken to Judge Tucker, October 19, 1792, \textit{W. M. Q.}, II, 1st ser. (July, 1903), 19.

\textsuperscript{11}The Enquirer, edited by Ritchie and Worsley (Richmond), February 19, 1806.
Mr. Frederick Campbell, who had formerly been professor of humanity at the College of William and Mary, was now professor of mathematics since the department of humanity had been discontinued. The school may have closed through lack of public demand for it, or it may have been that Bracken, now President of the College, was too much occupied to give it his full attention. At any rate, after 1812, there was no mention in the advertisements of the College of any grammar department. Education all over Virginia was going through a lean period and this was reflected at the College. The transition from church and private ownership to public responsibility was going slowly, and the many hopeful academies that had sprung up after the Revolution were having a struggle to keep open. The communities which were supposed to help support preparatory schools under Jefferson's plan were objecting to the increased taxation that was essential to their proper support. According to Jefferson, the private schools were quite inadequate. He referred to them as "a parcel of pettyfogging academies who barely teach the rudiments of Latin and use of chain and compass... real science is totally extinct in the state."  

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12 Ibid., December 2, 1814.

13 Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Short, November 9, 1813, original in library of the College of William and Mary, Folder 3, MSS. Dept.
During this period Samuel Mordecai wrote to his sister, Ellen, of the declining fortunes of the College:

If it is not re-organized it will soon cease to be a College. There are not more than twenty students in it and the President who is also the new bishop, looks more like a tavern keeper than a divine.  

Now that the Grammar School had closed, instruction in the classics was carried on by Mr. Campbell. He advertised in the *Enquirer* in 1814 that he was opening a private school in Williamsburg to teach young gentlemen Latin and Greek.  

In 1821, President Augustine Smith attempted to re-establish the school of divinity and the classical department at the College. To head the two departments he employed the Reverend Reuel Keith, rector of Bruton Church. This was the first instance of the teaching of Latin in the College proper rather than in the Grammar School. The report for the first year stated that there were forty-six students in the classical department. Information concerning Mr. Keith's three years in this department was brought out clearly in the testimony given during the discussion of the removal of

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14 Samuel Mordecai, letter to Ellen Mordecai, May 25, 1812, transcript in library of the College of William and Mary (source not given).

15 *The Enquirer*, December 2, 1814.

16 *Journal of the Faculty*, November 7, 1821.
the College to Richmond. The College had continued to decline, and when it was reduced to about eighteen students, most of the faculty and well-wishers of the College felt that its removal to Richmond would be its salvation. Williamsburg had never recovered from the loss of the capital in 1779, and many considered its climate to be unhealthy. Jefferson, now actively engaged in furthering the interests of his own university, worked against the College as a possible rival. Many others felt that the College would benefit by a location in a more thriving situation. This sentiment was not shared by all, and it is from the study of the conflicting opinions brought out at the time of the discussion that we obtain the clearest picture of the ideas concerning the Grammar School. After the faculty had presented a petition to move the College, the Committee on Schools and Colleges of the Virginia Legislature met to consider all testimony. Judge James Semple, Professor of Law at the College, was asked what, in his opinion, had caused the decline of the College. His answer was as follows:

The admission to the College of students at a very early age without proper preparation and an attempt to teach them sciences beyond their comprehension whilst the parent is permitted to provide their course of study has operated, as is believed, pretty extensively to the injury of the Institution.

On being asked how William and Mary could be improved, he replied that it could be done by giving funds to the Board of
Visitors in order to enable them to revive the Grammar School, its abolition having contributed much to the injury of the institution; also by excluding students from the higher classes before a fixed age, by letting the students be prepared for college before they entered, and by having them required to pursue a regular, prescribed course of study. When he was questioned about the faculty, he testified that a professor of history and humanity had been employed in 1821, but that his classes were small and that when he had no class at all, he resigned. He could not say why there was no grammar master, as that question belonged to the Board. 17

Mr. J. B. Seawell, a member of the Board of Visitors of the College, when called before the committee, had much to say concerning the Grammar School. The question asked him was, "What measures would be calculated to restore William and Mary to its former condition?" He replied that he would first reduce the salaries of the professors to the scale of 1812 and from this reduction employ a professor of humanity, an usher, a matron, and a steward. He believed that a

Grammar School would, as it had done before, furnish students for the sciences. He gave as his opinion that the opposition of some of the professors to the school was mainly to avoid the trouble of looking after younger boys. Mr. Seawell said further that at a meeting of the Board of Visitors he had voted to establish a professorship of humanity and of universal history because it had always been his wish to have a Grammar School in the College. He said:

This position was filled by Mr. Keith, an Episcopal minister, and proclamation was made that none but the highest classes would be permitted to attend him. By this, the professor was made a step or resting place between the Grammar School and the College and my views were completely frustrated.13

While the case was under consideration, the citizens of Williamsburg presented a petition of their own in opposition to the one presented by the faculty. They said that between 1814 and 1823 there had been an average of fifty to sixty students a year and that the small number during 1823 was largely due to the severity of President Smith and the frequency of his expulsions. They implied that he wished to reduce the number of students in order to strengthen his case for the removal of the College. They refuted the charge of unhealthiness in Williamsburg and produced the excellent health records of the students. They also showed the number of counties in the Tidewater that furnished students for the

13 Ibid., p. 18.
school and stated that Elizabeth City, James City, Gloucester, York, Middlesex, Mathews, Surry, New Kent, and Charles City Counties would be left without any convenient institution of higher learning if the College were to be removed. 19

The Committee on Schools and Colleges had been inclined to favor the petition of the faculty, which they found reasonable, and the plan of removal came near to success. Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, realizing that a flourishing institution in Richmond would be a serious rival to their university, fought the bill very skillfully. Cabell wrote to Jefferson, February 3, 1825, "I saw the necessity of setting up the colleges against the Richmond party." He published an article in the Constitutional Whip which embodied Jefferson's views on decentralization of secondary education and of centralization in higher education. This article influenced the Legislature and in February, 1825, the General Assembly rejected the proposal and the College remained at Williamsburg. 20

While the argument about the removal of the College was going on, the Richmond Family Visitor published an interesting comment on the failure of the elective system at


20 Herbert Adams, The History of the College of William and Mary, pp. 60-51.
William and Mary. This comment was taken from the *New York Observer* of November 13, 1824. It held that the College was conducted too much on the plan of a European university, to which the society of Virginia was not suited. More elementary preparation was needed, and the boys who were received at the College at any age were without preparation in Greek, Latin, and English. The students were mostly young boys without mature judgment or mental discipline, who were allowed to pick their own classes, and thus the easier classes were the most popular. Since the professors were partly paid by fees from the students, this worked a hardship on those of more difficult subjects.21

After the decision to keep the College at Williamsburg was made, the faculty returned in chastened mood and took prompt steps to reestablish the Grammar School. At a meeting of the faculty, July 4, 1825, President Smith offered the following resolution:

That it be recommended to the convocation to establish a Grammar School in the College and that if the income of the College be not sufficient for that purpose without reducing the salaries of the president and the professors, it is recommended to the visitors that the said salaries be proportionable for the purpose of establishing the said school.

21 *The Observer*, November 13, 1824, edited by Elliot and Crissy (New York).
Upon the receipt of a letter from John Tyler, Rector of the Board, the faculty met again on the following day to consider his suggestion for establishing the Grammar School. They resolved at this meeting to renew the recommendations made before and to establish the school. They also recommended that the College establish a boarding house to reduce student expenses, and that all expenses be so low as to place it on an equal footing with other respectable schools of the same type. On July 6, 1825, the faculty proceeded with the execution of their plans and made further suggestions. They agreed to set up a table for the "victualing of the students," and to appoint a man to run this dining room and to raise vegetables for it on the College land. They also agreed that a statute be drawn up providing for a professor of humanity. He was to have a salary of five hundred dollars and twenty dollars for each scholar or student who attended his classes. The term was to begin October first. The professor might keep a boarding house for such scholars as did not live in town, charging one hundred dollars each for a term of ten months.22

In September, 1825, the Board of Visitors authorized the faculty to appoint Dabney Brown professor of humanity.

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22 *Journal of the Faculty*, July 4, 5, 6, 1825.
and master of the Grammar School.\textsuperscript{23} There must have been some irregularity about Mr. Browne's qualifications, for although he was present at meetings during 1825, he was not put down as a member of the faculty until October 17, 1826.\textsuperscript{24} At this time he produced a certificate of qualifications and was allowed to take his seat at the board.

His school opened with thirty scholars. According to an advertisement in the \textit{Richmond Enquirer}, the rooms were furnished in the neatest possible manner and the table was to be kept to give satisfaction.\textsuperscript{25}

Mr. Browne took his duties seriously and attended carefully to discipline. In April he reported to the faculty that several boys had been absent from school in order to attend the elections in York County. This would seem to be a commendable activity, but the group did not view it in that light. The ringleaders were put on probation for two weeks, with the understanding that they would be dismissed if their conduct did not improve.\textsuperscript{26}

Evidently the scholars heeded these admonitions because the President reported in the fall that the Grammar

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\item \textsuperscript{23} \textit{Journal of the Faculty}, September 5, 1825.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid., October 17, 1826.
\item \textsuperscript{25} \textit{The Richmond Enquirer}, December 13, 1825, edited by Ritchie and Gooch.
\item \textsuperscript{26} \textit{Journal of the Faculty}, April 24, 1826.
\end{itemize}
School was well attended and worthy of the fostering care of the Visitors. The professor discharged his duty with zeal and diligence and the pupils made corresponding improvement.27

In 1827, Mr. Browne asked the faculty for an assistant, saying that he would be willing to pay one hundred dollars from his own salary in order to have the scholars taught French. The faculty agreed to this and employed a Mr. James. At the meeting of February 26, 1827, Mr. James was made a regular assistant at a salary of twenty-five dollars a month. This must have been a relief to Mr. Browne, who had made the noble gesture of offering to pay his salary. The scholars were now receiving French in addition to Greek and Latin. Mr. Browne wrote that, "arithmetic and writing have been attended to but could not receive from me the attention they deserve."28

In the faculty report for the year 1827, there is an interesting extract on discipline. The severe "animadversions" of the eighteenth century and even the more recent too-frequent expulsions of President Smith seemed to have given place to a much more liberal spirit and to a genuine desire to reform rather than to condemn. The report was as follows:

27Ibid., September 5, 1827.
It has been the primary object of the Faculty to improve upon the student's habits of conduct, good order and morality but it ought not to be concealed that at times more dissipation and disorder has prevailed at the College than could be reconciled with the most liberal toleration. Had the Faculty proceeded with rigour many members of the College might have been sent away. But their object was to correct and reclaim. They proceeded with tenderness but with firmness. They called to their aid parents and guardians and appealed to them as friends of the College. They advised, admonished, reprimanded, warned and persuaded and to their great satisfaction they have it to say that they succeeded almost to the extent of their wishes.

The catalogues of the period gave the courses of study and the fees for the Grammar School. The session of 1829 opened October first and lasted until August first. The expenses were one hundred dollars for board and twenty dollars for tuition. The boys could board with the professor of humanity or elsewhere, but the fees were not to exceed one hundred dollars. The scholars were to be subject to frequent examinations. The course of study included English grammar, geography, arithmetic, writing, Latin, Greek, composition, and elocution.

The catalogue of 1836 gave the largest enrollment that the College had ever had. There was a total of one hundred thirteen students, of which forty-eight were in the Grammar School. The school was divided into two departments. In the second department the boys began the rudiments of Latin and Greek. They also received instruction in English grammar, arithmetic, ancient and modern geography, and
writing. In the first department the students studied the higher classics, general grammar, Greek and Roman antiquities, mythology, and ancient geography. In this department the students were allowed to enroll in other classes.

The catalogue of 1837 showed several very important changes. The Grammar School was now referred to as the School of Ancient Languages and it continued to bear this title until it gradually ceased to exist as a preparatory department. This year marked the beginning of a period of transition for the classics. From being purely a province of the Grammar School, these classes now began to open their doors to "students" as well as "scholars." In time they dropped the scholars and moved into the College proper. The catalogue stated that there were thirty-five boys enrolled in the School of Ancient Languages and that thirteen of them were matriculated students attending the scientific departments. At this time the date of the opening of the school was changed from the first of October to the second Monday in October and the closing date was set at July fourth. The fees also showed a change. Board was increased to one hundred thirty dollars plus a matriculation fee, but tuition remained at twenty dollars. There was an interesting note about the fees. If a boy had to attend a class for the second time, he did not have to again pay a fee. It was, therefore, to the financial advantage of the teacher to have as few failures as possible.
In 1839, the number of students in the School of Ancient Languages was twenty-four, of which eight were in the higher class. The boys were given examinations every two months, and a circular letter was sent to the parents to give the results of these tests. In the middle of June, a public examination was held. Board for this year remained at the same price at the College, but board in town had increased to one hundred fifty dollars.

In 1839, the division in enrollment between College and Grammar School was no longer made and the description of the courses did not refer to any elementary work. The Department of Ancient Languages was divided into four classes, two in Latin and two in Greek. The classes met three times a week. In junior Latin the boys read Livy, Terence, and Horace and studied such geography and history as was necessary for an understanding of the classics. In senior Latin they studied Tacitus, Plautus, and Juvenal, and read Greek and Roman history and antiquities and ancient geography. In Greek the first class studied Xenophon's *Anabasis*, Herodotus, and Euripides. In the senior class they read Thucydides, Homer, the Attic orators, and such extra books as were needed. This course showed a decided change from the former course in which the rudiments were studied, and was obviously intended for advanced students. The textbooks used in these classes were, beside the classical authors, Adam's
Roman Antiquities, Niebuhr's Roman History, Potter's Grecian Antiquities, Therwell's History of Greece, and Butler's Ancient Maps.

The catalogue of 1840 showed a decrease in the number of students in the classical department. Perhaps the difficulty of the course deterred them. Only twelve boys were taking Latin and five were taking Greek. Mr. Browne may have become discouraged by the declining interest in his classes, for he resigned at the end of the session.

There was no professor of humanity listed in the catalogue of 1841, but for the session of 1842, Mr. Charles Minnegerode appeared. Mr. Minnegerode was a political refugee who had been befriended by Judge Beverly Tucker. He lived with the Tuckers in Williamsburg and has been credited with introducing into America the idea of the Christmas tree. He came to the College with very definite and strict ideas about teaching the classics. He stated that the junior class would begin with a minute examination on all parts of Latin etymology, after which Cicero and Virgil would be taught. Work would also be given in syntax, Latin grammar, the rules of prosody and scanning, mythology, ancient geography, and antiquities. The work in Greek followed somewhat the same design as Mr. Browne's, but added more authors than it seemed possible any student could have found time to read. He emphasized that examinations in his
classes would be minute and strict. Mr. Minnegerode's German thoroughness apparently was carried into his classes. The only concession made to the less advanced students was that a preparatory class would be offered in Latin and Greek if necessary. Since this class studied Ovid and Cornelius Nepos, it obviously was not for beginners. The classical department was now allied with the junior moral class. To obtain a certificate in the classics, a student must have attended the junior moral class, in which he studied Belles-Lettres, rhetoric, logic, composition, moral philosophy, and history. This reveals that there was no longer a Grammar School in the College. There was, therefore, no real preparatory department at this time, although no formal dissolution ever took place. If more proof were needed, it could be found in Mr. Minnegerode's statement in the catalogue of 1843 under the Department of Ancient Languages:

Those gentlemen who are preparing youths in academies for the classical course in this College are respectfully requested to attend to the notice that a thorough knowledge of the minutiae of etymology and some knowledge of prosody are absolutely essential to enable a student to enter the Junior Class.

In 1845, the entrance requirements provided explicitly that an applicant must be at least sixteen years old and was expected to enter the Junior Class. At that time there were only two classes, Junior and Senior, but there were enough electives to keep a student in college three years if he so desired.
Mr. Minnegerode remained at the College until 1848. At that time, during the presidency of Robert Saunders, great dissension broke out in the faculty. A personal quarrel between the President and one of his professors, involving many citizens of the town, caused such bitter feeling that all of the faculty except Mr. Tucker resigned. The College was closed for a year to allow the acrimonious spirit to die down.29

Mr. Minnegerode was succeeded in 1848 by Mr. Morgan Smead as professor of ancient languages; but since the Grammar School and the classics had now parted company, there is no need to pursue the latter further.

The idea of again establishing a Grammar School was not brought up until 1865. Meanwhile the College had twice been burned, and the Civil War, causing a complete suspension of activities, had left the College with the main building in ruins and its funds, like those of the entire South, greatly depleted. In order to help repair the building, the College borrowed money from Mrs. Whaley's trust fund, which it now administered. Since it was at this time that the association between the College and the present Matthew Whaley School began, a brief summary of this trust will be given.

29Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, p. 79.
Matthew Whaley, the son of Joseph and Mary Whaley, died in 1705, at the age of nine. His mother established a free school in his memory. This school was located in Williamsburg on the Capitol Landing Road and was one of the schools mentioned by James Blair in 1724. Mrs. Whaley went to live in England after Matty's death, but left funds to support the school. When she died in 1741, she left in trust to Thomas Dawson, Rector of Bruton Church, and to T. Jones and John Blair, Churchwardens, a piece of land containing ten acres on which there was the schoolhouse called "Matty's School" and a dwelling for the master. She also left £50 outright and the residue of her estate, after the payment of certain legacies, for the support of the school. The purpose of the school was to teach the neediest children of the parish reading, writing, and arithmetic and "to eternalize Matty's name forever." This money became the object of several suits. The executor of the estate failed to comply with the terms of the will and a suit was brought, resulting in a decree requiring the conveyance of the land and the payment of the money. The land was conveyed and the school was continued on the site, but the money was not received. In 1752, as the result of a second suit, the court ordered that £500 be paid to the trustees. This was done

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\[^{30}\text{W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), p. 8.}\]
and the money was invested in England. Funds from this trust were stopped by the Revolution and nothing was heard from the money until 1859, when an English attorney, Mr. C. M. Fisher, wrote to Mr. Ambler, Rector of Bruton Parish, acquainting him with the facts. Mr. Ambler turned the matter over to the College and in 1866, the College agreed to accept responsibility for executing the trust. Under its terms, William and Mary agreed to accept fifteen of the neediest boys in the parish into its preparatory school without tuition charges. It also agreed to incorporate the name of Matthew Whaley into the name of the school so that the new or renewed Grammar School was called the "Grammar and Matty School."  

The College and the Grammar School opened their doors in 1865 to fifty-nine boys, thirty-nine of whom were in the Grammar School, all but nine in this department being from Williamsburg. The College students met in temporary quarters until the building could be restored. The grammar scholars met in the Brafferton, which had not suffered as much damage. The grammar master, Robertson Garrett, was later

31 Ibid., pp. 6-12.

Dean of Peabody College and President of the National Education Association.\textsuperscript{33} The catalogue for the year 1865 stated:

The Grammar School attached to the College is under the supervision of the faculty. The professors assist in its government and instruction. In it are taught the usual English branches, Latin, Greek, and French. The boys attending it are prepared for college or for such pursuits as do not require an extended course of study and are subjected to such supervision and restraint as may be deemed proper and expedient. Boys of twelve or more years of age, acquainted with elementary English branches, may be admitted.

The schedule of fees was as follows: Tuition, $40; servant, $1; contingent fee, $2; board, $140-$160; fuel, lights, and washing, $25.

At a meeting of the faculty on October 15, 1867, it was decided that because of the bad condition of the College buildings, the exercises of the College would be discontinued for the remainder of the year. The Grammar School, however, moved into the College Hotel and continued its activities.

A short notice in the \textit{Norfolk Journal}, January 20, 1868, commented that "the operations of the Matty School are conducted with judgment and skill and the pupils playing on the College Green give an air of interest to the scene."\textsuperscript{34}

This same year Mr. Thomas J. Stubbs was appointed headmaster. He was succeeded by Wilmer Turner the following


\textsuperscript{34} \textit{The Norfolk Journal}, January 20, 1868.
year. Mr. Turner remained at the school until 1874. During this administration there was an average attendance of about twenty-five boys. In 1874, Mr. Charles Dod became headmaster and, in 1877, Mr. Cary Armistead was in charge, assisted by Mr. H. L. Christie. Since this was the first assistant mentioned, the enrollment must have increased. The Grammar School continued at the College Hotel until 1883, when both the Brafferton and the Hotel were rented to private citizens on the condition that they assist with their repairs.

During the period 1881-1888, when the classes of the College were discontinued, there were few records kept. There was no mention of a Grammar School existing after 1883. Since, apparently, no College buildings were being used for academic purposes, instruction for local boys must have been given outside of the College.

In the meanwhile, William and Mary settled her debt to Mrs. Whaley's fund. In 1779, the old Palace lands had been given to the College by the Virginia Assembly. Some of this land had been sold to the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway in order to raise money to pay the debts of the College, but a

35 Randolph and English, The History of the College. List of grammar masters, p. 82; list of students by years, pp. 155-165.

36 W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 12.
large tract, the actual site of the Palace, was reserved for a school. In 1870, the Board of Visitors of the College erected a school building to which they gave the name "Matty's School" in respect to Mrs. Whaley's wish. The school grounds and equipment were equivalent to the amount borrowed to repair the College. In 1873, this school house was leased to the town authorities of Williamsburg to be used as a public primary school. In 1894, the Board reorganized the school as a model and practice school for the Department of Education at the College. An agreement exists today whereby the College contributes to the support of the present Matthew Whaley School in return for the use of its facilities in practice teaching.

When the College reopened in 1888, it contained a department to prepare Virginia teachers, and thus received state support. The Department of Pedagogy conducted introductory classes in which men preparing to be teachers were grounded in the ordinary high school subjects. No boy under sixteen was admitted to this department. The catalogue of 1905 explained this policy as follows:

Owing to its relation to the Public School System and to the lack of public high schools, the College feels obligated to provide introductory courses to fit young men fresh from ordinary county high schools for the regular course. None of this work is to be counted towards a degree.

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37 Ibid., 6-12.
38 Catalogue of the College, 1905-06, p. 33.
The boys in the preparatory department were divided into two sub-collegiate or "introductory" classes, referred to locally as "ducs" or "sub-ducs." In 1911, the sub-collegiate classes which had operated under the Department of Education were discontinued and a normal academy was organized. It had a corps of instructors taken from the regular faculty and offered a three-year course correlated with the teachers' course at the College. It was supported for the benefit of students preparing to teach and of those not within distance of a four-year high school. According to the catalogue, the purpose of the Academy "is to help develop the school system of Virginia rather than to compete with the high schools, pupils other than those preparing to teach will only be admitted under certain restrictions."\(^{39}\)

The first principal of the Academy was George Oscar Fergusun. The school, which lasted for seven years, was finally discontinued at the outbreak of World War I.

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\(^{39}\) Catalogue of the College, 1911-12, p. 108.
CHAPTER VII

THE PATTERN OF EDUCATION REPRESENTED
BY THE WILLIAM AND MARY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

In a brief summary of eighteenth century ideas on education in Virginia, several facts stand out. Among these were the prevalence of an aristocratic tradition, the dependence upon England, the lack of a state policy of education, the influence of the English Church, and the emphasis on the classics as a basis for education. All of these influences were present at the founding of the College and persisted until the Revolution.

Society in Virginia was sharply divided; the plantation system with its dependence on slave labor reduced the influence of the small farmer class and the Cavalier migration had sharpened the distinction between the classes. Higher learning was for the sons of gentlemen and those preparing for the learned professions. Ingles referred to his pupils as being the sons of the best gentlemen in the county and the Reverend Mr. Whitefield noted the same fact. He wrote of his visit to William and Mary in these words:

Under God he [President Blair] has been chiefly instrumental in raising a beautiful college in Williamsburg, in which is a foundation for about eight Scholars, (those receiving scholarships) a President, two Masters and Professors in the several sciences. Here the Gentlemen of Virginia send their children, and as far
as I could learn by enquiry, they are near in the same order and under the same Regulation and Discipline as in our Universities at home. ¹

It probably would not have appealed to Governor Nicholson if it had been an institution for popular education. Back in 1660, Governor Berkley had supported the idea of a college for the better class, but had damned free schools as being the breeding place of sedition and dissent. Education ran on a "double track system" at this time, with one type of learning for the rulers and another for the ruled. ² Even Jefferson, enlightened as he was, had not outgrown this idea although his system would have culled those of special ability to go on to higher work. Three years of elementary education was still considered enough learning for the average working boy. ³ Thus education at William and Mary was to a great extent for the benefit of the aristocracy and was supported by that class.


³Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Peter Carr, September 7, 1814, in which he divided the mass of citizens into two classes, the laboring and the learned. The laboring class would need only the first three years of elementary education. Quoted by Edgar Knight, A Documentary History of Education in the South, p. 529.
That England was the source and inspiration for education at this period was clearly shown, not only in all the incidents involved in its founding, but also in the dependence on her for providing proper teachers. All of the masters were English born or educated and the whole pattern of the school was modelled on the English classical school. They used the same books that were ordained by custom and law in England. This dependence on England was one cause of the slow growth of higher education in Virginia. English tutors were freely employed and ties with England were so strong that many boys from the best families were sent to England to obtain their education. This tendency was shown in the relatively few boys attending the Grammar School in its early years. The school averaged around twenty or thirty boys for the first twenty years, and by 1739, there were only sixty students in both School and College. The prestige of English education was so great that it was some time before the local product was properly appreciated. Until the Revolution, the Board continued to import its professors and masters. William Yates was the only William and Mary graduate to hold a professorship during that period. William Stith, who attended the Grammar School, had received his higher education at Oxford. Hugh Jones, commenting on the College in 1724, said that it should be built up so that a testimonium from it should be as
valuable as one from an English university. However, it was some time before the College recognized its own worth, if the selection of its professors could be considered a criterion.

The strong influence of the Church of England on education was apparent not only at the founding, since the clergy as much as any other body promoted the idea of the College, but also throughout the entire colonial period. The chancellors were either the Bishops of London or of Canterbury and recommendations for policy and for professors came through them. The latter half of the eighteenth century was marked by dissention between the Board, representing the wishes of the people or government, and the professors, representing the church. There was a growing tendency to break the domination of the clergy and also a lack of popular approval of their policies. The clergy in many instances had not set examples of sobriety, as has been mentioned, and President Dawson himself showed a noticeable lack of this virtue. Governor Fauquier said he had been driven to drink by the quarrels of his faculty, but his intemperance did not help to establish the ministers in the good graces of the town. Since the clergy represented the established church and, therefore, England, a number of them were Tories and their return to England at the

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5 Lyon G. Tyler, *The History of the College*, p. 41.
time of the Revolution was welcomed by the patrons of the College. The influence of the Episcopal Church persisted during the nineteenth century. Many of the professors and Presidents were its ministers, and as late as 1888, disapproval was expressed in many quarters against state aid to William and Mary, on the grounds that it was a "denominational college." But the influence in the later period was traditional rather than required and there was no longer a formal connection between the church and the College.

The Grammar School was "a colonial reproduction of an English classical school," and its curriculum varied little during the eighteenth century. Early in that century, Hugh Jones, in his Present State of Virginia, advocated a course of study for William and Mary that was as advanced for his generation as Jefferson's was for his. He observed that, "Virginians are more inclined to read men by their business and conversation than to dive deep into books and are for the most part only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary in the shortest and best manner."6 He further observed that since the Virginians neither seemed to admire nor require learning as much as the British, that grammar learning after the usual method would not be beneficial to them and that English should be conveyed to them "without going to Rome or Athens."7

6 Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, p. 44.
7 Ibid., p. 45.
He suggested that youth should have all the advantages at William and Mary needed to imbibe the principles of human and divine literature, both in English and the learned languages; that they should be under the care of an usher for two years and under a master for two, in which case they should be instructed in Greek and Latin, taught writing and the grounds and practice of arithmetic in order to qualify for such business as they intend to follow. They should be trained in branches of civil service (clerical work and surveying) and in fencing, music, and dancing. The best students should continue in the higher schools and graduate work should be provided leading to a master's degree. 8

This showed a great degree of practical understanding of the needs of the time. This curriculum was followed to a certain extent, but the omitting of the classical foundation under any circumstances in favor of instruction in English or of allowing boys to enter the school of mathematics without taking Greek and Latin was never permitted by the faculty even though it was advocated by the Board. Mr. Jones had no desire to abolish the classics—they were entirely practical for their time for those going into the higher professions; he merely wished to make the curriculum more flexible in order to meet the needs of a wider field.

8Ibid., pp. 85-86.
More subjects were taught at the Grammar School than might appear on the surface. The school had what in modern experience might be termed a "core curriculum," the classics being, of course, the core. From the books listed at that period, it is seen that ancient geography, history, and mythology were taught in order to explain the Latin and Greek books being read. Writing, spelling, and English were taught in connection with translations and Latin exercises, and the art of declamation was given through participation in the chapel programs, in which the speeches were a part of the Latin class. They even studied dramatics. The students wrote and gave plays in Latin as a favorite diversion. Thus many of the subjects considered important today were actually taught in the Grammar School. The chief difference was that they were taught, as Jones said, by way of Rome and Athens. The course of study in the nineteenth century was not very different. One important difference was that the classics were elective rather than required and college entrance requirements no longer insisted upon them. In the academies history and English were taught from other books than the Ancients and the Bible. This same method was followed in the Grammar School. French was offered the scholars, and mathematics beyond simple arithmetic was introduced at a lower level than formerly.
One of the chief differences observable between the preparatory departments in the two centuries was the difference in the ideas of the College in regard to their importance. In the eighteenth century, the Grammar School was an established and integral part of the College, and until the Revolution there was no question of abolishing it. Lack of good secondary schools made its existence a necessity. At some periods when there were larger numbers of boys in the grammar schools or academies in various parts of the state, the main purpose of the Grammar School was removed. It was felt that elementary education in a school destined to become a university was not fitting and would render it unappealing to more mature men. With the general enthusiasm for the university idea, the abolition of the Grammar School was logical. When the lack of a preparatory school in Williamsburg necessitated the reopening of the Grammar School in 1792, it might be said that it took the place of the academy proposed for each region in Jefferson's plan and was in answer to public need. Preparatory work seemed to lack prestige during this period. In the early nineteenth century, the professors evidently did not encourage it and the Grammar School was allowed to die out. Jefferson's scheme of education had not received the general support he had expected. In fact, instead of compulsory free education being set up in a well-regulated system as his first bill had advocated, it was left to the judgment of the
respective communities and became more of a suggestion than a law. The result was that although most communities improved their elementary schools and many academies sprang up, there was neither a sufficient number to prepare boys for college nor was the instruction what it should have been. Jefferson, commenting on his bill, said that the wealthy taxpayers were not interested in a scheme that increased the taxes of the rich in order to provide free education for the poor. The lack of properly prepared boys was brought out at the time when the removal of the College was being considered as a reason for renewing the Grammar School at the College. It was also pointed out that there was no academy near Williamsburg or in the neighboring counties and that they had no means of procuring higher education for their children. This showed that the academy system was functioning rather feebly. So again, in response to popular request, the Grammar School re-opened. For a while it was enthusiastically welcomed back by the faculty. During this period, 1824-1839, it was more like an academy. The boys were older, the curriculum more varied (French and history being offered), and there was less difference made between scholar and student. Properly prepared grammar boys could enter some of the junior classes, and College students who desired to take the classics were allowed to do so. The lack of interest in preparatory work again became apparent and after the resignation of Dabney Browne,
who seemed willing to be merely a Grammar Master, subsequent masters raised the age limits and the entrance requirements for their department, and again, almost imperceptibly, the Grammar School disappeared and the Humanities Department became the Classical Department of the College. Academies must have improved by this time, as there was no protest against the lack of a preparatory school and it was allowed to die in peace.

It was an interesting and saddening commentary on the high-school system which, after the Civil War, began to replace these academies, that when the faculty again saw fit to install a preparatory department, it was the inadequate instruction in the high schools that made it necessary.

Another difference between the schools of the two periods was the change in attitude towards the pupils. In the old Grammar School the boys were received at a very early age, eight years and on, and naturally were treated as children. They were tended by housekeepers and masters, kept under strict supervision, and punished for their misdeeds. They lived in the building and worked on a rigid schedule which was set up for them. They had no choice in their course of study, which changed very little during the period. In the nineteenth century, there were more older than younger boys, and many of them lived in town. The rules, though strict according to modern ideas, were much more lenient than before
and less concerned with the details of the students' life.

It was during this period that the honor system began. In the eighteenth century, the sins of the scholars were reported by ushers and masters, and when an infringement of the rules occurred in which the culprit was unknown, mass discipline was resorted to. In the nineteenth century, according to Mr. Tyler, "It became the aim of the professors to control the students without harassing them with petty regulations or subjecting them to a system of espionage in the class-room or on examinations." This principle received recognition in the statute of 1817, when students were required to give testimony in reporting offenses "on their honor." Judge Tucker wrote in 1834, that the student, "comes a gentleman. As such we receive no accusations but from the conscience of the accused. His honor is the only witness to which we apply."10

There were numerous instances of boys being put on pledge to the faculty not to drink, and it was only after the breaking of a pledge that a boy was expelled.

The religious influence, so dominant in the eighteenth century curriculum, had almost disappeared during the nineteenth. Students were required to attend chapel every morning and were "expected" to attend church on Sunday, but

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9 Lyon G. Tyler, The History of the College, p. 66.
10 Ibid., p. 66.
that was all. The attempt in 1821 to establish courses in divinity under Ruel Keith had not been a success.

The William and Mary Grammar School during the eighteenth century influenced the pattern for secondary education in Virginia, particularly in the Tidewater section. More accurately, it might be said that it solidified and defined the tendencies that were already in existence during the seventeenth century. Its curriculum and methods were the model for many grammar and classical schools that were being organized throughout the state in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Their masters were often the products of its teaching and in many cases the William and Mary faculty were asked to inspect and examine the schools. As early as 1756, there is a record of Richard Collyhons being examined by the faculty and being found capable of teaching the grammar school at Norfolk.\footnote{Journal of the Faculty, January 1, 1756.} In the advertisements of these schools that were beginning to appear in the \textit{Virginia Gazette} and other papers, the resemblance to William and Mary in their emphasis on religious training and classical learning is clearly seen. Under Jefferson's bill "For the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," the faculty of William and Mary were to inspect the grammar schools that were to be set up, and to examine the boys in order to determine which were most
worthy to attend William and Mary. Thus the new academies were, with certain differences, set up in the tradition of the Grammar School. Jefferson was no more attempting to destroy the study of Greek and Latin than was Hugh Jones nearly a century before, but he sensibly realized that they were not necessary for all, and that an elective system joined to a freer and more flexible curriculum would be of more benefit to the general public. In this, both of these wise gentlemen were seeking a course of study suited to the conditions in America, not England.

It is interesting, if not entirely relevant to this study, to note that during the second half of the eighteenth century, examples of all the forms of education that existed in Virginia could be found in Williamsburg. There was Mrs. Whaley's school for the neediest children, Miss Hallam's school for young ladies, a school for Indians in the Brafferton, and also one there for the younger boys of the town. At the Grammar School were the older boys, and at the College, the "Young Gentlemen." There was also a school for Negroes which was supervised by President Dawson. This school, supported by Dr. Bray's Associates, had as its first trustees Dr. Dawson and William Hunter, and until the

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12 Dr. Bray, a charitable Quaker, left funds to further Negro education. Edgar Knight, A Documentary History of Education in the South, p. 141.
Revolution was under the guidance of the Presidents of the College and of Robert Nicholas, a member of the Board. It showed the genuine interest in education on the part of the College that it was willing to assume this added responsibility.

The gradual but distinct changes in the character of the Grammar School reflect the phases through which Virginia education passed, but these changes, for the most part, came slowly. The break with England came openly with the Revolution, but for some time dissatisfaction with clerical methods and English customs had been building up. Fewer and fewer children were being sent to England to school and the era of dependence on England was waning.

The period of a more democratic and American form of education began with Jefferson's ideas. They were radical and advanced for the time and if they had been followed, Virginia would have laid the foundation for a practical and exemplary form of public education. Washington, Madison, and other leaders came out strongly for the necessity for the general education of the public if it were to take its proper part in this new democracy, but the conservative Assembly of Virginia took its time in digesting what was new. The wavering and uncertain policy in regard to the Grammar School at William and Mary reflected a similar uncertainty of purpose on the part of the state. Public
enthusiasm at first founded many academies in the post-Revolutionary period, but most of them were in private hands or organized by religious groups, and many of them languished for want of public support. That most of them survived the "lean period" and eventually became prosperous showed that basically the interest in education was there. American educational policy was still unsure of its objectives and in Virginia the pattern changed slowly. It had taken nearly a century to recognize the value of Hugh Jones's practical suggestions, and so with Jefferson's. The sweeping changes the latter advocated were so watered down by the legislature as to become almost ineffective. Those that he did affect were "viewed with alarm" by almost as many as were in favor of them. Many objected to the elective system, instituted at the College, as producing confusion and chaos. The lecture system was not considered a good substitute for the old form of teaching, the loosening of the religious ties was taken as an attack on religion itself, and the attempt to establish a system of public education was thought to encourage the shiftless to feed at the public trough. Many William and Mary alumni wrote indignant letters in which the cause of the declining condition of the College was attributed to Jefferson's radical ideas. With criticism from some and with enthusiastic support from others, these ideas prevailed, and a more liberal system continued to develop.
The spread of the public school system, the third phase of educational development in Virginia, was also a slow growth. When the Grammar School reopened at the College after the Civil War, it filled the place of a public high school, as there was no such school in Williamsburg. The attendance was almost entirely local, since only ten of the boys came from beyond Williamsburg. Even the primary school, Matthew Whaley, was run by the College until 1874. It was not until this late date that the town of Williamsburg assumed responsibility for supporting a public school.

When William and Mary became a part of the state system in 1888, as a normal training school, the number of boys entering the teacher training course showed the growing demand for teachers and the spread of public education. That a preparatory school was needed at the College at this period suggested that instruction in the high school, as far as college preparation was concerned, was still inadequate. Thus, through the different preparatory systems established at William and Mary, from the old Grammar School to the Normal Academy, could be traced the evolving pattern of Virginia education.
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1769-1779</td>
<td>The Faculty of the Grammar School of William and Mary College</td>
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APPENDIX A
APPENDIX B

MUNGO INGLES

The Reverend Mungo Ingles was born in Scotland in 1657. Blair, in search of a fitting master for his Grammar School, appointed him to that position in 1693, and he entered upon his duties in 1694. In the beginning, Ingles was in high favor with President Blair. Governor Andros, who had incurred Blair's enmity because of his obstructionist policy towards the College, accused the Commissary, among other things, of filling the colony with Scotch ministers and masters. Blair defended his conduct to the Bishop of London and complained against Andros. In London he successfully countered the charges brought against him by Byrd and Povey, who represented the Governor. At this conference the question of the Scotch Ingles arose. Blair said that he had tried to get an English master, but could find none to his liking. "So I was like to go without one, then I took a Scotchman, but thank God, he is one that is without exception. I hope the gentlemen won't deny that I made a good choice." Byrd replied, "My Lord, this School Master, Mr. Ingles, is a very good School Master. He has made several

\[1\text{W. M. Q., IV, 1st ser. (July, 1895), 88]
good scholars and I believe all people are very pleased with him."2

This peaceful state of affairs was of short duration. Ingles soon took issue with Blair on many subjects. The root of their differences appeared to be that it went hard with Ingles to see Blair taking a full salary as President of a college which, as yet, did not exist, while he as school master, doing all of the work, received a much inferior salary. Another cause of grievance was that Ingles had been promised a house. Since he had a wife and children, this was a matter of some importance, but the house was not forthcoming and he had difficulty in even getting a room properly prepared. He also objected to doing the housekeeping, a duty evidently not discussed when he was offered the position of headmaster. Part of Ingles' salary was obtained from fees paid him by his scholars; so he was naturally anxious to build up the enrollment of the school. He felt that the enmity between Blair and Nicholson (who had replaced Andros as Governor) which had resulted in the removal of several sons of Nicholson's enemies, kept it from prospering as it should. He was particularly annoyed with Blair for removing

his own nephew and wrote a letter to the Board of Trustees in which he declared his intention of resigning. 3

The final and most bitter quarrel between Blair and Ingles occurred after the "Ryot" as both sides attempted to explain their position to the Bishop. Blair accused Nicholson of trying to kill him and Ingles, who had espoused the Governor's cause, made out an affidavit, bolstered by others from the boys involved in the affair, in which he refuted the President's charges, painted the plot as a school boy prank, and accused Blair of libelling his Excellency. 4

In disgust with Blair and the declining condition of the school (due in his opinion to Blair), Ingles finally resigned. He left the Grammar School in 1705 and retired to the country. There is no record of his taking a church, but he became a justice of James City County. 5

After the dismissal of Arthur Blackamore in 1716, the Board of Visitors of the College offered him the position of Grammar Master. Evidently by then his anger had cooled and he was again tempted by the teaching he had once called "unspeakable." He returned to the school and he and Blair

4 Affidavits of Mungo Ingles and the Schoolboys, sworn out May 1, 1705, Virginia Magazine of History, VIII, 143-146.
5 Virginia Magazine of History, VII, 397.
appeared to be on excellent terms. Blair wrote to the Bishop of London a short time after Ingles' return that he "had a good talent for teaching and was a sober and good man. Under him, the school thrives apace. Twenty-six scholars and more coming daily."6

This opinion of Ingles was echoed by the members of the convention of the clergy that met at Williamsburg. This convention met to investigate the troubles between Blair and Governor Spotswood and to look into charges of nonconformity on the part of the Virginia clergymen. Hugh Jones, acting as the Bishop's agent in the investigation, complained against Mr. Ingles for taking it upon himself to make "exhortations" to his pupils, alleging that he should only teach the catechism. Why Mr. Jones should object was not stated, but the clergy dismissed these charges as "frivolous" and commended Mr. Ingles, "who is a sober, good man and an M. A.,” for giving good instruction to the boys concerning their morals.7

6 James Blair to the Bishop of London, May 14, 1717, Fulham MSS., Virginia Box 1, 119.

7 Convention of the Clergy at Williamsburg, April, 1719, Perry, Papers Relating to the History of the Church, 223. This is the only reference the author has been able to find concerning Ingles' education. He is not listed at either Oxford or Cambridge. Since he was a Scotchman, he may have received his M. A. at the University of Edinburgh.
Ingles, thus encouraged, continued exhorting his boys until his death, May, 1719. He has been discussed at length because he belonged to a period in which there were few formal records; it is to letters and extracts such as his that we owe our best picture of the turbulent times at the beginning of the school.

Although his letters are voluminous, they are never boring as his style is pungent and satirical. His titles, in which he uses such expressions as "impartially considered" and "Modest Reply" are in themselves ironical as they have little impartiality or modesty as could be imagined. Ingles seemed to have a genuine interest in his boys, and except when he needs must disparage them in order to render more dismal the story of his sufferings, he referred to them in the highest terms. That he made an interesting and excellent master cannot be doubted.
APPENDIX C

HUGH JONES

One of the most interesting masters connected with the Grammar School was the Reverend Hugh Jones. He came to Virginia on the King's Bounty in 1717 and wrote of his observations there in one of the most readable of early histories. Since there were two ministers, both named Hugh Jones, who were in the colonies at about the same period, a certain amount of confusion regarding their activities was almost inevitable. It is only recently that the separate identities of the two gentlemen have been established and the errors of earlier biographies cleared up.¹

The Hugh Jones who was master of the Grammar School was born at Little Dew Church, Hereford, England, in 1691. He received his B. A. degree at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1712 and his M. A. in 1716. In a letter to William Whitmore,

¹Information regarding the identity of the two Hugh Joneses was found in two articles published in the William and Mary Quarterly. The first article, "Which Hugh Jones?", written by Dr. Grace Warren Landrum, XXIII, 2nd ser. (October, 1943), 474, discussed his early life and education, showing that the Hugh Jones who had a parish in Maryland in 1696 was doubtless not the Hugh Jones who came to William and Mary, as had been often thought. Richard L. Morton, in "The Reverend Hugh Jones, Lord Baltimore's Mathematician," VII, 3rd ser. (January, 1950), 107-115, established the identity of the Hugh Jones of William and Mary as the Hugh Jones who later became the rector of St. Stephen's Church in Cecil County, Maryland, and who assisted Lord Baltimore in his boundary disputes.
in May of 1716, he wrote that he had just received his degree and was to be ordained a priest the next day. He added that he was interested in coming to Virginia and thought that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a position as he had heard that the colony greatly needed clergymen.

Mr. Jones was recommended to William and Mary by the Bishop of London, and on June 13, 1717, Governor Spotswood wrote to the Bishop that Mr. Jones was installed at the College. He was appointed to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy, but he seemed well-versed in all branches of knowledge. His keen observation and understanding of people was shown in his remarks about education in Virginia. He observed:

Virginians were more inclined to read men by their business and conversation than to dive into books and for the most part only desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary in the shortest and best method. Having this knowledge of their capacities and inclination from sufficient experience, I have composed on purpose, some short treatises adopted with my best judgment to a course of education for the gentlemen of the plantations, consisting in a short English grammar, an accidence to Christianity, an accidence to mathematics, especially to arithmetic, in all its parts and applications, algebra, geometry, surveying of land and navigation."

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3 The Present State of Virginia (London, 1724), p. 44.
The aforementioned grammar, which Dr. Grace Warren Landrum called the first colonial grammar in English, was published in London, but the other treatises were probably composed for his own use only and do not appear to exist.4

In 1719, Mr. Jones wrote to the Bishop that Mr. Ingles had died and that he had undertaken to help the usher in the Grammar School until his Lordship could send over a master.5 He thus became master of the Grammar School and remained there until 1721, when he was replaced by Joshua Fry.

While Mr. Jones was at William and Mary, he served as chaplain of the House of Burgesses and as "lecturer" at Bruton Church. He wrote to the Bishop in 1719 that he had accepted an offer at James City to preach two Sundays out of three at two-thirds of the regular salary.6

Mr. Jones, who seemed a great stickler for ritualistic conformity, served on a committee for the Bishop to investigate the degree of nonconformity among the clergy of Virginia and to report cases of unorthodox behavior. Spotswood and Blair had begun to have difficulties and the Governor would have welcomed an excuse to get rid of Blair. Hugh Jones had

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5 Perry, Papers Relating to the History of the Church, pp. 246-247.

6 Ibid. Papers Relating to the History of the Church,
grave doubts as to whether Blair's ordination by the Bishop of Edinburgh was strictly in order, and Spotswood, welcoming Jones as a partisan, called a convention of the clergy to investigate this and other grievances he had against Blair. All of the charges were discussed thoroughly at the convention and Blair, armed with a recommendation from the Bishop of Edinburgh and his license from the Bishop of London, put his enemies to rout. It was dangerous to quarrel with Blair, as Mungo Ingles had observed before, and this breach between Blair and his Grammar Master was most probably a reason for the short duration of Jones's stay at William and Mary. He returned to England in 1721, and in 1724 published The Present State of Virginia, a study that has been very valuable to historians for the graphic picture it presents of Virginia society and for the range of subjects it covers.

After three years in England, Mr. Jones returned to Virginia and became minister at St. Stephen's Parish in King and Queen. Blair wrote to the Bishop rather maliciously that Mr. Hugh Jones had taken a good parish on the York River, but had a foolish dispute with his vestry and had suddenly departed for Maryland. His first charge there was at

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7 Proceedings of the Convention of the Clergy, 1719, Perry, Papers Relating to the History of the Church, pp. 219-223.

8 James Blair to the Bishop of London, W. M. Q., XIX, 2nd ser. (October, 1939), 454.
Charles County, but he had difficulty in collecting his salary and twice had to sue for it. In 1731, he was given a church in North Sassafras Parish, Cecil County. He remained there until his death in 1760.

While he was in Cecil County, his talents as a mathematician were recognized by Lord Baltimore and he was engaged to aid in settling a boundary dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania. It was in his deposition as a witness in a suit in chancery arising from the unsettled claims of the two colonies that Hugh Jones identified himself as the Hugh Jones who had received his M. A. at Oxford in 1716 and had been at William and Mary from 1717 to 1721.  

Hugh Jones, as a practical and learned mathematician, as a scholarly minister, laboring long in the vineyard, and as an educator whose ideas were more original and far-seeing than the majority of his contemporaries, represents the best type of teacher of this or any age.

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APPENDIX D

JOSHUA FRY

Joshua Fry was born in Somerset, England, in 1700. He was educated at Oxford University and came to Virginia in 1720. In 1721, the report made to the Bishop concerning conditions at the College, mentions as the one master, "a very young man, Joshua Fry, but a good scholar, he teaches the boys, Greek, Latin and writing." In 1729, when the College was transferred from the trusteeship to the masters, Fry was named as master of the Grammar School. In 1731, he gave up the Grammar School and was appointed professor of mathematics. In 1744, Fry left Williamsburg and moved to Goochland County. When Albemarle was carved out of Goochland, Fry was elected one of the two burgesses to represent the new county in the Virginia Assembly. Fry's ability as a mathematician was proved by his appointment to assist in surveying Lord Fairfax's grant, and in 1749, when with Peter Jefferson he was made a member of the commission to set the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina. His knowledge of the country, gained through these expeditions, proved of great value in making a map of Virginia. This map

1W. M. Q., II, 1st ser. (July, 1893), 150.
2Memorandum for His Excellency, 1721, S. P. G. Papers, Film 59-65.
of the "Inhabited parts of Virginia" was one of the best and earliest maps of the state. In 1752, Fry was sent to treat with the Indians in the Ohio Valley. He won from them the important Treaty of Logstown, in which they promised not to injure the settlers in this region. At this time the encroachments of the French and their alliance with the Indians were a matter of much concern to Virginians who wished to settle in this territory. Fry, now a colonel in the Virginia Militia, was sent on an expedition to drive them back. He died at Will's Creek and was succeeded by his next in command, George Washington.  

Joshua Fry showed his versatility in the many ways in which he served his country. As teacher, surveyor, statesmen, and soldier, he made a notable contribution to Virginia.  

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APPENDIX E

JAMES HARROCKS

James Harrocks was born in Yorkshire in 1734. He attended Trinity College, Cambridge, and received his B. A. in 1755, his M. A. in 1758, and was a Fellow in 1756. He was ordained to the ministry in 1757, and came over to Virginia on the King's Bounty in 1761. In 1763, he was appointed Master of the Grammar School. In 1764, he was elected President of the College and Commissary to the Bishop, but continued to head the Grammar School until 1769, when Josiah Johnson took over. He was counsellor of State to his Majesty in 1764 and Rector of Bruton.1 This would seem to be enough to occupy any one man, but Mr. Harrocks had other interests. He was very active in the councils of the church and was anxious to establish an American Episcopate. The House of Burgesses was against the idea and Mr. Henley, an extreme Loyalist, carried on a "paper war" in the Virginia Gazette with Professor Camm who was in favor of it.2 Harrocks and Camm had allied themselves also against the Board of Visitors. The old problem of the power to dismiss


professors had arisen again with Camm and Johnson and the Board had demanded apologies from the professors who had protested the ruling.

In 1772, Harrocks set out for England to consult the Bishops of England in regard to his plan of establishing American Bishops. Bland wrote very unkindly about this and said that the reason for Harrock's interest in this scheme was that he wanted to be the first Bishop himself. He added that, "By a fortuitous concatenation of events he has advanced himself by many profitable appointments—but neither his abilities nor his address can possibly recommend him for such a high office." 3

Harrocks did not live to put his proposal to the test; he died on the way to England, at Oporto. The Virginia Gazette published the following epitaph:

Deaths—at Oporto, March 20, 1772
The Reverend and Hon. Joseph Harrock,
Counsellor of State to his Majesty for Va.,
Commissary to the Bishop of London,
President of the College of Wm. and Mary and
Rector of Bruton—
A gentleman well versed in the several branches of sound learning, particularly mathematics and eminently possessed of those virtues which increase in value as they are furtherest from ostentation. 4

Harrocks was only thirty-eight when he died and had served well both his church and state.

3 Ibid.
4 The Virginia Gazette, June, 1772.
The Reverend John Bracken had a long and distinguished career, dividing his time between the church and the College. He first came to Virginia in 1772, and was appointed Rector of Bruton Parish Church in 1773. He remained there until his death in 1818, a period of forty-five years. In 1777, he was appointed master of the Grammar School, but lost this position when Jefferson decided to abolish the school. Mr. Bracken did not take his dismissal tamely. In 1787, he brought suit against the Board of Visitors of the College to show cause why he should not be restored to his former position of Grammar Master and professor of humanities. This suit brought out some interesting points, illustrating the changes made by Thomas Jefferson in the charter of the College; and John Bracken illustrated the struggle of the old against the new. Bracken represented classical education as opposed to modern languages, the influence of religion as against the new school which had dropped its chair of divinity. He stood for a preparatory department which trained up future scholars while Jefferson considered this out of place in a university. Bracken also

1 The Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton Church, p. 48.
represented the old corporation which held that dismissal should be largely in the hands of the faculty itself, while the new order gave final authority to the Board. Bracken lost his suit. The case was reopened in 1790 in hopes of recovering his back salary, but the court decided that the Board had power to remove, and since there was no position, there was no salary due. During his absence from the Grammar School, Mr. Bracken kept a school himself. In 1787, there was a notice in the Virginia Gazette advertising the school. The fees were ten pounds a year, and the subjects taught were ancient languages, writing and arithmetic. In 1791, the Grammar School was reestablished and Mr. Bracken returned to his former position. He remained as master until 1812 when he was elected temporary president of the College.

Bracken was an ardent patriot and advocated the colonial cause in a series of articles in the Gazette. Henly and Gwatkin opposed him and some of the loyalist element criticized his conduct. However, his congregation stood back of him and passed resolutions in the Gazette stating

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2 Call's Reports, Vol. III, 573. Rev. John Bracken v. the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary, transcript in the library of the College of William and Mary.

3 The Virginia Gazette, January 11, 1787.
that his conduct met with their approval.4

Bracken was much interested in establishing an American Episcopate and after the Revolution he was very active in the councils of the church. In 1789, he was elected president of the Episcopal convention, and in 1812, he was elected Bishop of Virginia. He resigned this honor before he was consecrated.5

4 The Virginia Gazette, March 3, 1774.
5 Goodwin, Historical Sketch of Bruton Church, p. 52.
APPENDIX G

THE USHERS

The ushers at the Grammar School were chosen for their good records in scholarship and good conduct, and though there is no complete record of their subsequent activities, those ushers who have been accounted for went mostly into the church. The following men, at one time ushers at the Grammar School, are listed as having churches in Virginia before the Revolution: Arthur Emmerson, Robert Rose, Emanuel Jones, James Maury, Robert Barrett, Sam Klug, Roscoe Cole, and James Davenport.¹

Arthur Emmerson had a classical school of his own, as did Sam Nelson, and Walker Maury was master of the Grammar School or academy at the old capitol in Williamsburg and later of Norfolk Academy.²

Thomas Dawson was first master of the Indian School after being an usher, and later became President of the College of William and Mary.³

²George J. Ryan, "Ancient Languages at William and Mary," Alumni Gazette, May, 1940, 10.
³W. M. Q., IX, 1st ser. (January, 1902), 223.
James Marshall became a tutor for the Carter family and later entered the ministry.\(^4\)

James Innes, who was head usher at the time of the Revolution, was dismissed from that position because his military activities interfered with his work. He was Captain of the Williamsburg Volunteers and patrolled the streets in order to prevent the seizure of the powder by Lord Dunmore, but was not sufficiently vigilant to secure it. He was an aide to Washington at Trenton and raised a regiment which he commanded at Yorktown. He was a member of the Federal Convention in 1788 and was an advocate of the Constitution. He succeeded Edmond Randolph as Attorney General of Virginia.\(^5\)

\(^{4\text{W. M. Q., XXII, 1st ser. (July, 1913), 218.}}\)

\(^{5\text{W. M. Q., XXI, 1st ser. (July, 1912), 136.}}\)