

EARLY HARVARD BROADSIDES.

BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE.

The list of early Harvard Broad­sides presented herewith is the result of inquiries sent to such American and foreign libraries as seemed most likely to contain material of this kind. From all I received most obliging answers. Doubtless other copies and other sheets, unknown up to the present time, are still lurking undiscovered in various public and private collections, and I shall be grateful to anyone who will point them out.

The publications which were issued in broadside form, and which have been the object of this inquiry are (1) the "Theses" presented on Commencement Day, and dedicated to the assembled company by the candidates for the bachelor's degree, whose names are printed in due order, (2) the "Quaestiones Discutiendae" with the names of the candidates for the master's degree, (3) an English "Order of Exercises" for Commencement, printed from 1791 to 1810, (4) the Triennial Catalogue of Graduates, printed in broadside form down to 1773, (5) the Annual Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1803-1818, and (6) the Order of Performances at Exhibitions, 1810-1817.

LIST OF HARVARD BROADSIDES

WITH INDICATION OF THE LIBRARIES IN WHICH COPIES
ARE TO BE FOUND

Names of the Libraries, with abbreviations used:

A	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.
Am	Amherst College Library.
B	Boston Public Library.
BA	Boston Athenaeum.
BHC	Harvard Club of Boston.
Bod	Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.
Bow	Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine.
Con	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.

D	Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, N. H.
E	Essex Institute, Salem.
H	Harvard College Library.
Hun	Hunterian Museum, Univ. of Glasgow.
JCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington.
M	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
NYH	New York Historical Society.
NYHC	Harvard Club of New York.
NYP	New York Public Library.
Pen	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
Y	Yale University Library.

COMMENCEMENT THESES AND QUESTIONS.

DATE.	THESES.	QUESTIONS.
1642		
1643	Hun M	
1644	(no graduates)	
1645		
1646	Hun	
1647	Hun M (frag.)	(no candidates)
1648	(no graduates)	
1649		
1650		
1651		(no candidates)
1652		
1653 Aug. 9	Hun	Hun
1653 Aug. 10	Hun	
1654		
1655		H
1656		H
1657		(no candidates)
1658		Hun
1659		H
1660		H
1661		
1662		(only one A. M. in Class of '59)
1663		H
1664		H
1665		H
1666		H
1667		
1668		H
1669		H
1670	M	
1671		(no candidates.)
1672	(no graduates)	
1673		

DATE.	THESES.	QUAESTIONES.
1674		H
1675		H
1676		H
1677		
1678	Hun M	H
1679		H
1680		H
1681		H
1682	(no graduates)	H
1683		
1684		H
1685		(no candidates)
1686		H
1687	H	H
1688	(no graduates)	H
1689	H	H
1690		H
1691	H	(no candidates.)
1692		H
1693	NYP	H
1694		H
1695		H
1696		H
1697		H
1698		H
1699		H
1700		H
1701		H M
1702		H
1703		H
1704		H
1705		H
1706		
1707		H
1708	M	H M
1709		H
1710		H
1711	M	H M
1712		H M
1713	[Stiles]	H
1714		H
1715		H
1716		H M
1717	M	H M
1718		H
1719	M	H A

DATE.	THESES.	QUESTIONES.
1720	H A M	H M
1721	M	
1722	A	H A
1723	A	H A
1724		H
1725	A	H A
1726	A	A
1727	H (fragm.) A	H A
1728		H A
1729		H
1730	H A	H A
1731	A	H A
1732	H A	H
1733	H	H A
1734	H	H A
1735	H	H
1736		H
1737	H A	H A
1738	H A BHC M	H A M
1739	H A	A E
1740	H A	H A
1741	H A E M	H A L C M
1742	H A B BHC NYHC	H A
1743	A	H A M
1744	H A BHC	H A
1745	H A	A
1746	A	A
1747	H A BHC	H A
1748	H A BHC	H A
1749	H A	H A
1750	H A	A
1751	H A	H A Y
1752	(No public Commencement.)	
1753	H A M	H A
1754	H A Y	H A M
1755	H A	H A
1756	H A	H A
1757	(No public Commencement)	
1758	H A E	H A
1759	H A BHC M	H A BHC E
1760	H A	H A
1761	H A	H A E
1762	H A BHC M	H (torn) A B Y
1763	H A M NYH	A
1764	(No public Commencement)	
1765	H A E	H A E B M

DATE.	THESES.	QUAESTIONES.
1766	H A Am BHC E NYHC	H (trimmed) M
1767	H A E M	H E
1768	H A BHC E M	H E M Y
1769	H A BHC Bod M Y	H E M
1770	H A E M	H Y
1771	H A B BHC M Y	H E
1772	H A M	H E M
1773	H A B M	H A
1774	(No public Commencement)	
1775	(No public Commencement)	
1776	H E (No public Commencement)	
1777	H E (No public Commencement)	
1778	H A (No public Commencement)	
1779	H A M Y (Exercises held on an earlier date)	
1780	H A M Y (No public Commencement)	
1781	H A E Y	H A NYH
1782	H A B BHC LC M	
1783	H B BHC Y	
1784	H A B LC M	H A B
1785	H B BHC M Y	H A B M
1786	H B BA BHC E LC M Y	H A BHC
1787	H A B BA BHC Con E JCB LC M Y	H A BHC M Y
1788	H A B BHC M Y	H A
1789	H A B D E M Y	H A M
1790	H A B BHC E M	H A
1791	H A Am B BHC E LC M	H A BHC
1792	H A B BHC D E M Y	
1793	H A B BA BHC E M	
1794	H A B BA BHC E M NYH	
1795	H A E M	
1796	H A B BHC E M	
1797	H A B BHC Con E M Y	
1798	H A B BHC E M	
1799	H A BHC Con E M Y	
1800	H A B BA M	
1801	H A Am BA BHC E M Y	
1802	H A B E M Y	
1803	H A Am BA BHC E M Y	
1804	H A Am B BA BHC Con E M Y	
1805	H A Am B BHC E M Y	
1806	H A Am B BHC E M Y	
1807	H A B BHC E LC M Y	
1808	H A Am B BHC E M Y	
1809	H A B BA BHC E LC M NYH Y	
1810	H A B BHC E M NYH Y	

ORDER OF EXERCISES (IN ENGLISH)

DATE.	
1791	H B M Y
1792	H A
1793	H A E
1794	H A M NYH
1795	H A
1796	H A B
1797	H A B BA NYH
1798	H A B
1799	H A B NYH
1800	H B BA
1801	H A B BA E
1802	H A M
1803	H A Con E M
1804	H A
1805	H A BA
1806	H A B BA E
1807	H A BA E
1808	H A E Y
1809	H A B M Y
1810	H A B BA BHC E M NYH Y

TRIENNIAL CATALOGUES.

1674	State Paper Office, London. (Reprinted by Sibley.)
1682	H Reprinted by Shurtleff and by Sibley.
1685	No copy known. Referred to by Witte.
1697	No copy known. Brought down to 1698 in Mather's <i>Mag-</i> <i>nalia</i> . Reprinted by Shurtleff (20 cop.).
1700	H Reprinted by Sibley.
1703	
1706	
1709	
1712	
1715	BA (but not now to be found)
1718	
1721	H (from the New England Company in London.)
1724	
1727	H
1730	H (mutilated)
1733	H (mutilated) Bodleian
1736	H
1739	
1742	
1745	H

1748	H
1751	H B M
1754	Con
1758	H ¹ Con D (frag.)
1761	H NYHC
1764	H
1767	H NYHC
1770	H B M
1773	H ¹ A D (½ only)

ANNUAL CATALOGUES.

1803	H M
1804	M
1805	H A M
1806	H A M Y
1807	A Am M Y
1808	H A B BA M Y
1809	H A Am BA D M
1810	H A Am BA M NYH Y
1811	H A Am BA Con M Pen Y
1812	H A Am BA M NYHC Y
1813	H A Am B BA M Y
1814	H A Am B BA M Y
1815	H A Am B BA M Y
1816	H A Am B BA D M Y
1817	H A Am B A M NYHC Y
1818	H A Am B BA D M Y

ORDER OF PERFORMANCES AT EXHIBITIONS.

1810 Aug.	H A	1814 Apr.	H A
" Oct.	H A BA	" Aug.	H A Y
1811 Apr.	H A BA	" Nov.	H A M
" Aug.	H A	1815 Apr.	H A BA M
" Oct.	H A	" Aug.	H A BA
1812 Apr.	H A BA	" Oct.	H A BA M
" Aug.	H A BA Y	1816 Apr.	H A BA M
" Oct.	H A BA	" Aug.	H A M
1813 Apr.	H A	" Oct.	H A
" Aug.	H A	1817 Apr.	H A
" Oct.	H A		

¹ The Harvard Library unfortunately does not possess copies of the Triennials of 1758 and 1773 in their original form. That of 1758 is mounted with the Triennial Portfolio described beyond, and that of 1773 is cut up and mounted in the form of a small pocket volume.

Of these several publications the Triennial Catalogues are perhaps the most valuable, since it is upon them that chief dependence has to be placed for the record of the graduates of the College, their degrees and offices, but it will be generally admitted that the sheets of Theses present more points of interest. Their flowery dedicatory phrases to the Governor, to the leaders of Church and State, to the officers of the College, to the "viris literatura ac pietate conspicuis" and to the "universis humanitatis cultoribus," reflect the changing conditions of colony, province and state. The "theses" themselves, classified into Technologicae, Logicae, Grammaticae, Rhetoricae, Mathematicae and Physicae, usually a hundred or more in number on each sheet, if one were to study them with some care, would give an insight into the content and character of undergraduate studies. From 1751 on, the classification includes Theses Metaphysicae, Ethicae, and Theologicae. In 1778 (note the date!) Theses Politicae are first included, and later we find Geographicae, Historicae, Politicae, Astronomicae, and perhaps others.²

The typography of the sheets is interesting, since it shows us how the same form of composition was treated by successive printers from Stephen Daye in 1643 down to Isaiah Thomas, Samuel Hall and the Fleets, to say nothing of later printers down to the present time. In the years for which the Theses are extant, these sheets are the original authority for the lists of graduates, and it is only because so many of them have failed to come down to us, that the early Triennials have to serve as an original authority in this respect.

It is remarkable how few of these early broadsides have survived. Of the first seventy-five years of the College, 1642-1716, only twelve years are repre-

² The theses or quaestiones presented by the masters have been examined by Rev. Edward J. Young in an interesting paper contributed to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1881 (XVIII, 119-151) and separately printed.

sented by extant Theses, yet it is probable that, with exception of five years when there were no graduates, the Theses were printed regularly. Paper, of course, was dear and the College was poor, so that we may be sure that no large number of copies was printed, probably not enough for general distribution among the audience. Moreover, the large size of the sheet did not favor its preservation in libraries either public or private, and one side being blank, the temptation was strong to use it for other records or for wrapping. These two circumstances, the small number of copies and the large size of the sheet must account for the present rarity of these broadsides. The Masters' "Quaestiones" being on smaller sheets, and perhaps more highly prized, have fared much better, so that there remains a reasonably complete series from very near the beginning. It is likely that the fire of 1764 was the cause of the destruction of many of the earlier Theses for it is to be noted that of the 21 sheets extant between 1642 and 1726 (85 years) the College Library has only four, while of the 58 extant Quaestiones falling within the same period, the College has 56. From this date down the file of both sheets in the College Library is fairly continuous. It is reasonable to conclude therefore that while the College file of Quaestiones escaped destruction in some way in 1764, the file of Theses perished. There is every reason to hope that many of the gaps in both series will yet be filled, and that many Theses hitherto unknown will eventually be found in unexpected places. In fact, the most important discovery of these papers in recent years was in the Hunterian Museum of the University of Glasgow, where eight sheets—six of Theses (between 1643 and 1678), and two of Quaestiones (1653 and 1658) have been preserved. Of these, five were previously unknown, and of the other three one was known only by a fragment. Of all these sheets the Harvard Library has photographs through the kindness of Dr. Sir William Osler of Oxford University.

Starting at the very beginning, we know that the Theses of 1642, the first Harvard Commencement, were printed, for they are reprinted in "New England's First Fruits," where it is explicitly stated that they were "printed in Cambridge in New-England." The Theses of 1643 are known from the Hunterian copy and from a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The full text was printed in the Society's Proceedings, IX. 413, and a facsimile is given in Dr. S. A. Green's "Ten facsimile reproductions relating to New England," 1902.

In 1644 there were no graduates. The sheet for 1645 is not known, but 1646 and 1647 are both found in the Hunterian Museum, and the dedications of both are printed below.³

[1646]

SPECTATISSIMIS INTEGRITATE, ET SYNCERA |
 RELIGIONE, VIRTUTE ET SAPIENTIA VIRIS PLURI-
 MUM OBSERVANDIS, D. JOHANNI | WINTHROPO;
 CÆTERISQUE CONFOEDERATARUM NOV-
 ANGLIÆ CO- | LONIARUM GUBERNATORI-
 BUS ET MAGISTRATIBUS VI- | GILAN-
 TISSIMIS: UNA CUM REVERENDISSI- |
 MIS, DOCTISSIMIS, ET PIETATE
 ORNA- | TISSIMIS
 ECCLESIARUM |
 PRESBYTERIS:|

Omnibus denique tam in Veteri, quam in Nov-Angliã liter-
 arum & literatorum fautoribus | benignissimis,|
*Theses has Philologicas & Philosophicas, quas [aspirante Nu-
 mine] Præsidente Henrico Dunstero, | publicè in Collegio
 Harvardino, pro virili defendere conabuntur, (quorum
 hic nomina | subscribuntur) Adolescentes*
 D. D. C. Q.

³The general character of the typographical arrangement is followed, but the precise disposition of the lines can only be indicated here by the uprights.

[1647]

AMPLISSIMIS CONSULTISSIMIS ET MULTIFARIA|
 VIRTUTE ORNATISSIMIS VIRIS D. JOHANNI WIN-
 THROPO, CÆTERISQUE SUMMIS RERUM NOV-|
 ANGLICARUM ADMINISTRATORIBUS PRÆ-
 FECTISQUE DIGNISSIMIS, PERINDE AC
 VE-|NERANDIS QUIBUSQUE ECCLE-
 SIARUM PRESBYTERIS SINGULARI
 PIETATE ET| ERUDITIONE VARIA
 CLARISSIMIS THEOLOGIS:|

Quinetiam omnibus in utrâque Angliâ Musarum pariter ac
 Musicularum Mecænatibus Humanissimis, |
Theses hasce Philologicas & Philosophicas, quibus, Annuente
Deo, Præside Henrico Dunstero, publicè in Collegio
Harvardino | propugnandis suam navabunt operam
(devotissimæ observantiæ et gratitudinis ergo)
artium liberalium | candidati Adolescentes |

M. D. D. D.

A fragment of the latter (the lower half of the sheet) is also in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The sheet for 1646 was presumably printed by Matthew Daye, who printed the Almanacs of 1647 and 1648 in a better type than Stephen Daye's Almanac of 1646. The Theses sheet differs in type from that of 1643, but agrees typographically with that of 1647. The sheet of 1647, it should be noted, gives only six names of graduates instead of the seven of the Triennial Catalogues, the name of William Mildmay being omitted. Why was this? and why was Mildmay, who was the son of a knight, placed at the foot of the list in the Triennial? Sibley (*Harvard Graduates*, I.165) was puzzled by the order of the names, but he

states that Mildmay's name was continued on the Steward's books till 1651. From the omission of his name on the Theses sheet of 1647 we now see that he must have received his degree at some later time (perhaps in 1651) "as of the Class of 1647" to use the present phrase, and this may account for the position of his name in the Triennials.

In 1648 again there were no graduates, so that no sheet of Theses is to be expected. For the four classes of 1649 to 1652 no Theses have survived, but with 1653 we come to the interesting year when there were two Commencement days, one August 9th and the other August 10th, and for these two days, most fortunately, the Hunterian Museum yields the two corresponding sheets of Theses, each differing from the other in every particular of phrasing and typography. The wording is so ingeniously varied throughout that it is interesting to compare the Dedications in parallel lines.

[Aug. 9] CLARISSIMIS DIGNISSIMIS OMNIGENA VIR-
[Aug. 10] AUTHORITATIS PONDERE, IUDICII RO-

TUTE consilio, et prudentia viris celeberrimis,
BORE, consiliique gravitate viris vere ornatissimis, ut et
æquitatis almæ peractione celeberrimis

D. Johanni Endicotto, D. Johanni Hainesio, inclytarum
D. Johanni Endicotto eximiæ Massachusettensis coloniæ
Massachusetti, et Connecticutiæ, coloniarum gubernato-
ribus plurimum honorandis:

rectori fidelissimo, pluribus nominibus observando;
cæterisque unitarum Nov-Angliæ coloniarum summis adminis-
coeterisque totius hujusce politiæ Nov-Angl: procuratoribus
tratoribus;
studiosissime colendis,

ut et omnibus et singulis pietate et doctrina ornatissimis
nec non etiam qua doctrina, qua pietate, splendidissimis
ecclesiarum presbyteris.
ecclesiarum luminibus, reverentia (quanta potest esse max-
ima) prosequendis.

Omnibus denique hujus nostræ Reipublicæ literariæ Mæcen-
Universis porro et singulis passim locorum ingenuarum Artium
atibus benignis et benevolis.
cultoribus, et patronis humanissimis,

Theses hasce, quas (favente DEO) sub Præside Henrico Dun-
Theses hasce, quas (favente Numine) sub Henrico Dunstero
stero

Collegij Harvardini Præsidi,

palam in Collegio Harvardino, pro viribus defendendas hu-
in propatulo pro virium suarum modulo defensum ire nervos
millimè suscipiunt,
intendunt suos, (officij, observantiæ & gratitudinis ergo)

juvenes liberalium artium studiosi, D. D. D. Q.
tenelli Musarum alumni P. D. D. D Q.

Cantabrigiæ Nov-Angliæ Quint: Id: Sextilis Anno Dom:
Cantabrigiæ Nov-Angl: Decimo Sextilis Anno Dom:

M. D. C. LIII.

CIO IOC LIII.

This double Commencement has always been something of a mystery, and facts are still lacking for its complete explanation. In the Latin Triennial Catalogues, beginning with the earliest known, that of 1674, this statement follows the names of those who received their degrees on the first day,—“Qui ad secundum gradum admissi fuere 1655: Die sequente vero baccalaurei, ad secundum gradum admissi ut moris est, 1656.”⁴ And then follow the names of eight more graduates. Why should half the graduates in this year have been entitled to their second degree in three years, the invariable custom, and half in only two years, an entirely exceptional provision? The explanation is, I think, to be found in the fact that at about this time the course of study was changed from three to four years.⁵ The account of the College in “New England’s First Fruits” implies a three year

⁴ “Who were admitted to their second degree in 1655; but on the following day bachelors, admitted to their second degree as the custom is, in 1656.” In the Triennial of 1682, the words vary slightly, but bear the same meaning—“Qui ad secundum gradum admissi fuere 1655. Diei sequentis Baccalaurei, ad secundum gradum admissi ut moris est, 1656.”

⁵ It might be expected, it is true, that the two sheets of Theses for 1653 would make some allusion to the difference in preparation for the Bachelor’s degree if such a difference existed. But it should be noticed, on the other hand, that they say nothing of the difference in the period after which the Master’s degree would be conferred, a difference which we know was already determined upon at the time.

course; but that the course was changed to four years at about this date, we know from Thomas Prince's preface to William Torrey's "Brief Discourse concerning Futurities or Things to Come, Boston, 1757." Of William Torrey's son Samuel, Prince says:—

"I suppose he was admitted into Harvard-College about 1650, and should, according to the preceeding Custom, have taken his first Degree in three years. But the Corporation making a Law that the Scholars should study at College four Years before they commenced Batchelors in Arts; several Scholars tho' they were accounted as good as any before them, and I suppose of different Classes, went off, and never took any Degree at all. There were at least Five of them, who after made a very shining Figure in New-England: viz. Gov. Josiah Winslow; this Rev. Mr. Samuel Torrey; the Rev. Mr. Ichabod Wiswall of Duxbury, Agent for Plymouth-Colony at the Court of England upon the Revolution; the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wakeman of Fairfield; and the Rev. Mr. Brimsmead of Marlborough: who would all have been a great Honour to our Harvard-Catalogue: and I could wish their Names might be yet inserted, as educated there and qualified for their First Degree, tho' diverted from it."

Cotton Mather in the "Magnalia" refers to the same trouble when, in speaking of the Catalogue of Graduates which he prints in extenso, he says— "Finally, if Harvard be now asked, as once Jesse was, are here all thy Sons? It must be answered, no; for upon a Disatisfaction, about an Hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a Year of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their Degree (about the Year 1655—) there was a Considerable Number, even Seventeen of the Scholars, which went away from the College without any Degree at all. Nevertheless, this Disaster hindered not their future serviceableness in the Churches of the Faithful, and some of them indeed proved extraordinary serviceable:" (Edition of 1702, Book IV, p. 135.) If now one examines the Catalogue carefully, he notes a curious and, so far as I know, unexplained variation in the size of the graduating classes. In the first ten years of the College, 1642-1651, there had

been two years, to be sure, with no graduates, but in the other eight years the numbers had run—9, 4, 7, 4, 7, 5, 9, 10; but the next five years, 1652 to 1656, show the following figures—

1652— 1.

1653—17.

1654— 1.

1655— 2.

1656— 8.

After this the numbers run on rather evenly, varying from 6 to 10 for several years. I believe that the variations from 1652 to 1656 can be explained as due to the change in the length of the College Course and to the number of students who left without taking their degree, as related by Mather and by Prince. In the absence of any entry in the remaining College Records, who can say precisely what rules were laid down in regard to the change? But it is natural to conclude that, of the double number who were graduated in 1653, the first nine, who were to receive the second degree in two years, may have entered College *four* years before, and the other eight, who were to be admitted to the second degree in three years, may have spent but *three* years already in College. Or, to put the case a little differently, let us suppose the change to have been decided upon in the spring of 1652; we may then imagine that the boys who had entered in 1649 and would have practically completed their course under the rules in force when they entered, may have been required simply to wait till the next year, 1653, before receiving their degrees, but with the promise of being admitted to the second degree in two years after. This would explain the presence of only one graduate in the year 1652, Joseph Rowlandson, who may have profited by some exception, or who may have entered earlier and have been delayed in completing his work. The boys who entered in 1650, who would have been at the end of their second year

at the time when we suppose the change to have been introduced, were also, it would seem, allowed to graduate after three years of study. These would be the graduates of the second Commencement of 1653, with the exception perhaps of one who stayed over and became the solitary graduate of 1654, and possibly others who for some reason were not allowed the same privilege as their classmates, and were among the seventeen who left College. Those who entered in 1651 and were (supposedly) at the end of their Freshman year when the new order was introduced, were evidently not allowed to graduate in 1654. They would, therefore, have had some cause for dissatisfaction that no exceptions were made in their case as in the cases of the two upper classes, and it would seem that almost all left College. Only two apparently remained to graduate in 1655. With the Class of 1656, which entered in 1652 after the change was made, four years was established as the regular course, and the usual number was graduated. I would venture, therefore, to amend Mather's date of "about 1655" to 1652, and to "suppose" that Samuel Torrey entered College in 1651 instead of "about 1650."⁶

After 1653 we must come down to 1670 before we find another sheet of Theses, and this is preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Our associate, Mr. Edes, it is true, showed to the Colonial Society (Transactions of April, 1898, V. 322) a manuscript

⁶ Mr. Albert Matthews presented to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts in April, 1914 (Publ. XV, pp. 271-285) "Tentative Lists of Temporary Students at Harvard College, 1639-1800," and it is interesting to note that he has discovered the names of just seventeen such students whom he sets down as belonging to the classes of 1654 and 1655, the classes which would have been most affected by the change from a three-year to a four-year course, if made at the time suggested above as probable. Samuel Torrey, Mr. Matthews assigned tentatively to the class of 1656 on the ground that the charges against him in the Steward's book, quoted by Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, i. p. 564 seem to run from March, 1653 to March, 1656, but if he entered College as late as the autumn of 1652, he would have had no ground for complaint unless the change in the college course had been made at a subsequent date, and that would leave the lack of graduates in 1652 and the double number in 1653 unexplained. The names of all students that appeared in the second Steward's book with an abstract of the charges against them are to be found at the end of Sibley's first volume. Many of the "seventeen" mentioned by Mather can be pretty certainly identified here.

sheet of Theses, purporting to be the Theses of 1663. The character of these is not quite clear, but it is generally considered to have been some sort of travesty of the genuine theses of that year, for it is full of quaint terms and punning phrases. Yet, it must be admitted that the usual phraseology of the dedications at this time was characterized by extravagances and conceits.

The sheet of 1670 is dedicated to the three governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Plymouth in the following words:—

“Viris Autoritate Præcipuis, Prudentia Celeberrimis
 Venerandis { Richardo Bellinghamo } Confœderatarum
 { Iohanni Winthropo } N. Angliæ
 { Thomæ Princæo } Colonialium
 { Masathuset. } Primatibus.
 { Connecticut. }
 { Plimouthen. }

Unà cum omnibus in Regimine Politico in singulis Coloniais probè constitutis. | Nec minus Reverendis Reipublicæ nostræ Ecclesiasticæ Rectoribus, Sacrorum Mystagogis, quibuscunq; etiam exiguis nostræ | Academix cœptis benignè annuentibus, Artibus Scientiisq; liberalibus Πολυμάθεσι, & Φιλομάθεσι | Vobis, ut Literarum Patronis Theses hæcè submissi quas (aspirante Deo) sub tutelâ Caroli Chauncæi SS. Theol. Bac. | Collegii Harvardini Praesidis, propugnandas suscepimus Juvenes in Artibus Tyrones. | D. D. DQ.”

President Chauncy died February 19, 1672, the sheet for 1670 being the only one that remains bearing his name. In 1672, on August 13, Urian Oakes, minister of the Church in Cambridge, presided at Commencement, as is stated by William Adams in his Journal (4 Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 17) since Leonard Hoar who had been elected President on July 30, was not inaugurated until December 10. No copy of the Theses is extant.

In 1678 which is the next year for which the Theses are known (again from a copy in the Mass. Historical Society) Oakes presided again as Acting President, and the dedication of the Theses is even more flowery than in 1670.

"Illustrissimis viris | Tam Pietate, quam Prudentiâ atque
Auctoritate spectatissimis; |

Ornatissimis	{	D. Johanni Leveretto	{	Fœderatarum
		D. Josiæ Winslowæo		Nov-Angliæ
		D. Guilielmo Leitto		Coloniarum
		{		{
		Massachuset		Gubernatoribus
		Plimouth		Honoratissimis:
		Connecticut:		

Cœterisque Magistratus Onere et Honore Conjugatis, ad
Reipublicæ clavum jugiter excubantibus, incolumitatis pub-
licæ apprimé | studiosis; Nec non Reverendissimis cum
Academîæ, tum Ecclesiarum Curatoribus, Theologis Doc-
tissimis et Gravissimis; | Omnibus denuð et singulis bonarum
Literarum candidatis, benevolis Academîæ *Ευεργέταις* | Theses
hasce, quas (*εάνπερ ἐπιτρέπη ὁ θεός*) Sub Rev: Uriano Oakes,
Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiæ Pastore, Collegii | Harvardini
Præsidi pro tempore, *Κατασκευαστικῶς καὶ Ανασκευαστικῶς*
discutiendas, proponunt juvenes *φιλαλήθεις καὶ φιλομαθεῖς*

Johannes Cottonus
Cottonus Matherus
Grindallus Rawsonus
Urianus Oakes.

D. D. DQ.

The Theses for 1687, 1689, and 1691 are in the Har-
vard Library and the sheet for 1693 is in the New York
Public Library, all four being unique copies so far as
I am aware. The sheet for 1687 is especially inter-
esting since it is dedicated to Sir Edmund Andros in
the form following:

"Præcellentissimo et illustrissimo viro | D. Edmundo An-
dros, Equiti Aurato: | Regi a Cubiculis, Stratego & Guber-
natori summo D. Regis Territorii, | & Domini apud Nov-
Anglos in America: | Una cum cæteris Senatoribus specta-
tissimis," etc.

Andros had arrived in December, 1686, and this is
the sole sheet dedicated to him, for there were no grad-
uates in 1688, and on April 18, 1689 Andros was seized
and thrown into prison. The Theses for 1689 are
dedicated to Simon Bradstreet who had resumed the
governorship, and is described as "Colonîæ Massa-
chusensis Moderatore Maxime Spectando" and with
him were joined "Cunctisque quibus jus et Imperium

apud Nov-Anglos mandatur," which is a delightfully comprehensive phrase, well fitted to the unsettled condition of public affairs. The Commencement was under the charge of William Brattle, President Increase Mather being in England. The Theses for 1691 are again dedicated to Simon Bradstreet "Consultissimo pariter ac perhonorifico viro, Massachusetts Colonix Rectori Cumprimis Honorando, Cæterisque Consulibus Communis Omnium Salutis Apprimè Studiosis," and the exercises were presided over by Leverett and Brattle jointly.

In 1693 the name of Sir William Phips, the first governor under the new charter, appears, and the same would have been true in 1692 and 1694, but no copies of the Theses of those years remain. Stoughton's name must have appeared on the Theses of 1695 to 1698, and again in 1701, but these likewise have disappeared. How interesting it would be to have the Theses dedicated to the donor of the first Stoughton Hall! May one or more of these sheets still be lurking undiscovered in some library or among private papers!

The Earl of Bellomont would have been complimented by the Theses of 1699, but nothing more survives until we come to the sheets of 1708 and 1711 when Joseph Dudley's name appears, and the Latin of the Commencement dedications becomes more and more pompous and extravagant.

President Stiles in his Diary speaks of having the Theses of 1713, but the copy has not come down to this day in the Yale Library.

The Theses for 1717 and 1719 are to be found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the sheet for 1720 in the Harvard Library, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in the American Antiquarian Society. From this point on there is an almost unbroken series extant, copies being available in one or another of these libraries. I am happy to be able to state that, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Osler and of

the librarians of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, and the New York Public Library, the Harvard Library possesses facsimiles of all the sheets known of which it does not own originals, so that its file is as nearly complete as it can at present be made.

Down to 1711 each year produced its own individual form of dedication. Beginning with 1717, or with some year between 1711 and 1717, a form was adopted from which there was scarcely any variation for sixty years, and many of the phrases of which have persisted even to our own day. For this reason it may be worth while to print it in full.

ILLUSTRISSIMO ac Sublimi Virtute, Optimaque Eruditione,
| omitted 1781-

Ornatissimo Viro, [Governor's name], Provinciæ Massachu-
| omitted 1781-

settensis, et Neo-Hantoniensis GUBERNATORI summo,
| omitted, 1742- | omitted, |
1723- |

Marisque Contermini Vice-Admirallo Insignissimo, Honora-
| omitted, 1781-

tissimo [Lieut. Governor's name], Provinciæ Massachu-
| omitted, 1781-

settensis Vice-Gubernatori Spectatissimo; Proceribus
| omitted 1781- |

Politiæ Massachusettensis Consultissimis, Reverendissimis-
| Honoratissimis or | Reverendis, 1780-1809

que Viris, Vicinarum Ecclesiarum Doctoribus, Academiæ
| omitted, | ecclesiarum in oppidis sex vicinis, | presbyteris 1759- | Universitatis
| 1781- | 1753- |

Cantabrigiensis Nov-Anglorum Curatoribus Vigilantissimis;
| omitted, 1781- |

Reverendo pariter atque Honorando [President's name]
| omitted, 1781- |

Collegii Harvardini Præsidi (cujus sub Moderamine sequentia
| omitted, 1781- | omitted, 1776-

sunt defendenda Philosophemata;) Totique Senatui Academi-
| que omitted, 1781-

*For Proceribus . . . Consultissimis, read *Consiliariis et Senatoribus Reipublicae Massachusettensis*, 1781-1809, and from 1810 on, *Consiliariis Spectatissimis; Utriusque Senatus Massachusettensis Principi honorando, Caeterisque Univ. Harv. Curatoribus*.

*Reverendis . . . Presbyteris, omitted, 1810-

co Dignissimo; Venerandis quoque Ecclesiarum passim Pastor-
omitted, 1781, | Ceterisque, qui in rebus Universitatis administrandis versantur,
1783- | (Aliisque omnibus, 1810-) inserted before Venerandis, 1781-
 ibus, Viris Literatura ac Pietate conspicuis; universis denique
| omitted, 1781-
 et singulis ubicunque Terrarum, Humanitatis Cultoribus,
| omitted, 1781- |
 Reique Publicæ nostræ Fautoribus Benignissimis: Theses
literariæ inserted, 1719- | omitted, 1781- |
 hasce quas (Divino annuente Numine) in Collegio Harvardino
| omitted, 1776-
 defendere et pro Virili propugnare conabuntur Juvenes in
 Artibus initiati, [names of candidates] L. M. D. D. C. Q.
L. M. D. D. C. C. Q. 1743-1780
humillime dedicant, 1781-

Between 1773 when a Royal Governor's name appears for the last time and 1781 when the Governor of the State is first given, the dedication begins with the "Proceribus."

The Theses for 1718 are lacking, and one wonders if their absence is in any way due to the difficulty with Ebenezer Pierpont of 1715, who had been making trouble and who claimed his A. M. on this Commencement.⁹ The Corporation refused to bestow it, whereupon Pierpont brought suit against them in the courts of law. The proceedings on Commencement Day were interrupted by a meeting at which evidence in behalf of Pierpont was presented in the Library (in old Harvard Hall), but it being between four and five o'clock, all the evidence could not be heard. The Corporation, nevertheless, voted unanimously not to admit Pierpont, and then, as the record has it—

"The Presid^t and Fellows waited on his Excy and the Overseers that were together in the College-Hall, and reported the Opinion of the Corporation as above, Upon w^{ch} the Gov^r said well, there is an End of it, and no more to be S^d, Let us go and attend the remainder of the Service and Solemnity of the day." (COLLEGE BOOK, IV, p. 62.)

⁹ Quincy's History, I, pp. 213-225.

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has called attention to the Theses of 1723¹⁰, the dedication of which apparently aroused the ire of the House, so that it passed the following vote, 26 June, 1723.

"The Theses of the Batchelours to be Graduated at the Commencement, to be held at Cambridge the First Wednesday of July next, being produced in the House, and the House observing the dedication thereof not to be properly Addressed, Voted, That it is derogatory to the Honour of the Lieut. Governour, who is now Commander in Chief of this Province, and the Head of the Overseers of the Colledge, to have the Impression of those Theses go out as they now are, And therefore, *Ordered*, That the Printer Mr. Bartholomew Green be and hereby is directed not to deliver any of those Theses, 'till they shall be properly Addressed."¹¹ Since the Council non-concurred in the Order, it is to be presumed that the Theses were used as printed, and that the sheet in the form in which we have it is the one which met the disapproval of the House. The difficulty seems to have been that it was dedicated to Governor Shute, who had left Boston January 1st, 1723, after long contentions with the General Court. In the opinion of the House, William Dummer, the Lieut. Governor, ought to have had the place of honor. It is to be noticed that Shute's name continued to head the Commencement Theses four years more—through 1727, in spite of his prolonged absence from his post.

The sheet for 1724 is missing, but there is an interesting vote on the College Records relating to this Commencement which is worth recording. We have the "Quaestiones" of this date, and there is no reason to suppose that the Theses were not printed as usual.

"May 28th, 1724. The Holy Providence of God having removed by death the Late reverend & Worthy President

¹⁰ Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Transactions III, 400.

¹¹ Journal of the House, 1723, p. 51.

Mr. Leverett and the Commencement now drawing near Voted That the Two Senr^r Tut^rs Mr. Flynt & Mr. Sever be desired to direct & order what is necessarily preparatory for the Exercises at Commencement viz to Inspect and correct the Questions & Theses both of Masters & Bachel^rs the Catalogue to Order the Orations that are proper to be made to appoint the Questions to be disputed on as also the Respondents & Opponents And in Case a Presdt be not chosen before the Commencement That Mr. Sever Moderate the Publick disputations of the Bachel^rs in the Forenoon And Mr. Flynt the Disputations of the Masters in the Afternoon and that the Said Tut^rs give the degrees to those whose disputations they Moderate also that the 20 shil a piece from those who take their degrees be Equally divided between Mr. Flynt & Mr. Sever." (COLLEGE BOOK, IV, p. 96.)

In 1725 Benjamin Wadsworth's name appears for the first time as President. The sheets for 1728 and 1729 are not to be found, but we have the "Quaestiones" of these years, and the College Records show that the usual exercises were held. That for 1728 was probably dedicated to Dummer as Acting Governor, Burnet having been commissioned Governor March 7, 1728, but not reaching Boston until after Commencement. His name would, however, be found in the dedication of the Theses of 1729, but not again, since he died Sept. 7, 1729.

The sheet for 1730 presents an interesting peculiarity in that it is dedicated to the Lieut. Governor—"Gulielmo Tailer Armigero, Inclytissimi Gulielmi Stoughton Armigeri P. M. Nepoti," and so we get Governor Stoughton after all, nearly thirty years after his death. I know of no other case where the person to whom the dedication is addressed is described as the nephew of another, and I know no reason why Stoughton (whose sister Rebecca was William Tailer's mother) should have been resuscitated at this time. The Governor was Jonathan Belcher who had been commissioned Jan. 28, 1730, but did not reach Boston till August 8, too late for Commencement. Mr. John Noble found a copy of the Theses of 1730 in the Suffolk Court files, and presented a paper on it to the

Colonial Society in December, 1899—a paper in which he incorporated many interesting details concerning Commencement and other related matters (Transactions VI, p. 266.)

In 1731 Governor Belcher's name appears with the same complimentary epithets which had graced the name of Shute for eleven years, 1717-1727, and Belcher continued to occupy this honorable position for twelve years, 1731-1741, in spite of the fact that Shirley's commission as governor is dated May 25, 1741. The name of Spencer Phips appears as Lieut. Governor in 1733 and continues until 1757. In 1750-53 he is also described as "praefecto summo," being then Acting Governor.

In 1737, Wadsworth having died, and Holyoke, though elected, not being yet inaugurated, the Commencement Exercises were under the direction of Henry Flynt, then Acting President, for sixty years a Fellow of the College, 1700-1760, and for fifty-five years a Tutor, 1699-1754. June 21, 1737, the Corporation voted "that Mr. Henry Flynt & Mr. Nathan Prince manage the publick affaires of the said day," Prince for the Bachelors in the morning and Flynt for the Masters in the afternoon; but the Overseers having disallowed the vote the next day, Flynt was directed to preside in both "publick services." (COLLEGE BOOK, IV, p. 198.)

In 1738 Edward Holyoke's name appears as President at the beginning of his long term of thirty-two years, extending from 1737 to 1769, the longest until President Eliot's presidency of forty years. In 1742 William Shirley's name is found in the Governor's place, and there it remains down to 1756, but he is no longer Governor of New Hampshire as his predecessors had been.

From 1737 the series is complete through 1751. In 1752, no public Commencement was held. The following vote of the President and Fellows explains the reason.

"May 4th, 1752. Vote 1. Whereas by the Holy Providence of God, the small-pox, hath some time since been & now is in the Town of Cambridge, upon which Account all the Students of Harvard College have been dismissed to their several Homes; And that there is no likelihood, That They can with any Safety come together to attend the Commencement this Year, Therefore voted that the several Candidates for their first & Second Degrees, shall be admitted to their S^d. Degrees, without their personal Attendance, Provided, They shall on or before the twentieth Day of June next pay or cause to be paid the President's Fee, and shall also answer all their College Dues, as the Law requires, bringing or sending to the Pres^{dt}. a certificate thereof, from the Steward as usual.

2. That the manner of Admission of the Candidates (qualified as in the above Vote) to their several Degrees Shall be by their Names being inserted in a General Diploma in the usual Form *Mutatis mutandis*: To be signed by the Pres^{dt}. in the name of the Corporation & to be entered in the College Records, And also, That the S^d. Names shall in due Time, be transferr'd to the printed Catalogue of Graduates." (COLLEGE BOOK, VII, p. 13.)

The general diploma referred to in the above vote is still preserved in the College archives.

Again in 1757 and in 1764 the Commencement exercises were omitted, and presumably the sheets of Theses were not printed in either of these years. In 1757 the scarcity of hay and grain consequent on a prolonged drought, the "dark state of Providence with respect to the war we are engaged in, which Providences call for Humiliacon & Fasting rather than Festival Entertainments," and the uncertainty as to the new meeting-house being finished in time, are all mentioned as reasons for giving up a public Commencement and for permitting the candidates, as in 1752, to pay their fees and college dues, whereupon their names should be entered upon a general diploma to be signed by the President.¹² In 1764 the prevalence of the small-pox in Cambridge and Boston and the surrounding towns had made it necessary to dismiss the students so that "the Candidates . . . have

¹² The students received their degrees on July 13, the day set by vote of the Corporation. See the *Boston Gazette* of July 18, 1757.

been hindered from their proper preparations for the Commencement Exercises, & as by the burning of the Library, They have been deprived of the Advantages for such preparations" it was voted that the degrees should be conferred without their personal attendance. The general diploma of 1764 is preserved in the College Archives, but none for 1757 is to be found.

In 1763 the name of the printer appears for the first time at the foot of the sheet—"Typis Richardi et Samuelis Draper," changing to "Typis Richardi Draper" in 1767. In 1770 Draper is called "Academiæ Typographus." In 1771 Isaiah Thomas was the printer, and again in 1789 I. Thomas & So. In 1772-73 Thomas and John Fleet were the printers, and again in 1777-1785. Edward Eveleth Powars and Nathaniel Willis printed the sheet for 1776, and Edmund Freeman those of 1786-88. In 1800 the printing of the Theses was done in Cambridge after an interval of at least a hundred years, William Hilliard being the printer, whose press began to be known as "Universitatis Typographeo" two years later.

In 1768 and for several years thereafter the bottom of the sheet bears the inscription "In papyrum Miltoni in Nov-Anglia confectam."¹³

In 1769, President Holyoke having died, John Winthrop presided over the exercises; in 1770-73 Samuel Locke appears; in 1776 Samuel Langdon (elected in October, 1774).

Thomas Hutchinson's name figures on the Commencement programme from 1758 down to 1773, at first (1758-70) as Lieut. Governor under Pownal and Bernard, but twice in the absence of the Governor, in 1760 and 1770, appearing alone: and finally in 1771 to 1773 as Governor. The sheet for 1773 is the last

¹³ As early as May 2, 1765, the *Boston News-Letter* informed the public that it was "printed on paper manufactured at Milton" (*Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publ. IX, 429*).

on which a Colonial Governor's name is found, and it is also the first on which the names of the graduates are placed in alphabetical order instead of according to social precedence. After the names comes the brief note "N. B. Nomina alphabetice disposita sunt."

In 1774 and 1775 Commencement was omitted on account of the distracted condition of public affairs, as will be seen from the two following extracts from the Records:—

"31 May, 1774. Considering the present dark aspect of our public affairs Voted that there be no public Commencement this Year and that the Candidates for their first and second degrees after having been presented nominatim to & approved by the Honourable & Reverend Board of Overseers, shall receive their Degrees in a general Diploma, signed by the Corporation. Provided that on or before the 13th Day of July next they bring to Dr. Appleton Sen^r. Fellow of the Corporation¹⁴ a Certificate from the Steward that they have paid the stated Fee for a Degree, and have discharged all College Dues, required by Law except for the public Dinner on Commencement Day. & also a Certificate from the Librarian that they have returned in good Order or replaced all the Books they have borrowed from the Library.

Voted, that a Copy of the foregoing Vote be published in the Newspapers signed by Dr. Appleton." (COLLEGE BOOK, VII, p. 273.)

"At a Meeting of the President & Fellows of Harvard College at Watertown, at Mr. Fowle's House, July 31, 1775.

"The Distress & Confusion occasioned by the present War, of which Cambridge has been one principal Seat ever since the 19th day of April last, having render'd it impracticable to hold a public Commencement, or make the necessary preparation for conferring Degrees at the Stated Season

"Voted 1. That there be no public Commencement this Year, & that the Candidates whose names are in the List annexed (*vid.*: List in Diploma, page 293) & which being also presented to the Hon^b & Rev^d Board of Overseers, sitting this day in the Council Chamber, may be by them approved, shall receive their Degrees in a general Diploma, signed by the Corporation. Provided that within one week from this day they pay the President the stated Fee for a Degree, & likewise

¹⁴ President Samuel Locke had resigned Dec. 1, 1773.

bring him a Certificate from the Steward that they have discharged all College dues required by Law, except for the public Dinner on Commencement Day: also a Certificate from the Librarian that they have returned in good Order or replaced all the Books they have borrowed from the Library." (COLLEGE BOOK, VII, p. 291.)

A general diploma for 1775, but not for 1774, is to be found in the College Archives. It will be noticed from the vote above quoted that a copy of the general diploma of 1775 is inserted in the records of the Corporation, COLLEGE BOOK, VII, p. 293. This had not been done in 1752, 1757, 1764 and 1774.

From the Corporation records quoted below it appears that no public Commencement was held again until 1781, yet in 1776 the college resumed its usual custom of issuing a sheet of Theses, after having omitted to do so in 1774 and 1775 as previously in 1752, 1757 and 1764.

The Theses sheet of 1776 is a notable one, since it is the first to be issued after the departure of the last Royal Governor and after the Declaration of Independence. The wording is almost unchanged except for the omission of the Governor and Lieut. Governor, the dedication beginning—"Proceribus Politiae Massachusettensis Honoratissimis et consultissimis," but the date is given as "Anno Salutis MDCLXXVI Annoque Reipublicae Americae primo." "Americae" is probably a printer's error for "Americanae," and it was corrected the next year.

The successive votes of the Corporation in regard to the omission of a public Commencement are as follows:

"June 24, 1776. Voted, that in consideration of the difficult & unsettled state of our public affairs, There be no public Commencement this year, and that the Candidates . . . shall receive their degrees by a general Diploma signed by the Corporation." (COLLEGE BOOK, VII, p. 303.) The general diploma is on p. 306.

"June 16, 1777. Vote 1. That in Consideration of the public Difficulties occasioned by the continuance of the

present unhappy War, the Apprehensions, that still in some degree remain, of an Invasion of this State, & also the apparent Danger of the spreading of the Small-Pox in the natural way in this Town, there be NO PUBLIC COMMENCEMENT THIS YEAR. And that the Candidates for their first and second Degrees, after having been presented *nomination* to & approved by the Hon^{le} and Rev^d Board of Overseers, shall receive their Degrees by a General Diploma, signed by the Corporation." (COLLEGE BOOK, VII, p. 323.) The diploma is on p. 327.

June 10, 1778. "Vote 12. That in Consideration of the public Difficulties occasioned by the Continuance of the present War; the apparent danger of spreading the Small Pox in the natural way; in particular the Situation of the President's Family now visited with that Distemper; the want of necessary Accommodations in the Town of Cambridge, the Houses being crowded with British Officers; there be no public Commencement this Year, & that the Candidates . . . shall receive their Degrees by a General Diploma signed by the Corporation." (COLLEGE BOOK VIII, p. 2.) The diploma is on p. 5.

In 1779 the students were required to keep themselves in readiness to go through the usual academical exercises at some date earlier than usual to be sprung upon them unawares. The record reads:—

"May 11, 1779. Vote 10. The Board of Overseers having, at their Meeting of May 4th, 1779, given it as their opinion "that it is not expedient that there should be any public Commencement this Year" therefore Voted—that in compliance with their Opinion, the Law respecting Commencement be for this Year suspended.

"Vote 11. That in compliance with the recommendation of the Board of Overseers "to give that whole Board an opportunity to meet at Cambridge, & inquire into the qualifications of the Candidates for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, previous to their receiving that degree" The Candidates shall hold themselves in readiness to go thro' all the Academical exercises usual on commencement Days, at a time to be appointed by the Corporation; & that these Exercises shall be performed in the Chapel, or Meeting House; and that the said Degree shall then be conferred on the Candidates in the Form used on Commencement Days if practicable; but the day to be appointed for this shall be kept private, and notice given of it to the Overseers only two days before the Solemnity; that the

Students shall be prohibited giving any entertainment at their Chambers; & the Overseers, the President, Corporation, Governors & Instructors of the College, shall dine together at the expence of the Candidates for both Degrees; and no general or public Invitation to dine shall be given on that Occasion." (COLLEGE BOOK, VIII, p. 24.)

On June 18 it is recorded:—

"This Day the Candidates for a first Degree performed in the Meeting-House the Exercises usual on Commencement Days, agreeable to the 11th Vote of May 11th, before a very respectable Assembly; which were introduced by a Latin Oration delivered by the President." (COLLEGE BOOK, VIII, p. 27.)

The degrees were not voted however, till July 21, the regular date, and this is the date given on the sheet of Theses which presumably was not issued until then. The general diploma is entered on p. 30 of the Records, and in separate form it is also preserved in the College Archives.

May 13, 1780. "Vote 2. Agreeably to the Recommendation of the Board of Overseers of the 11th instant, Voted, That the Law respecting a public Commencement be suspended for this year, & that the Degrees be given by a general Diploma." (COLLEGE BOOK, VIII, p. 54.) The diploma is on p. 57.¹⁵

In 1781 the College entertained at Commencement for the first time the Governor of the new State or Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The dedication, a good deal simplified in accordance with republican simplicity, read as follows:—

Illustrissimo Johanni Hancock, Armigero, Gubernatori; Honoratissimo Thomae Cushing, Armigero, Vice-Gubernatori, Consiliariis et Senatoribus Reipublicæ Massachusettensis Reverendisq̄ Ecclesiarum Presbyteris, Universitatis Harvardianæ curatoribus, Reverendo Eduardo Wigglesworth, S. T. P. Hollisiano locum Præsidis pro hac vice ten-

¹⁵ Mr. Albert Matthews has kindly communicated references to Boston newspapers where accounts of these irregular Commencements may be found, in some cases with the diploma printed in full. In 1774, *Boston Gazette*, July 25, 1/3; 1775, *New England Chronicle*, Oct. 19, 1/1; 1776, *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 2, 1/1; 1777, *Boston Gazette*, July 28, 1/1; 1778, *Boston Gazette*, July 20, 2/2; 1780, *Boston Gazette*, July 27, 3/3.

enti, toti senatui academico; Cæterisque qui in rebus Universitatis administrandis versantur; Venerandis Ecclesiarum passim Pastoribus, Universis . . . Fautoribus, Theses . . . Humillime dedicant.

Our remaining notes on the Theses must be brief. In 1791 for the first time the Theses were accompanied by a second smaller sheet, an English "Order of Exercises" which is naturally far more informing than the Theses had ever been as to the real character of the "Academical Exercises." It shows us which of the Theses actually made a part of the programme, and who defended them, the latter information being totally lacking for all previous years unless someone happened to note it down by hand (the case in 1763). We also find that the greater part of the exercises consisted of orations or dissertations or essays or dialogues in various languages and in bewildering variety. Beginning in 1803 each group of Theses is signed by one of the candidates, but I am unable to say just what significance this had.

The only copy of the "Order of Exercises" for 1794 which has come down to this day in the Harvard Library is the one which the President, Joseph Willard, sent to his correspondent in Hamburg, Professor Ebeling, and which found its way back to Cambridge when Ebeling's library was bought by Israel Thordike in 1818, and presented to the College. On this sheet, President Willard has written "There is seldom opportunity for more than two or three who are candidates for the degree of Master of Arts to perform any exercises in the Afternoon because much of the time is taken up in giving the degrees."

The broadside form for the Theses continued through 1810, being supplemented from 1791 on by the "Order of Exercises" in English. In 1811 the two sheets were combined, forming a quarto pamphlet, and this form was kept up down to 1820. In 1821 the Theses proper were finally dropped altogether, and a folded quarto sheet took the place of the old

combination, containing on the first page a Latin dedication in the old style in which the "Exercitationes" of the day instead of the "Theses" were offered to the assembled company, while the inside pages contained the order of exercises. In 1842 an octavo pamphlet of from eight to ten pages replaced the four-page quarto, containing the dedication on the first page, the list of candidates for A. B. on the second page, and the exercises of the day on the following pages. It was not until 1849 that the names of candidates for other degrees were added. In this year the candidates in Medicine and Law appear; in 1851, the candidates for Bachelor of Science (first conferred in that year,) and the graduates of the Divinity School. But it is to be noted that these names were printed on a separate sheet and laid into the general programme. Not until 1852 are they printed as a component part of the other programme. So cautiously and deliberately did our Alma Mater adopt these revolutionary measures which seemed to imply that the professional schools really made a part of the University.

By 1860, with the increase in the size of the graduating classes, the programme had come to have forty-eight numbers on it beside six interludes of music to give the audience time to recover from the long continued delivery of "parts." After 1860 the programmes seem never to have attained such prodigious length again, twenty-five "parts" being about the average number into which they were divided.

THE QUAESTIONES.

Returning now to early times once more, to glance at the "Quaestiones Discutiendae" or theses submitted by the candidates for the Master's degree, it may be well to insert what Mather says in the "Magnalia" about Commencement.

"When the Commencement arrived, which was formerly the Second Tuesday in August, but since, the first Wednesday

in July, they that were to proceed Bachelors, held their Act publicly in Cambridge; whither the Magistrates and Ministers, and other Gentlemen then came, to put Respect upon their Exercises: And these Exercises were besides an Oration usually made by the President, Orations both Salutatory and Valedictory, made by some or other of the Commencers, wherein all Persons and Orders of any fashion then present, were Addressed with proper Complements, and Reflections were made on the most Remarkable Occurrents of the preceding Year; and these Orations were made not only in Latin, but sometimes in Greek and in Hebrew also; and some of them were in Verse, and even in Greek Verse, as well as others in Prose. But the main Exercises were Disputations upon Questions, wherein the Respondents first made their Theses. . . . In the Close of the Day, the Præsident, with the Formality of Delivering a Book into their Hands, gave them their First Degree; But such of them as had studied Three Years after their First Degree, to Answer the Horation Character of an Artist,

Qui Studiis Annos Septem dedit insenuitque Libris et Curis.

And besides their Exhibiting Synopses of the Liberal Arts, by themselves composed, now again publicly disputed on some Questions, of perhaps a little higher Elevation; These now, with a like Formality, received their Second Degree, proceeding Masters of Art." (*"Magnalia,"* edition of 1702, Book IV, p. 128.)

"At the Commencement, it has been the Annual Custom for the Batchelors to publish a Sheet of Theses, pro virili Defendendæ, upon all or most of the Liberal Arts; among which they do, with a particular Character, distinguish those that are to be the Subjects of the Publick Disputations then before them; and those Theses they dedicate as handsomely as they can, to the Persons of Quality, but especially the Governour of the Province, whose Patronage the College would be recommended unto. The Masters do, in an half-sheet, without any Dedication, publish only the Quæstiones pro Modulo Discutiendæ, which they purpose either Affirmatively or Negatively to maintain as Respondents, in the Disputations, which are by them to be managed." (*"Magnalia,"* Book IV, p. 131.)

Compared with the scanty series of the Theses which has survived, the relative completeness of the file of "Quæstiones" is remarkable. The earliest known is for 1653, the only copy being in the Hunterian Museum, and judging from its diminutive size, this

may perhaps have been the first. It is a modest little sheet about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. "Quæstiones in philosophia | discutiendæ sub Henr: Dunstero | præside Col: Harvard: Cantab: | N:-Angl: in comitiis per | inceptores in artib: | nono die sextilis | M. DC. LIII." It bears five names all from the class of 1650, and, curiously enough, one of these is the name of Leonard Hoar, later president of the College. Now for the last one hundred and ninety years Leonard Hoar has not been credited with having an A. M. from Harvard in any of the College Triennials and Quinquennials. In the earliest catalogues the degree appears; it probably dropped out by accident in the Triennial of 1727, and it has been omitted ever since. Here at last, in this single copy of the Quaestiones of 1653, preserved in distant Glasgow, is undeniable evidence that he received it, and the editor of the 1915 Quinquennial will doubtless restore it.

From 1653 to 1752, a period of one hundred years, there are only eighteen years for which we have no "Quæstiones" extant. Of these eighteen years, six were years when there were probably no candidates, so that nothing would have been printed. If this is so, only twelve sheets have disappeared of those which were printed in this first century; of the eighty-two that remain the greater part are represented only by single copies. Of these, two are to be found only in the Hunterian Museum, forty-seven only in the Harvard Library, five only in the American Antiquarian Society; twenty-four are represented by two known copies, one in the Harvard Library, and one either in the Massachusetts Historical Society or in the American Antiquarian Society, while only four are known to exist in more than two copies. In the later period of thirty-nine years, from 1753 to 1791, the only years that are not represented are during the Revolution, 1774 to 1780, 1782, and 1783.¹⁶ It

¹⁶ From 1774 to 1780 there were no public Commencements, as has already been stated, yet a sheet of Theses was issued for each of these years except the first two.

is likely enough that in these troubled years no candidates appeared at the usual time, or that if they did, the degree was conferred without the customary formality. That the "Quaestiones" of 1781 has survived in three copies, and that the Harvard series is unbroken both before and after this period seems to confirm this supposition.

Little need be said of the individual years. The form of dedication was simple, and scarcely varied. In a few early cases, when only one or two candidates were to receive their degree, the "question" was supplemented by a few lines of Latin verse, presumably original with the candidate. In 1681 a heavy black line surrounds the sheet in token of the recent death of President Urian Oakes, and the exercises were held "sub Reverendo Crescentio Mathero A. M. Apud Bostonienses V. D. M. In Comitiiis Academicis Moderatore perquam Honorando, Collegii Harvardini Curatore, & Socio Vigilantissimo." Later, when Mather was President, 1692-1701, it is interesting to note the variety of adjectives applied to him—quam maxime literato, dignissimo, literatissimo, ad modum erudito, doctissimo, and lectissimo.

The Quaestiones of 1684 bear the name of John Rogers as President, and the date "Calendas Quintiles" (July 1). But President Rogers died July 2d, and naturally did not preside at Commencement the preceding day. Judge Sewall has noted on the sheet preserved in the Harvard file "Gradus collati sunt per Rev. Gulielm. Hubbard." Hubbard was the minister at Ipswich, and presided again over the Masters' exercises in 1688 when he is described as "apud Gippoenses V. D. M." On this sheet five of the eleven subjects are marked in manuscript as "quaestiones quiescentes" from which I infer that these questions were not actually brought forward by their defenders. In 1708 certain questions began to be distinguished by special type as on the sheets of Theses, also indicating that not all were actually

discussed before the company. In 1717 the phrase is applied to the College "quae est nutu divino apud novi orbis Cantabrigienses" to be changed in 1720 to "quod est divina providentia Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum," a phrase which held the field till 1773. After 1791 the publication of the "Quaestiones" seems to have ceased. This was the year in which the English "Order of Exercises" for Commencement first appeared, and this covered both the Bachelors' Exercises in the morning and the Masters' Exercises of the afternoon.

THE TRIENNIAL CATALOGUES.

Almost equal in interest and value to the Theses and "Quaestiones" are the Triennial Catalogues of Graduates, which were printed in broadside form down to 1773. Mr. Sibley has described the early catalogues with so much care and detail in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, October 1864 (pp. 9-75) that even after fifty years there is not much to add. The Catalogues of 1674 (the earliest known) 1682, and 1700, he reprinted in his paper, which was issued separately in 1865 in an edition of 150 copies (with thirty additional copies on large paper) under the title "Notices of the Triennial and Annual Catalogues of Harvard University." Dr. Shurtleff had also reprinted in limited editions of only twenty copies, the Catalogue of 1682, and the Catalogue of 1698, printed in Mather's *Magnalia*.

The only known copy of the Catalogue of 1674 is in the State Paper Office in London, where it was found in 1842 by James Savage. The copy from which Sibley made his reprint was made by Dr. S. A. Green in 1857.

The only known copy of the Catalogue of 1682 is in the Harvard Library, having been received as a gift in 1845 from Rev. Thomas De Witt, of New York, to whom it had been sent from Amsterdam with other

historical documents. It had originally been sent to the Classis of Amsterdam by the Rev. Henry Selyns of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York, 1681 to 1701, who is known to have been in correspondence with Cotton Mather and other Boston ministers. Both these Catalogues have elaborate dedications resembling in a general way the dedications of the Theses, but all the later ones have a simple short title.

That a Catalogue was printed in 1685 Mr. Frederick L. Gay established at the meeting of the Colonial Society last March, by exhibiting a volume by Henning Witte, entitled "Diarii biographici tomus secundus," printed at Riga in 1691. On the last page the author prints a short notice of Harvard College. At its close he says—"Crescentius Matherus, Mr. Dubl. Hib. Academiae dictae socius & tum Praeses, catalogum eorum vulgavit qui ab anno 1642 ad an. 1685 in Collegio Harvardino alicujus Gradus Laurea donati sunt numerumque CCCXIX constituunt." This seems perfectly explicit and must be accepted as good evidence of the existence of a Triennial of 1685. Being three years after that of 1682 it makes it easy to believe that the regular triennial series began at this early date. The Catalogue printed in Mather's *Magnalia*, which comes down to 1698, would in that case have been taken from the Triennial of 1697, now lost. That of 1700 is known. A copy was found among the Winthrop papers, and was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. Winthrop. The Society, with Mr. Winthrop's approbation, very generously presented this precious document to the Harvard Library.

That a Catalogue was printed in 1712, though no copy is known, is evident from an extract from Pres. Leverett's *Diary* quoted by Sibley.

Mr. Sibley reports the discovery of the Triennial of 1715 in a volume of the *Boston News Letter* of that year in the *Boston Athenæum*, but unfortunately, this sheet cannot now be found.

A copy of the Catalogue of 1721, unknown to Sibley in 1864, and the only copy yet recorded, was presented to the Harvard Library in 1904 by the New England Company of London. The Governor of the Company, John W. Ford, Esq., wrote at the time: "I have pleasure in telling you how ready the members of the New England Company were to send you the paper when they found from Mr. Green [Dr. S. A. Green] that the list was supposed to be a unique one, and that it must, therefore, be of very great interest and value to your College and its members." This Catalogue is printed in seven columns, and, to save space on account of the increasing number of graduates, three distinct sizes of type are used, the smallest for the earliest classes and the largest for the latest ones. At the lower right corner of the sheet is the table of living and dead graduates

Numerus integer	760
E vivis cesserunt stelligeri	312
	—
Supersunt ad huc	448

A Latin verse runs across the lower border of the sheet—"Auris, mens, oculus, manus, os, pes; munere fungi Dum pergunt, praestat discere velle mori."¹⁷

The Triennial for 1724 is unknown, and so are those for 1739 and 1742, but with these three exceptions the series is now complete from 1721 on. That for 1754, unknown by Sibley, is to be found in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society.

That the Triennial Catalogue should still have been printed in broadside form so late as 1773, when the number of names had increased to over 2500, is surprising. With each new issue the sheet had grown larger and more inconvenient. From a list of four columns in 1674 it had increased to eight columns

¹⁷ Judge Sewall notes in his *Diary*, (Vol. III, p. 392) Sept. 10, 1728, that these lines are inscribed about his watch. Possibly he composed them.

in 1727, to twelve in 1745, and to sixteen in 1764. In 1745 it had already exceeded the width of a single sheet of paper, and an additional strip had to be pasted on at the right. By 1767 it occupied two full sheets pasted together side by side, and included 2208 names. In 1770 and 1773 the two sheets were placed one above the other, each with a separate heading, the first covering 1642 to 1731, the second 1732 to 1770, or 1773.

One other Triennial, or combination of Triennials, the Harvard Library has which is unique, and will doubtless always remain so. This is known as the Triennial Portfolio. The work of Jonathan Peale Dabney, of the class of 1811, it is an enormous volume, each page a folded sheet about five feet wide and three feet high, on which are mounted successive portions of the Triennial Catalogues of 1748, 1751, 1758, 1761, 1770, 1773, 1776, and so on down to 1830; that is to say, twenty-five different editions of the Triennial are here placed side by side, so that the successive changes in the record of each class can be surveyed at once. The book has evidently seen much use and is now in such condition that it is rarely opened or consulted.

It is unnecessary to trace the history of the Catalogue in detail from 1776, when it first appeared in octavo form, a pamphlet of 32 pp. printed by Thomas & John Fleet, through its successive triennial, and more recently quinquennial, editions down to the present day. This is outside the scope of the present paper, and down to 1863 the successive changes and improvements have been well described by Mr. Sibley, who was for many years its editor.

THE ANNUAL CATALOGUES.

Apparently the earliest printed list of undergraduates was a sheet dated May 12th, 1801, and entitled "A List of the Class which entered Harvard College, in July, 1798." On this list an asterisk is prefixed

to the names of those (eleven in number) who "have since left College," and a dagger marks one member, Jonas Fay, as "deceased." It is evident that the list must have been printed by the Class, rather than by the College, and it is the sole production of its kind. The copy in the College Library, lately reported to me by J. de Bernière Smith, Esq. of London, was presented by Mr. Smith when he learned that no other copy of it was known to exist.¹⁸ It was among the papers of his grandfather, Jacob Sheafe Smith, of the class of 1805.

This List, printed in 1801, was followed two years later by the first general catalogue of students, also in broadside form. It was entitled—"A Catalogue of the Members of Harvard University, Cambridge," and is dated October, 1803. In 1810 this became a "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Harvard University," and so continued. "Resident Graduates" appeared in 1811, and "Students attending Medical Lectures" in 1818. The Catalogue of 1818 was the last printed in broadside form. Details in regard to these and later editions of the Annual Catalogue will be found in Sibley's paper. The Massachusetts Historical Society alone possesses a complete file of these broadsides; the Harvard College Library and the American Antiquarian Society each lack two numbers.

EXHIBITION PROGRAMMES.

The "Order of Performances at Exhibitions" alone remains for brief mention. The Exhibition at which the students of the two senior classes exhibited their proficiency in speaking and debate (and originally in other studies) was an institution of long standing, going back at least to 1761, but the earliest printed programme known is that for August, 1810. From that time to April, 1817, the Order of Performances

¹⁸ A copy has since been reported in the possession of Dr. Wm. C. Mason of Bangor, Maine.

was printed on a single unfolded sheet and, therefore, is entitled to figure among Harvard broadsides. From August 1817 a folded sheet was used. Exhibitions continued down to 1869. From 1810 to 1848 they were held three times a year, from 1810 to 1825 in April, August and October, from 1826 to 1848 in May (or April) July and October. From 1849 to 1869 only two exhibitions were held yearly—in May and October. The American Antiquarian Society has a complete set of the sheets from 1810 to 1817; the file in the Harvard Library has been made complete by the kindness of the Boston Athenæum and the Yale University Library, who have generously supplied the six numbers which the Harvard Library formerly lacked.

We have now finished our survey of the early Harvard Broadsides, and it would seem that most of them are among the rarest of early Americana, the greater number of them being known in single copies only. My inquiry, however, has not been very prolonged or very searching, and more copies of those we already know can no doubt be found. It is greatly to be hoped, moreover, that many of those which are as yet unknown will be found in unsuspected hiding-places.

It is a pleasure to add that I am indebted for many pertinent suggestions to Mr. Albert Matthews who, from the work on which he has been engaged, is more familiar than anyone else with the early records of the College.

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