To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by James R. Muecke entitled "Seed for a Secular Revolution: Scholastic Education in the Colonial College." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment for the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in Political Science.

Thomas D. Ungs, Major Professor

We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Chancelor
Graduate studies and Research

SEED FOR A SECULAR REVOLUTION:
SCHOLASTIC EDUCATION IN
THE COLONIAL COLLEGE

A Thesis

Presented for the

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Degree

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James R. Muecke

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IRONY may be defined as the conflict of two meanings which has a dramatic structure peculiar to itself: initially, one meaning, the appearance, presents itself as the obvious truth, but when the context of this meaning unfolds, in depth or in time, it surprisingly discloses a conflicting meaning, the reality, measured against which the first meaning now seems false or limited and, in its self-assurance, blind to its own situation. Irony "lies," but it does so only as a dramatic means of bringing two meanings into open conflict. . . . The field of observation in which irony may be noticed ranges from the smallest semantic unit--e.g., a pun--to the cosmos.

Norman D. Knox
1973, Vol. II, p. 626-627.

ABSTRACT

This thesis describes an irony in American political history. That irony is the secularizing effect of religious education in colonial America. This effect may seem insignificant to today's student of political thought yet I hope to demonstrate that it played a vital role in the successful rise of democratic values in America. The goal of the Puritans was to build a new society based on Reformation principles. Instead, a society was built based on Enlightenment principles. The colonial church college was a primary avenue by which those Enlightenment principles rose to prominence. Once in a position of prominence, they overturned the religious based doctrines that had governed many of the political institutions of Colonial America. My main thesis is that the colonial church college, while attempting to educate young men for leadership in theocratic societies, actually prepared them for leadership in a secular revolution.

In the seventeenth century tens of thousands of English Protestants sailed for the wilderness of North America. They had a dream of building a religious civilization based on Reformation principles. In the next century the great-grandchildren of these Puritans also had a dream. Their dream, however, was to build a secular society based on Enlightenment principles. The success of the Patriot's revolution meant the failure of the Puritan's dream. My question is this: how did a society founded on the most powerful of religious drives undergo such a transformation in such a short time that it became the first and foremost secular civilization in the world? A basic but neglected key to the answer lies in the Puritan educational system. Ironically, while

fleeing the corrupting influences of European culture the Puritans educated their children by the same scholastic principles that had been shaping the character of European society for centuries (Rudolph, 1977, p. 28; Gummere, 1922, p. 55; Walsh, 1935). Out of that Scholastic educational system grew the Enlightenment, and out of the Enlightenment grew the Revolution.

The early Puritan founders dreamed of building a New Jerusalem that would become a beacon of light to a world in darkness. They prayed that their societies would provide a much need example for Europe to follow (Rippa, 1971, p. 18; Sterns and Brawner, 1965, pp. 14-15) and, as such, their "New" England would become the means of ushering in the long awaited millennium of peace (Miller, 1956). But they failed miserably. Instead of ushering in the millenium of peace, the descendants of the Puritans became advocates of a secular world view. They fired the shot heard around the world and ushered in the era of revolution.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis describes an irony in American political history. That irony is the secularizing effect of religious education in colonial America. This effect may seem insignificant to today's student of political thought yet I hope to demonstrate that it played a vital role in the successful rise of democratic values in America. The goal of the Puritans was to build a new society based on Reformation principles. Instead, a society was built based on Enlightenment principles. The colonial church college was a primary avenue by which those Enlightenment principles rose to prominence. Once in a position of prominence, they overturned the religious based doctrines that had governed many of the political institutions of Colonial America. My main thesis is that the colonial church college, while attempting to educate young men for leadership in theocratic societies, actually prepared them for leadership in a secular revolution.

The Great Migration

In the autumn of 1620 a small ship carrying one hundred two people sailed for the wilderness of North America. On board were seventy Calvinists we now know as the Pilgrims (Bradford, Chapter V, pp. 22-23; 1901 ed., p.44). Their goal was to build a new society based on their understanding of Christian principles. These Pilgrims had not been commissioned for their journey by Crown nor Company. Yet, neither were they sailing as private individuals. They perceived themselves as a unified body of Christ that had received its commission from the King of

kings. Before leaving Holland, they had been placed under the spiritual authority of ruling elders and were formally organized into "an absolute church of them selves (Bradford, VI, 27; 1901 ed., p. 53)". In an emotional ceremony, the bretheren they were leaving behind ordained and blessed their new church (Bradford, VII, 37; 1901 ed., p. 73). Although the Pilgrims sailed for the new world as an organized church, they were tragically ill-prepared. Half their members died that first winter. Yet, due to the conditions of the British political enviornment and to the religious vision created by the Reformation, other Puritans were soon following their dream.

Early in the spring of 1630, this time after extensive preparations, John Winthrop set sail for Massachusetts Bay on the flagship Arbella. Under his command was a fleet of nine ships that were loaded with cattle, horses, supplies--and a thousand Puritans. Within the span of a decade, twenty thousand more Puritans joined them at their New Jerusalem in the wilderness (Wertenbaker, 1947, p.41; Bahnsen, 1975, p. 110; Rippa, 1971, p. 19). The great migration, as it has become known among historians, was underway (Crouse, 1932). Frederick Rudolph also tells us that in this "great Puritan migration to New England . . . at least 130 university men were among those who emigrated before 1646 (Rudolph, 1977, p. 30)."

In the seventeenth century tens of thousands of English Protestants sailed for the wilderness of North America. They had a dream of building a religious civilization based on Reformation principles. In the next century the great-grandchildren of these Puritans also had a dream. Their dream, however, was to build a secular society based on

Enlightenment principles. The success of the Patriot's revolution meant the failure of the Puritan's dream. My question is this: how did a society founded on the most powerful of religious drives undergo such a transformation in such a short time that it became the first and foremost secular civilization in the world? A basic but neglected key to the answer lies in the Puritan educational system. Ironically, while fleeing the corrupting influences of European culture the Puritans educated their children by the same scholastic principles that had been shaping the character of European society for centuries (Rudolph, 1977, p. 28; Gummere, 1922, p. 55). Out of that Scholastic educational system grew the Enlightenment, and out of the Enlightenment grew the Revolution.

The Millennial Dream

The early Puritan founders dreamed of building a New Jerusalem that would become a beacon of light to a world in darkness. They prayed that their societies would provide a much need example for Europe to follow (Rippa, 1971, p. 18; Sterns and Brawner, 1965, pp. 14-15) and, as such, their "New" England would become the means of ushering in the long awaited millennium of peace. In the words of the title of Perry Miller's related study, they were on a very important "Errand into the Wilderness."

> This errand was being run for the sake of Reformed Christianity; and while the first aim was indeed to realize in America the due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, the aim behind the aim was to vindicate the most rigorous ideal of the Reformation, so that ultimately all Europe would imitate New England. If we succeed, Winthrop told his audience, men will say of later plantations, "the Lord make it like that of New England (Miller, 1956, p. 12)."

Winthrop and his fleet were on an errand to build a new Reformed world order. But they failed miserably. Instead of ushering in the millenium of peace, the descendants of the Puritans became advocates of a secular world view. They fired the shot heard around the world and ushered in the era of revolution. In contrast to the Puritans, the Whig revolutionaries saw themselves as builders of a new nation modeled after Athens and Rome (Gummere, 1922, p. 18), they were not to be the builders of the New Jerusalem.

The Ancient Allegory and the Modern Analogy

St. Augustine, in his political allegory The City of God, pronounced a benediction on the fall of the Roman empire thirteen centuries before the American Revolution. The City of Man was dying, but the reader was told not to mourn, rather, he was to rejoice, for the City of God was on the rise. St. Augustine reminded his reader that a city is built on justice and, since Rome did not have true justice, it was not the true city anyway (The City of God, II, 21). The Church would build that true city. However, St. Augustine's City of God was slow in arriving. William Bradford, John Winthrop, John Cotton, and ten thousand more were still seeking it in the seventeenth century when they set sail for the coast of North America.

The contrast between the Puritan and the Whig and the type of societies they were trying to build is analogous to the contrast between the two cities, or societies, allegorized by St. Augustine. However, in colonial times the process was reversed. This time it was the City of God that was dying. Few realized this and even fewer mourned its passing. In the wilderness of North America, the City of Man, which St.

Augustine had pronounced dead centuries earlier, was on the rise. The Whigs had a new concept of justice based on modified doctrines drawn from the City of Man. Their society was to be a secular society, and it was destined to rise to heights of glory that had never been achieved before. The goal of building a New Jerusalem had been turned one hundred eighty degrees. But, how could colonial education have contributed to such a reversal in the direction of Colonial America?

The colonial church college was an important instrument in the re-building of the City of Man. This was because, amazing as it may sound, colonial education, although it was church education, never truly belonged to the City of God. It was based on the Scholastic educational system which had its origins in the Academies of ancient Greece and Rome (Walsh, 1935, p. ix). The curriculum, the methods of teaching, many of the ethical concepts, and even the view of existence that was at the basis of medieval Scholastic education had been developed in the ancient pagan Academy.

These key aspects of Scholastic education were from the very City of Man that St. Augustine had allegorized. St. Augustine had been a professor of Rhetoric at Milan before his conversion. He left the Academic system in order to pursue a better knowledge of his new found God. The Academic system had been instrumental in the rise of Hellenistic culture in ancent times. Now, in Colonial America, the church college, which was a near carbon descendant of the Greco-Roman Academy, was playing an instrumental role in the resurrection of the City of Man.

The colonial college provided an ideal enviornment for teaching future colonial leaders, including prominent ministers, the secular doctrines of the Enlightenment. The doctrines were basic to the growth and success of the Whig party. This role the colonial church college played in the successful rise of revolutionary doctrines has been neglected by historians and political scientists alike. The ironic aspects of this role has received even less attention. The colonial church college was doing just the exact opposite of the goal for which it had been established. In this thesis I intend to make the reader aware of the extensive role education played in the American Enlightenment and, consequently, its role in the rise of revolutionary doctrines. Then I will show how the colonial educational system, in so doing, betrayed the goals of its founders.

The Englihtenment began as an intellectual movement in Europe that reached its fullest expression in the social thought of the eighteenth century (Pappe, 1973, II, p. 89). Highly educated men such as Copernicus, Newton, Bacon, Descartes, and Locke were the movement's forerunners. Each of these men had close ties with the academic world. A matter of simple logic allows us to postulate that there was a close relationship between the Enlightenment and European education. It is also a simple matter to extend this logic to Colonial America and postulate that the Enlightenment in the colonies was nourished by the colonial church college.

Since the Enlightenment had its highest expression in social thought, it is also logical to postulate that the doctrines of the Whig political party were closely related to Enlightenment thought. The Whig

party became, in the English speaking world, the most active expression if the social movements that were generated by the Enlightenment. In the same pattern as the Enlightenment, the Whig party had its rise in Europe and was carried to America by highly educated leaders. A number of these leaders became professors in the colonial college. The rise of the Whig party was closly related to the rise of the Enlightenment and, in turn, to the educational system that nurished it.

The vast majority of the colonial Whig leaders, including Thomas Jefferson, who authored the Declaration of Independence, and James Madison, who was the main author of the Constitution, had learned their revolutionary doctrines while they were students in the colonial church college. These two men in particular had absorbed the Enlightenment world view while they were studying under European born and trained scholars. Thomas Jefferson had studied under William Small at the College of William and Mary. James Madison had studied under John Witherspoon at the College of New Jersey.

Both Small and Witherspoon were avid apostles of the Enlightenment and they won numerous disciples among their students. Small had been trained at Aberdeen in Scottland while Witherspoon had been trained at Edinburgh (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976, p. 4; Walsh, 1935, p. 52, 60). On completion of their studies these professors sailed for Colonial America to take their positions in the wilderness college--and in history. Small was to train the man who was to author the Declaration of Independence and Witherspoon was to sign it. Then, Whitherspoon was to train the man who was the greatest contributor to the Constitution. This illustration is only one of many that could be used to demonstrate

the influence of the Enlightenment on colonial education; of the uniformity of European and colonial education; how that system contributed to the revolution; and, by default, how the colonial church college, in the process, betrayed the colonial church state. But, how do we know that colonial education really did betray the goals of its founder? And, if it did, how did it take such a turn?

Although the colonies involved in the American revolution were founded by men motivated by differing desires, there was a unifying intellectual force in their common educational system (Gummere, 1922, p. 55). Every colonial college, from Harvard College of Massachusetts Bay to the College of William and Mary in the Virginia Plantation, was structured after the European Scholastic educational system. This common educational system provided fertile soil throughout the Colonies in which Enlightenment social doctrines could grow. In turn, the Enlightenment doctrines provided the philosophical basis for the revolutionary political thought of the Whig Party. But how did Scholastic education provide a basis for Enlightenment political thought?

The Roots of Colonial Education

At first it seems surprising that Colonial America, and specifically Puritian America, would have used the Scholastic educational system. Scholasticism was an educational system developed by the medieval Roman Catholic Church. Yet, the Puritans were noted for their abhorence of anything that had been influenced by Catholicism. Why did the Puritans continue to use the educational system that had played a powerful role in shaping the character of the very Church they

were in rebellion against? Our unexplained irony goes far deeper than this, however, when we consider the ancient origins of Scholasticism.

Scholasticism, as a term, holds several meanings in our culture today. Variations on the word (such as scholar, school, and scholastic) are so much a part of our educational vocabulary that it is generally not known that "Scholasticism" was also a formal title for a system of education that dominated the western world for centuries. In one sense, Scholasticism had been developed by the medieval Roman Catholic Church, at least, the Reformed Church got its system of education from the Roman Church. But this was only a secondary stage in its development. Its true foundation can be traced back to times of ancient Greece. The Scholastic curriculum and its methods of teaching had their development in the classical Greco-Roman Academy before the birth of Christ.

Scholasticism had its origins in the ancient Greco-Roman Academy, not the ancient Hebrew Synagogue. Ultimately, this becomes significant because the Greek culture and the Hebrew culture were based on two entirely different views of existence. These two different views of existence provided the basis for two different systems of social ethics. In turn, these two different systems of social ethics provided the basis for two different ideas of justice. The tension between these different ideas of justice was perceived by St. Augustine and was at the root of the conflict between his City of God and his City of Man (St. Augustine, City of God, II, 21). Just as there was a great difference between the systems of justice in St. Augustine's two cities, there was a great difference between the Puritan's conception of justice and the Whig's conception of justice.

It is on the issue of justice that the major political difference between the Puritan and the Whig can be seen. The Puritan's conception of justice had deep religious roots while the Whig's conception of justice was based on secular doctrines. This change in the colonial conception of justice was a political necessity that had to take place before the revolution could have developed. While one conception was directly related to the Reformation and went all the way back to ancient Israel, the other was directly related to the Enlightenment and went all the way back to ancient Greece.

Scholasticism, in its curriculum as well as its method of teaching, was an authoritative system of education that relied heavily on its ancient Greek origins. Scholasticism venerated the ancient pagan authorities and, as a result, reflected the Hellenistic world it imitated. Puritan students in the Colonial college, as well as students in Europe, had their minds and spirits saturated with the great works of pagan Greece and Rome:

> Their exposure to the classics of the ancient world--Plutarch, Cicero, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle--was on a scale that allowed Samuel Eliot Morison to exaggerate: "It was the classics that made Harvard men of the day effective in politics and statesmanship (Morison in Rudolph, 1977, p. 37).

Much of the colonial college's curriculum, its texts, and its very important method of dialectical training relied heavily on a long list of ancient Classical authorities. In turn, all of the Classical authorites worked from a concept of existence that was based on the Greek doctrine of Nature.

The Doctrine of Nature and the Rise of Natural Rights

The doctrine of Nature provides an important key for demonstrating the differences between the ancient Hebrew and Greek world views. When analyzed, the Greek doctrine of Nature stands in sharp contrast with the Hebrew doctrine of Creation. This difference is not just a matter of semantics. Each of these two cosmological doctrines produced their own way of viewing existence and, more importantly, their own systems of ethics that were wholly at odds with each other:

> This semantic context must be appreciated in any account of the Judeo-Christian theology of nature and its doctrine of creation, for `nature' has no equivalent in the biblical literature, primarily because this word `in its Latin and also in its Greek meanings (natura, phusis) suggests something centered in itself, with an immanent origin and growth; dependence on the Creator God cannot be expressed by it'. Instead of `nature' the New Testament uses the word `creation' (ktisis), and the verb `create'. This is a vital distinction for `nature' connotes subsistence and autonomy whereas `creation' connotes sourcehood and dependence and, moreover, includes both man and all that is non-human within the category of the created. Although man may have a special role within creation, their relation is that of one created entity to another, for both man and non-human nature are dependent for their being on God the Creator. . . .
>
> So the use of the term `creation' instead of `nature' has theological presuppositions already built in, it is a way of `seeing' . . . (Peacocke, 1979, pp. 365-366).

Yet, this cosmological dichotomy was not perceived by the medieval scholastics (Aquinas, Summa Theologica, 1a, 2ae) or by the Reformation Church (Edwards, The Nature of True Virtue, 1961). This may be one of the greatest failures in the history of the Church.

The doctrine of Nature produced a derivative social doctrine--Natural (moral) Law. Natural Law provided key conceptual foundations on which the Natural Right ethics of the Enlightenment were built. In turn, the idea of Natural Rights formed the basis of the social doctrines of the Whigs. From this basis a secular revolution was

fought and a new society was built.

The doctrine of Natural Rights provided a new concept of justice that, when exploited, could create within its believers a strong sense that injustices had been visited upon them. A drive for revolution could then be built out of that sense of injustice. James C. Davies writes that:

> Individuals engage in revolution as a specific form of change when there is a sudden and sharp downward turn in their perceived fulfillment of expectations (Davies, 70, p. 142)."

If the expectations of a people are changed, even more so than their situation, then revolt can occur. With the doctrine of Natural Rights the revolutionary leaders saw themselves as men opening the doors to "A New Order for the Ages." This New Order was to be based on the newly perceived natural social processes that were being opened to man's understanding by the Enlightenment's modified approach to nature and Natural Law.

Secularism: The Natural Child of the Enlightenment

In order to understand the impact of the Enlightenment on Colonial American the reader must also understand the rise of the doctrine of secularism. Without this understanding, it would be impossible to see the extent of the change that had to take place in western man's perception of his relationship with the world around him and his relationship with his God before a secular revolution could be fought. The doctrine of secularism is fundamental to the difference between the religious mind of the medieval and Reformation world and the secular mind of the Enlightenment and modern world. Without this understanding, the reader will not be able to perceive key differences between the

Puritan and the Whig nor how the church college betrayed the goals of the church state.

In the context of our study, secularism will be defined as "a system of social ethics based upon a doctrine that ethical standards and conduct should be determined . . . without reference to religion (Oxford English Dictionary, IX, 1933)." It is "An ethical system founded on the principles of natural morality and independent of revealed religion or supernaturalism (Americana, 1979; Holyoake, 1846)."

An ethic is a way of life. It is a system of morality with its goal being the ideal end of human character. A social ethic is a way of life for a society. It is an ethic generalized to the public and, when institutionalized as a public ethic it becomes the principle of justice that governs the nation. A secular ethic is, therefore, a way for a society to govern the relationships between its members without reference to religious principles. T. F. McMahon portrays secularism as:

> . . . a philosophy of life, a movement of thought, ... Secularistic ethics is founded upon the principles of a purely naturalistic morality that is independent of revealed religion or supernaturalism. As a movement, it prevades government, economic theory, education, and family (McMahon, 1967, XIII, p. 36).

In regard to secularism, the U.S. Bishops' statement of 1974 says that secularism may be described as:

> . . . a view of life that limits itself not to the material in exclusion of the spiritual, but to the human here and now in exclusion of man's relation to God here and here-after.

Secularism is essentially a belief that, as members of a society, we ought to govern our relationships with the state, business, and education by ethical principles that are not determined by reference to

God. This doctrine seems to be good, or proper, or wholesome to the modern mind; but to the medieval mind it would seem to be an abomination. The difference in how we perceive this doctrine, in whether we believe that it is good or evil, is an important key in the difference between the the medieval mind, including that of the Reformation, and the modern mind. Since secularism is seen as a non-religious doctrine it is, by default, a non-Christian doctrine. Although not realized by most Americans, secularism, as it is now conceived, is a result of the doctrines of the Enlightenment and has been instrumental in the development of the post-Christian era of modern culture.

In contrast, a basic tenet of the Judeo-Christian heritage is that man is made in the image of God. We are told that God reveals His image in His ethics and that He has revealed this image to be holy. Because He is holy He governs His relationships with His creation by righteousness. Since we are made in His image, we are to govern our relationships with each other by the same principles He uses to govern His relationships. We are made in His likeness and that likeness is to be revealed in man's ethics. We are to be holy for He is holy. This theme is at the center of the relationship of God with Israel and is basic to the scheme of redemption in Christian theology.

In the terms of the mind of the eighteenth century Whig, however, we were to govern ourselves by principles discerned in Nature by the light of our reason. Still, the Whig was quick to inform his converts that the Deity pronounced His blessings on this system of natural ethics. Yet, even with this blessing, our institutions were not to be

built on religious principles (Burns in Horwitz, 1978, p. 170). If the goal of ethics is ideal human character, and if a Christian believes that ideal human character is determined by reference to the revealed character of God, then how can one consistently embrace Christian and secular doctrines at the same time? How can the Christian determine his ethics without reference to God?

This change from religious grounded social values to secular ethics was seen first in the colonial church college:

> As the 18th century swept on, the secular interest that had invaded Harvard appeared in Virginia and there ensued a waning of the earlier religious motivations. In 1779, lead by Thomas Jefferson, the college trustees refurbished the school with chairs in medicine, mathematics, physics, moral philosophy, economics, law, and politics. Concurently, it discontinued the chair in divinity as "incompatible with freedom in a republic (Britannica, 1981, v. 6, p. 358)."

Implications of the new secular ethics surfaced at unexpected times as the following instance, described by Richard Gummere, illustrates:

> The delegates to the Constitutional Convention assembled at a time when the influence of the classics was at its height. . . . They dealt with fundamental ideas and considered them in the light of their applicability. . . . So much of the atmosphere was habitual that Abbot of North Carolina, at the state ratifying meeting, asked his colleagues, with grim humor, "By whom are we to swear, since no religious tests are required, whether by Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Proserpina, or Pluto [Elliot, Debates on the Constitution, IV, 192; (Gummere, 1963, p. 174-175)]."

The highest formal expression of a society's social ethic is found in its legal system. In other words, the character of a society may ultimately be judged by the character of its laws. A legal system is ultimately developed in reference to an idea, or doctrine, of justice. This means that the idea of justice, in a logical order of ideas, comes before, or is conceptually prior to the idea of law. The idea of

justice is foundational for the idea of law. By observing the differences between the laws written by the Puritans and the laws written by the Whigs it can be determined that Colonial society underwent a dramatic change in its conception of how people should govern their relationships with each other.

The idea of morality involves a sense of right and wrong, a sense of how one ought to govern his relationships with others. A person may govern his relationships morally--yet not really be ethical--if his morals are based on logically inconstent ideas or values. An ethic is a systematic set of morals, a consistent set of values concerning right and wrong. Your ethics are revealed in the way you govern your relationships with others. This makes an ethic a "belief" about how a person ought to govern his relationships with others.

An ethic becomes justice when it is institutionalized in public government. A belief in what is just is a belief about how a person or a society ought to govern their relationships with others. An institutionalized doctrine of justice, as expressed in the laws of a society, is an institutionalized social ethic. Justice takes the idea of ethics and institutionalizes it. This means that the ethical philosopher becomes the political philosopher when he formulates a means for having his system of ethics institutionalized in the courts of a society. This places the idea of justice in the position of providing a conceptual framework for the formal, or institutionalized, values of the society. Consequently, a society's system of justice becomes the bones, or skeleton, that provides the framework around which the character of the society is shaped. When you change a society's conception of

justice you will change the character of that society. This change in the colonial perception of justice, more important than the freedom we won from Great Britain, is what was accomplished by the Enlightenment Whigs in Colonial America.

Since the legal system of a society operates by reference to a doctrine of justice, and, since justice is a society's institutionalized idea of the proper social ethic, and since, by definition, secularism is a system of social ethics that is determined without reference to religion, then the best way to determine whether a society is secular or not is by analyzing its institutionalized doctrine of justice. Although the Preamble to the United States Constitution proclaims to its readers that one of its purposes is to "establish Justice" it neglects to inform us what that justice is. The idea of justice is never mentioned again in the document. This being the case, how are we to be able to determine our society's formal doctrine of justice?

At this point an appreciation of the relationship between law and justice becomes important. We can determine a societies conception of justice by analyzing the laws it writes. Although the Constitution does not state a particular doctrine of justice, it contains plenty of laws. By determining the ethical concepts that those laws are consistent with, we can determine the doctrine of justice that is at the basis of our society. Using the written laws as a reference point, we can analyze the ethical roots of the doctrine of justice that governs the relationships of the members of the society. We can do this for early Puritan society as well. Then we can compare our results. When this process is followed, it becomes apparent that there was a fundamental

shift in the social ethics and, consequently, the doctrine of justice that controlled the moral perceptions of the average colonist at the time of the revolution. During the era of the revolution, Colonial America, and in particular the New England colonies, revealed that they had lost the vision for building the City of God and in its place began writing laws for building the City of Man. As a culture, we had passed from the religious rooted ethics of the Reformation to the secular rooted ethics of the Enlightenment. Our belief about right and wrong and the principles on which the courts of the land should base their ethics had undergone the most drastic transformation since the rise of civilization. From the era of the Revolution on, it has been proclaimed that it is ethically wrong for nations to govern their relationships with other nations, or to govern the relationships of one citizen with another citizen, by spiritual principles. The nations are to be secular.

Frederick Rudolph (1977) in his history on the undergraduate curriculum in American education states that the rise in the emphasis on the study of ethics as opposed to theology coincided with the rise in the study of natural philosophy. He tells us that "At Yale the movement of ethics into a position of central concern was accomplished by a reduction in the study of divinity and metaphysics. Clearly what was happening was a shift in `the philosophical presuppositions of the New England mind (Rudolph, 1977, p. 39)." As courses in moral philosophy developed there was a shift in the principles that were taught as the proper grounds for moral guidance in the colleges:

> In moving from the idea of morality as derived from God to morality as a function of reason and human nature, the course

> took side trips--into political morality on the eve of the Revolution, ... The route and methods by which ethics as a separate discipline elevated reason, surpassed theology, invited deist thought into the course of study, and generated a secular approach to moral questions were circuitous and complex, but the course was well on the way there by the end of the colonial period. In attempting to reconcile Lockean empiricism, Newtonian physics, and Christian revelation, the moral pholosophy course may have been attempting the impossible, . . . (Rudolph, 1977, pp. 41-42).

We are beginning to see that on the eve of the revolution there was a change in the ethical perceptions of the colonists.

Alienation: The Key to Revolution

What was the cause of the American revolution? The arbitrary power of a monarch? Legislative tyranny? Taxation? In describing the causes of the American Revolution, H. Trevor Colbourn cites no less an authority than John Adams. Here, in Colbourn's format, John Adams states what he thinks to be the true cause of the breach with the Crown:

> One of John Adams' favorite questions was, "What do we mean by the revolution? The war?" No. "That was no part of the revolution. It was only an effect and consequence of it." As he told Hezekiah Niles, "The real American revolution" was the "radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people" effected between 1760 and 1775, this took place "before a drop of blood was shed. (John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, Feb. 13, 1818 in The Works of John Adams. X, 1856, 282-83; cited in Colbourn, 1965, p. 3).

John Adams had years of successful experience in generating the revolutionary spirit. With Samuel Adams, he had played an instrumental role in organizing the Committees of Correspondence throughout the colonies. These Committees, through various means, were able to gain full control of the colonial press. They had the responsibility of printing and distributing Whig propaganda, including Thomas Paine's Common Sense.

According to Adams, the key to a successful revolution is the ability to create a change in the people's perception of principles. What principles? The principles that ought to be used in governing the people. This would mean creating a new sense of justice in people. This new sense of justice generated discord between the colonists and the Royal government. The government was still operating by the older sense of justice:

> The shift in American sentiment was startlingly rapid and comprehensive. Americans basked in the reflected glory of the British imperial victory in 1763, secure in the knowledge that the French menace was finally removed. Benjamin Franklin noted that the colonies felt closer to the mother country than to one another [cited in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1774-1776 (NY, 1958, p. 4]. Yet fifteen years later Americans were engaged in a bloody war with the very king and country who had won for them their prized security. And in resisting England the colonies found unity: "Thirteen clocks were made to strike together," observed Adams [John Adams, Works, X, p. 283].
>
> How was this radical change accomplished? In large part it was the achievement of literate politicians who enlightened and informed American opinion (Colbourn, 1965, p. 3.).

The discord between the people's new sense of justice and the government's old moral sense caused the people to believe that the government was behaving outside of the bounds of justice. Nothing makes people angrier than a sense that an injustice has been perpetrated.

A people can retain their loyalty to a system under grave social and economic conditions if they believe the government is behaving justly. But, like Colonial America, no matter how at ease the society is, if you can create within the people a sense that the government is perpetrating injustices on them, you have found the key to revolution. Even if Charles Beard (1913) was right in his portrayal of the economic motive behind leaders of the revolution, those leaders had to create a

sense of injustice within the people. This is the only adequate explanation as to why the American Colonists, who were the freest, the most economically equal, the most socially equal, and the best fed people in the world would have raised their arms up against, what was at that time, the most benevolent government in the world. Without alienation there can be no revolution. The creation of a sense of injustice within the people is the key for alienation, and, in turn, alienation is key for revolution.

CHAPTER II

THE ROLE OF THE MIND IN HUMAN HISTORY

There is a strong relationship between the human mind and the events of human history. This is an important assumption on which our thesis rests. While the mind of man plays an important role in shaping the events of history, education plays an important role in shaping the mind that shapes those events. Choosing to emphasize the role of education in shaping the mind that, in turn, shapes history is not a unique approach. The mind's effect on human events has received scholarly attention by numerous proponents of intellectual history. One of the best known intellectual historians of the American Colonial era is Perry Miller.

In the preface to his Errand into the Wilderness, (1956) Perry Miller clearly stated his position on the role that the mind has played in human history:

> I have difficulty imagining that anyone can be a historian without realizing that history itself is part of the life of the mind; hence I have been compelled to insist that the mind of man is the basic factor in human history (Miller, 1956, p. ix).

In this thesis I wish to go a step farther than Perry Miller and not only "insist" on the basic role of the mind in history but also insist on the role of education in shaping the mind. Most of the great political thinkers of history have been great educators as well. Plato, and Aristotle were both educators; St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas were educators; and John Locke and Karl Marx were also educators. As one studies the growth of higher education he also studies the growth of

political thought. While trying to understand the forces behind the changes in the character of Colonial America in the years just prior to the Revolution, I asked the question: What role did college education play in the development of the revolutionary mind of 1776?

On surveying educational material of the era, I discovered that there was a wealth of information to be digested. By analyzing information that has been collected from original as well as secodary sources, I plan to demonstrate that education in the colonial church college played an important role in equiping the minds of colonial students for leadership in a secular revolution. This is a very strong thesis. There are an abundant number of original sources that provide an almost limitless amount of information for study.

The Colonial educational system did more than provide an environment for nurturing a young Puritan's religious orthodoxy; it also taught him key naturalistic concepts that eventually formed the foundation for the secular doctrines that were at the basis of the American revolution. Those naturalistic doctrines were drawn from the ancient Greco-Roman culture and passed down through history by the church's educational system. They included the doctrine of nature itself as well as the related doctrine of Natural (moral) Law. Consequently, naturalism was basic to the Hellenistic world view. According to the doctrine, we exist within, and are a part of, nature and we derive our ethics from nature. In time, these naturalistic concepts were modified in a manner that formed the basis for the construction of the secular doctrines of the Enlightenment. Since the Colonial church college educated its students by the means of a modified Greek academic system, and since it

taught its students the basic concepts of Greek naturalism, it became a spring board for the rise of the secular doctrines of the Enlightenment that were destined to bring the Colonial church state to an end.

The political doctrines of the American revolution were based on Enlightenment adaptations of cosmological and ethical doctrines that were originally developed by the ancient Greeks. The scholastic educational system was the vehicle by which those Greek doctrines were carried through time from the ancient world of Aristotle and Cicero, to the medieval world of Thomas Aquinas, and into the Colonial world of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. The mind of the New England Puritan, as well as the Virgina aristocrat, was Hellenized by the Colonial educational system.

There is a continual and powerful link through time between the educational system of the ancient Greek academy and that of the Church--both Roman Catholic and Protestant. This is because the Reformation church continued to educate its students by the same scholastic system used by the Roman Catholic Church. Due to the close ties that the Colonial college retained with its European models, it became the vehicle for transporting Enlightenment ideas to North America that would eventually bring about the downfall of the Colonial church state.

The Hellenization of the mind of the Puritan student was a consequence of the double heritage of western culture. While the Puritans were attempting to pursue a social order based on their Hebrew heritage they taught their children by methods based on their Greek heritage. The reason this point is so significant is that the Greek

heritage provided a doctrine from which to build social ethics that was at odds with the goals of the Puritans. Yet, because of the extensive Hellenization of the Puritan mind by his educational system, he could not see the conceptual conflict between his goals and his method of attaining those goals. In order to illustrate this point, Chapter III will identify and briefly contrast key concepts that are at the roots of the double heritage of western culture. In that chapter it will be shown how two conflicting cosmological doctrines and two conflicting ethical doctrines were taught in synthetic confusion by the Colonial educational system. When the Enlightenment arrived, the Hebrew based social doctrines were rejected while the Greek based doctrines were exalted. It will be shown how this enabled the political doctrines of the Enlightenment to rise to prominence in Colonial America and overthrow the church state. The result of this process was the loss of the Reformer's millenial vision of building a New Jerusalem. Instead of working to build a New Jerusalem, young ministers that had been trained in the Colonial college turned to the task of establishing a secular state. They were no longer Colonial Puritans; they had become Yankee Whigs.

The Whig is seen in this thesis as a politically active idealist who was enamored by the Enlightenment view of the world. The Enlightenment and the Whig will be contrasted with the Reformation and the Puritan as a means of providing a perspective on the two eras. While the Reformation was the last intellectual movement of the middle ages, the Enlightenment was the first intellectual movement of the truly modern era. Secularism, Individualism, Scientism--particualrly

mechanistic scientism--and Nationalism are all concepts that can be used in characterizing the Whig. The Whig leader was a man more concerned with the matters of this world than eternal matters. The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers (Becker, 1932) was a city built around man and his capability of understanding the Natural order of all things, social and mechanical, by the inductive methods of the new science which was a product of the minds of such men as Copernicus, Newton and Descartes.

Some political historians have analyzed the American Revolution on purely "secular" terms. With the rise of socialist thought im America Charles Beard (1913) presented an economic interpretation to the forces that were behind the Revolution and the writing of the Constitution. Yet Louis Kellogg (1904) claimed that:

> . . . attention has chiefly been centered since the heat of the controversy had died away upon the economic aspects of the problem. To the Navigation Laws and the Merchantile system had been traced the underlying irritation that blazed forth into the American revolt. Some recent studies, however, have tended to show that the damage inflicted upon the American colonies by the policy of trade was not so great as has been assumed, and that the causes for dissatisfaction thereat are scarcely adequate to account for so great a breach (Kellogg, 1971, pp. 1-2).

Kellogg proceeds from this disclaimer against the economic doctrine of the cause of the Revolution to the thesis that it was caused by poor administration on the part of the British Crown.

Vernon Parrington in Main Currents in American Thought (1954) constructed a scheme of contrast between the Puritan and the Yankee by characterizing the Puritan as an idealistic product of the English Reformation and the Yankee as "a product of native conditions, created by a pratical economics (Parrington, 1954, I, p. 4)." For Parrington

the frontier shaped Colonial culture. Both theological dimensions and political ideology were of secondary importance in his interpretation of Colonial history. However, if we accept Parrington's pragmatic definition of the Yankee, we have problems explaining the revolutionary zeal of the Whig. If the Yankee was solely a pragmatic "product of native conditions" then the Yankee and the Whig were two different breeds of Americans. If this is so, then Parrington is dealing with the non-political dimensions of colonial history. The Whig was idealistic and his zeal was well documented in his own writings as well as the writings of the prominent colonial scholar, Carl Becker (1922, 1932). Contrary to Parrington's thesis, the revolutionary mind was the mind of an idealist and his idealism was drawn from the European Enlightenment, not the "native conditions" of the frontier.

The American frontier provided the common man with the possibility of owning his own land. Consequently, historians such as Frederick Jackson Turner (1893) developed the thesis that the frontier was a basic factor in the rise of American individualism. Even if this thesis is valid, it still does not explain the origin of the secular dimensions of today's individualism. Our present day concept of individualism is inseparably intertwined with the doctrine of secularism. Individualism and secularism are two different concepts. There is nothing inate about a wilderness frontier that generates an individualistic or a secular world view. For example, William Bradford wrote how the hardships of the New World forced the Plymouth Plantation to abandon its socialistic attempt at holding everything in common (drawn from their reading of Acts 2). They "assigned to every family a parcell of land, according to

the proportion of their number . . ." (Bradford, Book II, p. 96; 1901, p. 162). Young men who did not have relatives were assigned to a family. This resulted in:

> very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted then other waise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better content (Bradford, Book II, p. 96; 1901, p. 162).

In this passage William Bradford is describing a situation in which the hardships of the wilderness caused their small group of survivors to turn toward a strong family based organization for the community. He is not describing the rugged individual ideology of the eighteenth and ninteenth centuries. The practical experience of the frontier made this group turn toward a family order, not an individualistic order. Although secular individualism may have had the best opportunity to be applied on the American frontier, the essence of secular individualistic ethics did not arise there. If not, then where was their origin?

The secular and individualistic doctrines that were at the root of the American revoultion were not a product of the American frontier. They were a product of the halls of Oxford, Cambridge, and Aberdeen--centers of European education far removed from the frontier. These doctrines were then nurtured in the enivornment of the colonial college. This means that the educational system of the colonial church college played a more important role in shaping the revolutionary mind than the frontier. Political doctrines expounded in the halls of Harvard, William and Mary, and Princeton--schools that were small carbon copies of their mother schools in Europe--had a crucial, secularizing effect on the beliefs of Colonial ministers and political leaders, and

consequently, Colonial society in general, and did far more to ignite the revolutionary spirit, than the frontier.

By contrasting the ethical dimensions of the British Enlightenment with the ethical dimensions of the Scottish Enlightenment, Garry Wills (1978) trys to make an issue of the origins of the American Enlightenment. According to Garry Wills, the American Enlightenment was generated by scholars at Aberdeen in Scotland.* However, regardless of his efforts to make an issue of the origins of the American Enlightenment, the Colonial Whig was--both intellectually and politically--a child of the British Whig. This is as much a truism as saying that the American Tory was an intellectual and political child of the British Tory. It was the British Whigs, not the Scottish Whigs, that sent Thomas Paine and his firey pen across the Atlantic with the intent of setting the "torch" to the colonies (Goldman, 1974).

Regardless of the problems with Garry Wills thesis, he does illustrate the close ties of the Colonial college with the European college. He illustrates the extent of the influx of Enlightenment doctrines into the Colonial college. He does show that Aberdeen did influence such men as Thomas Jefferson. He also demonstrates the influence Edinburgh had on Witherspoon, and consequently, Princeton. More importantly, he does illustrate the impact of Enlightenment revolutionary doctrines on the youth educated in the colonial college.

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* For a highly critical analysis of Garry Wills' thesis that the Colonial Enlightenment was a product of the Scottish Enlightenment as opposed to the British Enlightenment see: Ronald Hamowy, "Jefferson and the Scottish Enlightenment: A Critique of Garry Wills's Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence," The William and Mary Quarterly, 36 (October 1979), 503-523.

The resulting implication is that the revolution came out of the intellectual environment of the colonial college, not the North American frontier.

Perry Miller (1956) and Sacvan Bercovitch (1980) have used the theme of the American Jeremiad as a basis for analyzing Colonial culture. By employing this theme, unlike Turner or Parrington, these two scholars have formally acknowledged the prominent role that religion played in the life of Colonial society. On this point, their theses gain merit over many of the others, for they have been able to get closer to the spirit of the times and the hearts of the actors in colonial history.

Miller and Bercovitch portray the Jeremiad as a politicaly related sermon that plays an important role in the creation of the American myth--the myth that we are a people called out for the purpose of building a New Jerusalem. However, there is a difference of opinion between these two scholars as to the character of the Jeremiad. Miller presents the Jeremiad as a negative lamentation over failed dreams while Bercovitch insists that it was a positive expression of "unshakable optimism (Bercovitch, 1980, p. 7)"

It is not significant to our thesis whether the Jeremiad was a negative lamentation or an expression of optimism. The Colonial Jeremiad was not what was of unique importance to the sermons of the wilderness preacher. What was far more significant in their sermons was the revolutionary rhetoric that flowed from the pulpits of the graduates of the colonial church college in the decade prior to the revolution. Traditionally, the Jeremiad was a call to a religious interpretation of

the destiny of British America. It was not a call for the establishment of a secular society. The true Jeremiad did not call for the overthrow of the church state. It called for the full and successful establishment of the church state. The true preacher of the Jeremiad dreamed of theocracy bursting forth in full millennial glory. The election sermons preached in the decade prior to the revolution did not display a sense of errand lost; neither did they call the stiff necked to repentance. They called the citizen to arms to protect his liberty and they did it in terms of the Enlightenment political doctrines that the pulpiteers had learned while they were students in the colonial church college.

There is an over-emphasis on the Jeremiad as a window to the mind of the colonial preacher in both Perry Miller's and Sacvan Bercovitch's presentations. There is a corresponding under-emphasis on the role of Scholastic education in forming the mind of the colonial preacher. However, it is not my goal in this paper to deal with the distortions that have arisen out of these two academic presentations of the Jeremiad. Puritan America was secularized and I wish to understand how that happened. Colonial preachers did contribute to that secularization, but it was not the preacher of the Hebrew rooted Jeremiad that accomplished that feat.

The theme of the American Jeremiad does not adequately explain why the religious lamentation of the Puritan was replaced by the secular utopianism of the Whig. Yet, ministers of the gospel of peace began preaching a gospel of revolution. Many of the influential ministers had learned its basic concepts while studying in the church colleges.

Without the influence of these educated ministers, devout secularists such as Thomas Jefferson, himself trained in a church college, would have had difficulty in gaining enough popular support to carry on the revolution.

Like the Puritan, the Whig was trying to build his "Heavenly City" (Becker, 1932). However, it was a city based on secular utopianism instead of religious millenialism. His city was to be modeled after Athens, not Jerusalem. The true Jeremiad was a call to build a New Jerusalem, not a New Athens. The Puritan dreamed of establishing a religious society that would lead the world into an era of Peace as described in John's Apocolypse. Instead, the Whig established a secular society that lead the world into an era of revolution as described in Locke's Second Treatise.

In Chapter VI there will be an analysis of various commencement theses (see Appendix D.) chosen by students in the Colonial colleges for defense during their graduation exercises. This analysis will be important for our theme for several reasons. The commencement theses were scolastic propositions presented for debate before a public audience the morning of graduation. They illustrate the extent of the influence of the ancient Greek doctrines and methods on the educational system. They also illustrate the extent of the influence of the European Enlightenment in the "wilderness" of Puritan America. Finally, the rise of revolutionary Whig rhetoric can be traced in these theses during the decade preceeding the Revolution. These theses provide today's researcher with invaluable insight into the intellectual issues of the Revolutionary era and the uniformity of thought between the

Colonial college and the European University. One can quickly see that the issues of debate at Cambridge in England were also issues of debate at the little Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. The new social and scientific doctrines of the European Enlightenment were used as theses for formal scholastic disputation in every one of the small frontier colleges of America (Walsh, 1935).

The Role of Justice

The era of the Puritan was an era of religious enthusiasm while the era of the Patriot was an era of political enthusiasm. This change was, in great degree, due to differences between a religious world view and a secular world view. Socially, this is most evident in the opposing doctrines of justice subscribed to by the Puritan and the Whig. This point is important for our thesis because justice is a concept that is at the foundation of social order. Since the idea of justice is so fundamental to the existence of society, and since it is formally instituted in the court systems of all societies it can be used as a measuring device for determining the character of a society. This means that we can use the concept of justice as a point of reference for illustrating the differences between the world view of the Puritan and the world view of the Patriot. We can do this by simply illustrating the differences in the doctrines of justice they used for governing their societies. Before the Revolution it was deemed proper to appeal to principles of Scripture for writing law in the colonies. This contrast is at the heart of the difference between a religious based society and a secular based society. It is a difference that will greatly alter the character of a society.

An important way in which social theory becomes active, or enters the real world, is at the point of policy formation. Since justice is an idea that is at the basis of social theory, it becomes active at the point of law making. This makes law making the point of policy formation when we are refering to a theory of justice. In order to determine the particular theory of justice that is dominating the political institutions of a culture, we need to look at the laws that culture writes. Then we need to determine the theory of justice that is consistent with the particular laws generally written in that society.

In A Theory of Jusitce John Rawls depicts justice as "the first virtue of social institutions, . . . (Rawls, 1971, p. 3)." He basis his thesis on the logic that "the primary subject of justice is the basic structure of society, . . . (Ibid., p.7)." If he is correct, then an institutionalized doctrine of justice has the capabilities of both reflecting and shaping the basic structure of a society. If justice can reflect and shape the basic structure of a society, then it can also reflect and shape its basic character. This means that we can use the idea of justice, as reflected in the character of the laws written by the culture, and the changes in the basic structure of society the laws produce, as important points of reference for determining key differences between the mind of the Puritan and the mind of the Patriot. We can demonstrate those differences by illustrating the change that takes place between the Colonial era and the revolutionary era in the institutionalized doctrines of justice. The people's perception of what constituted a just society was transformed in the decade leading to the revolution. This transformation was brought about by the successful

proclamation of Enlightenment doctrines from the pulpits, by ministers trained in the Colonial college, as well as by proclamations in the town halls and city newspapers.

The Goal of History

We will see in this paper that there were fundamental differences in the world views of the Puritan and the Whig. In turn, we will see that there were great differences in their beliefs about the goal of history. The person who sees history through the eyes of a religious world view and the person who sees history through the eyes of a secular world view will have different beliefs about the goal of history. By seeing these differences and their implications on the flow of political history, I hope to demonstrate that the American revolution, and the Enlightenment mind behind it, had more of an impact on the American culture than is commonly recognized.

The American revolution marked what may be the most important or fundamental change in political history since the rise of civilization--even more significant of a change than from an agrarian society to an industrial society or the change from a system of free enterprise to a communistic economic order. This is because both the Enlightenment based revolutions and the Marxist based revolutions work from truly secularistic ethics. Before the American revolution, justice in every culture had been determined by reference to religious ethics of one kind or another. This would mean that there is more in common, ethically, between the two great secular empires of today than there would be in common between either one of these empires and a society whose doctrine of justice is based on religious presuppositions.

The American revolution signaled a fundamental shift in man's belief about the proper grounds for institutionalized ethics. Before the revoulution, institutionalized ethics, as reflected in a societies doctrine of justice, had been tied to religious roots. From the time of the American revolution on, as revolutions have taken place, they have generally been tied to secular roots. By definition, this makes the United States the first truly secular government in the world. The irony is that it happened in a young society that consisted of several church states which were founded for the stated goal of bringing the Kingdom of God to earth.

CHAPTER III

CONTRASTING THE WORLD OF THE PURITAN AND THE WORLD OF THE WHIG

Social turmoil followed on the heals of the Reformation as it spread through Europe. In the early decades of the seventeenth century a crisis point was reached on the British Isle. Often, when a society reaches such a level of turmoil as it did in Britian, a large number of its members begin to flee for refuge. This is exactly what happened with the Puritan Migration of the sixteen thirties. The men of the English Reformation had embraced religious doctrines that caused them to be at odds with the governing authorities. A combination of factors, including dissatisfaction with the conditions of British culture, pressure from the Crown, and a vision for a millenial kingdom, gave thousands of Puritans sufficient motive to set sail for New England. However, in the following century, the descendants of the New England Puritans became the children of the Enlightenment.

Historians have emphasized the conflict the Colonial Whigs had with the British Crown. However, the secular principles the Whigs embraced also caused them to be at odds with the religious roots of many of the colonial governments. Most colonial statutes, and specifically those of the Puritan and Quaker colonies, clearly expressed the religious convictions of their founders. However, there was a transformation in ethical thought between the time of the Reformation and the time of the Enlightenment. This transformation was expressed in the Whig's

convictions about the proper basis of social ethics. The Whigs had come to believe that it was improper for government to reflect the religious beliefs of the society, consequently they believed that the instutions of government should be controlled by secular principles.

The Whig struggle to replace the religious based colonial institutions with those governed by a system of secular ethics is more relevant to our study than the Whig revolt against British authority. Many powerful Whig leaders were struggling against the authority of the church state as much as they were struggling against British authority. These men succeeded in their struggle and they did so by winning the minds of the colonists. This doctrinal victory the Whigs won over the colonial church state has had a far greater impact on American society than the military victory they won over Great Britain. The Whigs changed the formal grounds for institutional ethics in American society. They did this by changing the colonist's perception of the proper grounds of justice. They were able to persuade the colonist that the governing institutions should governed by secular principles instead of religious principles. This belief marks a major change in mankind's belief about the proper grounds for institutional ethics. Yet, this change was only one dimension of the gulf between the Puritans and the Whigs.

The Greek Cosmology in Colonial Education

The colonial church colleges were based on principles that were inconsistent with the goal of their religious founders who had hoped that their schools would play an important role in building the New Jerusalem. From the time of their inception, the colonial colleges

actually were a counterforce against this goal:

> Undoubtedly, this vision [of a Holy Commonwealth] was intermixed with foreign elements, most notably medieval notions of natural law and medieval notions of the `just economy.' The effects of Protestant scholasticism, which undermined the Reformation almost before it got started, could not be completely avoided in New England, . . . (North, 1978, V., 2, p. 4).

Protestant scholasticism played an instrumental role in the rise of secular doctrines that would end the dream of a New Jerusalem. The colleges would be instrumental in the inculturation of Enlightenment social doctrines that would give rise to the development of the Whig party.

Medieval education shrouded the differences between the City of God and the City of Man in a synthetic mist of conceptual confusion. Since colonial education was essentially Greek in character, it taught its students the cosmological concepts that were at the basis of the ancient Greco-Roman culture. This would indicate that the Puritans were trying to build a society modeled after the City of Man developed by the Greco-Roman world. Yet, colonial culture was driven by religious aspirations that were modeled after the ancient Hebrew world.

The cosmological dichotomy between the City of God and the City of Man was not perceived by the the medieval church educators. But neither was this dichotomy perceived by the Reformers. While they were trying to build the City of God, their City was, specifically in the area of education, under the dominance of the City of Man. The medieval synthesis did not fully break down until the men of the Enlightenment purged the dimensions of the City of God from their world view. Once this was accomplished the world was ready for a secular approach to life and the City of Man could be rebuilt.

The Puritan was closer in his spirit to the ancient Hebrews than he was to his near contemporary Whig brother. In turn, the Whig was closer in spirit to the Greek in his world view than he was to his near contemporary Puritan. The differences between the Puritan and the Whig ran far deeper than is generally perceived by students of American political history. In fact, the Puritan and the Whig were viewing the world from two entirely different cosmological systems. Ironically, neither fully perceived the difference.

Conflicting Cosmologies

Of all the ancient cultures, the Hebrews and the Greeks have had the greatest influence on the character of the modern western world. Yet, these two ancient cultures were very different from each other. They had far less in common than many cultures do today. Although the French culture is different from the English culture, the French world view--how the French man perceives the cosmos--is based on similar doctrines to those of the English. This similarity was not true of the ancient Hebrew and Greek cultures. Their world views were based on entirely different cosmologies.

A cosmology is an all encompasing world view; a belief about the constitutional makeup of the universe. It is a "self-inclusive system characterized by order and harmony (Webster's New International Dictionary)." Every culture functions at its foundation, either consciously or not, on the basis of a belief about the constitutional makeup of existence. This belief forms the basis of the culture's world view--how the people interpret existence.

The Hebrews and the Greeks produced two different models for existence. The Hebrew perceived existence through the cosmological doctrine of 'Creation.' In contrast, the Greek perceived existence through the cosmological doctrine of 'Nature.' At first, this difference may only seem to be a matter of semantics. Even if more is involved than semantics, how would the differences between these ancient doctrines be relevant to the political issues of 1776?

The importance of the dichotomy between Creation and Nature can not be over stressed. This is because these different cosmologies were at the basis of two different systems of ethics. In turn, these different systems of ethics were at the basis of different systems of justice. Your belief about the constitutional make up of existence will have a powerful effect on your belief about how you should govern your relationships within that existence. For example, the Greek doctrine of Nature developed prior to, and, consequently, was a necessary first step for the development of the doctrine of Natural (Moral) Law. The Natural Law social doctrines were developed to their logical fullness by the Stoics. In ancient times, they grew in acceptance among the educated until they dominated Roman jurisprudence. A millinium and a half later, Natural Law was to be one of three doctrinal keys at the basis of the Enlightenment ideology of Natural Rights. They grew in acceptance by the educated until they dominated Colonial society. Natural Right doctrines became the intellectual force behind the American revolution and the basis for modern secular ethics.

A Method of Comparison

The inductive method of science is an effective means of expanding

our understanding of the world around us. Its limitation is that it is generally confined to the observation and analysis of events--not thoughts. Yet, as previously noted, if we are to admit that there is a human dimension in history, we must admit that the mind has played an important part in the events of history. Futhermore, the various political doctrines that have been developed by the human mind have influenced, if not determined, many of the events of history.

In order to compare the political doctrines that were at issue, we will divide a "world view" into what will be called "conceptual spheres" (see FIGURES 1-7, pp. 47-53). For example, the concept of "man" forms the sphere of "anthropology" while the concept of "society" forms the sphere of "sociology (see FIGURE 2, p. 48)." This process is much the same system that higher education follows when it divides the learning process into various disciplines or 'spheres' of knowledge. The same name will be used for a particular conceptual sphere as is used for a particular academic discipline; such as anthropology for the study of man or sociology for the study of society (see FIGURE 2).

Theodore Lowi (1966) developed a method of analysis in which he divides political relationships, particularly those of public policy, into three different spheres or--as he termed his method of classification--arenas. His work provides a good example for us to use as a precedence for our method of analysis. Lowi has provided a method of analysis that distinguishes between different spheres, or arenas, of political relationships. He has developed a method that enables the scholar to approach the political process on the premise that there are different levels of intensity in human relationships--each with marked

differences in the patterns of political behavior. He conceives of the governing process as a multi-level system of complex relationships that differ in intensity. He then suggests that if we are to properly understand the governing process, it should be analyzed by a method that takes this multi-level conceptualization into account. T. Alexander Smith (1976) carries Lowi's methodology a step farther by dividing the policy process into four arenas. He then proceeds to shows how his four arenas provide a progressive scale for identifying greater levels of involvement in the political process.

In a method that builds on the logic of Lowi and Smith, we will contrast the Puritan world view and the Whig world view. This will be done by identifying two models, one Hebrew and one Greek, for each `arena' or sphere [Example: see the two models (Divine Law and Natural Law) for the sphere of `ETHICS' in FIGURE 6]. After this is accomplished we will link models from the same world view across the conceptual spheres in the diagram [Example: note the linking of the model of Natural Law in the sphere of `Ethics' with the model of Natural Rights in the sphere of `JUSTICE' in FIGURE 6]. The goal of this process is to generate a managable but sufficiently comprehensive analysis of the world views that were dominating the perceptions of the Puritan and the Whig. By this means, the important differences in their world views should become apparent in much the same way Lowi's and Smith's methodology enables the reader to see important differences in the arenas of political relationships.

Two Types of Definitions

Definitions provide conceptual keys. They enable a person to `see'

the essence of an idea. In order for a person to understand the diagrams on the following pages--if he is going to `see' what is being illustrated--he will have to understand the two different types of ideas that are in them. The first is the model; the second is the sphere. A model type definition is based on a particular doctrine. There can be several doctrines about the same concept or sphere. For example, the doctrine of `creation' and the doctrine of `nature' are two distinct models for the concept of `cosmology' (see FIGURE 6). A basic set of definitions for these models of the cosmos would read like this:

> nature: existence is based on eternal, self-sustaining matter.
>
> creation: existence is the result of a special act of creation and is in a dependent relationship with the Creator (for a comprehensive explanition of the differences between these two models for the cosmos see Peacocke, 1979, pp. 365-366).

These two definitions are two different doctrines about the one cosmos and, therefore, are <u>model</u> type definitions. Although they are different models for the cosmos, they do not attempt to define `cosmology'. At this point, our second type of definition becomes important.

In order to define the sphere of `cosmology' we have to have a different type of definition than used in the last paragraph. A simple definition for `cosmology' would be:

> Cosmology: a systematic view of the universe.

The key to this type of definition is that either one of our models for the universe can be applied to it. Both models--creation and nature--are views of the universe (see again FIGURE 6). We have to have this different type of definition if we are not going to find ourselves redefining a particular model for the cosmos. As the

doctrines for each sphere are placed in their proper positions, we will be able to build a synthetic structure that allows us to see two basic, but different, views of the universe.

A Synthetic Structure

The diagrams on the following pages provide a synthetic structure that will enable us to compare the two ancient world views that have played the greatest role in the development of modern western society. A `synthetic' approach proceeds from causes to effect while an `analytic' approach proceeds from effect to causes (Weisheipl, 1976, XIII, p. 1146). A question we need to ask before we proceed, however, is: Is it proper to try to build a synthetic structure for illustrating the differences in world views? Has anyone else ever built such a structure, and, if so, was their methodology accepted?

Thomas Hobbes build such a system in his utopian work Leviathan. It was the synthetic approach of Thomas Hobbes' system, more than his particular doctrines, that made him such a great political theorist. Lee Cameron McDonald notes that:

> In a few chapters of the Leviathan Hobbes has moved from the (1) cosmological to the (2) psychological and (3) ethical. In Chapter 10 he enters upon the more strictly (4) political with a discussion of power: . . . [numerals added for clarity] (McDonald, 1962, p. 307).

Peter Laslett notes in his introduction to John Locke's Two Treatises of Government that, in sharp contrast to other political theorists of his age, there is no consistent train of thought in Locke's works:

> (This) separates him even more definitely from Thomas Hobbes. The heavy books of Grotius, Pufendorf, Hooker and the others, standing on Locke's shelves and dominating intellectual activity in this field, were all presentations of a single, synthetic system, (1) a view of the world which proceeded (2) from an

> account of reality (3) to an account of knowledge, and so (4) to an ethic, and (5) to politics. (Laslett, 1963, p. 100) [See diagram 2 for this pattern].

These quotes trace a pattern of thought across important conceptual spheres or levels yet neither quote provides any particular models for these conceptual spheres. The models for each concept will come later in each author's doctrines. This is the exact process we will be following in our diagrams (see FIGURES 1-7). The authors are doing what we need to do if we are to structure a synthetic world view. The goal of this synthetic method of analysis is to provide the person with the means to systematically order important doctrines pertinent to one or more world views.

This method of analysis is less concerned with the finer points of a particular model for justice than it would be with determining how consistently a particular model for justice relates to models in other spheres within that particular world view (see FIGURES 3 and 4). Are the models logically compatable? For example, how does a particular cosmological model relate to a particular ethcial model? Or, how does a particular judicial model relate to a particular social model. The diagram on the following page is an attempt to illustrate these relationships:

First: The theorist needs to identify key (relevant) conceptual spheres for his system.

Second: He needs to have a method for ordering his key conceptual spheres. He can do this by working from the most inclusive concepts to the least inclusive concepts.

Third: He can identify the models for each conceptual sphere.

A simple example of this pattern would be (First) the identification of related concepts such as sound, music, and song.

(Second) We can order these concepts from the least inclusive to the most inclusive by use of the Venn diagram. The logic would be thus: All song is music but not all music is song. All music is sound but not all sound is music. Hence:

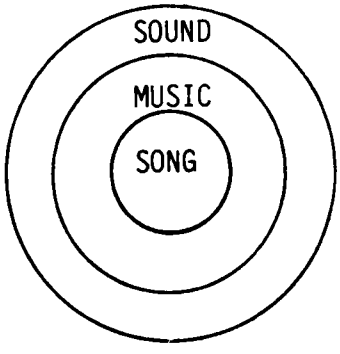

FIGURE 1.

(The Venn Diagram)

In this example our most inclusive concept is sound while our least inclusive is song. (Third) Our final step would be to identify various models for each conceptual level or sphere. For the sphere of song we can identify the three models of rock, folk, and opra. For the sphere of music we can identify the melodic, the harmonic, and the rhythmic models.

Now lets apply this logic to the conceptual or synthetic analysis of a world view. The logic is not absolute but patterns are definitely identifiable. (First), we identify key concepts that are relevant to a world view. The following list of concepts is not exhaustive but it is sufficient for our purposes. Notice that each sphere is coincidental to a field of academic study. Also, the concepts in this list have already been ordered from the most inclusive to the least inclusive, therefore:

Our first (1) and second (2) steps look like this:

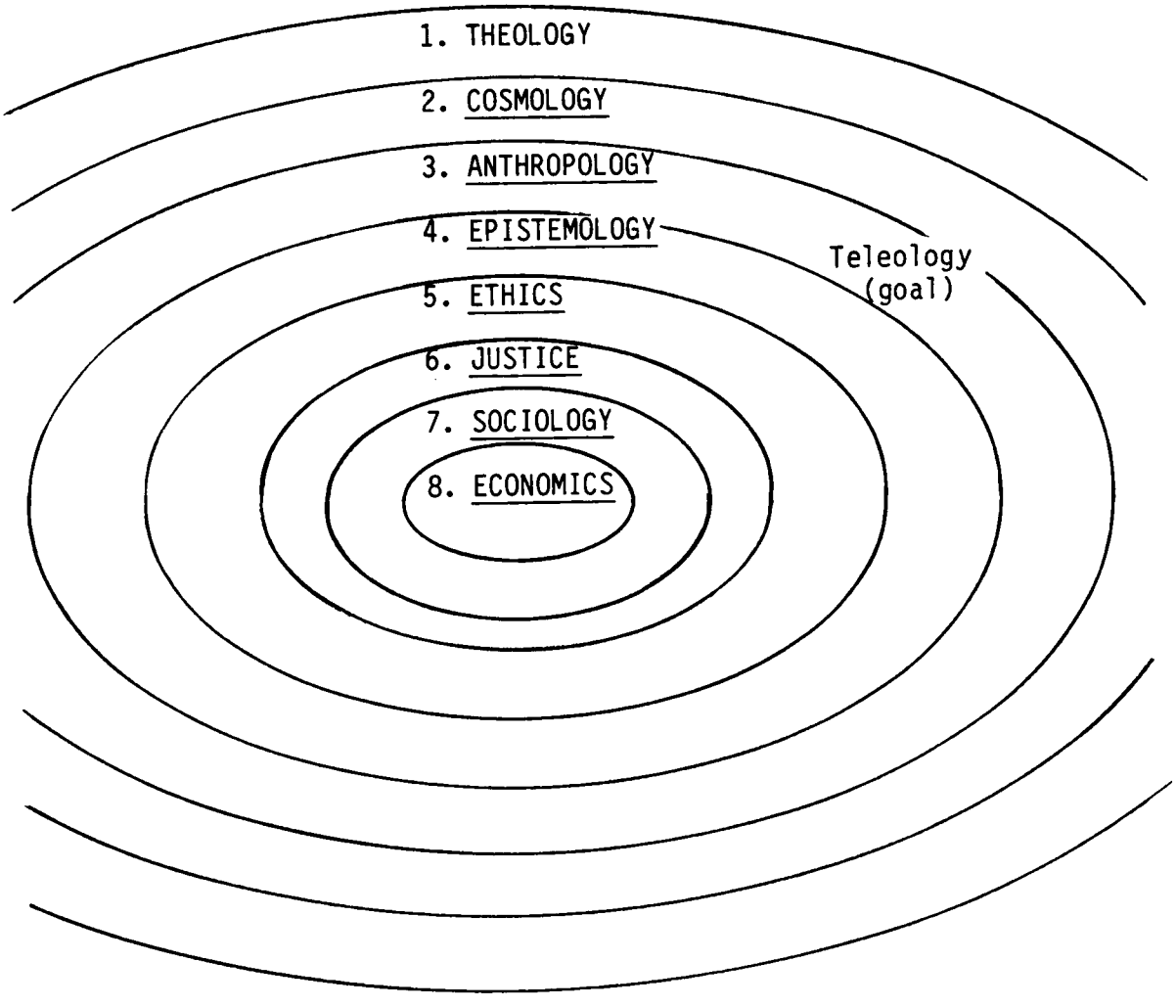

FIGURE 2.

(Spheres for the synthetic

analysis of a world view)

The next step (three) is the most important in the process. We will be linking models across different levels (or spheres) of a world view. The spheres will be numbered and in capitals while the model(s) for each sphere will be in lower-case type. They will be connected by lines to illustrate the logical interdependence of the doctrines. The next two diagrams will illustrate the ancient world views from which the modern west derives its heritage. First, the world view of the Hebrews:

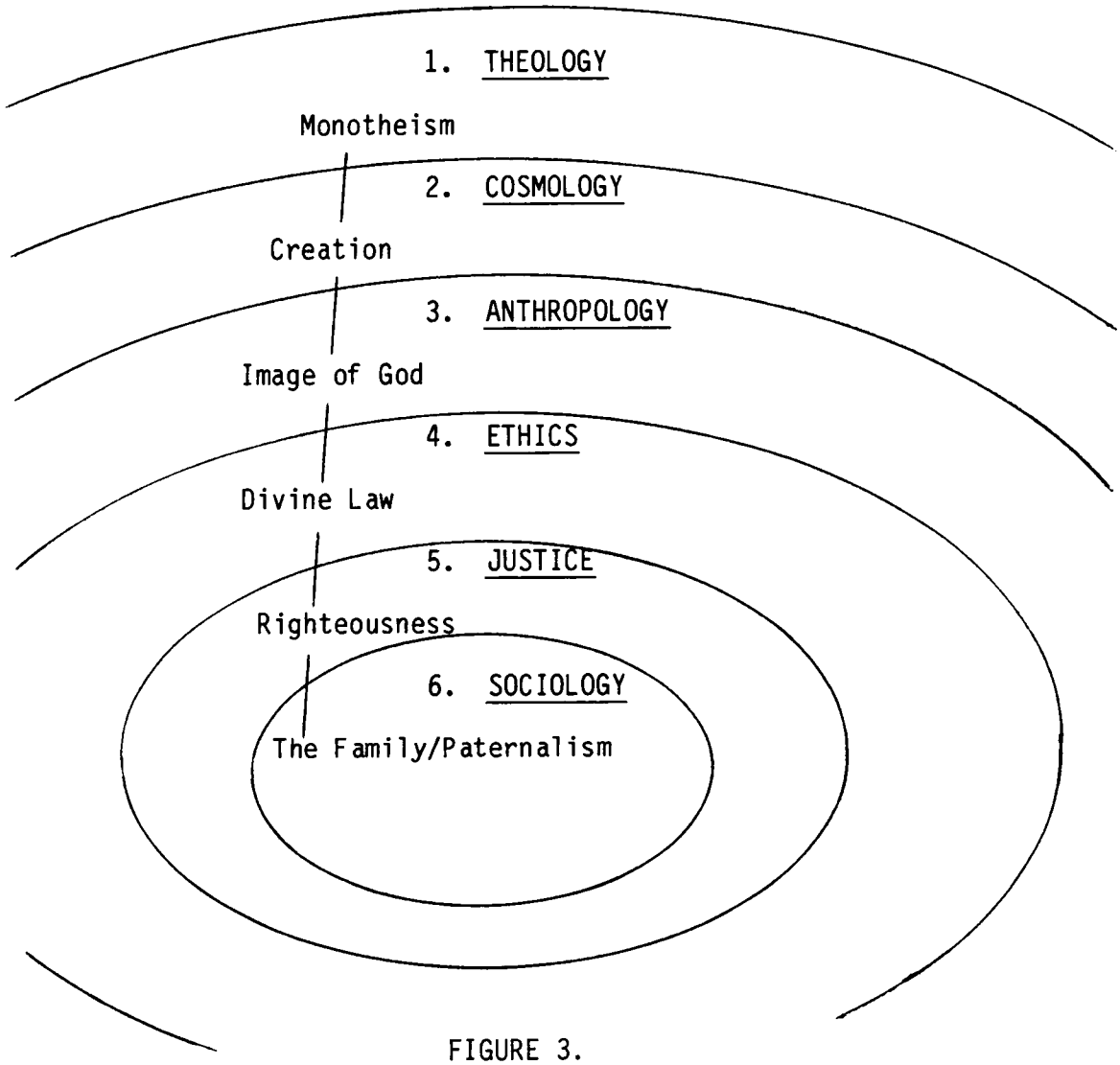

FIGURE 3.

(Models for the Hebrew world view)

Now we will diagram the Greek world view:

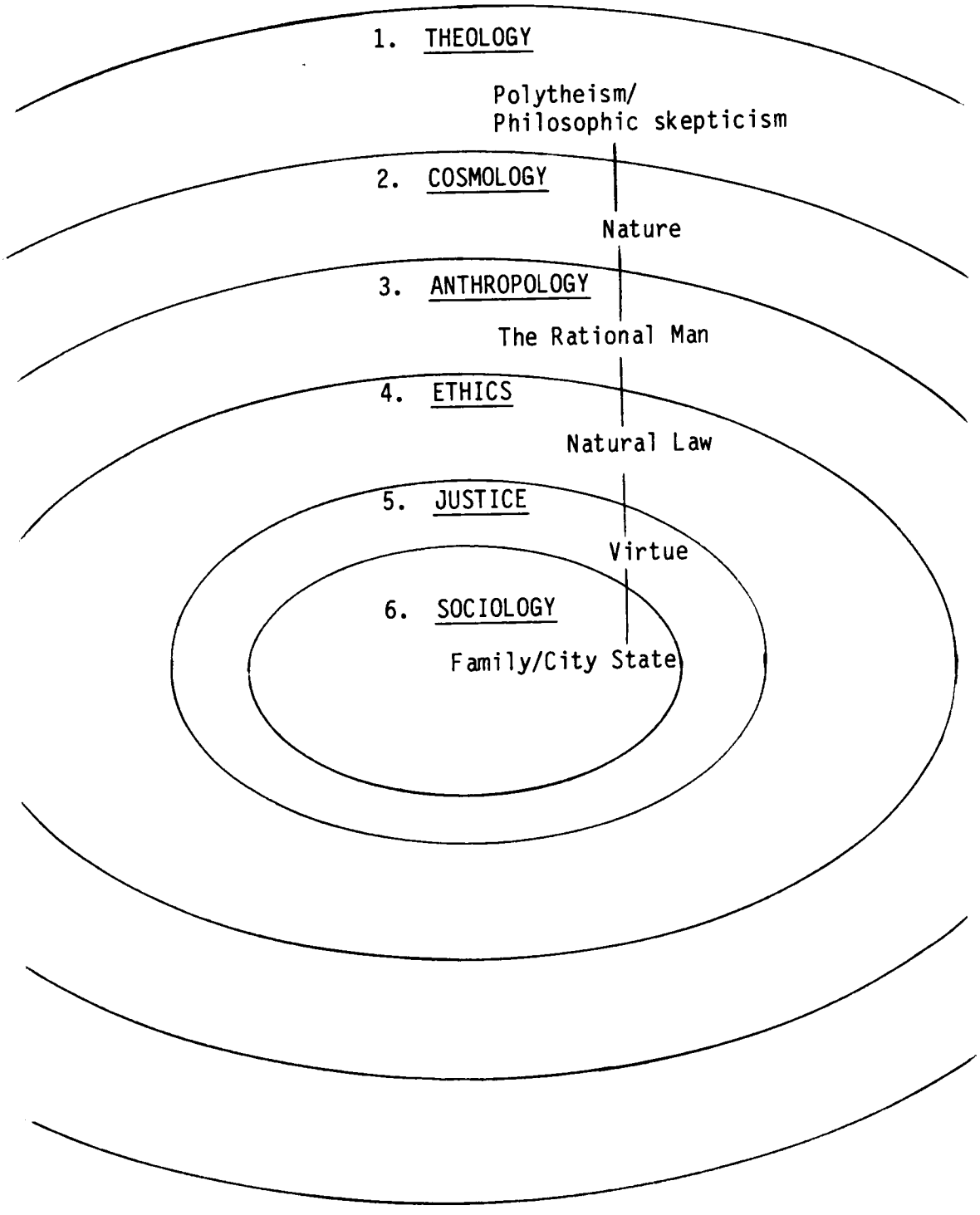

FIGURE 4.

(Models for the Greek world view.)

The following diagram illustrates the medieval synthesis of the Hebrew and Greek world views. Even though the Reformation produced major uphevals in European society, the models for each sphere in our diagram remain the same. Consequently, the diagram of the Reformation world view is the same as the medieval. This is highly significant since it illustrates the extent of the Hellenization of both the Catholic and Reformed Churches. Today's Protestant Chruch is still operating by this medieval cosmology:

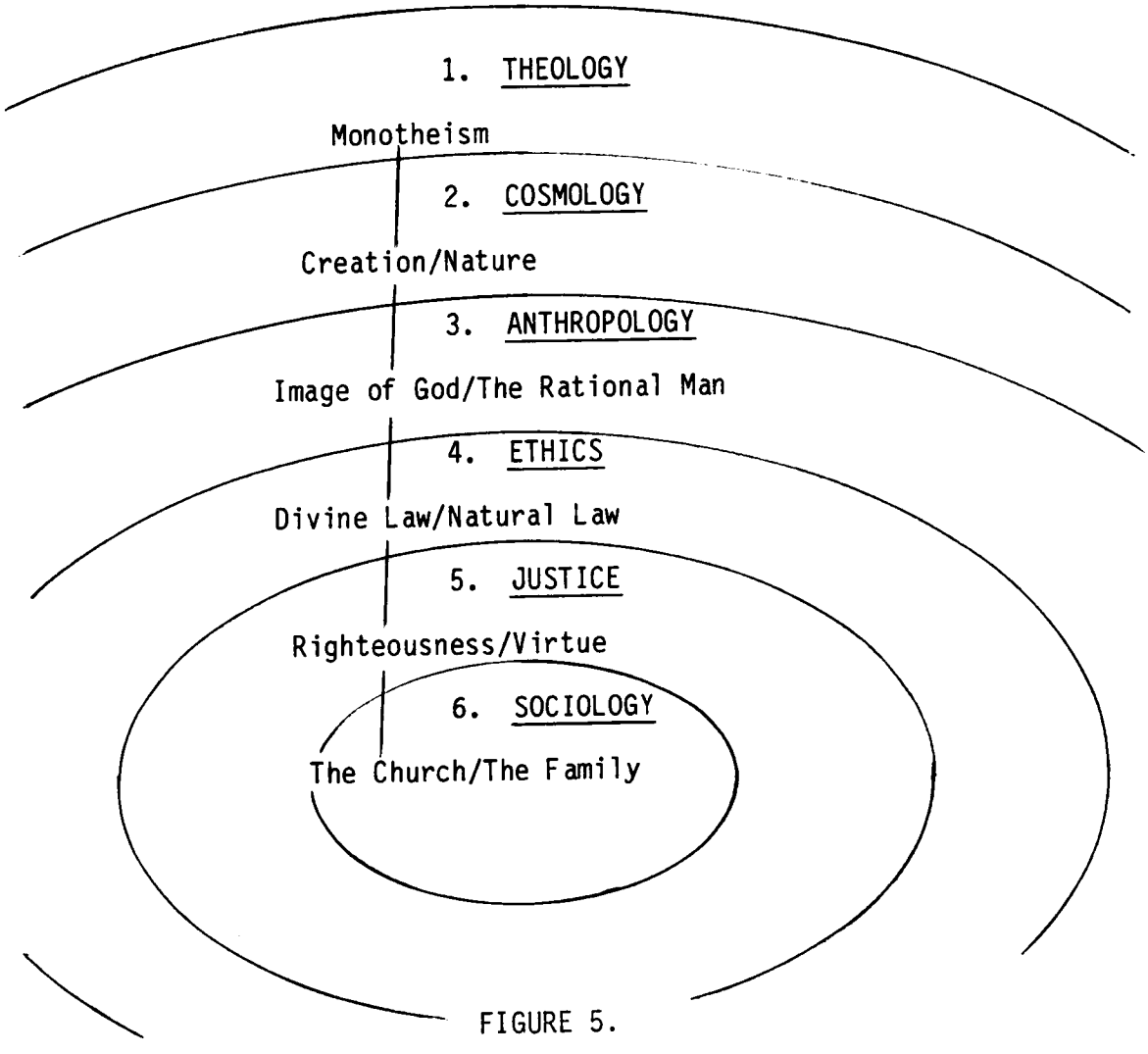

FIGURE 5.

(Models for the medieval and Reformed world view.)

The following diagram provides a synthetic separation of the doctrines that were at issue during the era of the revolution. By winnowing out and polarizing different models for the same spheres we can illustrate how church education in the Puritan colonies taught naturalistic doctrines that were sufficient to bring their 'Holy Experiments' to an end:

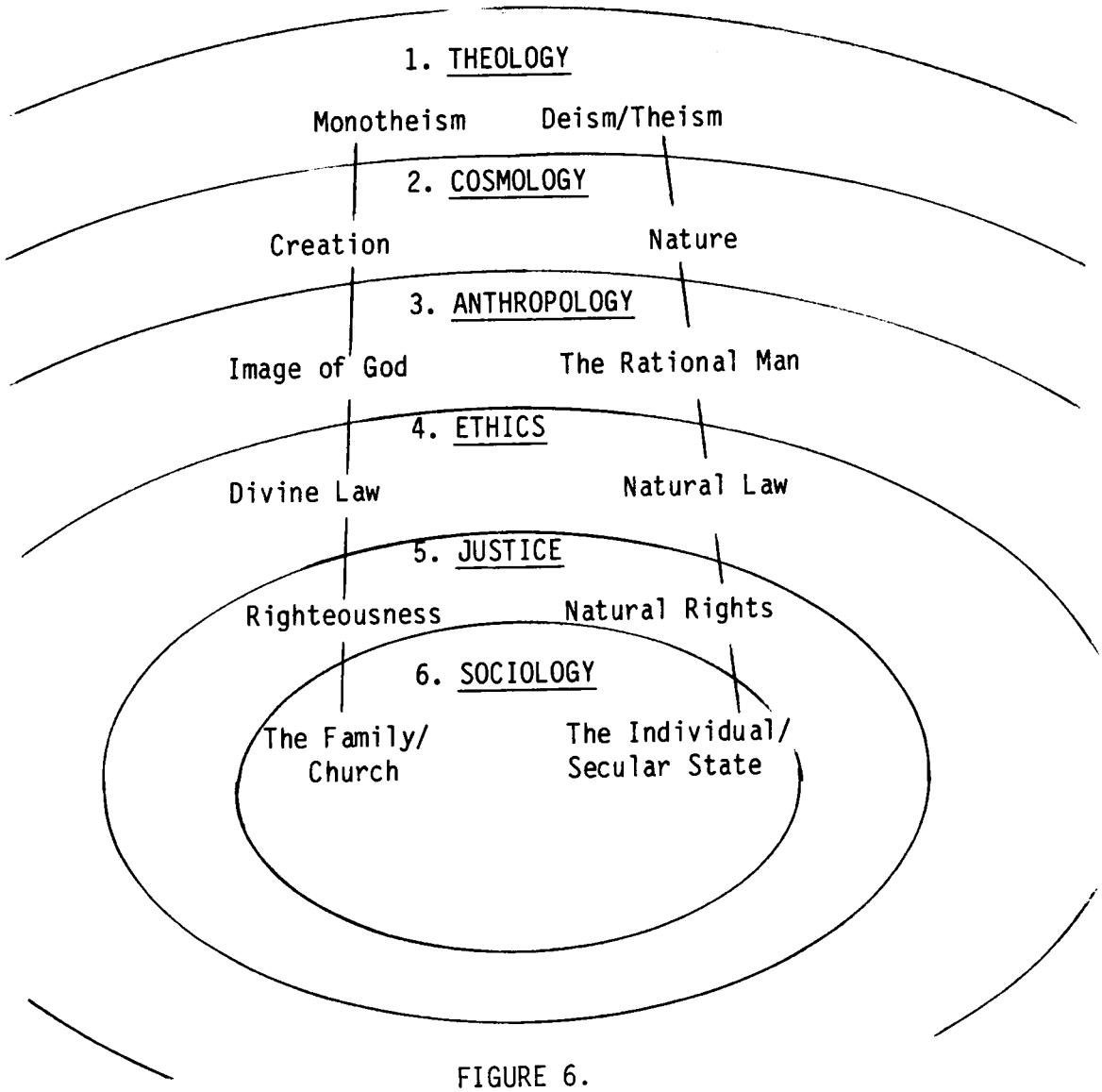

FIGURE 6.

(A synthetic separation of revolutionary era Theistic and Naturalistic Doctrines)

Although the medieval synthesis did not collapse in the Reformation, it did collapse in the Enlightenment. Our diagram of the Enlightenment world view contains some new models that were developed out of the old models of the ancient Greeks, but it is purged of virtually every model that had been developed by the Hebrews:

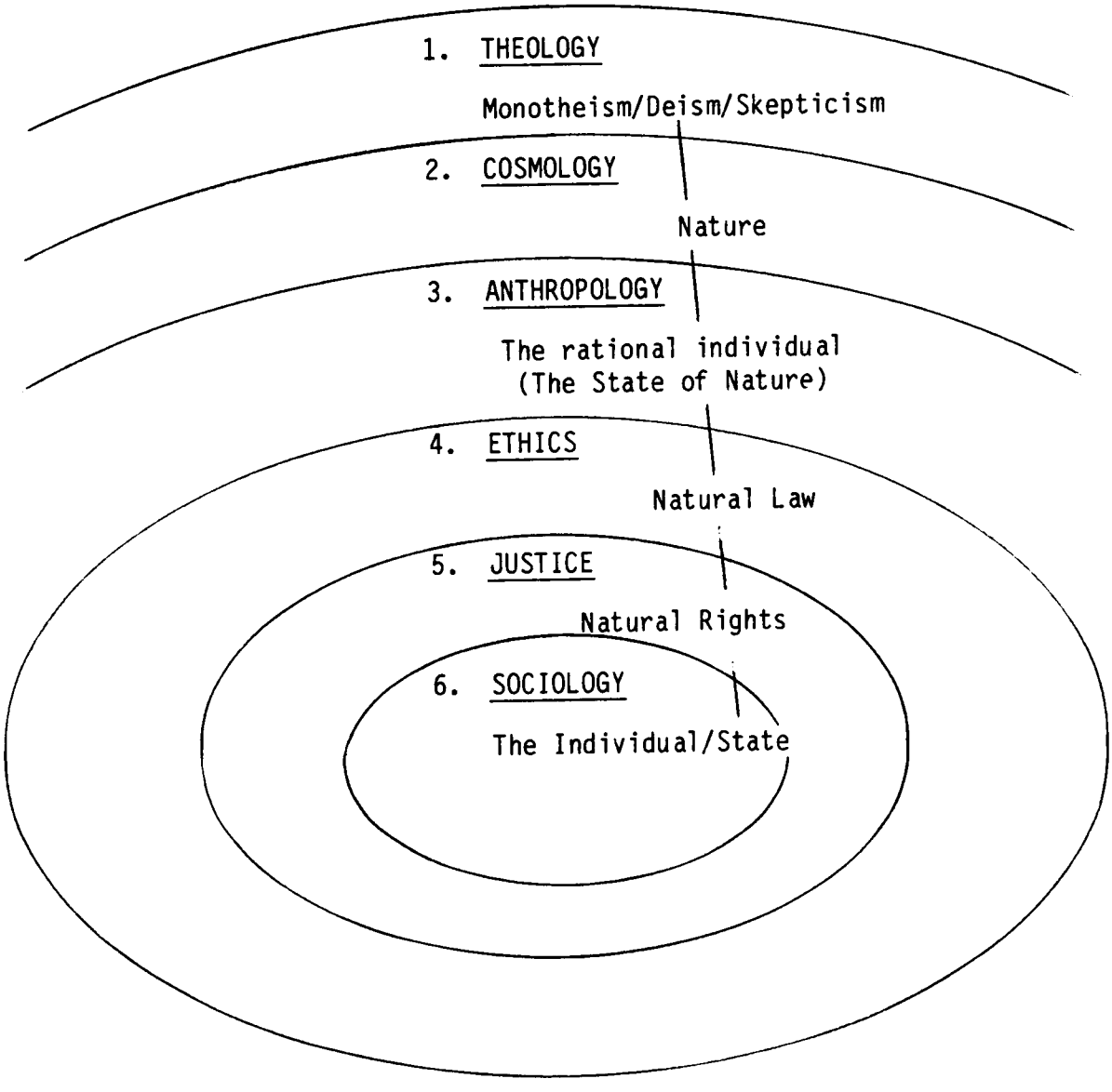

FIGURE 7.

(Models of the Enlightenment world view)

The schools of the medieval and the Reformation Churches operated by the principles of a modified Greco-Roman educational system. Consequently, these schools took on most of the Greek models of the world and synthesized them with their religious heritage from the Hebrews. While rejecting the Greek model for Theology, the medieval and Reformation schools adopted every other one. This is the supreme example of the process of Hellenization--the inculturating of a society with basic doctrines of the Greek world view. While there were great differences between the medieval cleric, the Reformation Puritan, and the Enlightenment Whig, key Hellenic doctrines played important roles in all of their world views. The uniqueness of the Enlightenment world view is that it was essentially purged of the ancient Hebrew based doctrines while 'modern' doctrines were added to the Greek heritage.

The State of Nature

In the area of political or social thought, the most important of these new models was developed by Thomas Hobbes. His doctrine of the State of Nature was to be key in the rise of western individualistic ethics. Needless to say, the doctrine of the State of Nature was wholly dependent on the Greek doctrine of Nature. This obscure and seemingly insignificant model was very important because it provided an individualistic doctrine about the origins of man (an individualistic anthropology), and, in turn, an individualistic sociology. Since the sphere of anthropology is more inclusive in our diagrams than the levels of ethics, justice, or sociology, the doctrine of the State of Nature altered these less inclusive spheres.

When John Locke combined Hobbes' doctrine of the State of Nature with the ancient Greek doctrine of the Law of Nature, he found the key for the development of a new secular system of ethics. This key formed the basis for the doctrine of justice known as Natural Rights. Today, this doctrine is known as Human Rights. In the process of Locke's logic, the world had been given a system of social ethics were right and wrong could be determined by reference to the individual and without reference to religion. Even with the natural law doctrines of ancient Greece and Rome, this feat had not been acomplished.

When the doctrine of Natural Rights was institution- alized in the Constitution, it became the American principle of justice. In the process, the perceived ideal social unit changed from the family to the individual. This process was at the core of the rise of the doctrines of western secular individualism. The change in our society's institutionalized doctrine of justice brought about a change in our perception of the proper grounds of social order. People were told that man was born into a State of Nature--not into a family. They were told, and they believed, that society grew out of the State of Nature--not the family. Unwittlingly, the family was disenfranchised in the revolution in much the same way that the church was disenfranchised. The government of the United States was the first government in the world that embraced a doctrine of justice which clearly stated that the church was not to have any formal influence in the administration of social ethics and that the individual, not the family, was the grounds for social order. This was done without anyone fully realizing what was happening. Even today's church is not able to figure out why the family

is in such trouble in our society. It does not perceive that the individualistic ethic that was institutionalized in the era of the revolution could be a catalyst to the problem.

The idea of justice is central to the idea of civilization (Rawls, 1971). The central function of government is the governing of human relationships and justice is the highest idea around which this is accomplished (Bird, 1967). The rise and fall of a civilization can be directly related to the rise and fall of a system of justice and the ability of the government to administer it. This implies that the the character of a culture can be understood by the analyzing the character of its doctrine of justice. Also, changes in the character of a culture can be noted by determining the changes in the culture's perception of justice.

Changes in the American colonies' perception of justice provide a reference point for showing that a revolutionary change took place in the character of Colonial America in the decade of the revolution. These events were related to the failure of both the Catholic and the Reformed Churches to ever develop a system of education or a system of justice that was consistent with either of their theologies (Sabine, 1960, p. 354). These failures are significant enough that neither church has ever been able to achieve its goals in the world.

Teleology and History

Teleology is the study of the goal of things. Most behavior, if not all human behavior, is goal oriented. Some behavior is so simple that the immediate goal of the person explains his action. For example, the act of turning on the light switch. However, through time, as

behavior grows more complex and as relationships increase in number and complexity, longer range goals have to be considered. Large corporations have to formulate goals for the quarter, the year, and even the next several years if they are going to survive. An acknowledged first principle of good business management is the setting of goals and the monitoring of progress toward them.

It is easy to lose sight of long term goals. While the Pilgrims were on the Mayflower their goal was to reach the coast of Cape Cod (contrary to popular belief, they never had the goal of reaching Virginia). They also had longer range goals that included "a great hope & inward zeall . . . of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way therunto, for ye propagating & advancing ye gospell of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world; . . . (Bradford, 1901 ed., p. 32)." They also desired to provided an enviornment for raising children in which their posterity would not "be in danger to degenerate & be corrupted (Ibid.)." Their long range goal included the establishment of a Reformed society free of the corrupting influences of the Old World.

By analyzing the perceived goals of a society we can better understand the doctrines that influence the society. We now have two benchmarks for analyzing the character of a society. We can identify the concepts behind its doctrine of justice and we can identify its goals. By asking what the implications are on the goal of history behind any particular model or doctrine that takes root in a society we can build a better analysis of the society's world view (see diagram 2). Does the society see history working toward a particular goal? "What is

the goal of history?" With this question, we have carried the teological concept to its logical end.

A Marxist analyzes the events of history on the basis of the Marxian doctrine of the goal of history. He believes this goal is the classless society. The idea of a goal to history plays a very important role in his world view. Since he believes in a goal to history, he also interprets the events of history in relation to that goal. He sees patterns in history that are related to the dialectical conflict between classes. This emphasis on the goal of history enables him to keep his own goals consistent with the higher goals of the socialist society.

The difference, however, in the description of the goal of history that a Puritan or a Patriot would have offered illustrates the great difference in their perceptions of the character of society. What answer would an early colonial Puritan have give if he were asked "What is the goal of history?" He would have answered that the goal of history is the "Kingdom of God (Toon, 1970; Edwards, 1830 ed.)." The Greco-Roman would have probably answered the "virtuous city, the virtuous society, or harmony with Nature". The Whig would have answered "republican liberty." They all three dreamed of the just society.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL THEOCRACY

There is a common belief among Americans that the type of society we now have is based on a continuation of the goals of the early Plymouth Rock Pilgrims (Schiffman, 1980). In actuality we have a society based on entirely different principles. Theirs was a theocratic society; ours is a secular one. New England was founded by men of the Reformation, consequently, the colonies they built reflected their religious world view. John Winthrop, first governor of Massachusetts Bay, believed that democracy was "a manifest breach of the fifth Commandment: for a Democratie is, among most Civill nations accounted the meanest and worst of all forms of Government . . . of least continuance and fullest of troubles (Life and Letters of John Winthrop, 1853, II, p. 430; cited in Parrington, 1954, p. 47)." Secular democracy, as we understand it today, had not yet become popular; nor did it do so until the Enlightenment provided a new, revolutionary dimension for civil ethics.

What was the essential political character of the early New England colonies? This question has caused an endless number of academic debates. The Puritan colonies have been assigned political titles as varied as that of oligarchy, aristocracy, theocracy, church state, and town council democracy (Breen, 1970). Do all of these titles really fit the character of such civil bodies as Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts Bay, or New Haven. Can a student of political thought definitively

categorize the civil character of these colonies? It is relatively easy to contrast the character of one political system with another, therefore, the answer to the last question would seem to be an obvious yes. If this is so, why is there such a difference of opinion between scholars about the constitutional character of the early New England governments? Was Massachusetts Bay a theocracy, as some have asserted, or was it an aristocracy or an oligarchy (Wertenbaker, 1947), as others have asserted?

One good way to determine the answer to this issue is to go to the early colonists, by means of the records they left, and let them speak for themselves. When they recorded their beliefs about the character of civil society, they fully intended that the reader understand what they meant in their writings. They wanted the reader to understand what they were trying to accomplish in their colonies. Because of the great amount of records we have, it is not unreasonable to expect the researcher to discover what the early colonial leaders believed about the character of civil government. The researcher should be able to gain an adequate understanding of the type of societies they were consciously trying to build. Through their writings we can ask the colonists what they believed about the character of their societies. Did they believe that they were theocracies, democracies, or oligarchies? What direction did they see for their colonies? Did they see any important differences between democracy and theocracy?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a second way to determine the character of a society is to look at the doctrine of justice that is honored in the institutions of the society. Does the particular

society's idea of justice depend on theological doctrines or does it depend on secular doctrines? Does the society, such as Massachuetts Bay, beleive that it is proper to depend on Scriptural principles when writing its laws? Or does the the society, such as Rhode Island, believe that it is improper to rely on religious roots when writing civil law?

The laws of a culture are generally written in reference to a particular doctrine of justice. This is especially true about laws of a society that deal directly with emotional and moral issues. The dream of building a just society, and the related doctrine of justice necessary for achieving that dream, are at the roots of any culture's ideology. Since a society's laws are generally written with reference to the doctrine of justice that the society gives deference to, the answer to our question about the political character of the early New England colonies can be obtained by looking at the types of civil laws the colonies wrote.

It is a simple observation that any major changes in a society's perception of justice can be seen in a concurring change in the type of laws it writes. Do the laws limit or eliminate titles of nobility? What type of economic system do the laws favor; do they institutionalize socialistic economic doctrines? Do they prescribe, or do they proscribe, religious tests for public office? Since there is an immense body of extant manuscripts that has been left by the civil governments of Colonial America, it is well within our capability to survey the Colonial statute books, analyze their legal codes, determine the doctrine of justice that the colonies generally governed by, and, by

such means of analysis, determine the political character of each colony. By this means, the scholar can also determine changes through time in the Colonial governments' perceptions of justice (see Appendix B).

There can be no doubt that the early leaders of such colonies as Plymouth Plantation and Massachusetts Bay believed that they were building theocratic societies. Neither can there be any doubt that these early colonies believed that it was proper to draw their civil laws from the Scriptures. John Cotton (1584-1652), one of the more prominent leaders of early Colonial America, took pride in the fact that Massachusetts Bay fashoned its civil laws after the book of Leviticus. In 1632, Cotton had been summonsed by Sir William Laud to appear in London before the British High Court. Since Cotton was an active Puritan leader, appearance before the court would have meant certain imprisonment. To avoid imprisonment, the Puritan underground spirited Cotton out of England to Massachusetts Bay where he quicky gained a position of influence.

In 1641 John Cotton authored An Abstract of the Laws of New England as they are Now Established (see Appendix A.). Cotton's abstract was a commentary on the legal system of Massachussets Bay. It also contained a complete text of the colony's legal code. Cotton expressly intended for his commentary to be distributed throughout England and Europe as a proclamation to skeptics that a society could be built on Biblical principles. Although Massachusetts Bay's legal code was not a constitution by present day standards, it did illustrate that the colony's magistrates viewed the society as a Bible state and wrote its laws by reference to the Scriptures. If analyzing the character of a

society's legal system is a valid means of understanding the political character of the society (whether it is an oligarchy, a theocracy, a democracy, etc.), then one can justifiably conclude that Massachusetts Bay's legal system gives sufficient evidence to illustrate the colony's theocratic character.

John Cotton had little use for democratic theory. He said that he could not conceive that God ever did ordain Democracy as a fit government "either for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed?" Cotton believed that God "refereth the sovereignty to Himself, and setteth up Theocracy . . . as the best form of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church (cited in Morgan, 1965, p. 169)." There was no place in early Massachusetts Bay's legal order, as expressed in An Abstract of the Laws of New England, for the secular ideology that gained dominance in American culture during the latter decades of the eighteenth century.

During the era of the revolution, legal doctrines were institutionalized that reflected the belief that it would be an offense against the state for one to appeal to religious principles in the every day governing of society. This change in the legal ethics of a culture is a proper point of reference to use in determining the the change in the political character of a society. At the time of the ratification of the Constitution, the American government formally institutionalized a secular ethic for governing relationships within the society. From that point on the government was to be secular based, not religious based.

Cotton's sympathies were not unique among men in the colonial

environment. Men of theocratic persuasion controled the Puritan governments and, by popular support, were confirmed in their positions of public office time after time. William Bradford of Plymouth Plantation and John Winthrop of Massachussets Bay each served as colonial governors for three decades. A special breed of educated churchmen were the acknowledged social and intellectual leaders of the New England colonies. These colonies saw themselves as theocracies and law was written by reference to the Scriptures. Early Colonial New England was an expression of Reformation culture. But why did the colonists leave England in order to establish their Reformed society? Why did they not stay in London and attempt to build their New Jerusalem on the British Isle? The answers lie in the unique situation of the Protestant church in England.

The English Reformation

At the time of the colonization of New England, Reformation thought in the Old World was locked in mortal struggle with the High Church. In England this struggle had taken on unique dimensions. Henry VIII, the second Tudor king (reigning 1509-1547), had withdrawn the English Church from communion with the Roman Catholic Church for personal motives that were, to say the least, of questionable character. Since these motives were not based on religious conviction nor goals of church reform, there was little change in the character of the Anglican Church after its independence from the Mother Church. Consequently, the Anglican Church retained basic aspects of Roman Catholic theology that would soon be rejected by the Reformation Church.

Later, we will see how the High Church's Thomistic theology (named

after St. Thomas Aquinas) played a fundamental role in Scholastic education; we will see how the Scholastic synthesis between the ancient Greek and Hebrew world views provided the vehicle for the transportation of the naturalistic cosmology of the ancient Greco-Roman world to the modern world; then we will see how naturalistic concepts crossed the Atlantic to be taught in Colonial America by the Scholastic educational system of the Puritan church. These steps provide the ground work for illustrating the powerful effect that the Enlightenment had on the Colonial church college. This is because the Enlilghtenment modified key naturalistic concepts of the ancient Greco-Roman world in an unique manner that provided an intellectual basis for the American Revolution, the downfall of the attempt to build a Reformation culture, and the rise of today's secular ethics.

Just as there was little change in the character of the British Church when it gained independence from the Roman Church, there was also little change in the character of British education. This was largely because British education had been developed by, and was under the control of, the Church. There were two major universities in England, Cambridge and Oxford, each with several colleges under its administration. These schools had been established by the Catholic Church and were the result of over two thousand years of educational development that began in ancient Greece. There was an enormous amount of institutional, historical, and cultural momentum behind the system. Consequently, when the British transferred their loyalty from the Pope to the Crown, Cambridge and Oxford continued teaching by the High Scholastic methods of the Roman Catholic Church.

When the Reformation arrived in England there were major changes in accepted religious doctrines by large portions of the population. The Calvinistic strand of the movement rejected three basic dimensions of Roman Catholic theology that had been retained by the Anglican Chruch. These dimensions were the High Church's sacremental theology, which was (and still is) concerned with the way the atonement becomes a means of grace for the believer; Episcopalian theology, which was concerned with the structure and administration of church authority; and Thomistic theology, which was a complete system of theology that was intimately intertwined with Greek philosophy and was basic to the medieval academic synthesis. Calvinistic theology was so diverse from these aspects of High Church theology that when the Reformation gained a foothold on the British Isle, the Protestant converts saw little difference between the character of the Anglican Church and the character of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Puritan Theocracies

The English Protestants grieved over what they saw as the poor spiritual state of the British church. They desired to build a pure church, at least pure according to their doctrines. It was believed that this church would show its spiritual purity by producing real changes in the ways of men. Since the Anglican Church was already out from under the wings of the Roman Catholic Church, the reformers had hopes of being able to bring about religious purification from within. They hoped to be able to draw the Anglican Church into the fold of Reformed theology. Because of this unique situation, and the desire by the English Reformed Church to purify the Anglican Church, the English

Protestants became known as the Puritans.

Although the Puritan church rejected basic dimensions of medieval theology, it did not reject the methods of medieval education. However, medieval education was practically homogeneous in principle with medieval theology. This means that the Protestants adamantly rejected Thomistic theology without rejecting Thomistic educational methods. The Reformation church never developed a system of education that was consistent with Reformation theology. This failure is hard to understand. Medieval education was at the foundation of medevial theology.

Even more confounding is the fact that formal charges brought against Martin Luther by Cajetan at Luther's excommunication trial were centered around his refusal to submit to Thomistic doctrine. It seems that this precedent would have given Protestant Reformers sufficient reason to work hard at developing a system of education that was consistent with their theology. Although the Scholastic educational system had been shaping the character of the Catholic Church for centuries, and despite the fact that the Reformers reacted violently to the ways of the Church, the Puritans continued to use the educational system that was at the roots of medieval Catholic intellectualism.

The Reformers failed to fully see the implications of the relationship between their theologic doctrines and the character of Scholastic education. Along with this failure came the failure to attempt a full reformation of their educational system in the same manner they were attempting reform in the church. Consequently, the reformers failed to effect any real transformation in the curriculum,

the structure, or the methods of teaching that were used in their own schools. The new learning that the Reformation did introduce into education had only secondary effects on its character. It did not approach a transformation of the system in the way it approached the transformation of the church. Although the Reformers did establish their own schools, neither the Puritans, nor any other branch of the Reformed Church, showed any conscious intent to reform education to the same degree they attempted to reform the church. Yet, just as the character of a secular nation will be affected by its system of education, so will the character of the church be affected by its system of education.

The Reformation church did not perceive the fundamental relationship between the character of the Roman Catholic Church and the character of Scholastic education. Consequently, in colonial America, the Puritans built carbon copies of the medieval educational system that had generated much of the High Church theology they were rejecting. The result was that the colonial college still adhered to basic dimensions of Thomistic education. Although there was a conscious rejection of Thomistic theology in the Puritan church, Thomistic methedology remained basic to education in the Puritan college. The reason this is so important is that Thomism provided a synthesis between the spiritual doctrines of the Church and the naturalistic doctrines of the ancient Greco-Roman world--in particular the Natural Law doctrines of the Stoics of whom Cicero was prominent.

The Enlightenment added a new individualistic dimension to the ancient Natural Law doctrines. In the process it produced a secular

ethic, now known as Human Rights, that would change the political face of the western world. This new dimension was formulated by John Locke in his social equasion: The State of Nature, plus the Law of Nature, equals Natural Rights (Second Treatise of Government, ii, 6). In this formulation the foundation was laid for a system of secular ethics that could be used for the basis of a culture's doctrine of justice. This modern expansion, or mutation, of naturalistic ethics was to be an important key in sealing the end of the Puritan dream of building a New Jerusalem. The colonial church college had Hellenized the minds of its students by teaching them the naturalistic doctrines that had been brought into church education by the medieval scholastics. This was to open the door of the future to the modified naturalistic doctrines of the Enlightenment that would bring the church state to its end.

As the Reformation crossed Europe, the Lutherans were able to find protection under the wings of German political leaders; the Scottish Presbyterians, on the strength of John Knox, gained enough power to take over the Scott government; but the Puritans ran into almost insurmountable opposition by the British Crown. This was due to the unique relationship between the government and the Anglican Church. Essentially, the Crown had its own church. This, in effect, predetermined the response by the government to any attack on "its" church. While the German governors responded positively to Lutheran resistance to the Roman Catholic Church, any attack on the doctrines of the Anglican church was seen by those in British authority as also being an attack on the King's government. Consequently, the Crown used force to oppose religious reform that originated in any source on the island

other than the government itself. The result was that a great number of Britain's prominent Protestant ministers were being forced off the isle by the king's policies.

In "1622 King James laid down an orthodox program, forbidding any of lesser rank than `bishop or a dean [to] presume to preach in any popular auditory on the deep points . . . (Parrington, 1954, p. 55).'" Later, under the authority of King Charles, Archbishop Laud worked hard at breaking down Puritan leadership by summonsing ministers to court and sentencing them to execessive prison terms. Laud's pressure on the Puritans brought results. Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, and Samuel Stone sailed for the new world on the same ship. Later Thomas Hooker was to lead a congregation of settlers into the Connecticut Valley and write the new colony's constitution.

These three men had established themselves as Protestant leaders long before they set sail for New England. They all had the best of British education and had been associated with the Anglican church before their conversion to the Reformed faith. This background gave these men a great hearing among Protestants on the Isle. Consequently, they were ordered by the Crown to stop preaching. Archbishop Laud had imprisoned a number of Puritan ministers for life who had refused to stop preaching and would have surely sentenced these men to a similar fate. This type of events resulted in a disproportionate number of prominent and well educated ministers sailing for the New World and populating the New England colonies. When this factor is taken into account and is combined with the reverential respect these religious leaders received from their fellow colonists and the the role that

religious thought played in the establishment of the colonies, the student can begin to appreciate the power of the Puritan preacher to shape colonial society after his theology.

The Quaker Middle Colony

The Puritan colonies of New England were not the only religiously based colonies in British America. The Quakers established the colonies of West Jersey and Pennsylvania. Oppressed in the Puritan colonies as well as England, the Quakers "nourished the hope of founding amidst their woods some refuge from oppression and some likeness of a city of God upon earth (Britannica, XX, 1902, p. 152)." The Quakers called themselves the Society of Friends and had an exceptionally gentle dimension to their faith.

On March 24, 1681, when Pennsylvania was chartered, the Quaker goal was to build a Christian state after Quaker principles. The condition for persons seeking office was that they professed Christianity while giving high place to women in church order. Extra care was taken in making treaties with the Indians. They desired to build a society that would never see war. Penn hoped "to reduce the Indians by justice and kindness to civilization and Christianity (ibid.)." He called his colony the "Holy Experiment (Rippa, 1971, p. 11)."

The Quakers named their new city Philidelphia, meaning the City of Brotherly Love, and prayed that they would never need a militia to protect it. "They considered themselves a separate people . . . (Rippa, p. 13)." Yet, on July 4, 1776, in Philidelphia, the city of the pacifists, a major war was formally declared--and it was declared on the mother country. This event was possibly the worst thing that William

Penn could have ever imagined would happen in his Quaker colony. His dream was dead. Why? Was it because of the frontier? No. The revolutionary doctrines of the Whigs were developed in England, not on the frontier. They were brought from England and nurtured in the English styled colonial college just as the religious based doctrines of the Quakers and the Puritans were brought from England. The frontier did not produce the secular doctrines of the revolution any more than it produced the theocratic doctrines of the Quakers or the Puritans. Each of their doctrine were brought to the frontier from the Old World.

Originally, churchmen had been the intellectual and social leaders of the colonies. They were industrious and a number of them, such as Bradford, Winthrop, and Cotton, were highly educated. They knew that if they were going to achieve their theocratic goals, new generations would need well trained leaders. Soon the Puritans were establishing colleges for this purpose. The colleges they built, however, were based on Old World scholastic priciples that were drawn from the ancient Greco-Roman academy.

This link between the ancient Greek world and Puritan education is key because of the revolutionary social doctrines that were nurtured in the environment of the Colonial church college. It was the Greek heritage of the schools, instead of their Hebrew heritage, that provided the Puritan student with certain Hellenistic doctrines that formed the foundations for the Enlightenment. In turn, the social doctrines that were generated by the Enlightenment were at odds with the social doctrines that were generated by the Reformation. The result was that the scholastic method of education used by the colleges provided seed

for revolution in the form of social doctrines that were at odds with the very purpose for which the colleges were founded. Once institutionalized, these doctrines produced the downfall of the theocratic societies the colonists had been trying to build. The Puritan educational system betrayed the Puritan. Their goals were tied to the Hebrews; their methods were tied to the Greeks.

The scholastic educational methods of the colonial colleges were inconsistent with the social goals of the men who established the colleges. The result was that the colleges played a key role in creating a change in the principles that motivated the youth who were being prepared for leadership in the colonies. In 1740 the leading intellectuals in the colonies were clergymen. They wrote about theology, not politics. However, by 1770 the leading intellectuals in the colonies were statesmen who wrote about politics, not theology. Most of the leading statesmen had been trained in the colonial church college (Walsh, 1935). This transformation was due, in great degree, to the educational system of the colonial church state. The political theory of the revolution had a direct connection with the educational system of the Puritans (Sherman, 1973, p. 40).

CHAPTER V

SCHOLASTIC EDUCATION: THE MEDIEVAL SYNTHESIS

Few of today's students are aware of the comprehensive character of the scholastic educational system. Even fewer are aware of the role that scholasticism played in the education of colonial Americans. Although we are only two generations removed from its dominance, very few people even know that a system of education known as scholasticism existed. Those who are aware that scholasticism once ruled western education generally perceive it as a monkish artifact that died with the middle ages. On the contrary, James Walsh says that "the men who organized our government of the people, by the people, and for the people in its present form, were most of them trained mentally in accordance with this medieval mode of thought and teaching (Walsh, 1935, p. x)."

Scholastic educational methods are still used today in some Roman Catholic schools (Wuellner, 1956, 1966). The famous Boston Latin School, which has trained students since the 1630's, also exists today. But, how did a medieval mode of teaching contribute to the revolutionary doctrines of 1776? How could a system of church education have given rise to doctrines that betrayed the church? In order to answer these questions we need to have a better understanding of the origins of scholastic education.

European Scholasticism: Its Origins

The methods of Scholastic education can be traced back to the Academy of ancient Greece. Medieval Scholasticism arose as a result of the Roman Catholic adaptation of the ancient Academic education that had been developed by the Hellenic world. Consequently, if we are to understand Scholastic education we have to understand some basic, but simple, points about the ancient Greek Academy. To do so we must go back to the time of Plato (427-347 B.C.).

When Plato, in the early part of the fourth century before Christ, founded his school for training Athenian youth, he named it in honor of Acadamus, one of the city's military heros. Plato's school provided an alternative approach to education. This was because he planed to teach his students by the philosphic method. Philosophy had risen on the Ionian coast and then had crossed the Aegean Sea to the Grecian Peninsula. Athens, a city that venerated the goddess of wisdom, nurtured the philosophic approach to knowledge. The city also had a large merchant class that provided sufficient wealth for young men to be educated in leasure. Plato was from the city's upper class and had learned philosophic techniques while he was a student of Socrates. However, the philosophic method had not yet become an institutionalized basis for formal education.

In establishing the Academy, Plato was crossing a frontier that had not been crossed before. He had decided to found the first formal educational institution that was to train its students by the the means of philosophy. This was his unique--and all important--contribution to western education. Within two generations, under Alexander the Great,

philosophy became so intellectually powerful that its spread became synonymous with the spread of the Hellenic culture. The new Greek approach to education was destined to effect the character of nations and empires for centuries.

Education is a means of increasing a person's knowledge about existence. Different, and conflicting, methods for building knowledge have been developed by different cultures. An epistemologist trys to understand how we gain knowledge. In theory, once the epistemologist understands how we gain knowledge, he is then in a possition to develope a method of education that is compatable with the ways we gain knowledge. The way an educator believes people gain knowledge affects his belief about the methods that should be utilized in education. The greatest contrast we can draw between educational methods is the contrast between religious based methods and philosophical methods. Untill the time of Plato, no school in the world had institutionalized a method of education that was not dependent on some type of relationship with some type of god. In other words, all educational institutions before the time of Plato were based on theological, or at least mystical, presuppositions of one kind or another. Some of these religious based systems, such as the Persian schools of astrology, were rooted in the occult. On the other end of the religious scale of education was the Hebrew synagogue.

The Hebrew system of education was dependent on the belief in the ability and willingness of a holy God to teach His chosen people His ways by means of revelation. Following from this tenet, was the belief in man's ability to receive that revelation. The early Christian church

was built on the seed of faith found in this Hebrew tradition. Although not conceived by the ancients in a sophisticated terminology, this was the basis of the epistemological doctrine of special or divine revelation. That is, man receives knowledge--and in particular, moral knowledge--through faith by special revelation. This is the basis of the Hebrew theological method of knowledge.

In contrast, the epistemological grounds of Plato's Academy was that knowledge was gained through the philosophic method. This method was based on the belief in man's ability to reason his way to truth by means of reflection. If a man's reasoning was deep enough he could discern the true form of things, of which this world was only a shadow. While Plato retained certain transcendent concepts by his use of the doctrine of forms, his reliance on the idea of reason as the proper means for gaining knowledge is why he is classified by epistemologists as a rationalist. However, education at the Academy underwent both a doctrinal and a methodological split early in its development. This split was largely a result of Aristotle's rejection of Plato's forms.

Aristotle studied in the academy under Plato but he rejected much of Plato's quasi-mystic approach. As a result, he developed a different doctrine about the means of gaining knowledge. For Aristotle, the mind of man was a blank slate on which experience was to write. This idea is a fundamental tenet of the epistemological position of today's empiricists. This position is in contrast to either a rational or a theological epistemology. For Plato, the mind of man was the repository of innate knowledge which could be drawn out by a proper method of reflective reason. Consequently, education was aimed at teaching the

mind how to reason. In contrast to either Aristotle or Plato, Hebrew education was not aimed at the mind--it was aimed at the heart. The idea of the mind, as we perceive it, is Greek in origin. It has no counter-part in the Hebrew language (Lake: IV, 1975, p. 228-229). Unlike the Greek students of Aristotle, who was to have knowledge inscribed on the tablet of his mind, the Hebrew student was to write the precepts of God upon the tablets of his heart (Proverbs 3:3).

Aristotelian Dialectics

Aristotle's rejection of Plato's forms enabled him to create a more pratical approach to knowledge building. He developed an ingenious method of training the mind--the dialectical process--that became the basis of Academic education for over two thousand years! It survived the conquest of Greece by Rome; it survived the fall of Rome to the Barbarians; it survived the medieval church age and the Reformation. It even survived the Enlightenment. Scholastic education was not replaced until the rise of the elective system in the last third of the nineteenth century (see A Turning Point in Higher Education: The Inaugral Address of Charles William Eliot as President of Harvard College, October 19, 1869 in Eliot, 1969).

Although Aristotle's dialectics had periods of greater and lesser influence, the dialectical method survived as the distinctive feature of Scholastic education until the turn of the 20th century. Aristotle's method was so basic to Academic education that it controlled grammar school education as well as higher education. It became the core discipline of the seven liberal arts. His logic dominated the undergraduate's curriculum from the time of early Rome until after the

time of the American revolution. His method of education was so conceptually powerful that it was not overshadowed until the rise of the present day inductive methods of science and the elective system of education.

The goal of Aristotlean dialectics was to analyze an idea (or anything in the world around us) by a process designed to winnow out false logic. Points and counter-points were made until weaknesses in logic were worked out of the particular thesis that had been presented. If the weaknesses could not be worked out, then the thesis was said to be proven false. This system of deductive logic became the science of the Hellenic world. Aristotle's paradigm for science was not replaced until the inductive methods of Enlightenment science were developed in the seventeenth century.

Axiomatic formulas for Aristotelian dialectics were created with such a rigorous logic that they received the same type of respect that today's mathematical student gives to the axioms at the basis of Euclidean geometry. There was an apparent detachment from doctrine in the axiomatic formulations of Aristotle's dialectics. This enabled Aristotle's method to be seen as an objective way to arrive at the truth of a matter. This sense of objectivity was an important key in the eventual acceptance of the Academic method of education by the Catholic Church.

The pagan doctrines that were at the basis of the seven disciplines of the Academy were anathema to the early church (O'Connor, 1968, p. 7). However, due in large part to the efforts of Boethius, Aristotle's apparently objective method of logic became an accepted means of

analyzing the scriptures. Once Aristotle's logic was accepted by the Church it was just a matter of time till the general Academic scheme controlled medieval church education. As a result of accepting the Aristotelian method of analysis the educational system of the Greco-Roman world came to dominate the medieval church.

Boethus and the Rise of Scholasticism

In 410 Alaric led the Visigoths into Italy, shocked the Mediterranean world by sacking Rome, and in the process brought the Western Empire down to its knees. The impact of the fall of the city lead St. Jerome to lament that the world was sinking into ruin. Forty-five years later, in a more devastating attack, the Vandals plundered the city and carried its wealth off to Carthage. The Hellenic culture of the western Mediterranean suffered a near total collapse. Other than the Church, practically every institution of the empire, including the Academy, fell under the force of the barbarian invasions.

The fall of Rome prompted St. Augustine to write an apology for the conditions of the world as he saw them. According to Augustine, the moment the city fell, Rome, as a society, ceased to exist (City of God II, 21). This was because Rome was no longer able to administer justice. But he exhorted the Christians to take heart, for Rome never was a true society in the first place for Rome had not governed by true justice--it was just the City of Man. Christians, however, were citizens of a Heavenly Kingdom and the events of the world were only preparations for the comming rule of the City of God. Soon the church would begin to administer justice and the true society would be built.

St. Augustine's interpretation of the events that Surrounded the

fall of Rome was of little encouragement to Boethius (b. @ 475 in Rome). He dreamed of re-establishing the glory of the great city. His administrative talent enabled him to rise in positions of responsibility under the rule of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths. In 510 Boethius reached the level of counselship. With his position of influence, he was able to guide the church toward the acceptance of Aristotle's dialectics as a means of analyzing the Scriptures. Boethius had translated Aristotle's Posterior Analytics into Latin (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1981, XI, p. 336). This translation and Boethius' ability to get it accepted into Chruch education has won for him the title of the father of Scholasticism (Walsh, 1935, p. x). Aristotle's work on logic had formed the basis of one of the three disciplines of the Trivium of the Academy. Academic education had made its way into the Catholic Chruch if only in the "scientific" discipline of Logic. However, it would be just a matter of time till the philosophic method of the Hellenic culture was to conquer the Church. Bothieus had hoped that by this means he could be an influence in guiding Rome back toward its lost glory. However, Rome was not to regain its glory. The next great empire building city of the western world was to be London. And it would not rise to prominence until eleven-hundred years later.

In the eighth century the Frankish king, Charlemagne, attempted to increase the quality of church education. He had become appalled at the poor standards of education among church leaders, including bishops. His efforts did bring higher standards into church education and, in the process, Latin became solidified as the language of scholars for the next thousand years. Aristotle was assured a continued place in church

education and the foundation was set for the development of high scholasticism.

In the early centuries between the fall of Rome and the ascent of London the scholastics in the medieval church labored over their studies with little realization of the extent of the classical heritage that had been lost. They did become lovers of the philosophical methods and formulated additional axioms for use in disputations. They tried to reconcile remaining differences between the the world of the Greeks and the world of the Hebrews. The process was slow. During the time of St. Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109) and Abelard (1079-1142), scholars were attempting "to combine logic, philosophy, and theology in an effort to give Christian doctrine a more rigorous intellectual structure (Strayer, 1974, p. 225)." In the process, St. Anselm became known as the father of scholastic theology (Hotze, 1967, XIII, p. 1153). Although these scholars had little access to the majority of the Classics, they had preserved Boethius' translation of Aristotle's Posterior Analytics (Logic) as a guide for the use of his dialectical system to analyze scripture.

The west showed little expectation that Aristotle had written anything else until the thirteenth century. Then things began to change. The Scholastics came into contact with the educators of Moslem Moors that had conquered Spain:

> . . . scholastics were caught up in a ferment of thought as their cultural horizon was suddenly broadened and their allegiance to the past was deeply challenged through the influx of a vast philosophical and scientific literature translated from the Greek and Arabic. For the first time they came face to face with a world-system, a 'Weltanschaung', which relied completely on reason and appeared almost entirely at variance with the Christian faith. They were faced with doctrines such

> as the Prime Mover, eternal motion, denial of creation and providence, uncertaincy on the immortality and spirituality of the soul and a morality based on reason alone. Such theories seemed almost like a new revelation, or for many, like intruders from an alien world. `The Christian people', said William of Auvergne, `is plunged in astonishment by theories hitherto entirely unknown to it [De Universo 1.3.31 (Paris 1674) 1:805b; cited in Brady, 1967, p.1155].

This controversy became the most important intellectual event of the thirteenth century. "The issues at stake were considerable: if the Aristotelian natural philosophy were to gain acceptance . . . " the way would be "opened for the development of a completely naturalistic, rational expli- cation of the universe, with obvious danger for the church (Bowen, 1975, v. II, p. 138; see also Walsh, 1935, p. x)."

Although they had been lost to Europe, the best of the scholarly works of the Greeks and Romans had been preserved in the libraries of Alexandria, Egypt. After the Moors conquered Spain, Islamic educators carried the classical writings to southern Europe. This process opened the academic doors of Europe to classical writings and also exposed the European to the Moslem method of `kalam'. This was an educational method that combined "reason and profane knowledge as aids to understanding problems arising from the study of religious belief (Ibid., p. 1156)."

The stage was now set for Thomas Aquinas. At the time the influx of Classical and Moslem works was at its height, Aquinas attempted to reorder the "whole structure of Christian wisdom in such a way that pagan philosophy would be made tributary to the Christian faith (Brady, 1967, p. 1156)." It can be said that high `scholasticism' arose as a Christian counterpart to the Islamic `kalam'. In time, Thomas Aquinas' synthesis, which came to be known as Thomism, was to dominate the theology and the philosophy of the church.

The Scholastic Method

The Scholastic method contained "two essential features . . . exposition (lectio) and disputation (disputatio). Disputation was undoubtedly the more original and characteristic feature, . . . (Weisheipl, 1967, XIII, p. 1145)." Scholastic education, however, was more than just a method of philosophy. It developed into an extensive educational system that determined the curriculum of studies and the modes of teaching that were employed throughout Europe. The curriculum was divided between the Trivium and the Quadrivium; this simply meant the three disciplines and the four disciplines. When combined they were known as the seven liberal arts. The medieval church was using the exact curriculum of the ancient Greek and Roman academies. The Trivium (consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and logic) made up the field of study for the undergraduate. The Quadrivium (originally consisting of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music) made up the field of study for the student seeking a Master of arts degree. Finally, the Ph.D. student studied the Three Philosophies of Aristotle (Natural, Mental, and Moral) that were rediscovered during the era of Aquinas (Walsh, 1935, p. 9-10). Later the rise of the discipline of Moral Philosophy in the Colonial college would provide the key for the rise of the Enlightenment ethics at the basis of the Revolution.

Scholastic Principles

Scholastic Philosophy was rigorous in its use of logical principles or axioms. The practice of disputation was wholly dependent on the formulation of hundreds of scholastic principles. The modern

Scholastic, Bernard Wuellner, notes that "Principles may well be regarded as the main part of philosophy. They are among the major discoveries of philosophy, condensing in themselves much philosophical inquiry and insight. They are the starting points of much philosophical discussion (Wuellner, 1956, p. v)." Scholastic principles were cited with authority as a means of defending or challenging the thesis at the center of every formal debate.

Wuellner lists 569 principles, principates, and their corollaries in an instruction manual for the beginning Scholastic. The student is exhorted to memorize all the principles so that he can state them in their "exact and complete form", and, the student is to develop the mental skills to apply them to any thesis (Wuellner, 1956, p. 1). Whellner informs his students that:

> Masters like Aristotle and St. Thomas incessantly weave these principles into their writings, and so much so that the familiarity with their principles becomes an indispensable preparation for any intelligent grasp of their works and for any genuine consent to their conclusions (Ibid. p. v).

Thomism is still alive today, for Wuellner, in his work, attempts to maintain "a consistent pattern of Thomism (Ibid. p.vi)."

Aquinas left his mark on intellectual history in a manner that is rarely understood by today's student. He has been seen by scholars as being one of the prime movers, since the time of Boethius, in the development and formalization of the High Scholastic methods of the Roman Catholic Church. For the medieval scholar such as Aquinas,

> All reasoning proceeds from propositions accepted as true. If we are to be safe in believing the conclusion of a demonstration, we must know these premises to be true. . . . to avoid infinite regress we must ultimately come to propositions which are self-evidently true and so need no proof [<u>principia per se nota</u>] (O'Connor, 1968, p. 11).

> A principle: is that from which anything in any way proceeds; a starting point of being, or of change, or of knowledge, or of discussion.
>
> A principate: is that which proceeds from another in some way. It is the correlative of a principle (Wuellner, 1956, p. 4)

Therefore, in scholastic logic "The promotion of justice is a principle while the formation of government is a principate (Ibid. p. 9)."

The principle of non-contradiction is: (1) The law of being that a thing cannot be and not be at the same time. (2) The law of thought that the same meaningful statement cannot be both true and false at the same time. Principle 134 in Wuellner's text is concerned with the relation of ends and means: "The end is the principle and measure of the means." Corollary C is: "The end is the measure of the suitability, unsuitability, timeliness, and sufficiency of the means (Summa Theologica, I, ii, 95-3; I, ii, 96-1; etc.). Now we have the roots for the development of the system of disputations.

Principles not only had corollaries and principates, they also had ontological and logical formulas. In turn, the ontological formula is broken down into terms of existence and essence. In the ontological formula for the `principle of idenity' (number 32) we are assured of "(a) existence: Whatever is, is." and "(b) essence: Everything has its own essence. A thing is what it is [see Appendix D., 1763 Broadside for the University of Pennsylvania, question 1 under Ontology]." In turn, the logical formula for the `principle of idenity' we are assured that "(a) The true is true; the false is false.", and, therefore "(b) The true is to be affirmed; the false is to be denied."

So far, Aristotelian logic and the dialectical principles that

develop out of his system have not yet revealed an ethical or moral conflict with the values at the roots of the ancient church. However, in principle 335 we are told that:

> The Natural Law is prior to any positive law, and is the basis and criterion of the justice of all positive law.

Now we are beginning to see the pagan doctrines of the Greek Stoic presented in clear logic. Although Aristotle had the greatest influence on Aquinas' systems of logic, "the idea that a virtuous life is one lived in conformity with nature and that nature is, at bottom, rational, was transmitted to the middle ages chiefly through the uncritical but useful compilations of Cicero, whose works are often quoted by Aquinas (O'Connor, 1968, p. 57-58)."

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Cicero's doctrines experienced a great revival in much the same manner that Aristotle's doctrines did in the thirteenth century. His De Oratore provided the basis for the discipline of Rhetoric. "This domination was due quite as much to his style as to his ideas. It is because Cicero made of Latin prose a universal language that his ideas came to have the same validity as did his form of expression (Monroe, 1902, p. 425). He was the master of Rhetoric and his ideas and methods greatly influenced the rise of political rhetoric in the revolutionary era.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLONIAL CHURCH COLLEGE

The scholastics had developed the method of formal disputation by combining Aristotle's dialectics with Cicero's oratations. As mentioned, these two disciplines, under the titles of Logic and Rhetoric, were incorporated with Grammar as the Trivium, or undergraduate curriculum in the ancient Greco-Roman world. Since the times of Roman antiquity the undergraduate student had, with only secondary modifications, labored under this same curriculum. One reason there was so little modification in the system was that it relied on specific authorities for each discipline. These authorities had, especially Aristotle and Cicero, each developed key concepts that were basic for the axiomatic approach of the scholastic method.

Cicero (106-43 B.C.), a Roman lawyer, considered the end product of education to be personified in the ethical character of the orator. He called this character "humanitas" (Bowen, Vol. I, p. 180). The humanities of today derive their title from this Latin doctrine. For centuries the medieval church had used this system of education while it attempted to supress or ignore the theological implications behind its methods and concepts. During the Renaissance the humanistic dimensions of the humanities were revitalized--only to be overshadowed by the religious and social upheavals of the Reformation. Not until the time of the Enlightenment did a humanistic world view begin to dominate the minds of the intellectual leaders of western Europe. The Enlightment,

however, was to have its greatest impact in the colonial culture of North America. While western Europe generated the Enlightenment, America was to live it. No where is this more evident than in the colonial church college.

Harvard: The First New England College

Protestant historians like to point to the Christian roots of American education. Repeatedly they cite the original statutes of Harvard in an effort to demonstrate the Colonial college's distinctively Christian approach to education. Often the second statute of the school's entrance requirements is quoted by these zealous, but misguided educators. The second statute exhorts every student to "consider the main end of his life and studies, to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life, John 17:3." However, those that usually quote this second statute neglect to mention the first statute. It reads:

> When any Scholar is able to read Tully (Cicero) or such like Classical author ex tempore, and make and speake true Latin verse and prose Sou (ut aiunt) Marte, and decline perfectly the paradigmes of nouns and verbs in the Greeke tounge, then may hee bee admitted into the colledge, . . . (Brubaker and Rudy, 1968, p. 11-12; see also Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, II.iv.1).

When the entire list of statutes is reviewed (see APPENDIX C.) along with the school's curriculum, it becomes evident that the school was dominated by the educational methods, the philosophy, and the ethics of the pagan Greco-Roman world! The Puritan schools were not pure in principle at all, the basic doctrines of the pagan world view were taught in confusion with the early Christian world view. The result was that this system of education bore fruit in social doctrines that were

wholly incompatable with the Puritan dream. The following section explains how this happened.

The Role of the Greek Curriculum in Colonial Education

There is an important value in looking at the curriculum of Harvard during the colonial era. "The curriculum is the battlefield at the heart of the institution (JB Lon Hefferlin cited in Rudolph, 1977, p. 5)." The analysis of the curriculum in the colonial church college will be a valuable means of illustrating the influence of the ancient Greco-Roman Academy on the English speaking world. All that has to be done is compare the colonial curriculum with the ancient pagan Academy. This comparison will go deeper than just the subjects taught in the ancient and New Worlds; it will even go to the point of comparing the texts they used:

> In the final analysis, the curriculum is nothing less that the statement a college makes about what, out of the totality of man's constantly growing knowledge and experience, is considered useful, appropriate, or relevant to the lives of educated men and women at a certain point in time. . . . That statement is an expression of enduring educational and national values, . . . (Rudolph, 1977, p. ix).

Henry Dunster, a graduate of Cambridge, formulated the first curriuclum for Harvard college in the early 1630's. He decreed in Latin that: "The first year (would be) the teaching of rhetoric, the second and third Dialectical (Logic), the fourth will be added Philosophy (Brubacher and Rudy, 1968, pp. 9-10)." In this curriculum we see the expansion of undergraduate studies from the three years the ancients required to four years and the inclusion of philosophy in the undergraduate program. Grammar, the third course of study in the older

Trivium, was not included because the college student was already supposed to have learned his Latin in grammar school. Once at Harvard the student, while on campus, was required to converse in Latin at all times.

This first curriculum at Harvard was identical to the curriculum at Cambridge, which, as mentioned, was Henry Dunster's alma mater. The statutes for admission were also identical, this is because Henry Dunster was bringing the Old World educational system, in its purity, to the New World (Walsh, 1935, p. 3). In turn, Harvard became the prototype for the rest of the colonial church colleges (Rudolph, 1977, p. 32; Brubacher and Rudy, 1976, p. 12).

> In its early stages of development this colonial curriculum represented the transplanting, not only of the contemporary English university course, but of the traditions of the medieval higher learning. Thus, the seventeenth century Cambridge curriculum reflected a pattern of scholasticism, Aristotelian categories and all; . . . (Brubacher and Rudy, 1976, p. 14).

The New World curriculum developed as a mirror image of the European curriculum. This is the important link between the educational systems of ancient Greece, ancient Rome, the medieval church, and the educational system of colonial America.

Although the Reformation had produced profound changes in the religious and social thought of late medieveal Europe, its impact on the curriculum and methods of education was minimal. The puritan student at Harvard in the 1740's spent as much time reading Aristotle, Cicero, Homer, and other like Classical authors as the European student had centuries earlier during the period of High Scholasticism. The

differences were essentially in the order courses were taken, not in the subjects of study. James Walsh notes in the preface to his book on the education of the founding fathers that

> It is a matter of pride and congratulation that our American colleges were in their inception linked with the age old traditions of education which have come down to us from the Greeks of the golden age of Athens, and represent the core of the college curriculum until well on in the nineteenth century (Walsh, 1935, p. xi).

The Scholastics used methods of study that had been developed by Aristotle as the foundation for all of their educational programs. His logical system provided a conceptual framework around which all forms of knowledge could be structured. Consequently, Aristotle's work influenced all seven disciplines in the liberal arts. In fact, the formal term "Scholastic Method" was synonymous in meaning with Aristotelian logic. Aristotle's logic was so basic to Scholastic education that it became the dominant course of study during the middle two years of the undergraduate's life. This brings us to the point of asking what it was about his system that made it so essential to education for so many centuries? The answer lies in dialectics.

Aristotelian Dialectics

Aristotle's method of logic was based on a dialectical process. This process was used to examine every problem in the liberal arts--regardless of whether it was philosophical or theological. The student was trained to winnow out faulty logic by means of deductive debates. First, a formal thesis was stated. In response, a second person offered a counter-thesis challenging the position of the first thesis. Each "disputant" then attempted by means of syllogistic

argumentation to demonstrate the truth of his own thesis and the fallacy of his opponents. In the medieval era, the schoolmen considered this method to be a rational approach to education that was capable of providing the student with a scientific basis for his faith (Weisheipl, 1966, XIII, p. 1145). This was the old science of the Aristotelian school and, unlike the science of today, it was based on authority instead of doubt and deductive logic instead of inductive observation.

During a syllogistic argument each disputant would rely on axiomatic propositions that were assumed to be logically proven truths. These propositions had been developed through the centuries by some of the best of the pagan and church philosophers. The result was that this old science was a method of creating knowledge by reliance on authority. The student, in order to be adequately prepared for his disputations, was required to memorize hundreds of propositions. Consequently, those who used Aristotle's system of logic were inculturated with the doctrines of the authorities to which they appealed during their syllogistic disputations.

Unlike today, the textbooks used by the Scholasitcs were not rewritten on a regular basis. Once a work was authoratatively established it became the standard of the discipline for centuries--even millenniums. Students in colonial America were required to read Aristotle's Latin Logic with as much rigor as the student in the academies of ancient Rome. This is the reason that Aristotle's writings formed the conceptual basis for education in both eras. This is why the medieval monk and the colonial Puritan, although at teeth's edge with each other, could each reverently speak of Aristotle as "the

Philosopher." However, this reverence for Aristotle's sylogistic method is also why Martin Luther complained that Aristotle had replaced Christ as the authority in the church.

Cicero: The Master of Rhetoric

Cicero's prominence in the scholastic educational system was due to his position as the master of Rhetoric. But his importance to us today is related to the fact that he was also the pre-eminent master of Stoic ethical philosophy. It was through Stoic philosophy that the Greek doctrines of Natural Law came to dominate the values of the educated classes of the Roman world, the medieval church, and finally the church college of colonial America.

> Stoicism, in particular, was the principle medium by which Greek thought was introduced into the Roman world. The Stoics developed the idea of worldwide brotherhood, and they formulated the conception of Natural Law (jus naturale), an idea that was to dominate political thought for centuries. The best known of the stoic writers was actually a Roman, Cicero, who had studied in Greece. His works synthesized the ideas of the late Stoic school and had considerable impact upon the development of Roman law, which is still the foundation for many of the world's legal systems.
>
> Cicero, in his Republic, defined Natural Law as right reason consonant with nature (Republic, 3:22). In essence Natural Law consists of moral principles discoverable by reason that form the basis for human laws and other action. In later times Natural Law came to be inseparable from natural rights (Skidmore, 1978, p. 2).

The basic concepts of the Stoic doctrines of justice have survived to this day and are reflected in the legal institutions of the western world. This is due to Natural Law becoming so much a part of the ethics of the medieval church that, when the reformers were "purifying" the Protestant church, it never occured to them that their own downfall

would come at the hands of Natural Law doctrines. Yet Sidney Hook writes that "ideologically, modern democratic theory owes more to Stoic philosophy and Roman Law than to Christian dogma (Hook, 1963, p. 92; cited in Sherman, 1973, p. 1)."

The future colonial leaders, as children in the grammar schools, studied Cicero for two basic reasons. First, the student had to have a working knowledge of Latin if he was going to pass his college entrance examinations. Often during exams the colleges required the student to translate a passage out of one of Cicero's works into English. Second, Rhetoric became the darling discipline of the Trivium--and Cicero was the pre-eminent authority on Rhetoric. This double motivation placed Cicero next to Aristotle in importance as an authority, as an author, and in the amount of time students devoted to the reading of his works.

The Puritan children spent years of their youth laboring over Latin texts that were written by the best minds of the pagan world. The result was devastating for the Puritan church state. The future colonial leaders were being inculturated with the Hellenistic world view. They were learning Stoic doctrines of justice that were rooted in the Greek cosmology of nature. Consequently, they began to view the world from that perspective. In the process, the students lost the vision for a millenial kingdom and developed a vision for a secular utopia.

Richard Gummere tells us that Scholasticism held an "academic monopoly" on colonial education (Gummere, 1969, p. 55). Generally, the first schooling a colonial child obtained was in a Dame school. This school was often in the home of a neighborhood mistress who taught the

students basic reading and writing skills. On completion of the Dame school, at the age of eight or nine, the future colonial leaders went to grammar school. The goal of the grammar school was to prepare the student for admission to college. This was accomplished by an almost relentless diet of Latin grammar. In 1710 at the Boston Latin School boys in the seventh grade had learned their Latin grammar well enough to be reading Cicero's Oratations in the original tounge. They were also reading "Justinian, the Latin and Greek New Testaments, Isocrates, Homer, Hesiod, Vergil, Horace, Juvenal, and dialogues in Godwin's Roman Antiquities, as well as turning the Psalms into Latin verse (Gummere, 1969, p. 57; see also Middlekauff, 1963, pp. 84-85)."

The colonial grammar schools and colleges liked to see themselves as descendents of the ancient "school of Hebrew prophets (Rudolph, 1962, p. 24)." In actuality, their structure, their curriculum, their ethics, and their methods of instruction were descendant of the academies of Greece and Rome. These schools had little more than a Judeo-Christian veneer over a core of Greco-Roman principles and methods. While attempting to build Christian leaders the colonial educaional system was actually Hellenizing the minds of the Puritan youth. This was done by requiring exhaustive reading of the pagan philosophers in their original tongue and by the use of Aristotle's dialectical process of demonstrating truth.

The rigid uniformity of the scholastic educational system, even down to the grammar school level, stands out in sharp contrast to the diversity of today's elective system. Since knowledge of Greek and Latin was key for admission to college these languages were the main

diet. It was not uncommon for a child, having sufficiently learned his languages, to be admitted to college by the age of twelve or thirteen. Often as much as one-fourth of the entering class at Harvard was under the age of fourteen. This explains the apparant prodigy of various colonial leaders who were admitted to college at such young ages.

The failure of the reformation church state was, in a large part, brought about by its own weaknesses. As early as 1641 John Winthrop had "objected to the principles `grounded upon the old Roman and Grecian Governments' in Nathanel Ward's election sermon, as a breach in the fortifications of the Biblical Commonwealth (of Massachusetts Bay) (Gummere, 1969, p. 37)." The colonial leaders progressively moved from the use of religious concepts in government to the use of naturalistic, and eventually, Enlightenment concepts of government. The beginning of this process can be seen in the struggles between early colonial leaders.

John Winthrop believed that both church and civil society should be based on Biblical principles. This belief essentially denies the concept of civil society. If the church and the state operate by the same principles then the state is the church. They are one-in-the-same and theocracy is the result. However, Roger Williams believed that there should be a dichotomy between the principles to be used for governing the church, and those to be used for governing the state. In a sense, both Winthrop and Williams were rejecting the mixed form of government that had been taught them while studying in England. In their pamphlet debate over the proper principles for governing society these two men argued from the extremes. One was for oligarchy

(theocracy), and the other for democracy (Gummere, 1969, p. 46). The medieval syntehsis between the ancient Hebrew and Greek world was crumbling along political lines.

John Wise went a step farther than Roger Williams in his application of Enlightenment doctrines to principles of government. As a minister at Ipswich, Massachusetts, Wise taught that both church government and state government should be based on the secular principles prescribed by Samuel Pufendorf, a German natural law theorist. Wise believed there was a natural order to government, that it could be discerned by the rational mind, and that it should apply to church and state alike. If the church was to operate by different principles it would be in discord with the natural order of things. Consequently, this would place the church in conflict with the Creator of the natural order. This logic "was the exact reverse of the Puritan practice (Skidmore, 1978, p. 32)." The Puritans had emphasized the responsibility of this world to be conformed to the image of the spiritual order.

This conflict between prominent colonial ministers over what principles should be embraced on matters of government illustrates three points: the strength of naturalistic doctrines in the Reformed church; that some ministers, such as Winthrop saw the conflict between Christian and "old Roman and Grecian" principles; and the conflict in the logic between Reformation and the rising Enlightenment thought.

This double heritage, with its two conflicting cosmologies (Creation in contrast to Nature), its two conflicting epistemological grounds for moral knowledge (Divine Law in contrast to Natural Law), its

two conflicting ethical systems (righteousness in contrast to virtue), with their two conflicting ideals (the golden rule in contrast to the golden mean) was never properly perceived, much less, adequately analyzed by the Reformation church. Most ministers simply did not realize the conceptual conflict between the two world views. Many, such as Williams and Wise, had embraced an eclectic mixture of naturalism and spiritualism. Yet each man felt his particular beliefs were right. Consequently, instead of being an example of unity and charity to the mother country, disharmony was rampant in the Puritan "New Jerusalem." The dream of leading the world into the millenium of peace was lost. In time the New Jerusalem was to declare war on its mother country and lead the world into an era of secular revolution instead of religious revival.

Statements have been recorded by virtually every prominent colonial minister on the conflict over the principles that should be used for governing society. Cotton Mather either had Roger Williams or John Wise in mind when he wrote that "It is unworthy the spirit of so godly learned a man as maketh this objection, to prefer Athens before Jerusalem, . . . (Gummere, 1969, p. 46)." Cotton's contrasting our double heritage in this manner is throughly consistent with the theme of this thesis.

Contrasting our Greek heritage with our Hebrew heritage is not an entirely new phenomenon. Around 200 A.D. Tertullian, a converted Roman jurist, published a work to counter the attempt by what was considered to be heretics to fuse the Hebrew and Greek systems. He asked

> What has Jerusalem to do with Athens, the Church with the Academy, the Christian with the heretic?

> Our principles come from the Porch of Solomon, . . . (Tertullian, Prescriptions Against Heretics 7:36).

Tertullian had studied at Athens before his conversion to Christianity. He is considered among historians to have been one of the best educated men in the world at his time and was not scoffing at the Greek system out of ignorance. He was objecting to the Palagian attempt to synthesize Christian theology with Stoic philosophy. In referring to the porch of Solomon, Tertullian is setting up a powerful symbolic contrast between the Stoic and the Hebrew methods of moral knowledge. The Stoics were named after the paint porch (Stoa) where Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, taught his doctrine. In the Old Testament we are told that Solomon "made a porch (of cedar) for the throne where he might judge, . . . (I Kings 7:7)." Tertullian's contrast between the cedar porch of Solomon and the painted porch (Stoa) of Zeno is a means of symbolizing the contrast between the two systems of ethics behind their views of the world.

Tertullian's contrast between the Academy and the Church also illustrates the early Church's response to the Academic system of education. Originally, the early church refused to baptize any convert that continued to teach in the academy. Ironically, the methods and doctrines of the academy, that were considered heresy by the early church, were later adopted by the medieval schoolmen. This produced an unsettled synthesis that was not to collapse until the era of the Enlightenment.

Commencement Broadsides

As previously explained, one of the fruits of Aristotle's dialectical system was the development of a formal exercise called Scholastic Disputation. Long before the colonial era, the methods of scholastic disputation had become so highly developed that the main form of examination was not in written tests but in oral debates (Weisheipl, 1967, XIII, p.1145-46).. Each week specific class hours were set aside for disputations. Even a student's final exam was given io the form of a scholastic disputation.

In colonial America it was the custom to hold the last part of the final exam on commencement morning. Anouncements were sent out to relatives, friends, and public officials. On arrival at the disputation, large leaflets, which had been printed at the expense of the students, were distributed to the guests. These `broadsides' contained a listing of the theses that would be debated that morning. The theses were listed under the different headings of the seven liberal arts and generally numbered about one hundred (see Appendix D.). Two candidates for graduation would be challenged with one of the thesis. The first of the candidates would serve as "disputant", the second as "questioner". They would meet in an intellectual confrontation in which they exercised their learned powers of dialectical logic. While they were attempting to either establish or refute the validity of a particular thesis they would recite from memory the axiomatic propositions which had been developed by Scholastic authorities. By this means the students would demonstrate to their audience, at least those in the audience who could understand Latin, the fruits of their

education (Rudolph, 1962, p. 30).

Most of the commencement theses were pure scholastic formulas. Many of them had been developed by the Greeks and Romans before the time of Christ. For example, a large number of broadsides from Harvard have been preserved. The theses on these broadsides provide the political historian with an abundance of material that displays, on a yearly basis, the social issues of the day:

> These theses, then, constitute an extremely important index of the education of the college graduates of that time. During the twenty-five years immediately preceding the Declaration of Independence, the men who were to play the largest role in the securing of freedom from the mother country . . . were being educated to powers of thinking by means of these theses as they were brought home to the minds of young collegians throught the disputations (Walsh, 1935, p.82).

These broadsides also provide the political historian with an abundance of materal that reveals the extent of the medieval confusion between the two conflicting world views of the Greek and the Hebrew.

In the commencement broadside of 1642 the seventh theses listed under the discipline of Ethics reads, "Justitia mater omnium virtutum" [Justice is the mother of all virtues] (see Appendix D.). This thesis may well have been chosen for oral debate by two graduating seniors. They would have used Aristotle's dialectical methods and the supporting or contradicting axioms that may have been developed in the Greek Academy, the Roman Academy, or the medieval church. But this thesis reveals something about the character of education in the colonial church college that is far more significant to the church--and to our topic--than the practice of Aristotelian dialectical logic.

This thesis, which was slated for debate at the first Harvard

graduation ceremony, was based on pagan ethics. The future ministers in the colonial college were learning that justice was understood by reference to the pagan idea of virtue (the virtuous citizen was to pursue the golden mean). They learned this doctrine in the course on ethics, which itself was named after the pagan value system. And they learned it by the pagan educational method of lecture and debate. Practically the entire graduating class during the early years of the colonial college was preparing for the ministry of the Christian gospel. The post-Roman church believed it could make use of Aristotle's dialectics without fear of paganism challenging Christian doctrines. As noted earlier, Aristotle's dialectical method was believed to be an objective way of increasing knowledge about any subject. Yet, virtue was an idea at the center of pagan ethics. Virtue was the Greek concept of manly strength. It dictated that the strong man was to follow the golden mean and avoid excess. By the use of virtue the pagan demonstrated to the Greco-Roman world that he was a noble citizen.

Virtue was the goal of the Greek citizen, not the ancient Hebrew or Christian. The Hebrew counterpart to virtue was righteousness. The man of righteousness did not follow the golden mean; he pursued the golden rule. The righteous man pursued holiness not moderation. The word "virtue" does not appear in the original texts of the Scripture, yet it saturates the writings of the Greeks and Romans. Virtue and righteousness were two different names for two different systems of ethics. The differences in these two systems of ethics run so deep that they are even based on two entirely different cosmologies--one called Nature, the other called Creation (see Strauss, 1953, pp. 81-82).

The 1752 commencement broadside from Princeton contained a thesis listed under Ethics that stated "Whatever is opposed to the universal good of mankind is opposed to the Law of Nature (Walsh, 1935, p. 9)." This statement contains a combination of pagan doctrines, each drawn straight from ancient Stoic principles of justice. The Law of Nature (jus naturale) was at the foundation of the Roman jurist's doctrine of a universal natural law that all men were in subjection to, and could discover, by the use of their reason. Two years previously, the 1750 commencement broadside from Princeton provided an illustration of the influence of Enlightenment political thought on the college. Theses number eight under Ethics reads: "In Statu Naturae, (quibusdam Cognatis exceptis) quoad Imperium, Homines sunt aequales (see Appendix D.). As previously explained, the State of Nature doctrine and its synthesis with Natural Law doctrines provided the key for the building of western individualistic ethics and today's modern secular empires.

As the revolution of 1776 draws closer, James Walsh traces the movement in the doctrines of the colonial commencement thesis from justification of loyalty to British authority to calls for revolution (Walsh, 1935, pp. 259-262). These calls for revolution were based on Enlightenment political doctrines that grew out of the modification of the pagan Natural Law ethics which the Colonial college student learned while he was studying the Classics.

In the 1769 commencement theses at Brown, revolutionary activity was discouraged. By 1774 the theses were revolutionary in nature. Now we read "To overcome violence and defend ourselves and our possessions is commanded by nature and is permitted by virtue." Again, the idea

that we derive moral values from nature and that virtue is the goal of character are concepts that are Greek in origin. Also, powerful shades of Lockean doctrine can be seen in this thesis. The next thesis on the same broadside both confirms and extends the logic of the thesis just cited and Locke's influence becomes indisputable. It states that "A glorious death for the sake of liberty is above all to be preferred to miserable slavery." This thought comes from John Locke's Second Treatise of Government (Chapter VI) and illustrates the extent that revolutionary Whig rhetoric had permeated Brown in the years just preceding the revolution.

These broadsides have a four-fold significance when they are considered in relation to this paper. First, along with the Colonial college charter, the broadsides demonstrate the extent of the influence of the Old World scholastic educational system on the colonial church college. Second, they demonstrate the extent of the dependence of the Old World scholastic educational system on the ancient Greco-Roman Academy. This resulted in the Hellenization of the minds of the students in both the medieval church school and the colonial church college. Third, the broadsides demonstrate the extent of the influence of the Enlightenment on the pre-revolutionary colonial college. Fourth, by comparing pre-Enlightenment theses with those printed during the Enlightenment and with ancient authorities such as Cicero one can see the dependence of Enlightement political doctrines on ancient Greek naturalistic concepts.

From these four points the conclusion can be drawn that: if education plays an important part in the forming of the mind and the

mind plays an important part in the events of human history, then the success of the revolutionary doctrines of 1776 was vitally related to, if not heavily dependent on, an educational system that betrayed the goals of the society that established it. While the society had originally been founded on the most powerful of religious drives it became the first, and foremost, secular society in the world. Thus, the irony of the secularizing effect of religious edcuation in colonial America.

CHAPTER VII

SCHOLASTICISM AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

As the middle of the eighteenth century approached, the synthesis between the Hebrew and Greek world views that had formed the medieval mind was about to be shattered. Once shattered, it would never be restored. Natural Law was transformed into Natural Rights, and, in the process, provided a new ethic around which society could be built. The new doctrines appeared in the in the colonies soon after their formulation. Previously, the medieval mind held that revelation was a superior to human reason as a means of gaining moral knowledge. But, for the scholastic, this did not mean that reason and revelation were in conflict. Reason could contribute valuable insights into the principles of revelation.

According to Thomas Aquinas, it was the will of man that was fallen, not his reason. The scholastic beleived that a combination of Greek methods of reason and Judeo-Christian revelation could be used in a complimentary synthesis. This harmonization of Hebrew an Greek methods to knowledge was at the heart of what the scholastic synthesis was all about. In contrast, the Enlightenment mind exalted reason over revelation. Reason was perceived as the proper foundation by which to govern society. The truly Enlightened mind pushed special revelation out all together. The revelation that did exist was received by the light of nature, and this by human reason.

Scientific Revolution

Science is the name given to a method of gaining knowledge. The paradigm for what was to be considered the valid scientific method underwent a major re-orientation in the seventeenth century. This conceptual reordering of science was fundamental to the development of the Enlightenment. Rene' Descartes provided two dimensions that were basic to this change. First, he developed a logic that justified the use of doubt instead of authority as a means of obtaining certainty. At this point he believed he had "discovered the foundations of a marvelous science (Meditations I)." Second, he developed the methods of calculus that were to open the door to a new dimension of mathematics.

The next major contributer to this conceptual reorientation was Sir Issac Newton (1642-1727), a Unitarian of Trinity College at Cambridge (Hibbert, 1974, p. 106). While setting under the proverbial tree, he watched an apple fall to the ground. He observed that it was operating by the same principles of gravity when it was high up in the tree as when it hit the ground. Essentially, he asked himself if the apple would still be operating by the same principles if it fell from twice the height of the tree, or four times the hight of the tree. If the answer was yes, which it obviously was, then what would happen if the apple fell from the heavens. Do the heavenly bodies operate by the same principles as the earthly bodies? If the answer to this second question is yes, then the paths of the stars and planets can be explained by the same principles used to explain such a common event as an apple falling to the ground (Hibbert, 1974, pp. 102-109).

Suddenly, the universe could be understood. Its mechanics, when analyzed by simple, uniform mathematical formulas, could be laid open before the mind of man. By this logic, Newton open the doors to an orderly understanding of the universe not dreamed possible before. The mathematics of the ancients dealt with every geometric problem as if it stood alone. Each problem was solved by methods peculiar to itself. There was no consciousness of a general uniformity to the operation of the universe. Now there was, and the "new learning" these thinkers generated swept over the educational communities in Europe and colonial America.

Chairs in Moral Philosophy

The newly apparent order to a mechanical universe generated new speculation about the possibility of there being a natural universal order to ethics. Natural Law was revitalized with a flurry of speculation about the social possibilities of a natural moral law that could be described geometrically. The great success of Natural Philosophers such as Newton caused scholars to open the academic doors to other ancient diciplines, such as Moral (Ethical) Philosophy, that had been banned since the fall of Rome. There was a decline in Calvinistic dominance and an increase in secular ideals. "Ethics, after all, is a guide to good works, as Cotton Mather recognized in his complaint in 1716 against `employing so much time upon Ethik in College, a vile form of paganism (cited in Rudolph, 1977, p. 41).'"

This change in the direction of the ethical principles that the colonial college student embraced was largely the result of the rise in courses in Moral Philosophy. As a discipline, Moral Philosophy was one

of the three philosophies of Aristotle. It was the last discipline of the ancient Academy to be readmitted into Scholastic education. After its admittance, Enlightenment moral philosophers abounded

> at the College of Philadelphia in 1756 the moral philosophy course drew on the writings of Frances Hutcheson, Jean Jacques Burlamaqui, as well as of Pufendorf, Sidney, Harrington, and Locke. The views of these and other moral philosophers were incorporated into the textbooks, which, in a sense, by their appearance certified the course in moral philosophy as having made its way into a commanding possition in the curriculum. The first of these, by Thomas Clap, appeared in 1765: Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligations: Being a short Introduction to the Study of Ethics, for the Use of the Students of Yale College (New Haven, Conn: Mecom, 1765; cited in Rudolph, 1977, p. 41)."

Moral Philosophy marked the culmination of the slow but certain swing by the Scholastic educational system toward a full expression of the pagan curriculum of ethics in the Academy. Although it had taken twelve hundred years, the leaven of Herod had finished its work.

In colonial America, as in Europe, the new Moral Philosophy courses were taught on the basis of Natural Law. The derivative idea of Natural Rights was the best received doctrine in these courses. By the middle of the eighteenth century, moral philosophy courses had begun to prevail over courses in theology in their impact on the average student as well as future presidents of the United States.

John Adams (1735-1826) graduated from Harvard in 1755. He was to become a leader in the movement for independence and the second president of the United States. In a private letter to Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, he stated his views on the use reason as opposed to revelation in providing certaint knowledge. The letter was dated September 14, 1813:

The human understanding is a revelation from its Maker which can

> never be desputed or doubted. There can be no skepticism . . . or incredulity, or infidelity here. No propheicies, no miracles are necessary to prove the celestial communication. . . . We can never be so certain of any prophecy, or of any miracle, or the design of any miracle, as we are from the revelation of nature, i.e. Nature's God, that two and two are equal to four. Miracles or prophecies might frighten us out of our wits; might scare us to death; might induce us to lie, to say that we believe that two and two make five. But we should not believe it. We should know the contrary.

This is an example of Enlightenment naturalistic reasoning in its purest form.

Thomas Jefferson was captivated by Enlightenment thought while he was a student at the College of William and Mary. This tiny school was originally founded to train ministers for filling the pulpits of the Anglican church. However, by the time Jefferson was admitted in the seventeen-fifties the "new learning" had arrived from Europe. As previously mentioned, William Small, an instructor who had recently graduated of Aberdene in Scotland, first introduced Jefferson to the new learning. The old learning had been based on the scientific method of Aristotle. His method of science, as mentioned, was a refined system of deductive logic. Aristotle's logic relied on authoritative propositions or axioms, that were unrelated to the methods of doubt and induction that produced the new science of the Enlightenment.

Natural Law, Thomas Jefferson and the Saxon Myth

Jefferson claimed that the principles of the Declaration of Independence were no more than a complication of the "elementary books of public right, (such) as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc. & C. (Jefferson to Henry Lee, May 8, 1825)." Jefferson was making this statement in response to the charge by Henry Lee that he had plagiarized

John Locke while writing the Declaration of Independence. If Jefferson had plagiarized Locke, then Locke had plagiarized Cicero. There is a necessary flow of logic from one author to the next. Locke had even followed the topics of book III of Cicero's Republic while writing the Second Treatise of Government.

Why would Jefferson place Sidney in the same category with Aristotle, Cicero, and Locke? Possibly, he was just being casual in his choice of philosophers. Yet his letter to Henry Lee did not reflect mere casual attention. The answer to our question may lie in a little known, but well documented, splinter theory both Jefferson and Sidney had embraced. This theory grew out of a process of extending natural law logic back through the centuries into England's early Saxon heritage.

Both Jefferson and Sidney interpreted their English heritage in a manner that made the Saxons appear as an exceptionally noble people while at the same time making the Anglo-Normans appear as the black sheep in the family. This interpretation developed out of an attempt by minds of the Enlightenment to look back in history and explain where their society had gone wrong. The theory was so grossly anachnronistic that it became known among historians as the Saxon myth. Yet, it is a good example of how men have generalized key concepts they have embraced to virtually all areas of their lives.

When a man adopts a particular social concept he will use that concept as a bases for interpreting historical events. He will see the events of history through the particular shade of conceptual lenses that he is wearing. This is a universal phenomenon that is a dimension of the process of socialization and is generally accepted among

sociologists. This phenomenon may generate speculation in unexpected areas due to the true believer's extension of the basic logic of the particular social doctrine they have embraced.

This process can be seen in the writings of Jefferson and Sidney as they relate to the Saxon myth. These two men had interpreted their Saxon heritage in terms of the twin Enlightenment doctrines of the state of nature and the law of nature. John Locke had claimed that men were born into a state of nature that was governed only by the law of nature. Logically, the more a person was isolated from other humans the closer he was to the state of nature. As speculative logic about the state of nature expanded certain men concluded that the best location for a state of nature was an island--and what better island was there for this than their own English isle. This setting provided the foundation from which the Saxon myth was built.

Since the English isle would have provided a relatively isolated enviornment for any ancient people those who arrived first, according to Enlightenment thought, would have been in a state of nature. Since the Saxons arrived in England two hundred years before the Norman conquest they would have had sufficient time to develop a culture based on the laws of nature. Consequently, it was speculated that the Saxons would have developed an exceptionally noble society.

Jefferson hoped he would be able to trace Saxon history back to early laws that had been written before the Norman arrival. He believed if he could accomplish this task, the early Saxon laws, written in harmony with the laws of nature, could be adapted by the new American government. The result would be that the new American government could

draw from the experience of the old Saxons and have a head start in developing a truly just society (Colbourn, 1965, pp. 169-171). This seemingly insignificant dimension of social speculation illustrates how basic the Enlightenment Whig's belief in the doctrines of the state of nature and the law of nature were to his world view:

> The persistent and enduring affection for whig history that is so pronounced in Jefferson suggests a certain consistency in his historical thought and political action. It is abundantly clear that the whig historical approach had much that was attractive to Jefferson, . . . And it was a comfort to subscribers to the Saxon myth to know that there had existed a political utopia in Saxon England. In fact the basis of whig history was largely this pre-Norman utopia, ... This Saxon society, Jefferson learned, had been a society of law, unplagued by a shackling established church, . . . (Colbourn, 1966, pp. 183-84).

Jefferson believed the problems of Europe were based on the mutual support of two social institutions whose existence were in violation of the law of nature. These two institutions were the aristocracy and the priesthood. He also believed it had been the Normans who brought the priesthood onto the English isle in the form of Christianity. Even fourty years after the revolution Jefferson expressed his displeasure with state constitutions being "poisoned by priest-craft (Jefferson to John Taylor, May 28, 1816)." He did not want the new American government adulterated by Christian dogma. He believed that insulating the Virginia government against Church involvement was one of the three greatest accomplishments of his life (Burns in Horwitz, 1977, p. 156).

The Irony in this whig interpretation of history is that it was the church through the Normans, not the Saxons, that had brought the doctrines of the Law of Nature to the English Isle. The doctrines of the Law of Nature that were necessary for the secular cannonization of Saxon history were wholly dependent upon the efforts of the Christian

Church. It was the church that had nurtured the ancient Greek doctrines of Nature and Natural Law through the middle ages and it was in the colonial church college that these Whigs had been inculturated with those doctrines. Jefferson penned his jeremiads against the Christianized Normans, yet if they had not existed he would not have had a conceptual foundation for Natural Law on which to build his "Saxon `heavenly city (Colbourn, 1966, p. 171).'"

John Locke: Philosopher of the Whigs

The Whig political doctrines that fired the American revolution were formulated in the main part by John Locke (1632-1704) of Christ Church at Oxford. He is counted among the foremost of the British Natural Right philosophers. The logic contained in his Two Treatises of Government (1689) was at the core of the Declaration of Independence. The flow of the argument and phrase after phrase are unmistakenly Lockean. Intellectually, this man had more of an influence in the development and spread of western liberal democratic values than any other scholastic. He is considered by many to be the father of the Enlightenment. He has also been called the father of human rights, while, oddly enough, he is also known as the father of modern empiricism. He was the philosopher of the Whig party at the time of its formation under Lord Shaftsbury's leadership. John Locke was, in a sense, the intellectual patriarch of the modern political institutions of the western world. He was so involved with the scheems of the early Whig party that, when the Rye House Plot to assinate Charles II was uncovered, Locke felt it expedient to flee to Holland (McDonald, 1968, p. 326). His involvement in the affairs of the Whig party, and the

resulting propaganda he produced, prompted David Hume to ask how one could truly embrace a political party and philosophy at the same time.

While the American branch of the Whig party was fomenting the revolution, it published full front page advertisements of the second of Locke's Two Treatises of Government. According to the Boston Gazette of March 1, 1773:

> The present crisis is very alarming--Every honest and good Man in America must be under a very sensible Concern for himself and for his Property.--Perhaps there never was a Time since the Discovery of this new World, when People of all Ranks every where show'd so eager a Spirit of Inquiry into the Nature of their Rights and Privileges, as at this Day.--This at all Times is a laudable Spirit, and ought to be encouraged--It has therefore been judge very seasonable and proper to put it in the power of every free Man on this Continent to furnish himself at so easy a Rate with the noble Essay just now re published. . . . It should be early and carefully explained by every Father to his Son, by every Preceptor in our public and private Schools to his Pupils, . . .

John Locke had so ingeniously taken the ancient Stoic concept of Natural Law and Thomas Hobbes' newly developed concept of the State of Nature, and combined them in a manner that had not been done before. According to Locke's logic, when the State of Nature and the Law of Nature (which had been expressed in its highest form by Cicero) were combined, the results were Natural Rights. He asserted that these Natural Rights included life, liberty and property. Locke was "inventing" the modern doctrine of Human Rights. This doctrine was a new twist on the ancient doctrine of Natural Law. Now justice was to be determined by reference to the individual. It was a truly the most revolutionary doctrine that had ever been developed by man. John Locke had managed to not only justify revolution, but to glorify it, by making armed resistance a natural right (Locke, , II, ii and iii).

The concept of the Law of Nature was almost as ancient as Greece itself. Many of the best educated minds in the pagan and medieveal worlds had spent the better part of their lives pursuing the logic of this doctrine. Natural Law was fundamental to Thomas Aquinas' system of ethics (Sabine, 1973, p. 242). Although Natural Law represented the high water mark in the development of the classical ethics of antiquity, it was markedly different than the Natural Law of the American Revolution. In antiquity and in the medieval era Natural Law had always lacked the necessary dimensions that would have provided for the development of an individualistic doctrine of justice. Although pagan in origin, the doctrine, as it had stood though history, had not created a "secular" society by today's terms. However, in the seventeenth century, the doctrine of the State of Nature was to provide the key for the full development of a secularistic ethic.

Thomas Hobbes had described men as creatures who possessed a restless desire for power. This desire for power, in combination with the desire to survive, produced a "war of all against all (Leviathan, I, xi)." The natural condition of mankind was to be in a state where there was " . . . no society; and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (Leviathan, I, xiii)."

Hobbes' proposition that man was born into this "solitary" State of Nature provided the conceptual foundation for western secular individualism. The evilness of Hobbes' seemingly benign doctrine is that it negated the concept of the family as the basis for society.

Even without a civil society men are born into families, not the solitary State of Nature. But according to Hobbes, if there was to be any society it would be the result of individuals compacting with a Leviathan, or state, to protect their lives.

The beginning of today's individualistic ethics is often attributed to the Reformation. The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, however, is not the origin of the doctrine of secular individualism. These two doctrines are cosmologies apart in the principles they proclaim and in the goals they seek. While it did make the Protestant susceptible to Enlightenment doctrines, the stress on personal accountability to God is not the origin of the doctrine of secular government and its accountability to the individual. The Enlightenment was every bit as hostile to the Reformation as the Reformation was to the High Church. Western secular individualism was a product of the Enlightenment, not the Reformation.

As formulated by Hobbes, the doctrine of the State of Nature was rather harsh and had little practical effect on political ideals. Later in the century, however, John Locke was to soften Hobbes' State of Nature by going back to the ancient Stoic doctrine of Natural Law. According to Locke "The State of Nature has a Law of Nature to govern it, which obliges every one: And Reason, which is that Law, teaches all Mankind, who will but consult it, . . . (The Second Treatise of Government, II, 6)." In this passage Locke is synthesizing Hobbes with Cicro.

In the Republic, written between 54 and 51 B.C., Cicero states that "True law is right reason in agreement with nature; it is of universal

application, unchanging and everlasting; . . . (III, xxii)." Cicero continues in his discourse to the topic of a just war (III,xxiii). In turn, Locke follows Cicero's guidance; his next topic is "The State of War (II, iii). This process goes on through the the topics "of slavery" and "of property." Locke is following Cicero's outline topic for topic! John Locke's Second Treatise of Government is a neo-Stoic pagan discourse on government. It is a seventeenth century modification, almost plagiarism, of first century B.C. pagan ethics. An obvious, but important point for our study, is that Locke learned his pagan ethics while he was a student at the college of Christ Church, Oxford.

Locke's key modification of Cicero's theme is in his use of Thomas Hobbes' doctrine of the State of Nature. According to Locke, an Englishman's rights were not delegated by charter from the king. Government was by compact between individuals in the State of Nature and held no more power than what had been agreed to by those who made the compact. By the natural order, the king was an outlaw and, of necessity, in a state of war with the people. Consequently, the individual could, and should, rise up in arms to take back his natural authority (Two Treatises of Government, II, iii, 16). This logic was to change the course of political as well as ethical history.

John Locke had made war a natural right. But he did it all by guile, for John Locke did not even believe in Natural Law as he portarays it in his Two Treatises of Government. He was an empiricist and, in his real life's work, taught that we learned by experience, not reason.

> Let us then suppose the Mind to be, as we say, a white Paper, void of all Characters, without any Ideas; How comes it to be

> furnished? . . . To this I answer, in one word, From Experience: In that, all our Knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives it self. . . .
> . . . Esternal, Material things, as the Objects of SENSATION; and the Operations of our own Minds within, as the Objects of REFLECTION, are, to me, the only Originals, from whence all our Ideas take their beginnings (An Essay Concerning Human Understanding, II, i, 2 & 3).

Even our ethics are derived from experience. Ethics were based on the experiences of pleasure and pain (II, vii, 1-6), thus, morality was of man's making, not nature's (III, xi, 15). "'Tis false that Reason discovers them." Ideas about morality:

> are about Ideas in the Mind, which are none of them false or disporportionate; they having no external Being for which they are referr'd to, and must correspond with. It is far easier for Men to frame in their Minds an Idea, which shall be the Standard to which they will give the Name Justice, with which Pattern so made, all Actions that agree shall pass under that denomination, . . . (III, xi, 17).

John Locke was an ethical hedonist:

> Good and Evil, as hath been shewn, B.II.Ch.XX.par.2. and Ch.XXI.par.42. are nothing but Pleasure or Pain, or that which occasions or procures Pleasure or Pain to us (II, xxviii, 5).

Thus, "the highest perfection of intellectual nature, lies in a careful and constant pursuit of true and solid happiness; (II, xxi, 51). He believed that the greatest pleasure was found, of all things, in property (McDonald, 1968, p.330). Here we may well see the grounds for Thomas Jefferson changing Locke's pursuit of property to "the pursuit of life, Liberty & Happiness" in the Declaration of Independence. It was not much of a change in meaning from Locke's original intent.

Locke's doctrine of Natural Rights in his Two Treastises of Government was changing the fundamental character of the historic doctrine of Natural law. Leo Strauss saw this as a highly distructive step because:

> through the shift of emphasis from natural duties or obligations to natural rights, the individual, the ego, had become the center and origin of the moral world, since man--as distinguished from man's end--had become that center or origin (Strauss, 1953, p. 248).

Such a change by Locke in the character of Natural Law may have been the result of his not really believing the doctrine in the first place. In the fourth edition of his Essay he removes any statement that could be considered consistent with either the ancient or the Enlightenment versions of the doctrine. He would not acknowledge that he had written the Two Treatises until he was on his death-bed (Locke, 1963, p. 16) while he was willing to travel in order to give lectures on his Essay Concerning Human Understanding.

The epistemological doctrines of the Essay stand in as sharp a contrast with the Two Treatises as could be conceived. It is the difference between the intellectual rationalist and the intellectual empiricist. This contrast prompted Peter Nidditch to remark that Locke sometimes resembles "Bunyan's Mr. Facing-bothways, Mr. Two-tongues, and the `Water-man, looking one way, and Rowing another' (Locke, 1975, p. x)." But, with this background, how did the Lockean social doctrines rise to such a position of prominence in colonial America that they were instrumental in generating a secular revolution?

Colonial Election Sermons

Locke's Two Treatises made their way across the Atlantic and were used in the new Moral (Ethical) Philosophy courses in the colonial college. Then things began to happen. Carl Becker tells us that the election sermons of the colonial ministers, who were educated in the church college, made the average man familiar with Enlightenment social

doctrines:

> An important, but less noticed, channel through which the fundamental ideas of that philosophy--God, Nature, Reason--were made familiar to the average man, was the church.
>
> In later Massachusetts election sermons, from 1768 to 1773, we find both the philosophy and formulae; . . . . And so there crept into the mind of the average man this conception of Natural Law to confirm his faith in the majesty of God while destroying his faith in the majesty of kings (Becker, 1942, pp. 76 and 78).

By means of a twist in Stoic Natural Law doctrines, John Locke had made war a right. Due to the Hellenization of the mind of the colonial minister by the educational system of the church college, that right was preached from the pulpits. The rights they preached, however, were based on secular principles that were in conflict with the religious goals of the Puritan founders. The success of the secular principles would mean the downfall of the theocratic societies the ministers had originally been trying to build. Reformation theology had given way in the pulpits to Enlightenment natural philosophy. Ironically, that philosophy was learned in the church college and spread to the common man by the educated minister as much as by the newspapers that were sympathetic to the Whig cause.

Puritan America and the Puritan name died with the revolution. This happened formally when the Protestant church lost its position of authority in the societies it founded. In the process the English Puritan became the American Protestant. Or, more accurately, the post-revolutionary historians have not assigned the title of "Puritan" to the Protestant church since it lost formal authority in the revolution. The now familiar names of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, without the negative connotations, have been used to

describe the Protestant church since the revolution. The Reformation dream of building a New Jerusalem in the wilderness was dead. It was superseded by the enlightenment dream of building a secular society. Religious millenialism had been replaced by secular utopianism.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WHIG REVOLUTION

In order to have a revolution you
have to have a revolutionary party. Mao.

In the decade prior to the American revolution the colonial clergy turned toward the preaching of Whig doctrines of revolution. These doctrines were based on John Locke's combining Stoic doctrines of Natural Law with Hobbes' concept of the State of Nature. Since his doctrine was so closely related to the Stoic Natural Law, which the ministers had been taught since youth, it was received with enthusiasm. The result was that the ministers of the gospel of peace began preaching doctrines of war throughout the colonies.

Establishing Secular Values

According to Locke's Second Treatise of Government, the Law of Nature is what gives rise to morality and it does this while men are in the State of Nature (II, 12). When analyzed, the Natural Law doctrines about the origin and character of morality stand in sharp contrast to Divine Law doctrines:

> Locke's political teaching stands or falls by his Natural Law teaching concerning the beginnings of political societies. The latter teaching cannot well be based on Scripture because that beginning of a political society with which the Bible is chiefly concerned--that of the Jewish state--was the only beginning of a political society that was not natural (II, 101). Futhermore, Locke's entire political teaching is based on the assumption of a State of Nature. This assumption is wholly alien to the Bible . . . (Strauss, 1953, p. 215).

Divine Law morality worked from the proposition that men were made in

the image of a holy God. Consequently, men were to govern their relationships by the same principles God used to govern His relationships. Human morality was to be based on the same principles as heavenly morality.

Human morality was to be a mirror image of divine morality. Since Divine Law could be fully known only through special revelation, Scripture was deemed the necessary key for determining right and wrong. In Locke's work, however, the basis of morality was found in the Law of Nature, and it was the rational mind of man that discovered it, not the mercy of God that revealed it. Logically, this faith in reason would be incompatable with the basic Christian doctrine of human corruption through the fall. If man had been morally corrupted in an original fall then his reason would lead him away from true values and, through time, into greater fruits of his own sin. Yet Locke's argument was presented in such a manner that many ministers, who had previously been Hellenized, placed their faith in secular ethics, not realizing the implications, and preached those ethics from the pulpit:

> Instead of establishing religion, the Founders established religious freedom, and the principle of religious freedom derives from a non-religious source. Rather than presupposing a Supreme Being, the institutions they established presuppose the rights of man, which were discovered by Hobbes and Locke to exist prior to all government--in the state of nature to be precise. . . . Nevertheless, the rights presuppose the state of nature, and the state of nature is incompatible with Christian doctrine. According to Christian doctrine, "the first and great commandment" is to love God, and the second, which is like unto it, is to love one's neighbor as oneself. In the state of nature, however, man in not obliged to love anyone, but merely to preserve himself and, what is more to the point, "to preserve the rest of mankind [only] when his own preservation comes not in competition [II, 6]" (Burns in Horwitz, 1978, p. 168).

Without realizing what had happened, most of the clergy had embraced

doctrines of natural morality--while their religion was based on doctrines of divine morality. They were undermining their own position of authority in the colonies:

> By the time of the American Revolution, and considerably before, the New England clergy had turned from their preoccupation with the duty to obey and concerned themselves with topics that have a familiar ring today. They were preaching that the people had Natural Rights, that government existed to preserve those rights, and that government that fails to do this not only could be but should be overthrown by the people (Skidmore, 1978, p. 33).

Although highly trained in Aristotelian logic, these ministers were attempting to work with logically conflicting epistemological foundations for morality. They were not thinking as logically as they liked to beleve they were. Natural Law and Divine Law are two opposing models for morality or ethics that operate on the same conceptual level. Logically, if one is valid then the other is not:

> From its origin with the early Greeks, through its central formulation by the Stoics--best expressed by Cicero (Rep. iii, 22)--to its use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to justify democratic revolutions, natural law has been used as an objective moral standard to determine and measure human ideas, actions, and institutions (Sherman, 1973, p. 9-10).

Although these ministers did not realize the conceptual conflicts between the Christian and the Stoic world views many of the Whig party leaders did--at least they realized the conflict between Enlightenment social thought and Reformation social thought. The Reformation had its conceptual roots in our ancient Judeo-Christian heritage while the Enlightenment had its conceptual roots in our Greco-Roman heritage. You can determine which intellectual movement was shaping or guiding the mind of a person by determining what concepts seem truthful or

reasonable to him.

Resistance from the Pulpit

The success of the American revolution was related to the support it received from the Puritan pulpits. However, not all men of the cloth accepted the revolutionary doctrines of Enlightenment. As revolution swept Europe and bore down on England the Reverend William Jones penned these words to the English church:

> While the age abounds with affected declamations against human authority, there never was a time when men so meanly submitted their understandings to be led away by one another. It is an honour to submit our faculities to God who gave them, but it is base and servile to submit to the usurpations of men in the things pertaining to God. And . . . I ask . . . whether the doctrines of Mr. Locke, whom the world has gone after, will prepare any young man for preaching the doctrine of Jesus Christ, when he was the oracle to those who began and conducted the American Rebellion, which led to the French Revolution; which will lead (unless God in his mercy interfere) to the total overthrow of Religion and Government in this kingdom, perhaps in the whole Christian world; the prime favourite and grand insturment with which that mischievous infidel Voltaire; who knew what he was about when he came forward to destroy Christianity as he had threatened, with Mr. Locke in his hand (Rev. William Jones, "A Letter to the Church of England", 1798; cited in Dunn, 1969, p. 7).

The end of the eighteenth century may have seemed to be a time of great social progress for many but for others it was a time of great distress.

The Hellenic Influence on the Whig Constitution

After attending the Virginia Convention of 1776 Edmund Pendelton remarked that "The youth boasted that they were treading upon the Republican ground of Greece and Rome (Gummere, 1969, p. 18)." George Washington became known as the Cincinnatus of the American revolution and he liked to identify the Colonial armies with the armies of of ancient Rome. After extensive research of the writings of the men of

the revolutionary era Richard Gummere remarked that "Greco-Roman sources were so deeply embedded in the common fund of knowledge that it is often hard to trace their origin (Ibid., p. 16)."

When moving in analysis from the Declaration of Independence to the Constitution the orthodox Whig party line moves with you. The Constitution, while not containing the full doctrine in its wording, is still fully consistent with, and built on, the Enlightenment Natural Law doctrines of social order. There is a common uniqueness to these two documents when they are compared with previous charters of the colonial era. Coversely, their is a conceptual consistency when the two documents are compared with each other. Also, there is a marked difference in the wording and logic of charters written before the revolution and those written after the revolution. The effect of the Declaration of independence and Constitution can be seen in the differences between the charters written before the revolution and those written afterward.

> We have grown so accustomed to what we today call the secular state that we tend to ignore the significance of the absence of such [religious] provisions in the federal Constitution. . . . If they thought that all government is derived from God, they would have been remiss in not establishing constitutional institutions calculated to cause Americans, or to assist them, to live according to his laws (Burns in Horowitz, 1978, p. 164).

This is a stark contrast to the documents left by the Puritan and Quaker colonies of the seventeenth century.

James Madison had demonstrated himself to be a thorough Lockean in the concepts he espoused in "The Federalist Papers". The conceptual consistency between Madison's Constitution and Jefferson's Declaration of Independence is a reflection of the Whig party line, which in turn,

was the political expression of Enlightenment social doctrines. The doctrines of the Whigs were so comprehensive in their scope and so persuasive in their logic that they became the social gospel of the American republic. The conseqence was two fold: one, the United States became the first nation conceived by, and based on, a developed philosophic approach to life. And two, which follows from the first consequence, the United States, by definition, became the first secular government in the world (Duchacek, 1973).

The Whig party had universal representation in the First Congress held under the new Constitution. The Tory party had been distroyed and many of those who remained loyal to the crown had been driven out of the country. [Approxamately 100,000 people had their property siezed and were put out to sea on ships "many of them forbidden to return upon penalty of imprisonment or death (Britt, 1975, p.514)."] By looking at the records of the First Congress the student can gain a picture of the extent that Enlightenment doctrine dominated the represenatives, how closely those doctrines were related to the ancient Stoic natural law doctrines and, in turn, how different they were from the goals of the early colonial founders.

One of the first debates of Congress was over how far the colonies had reverted toward the state of nature when independence was declared. Represenative James Jackson of Georgia insisted that the colonies had reverted completely to the state of nature. Others, such as James Madison, did not want to carry the doctrine to that final point. For Madison and his followers the reversion was only partial. What was not debated was whether the doctrine of the state of nature was true or not

(Gummere, 1969, pp. 168-169; see also Annals of Congress, 1:421-22-23).

As Walter Burns notes:

> What is of primary interest here is the source of the guidance they sought on such questions, of the source of the principles on which they acted politically: so far as the Constitution of the United States is concerned, in the beginning was not the word ("and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"); in the beginning was the state of nature, and the word was with the philosophers of natural rights. It was from them that the founders learned the new `science of politics,' and with it the principles of free government (Burns in Horwitz, 1978, p. 170; see also Federalist Paper #9).

In the eyes of the framers of the Constitution religion served a purpose that was not directly related to doctrines of justice or the ordering of society. No longer were the laws of New England to be drawn out of the Scripture in the manner that John Cotton had boasted in 1641. Now they were to be drawn out of man's natural rights. Justice originated within the nature of man himself; not supernatural sources. Now his free reason would enable him to discover the natural principles at the basis of true justice. As our founders boldly proclaimed on the national seal "A new order for the ages" was in the making. Religion was dis-established and took a back seat in the governing of society. Now religion was to serve the Hellenistic purposes of encouraging community order and preserving peace for the good of the states, it was not for the redemption of the people nor for the provision of a system of justice. "Instead of establishing religion, the founding fathers established religious freedom, and the principle of religious freedom derives from a non-religious source (Burns in Horwitz, 1978, pp. 167-168)."

Conclusion

This thesis has shown how the medieval system of Scholastic education dominated Protestant schools in colonial America. It has also shown that there was a strained synthesis between the two conflicting world views that made up the Scholastic educational system. Since that synthesis wa not "natural" it began to crumble. The most far reaching effect of its crumbling was along political lines. This is seen in the growth of Enlightenment social doctrines. The revolution was not just an economic effort to throw off the burdens of colonialism, it was also a "radical break with prior understandings of the basis of political morality (Horwitz, 1978, p. vii)."

It is the author's position that this change from a religious foundation for social order to a secular foundation for social order is more fundamental in character than the change the communist revolutionists of today are offering to the third world. This position is not to try to negate the profound differences between a society that believes the individual is the ideal social unit and the society that sees the collective as the ideal social unit. Neither of these societies, however, see the family as the grounds for social order. The greatest similarity between these two societies is that both of them are based on secular doctrines of justice. Therein lies their stronger sense of similarity to each other than to a religious based society.

I have also concluded that the real lasting effect of the American revolution is not to be found in our separation from England. The real lasting effect of the American revolution was the downfall of the religious based societies that had been established by the men of the

Reformation. This downfall was brought about by the institutionalization of the secular doctrines of justice that had grown out of the Enlightenment.

This thesis has shown how education in the church college contributed to the transformation of Colonial America during the era of the Enlightenment. The founders of the Puritan colonies were trying to build societies that would be beacons of hope in a troubled world. They envisioned their colonies fulfilling the role of the New Jerusalem by ushering in the millenium of peace. Although colleges were established to train young men for religious leadership, the students lost their vision for the New Jerusalem. Instead, they gained a vision for building a New Rome and became leaders a secular revolution.

I have concluded that education in the colonial church college betrayed the colonial church state. It did this because of the system on which it was based. By drawing on St. Augustine's political allegory, the thesis shows how the colonial Puritan tried to build the City of God by using the educational methods of the City of Man. The system it used was Scholasticism.

Scholastic education became a means of Hellenizing the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformation Church, as well as Enlightenment Whig. Scholastic education and Hellenization were the common ties between these three very different groups of people. We have shown how the Scholastic educational method was based on Aristotelian dialectics. Its curriculum was based on the ancient pagan trivium and quadrivim. Its cosmological roots were based on Greek naturalism. The one dimension that was based in the City of God was its ethics. However,

during the time of the Enlightenment, scholastic education took the final step and began offering courses in moral philosophy. Now even its ethics became Greek in character.

Through the use of Commencement Broadsides and other Revolutionary era documents, we have demonstrated that modified doctrines of Stoic Naturalism, such as John Locke's revolutionary system of Natural Rights, began to captivate the colonial student. Since Locke had been the `philosopher' of the Whig political party, the Whigs became the first major social movement to offer the world a truly secular system of justice. Their system of justice was based in the Enlightenment modification of Stoic Natural Law doctrines.

Due to the extensive Hellenization of the colonial minister by the educational system, he began preaching these secular doctrines from the pulpit. The colonial minister began preaching a gospel of war. The eyes of the people were opened and the ethics of the colonies were changed almost overnight. A revolution was fought and liberty was won. In the process, the first truly secular state in the world was established. Justice was now to be based in the individuals natural rights and, for the first time in history, the general populace of a society came to believe that it was wrong to allow religious principles to govern society. Ironically, we did become a model for the world to follow, but not a model by which to usher in the millenium of peace. We fired the shot heard around the world and ushered in the era of revolution. We did become an example to the world by rebuilding the City of Man.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE LAWS OF NEW ENGLAND

(1)

AN ABSTRACT Of the Lavves of New ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

Of Magistrates.

1 FIrst, All Magistrates are to be chosen.
First, By the free Burgesses. Deut.1.13.
Secondly, Out of the free Burgesses. 17.15.
Thirdly, Out of the ablest men and most approved Ex.18.21.
amongst them.
Fourthly, Out of the ranck of Noble men or Gentle- Eccl.10.17.
men among them, the best that God shall send into the Countrey, if Ier.30 21.
they be qualified with gifts fit for Government, either eminent above others, or not inferior to others.

2 The Governor hath power with the Assistants to governe the whole Countrey, according to the Lawes established hereafter mentioned; He hath power of himselfe, and in his absence the Deputy Governor, to moderate all publike actions of the Common-wealth, as

First, To send out warrants for the calling of the generall Court. Iosh.24.1.

Secondly, To order and manacke all actions in the Court where he sitteth: as, to gather Suffrages and Voyces, and to pronounce Sentences according to the greater part of them.

3 The power of the Governor with the rest of the Counsellors, is

First, To consult and provide for the maintenance of the State and People. Num.11.4 to 16.

Secondly, To direct in all matters wherein Appeale is made to them from inferiour Courts. Ex.18.22. Deu. 17. 8,9.

Thirdly, To preserve Religion. Ex.32.25,

Fourthly, 27.

An Abstract of the Laws of New England, as They Are Now Established. Printed in London in 1641.*

JOHN COTTON

The Contents.

CHAPTER I.

Of Magistrates.

1. ALL magistrates are to be chosen. *Deut. 1:13, 17, 15.*

First, By the free burgesses.

Secondly, Out of the free burgesses.

Thirdly, Out of the ablest men and most approved amongst them. *Ex. 18, 21.*

Fourthly, Out of the rank of noblemen or gentlemen among them, the best *that God shall send into the country*, if they be qualified with gifts fit for government, either eminent above others, or not inferior to others. *Eccle. 10:17, Jer. 30:21.*

2. The governor hath power, with the assistants, to govern the whole country, according to the laws established, hereafter mentioned: he hath power of himself, and in his absence the deputy-governor, to moderate all public actions of the Commonwealth, as

* *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (1798); reprinted 1835.

First, To send out warrants for calling of the general court. *Josh. 24:1.*

Secondly, To order and ransack all actions in the court where he sitteth: as, to gather suffrages and voices, and to pronounce sentences according to the greater part of them.

3. The power of the governor, with the rest of the counsellors, is

First, To consult and provide for the maintenance of the state and people. *Num. 11:14 to 16.*

Secondly, To direct in all matters, wherein appeal is made to them from inferior courts. *Deut. 17:8, 9.*

Thirdly, To preserve religion. *Ex. 32:25, 27.*

Fourthly, To oversee the forts and munition of the country, and to take order for the protection of the country from foreign invasion, or intestine sedition, as need shall require, with consent of the people to enterprise wars. *Prov. 24:5.*

And because these great affairs of the state cannot be attended, nor administered, if they be after changed; therefore the counselors are to be chosen for life, *unless they give cause of removal*, which if they do, then they are to be removed by *the general court*. [*1*] *Kings 2:6.*

4. The power of the governor, sitting with the counsellors and assistants, is to hear and determine all causes whether civil or criminal, which are brought before him through the whole Commonwealth: *yet reserving liberty of appeal from him to the general court. Ex. 18:22. Deut. 1:16, 18.*

5. Every town is to have judges within themselves, whose power shall be once in the month, or in three months at the farthest, to hear and determine both civil causes and pleas of less value, and crimes also, which are not capital: yet reserving liberty of appeal to the court of governor and assistants. [*Deut. 1:16, 18*].

6. For the better expedition and execution of justice, and of all affairs incident unto every court; every court shall have certain officers, as a secretary to enrol all the acts of the court; and besides ministers of justice, to attach and fetch, and set persons before the magistrates; and also to execute the sentence of the court upon offenders: and for the same end it shall be lawful for the governor or any one or two of the counsellors, or assistants, or judges, to give warrants to an officer, to fetch any delinquent before them, and to examine the cause, and if he be found culpable of that crime, to take order by surety or safe custody for his appearance at the court. *Deut. 16:18.* [*Deut. 1:16, 18*]. *Jer. 36:10, 12. 1 Sam. 20:24, 25. Acts 5:26, 27.*

And further for the same end, and to prevent the offenders lying long in prison, it shall be lawful for the governor, with one of the council, or any two of the assistants or judges, to see execution done upon any offenders *for any crime that is not capital*, according to the laws established: *yet*

CHAPTER VII.

Of Crimes. And first, of such as deserve capital punishment, or cutting off from a man's people, whether by death or banishment.

1. FIRST, blasphemy, which is a cursing of God by atheism, or the like, to be punished with death.

2. Idolatry to be punished with death.

3. Witchcraft, which is fellowship by covenant with a familiar spirit, to be punished with death.

4. Consulters with witches not to be tolerated, but either to be cut off by death or banishment.

5. Heresy, which is the maintenance of some wicked errors, overthrowing the foundation of the christian religion; which obstinacy, if it be joined with endeavour to seduce others thereunto, to be punished with death; because such an heretick, no less than an idolater, seeketh to thrust the souls of men from the Lord their God.

6. To worship God in a molten or graven image, to be punished with death.

7. Such members of the church, as do wilfully reject to walk, after due admonition and conviction, in *the churches' establishment*, and their christian admonition and censures, shall be cut off by banishment.

8. Whosoever shall revile the religion and worship of God, and the government of the church, as it is now established, to be cut off by banishment. [*1*] *Cor. 5:5.*

9. Wilful perjury, whether before the judgment seat or in private conference, to be punished with death.

10. Rash perjury, whether in public or in private, to be punished with banishment. Just is it, that such a man's name should be cut off from his people who profanes so grosly the name of God before his people.

11. Profaning of the Lord's day, in a careless and scornful neglect or contempt thereof, to be punished with death.

12. To put in practice *the betraying of the country*, or any principal fort therein, to the hand of any foreign state, Spanish, French, Dutch, or the like, contrary to the allegiance we owe and profess to our dread sovereign, lord king Charles, his heirs and successors, whilst he is pleased to protect us as his loyal subjects, to be punished with death. *Num. 12:14, 15.*

13. Unreverend and dishonorable carriage to magistrates, to be punished with banishment for a time, till they acknowledge their fault and profess reformation.

14. Reviling of the magistrates in highest rank amongst us, to wit, of the governors and council, to be punished with death. *1 Kings 2:8, 9, & 46.*

15. Rebellion, sedition, or insurrection, by taking up arms against the present government established in the country, to be punished with death.

16. Rebellious children, whether they continue in riot or drunkenness, after due correction from their parents, or whether they curse or smite their parents, to be put to death. *Ex. 21:15, 17. Lev. 20:9.*

17. Murder, which is a wilful man-slaughter, not in a man's just defence, nor casually committed, but out of hatred or cruelty, to be punished with death. *Ex. 21:12, 13. Num. 35:16, 17, 18, to 33. Gen. 9:6.*

18. Adultery, which is the defiling of the marriage-bed, to be punished with death. Defiling of a woman espoused, is a kind of adultery, and punishable, by death, of both parties; but if a woman be forced, then by the death of the man only. *Lev. 20:10. Deut. 22:22 to 27.*

19. Incest, which is the defiling of any near of kin, within the degrees prohibited in *Leviticus*, to be punished with death.

20. Unnatural filthiness to be punished with death, whether sodomy, which is a carnal fellowship of man with man, or woman with woman, or buggery, which is a carnal fellowship of man or woman with beasts or fowls.

21. Pollution of a woman known to be in her flowers, to be put to death. *Lev. 20:18, 19.*

22. Whoredom of a maiden in her father's house, kept secret till after her marriage with another, to be punished with death. *Deut. 22:20, 21.*

23. Man-stealing to be punished with death. *Ex. 21:16.*

24. False-witness bearing to be punished with death.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of other Crimes less heinous, such as are to be punished with some corporal punishment or fine.

1. FIRST, rash and profane swearing and cursing to be punished,

1st. With loss of honour, or office, if he be a magistrate, or officer: meet it is, their name should be dishonoured who dishonoured God's name.

2d. With loss of freedom.

3d. With disability to give testimony.

4th. With corporal punishment, either by stripes or by branding him with a hot iron, or boring through the tongue, who have bored and pierced God's name.

2. Drunkenness, as transforming God's image into a beast, is to be punished with the punishment of beasts: a whip for the horse, and a rod for the fool's back.

3. Forcing of a maid, or a rape, is not to be punished with death by God's law, but,

1st. With fine or penalty to the father of the maid.

2d. With marriage of the maid defiled, if she and her father consent.

3d. With corporal punishment of stripes for his wrong, as a real slander: and it is worse to make a whore, than to say one is a whore.

4. Fornication to be punished,

1st. With the marriage of the maid, or giving her a sufficient dowery.

2d. With stripes, though fewer, from the equity of the former cause.

5. Maiming or wounding of a freeman, whether free burgess, or free inhabitant, to be punished with a fine; to pay,

1st. For his cure.

2d. For his loss. *Ex. 21:18, 19.* And with loss of member for member, or some valuable recompence: but if it be but the maiming or wounding of a servant, the servant is to go free from such a service. *Lev. 24:19, 20. Ex. 21:26, 27.*

6. If any man steal a beast, if it be found in his hand he shall make restitution two for one; if it be killed and sold, restitution is to be made of five oxen for one; if the thief be not able to make restitution, then he is to be sold by the magistrate for a slave, till by his labour he may make restitution. *Ex. 22:1, 4.*

7. If a thief be found breaking a house by night, if he be slain, his smiter is guiltless; but in the day time, the thief is to make full restitution as before; or if he be not able, then to be sold as before. *Ex. 22:2.*

8. Slanders are to be punished,

First, with a public acknowledgement, as the slander was public.

Secondly, By mulets and fine of money, when the slander bringeth damage.

Thirdly, By stripes, if the slander be gross, or odious, *against such persons whom a man ought to honor and cherish;* whether they be his superiors, or in some degree of equality with himself and his wife.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the trial of causes, whether civil or criminal, and the execution of sentence.

1. IN the trial of all causes, no judgment shall pass but either upon confession of the party, or upon the testimony of two witnesses.

2. Trial by judges *shall not be denied*, where either the delinquent requireth it in causes criminal, or the plaintiff or defendant in civil causes, partly to prevent suspicion of partiality of any magistrates in the court.

3. The jurors are not to be chosen by any magistrates, or officers, but by the free burgesses of each town, as can give best light to the causes depending in court, and who are least obnoxious to suspicion of partiality; and the jurors then chosen, to be nominated to the court, and to attend the service of the court.

4. The sentence of judgment given upon criminal causes and persons, shall be executed in the presence of the magistrates, or some of them at least.

5. No freeman, whether free burgess or free inhabitant, to be imprisoned, but either upon conviction, or at least probable suspicion, or some crime, formerly mentioned; and the cause of his imprisonment, be declared and tried at the next court following, at the furthest.

6. Stripes are not to be inflicted, but when the crimes of the offender are accompanied with childish or brutish folly, or with lewd filthiness, or with stubborn insolency, or with brutish cruelty, or with idle vagrancy; but when stripes are due, not above forty are to be inflicted.

CHAPTER X.

Of causes criminal, between our people and foreign nations.

1. IN case any of our people should do wrong to any other nation, upon complaint made to the governor, or some other of the council or assistants, the fact is diligently to be inquired into, and being found to be true, restitution is to be made of the goods of offenders, as the case shall require, according to the quality of the crime.

2. In case the people of another nation have done any important wrong to any of ours, right is first to be demanded of the governor of that people, and justice upon the malefactors, which if it be granted and performed, then no breach of peace to follow. *Deut. 20:10, 11. 2 Sam. 20: 18, 19.*

3. If right and justice be denied, and it will not stand with the honour of God and safety of our nation that the wrong be passed over, then war is to be undertaken and denounced.

4. Some minister is to be sent forth to go along with the army, for their instruction and encouragement. *Deut. 20:2, 3, 4.*

5. Men betrothed and not married, or newly married, or such as have newly built or planted, and not received the fruits of their labour, and such as are faint-hearted men, are not to be pressed or forced against their wills to go forth to wars. *Deut. 20:5, 6, 7, 8: & 24:5.*

6. Captains are to be chosen by the officers.

7. All wickedness is to be removed out of the camp by severe discipline. *Deut. 23:9, 14.*

8. And in war men of a corrupt and false religion are not to be accepted, much less sought for. *2 Chron. 25:7, 8.*

9. Women, especially such as have not lain by man, little children, and cattle, are to be spared and reserved for spoil. *Deut. 20:14.*

APPENDIX B.

THE COLONIAL CHARTERS AND STATE CONSTITUTIONS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY AND VIRGINIA

MASSACHUSETTS.

THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA—1606.*

[See "Virginia," pp. 1888–1893.]

THE CHARTER OF NEW ENGLAND—1620.†

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all whom these Presents shall come, *Greeting*, Whereas, upon the humble Petition of divers of our well disposed Subjects, that intended to make several Plantations in the Parts of *America*, between the Degrees of thirty-ffoure and ffourty-five; We according to our princely Inclination, favouring much their worthy Disposition, in Hope thereby to advance the in Largement of Christian Religion, to the Glory of God Almighty, as also by that Meanes to streatch out the Bounds of our Dominions, and to replenish those Deserts with People governed by Lawes and Magistrates, for the peaceable Commerce of all, that in time to come shall have occasion to traffique into those Territoryes, granted unto Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Somers*, Knights, *Thomas Hamon*, and *Raleigh Gilbert*, Esquires, and of their Associates, for the more speedy Accomplishment thereof, by our Letters-Pattent, bearing Date the Tenth Day of Aprill, in the Fourth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the ffourtieth, free Liberty to divide themselves into two several Collonyes; the one called the first Collonye, to be undertaken and advanced by certain Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, in and about our Cyty of London; the other called the Second Collonye, to be undertaken and advanced by certaine Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, and their associates, in and about our Citties of Bristoll, Exon, and our Towne of Plymouth, and other Places, as in and by our said Letters-Pattents, amongst other Things more att large it doth and may appeare. And whereas, since that Time, upon the humble Petition of the said Adventurers and Planters of the said first Collonye, We have been graciously pleased to make them one distinct and entire Body by themselves, giving unto them their distinct Lymitts and Bounds, and have upon their like humble Request, granted unto them divers Liberties, Priveliges, Enlargements, and Immunityes, as in and by our severall Letters-Patents it doth and may appeare. Now forasmuch as We have been in like Manner humbly petitioned unto by our trusty and well beloved Servant, Sir *fferdinando Gorges*, Knight, Captain of our ffort and Island by Plymouth, and by certain the principal Knights and Gentlemen Adventurers of the said Second Collonye, and by divers other Persons of Quality, who now intend to be their Associates, divers of which have

* This charter, which was granted by James I of Great Britain, gave the lands along the North American coast, between the thirty-fourth and the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, to two companies, one of which had its headquarters at London and the other at Plymouth, England. The Plymouth, or second company, at once commenced colonizing the coast of New England, which was especially assigned to it.

† The London Company, organized under the charter of 1606, received a new charter in 1609, as the South Virginia Company, and the Plymouth Company was reorganized in 1620, "for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America."

THE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY—1629.*

CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, Kinge of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defendor of the Fayth, &c. To ALL to whome theis Presents shall come Greeting. WHEREAS, our most Deare and Royall Father, Kinge James, of blessed Memory, by his Highnes Letters-patents bearing Date at Westminster the third Day of November, in the eighteenth Yeare of his Raigne, HATH given and graunted vnto the Councell established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of Newe England in America, and to their Successors and Assignes for ever, all that Parte of America, lyeing and being in Bredth, from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude from the Equinoctiall Lyne, to forty eight Degrees of the saide Northerly Latitude inclusively, and in Length, of and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout the Maine Landes from Sea to Sea; together also with all the Firme Landes, Soyles, Groundes, Havens, Portes, Rivers, Waters, Fishing, Mynes, and Myneralls, aswell Royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes and Mineralls, precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Comodities, Jurisdiccons, Royalties, Priviledges, Franchesies, and Prehemynences, both within the said Tract of Land vpon the Mayne, and also within the Islandes and Seas adioining: PROVIDED alwayes, That the saide Islandes, or any the Premisses by the said Letters-patents intended and meant to be graunted, were not then actuallie possessed or inhabited, by any other Christian Prince or State, nor within the Boundes, Lymitts, or Territories of the Southerne Colony, then before graunted by our saide Deare Father, to be planted by divers of his loveing Subiects in the South Partes. To HAVE and to houlde, possess, and enioy all and singular the aforesaid Continent, Landes, Territories, Islandes, Hereditaments, and Precincts, Seas, Waters, Fishings, with all, and all Manner their Comodities, Royalties, Liberties, Prehemynences, and Proffitts that should from thenceforth arise from thence, with all and singuler their Appurtenances, and every Parte and Parcell thereof, vnto the saide Councell and their Successors and Assignes for ever, to the sole and proper Vse, Benefitt, and Behoofe of them the saide Councell, and their Successors and Assignes for ever: To be houlden of our saide most Deare and Royall Father, his Heires and Successors, as of his Mannor of East Greenewich in the County of Kent, in free and comon Soccage, and not in Capite nor by Knight's Service: YEILDINGE and paying therefore to the saide late Kinge, his Heires and Successors, the fifte Parte of the Oare of Gould and Silver, which should from tyme to tyme, and at all Tymes then after happen to be found, gotten, had, and obteyned in, att, or within any of the saide Landes, Lymitts, Territories, and Precincts, or in or within any Parte or Parcell thereof, for or in Respect of all and all Manner of Duties, Demaunds and Services whatsoever, to be don, made, or paide to our saide Dear Father the late Kinge his Heires and Successors, as in and by the saide Letters-patents (amongst sundrie other Clauses, Powers, Priviledges, and Grauntes therein conteyned, more at large appeareth: AND WHEREAS, the saide Councell established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the plantinge, ruling, ordering, and governing of Newe England in America, have by their Deede, indented vnder their Comon Seale, bearing Date the nyneteenth Day of March last past, in the third Yeare of our Raigne, given, graunted, bargained, soulde, enfeoffed, aliened, and confirmed to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knightes, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott, and Symon Whetcombe, their Heires and Assignes, and their Associats for ever, all that Parte of Newe England in America aforesaid, which lyes and extendes betweene a greate River there comonlie called Monomack alias Merriemack, and a certen other River there, called Charles River, being in the Bottome of a certayne Bay there, comonlie called Massachusetts, alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay, and also all and singuler those Landes and Hereditaments whatsoever, lyeing within the

* Lord Sheffield gave a patent in January, 1623, to the New England Company, for the location of a colony at Cape Anne. It was established, but the new settlement did not thrive, and this charter was obtained March 4, 1628–'29. The officers provided for in it were appointed at Plymouth, in England, but under a resolution adopted by the company, August 29, 1629, the seat of government was transferred to Massachusetts.

to approve or disapprove of the Person so Elected and presented which approbacon or disapprobacon shall be Signifyed by him by Messape in writing under his Hand to the said House of Representatives And in Case such Governour lieutenant Governor or Comander in Chief shall disapprove of the Person so Elected and presented or the Person so Elected and presented being approved as aforesaid shall happen to dye or by Sickness or otherwise be disabled from Officiating as Speaker in every such Case the said Representatives so Assembled shall forthwith Elect an other Person to be Speaker of the House of Representatives to be presented and approved or disapproved in manner as aforesaid and so from time to time as often as the Person so Elected and presented shall be disapproved of or happen to dye or become disabled as aforesaid *And* Our further Will and Pleasure is and Wee do by these presents of Our more abundant Grace for Vs Our Heires and Successors Grant Ordain and Appoint that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Representatives assembled in any Great or Generall Court of Our said Province for the time being for ever hereafter to Adjourn themselves from day to day (and if occasion shall require) for the space of two days but not for any longer time than for the space of two days without leave from the Governor or in his Absence [from] the lieutenant Governor or Comander in Chief of Our said Province for the time being first had and obtained in that behalfe any thing in the said recited letters Patents contained to the Contrary thereof in any wise Notwithstanding Provided always that nothing in these presents contained shall Extend or be Construed to Extend to revoke alter or prejudice the Power and Authority by the said recited letters Patents Granted to the Governor of the said Province for the time being to Adjourn Prorogue and Dissolve all Great and General Courts or Assemblies of Our said Province. *And Lastly* Wee do by these presents for Vs Our Heires and Successors Grant that these Our letters Patents or the Enrollment or Exemplificacon thereof shall be in and by all things good firm valid and Effectual in the law according to the true intent and meaning thereof notwithstanding the not rightly or fully reciting menconing or describing the said recited letters Patents or the Date thereof or any other Omission Imperfeccon Defect matter Cause or thing whatsoever to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding *In witness* whereof Wee have Caused these Our letters to be made Patents *Witness* William Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the Guardians and Justices of the Kingdom at Westminster the Six and twentieth day of August in the twelfth year of Our Reign

By Writ of Privy Seal

COCKS

CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS—1780.*

PREAMBLE.

The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government is to secure the existence of the body-politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquillity, their natural rights and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity, and happiness.

The body-politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; it is a social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen and each citizen with

* This constitution (one adopted by the general court in 1778 having been rejected by the people) was framed by a convention which met at Boston September 1, 1779, and, after several adjournments, completed its labors March 2, 1780. It was submitted to the people, and ratified by more than two-thirds of those who voted.

The convention held in 1820-'21 framed a number of amendments, which, with a number of amendments subsequently adopted by the legislature, at different times, were ratified by the people.

A new constitution, framed by a convention which met at Boston May 7, 1853, and completed its labors August 1, 1753, was not ratified by the people, receiving 63,222 votes against 68,150 votes.

the whole people that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good. It is the duty of the people, therefore, in framing a constitution of government, to provide for an equitable mode of making laws, as well as for an impartial interpretation and a faithful execution of them; that every man may, at all times, find his security in them.

We, therefore, the people of Massachusetts, acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the goodness of the great Legislator of the universe, in affording us, in the course of His providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud, violence, or surprise, of entering into an original, explicit, and solemn compact with each other, and of forming a new constitution of civil government for ourselves and posterity; and devoutly imploring His direction in so interesting a design, do agree upon, ordain, and establish the following declaration of rights and frame of government as the constitution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

PART THE FIRST.

A DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

ARTICLE I. All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential, and unalienable rights; among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property; in fine, that of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness.

ART. II. It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society, publicly and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession or sentiments, provided he doth not disturb the public peace or obstruct others in their religious worship.

ART. III. As the happiness of a people and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality, and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: Therefore, To promote their happiness and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies-politic or religious societies to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And the people of this commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

Provided, notwithstanding, That the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies-politic, or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship and of the public teachers aforesaid shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid toward the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised.

And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the

law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

ART. IV. The people of this commonwealth have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent State, and do, and forever hereafter shall, exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right which is not, or may not hereafter be, by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled.

ART. V. All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are the substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.

ART. VI. No man nor corporation or association of men have any other title to obtain advantages, or particular and exclusive privileges distinct from those of the community, than what rises from the consideration of services rendered to the public, and this title being in nature neither hereditary nor transmissible to children or descendants or relations by blood; the idea of a man born a magistrate, lawgiver, or judge is absurd and unnatural.

ART. VII. Government is instituted for the common good, for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people, and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men; therefore the people alone have an incontestable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government, and to reform, alter, or totally change the same when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it.

ART. VIII. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life; and to fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments.

ART. IX. All elections ought to be free; and all the inhabitants of this commonwealth, having such qualifications as they shall establish by their frame of government, have an equal right to elect officers, and to be elected, for public employments.

ART. X. Each individual of the society has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property, according to standing laws. He is obliged, consequently, to contribute his share to the expense of this protection; to give his personal service, or an equivalent, when necessary; but no part of the property of any individual can, with justice, be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people. In fine, the people of this commonwealth are not controllable by any other laws than those to which their constitutional representative body have given their consent. And whenever the public exigencies require that the property of any individual should be appropriated to public uses, he shall receive a reasonable compensation therefor.

ART. XI. Every subject of the commonwealth ought to find a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property, or character. He ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it; completely, and without any denial; promptly, and without delay, conformably to the laws.

ART. XII. No subject shall be held to answer for any crimes or no offence until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally, described to him; or be compelled to accuse, or furnish evidence against himself; and every subject shall have a right to produce all proofs that may be favorable to him; to meet the witnesses against him face to face, and to be fully heard in his defence by himself, or his counsel at his election. And no subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled, or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

And the legislature shall not make any law that shall subject any person to a capital or infamous punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, without trial by jury.

THE CHARTER AND CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA

VIRGINIA.

GRANT TO SIR WALTER RALEIGH—1584.

[See "North Carolina," pages 1379–1382.]

THE FIRST CHARTER OF VIRGINIA—1606.

JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* WHEREAS our loving and well-disposed Subjects, Sir *Thomas Gates*, and Sir *George Somers*, Knights, *Richard Hackluit*, Clerk, Prebendary of *Westminster*, and *Edward-Maria Wingfield*, *Thomas Hanham*, and *Ralegh Gilbert*, Esqrs. *William Parker*, and *George Popham*, Gentlemen, and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our People into that part of *America* commonly called VIRGINIA, and other parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude from the Equinoctial Line, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coast thereof;

And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies; the one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of *London* and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, alongst the Coasts of *Virginia*, and the Coasts of *America* aforesaid: And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and of our Town of *Plimouth*, and of other Places, which do join themselves unto that Colony, which do desire to begin their Plantation and Habitation in some fit and convenient Place, between eight and thirty Degrees and five and forty Degrees of the said Latitude, all alongst the said Coasts of *Virginia* and *America*, as that Coast lyeth:

We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires for the Furtherance of so noble a Work, which may, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of *Christian* Religion to such People, as yet live in Darkness and miserable Ignorance of the true Knowledge and Worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages, living in those parts, to human Civility, and to a settled and quiet Government: DO, by these our Letters Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended Desires; . . . .

otherwise adventuring in the said general Lottery or Lotteries, may be, in any wise, defrauded and deceived of their said Monies, or evil and indirectly dealt withal in their said Adventures. And we further GRANT, in Manner and Form aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the said Treasurer and Company, under the Seal of our said Council for the Plantation, to publish, or to cause and procure to be published by Proclamation, or otherwise (the said Proclamation to be made in their Name, by Virtue of these Presents) the said Lottery or Lotteries, in all Cities, Towns, Burroughs, and other Places, within our said Realm of *England;* And we Will and Command all Mayors, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers and loving Subjects, whatsoever, that in no wise, they hinder or delay the Progress and Proceedings of the said Lottery or Lotteries, but be therein, touching the Premises, aiding and assisting, by all honest, good, and lawful Means and Endeavours. And further, our Will and Pleasure is, that in all Questions and Doubts, that shall arise, upon any Difficulty of Construction or Interpretation of any Thing, contained in these, or any other our former Letters-patents, the same shall be taken and interpreted, in most ample and beneficial Manner for the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, and every Member thereof. And lastly, we do, by these Presents, RATIFY AND CONFIRM unto the said Treasurer and Company, and their Successors, for ever, all and all Manner of Privileges, Franchises, Liberties, Immunities, Preheminences, Profits, and Commodities, whatsoever, granted unto them in any our former Letters-patents, and not in these Presents revoked, altered, changed, or abridged. ALTHOUGH express Mention of the true Yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other Gift or Grant, by Us or any our Progenitors or Predecessors, to the aforesaid Treasurer and Company heretofore made in these Presents is not made; Or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision, Proclamation, or Restraint, to the contrary thereof heretofore made, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause, or Thing, whatsoever, to the contrary, in any wise, notwithstanding.

IN WITNESS whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Witness Ourself, at *Westminster*, the twelfth Day of *March*, in the ninth Year of our Reign of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the five and fortieth.

VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS—1776.*

A declaration of rights made by the representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free convention; which rights do pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of government.

SECTION 1. That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

SEC. 2. That all power is vested in, and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants, and at all times amenable to them.

SEC. 3. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community; of all the various modes and forms of government, that is best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of

* This declaration of rights was framed by a convention, composed of forty-five members of the colonial house of burgesses, which met at Williamsburgh May 6, 1776, and adopted this declaration June 12, 1776.

maladministration; and that, when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.

SEC. 4. That no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which, not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge to be hereditary.

SEC. 5. That the legislative and executive powers of the State should be separate and distinct from the judiciary; and that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feeling and participating the burdens of the people, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into that body from which they were originally taken, and the vacancies be supplied by frequent, certain, and regular elections, in which all, or any part of the former members, to be again eligible, or ineligible, as the laws shall direct.

SEC. 6. That elections of members to serve as representatives of the people, in assembly, ought to be free; and that all men, having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to, the community, have the right of suffrage, and cannot be taxed or deprived of their property for public uses, without their own consent, or that of their representatives so elected, nor bound by any law to which they have not, in like manner, assented, for the public good.

SEC. 7. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by any authority, without consent of the representatives of the people, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

SEC. 8. That in all capital or criminal prosecutions a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence in his favor, and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury of twelve men of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty; nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; that no man be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers.

SEC. 9. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

SEC. 10. That general warrants, whereby an officer or messenger may be commanded to search suspected places without evidence of a fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, or whose offence is not particularly described and supported by evidence, are grievous and oppressive, and ought not to be granted.

SEC. 11. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is preferable to any other, and ought to be held sacred.

SEC. 12. That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.

SEC. 13. That a well-regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free State; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided, as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.

SEC. 14. That the people have a right to uniform government; and, therefore, that no government separate from, or independent of the government of Virginia, ought to be erected or established within the limits thereof.

SEC. 15. That no free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by frequent recurrence to fundamental principles.

SEC. 16. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practise Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other.

CONSTITUTION OF VIRGINIA—1776.*

WE, the Delegates and Representatives of the good people of Virginia, do declare the future form of government of Virginia to be as followeth:

The legislative, executive, and judiciary department, shall be separate and distinct, so that neither exercise the powers properly belonging to the other: nor shall any person exercise the powers of more than one of them, at the same time; except that the Justices of the County Courts shall be eligible to either House of Assembly.

The legislative shall be formed of two distinct branches, who, together, shall be a complete Legislature. They shall meet once, or oftener, every year, and shall be called, *The General Assembly of Virginia*. One of these shall be called, *The House of Delegates*, and consist of two Representatives, to be chosen for each county, and for the district of West-Augusta, annually, of such men as actually reside in, and are freeholders of the same, or duly qualified according to law, and also of one Delegate or Representative, to be chosen annually for the city of Williamsburgh, and one for the borough of Norfolk, and a Representative for each of such other cities and boroughs, as may hereafter be allowed particular representation by the legislature; but when any city or borough shall so decrease, as that the number of persons, having right of suffrage therein, shall have been, for the space of seven years successively, less than half the number of voters in some one county in Virginia, such city or borough thenceforward shall cease to send a Delegate or Representative to the Assembly.

The other shall be called *The Senate*, and consist of twenty-four members, of whom thirteen shall constitute a House to proceed on business; for whose election, the different counties shall be divided into twenty-four districts; and each county of the respective district, at the time of the election of its Delegates, shall vote for one Senator, who is actually a resident and freeholder within the district, or duly qualified according to law, and is upwards of twenty-five years of age; and the Sheriffs of each county, within five days at farthest, after the last county election in the district, shall meet at some convenient place, and from the poll, so taken in their respective counties, return, as a Senator, the man who shall have the greatest number of votes in the whole district. To keep up this Assembly by rotation, the districts shall be equally divided into four classes and numbered by lot. At the end of one year after the general election, the six members, elected by the first division, shall be displaced, and the vacancies thereby occasioned supplied from such class or division, by new election, in the manner aforesaid. This rotation shall be applied to each division, according to its number, and continued in due order annually.

The right of suffrage in the election of members for both Houses shall remain as exercised at present; and each House shall choose its own Speaker, appoint its own officers, settle its own rules of proceeding, and direct writs of election, for the supplying intermediate vacancies.

All laws shall originate in the House of Delegates, to be approved of or rejected by the Senate, or to be amended, with consent of the House of Delegates; except money-bills, which in no instance shall be altered by the Senate, but wholly approved or rejected.

A Governor, or chief magistrate, shall be chosen annually by joint ballot of both Houses (to be taken in each House respectively) deposited in the conference room; the boxes examined jointly by a committee of each House, and the numbers severally reported to them, that the appointments may be entered (which shall be the mode of taking the joint ballot of both Houses, in all cases) who shall not continue in that office longer than three years successively, nor be eligible, until the expiration of four years after he shall have been out of that office. An adequate, but moderate salary shall be settled on him, during his continuance in office; and he shall, with the advice of a Council of State, exercise the executive powers of government, according to the laws of this Commonwealth; and shall not, under any pretence,

* This constitution was framed by the convention which issued the preceding declaration of rights, and was adopted June 29, 1776. It was not submitted to the people for ratification.

exercise any power or prerogative, by virtue of any law, statute or custom of England. But he shall, with the advice of the Council of State, have the power of granting reprieves or pardons, except where the prosecution shall have been carried on by the House of Delegates, or the law shall otherwise particularly direct; in which cases, no reprieve or pardon shall be granted, but by resolve of the House of Delegates.

Either House of the General Assembly may adjourn themselves respectively. The Governor shall not prorogue or adjourn the Assembly, during their sitting, nor dissolve them at any time; but he shall, if necessary, either by advice of the Council of State, or on application of a majority of the House of Delegates, call them before the time to which they shall stand prorogued or adjourned.

A Privy Council, or Council of State, consisting of eight members, shall be chosen, by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly, either from their own members or the people at large, to assist in the administration of government. They shall annually choose, out of their own members, a President, who, in case of death, inability, or absence of the Governor from the government, shall act as Lieutenant-Governor. Four members shall be sufficient to act, and their advice and proceedings shall be entered on record, and signed by the members present, (to any part whereof, any member may enter his dissent) to be laid before the General Assembly, when called for by them. This Council may appoint their own Clerk, who shall have a salary settled by law, and take an oath of secrecy, in such matters as he shall be directed by the board to conceal. A sum of money, appropriated to that purpose, shall be divided annually among the members, in proportion to their attendance; and they shall be incapable, during their continuance in office, of sitting in either House of Assembly. Two members shall be removed, by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly, at the end of every three years, and be ineligible for the three next years. These vacancies, as well as those occasioned by death or incapacity, shall be supplied by new elections, in the same manner.

The Delegates for Virginia to the Continental Congress shall be chosen annually, or superseded in the mean time, by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly.

The present militia officers shall be continued, and vacancies supplied by appointment of the Governor, with the advice of the Privy-Council, on recommendations from the respective County Courts; but the Governor and Council shall have a power of suspending any officer, and ordering a Court Martial, on complaint of misbehaviour or inability, or to supply vacancies of officers, happening when in actual service.

The Governor may embody the militia, with the advice of the Privy Council; and when embodied, shall alone have the direction of the militia, under the laws of the country.

The two Houses of Assembly shall, by joint ballot, appoint Judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals, and General Court, Judges in Chancery, Judges of Admiralty, Secretary, and the Attorney-General, to be commissioned by the Governor, and continue in office during good behaviour. In case of death, incapacity, or resignation, the Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, shall appoint persons to succeed in office, to be approved or displaced by both Houses. These officers shall have fixed and adequate salaries, and, together with all others, holding lucrative offices, and all ministers of the gospel, of every denomination, be incapable of being elected members of either House of Assembly or the Privy Council.

The Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, shall appoint Justices of the Peace for the counties; and in case of vacancies, or a necessity of increasing the number hereafter, such appointments to be made upon the recommendation of the respective County Courts. The present acting Secretary in Virginia, and Clerks of all the County Courts, shall continue in office. In case of vacancies, either by death, incapacity, or resignation, a Secretary shall be appointed, as before directed; and the Clerks, by the respective Courts. The present and future Clerks shall hold their offices during good behaviour, to be judged of, and determined in the General Court. The Sheriffs and Coroners shall be nominated by the respective Courts, approved by the Governor, with the advice of the Privy Council, and commissioned by the Governor.

The Justices shall appoint Constables; and all fees of the aforesaid officers be regulated by law.

The Governor, when he is out of office, and others, offending against the State, either by mal-administration, corruption, or other means, by which the safety of the State may be endangered, shall be impeachable by the House of Delegates. Such impeachment to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, or such other person or persons, as the House may appoint in the General Court, according to the laws of the land. If found guilty, he or they shall be either forever disabled to hold any office under government, or be removed from such office *pro tempore*, or subjected to such pains or penalties as the laws shall direct.

If all or any of the Judges of the General Court should on good grounds (to be judged of by the House of Delegates) be accused of any of the crimes or offences above mentioned, such House of Delegates may, in like manner, impeach the Judge or Judges so accused, to be prosecuted in the Court of Appeals; and he or they, if found guilty, shall be punished in the same manner as is prescribed in the preceding clause.

Commissions and grants shall run, "*In the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia*," and bear test by the Governor, with the seal of the Commonwealth annexed. Writs shall run in the same manner, and bear test by the Clerks of the several Courts. Indictments shall conclude, "*Against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth.*"

A Treasurer shall be appointed annually, by joint ballot of both Houses.

All escheats, penalties, and forfeitures, heretofore going to the King, shall go to the Commonwealth, save only such as the Legislature may abolish, or otherwise provide for.

The territories, contained within the Charters, erecting the Colonies of Maryland, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, are hereby ceded, released, and forever confirmed, to the people of these Colonies respectively, with all the rights of property, jurisdiction and government, and all other rights whatsover, which might, at any time heretofore, have been claimed by Virginia, except the free navigation and use of the rivers Patomaque and Pokomoke, with the property of the Virginia shores and strands, bordering on either of the said rivers, and all improvements, which have been, or shall be made thereon. The western and northern extent of Virginia shall, in all other respects, stand as fixed by the Charter of King James I. in the year one thousand six hundred and nine, and by the public treaty of peace between the Courts of Britain and France, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; unless by act of this Legislature, one or more governments be established westward of the Alleghany mountains. And no purchases of lands shall be made of the Indian natives, but on behalf of the public, by authority of the General Assembly.

APPENDIX C.

HARVARD COLONIAL STATUTES

studiis, statisve exercitiis abesto: exceptâ semihorâ jentacluo, prandio vero sesquihorâ, concessâ; nec non cœnæ usque ad horam nonam.

16. *Siquis scholarium ullam Dei aut hujus collegii legem, sive animo perverso, sive ex supinâ negligentiâ violârit, postquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravioribus pro præsidis aut tutoris prudentia, pœnis, coerceatur. In Atrocioribus autem delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, nemo expectet.*

17. *Quicunque scholaris, probatione habitâ, poterit sacras utriusque testamenti scripturas, de textu originali Latinè Interpretari; et logicè resolvere; fueritque naturalis et moralis philosophiæ principiis imbutus; vitoque et moribus inculpatus; et publicis quibusve comitiis à præside et sociis collegii, approbatus, primo suo gradu possit ornari. Aliter nemo, nisi post triennium et decem menses ab admissione in collegium, ad primum in artibus gradum admittetur.*

18. *Quicunque scholaris locum habuit communem, scriptamque synopsin, vel compendium logicæ, naturalis et moralis philosophiæ, arithmeticæ, aut astronomiæ, exiberit, fueritque ad theses suas defendendas paratus; nec non originalium, ut supra dictum, linguarum, peritus: quem etiamnum morum integritas ac studiorum diligentia cohonestaverint, publicis quibusvis comitiis probatione factâ, secundi gradûs, magisterii nimirum, capax erit.*

19. *Statutum est, quòd qui theologiæ dat operam, antequam baccalaureatum, in illa facultate consequatur, gradum magisterii in artibus, suscipiat ac sedulò theologicis, et hebraïcis lectionibus incumbat; quibus annorum septem dabit operam: quo spatio, bis disputabit contra theologiæ baccalaureum semelque respondebit in theologiâ; concionabitur Latinè semel, et semel Anglicè, vel in templo, vel in aula academiæ: et si, in hoc tempore, in theologia profecerit, per solennem inaugurationem, baccalaureus fiet: hâc tamen cautione servatâ ne quis ante quinquennium completum à suscepto magistrali gradu, concionem hujusmodi habere permittetur.*

20. *Statutum est, quòd qui cupit in ordinem doctorum theologiæ coöptari, per integrum quinquennium, post susceptum baccalaurei gradum, lectionibus et studiis theologicis dabit operam, et antequam incipiendum, in eadem facultate admittatur, in questionibus theologicis bis opponet, semel respondebit, idque doctori, si commodè fieri poterit; Latinè semel, Anglicè semel, concionabitur in templo, vel in aula academiæ; solenniter sexies legat, et explicet aliquam scripturæ partem, et post solennem inceptionem, semel infrà annum ipse sibi questionem proponere tenebitur in aulâ academiæ, cujus ambigua et dubitationes, in utramque partem, enucleabit, definiet et determinabit.*

21. *Statutum est, quòd præter cætera exercitia, pro gradibus theologicis prestanda, unusquisque tàm pro theologiæ baccalaureatu, quàm pro doctoratu candidatus, tractatum quendam contra hæresiam vel errorem aliquem grassantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam argumentum (dirigentibus id præside et collegii sociis) pro communi ecclesiarum commodo, in lucem emittere, tenebitur.*

22. *Gradus academici, qui à præside et curatoribus collegii Harvardini antehac collati sunt, pro validis habeantur.*

23. *Unusquisque scholaris harum legum exemplar, à præside et aliquo tutorum subscriptum, sibi comparabit priusquam in collegium admittatur.*[*]

[*] STATUTES, LAWS AND PRIVILEGES, APPROVED AND SANCTIONED BY THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE AT CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND: TO WHICH BOTH SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS, CANDIDATES FOR ADMISSION AS WELL AS THOSE ADMITTED, ARE REQUIRED TO CONFORM, FOR THE PROMOTION OF LEARNING AND GOOD MORALS.

1. Every one competent to read Cicero or any other classic author of that kind extemporaneously, and also to speak and write Latin prose and verse with tolerable skill and without assistance, and of declining the Greek nouns and verbs, may expect to be admitted to the College: if deficient in any of these qualifications, he cannot under any circumstances be admitted.

2. All persons admitted to College must board at the Commons, and must each pay three pounds to the steward on their entrance, and must discharge all arrears at the end of every three months; nor shall any under-graduate of the institution be allowed to board out of College, unless by special permission of the President, or his tutor. If leave to do so shall be granted by either of these officers, the student shall faithfully observe the usual rules of the Commons; but if any ever shall leave College for private quarters, without permission of the President or Tutor, he shall not enjoy any privilege of the institution.

3. While the youth is here, he will be required to be diligent, and to observe study-hours with the same strictness as he does those of public recitation.

4. Every student must regard it as his duty to attend all college exercises, secular and religious, public and private. While in the freshmen class, he must speak in public on the stage eight times a year. Sophisters must be present at a public debate twice a week. Both bachelors and sophisters must write out an analysis in some branch of sacred literature: bachelors will discuss in public philosophical questions once a fortnight, under the superintendence of the President: in the President's absence, the two senior tutors will act as moderator by turns.

APPENDIX D.

COMMENCEMENT BROADSIDES

Spectatisſimis Pietate, et Illuſtriſſimis Eximia Virtute Viris, D. *Iohanni Winthropo*, inclytæ Maſſachuſetti Coloniæ Gubernatori, D. *Johanni Endicotto* Vice-Gubernatori, D. *Thom. Dudleo*, D. *Rich. Bellinghamo*, D. *Ioan. Humphrydo*, D. *Iſrael. Stoughtono*.

Nec non Reverendis pientiſſimiſque viris *Ioanni Cottono*, *Ioan. Wilſono*, *Ioan. Davenport*, *Tho. Weldo*, *Hugoni Petro*, *Tho. Shepardo*, Collegij *Harvardenſis* nov. *Cantab.* inſpectoribus fideliſſimis, cæterilq; Magiſtratibus, & Eccleſiarum quidem Coloniæ Preſbyteris vigilantiſſimis.

Has Theſes Philologicas, & Philoſophicas quas Deo duce. Præſide *Henrico Dunſtero* palam pro virili propugnare conabuntur, (honoris & obſervantiæ gratia) dicant conſecrantque in artibus liberalibus initiati Adoleſcentes.

Benjamin Woodbrigius.	*Henricus Saltonſtall.*	*Nathaniel Bruſterus.*
Georgius Downingus.	*Johannes Bulkleus.*	*Samuel Belinghamus.*
Guliel mus Hubbardus.	*Johannes Wilſonus.*	*Tobias Bernardus.*

Theſes Philologicas.

GRAMMATICAS.

Linguarum Scientia eſt utiliſſima.
2. Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis Organa efferunt.
3. Hæbræa eſt Linguarum Mater.
4. Conſonantes & vocales Hæbreorum ſunt coætaneæ.
5. Punctationes chatephatæ ſyllabam proprie non efficiunt.
6. Linguarum Græca eſt copioſiſſima
7. Lingua Græca eſt ad accentus proniuntianda.
8. Lingua Latina eſt eloquentiſſima.

RHETO-RICAS.

RHetorica ſpecie differt a Logica.
2. In Elocutione perſpicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.
3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.
4. Oratoris eſt clare Artem.

LOGICAS.

UNiverſalia non ſunt extra intellectum.
2. Omnia Argumenta ſunt relata.
3. Cauſa *ſine qua non* non eſt peculiaris cauſa a quatuor reliquis generalibus.
4. Cauſa & Effectus ſunt ſimul tempore.
5. Diſſentanea ſunt æque nota.
6. Contrarietas eſt tantum inter duo.
7. Sublato relato tollitur correlatum.
8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur ſpeciebus.
9. Teſtimonium valet quantum teſtis.
10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non eſt neceſſaria.
11. Axioma contingens eſt, quod ita verum eſt, ut aliquando falſum eſſe poſſit.
12. Præcepta Artium debent eſſe κἀλλ' πάντῳ, καθ' αὑτὸ, καθ ὅλου τοῦ.

Theſes Philoſophicas.

ETHICAS.

PHiloſophia practica eſt eruditionis meta.
2. Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas eſt virtutis moralis ſubjectum.
4. Voluntas eſt formaliter libera.
5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
6. Prudentia eſt virtus intellectualis & moralis.
7. Juſtitia mater omnium virtutum.
8. Mors potius ſubeunda, quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
9. Non injuſte agit niſi qui libens agit.
10. Mentiri poteſt qui verum dicit.
11. Juvenu modeſtia ſummum Ornamentum.

PHYSI-METAPHISICAS.

OMne ens eſt bonum.
2. Omne creatum eſt concretum.
3. Quicquid æternum idem & immenſum.
4. Bonum Metaphyſicum non ſuſcipit gradus.

HARVARD'S FIRST THESES, 1642 (FROM *NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS*)

P R Æ S T A N T I S S I M O

Optima Eruditione, Dignitate ac Pietate ſublimi, omnique fœliciſſime gubernandi Ratione VIRO perilluſtri,

JONATHAN BELCHER, Armigero,

Provinciæ *Novæ-Cæſariæ* GUBERNATORI, Mariſque contermini Vice-Admirallo,

Conſummatiſſimo;---Neo non hujus Academiæ Patrono colendiſſimo;

Reverendo pariter ac honorando D. AARONI BURR, *Collegii Neo-Cæſarienſis*, PRÆSIDI, Fideliſſimis etiam Ejuſdem Curatoribus, Literatura ac Pietate conſpicuis;

Vigilantiſſimis etiam, Eccleſiarum CHRISTI paſſim Paſtoribus, Doctrina et Pietate adornatis;---Omnibus denique, Rei literariæ Cultoribus, de noſtra Accademia bene merentibus, ſumma Gratitudine ſemper proſequendis; Hæc Philoſophemata quæ (DEO Opt. Max. favente) ſub Præſidis Moderamine ſunt agitanda, Juvines Artibus initiati.

Hugo Bay, Alexander Clinton, Jacobus Frielinghuyſen,
Jacobus Beard, Daniel Farrand, Simeon Mitchel.

Devotiſſima cum Obſervantia ac Humilitate,---*D. D. D. C.* Q.

THESES TECHNOLOGICÆ.

TECHNOLOGIA de omnium Artium ac Scientiarum generatim, regulis ac Terminis verſatur.

1 Omnis Res Rhetoricæ eſt propria, quæ ornate dici, graviterque debeat.
2 Mentis Operationes & Termini quibus exprimuntur, adæquatum Logicæ Objectum, conſtituunt.
3 Algebra, Quantitatem Quæſitam, ſive Numerum, ſive Lineam, ut datum aſſumit.
4 Inter Trigonometriam planam & Sphæricam, quædam datur certa Relatio ac Harmonia.
5 Ergo accurata hujus Obſervatio, ad illam perdiſcendam, multum conduceret.
6 Excellentia omnium Artium ac Scientiarum, a Tendentia ad Gloriam Dei & Hominum Fælicitatem promovendum, pendet.

THESES GRAMMATICÆ.

GRAMATICA, in quavis Lingua, Ideas Verbis apte & dilucide communicandi, Artem docet.

1 Sine Verbo expreſſo vel ſuppreſſo, Sententia eſſe nequit.
2 Grammatica per quam Lingua ignota docetur, Linguâ vernaculâ ſcribi debet.
3 Quo paucioribus Verbis quævis Lingua conſtat, eo facilius intelligi poteſt.
5 Inter poſitivas & primitivas Quantitates nulla datur Ratio.
6 In Hyperbola, Quadratum Axis conjugati, tranſverſi Quadrato, ac Parameter Axi tranſverſo, eandem habent Proportionem.
7 Sphæra Pyramidi eſt æqualis, cujus Baſis Superficei, et Altitudo Sphæræ Radio ejus, ſunt æqualia.
8 Pyramidum æqualium Baſis & Altitudines, reciprocam habent Proportionem.
9 Sinus Arcuum ſimilium, Radiis eorum, eandem habent Rationem.
10 Sphæræ Superficies, Circuli Areæ, ab ejus Radio deſcripti, eſt quadrupla.

THESES PHYSICÆ.

PHYSICA, Phænomenorum in Mundo Naturali ſecundum Leges Stabilitas Orientium, Solutionem indicat,

1 Altitudo Atmoſpheræ, ob inæqualem Denſitatem, accurate determinari nequit.
2 Inæqualis Atmoſpheræ Denſitas, partim ab ejus Elaſticitate, oritur.
3 Vi Solis ac Lunæ attractiva, Fluxus ac Refluxus in Atmoſphera, æque ac in Mari, efficitur.
4 Soni Velocitas Aeris Elaſticitati eſt proportionalis. Ergo,
5 Cæteris paribus Æſtate quam Hyeme eſt major.
6 Velocitas Lucis eſt 10210 major quam Terræ in ejus annua Orbita. Ergo.
7 Parrallaxis Syderum fixarum apparebit contrarie quam aliter eſſet.
8 Reflectio Radiorum Lucis, ab Atmoſphera elaſtica, quamvis Particulam Lucis,

4 Cognitio Vocalium Mutationis, ad Linguam Hebraïcam intelligendum, non eſt abſolute neceſſaria.
5 Inter Hebræos Adverbium negandi ſæpe intelligitur.
6 Hebræi, Gradum ſuperlativum per Adverbium, exprimunt.
7 Omnium Linguarum Hebraïca eſt antiquiſſima.

THESES RHETORICÆ.

RHETORICA eſt Ars Veritatem copioſe et eleganter illuſtrandi.
1 Perlectio optimorum Authorum præſertim veterum Poetarum, ad Oratorem formandum, multum conducit.
2 Sine multum ſcribendo, Orator perfectus exiſtere non poteſt.
3 Tamen Oratio ſine Scriptis pronunciari debet.
4 Ordo, non minus Oratori quam Audientibus prodeſt.
5 Penitus Rei Cognitio, Memoriæ Lumen maxime adfert.
6 Vocis, Vultus, & Geſtus, Moderatio cum Venuſtate, Orationem reddit jucundam.
7 Vox ultra Vires urgenda non eſt.

THESES LOGICÆ.

LOGICA eſt Ars, in Veritatem inveſtigando ac aliis communicando, Ratione bene utendi.
1 Extenſio & Comprehenſio Idearum mutuo ſeſe extendunt aut contrahunt.
2 Affirmatio Ideæ, Comprehenſionem ejus, ſemper includit.
3 Differentia inter Species nominales, Differentiam inter reales, non arguit.
4 E Premiſſis particularibus, ad Concluſionem generalem, Conſequentia non valet. Ergo,
5 In Premiſſis, unus Terminus univerſalis, majus quam in Concluſione ſemper eſſe debet.
6 Veræ Concluſiones a veris Principiis Oriuntur.
7 Ideæ ſimplices explicari non poſſunt.
8 Nomina, ad Ideas communicandas, non ſunt abſolute neceſſaria.
9 Ex diverſis Ideis, eidem Nomini affixis, multarum Controverſiarum oritur Cauſa.
10 Nomina particularia, cuivis Ideæ ſimplici annexa, Cauſam Erroris in Ideis communicandis ſuſtulerent.
11 Sed hoc, quamvis Linguam, redderet nimis obſcuram.

THESES MATHEMATICÆ.

MATHEMATICA, de, Quantitatis & ejus Relationum, Natura & Analogia tractat.
1 Circulus Triangulo eſt æqualis cujus Baſis Peripheræ et Altitudo Radio ſunt æquales.
2 In omni Parrallelogramate, duorum Diagonalium Quadrata, quatuor Laterum Quadrato ſunt æqualia.
3 Privitivæ Quantitates, etſi realium ſunt Defectus, tamen minores vel majores eſſe poſſunt.
4 Primitivæ poſitivis Quantitatibus, ſunt heterogeneæ et vice verſa. Ergo,
circumambiente efficitur.
9 Corpuſculum, in quavis Parte Spheræ concavæ atque attractivæ, erit quietum.
10 In Diviſione Sphæræ, ſolida Materia ut Cubi, Superficies autem ut Quadrata Diametrorum minuuntur. Ergo,
11 Corpora parva in Fluido, in Proportione ſolidæ Materiæ, magis quam magna reſiſtuntur.
12 Retroceſſio Poli Equatoris circa Ecliptícum, ſolis ac Lunæ conjunctim Vi attractivâ, efficitur.
13 Unde apparet Terram eſſe Figuræ Sphæroidalis.
14 Dies Solares, nec ſideriis Diebus nec ſibi ipſis, ſunt æquales.
15 Hujus Inæqualitatis, Revolutio Terræ circa Solem et ecliptica Orbitæ Figura ſunt Cauſa.
16 ☞ *Omnia Phænomena, in Mundo naturali, immediatâ Dei Energiâ, efficiuntur.*

THESES METAPHYSICÆ.

METAPHYSICA eſt, de Entibus in ſe abſtracte conſideratis, et eorum Cauſis, Generibus, ac Relationibus, Tractatus.
1 Subordinatio Cauſarum ad Infinitum procedere non poteſt.
2 Metaphyſica Veritas & Perfectio Gradus not admittunt.
3 Perfectiones Dei morales, e Neceſſitate naturali, non exercentur.
4 Poſſibilitas naturalis abſque Poſſibilitate morali exiſtere poteſt.
5 Omnia, Neceſſitate Conſequentiæ, ſunt neceſſaria.
6 Sed hæc Neceſſitas, in Voluntatem Agentium moralium, nullam Influentiam habet.
7 ☞ *Conſcia Succeſſio cogitandi, ad perſonalem Identitatem conſtituendam, non eſt neceſſaria..*

THESES ETHICÆ.

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2 Sine Reſpectu ad Deum, ut ultimum Finem, Actiones formaliter bonæ eſſe non poſſunt.
3 Judicium privatæ Diſcretionis, cuivis Agenti morali, eſt eſſentiale.
4 Sine Voluntatis Conſenſu Peccatum exiſtere nequit. Ergo,
5 Libertatis Abuſus Mali moralis fuit Origo.
6 Sine Virtute non poteſt eſſe alicujus Boni vera Fruitio.
7 Dictamina Rationis ſunt iis Senſuum anteponenda.
8 In Statu Naturæ, (quibuſdam Cognatis exceptis) quoad Imperium, Homines ſunt æquales. Ergo,
9 Jus Regum, e Compacto Populi, originale Fundamen habuit. Ergo,
10 Competitor GEORGII Secundi (optimo Jure) noſtri Regis, Imperium *Magnæ-Britanniæ*, non minus injuſte quam inaniter ſibi vindicat.

His præcedit Oratio Salutatoria:

Habita in Comitiis academicis NOVARCÆ. *in* Nova-Cæſarea, *Sexto Calendas* Octobris, MDCCL.

PRINCETON THESES, 1750. COMMENCEMENT HELD AT NEWARK

VIRIS PRÆCELLENTISSIMIS,
THOMÆ PENN ac RICHARDO PENN, Armigeris,

Provinciæ *Pennsylvaniæ*, nec non Comitatuum *Novi Castelli, Cantii* & *Sussexiæ* ad fluvium *Delaware*, veris atque solis Proprietariis;

VIRO DIGNISSIMO, Literis humanioribus ornatissimo,

JACOBO HAMILTON, Armigero,

Prædictæ Provinciæ & Comitatuum VICE-GUBERNATORI præclarissimo, nec non hujus Collegii & Academiæ *Philadelphiensis* CURATORI;

Cæterisque VIRIS ORNATISSIMIS

Richardo Peters, Præsidi, *Gulielmo Allen*, *Josepho Turner*, *Benjamino Franklin*, *Gulielmo Shippen*, *Philippo Syng*, *Phineæ Bond*, *Thomæ Bond*, *Gulielmo Plumsted*, *Thomæ White*, *Gulielmo Coleman*, *Thomæ Cadwallader*, *Alexandro Stedman*, *Benjamino Chew*, *Edwardo Shippen*, jun. *Gulielmo Coxe*, *Thomæ Willing*, *Jacob Duché*, *Lyndford Lardner*, *Amos Strettell*, *Andreæ Elliot*, & *Johanni Redmond*, ejusdem Collegii & Academiæ CURATORIBUS amplissimis, Artiumque ingenuarum PATRONIS humanissimis;

Toti denique *SENATUI ACADEMICO* dignissimo, nempe Reverendo GULIELMO SMITH, S. T. P. Collegii & Academiæ PRÆFECTO; Reverendo FRANCISCO ALISON, S. T. P. Collegii VICE-PRÆFECTO & Academiæ RECTORI; Reverendo JOHANNI EWING, A. M. Philosophiæ naturalis [illegible] Reverendo ERENEZERO KINNERSLEY, A. M. Linguæ Anglicanæ & Oratoriæ Professori; IOHANNI BEVERIDGE, A. M. Linguarum Professori; [illegible] *denunciatum ante fit, & audiatur.*

THESES *LOGICÆ*.

1. Omnis, quæ à ratione suscipitur de aliqua re, institutio debet à definitione proficisci, ut intelligatur quid sit id, de quo disputatur.
2. Idea eo clarior evadet, quo pluribus sensibus rem quampiam percipimus.
3. Quo plures ideas mens distinctè concipit simul, eo capacior est habenda; *Ergo*
4. In vario literarum genere versari, & præsertim geometriæ, arithmetices, & algebræ, ad mentem amplianda permultum valet.
5. Criterion veritatis in plenâ idearum convenientiâ vel discrepantiâ *constat*.
6. Ubi res ad summam perspicuitatem devenit, & liberè & necessariò voluntatis assensum præbemus.
7. Propositiones multæ terminis universalibus conceptæ, universaliter intelligi non debent.
8. Omne genus ratiocinandi aliquid notum supponit.
9. Argumentatio per syllogismos geometricam inclusit, & ad veritatem cum aliis communicandam est utilissima.
6. Velocitates penduli, in ipso circuli puncto, sunt inter se, ut subtensæ arcuum quos ea res describit pendulum.
7. Corpus, celeritate datâ, ad distantiam quamcunque intra maximam amplitudinem, projici potest.
8. Corpus per duas directiones projici potest, ut in idem punctum, alicubi intra maximam amplitudinem, cadat.
9. Amplitudines projectionum, velocitate datâ, sunt ut sinus duplicati anguli elevationis.
10. Elevatione datâ, sunt ut quadrata celeritatum; *Ergo*
11. Neque elevatione, neque velocitate datâ, amplitudines sunt ut quadrata celeritatum ducta in sinum anguli elevationis duplicati.
12. Tempora, in quibus variæ cylindrica quæcunque evacuantur, sunt in ratione compositâ ex ratione basium directâ, inversâ foraminum, & ratione duplicatâ altitudinum.
13. Corporum opacitas omnis radiorum solis reflexione & refractione pendet.
14. Radii procedentes ab alterutro foco ellipsi figuræ in alterum reflectentur.
15. Si corpus moveatur in ellipsi circa ejusdem focum, vis centripeta erit ubique in duplicata ratione distantiæ ab eodem foco reciproce.

THESES *POLITICÆ*.

1. Ea sola potestas civilis est justa, quæ communi inservit utilitati.
2. Divina sunt populi, pariter ac imperantium, jura.
3. *Et advocati aut patroni semper in causis verum sequi, & nunquam rem falsam etiamsi verisimilem scienter defendere.*
4. Qui armis politis ad imperatorum fidem confugiunt, iis recipiendi sunt.
5. Omne officium, quod ad conjunctionem hominum & ad societatem tuendam valet, anteponendum est illi, quod cognitione & scientia continetur.
6. Ad virtutem omnem in civitate fovendam, præcipuè conducunt imperatorum exempla.
7. Rationes legis ferendæ ad ejusdem explicationem plerumque multum conducunt.
8. Aliquem à morte, vel quovis alio malo, eripuisse, nullum præbet jus cum in servitutem redigendi.
9. Communis omnium utilitas, omni, sive singulorum, sive cœtuum juri, modum ponere debet.

+ Juvenum nomina ordine alphabetico disposita sunt.

[Typis HENRICI MILLERI, in vico vulgò dicto *Second-street*.]

P R Æ S T A N T I S S I M O

Optima Eruditione, Dignitate ac Pietate ſublimi, omnique fœliciſſime gubernandi Ratione VIRO perilluſtri,

JONATHAN BELCHER, Armigero,

Provinciæ *Novæ-Cæſariæ* GUBERNATORI, Mariſque contermini Vice-Admirallo,

Conſummatiſſimo;---Neo non hujus Academiæ Patrono colendiſſimo;

Reverendo pariter ac honorando D. AARONI BURR, *Collegii Neo-Cæſarienſis*, PRÆSIDI, Fideliſſimis etiam Ejuſdem Curatoribus, Literatura ac Pietate conſpicuis;

Vigilantiſſimis etiam, Eccleſiarum CHRISTI paſſim Paſtoribus, Doctrina et Pietate adornatis;---Omnibus denique, Rei literariæ Cultoribus, de noſtra Accademia bene ..... meritis, ſumma Gratitudine ſemper proſequendis; Hæc Philoſophemata ..... (Deo Opt. Max. favente) ſub Præſidio Magiſtratus ſunt tuenda.

4 E Premiſſis particularibus, ad Concluſionem generalem, Conſequentia non valet. Ergo,
5 In Premiſſis, unus Terminus univerſalis, majus quam in Concluſione ſemper eſſe debet.
6 Veræ Concluſiones a veris Principiis Oriuntur.
7 Ideæ ſimplices explicari non poſſunt.
8 Nomina, ad Ideas communicandas, non ſunt abſolute neceſſaria.
9 Ex diverſis Ideis, eidem Nomini affixis, multarum Controverſiarum oritur Cauſa.
10 Nomina particularia, cuivis Ideæ ſimplici annexa, Cauſam Erroris in Ideis communicandis ſuſtulerent.
11 Sed hoc, quamvis Linguam, redderet nimis obſcuram.

THESES MATHEMATICÆ.

MATHEMATICA, de, Quantitatis & ejus Relationum, Natura & Analogia tractat.
1 Circulus Triangulo eſt æqualis cujus Baſis Peripheræ et Altitudo Radio ſunt æquales.
2 In omni Parrallelogramate, duorum Diagonalium Quadrata, quatuor Laterum Quadrato ſunt æqualia.
3 Privitivæ Quantitates, etſi realium ſunt Defectus, tamen minores vel majores eſſe poſſunt.
4 Primitivæ poſitivis Quantitatibus, ſunt heterogeneæ et vice verſa. Ergo,
6 Sed hæc Neceſſitas, in Voluntatem Agentium moralium, nullam Influentiam habet.
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PRINCETON THESES, 1750. COMMENCEMENT HELD AT NEWARK

stance, under the rubric *Theses Politicae* in 1778, we have the following definition and theses:

1. Politics treats of the external but above all the internal administration of government.

2. The right or authority of the highest civil magistrate always springs from the people; therefore

3. The highest civil magistrate has not the right of exercising any authority which is not given to him by the people.

4. Man having no right to end his own life cannot confer that right on the legislature; therefore

5. No civil magistrate has the authority unless for nefarious homicide of taking away a man's life.

6. A sure penalty that is less severe is to be preferred to an uncertain penalty which may be more severe.

7. The highest civil authority invading the right of the people destroys the bonds of faith in government.

8. The loyalty owed to the highest authority can be lawfully alienated; therefore

9. Democracy can be maintained only by the courage of the people.

10. Only by the bravery of the patricians can an aristocracy be maintained.

11. In a monarchy honor is the chief source from which forces are to be secured.

12. The state of man under despotic government is like to the state of the beasts and consists of an instinct, obsequiousness and submission to punishment.

13. Luxury by reason of the inequality of possessions is increased in a kingdom and when luxury gains ground in a kingdom its military potency is diminished.

How well Harvard was thought to be fulfilling the purposes of its foundation is to be found expressed in some of the pronouncements made by the educational authorities in recalling the achievements of which they felt most proud. In the new articles issued in 1780 at a time when the approaching independence of the colonies was probably felt to be the most important event in the future of America, the Board of Overseers said of their "university," using that word for the first time: "Many persons of great eminence have by the blessing of God been initiated in those arts and sciences which qualify them for public employment both in Church and State." This was what Harvard was particularly proud of and the authorities did not hesitate to express their pride yet humbly attributed their success to the blessing of God. The charter of the original Harvard College proclaims the aim of the institution to be, "for the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences," but even above these was placed for nearly a hundred and fifty years after the original foundation, the cultivation of religion.

The *Theses Theologicae* as is illustrated very well by the propositions that come under this rubric at Harvard in various years were not merely for theological students but represented natural theology, that is the knowledge of the Deity which every

Christian was supposed to have in order to know the reasons for the faith that was in him. For instance, in 1769 there were these theses and definitions:

1. Theology treats of the knowledge of God and of all things pertaining to eternal felicity.
2. The authority of the evangelical revelations is supported by the testimonies of pagan writers.
3. A miracle in itself is credible.
4. The apostles in propagating the Gospel were not at all influenced by the expectation of the goods of this life; therefore
5. They were not impostors.
6. In all matters reasonableness marked the apostles; therefore
7. They were not fanatics.
8. Human reason alone does not suffice to explain how the true religion was introduced and built up so firmly in the world; therefore
9. There was need of divine revelation for Christianity.
10. The principles of religion are in harmony with human nature and with reason alone as a leader would never have been accepted; therefore
11. The clarity of method of the writers of today and the rightness of their sentiments in treating of natural religion arises to the greatest extent from divine revelation.
12. There are no relatives in the world to come [that is "in heaven we shall not know our own," a proposition that was much disputed among the Scholastic philosophers and theologians].

(Walsh, 1935)

THESES TECHNOLOGICÆ.

Technologia est generalis Artium et Scientiarum tractatus.

1. CUJUSVIS populi felicitas politica e religione pendet.
   2. Ejusdem speciei sunt animalia quorum progenies procreare possunt.
3. Quivis diligentiâ et assiduitate pectus quam ingenio naturali cultum et illustre fiet.
4. Genus humano lingua divinitùs data fuit.
5. Quo animo ad spectandum scriptores veteres quisque sese dederit eo ipse in fanales fiet.
6. Dei existentia quibusdam nationibus vel hodiè pervius ignota est.
7. Humani generis colores et formæ varietas e causis physicis omnino pendet.
8. Algebra seu ratio analytica ratiocinandi exemplar perfectissimum præbet.
9. Mathesis philosophiam naturalem terminare debet, non procreare aut generare.
10. Scientiæ veræ janua est Mathesis.

THESES GRAMMATICÆ

Grammatica est Ars cujusvis Linguæ usum explicans.

1. LINGUÆ fundamen est Grammatices.
   2. Verba et pronomina Hebraica personæ primæ vel secundæ terminationibus varios gerus offendunt.
2. Characteres tres tantum vocales, sibi nomen conflorescere linguæ Arabicæ defignant.
3. Adjectiva quæ in lingua Anglicana etiam in aliis absumuntur comparantur.
4. In pronunciatione vocalium E, I, A, O, U, veris accentus gradatim remittitur.

THESES LOGICÆ

Logica est ars intelligendi et communicandi veritatem

1. IDÆA simplex definiri nequit.
   2. Idea abstracta generalis non datur.
3. Ut in Geometria triangulus quivis particularis triangulos omnes similares repræsentat, ita etiam, in cæteris rebus, idea particularis omnes alias ejusdem nominis exhibet.
4. Idea generalis abstracta quasi sui ipsius contradictio à dialecticis plerumque describitur.
5. Rhetorum et Poetarum genius è facultate ideatum componendarum omnino pendet.
6. In comparandæ ideatum et propositionum generalium formatione, quæ vulgo abstractio nominatur, mathematicorum, dialecticorum, et metaphysicorum ingenium omnino versatur.

THESES RHETORICÆ.

Rhetorica literas politiores adeat artemque discendi.

1. EX allocutione ideatum vemustatis naturalis perceptio oritur.
   2. In rudi, accurati, et gestu oratoris, plus fæpè eloquentiæ quam veritatum defectus.
3. Raro perdiserti sunt ii qui accuratissimè et perspicacissimè judicant.
4. Exhibitio sententiarum quæ naturales quidem, non autem obvias vel communes sunt est compositio elegans.
5. Oratoris vitam factibus et civitas quam verbellatus aut docens curvatur.

THESES MATHEMATICÆ.

Mathesis numerabilis, et mensurabilia tractat.

1. ANGULUS ad intersectionem circuli cujusvis arcûs tangentem ducentem + angulus ad circuli centrum ab eodem arcû subtensus 180° æquales sunt.
2. Frusti seu nempe sphæræ cujusvis superficies curva, frusti seu nempe altissimi et sphæræ peripheriis rectangulo æqualis est.
3. Arcûs cujusvis sinus, inter semicirculum et duplicem arcûs ejusdem versum medium est proportionale: Ergo,
4. Cujusvis arcûs sinus versus logarithmicus differentiæ inter sinum logarithmicum semi-arcûs et sinum 30° æqualis est.
5. Semiconoidis cujusvis quadratus rectangulo lateris recti et abscissæ in sectione parabolica æqualis, in ellipticâ minor, in sectione autem hyperbolica major est.—Unde lectionem tractus conicorum nemina ducuntur.
6. Verticis seu loci cujusvis in eclipsium solarium projectione orthographicâ semita nunquam ellipsis vera est
7. Duarum quantitatum sive æqualium, medium arithmeticum medio geometrico æquale est.

THESES PHYSICÆ.

Physica est legum naturæ investigatio, et Phænomenorum ex illis solutio.

1. CREPUSCULUM vespertinum crepusculo matutino subluscidius est.
2. Aqua congelatione atmosphæræ calor augetur
3. Si glaciei temperatura —20° Fahrenheiti æqualis erit, dolorem fiet.
4. Aeris agentium seu motus, nervum in determinatio subdolosus non efficit.
5. Ex frigore ex calore enarenti, levior redditur aqua.
6. Luna, supra 2221, millia dies, 149 terræ propius accedit.
7. Fluidorum calor fua temperatura, earum proportionalis est
8. Phosphorus in aqua solubile est
9. Sulphuris combusti vapor sulphure ipso ponderosior est.
10. Alcohol in exhaustum convertatur.
11. Quercus humulis frutticulus florifer est anno spatio nunquam fructum fuum edit.
12. Si in eodem vase oleum et aqua infundantur, aquæ superficies vehementer agitata pulla, aqua motuti manente
13. Frigore enarenti et glacies et nivis manus ponderosæ redduntur.
14. In aere cubulo plus aeris quam in frigido continetur.
15. Aquæ per tubum fluentis velocitas media est inter velocitatem apud axem et latus tubi medium arithmeticum.
16. Quadratus radicis quadratæ velocitatis superficialis aquæ per tubum quadrati effluentis —1, velocitati apud parietem tubum æqualis est: cujus dimidium est velocitas media.
17. Ex aëris inflammabilis et puri combustione aqua ponderis æqualis producitur.
18. Terra, semperfere hyemali, Solis propius quam ab æstivâ 2,750,000 milliaria accedit
19. In novilunio celerior est vegetatio quam in plenilunio.
20. Vegetatio sine luce effici non pollit.
21. Et ignis communis et electricitas vim magneticam corrumpunt.
22. Si duorum planetarum diftantiæ sint ratione 1 : 2, prioris gravitas quadruplex erit posterioris: si duorum chordarum musicarum longitudines sint in eadem ratione 1 : 2, et posterior quadruplici pondere priorem tendatur, sonos fimiles edent: Ergo,
23. Si a Sole usque ad planetas singulos, chordæ musicæ extensæ fuerint, et quadratibus ratione diftantiarum quadratarum tensis symphoniæ erunt chordæ. Et
24. Inde principium ducit doctrina illa Pythagoræ de harmonia sphærarum cælestium.
25. Sit corpus e terra perpendiculariter projectum velocitate quali millesimum 420 temporis minuto a terra semper discederet, nunquam reverfurum: si obliquo fuerit projectio, verè parabolica erit semita: si autem impetu seu velocitate paulo minore projiciatur in ellipsi admodum excentrica revolveret.
26. Sol atmosphærâ instruitur.
27. Analogia tantum, et non phænomenis, gravitatem ad stellas usque fuas extendam vel perfectam esse, probatur.
28. Ex gravitatione mutua planetarum Jovis et Saturni irregularitates quasdam minutæ oriuntur: Ergo,
29. Doctrina Kepleriana planetas areas æquales temporibus æqualibus describere haud absolutè vera est.
30. Si sterilitas in conjunctione gravius Solem versus fit major quam versus primarium, semina ejus Soli concava erit: si minor, convexa: si æqualis, ad conjunctionem ipsam recta erit femina, utramen, ubique, fibem versus, concava.
31. Sit in parte 300 distantia inter terram et stellam quamvis fixam divisa, et partium illarum 299 percurfu, stellæ diameter apparens non augeretur.
32. Cujusvis corporis ad extremitatem ordinati motus per focum ductæ revolventis velocitas angularis est velocitati apud verticem rationem 1 : 4 si sectio sit parabolica: majore autem ratione erit velocitas si in elliptica, et minore si in hyperbolica sectione revolutio efficiatur.
33. Observationes astronomicæ accuratissimæ systema solare Herculis constellationem versûs moveri verisimile reddunt.
34. Sint circuli duo, quorum prioris centrum distat a centro posteriori ratione revolutionis periodicæ primarium revolutioni synodicali sesquitertia; tum, si prior super posteriorem revolvat, punctum in priore datum a centro ejus distans ratione distantiæ similitia a primaria sua, epicycloidem describeret, facilitis super planum immobile semitæ similem.
35. Gypsum, regnorum emaximarum fertilizatem non nuget.
36. Aëris temperatura in patris alcis in quovis climate, inter temperaturam æstivam et hyemalem climatis illius est medium arithmeticum.

THESES ETHICÆ.

Ethica est ars bene beateque vivendi.

1. OMNE mendacium est culpabile.
   2. Ethicæ solum fundamen in scripturis sacrosanctis reperitur.
3. Æqualitas vera non est scientiæ, honoris, aut divitiarum, sed Justum et justitiæ.
4. Ergo, populi ingenio et moribus aliquot aptetur.
5. Experientia solum artem gubernandi perfectam reddere potest.
6. Et Commercium et Scientia politica simili gradu adhuc progressi fulse.
7. De ratione et vi obligationis omnium philosophi semper et ubique gentium dubebrunt: Ergo,
8. Obligationis moralis fundamen a nullam stabile et certum philosophia præbere potest.
9. Sine virtute et literaturâ nulla respublica felix et libera esidere potest.
10. Ut Cives virtute et intelligentiâ sint pendiii, literis et moribus proinde eos inftitui necesse est: Ergo,
11. Inftitutionibus talibus neglectis, respublica felix et libera haud esidere potest.

THESES METAPHYSICÆ.

Metaphysica finium spiritualium earumque affectus et proprietates, earumque moralium rationes tractat.

1. VEL materiæ vel spiritûs substratum quid sit, generi humano prorsus et omnino latet.
2. Spiritûs neque ac materiæ proprietates hominibus penitus sunt.
3. Materiam cogitare nec demonstrari nec etiam probabile reddi potest.
4. Spiritûs quam materiæ existentia multo probabilior est.

THESES THEOLOGICÆ.

Theologia est scientia quæ DEUM et perfectiones ejus contemplatur.

1. DEI cognitio divinitùs generi humano data fuit. Et
   2. Scripturæ sacrosanctæ cognitionem Dei inter homines conservaverunt.
3. Dei unitas rationi humanæ probari non potest.
4. Deum peccata remittarum ratio humana probare non potest: Ergo,
5. Ratio humana, felicitatem futuram adipiscendi modum nullum hominibus unquam pretbuit, aut præbere potest.
6. Polytheifta, materialista, sceptici vel atheï, philosophorum plusque semper fuerunt: Ergo,
7. Et Religioni naturali et revelatæ, et virtuti, et felicitati humanæ, philosophia humana ex parte obstitit et pernicieï fuit.

His antecedit Oratio Salutatoria.

Habita in COMITIIS ACADEMICIS NOVO PORTU Connecticuttensium, M,DCC,XCVII.

YALE THESES. 1797

VITA

James R. Muecke was born in Knoxville, Tennessee on April 9, 1949. He attended Roane County and Knoxville City public schools. In March 1980 he received a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville with majors in Political Science and Psychology. He began to study toward the Master of Arts degree the following quarter at the same school and received the degree in August 1982.