Appendix Beta: The Newark Intellectual Line

Connecting brothers of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University,
tracing their fraternal Big Brother/Little Brother line
to tri-Founder John Andrew Rea (1869)

John Andrew Rea, tri-founder of
Phi Kappa Psi at Cornell . . . ▽

. . . was advised by Andrew Dickson White, President of Cornell . . .

. . . . who was lectured by, and referred Jack Rea to, Washington Irving . . .

. . . who studied law under Aaron Burr, future Vice President . . .

. . . Burr, in turn, studied law under Tapping Reeve . . . ▽

. . . who matriculated under Samuel Davies at Yale College . . .

. . . who studied at Fagg's Manor under Samuel Blair . . .

. . . who was mentored by William Tennent at the Log College, predecessor to Princeton . . .

. . . who studied under David Dick at Glasgow University . . . ▷

. . . who studied under Andrew Melville at Edinburgh University . . . ▽

. . . Melville, in turn was a follower of the theologian Petrus Ramus . . .

. . . Ramus and Charles, Cardinal Lorraine, were linked as scholar and patron, and both attended the College of Navarre . . .

. . . Navarre was founded by Johanna, Queen of France and Navarre, who is memorialized in A.D. White's tomb . . .

. . . both men were influenced by Pierre de Ronsard and François Rabelais . . .

. . . Rabelais' patron was Queen Anne of Bretagne . . . ▽

. . . Anne was tutored by Françoise de Dinan. □

Below we present short biographies of the Newark intellectual line of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University.

"Who defends the House."

We begin with John "Jack" Andrew Rea, Cornell Class of 1869 and one of the three founders of the New York Alpha Chapter of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell University.

❖ Jack only spent a year at Cornell, transferring in the summer before his Senior course of studies. Much of that year he spent founding the fraternity, and its predecessor, the Irving Literary Society. Jack was one (1) of nine (9) transfer students who were in the first Class of Cornellians. Three (3) of those nine (9) were the founders of Phi Kappa Psi. All three had Faculty advisors. Jack was assigned Andrew Dickson White, the first President of Cornell;

Mo Buchwalter was assigned visiting professor Goldwin Smith, the former Regis Professor of Modern History at Oxford University; and Joe Foraker was assigned visiting professor Theodore Dwight. These three (3) relationships, scholar-to-scholar in the Cornell tradition, form the tap root of the intellectual legacy within New York Alpha.

The founding of the Irving Literary Society was the common project of President White and his protégé Jack Rea; Jack then used the Irving as the vehicle to rush that first immortal Pledge Class of 1869, Phi Kappa Psi, *the* New York Alpha. The intellectual legacy of this relationship includes both the influences on Andrew Dickson White as a doctoral student (see Appendix Alpha) and the role model proffered to Jack Rea by the Cornell president (this Appendix).

Andrew Dickson White was Faculty Advisor to John Andrew Rea (1869), founder of New York Alpha;

Andy White was lectured by, and looked to, author Washington Irving as one source of inspiration for the new Irving Literary Society, later to become the New York Alpha Chapter of the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at Cornell:

Washington Irving and his family were supporters of Aaron Burr, Jr., below.

❖ Aaron Burr, Jr. (6 Feb. 1756 – 14 Sept. 1836) was an American politician, Revolutionary War hero and adventurer. He served as the third Vice President of the United States (1801–1805). A formative member of the Democratic-Republican Party with a political base in New York, Burr served in the New York State Assembly (1784–1785, 1798–1801), as New York State Attorney General (1789–1791), United States Senator (1791-1797), and for one term as Vice President of the United States (1801–1805) under President Thomas Jefferson. A candidate for President in 1800, Burr tied Jefferson with 73 electoral votes.

In the half-century preceding the founding of Cornell University, New York Alpha's intellectual,[1] Aaron Burr, came to personify the transition from colonial to industrial New York, and the emergence of the political machine. His presence in the Newark line reminds brothers of New York Alpha that it is the colonial roots of New York, and not the South, which inform our historical legacy.

The 1800 tie made Burr eligible for one of the Nation's two highest offices and sending the election into the U.S. House of Representatives. After 36

[1] For members of a fraternal line of New York Alpha who are historical and not connected to the House by the Big Brother/Little Brother relationship, we use the term "intellectual", rather than "big or little" brother. "First intellectuals" are the members of Washington Irving's literary circle at Sunnyside; "second intellectuals" are the members of the fraternal lines descending through Henry Tappan – Andy White's mentor – and Washington Irving, whom Andy White respected and referred to John Andrew Rea (1869) as a role model.

ballots, Jefferson was elected President and Burr elected Vice President. As Vice President, Burr was President of the Senate, and in such role, presided over the impeachment trial of Samuel Chase.

During an unsuccessful campaign for election to Governor of New York in 1804, Burr was relentlessly defamed in the press, often by the writings of Alexander Hamilton (1755-1804), a long-time political rival and son-in-law of Philip Schuyler, the first U.S. Senator from New York whom Burr defeated in his bid for re-election in 1791.

Taking umbrage at remarks made by Hamilton at a dinner party and Hamilton's subsequent failure to account for the remarks, Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel on 11 July 1804, at the Weehawken Heights in New Jersey. He mortally wounded Hamilton. Arguably the most famous duel in American history, the political ramifications were immense. Burr, who survived the duel, was indicted for murder in both New York and New Jersey (though these charges were either later dismissed or resulted in acquittal), and the harsh criticism and animosity directed towards him would bring about an end to his political career in the East, though he remained a popular figure in the West and South. Further, Hamilton's untimely death would fatally weaken the fledging remnants of the Federalist Party, which, combined with the death of George Washington (1732-1799) five (5) years earlier, was left without a strong leader.

After Burr left the Vice Presidency in 1805, he journeyed into what was then the American West, particularly the Ohio River valley area and the lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. This watershed would, in a few short years, produce not only the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity but also the three brothers of the Ohio Alpha Chapter who would take the fraternal rites into Upstate New York. Burr was subsequently accused of treason, of a conspiracy to steal Louisiana Purchase lands away from the United States and crown himself a King or Emperor, or of an attempt to declare an illegal war against Spanish possessions in Mexico, a process known then as filibustering. Our man Burr was arrested in 1807 and brought to trial on charges of treason, for which he was acquitted. After several years in self-imposed exile in Europe, he returned to practicing law in New York City and lived a largely reclusive existence until his death.

Burr was born in Newark, New Jersey, to the Reverend Aaron Burr, Senior, who was a Presbyterian minister and the second president of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University; his mother, Esther Edwards, was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, the famous Calvinist theologian. The Edwards family also had a daughter, Sally, who married a scholar named Tapping Reeve (q.v.) who had a son named Aaron Burr Reeve. Reeve is also an intellectual of New York Alpha, through the Newark line. In 1772, Burr received his A.B. in theology at Princeton University, but changed his career path two (2) years later and began the study of law in the celebrated law school conducted by his brother-in-law, Tapping Reeve, at Litchfield, Connecticut. His studies were put on

hold while he served during the Revolutionary War, under Generals Benedict Arnold, George Washington, and Israel Putnam.

During the Revolutionary War, Aaron Burr took part in an event essential to the defense of upper New York State: General Benedict Arnold's expedition into Canada in 1775, an arduous trek of over 500 miles in winter. Upon arriving before the battle of Quebec, Burr was sent up the Saint Lawrence River to make contact with General Richard Montgomery, who had taken Montreal, and escort him to Quebec. Montgomery promoted Burr to Captain and made him an aide-de-camp. Although Montgomery was killed in the attack, Burr distinguished himself with brave actions against the British.

His courage made him a national hero and earned him a place on Washington's staff in Manhattan, but he quit after two (2) weeks because he wanted to return to the field. Never hesitant to voice his opinions, Burr may have set Washington against him. General Israel Putnam took Burr under his wing, and by his vigilance in the retreat from lower Manhattan to Harlem after the battle of Brooklyn Heights, Burr saved an entire brigade from capture.

Alexander Hamilton was also an officer of this group. In a stark departure from common practice, Washington failed to commend Burr's actions in the next day's General Orders, which was the fastest way to obtain a promotion in rank. Although Burr was already a nationally-known hero, he never received a commendation. According to Burr's step-brother Matthew Ogden, Burr was infuriated by the incident, which may have led to the eventual estrangement between him and Washington.

On becoming Lieutenant Colonel in July 1777, Burr assumed the command of a regiment called the "Malcoms". During the harsh winter encampment at Valley Forge in Pennsylvania, he guarded the "Gulph," a pass commanding the approach to the camp, and necessarily the first point that would be attacked.

On June 28, 1778 at the battle of Monmouth, his regiment was decimated by British artillery, and Burr suffered a stroke in the terrible heat from which he would never quite recover. In January 1779, Burr was assigned to the command of the front lines at Westchester County, opposing the Crown forces stationed on the island of Manhattan. This was Knickerbocker territory, later celebrated by the authors Washington Irving (q.v.) and James Fenimore Cooper (q.v.). It was also home to Ezra Cornell’s family, a region between the British post at Kingsbridge and that of the Americans about fifteen (15) miles to the north. In this district there was much turbulence and plundering by the lawless elements of both Whigs and Tories, and by bands of ill-disciplined soldiers from both armies. Burr established a thorough patrol system, rigorously enforced martial law, and quickly restored order.

He resigned from the Continental Army in March 1779 on account of ill health, renewing his study of law with Tapping Reeve (q.v.) at Litchfield. Burr did continue to perform occasional intelligence missions for Continental generals such as Arthur St. Clair and on July 5, 1779 he rallied a group of Yale students at New Haven along with Captain James Hillhouse and the Second Connecticut Governors Foot Guard in a skirmish with the British at the West River. The British advance was repulsed, having to enter New Haven from Hamden.

Despite this brief interlude, Burr was able to finish his studies and was admitted to the bar at Albany in 1782. He began to practice in New York City after its evacuation by the British in the following year. He lived in Richmond Hill an area just outside of Greenwich Village.

That same year, Burr married Theodosia Bartow Prevost, the widow of James Marcus Prevost, an British army officer who had died in the West Indies during the Revolutionary War. They had four (4) children, of whom the only to grow to adulthood was Theodosia Burr Alston. Born in 1783, she became widely known for her education and accomplishments. She married Joseph Alston of South Carolina in 1801, and died either due to piracy or in a shipwreck off the Carolinas in the winter of 1812 or early 1813. Burr and the elder Theodosia were married for twelve (12) years, until her death from stomach cancer.

In 1833, at age 77, Burr married again, this time to Eliza Bowen Jumel, the extremely wealthy widow of Stephen Jumel. When she realized her fortune was dwindling from her husband's land speculation, they separated after only four (4) months. While a child and on vacation at the Saratoga Spa, the young Andy White watched in amazement as the procession of the Madame Jumel made its regal way through the town of Saratoga Springs on the way to the spa.

Burr served in the New York State Assembly from 1784 to 1785, but became seriously involved in politics in 1789, when George Clinton appointed him New York State Attorney General. He was commissioner of Revolutionary War claims in 1791, and that same year he defeated a favored candidate — General Philip Schuyler — for a seat in the United States Senate, and served in the upper house until 1797.

While Burr and Jefferson served during the Washington administration, the Federal Government was resident in the City of Philadelphia. They both roomed for a time at the boarding house of a Mr.s. Payne. Her daughter Dolley, an attractive young widow, was introduced by Burr to James Madison, whom she subsequently married, becoming Dolley Madison.

Although Hamilton and Burr had long been on good personal terms, often dining with one another, Burr's defeat of General Schuyler, Hamilton's father-in-law probably drove the first major wedge into their friendship. Nevertheless, their relationship took a decade to reach a status of enmity.

As a United States Senator, Burr was not a favorite in President George Washington's eyes. He sought to write an official Revolutionary history, but Washington blocked his access to the archives, possibly because the former colonel had been a noted critic of Washington’s leadership, and possibly because he regarded Burr as a schemer. Washington also passed over Burr for the ministry to France. After being appointed commanding general of American forces by President John Adams in 1798, Washington turned down Burr's application for a brigadier general's commission during the Quasi-War with France. Adams wrote, "By all that I have known and heard, Colonel Burr is a brave and able officer, but the question is whether he has not equal talents at intrigue." Hamilton, who by then despised Burr, still had Washington's ear at this time. Earlier, Burr had told Hamilton that "he despised Washington as a man of no talents and one who could not spell a sentence of common English." However, Washington's wartime strategies may have colored Burr's opinion of the General.

Bored with the inactivity of the new United States Senate, Burr ran for and was elected to the New York state legislature then seated in Newburgh, New York. He served from 1798 through 1801. During John Adams's term as President, national parties became clearly defined. Burr loosely associated himself with the Democratic-Republicans, though he had moderate Federalist allies, such as Senator Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey. Burr quickly became a key player in New York politics, more powerful in time than Hamilton, largely because of the Tammany Society, later to become the infamous Tammany Hall, which Burr converted from a social club into a political machine to help Jefferson win the Presidency. In 1799, Burr founded the Bank of the Manhattan Company, which in later years evolved into the Chase Manhattan Bank and later JPMorgan Chase. Of the sixteen (16) states' electoral votes, only seven (7) states were for the Jeffersonians, but Federalist New York had an electoral vote coming up before the election. Burr fielded a slate for Jefferson (Hamilton fielded the other for the Federalists) and won. This led to ultimate victory for Jefferson and drove another wedge between Hamilton and Burr. Burr became Vice President.

During the French Revolution, French diplomat Charles Maurice de Talleyrand escaped the Terror and stayed in Burr's mansion in New York City. He also spent much time at Hamilton's house. When Burr, after the Hamilton duel and treason trial, traveled Europe in an attempt to recoup his fortunes, Talleyrand refused him entrance into France. Talleyrand was an ardent admirer of Alexander Hamilton and had even once written: "I consider Napoleon, Fox, and Hamilton, the three greatest men of our epoch, and if I were forced to decide between the three, I would give without hesitation the first place to Hamilton. He had divined Europe."

Because of his influence in New York City and in the New York legislature, Burr was asked by Jefferson and Madison to help the Jeffersonians in the

election of 1800. Burr sponsored a bill through the New York Assembly, creating the money needed for Jefferson's campaign. Another crucial move was Burr's success in getting his slate of New York City and nearby Electors to win over the Federalist slate, which was chosen and backed by Alexander Hamilton, who lost. This event drove a further wedge between the former friends. For these acts and others, Burr is known as the father of modern political campaigning. He enlisted the help of members of Tammany Hall, a social club, and won the election. He was then placed on the Democratic-Republican presidential ticket in the 1800 election with Jefferson. At the time, state legislatures chose the members of the U.S. Electoral College, and New York was crucial to Jefferson. Though Jefferson did win New York, he and Burr tied for the presidency with seventy-three (73) electoral votes each.

It was well understood that the party intended that Jefferson should be President and Burr Vice President, but the responsibility for the final choice belonged to the House of Representatives. The attempts of a powerful faction among the Federalists to secure the election of Burr failed, partly because of the opposition of Alexander Hamilton and partly because Burr himself did little to obtain votes in his own favor. He wrote to Jefferson underscoring his promise to be Vice President, and again during the voting stalemate in the Congress wrote again that he would give it up entirely if Jefferson so demanded. Ultimately, the election devolved to the point where it took thirty-six (36) ballots before James A. Bayard, a Delaware Federalist, submitted a blank vote. Federalist abstentions in the Vermont and Maryland delegations led to Jefferson's election as President, and Burr’s moderate Federalist supporters conceded his defeat.

Upon confirmation of Jefferson’s election, Burr became Vice President of the United States, but despite his letters and his shunning of any political activity during the balloting (he never left Albany) he lost Jefferson's trust after that, and was effectively shut out of party matters. Some historians conjecture that the reason for this was Burr's casual regard for politics, and that he didn't act aggressively enough during the election tie. Jefferson was tight-lipped in private about Burr, so his reasons are still not entirely clear. However, Burr's even-handed fairness and his judicial manner as President of the Senate was praised even by his bitterest enemies, and he fostered some time-honored traditions in regard to that office.

Historian Forrest MacDonald has credited Burr's judicial manner in presiding over the impeachment trial of Justice Samuel Chase with helping to preserve the principle of judicial independence.

When it beame clear that Jefferson would drop Burr from his ticket in the 1804 election, the Vice President ran for the governorship of New York instead. Burr lost the election, and blamed his loss on a personal smear campaign believed to have been orchestrated by his own party rivals, including New York governor George Clinton. Hamilton also opposed Burr, due to his (still

controversial) belief that Burr had entertained a Federalist secession movement in New York. But Hamilton exceeded himself at one political dinner, where he said that he could express a "still more despicable opinion" of Burr. After a letter regarding the incident written by Dr. Charles D. Cooper circulated in a local newspaper, Burr sought an explanation from Hamilton.

Hamilton had written so many letters, and made so many private tirades against Burr, that he claimed that he could not reliably comment on Cooper's statement. Instead Hamilton responded casually by educating Burr on the many possible meanings of despicable, enraging and embarrassing Burr. Burr then demanded that Hamilton recant or deny anything he might have said regarding Burr’s character over the past 15 years, but Hamilton, having already been disgraced by the Maria Reynolds scandal and ever mindful of his own reputation and honor, did not. Burr responded by challenging Hamilton to personal combat under the code duello, the formalized rules of dueling. Both men had been involved in duels (though most never reached the dueling field) in the past (for Hamilton 21, for Burr 1), and Hamilton's eldest son, Philip, had died in a duel in 1801.

Although still quite common, dueling had been outlawed in New York and was legal in New Jersey, but Hamilton and Burr were not citizens of New Jersey, so on July 11, 1804, the enemies met outside of Weehawken, New Jersey, and Hamilton was mortally wounded. There has been some controversy as to the claims of Burr's and Hamilton's seconds; while one party indicates Hamilton never fired, the other claims a three (3) to four (4) second interval between the first shot and the second shot. Hamilton's shot missed Burr, but Burr's shot was fatal. The bullet entered Hamilton's abdomen above his right hip, piercing Hamilton's liver and spine. Hamilton was evacuated to Manhattan where he lay in the house of a friend, receiving visitors until he died the following day. Burr was later charged with multiple crimes, including murder, in New York and New Jersey, but was never tried in either jurisdiction. He fled to South Carolina, where his daughter lived with her family, the Alstons, but soon returned to the capital at Philadelphia to complete his term as Vice President. As leader of the Senate he presided over the impeachment trial of Samuel Chase. It was written by one Senator that Burr had conducted the proceedings with the "impartiality of an angel and the rigor of a devil." Burr's heartfelt farewell in March 1805 moved some of his harshest critics in the Senate to tears.

After the expiration of his term as Vice President on March 4, 1805, broken in fortune and virtually an exile from New York and New Jersey, Burr went to Philadelphia. There he met Jonathan Dayton, a friend and classmate from Princeton, with whom he is alleged to have formed a conspiracy, the goal of which is still unclear for some historians. His detractors said (and some still do) that the plan may have been for Burr to make a massive new nation in the west, forged from conquered provinces of Mexico and territory west of the Appalachian Mountains. Burr was to have been the leader of this Southwestern republic.

Some detractors claim that it was his dream to create a Leded, the fledgling United States could have fallen into a full-scale civil war. All these accusations were voiced by Burr's political enemies.

This was a crucial time in American expansion westward. Spain held the Mexican territories, including the Southwest and California. Mexico was agitating for rebellion, and, if war broke out, the U.S. Government was anticipating seizing some or all of the land for itself.

Burr and his friends always fiercely denied any treasonable plans to overthrow the U.S. Government by force. The Louisiana Purchase, which, according to the conspirators, was never included in their plans, was at the timeup for the taking, legally, because it was not yet declared a territory of, or witinin the United States, by the Congress. Many French, Spanish, Indians and Americans who were unhappy with taxes and the government lived there. A short time later Jefferson, who realized that if the territory turned into industrialized States his idea of an agrarian Democracy would be threatened, suggested that maybe the territory's separation would not necessarily be a bad idea. Burr had leased 40,000 acres (160 km^2) in the Texas part of Mexico—the "Bastrop" lands— from the Spanish government. His "conspiracy," he always avowed, was that if he settled there with a large group of armed "farmers" and war broke out, he would have an army with which to fight and claim land for himself, thus recouping his fortunes. However, that war in Texas didn't occur until 1836, the year of Burr's death.

In 1805, General James Wilkinson of Point o' Rocks, Maryland, was chosen by Jefferson to be the Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army garrison at New Orleans, and concurrent Governor of the Louisiana Territory. He actually was a traitor. It was revealed years later that at the time he was a spy, secretly in the pay of the Kingdom of Spain. Wilkinson had his own reasons for aiding the so-called Burr conspiracy. As Territorial Governor, he could have seized power for himself, as he had attempted in earlier plots in Kentucky. Ignorant of the General's treason, Burr enlisted Wilkinson and others to his plan in a reconnaissance mission to the West in April 1805.

Another member of the alleged Burr conspiracy was the Anglo-Irish aristocrat Harman Blennerhassett. After marrying his niece, Blennerhassett had been forced out of Ireland. He came to live as a quasi-feudal lord, owning an island now bearing his name in the Ohio River. The island was not too farm from the lands which would one day constitute "Riverview", the plantation on which Judge Charles Page Thomas Moore, founder of Phi Kappa Psi, would be grow to manhood. Highly educated, Blennerhassett maintained a scientific laboratory and an impressive villa on the island. It was there that he met Burr and agreed to help finance the ambitions of Burr's group.

Like many Americans, including Jefferson, Burr anticipated a war with Spain, a distinct possibility had someone other than Wilkinson commanded U.S. troops on the Louisiana border. In case of a war declaration, Andrew Jackson stood ready to help Colonel Burr, who had already purchased the land shares in Texas. Burr's expedition of perhaps eighty (80) men carried modest arms for hunting. No war materiel ever came to light, even when Blennerhassett Island was seized by Virginia militia. The Ohio river, at that time, was the western border of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

After a near-incident with Spanish forces at Natchitoches, Wilkinson decided he could best serve his conflicting interests by betraying Burr's plans to President Jefferson and his Spanish paymasters. Jefferson's passivity throughout most of 1806 remains baffling to this day, but he finally issued a proclamation for Burr's arrest, declaring him a traitor even before an indictment. Burr read this in a newspaper in the Orleans Territory on January 10, 1807. Jefferson's warrant put Federal agents on his trail. He turned himself in to the Federal authorities twice. Two judges found his actions legal and released him. But Jefferson's warrant followed Burr, who then fled for Spanish Florida; he was intercepted in the vicinity of the Missouri and Alabama Territories on February 19, 1807 and confined to Fort Stoddert.

Burr was treated well at Fort Stoddert. For example, in the evening of February 20, 1807, Burr appeared at the dinner table, and was introduced to Frances Gaines the wife of the commandant Edmund P. Gaines, and the daughter of Judge Harry Toulmin the man responsible for the legal arrest of Burr. Frances and Burr played chess that evening and was allowed to continue this entertainment during his confinement at the fort.

Burr's secret correspondence with Anthony Merry and the Marquis of Casa Yrujo, the British and Spanish ministers at Washington, was eventually revealed. It had been, it would seem, to secure money and to conceal his real designs, which were probably to overthrow Spanish power in the Southwest, and perhaps to found a dynasty in what would have become former Mexican territory. This seems to have been a misdemeanor, based on the Neutrality Act passed to block filibuster expeditions like those questionable enterprises of George Rogers Clark and William Blount. But Jefferson sought the highest charges against Burr, even though his informant, Wilkinson, was notoriously corrupt. It seems that both Jefferson and Burr gravely misjudged Wilkinson's character. Jefferson had personally put him in charge of the Army at New Orleans.

In 1807, on a charge of treason, Burr was brought to trial before the United States Circuit Court at Richmond, Virginia. The trial, presided over by Chief Justice of the United States John Marshall, began on August 3. His defense lawyers were John Wickham and Luther Martin. Burr was arraigned four (4) times for treason before a grand jury indicted him. This is surprising, because the only physical evidence presented to the Grand Jury was Wilkinson's so-called

letter from Burr, proposing stealing land in the Louisiana Purchase. During the Jury's examination it was discovered that the letter was in Wilkinson's own handwriting, a "copy," he said, because he had "lost" the original. The Grand Jury threw the letter out, and the news made a laughingstock of the General for the rest of the proceedings.

Article 3, Section 3 of the United States Constitution requires that treason either be admitted in open court, or proved by an overt act witnessed by two (2) people. Since no two witnesses came forward, Burr was acquitted on September 1, in spite of the fact that the full force of the political influence of the Jefferson administration had been thrown against him. Immediately afterward, he was tried on a more appropriate misdemeanor charge, but was again acquitted.

The trial was a major test of the Constitution. It was carefully watched drama, and author Henry Adams gives a full account would later right a full account. Thomas Jefferson wanted a conviction. He challenged the authority of the Supreme Court and its Chief Justice John Marshall, an Adams appointee who clashed with Jefferson over judicial appointments that were signed up to the last minute of Adam's single term as president. Thomas Jefferson believed that Aaron Burr's treason was obvious, and warranted a conviction. The actual case hinged on whether Aaron Burr was present at certain events at certain times and in certain capacities. Thomas Jefferson used all of his influence to get Marshall to move to conviction, but Marshall was not swayed.

By this point all of Burr's hopes for a political comeback had been dashed, and he fled America and his creditors for Europe, where he tried to regain his fortunes. He lived abroad from 1808 to 1812, passing most of his time in England where he occupied a house on Craven Street, London. He became a good friend, even confidant, of the English Utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, even residing at Bentham's home on occasion. He also spent time in Scotland, Denmark, Sweden. Germany, and France. Ever hopeful, he solicited funding for renewing his plans for Mexico, but was rebuffed. He was ordered out of England and Napoleon Bonaparte refused to receive him, although one of his ministers held an interview concerning Burr's aims for Spanish Florida or British possessions in the Caribbean. After returning from Europe, Burr used the surname "Edwards," his mother's maiden name, for a while to avoid creditors.

Burr suffered a debilitating stroke in 1834, which rendered him immobile. In 1836, Burr died in Port Richmond, Staten Island. He is buried in Princeton Cemetery near his father and grandfather in Princeton, New Jersey.

According to his detractors, Burr could be unscrupulous, insincere, devious and amoral. In fact, towards his friends and family, he was a moral and virtuous man, including his tenure in the Senate, pleasing in his manners and generous to a fault. In her *Autobiography of Jane Fairfield*, the wife of the struggling poet Sumner Lincoln Fairfield relates how their friend Burr saved the

lives of her two (2) children, who were left with their grandmother in New York, while the parents were in Boston. The grandmother was unable to provide adequate food or heat for the children and was in fear for their very lives. She sought out Burr, as the only one that may be able and willing to help her. Burr "wept and replied, 'Though I am poor and have not a dollar the children of such a mother shall not suffer while I have a watch.' He hastened on this godlike errand, and quickly returned, having pawned the article for twenty dollars, which he gave to make comfortable my precious babies."

Although a rake who proved irresistible to many women, few historians doubt Burr's devotion to his first wife and daughter, while they lived. He was profligate in his personal finances, and gave lip service to abolitionism even though he owned slaves. John Quincy Adams said after the former Vice President's death,

"Burr's life, take it all together, was such as in any country of sound morals his friends would be desirous of burying in quiet oblivion."

What an intellectual to have in the legacy of New York Alpha . . .

New York Alpha's intellectual Aaron Burr, above, studied in Tapping Reeve's office of law:

❖ Tapping Reeve (Oct. 1, 1744 – Dec. 13, 1823) was an American lawyer and law educator. In 1784 he opened the Litchfield Law School, the first law school in the United States, in Litchfield, Connecticut. Tapping Reeve was born in Brookhaven, New York, on Long Island, to Reverend Abner Reeve. He graduated with his Bachelors degree in 1763 from the College of New Jersey in Princeton, New Jersey. While earning his Masters there (completed 1766) he also served as a headmaster of the grammar school associated with the college in nearby Elizabeth, New Jersey.

It was here that he tutored the two children of the Reverend Aaron Burr, Senior, who was the college president: future Vice President of the U.S. Aaron Burr, Jr. (q.v.) and Sarah, known as Sally. Reeve married Sarah on June 4, 1771 when she was seventeen (17) years old. Sarah was often in ill health, but on October 3, 1780 she gave birth to their only child, Aaron Burr Reeve. Aaron Burr Reeve would go on to graduate from Yale and became a lawyer in Troy, New York. Tapping and Sarah were married until her death on March 30, 1797. He married again in 1799, but had no other children. Tapping Reeve died on December 13, 1823 in Litchfield, Connecticut. He was seventy-nine (79) years old.

Reeve tutored at the college from 1767 to 1770. In 1771 he began to study law with Judge Root, of Hartford, Connecticut. In 1772 he moved to Litchfield, Connecticut, situated on the crossroads of important inland trade routes, to open a new law practice. In 1773, he built a six-room, two story house.

Reeve, while a fervent supporter of the Revolutionary cause, did not enter active service early in the War. His wife's poor health held him at home. However, in December of 1776, the Connecticut Assembly called upon him to travel the State to drum up volunteers for the Continental Army. He then accepted a commission as an officer and accompanied his recruits as far as New York before returning to his ailing wife.

In 1781 Reeve worked with Theodore Sedgwick to defend Elizabeth Freeman, a/k/a Mum Bett, who had been a slave in Sheffield, Massachusetts. Bett had listened to discussions related to the Massachusetts Constitution and

had heard the phrase "all men are created equal." Sedgwick and Reeve would successfully employ this argument in court to secure her freedom. This case, *Brom & Bett v. Ashley*, would set a precedent that would later lead to the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts.

Like his own teacher, Judge Root, Reeve had taken his brother-in-law, Aaron Burr, Jr. as a student. In the beginning, Aaron Burr lived upstairs and took instruction in the downstairs parlor, adjacent to the gathering room where Reeve would hold mock court. Also on the first floor was Reeve's private law office. Due in part to notoriety gained from the Elizabeth Freeman case, Reeve's enrollment began to grow. In 1784, he added a second building (known as the Samuel Seymour House) to house and instruct his students.

Also among his students was John C. Calhoun. Like Aaron Burr, he would also go on to become Vice President of the United States. In 1798, Reeve became a Judge of Connecticut's Superior Court. Reeve then hired James Gould, a former student, to assist in running the school. Together, they built up the most prominent law school of its time. Reeve is also noted for brining Reverend Lyman Beecher, a noted adversary of Unitarianism, to serve as a minister in Litchfield in 1810. In 1814, Reeve would be appointed as Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Connecticut. At this time, Gould took over the school. Reeve would continue contact with the school until 1820, three years before his death. The school continued to operate until 1833. Reeve's *Law of Baron and Femme*, first published in 1816 was the pre-eminent American treatise on family law for much of the 19th century. It underwent revisions and r-publication in 1846, 1867, and 1888.

New York Alpha's intellectual Tapping Reeve, above, studied at the College of New Jersey (later called "Princeton") under Samuel Davies, below:

❖ Samuel Davies (1723-1761), fourth president of Princeton, was born in New Castle County, Delaware. His parents could not afford to send him to college but were determined that he should be trained for the ministry. He studied in Samuel Blair's school at Fagg's Manor, Chester County, Pennsylvania, was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of New Castle when he was twenty-two (22), and was ordained as an evangelist to the Royal Colony of Virginia a year later. In Anglican Virginia, where dissenters were subjected to constant vexations, he built up a strong Presbyterian membership.

The Church at Fagg's Manor, home to the Blair School

The Reverend Davies became the advocate and defender of their civil rights and religious liberties. He conducted services in seven (7) houses of worship dispersed through five (5) counties, riding horseback through fields and forests to minister to his scattered congregations. A sufferer from tuberculosis, ``he preached in the day and had his hectic fever by night,'' but was nevertheless ``resolved that while life and sufficient strength remained, he would devote himself earnestly to the work of preaching the gospel.'' As a principal founder and first moderator of the Presbytery of Hanover, which comprised all the Presbyterian ministers in Virginia and North Carolina, he was considered ``the animating soul of the whole dissenting interests in these two colonies.''

In 1753, Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennant, another well-known Presbyterian minister, were chosen by Princeton's trustees to go to Great Britain and Ireland in search of donations for the College. Davies kept a diary of the mission, which was later published. Their five-week ocean voyage from Philadelphia to London was rough. The ship smelled, they were both seasick, and Davies suffered from toothache, but they prayed alternately in their cabin for the success of their mission. Their prayers were answered. During their eleven-month stay in the British Isles, they secured donations — some individual gifts including three (3) guineas from Oliver Cromwell's great-grandson, but chiefly church collections —sufficient to build Nassau Hall at Princeton, the President's House and to found a charitable scholarship fund ``for the education of pious and indigent youth for the gospel ministry.'' Davies, then only thirty (30) years old,

preached some sixty (60) sermons. Near the end of his stay he had an apoplectic fit but recovered sufficiently to undertake the voyage home. The return trip lasted thirteen (13) weeks and was tempestuous. Storms threatened to engulf the vessel, and Davies was saddened by the curses of the sailors and perplexed as to what to do about them, they were ``so habituated to blasphemy.''

In 1758 Davies was elected to succeed Jonathan Edwards as president of the College of New Jersey, but declined election, partly because of a reluctance to quit his pastoral work in Virginia, partly because he knew that while a majority of the trustees had voted for his election, a minority shared his own belief that Samuel Finley, a member of the Board, was better qualified for the office. The trustees subsequently reelected Davies and persuaded him to accept. He took up his duties on July 26, 1759. Eighteen months later, on February 4, 1761, he died of pneumonia, in his thirty-eighth year, a few weeks after having been bled for ``a bad cold.''

During his brief tenure Davies raised the standards for admission and for the bachelor's degree, instituted monthly orations by members of the senior class. The Oration was an important part of undergraduate education at Princeton for more than a century. He also composed odes to peace and to science which were sung at Commencement and drew up a catalogue of the 1,281 volumes in the college library ``to give Information to such who are watching for Opportunities of doing good; and to afford particular Benefactors the Pleasure of seeing how many others have concurred with them in their favourite Charity.''

Davies left his mark as scholar and patriot on his students, particularly the eleven members of the Class of 1760 whom he taught as seniors. ``Whatever be your Place,'' he told them in his baccalaureate address, ``imbibe and cherish a public spirit. Serve your generation.'' This they did. Among the eleven (11) were a member of the Continental Congress, chaplains in the Continental Army, judges in Maine and Pennsylvania, the founder of a college in North Carolina, a member of the United States House of Representatives, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Davies was long remembered as one of the great pulpit orators of his generation. Patrick Henry, who as a boy had frequently heard him preach, acknowledged Davies's influence on his own oratory. Davies's sermons went through four (4) editions in the United States and nine (9) editions in England, and for more than fifty years after his death were among the most widely read of any in the English language. A set of his sermons were held by Phi Kappa Psi’s original library at the Gargoyle House on College Avenue, now the site of Dino’s Tavern.

New York Alpha's Second cousin, Samuel Davies, above, studied under the Reverend Samuel Blair, below:

❖ The Reverend Samuel Blair (June 14, 1712-1751) was born in Ireland. He came to America when quite young, and was educated at the Log College at Nashaminy under the Reverend William Tennent. Having completed his classical and theological study, he was licensed to preach, November 9th, 1733, by the Presbytery of Philadelphia, and in the following September accepted a call to Middletown and Shrewsbury, New Jersey. Here he continued about five (5) years, but there are no records remaining to indicate the amount of success that attended his labors.

The Log College at Nashaminy, 'as to Princeton as the Irving was to New York Alpha'

He was called to Cranbury, New Jersey in 1734, but apparently did not accept. In 1739 he received a call to the Church in New Londonderry, otherwise called Fagg's Manor, in Pennsylvania. This call he accepted, and removed to his new residence in November, 1739, but his installation did not take place until April, 1740. Shortly after his settlement at Fagg's Manor he established a classical school, which produced such men as Davies, Rodgers, Cumming, James Finley, Robert Smith and Hugh Henry, "as scholars, preachers, pastors, patriots, in their piety and success," says Webster, "a noble company of goodly fellowship, showing the Church what manner of men the apostles and martyrs were."

In connection with Mr.. Blair's ministry at Fagg's Manor, there occurred, in 1740, a very remarkable revival of religion. The number of the awakened increased very fast; scarcely a sermon or a lecture through the whole Summer of 1740 failed to produce impressions, and many persons afforded very hopeful, satisfying evidence that the Lord had brought them to a true acceptance of Christ.

Mr.. Blair made a tour of preaching through New England in the Summer of 1744. He was a prominent actor in those scenes which, in his day, agitated and finally divided the Presbyterian Church. He agreed with Gilbert Tennent in his opinions, and cooperated with him in his measures, and, of course, rendered

himself obnoxious to the "Old Side" party in the Church. In his doctrinal views he was a thorough Calvinist, as appears from his *Treatise on Predestination and Reprobation*.

Mr.. Blair's last illness was contracted from his going, upon an urgent call, and in an enfeebled state of body, to meet the Trustees of New Jersey College. As he approached his end, he expressed the strongest desire to depart and be with Christ, and but a minute or two before his departure, he exclaimed, "The Bridegroom is come, and we shall now have all things."

The monument over his remains in the burying ground of Fagg's Manor bears the following inscription:

Here lieth the body of
The Rev. Samuel Blair
Who departed this life
The Fifth Day of July, 1751,
Aged Thirty-nine Years and Twenty-one Days.

In yonder sacred house I spent my breath;
Now silent, mouldering, here I lie in death;
These lips shall wake, and yet declare
A dread Amen to truths they published there.

He was the brother of Reverend John Blair and his sister married Robert Smith, of Fagg's Manor. Robert Smith had two famous educator sons: John Blair Smith and Samuel Stanhope Smith. His daughter married another famous educator, Rev. David Rice, the first Presbyterian minister to settle permanently in Kentucky.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Samuel Blair, above, was educated under the Reverend William Tennent, Senior, below:

❖ William Tennent (1673 – May 6, 1746) was an early American religious leader and educator in British North America. Tennent was born in Mid Calder, Linlithgowshire, Scotland, in 1673. He graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1695 and was ordained in the Church of Ireland in 1706. He immigrated to British North America in 1718 He settled in Pennsylvania at the urging of his wife's cousin, James Logan, an Irish Quaker and close friend of William Penn. In 1726 he was called to a pastorate at the Neshaminy-Warwick Presbyterian Church in present-day Warminster.

In 1727 Tennent established a religious school in a log cabin that became famous as the Log College. He filled his pupils with evangelical zeal, and a number became revivalist preachers in the First Great Awakening. The educational influence of the Log College was of importance since many of its graduates founded schools along the frontier. Princeton University is regarded as the successor to the Log College.

Tennent died in Warminster in 1746, and his gravesite can still be found in the church cemetery of the Neshaminy-Warwick Presbyterian Church. Tennent's last will and testament is on record at the Bucks County Court House. It indicates that by the time he died he was still, humble servant of God, leaving what little he had to his wife Catherine (neé Kennedy) Tennent. It is interesting to note, however, that Tennent was a slave owner, as his will indicates, he left "three Negroes" to his wife.

New York Alpha's intellectual, the Reverend William Tennent, above, studied at the University of Edinburgh, in the school of theology reformed by Mr. David Dick, or Dick'son, below:

❖ Tennent's work at the University of Edinburgh was strongly influenced by the life's work of theologian, David Dick. The University of Edinburgh had been founded by the Bishop Robert Reid of Saint Magnus Cathedral, at Kirkwall, in the Orkney Islands. Reid funds on his death in 1558 that ultimately provided the University's endowment. The University was established by a Royal Charter granted by James VI, King of Scotland, in 1582, becoming the fourth Scottish university at a time when more populous neighbour England had only two. The teaching of Divinity at Edinburgh began in 1583. When the professorial system was introduced in 1620, the first two Chairs were those of Divinity and Humanity.

University of Glasgow

And it was David Dickson who reformed the theological department of the Edinburgh University, just before William Tennent took his degree. Mr. David Dick or Dickson, born about 1583, was the only son of John Dick or Dickson, merchant in Glasgow, whose father was an old feuar, and possessor of some lands in the Barony of Fintry, and Parish of St Ninian's, called the Kirk of the Muir. His parents were religious persons, of considerable substance, and many years married before they had this child. When he was of age, he was put to studies at the University of Glasgow. Soon after he had received the degree of Master of Arts, he was admitted Regent, or Professor of Philosophy in that college, where he was very useful in training up the youth in solid learning; and with the learned Principal Boyd of Trochridge, the worthy Mr. Robert Blair, and other pious members of that learned society, his pains were singularly blessed in reviving decayed serious piety among the youths, in that declining and corrupted time.

By a recommendation of the General Assembly, not long after the Reformation, the regents were only to continue eight (8) years in their profession, after which, such as were found qualified were licensed, and upon calls, after trials, admitted to the holy ministry. By this constitution, this Church came to be filled with ministers well seen in all the branches of useful learning. Accordingly, Mr. Dickson was, 1618, ordained minister to the town of Irvine, where he laboured about twenty-three (23) years.

That very year the Assembly at Perth (1618) agreed to the five (5) articles, forced upon the Church by the King and his prelates. Mr. Dickson had not much studied these questions till the articles were imposed by this meeting; then he closely examined them, and the more he looked into them, the more aversion he found to them; and when, some time after, by a sore sickness, he was brought within views of death and eternity, he gave open testimony of their sinfulness.

When this came to take air, Mr. James Law, Archbishop of Glasgow, summoned him to appear before the High Commission, January 29, 1622. Mr.. Dickson, at his entrance to his ministry at Irvine, had preached upon 2 Cor. v 11, the first part,

"Knowing the terrors of the Lord, we persuade men;"

when at this juncture he apprehended a separation, at least for a time, the Sabbath before his compearance, he chose the next words of that verse,

"But we are made manifest unto God."

Extraordinary power, and singular moving of affections, accompanied that parting sermon.

According to the summons, Mr. Dickson appeared before the Commission the day named. His prudent carriage, the declinature he gave in, the railing of Archbishop Spotswood thereupon, the sentence of deprivation and confinement to Turriff passed upon him, with his Christian speech upon the intimation of it, are to be found in Mr. Calderwood's *History*. After much intercession with the bishops, and various turns in this affair, narrated by the last named historian, he got liberty to quit Turriff; and returned to his longing flock July 1623, where his ministerial work was no more interrupted until he was called to a more important station, as we shall hear.

At Irvine Mr.. Dickson's ministry was singularly countenanced of God. Multitudes were convinced and converted; and few that lived in his day were more honoured to be instruments of conversion than he. People, under exercise and soul concern, came from every place about Irvine, and attended upon his sermons; and the most eminent and serious Christians, from all corners of the Church, came and joined with him at his communions, which were indeed times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord of these amiable institutions; yea, not a few came from distant places and settled in Irvine, that they might be under the drop of his ministry. Yet he himself used to observe, that the vintage of Irvine was not equal to the gleanings, and not once to be compared to the harvest at Ayr, in Mr. John Welch's time, when indeed the gospel had wonderful success, in conviction, conversion, and confirmation.

Mr. Dickson had his week-day sermons upon the Mondays, the market days then at Irvine. Upon the Sabbath evenings many persons, under soul distress, used to resort to his house after sermon, when usually he spent an hour or two in answering their cases, and directing and comforting those who were cast down, in all which he had an extraordinary talent; indeed, he had the tongue of the learned, and knew how to speak a word in season to the weary soul. In a large hall he had in his house at Irvine, there would have been, as I am informed by old Christians, several scores of serious Christians waiting for him when he came from the church. Those, with the people round the town, who came into the market at Irvine, made the church as throng, if not thronger, on the Mondays as on the Lord's Day. By those week-day sermons, the famous Stewarton sickness was begun about the year 1630, and spread from house to house for many miles in the Strath, where Stewarton water runs, on both sides of it. Satan, indeed, endeavoured to bring a reproach upon the serious persons who were at this time under the convincing work of the Spirit, by running some, seemingly under serious concern, to excesses, both in time of sermon and in families. But the Lord enabled Mr.. Dickson, and other ministers who dealt with them, to act so prudent a part, as Satan's design was much disappointed, and solid serious practical religion flourished mightily in the West of Scotland about this time, under the hardships of Prelacy.

About the year 1632, some of our Scots ministers, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. John Livingston, and others, settled among the Scots in the North of Ireland, were remarkably owned of the Lord, and their ministry and communions, about the Six-Mile-Water, were made useful for reviving religion in the power and practice of it. The Irish prelates, at the instigation of ours, got them removed for a season, much against excellent Bishop Usher's mind. When silenced, and come over to Scotland, about the year 1638, Mr.. Dickson employed Messrs Blair, Livingston, and Cunningham, at his communion: for this he was called before the High Commission. He soon got rid of this trouble, the prelates' power being now on the decline.

Reviewing Mr.. Dickson's sermons at Irvine, they are full of solid substantial matter, very scriptural, and in a very familiar style, not low, but extremely strong, plain, and affecting. As Mr.. Dickson was so singularly useful in his public ministrations, both to Christians in answering their perplexing cases of conscience, and students who had their eye to the ministry, while he was at Irvine: his prudent directions, cautions, and encouragements, given them, were extremely useful and beneficial. It was Mr.. Dickson who brought the Presbytery of Irvine to supplicate the Council, 1637, for a suspension of a charge given to ministers to buy and use the Service-Book. At that time, four supplications from different quarters, without any concert in the supplicants, met at the Council-house door, to their mutual surprise and encouragement. These were the small beginnings of that happy turn of affairs, that and next years, of which it were to be wished we had fuller and better accounts than yet have been published.

In that great revolution, Mr.. Dickson bore no small share. He was sent to Aberdeen with Messrs Henderson and Cant, by the Covenanters, to persuade that city and country about to join in, renewing the land's covenant with the Lord. This brought him to bear a great part in the debates with the learned Doctors Forbes, Barron, Sibbald, and others, at Aberdeen.

When the King was prevailed with to allow a free General Assembly at Glasgow, November 1638, Mr. Dickson and Mr. Bailey, from the Presbytery of Irvine, made a great figure there. In all the important matters before that grave meeting, he was very useful; but Mr. Dickson signalised himself in a seasonable and prudent speech he had when his Majesty's Commissioner threatened to leave the Assembly. In the eleventh session, December 5th, he had another most learned discourse against Arminianism.

The reports of the Lord's eminent countenancing Mr.. Dickson's ministry at Irvine had ere this time spread through all this Church; but his eminent prudence, learning, and holy zeal, came to be universally known, especially to ministers, from the part he bore in the Assembly at Glasgow; so that he was almost unanimously chosen Moderator to the next General Assembly at Edinburgh, August 1639. Many of his speeches, and instances of his wise management at so critical a juncture, are before me in a MS, account of that Assembly. In the tenth session, the city of Glasgow presented a call to him, but partly because of his own aversion, and the vigorous appearances of the Earl of Eglinton and his loving people, and mostly from the remarkable usefulness of his ministry in that corner, the General Assembly continued him at Irvine.

But not long after, 1641, he was transported to be Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, where he did great services to the Church and interests of real religion, by training up many youths for the holy ministry.

In the year 1643, the Church laid a very great work on him, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Calderwood, to form the draft of a Directory for Public Worship, as appears by the acts of Assembly. When the pestilence was raging at Glasgow, 1647, the masters and students of the University removed to Irvine upon Mr. Dickson's motion. There the holy and learned Mr. Durham passed his trials, and was earnestly recommended by the professor to the presbytery and magistrates of Glasgow, and in a little time ordained minister to that city. Great was the friendship and familiarity between these two eminent lights of the Church there; and among other effects of their familiar conversation, which still turned upon profitable subjects and designs, we have the *Sum of Saving Knowledge*, which hath been so often printed with our Confession of Faith and Catechisms. This, after several conversations, and thinking upon the subject and manner of handling it, so as it might be most useful to vulgar capacities, was by Messrs Dickson and Durham dictated to a reverend minister, who informed me, about the year 1650. It was the deed of these two great men, and though, never

judicially approved by this Church, deserves to be much more read and considered than one fears it is.

About this time, Mr. Dickson had a great share in the printed pamphlets upon the unhappy debates betwixt the Resolutioners and Protesters. He was in his opinion for the public Resolutions, and most of the papers upon that side were written by him, Mr. Robert Bailey, and Mr. Robert Douglass; as those on the other side were written by Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and a few others. Mr. Dickson was then transported from the profession of divinity at Glasgow to the same work at Edinburgh around 1650. There he continued his laborious care of students of divinity, the growing hopes of a Church; and either at Glasgow or Edinburgh, most part of the Presbyterian ministers, at least in the west, south, and east parts of Scotland, from the year 1640 to the happy Revolution, were under his inspection. And from this very book we may perceive his care to educate them in the form of sound words, and to ground them solidly in the excellent standards of doctrine agreed to by this Church. May it still be the care and mercy of the Church of Scotland, to preserve and hand down to posterity the Scriptural pure doctrine delivered by our first reformers to Mr. Dickson and his contemporaries, and from him and the other great lights in his day, handed down to us now upon the stage, without corruption or declining to right or left hand.

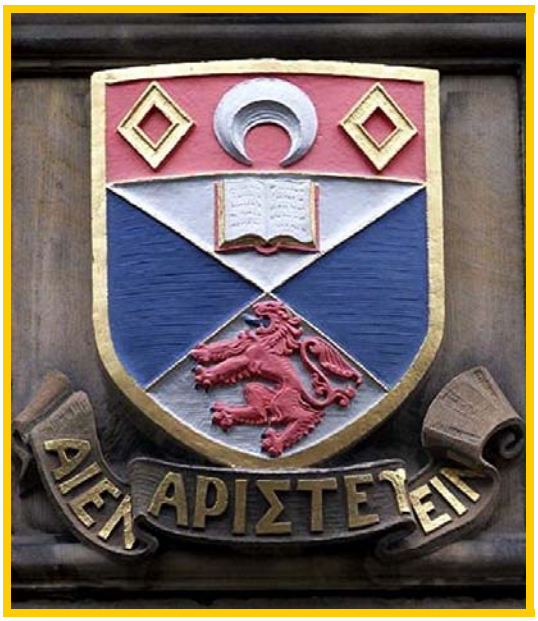
Mr. Dickson continued at Edinburgh, discharging his great trust with faithfulness and diligence, until the melancholy turn by the restoration of Prelacy upon King Charles' return, when, for refusing the oath of supremacy, he was, with many other worthies, turned out. His heart was broke with the heavy change on the beautiful face of this reformed Church. He was now well stricken in years, his labour and work was over, and he ripe for his glorious reward.

Accordingly, in December 1662, he fell extremely weak. Mr. John Livingston, now suffering for the same cause with him, and under a sentence of banishment for refusing the foresaid oath, came to visit Mr. Dickson on his death-bed. They had been intimate friends near fifty years, and now rejoiced together as fellow confessors. When Mr. Livingston asked the professor how he found himself, his answer was, "I have taken all my good deeds, and all my bad deeds, and cast them through each other in a heap before the Lord, and fled from both, and betaken myself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and in him I have sweet peace." Having been very weak and low for some days, he called the family together, and spoke in particular to each of them, and when he had gone through them all, he pronounced the words of the Apostolical blessing, 2 Cor. xiii. 14, with much gravity and solemnity, and then put up his hand and closed his own eyes, and without any struggle or apparent pain, immediately expired in the arms of his son, my brother's informer.' *(This took place in the year 1662, soon after Dickson was driven from his professorial chair by the success of the unprincipled monarch for whom he had so zealously but blindly struggled.)*

Mr. Dickson married Margaret Roberton, daughter to Archibald Roberton of Stonehall, a younger brother of the house of Ernock, in the shire of Lanark. By her he had three sons, John Dickson, Clerk to the Exchequer in Scotland, Mr. Alexander Dickson, professor of the Hebrew tongue in the College of Edinburgh, and Mr. Archibald Dickson, who lived with his family in the parish of Irvine. By these he hath left a numerous posterity.

New York Alpha's intellectual, the Reverend David Dickson, above, studied at the University of Glasgow, then adopting the theological tenets of Andrew Melville:

❖ The University of Glasgow at which David Dickson, in turn, studied was influenced heavily by the reform of Andrew Melville. The University was founded in 1451 by a papal bull of Pope Nicholas V, at the suggestion of King James II, giving Bishop William Turnbull permission to add the university to the city's cathedral. Its founding came about as a result of King James II's wish that Scotland have two Universities to equal Oxford and Cambridge of England. It is the second oldest university in Scotland (the oldest being the 1410-founded University of St Andrews), and the fourth oldest in the English-speaking world. The Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen are ecclesiastical foundations, while Edinburgh was a civic foundation.



University of Saint Andrews

Teaching at the University of Glasgow began in the chapterhouse of Glasgow Cathedral then moving to nearby 'Rotten Row' in a builing known as the 'Auld Pedagogy'. The University was given thirteen (13) acres of land belonging to the Blackfriars on High Street by Mary, Queen of Scots in 1563. By the late 17th century, the University building centered on two courtyards surrounded by walled gardens, with a clock tower which was one of the notable features of Glasgow's skyline, and a chapel adapted from the church of the former Dominican (Blackfriars) friary. This complex was one of the finest Renaissance buildings in Scotland, and its demolition, following the transferral of the University to its present site in 1871 (in less 'rough' surroundings) was one of the worst acts of cultural vandalism in 19th century Scotland. Remnants of this Scottish Renaissance building, mainly parts of the main facade, were transferred to the Gilmorehill campus and renamed as the 'Pearce Lodge'. The 'Lion and Unicorn' was also transferred from the old college site.

The most dramatic cultural shift in the life of the University came with its Reformation in 1577 under the energetic guidance of New York Alpha's intellectual Andrew Melville. This event known as the "Nova Erectio" or "New Erection" also signalled the rebirth of the Library. The spirit of the new era was symbolised in an early donation of Greek books, Plato, Plutarch, Strabo, Euclid,

and Aristophanes — mostly with Basel imprints — from the distinguished humanist poet George Buchanan.

The “Novo Erectio” that informed David Dickson’s theological studies at Glasgow was brought to pass by Andrew Melville (Aug. 1, 1545 – 1622), a Scottish scholar, theologian and religious reformer. He was of the Melvilles of Dysart, a branch of the Oliphant Clan. He was born at Baldovy near Montrose, Angus, the youngest son of Richard Melville (brother to the Melville of Dysart); his father died at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547, fighting in the van of the Scottish army. Andrew's mother died soon after, and the orphan was cared for by his eldest brother Richard (1522-1575).

At an early age Melville began to show a taste for learning, and his brother Richard did everything in his power to give him the best education. He learned the rudiments of Latin at the grammar school of Montrose, after leaving which he learned Greek for two years under Pierre de Marsilliers, a Frenchman whom John Erskine of Dun had persuaded to settle at Montrose; such was Melville's proficiency that on going to the University of St Andrews he astonished the professors by using the Greek text of Aristotle, which no one else there understood. On completing his course, Melville left St Andrews with the reputation of "the best poet, philosopher, and Grecian of any young master in the land."

In 1564, at nineteen years of age, he set out for France to complete his education at the University of Paris. He applied himself to Oriental languages, but also attended the last course of lectures delivered by Adrianus Turnebus, professor of Greek, as well as those of New York Alpha’s intellectual, Petrus Ramus (q.v.), whose philosophical method and plan of teaching Melville later introduced into the universities of Scotland. From Paris he went to Poitiers (1566) to study civil law, and though only twenty-one was apparently at once made a regent in the college of St Marceon. After three years, however, political troubles compelled him to leave France, and he went to Geneva, where he was welcomed by Theodore Beza, at whose instigation he was appointed to the chair of humanity in the academy of Geneva.

In addition to teaching, Melville continued to study Oriental literature, and in particular acquired from Cornelius Bertram, one of his brother professors, a knowledge of Syriac. While he lived at Geneva the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 drove immense numbers of Protestant refugees to that city, including several of the most distinguished French men of letters of the time. Among these were several men learned in civil law, and political science, and associating with them increased Melville's knowledge and enlarged his ideas of civil and ecclesiastical liberty. In 1574 Melville returned to Scotland, and almost immediately received the appointment of Principal of the University of Glasgow, and began its renewal.

Melville set himself to establish a good educational system. He enlarged the curriculum, and established chairs in languages, science, philosophy and divinity, which were confirmed by charter in 1577. His fame spread, and students flocked from all parts of Scotland and beyond. He assisted in the reconstruction of the University of Aberdeen in 1575, and in order to do for St Andrews what he had done for Glasgow, he was appointed Principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, in 1580. His duties there comprised the teaching of theology, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac and Rabbinical languages.

Melville created a fashion for the study of Greek literature. The reforms, however, which his new modes of teaching involved, and even some of his new doctrines, such as the non-infallibility of Aristotle, brought him into conflict with other teachers in the university. He was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1582, and took part in the organization of the Church and the Presbyterian method. Troubles arose from the attempts of the court to force a system of episcopacy upon the Church of Scotland, and Melville prosecuted one of the Tulchan Bishops (Robert Montgomery, d. 1609). For this he was summoned before the Privy Council in February 1584, and had to flee into England in order to escape a charge of treason.

After twenty months he returned to Scotland in November 1585, and in March 1586 resumed his lectures in St Andrews, where he continued for twenty years; he became Rector of the University in 1590. During the whole time he protected the liberties of the Scottish Church against all encroachments of the government. That in the main he was fighting for the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the Church is generally accepted. The chief charge against Melville is that his fervour often led him to forget the reverence due to an "anointed monarch." When the king acted in an arbitrary and illegal manner he needed the reminder that though he was king over men he was only "God's silly vassal." Melville's rudeness (if it is to be called so) was the outburst of just indignation from a man zealous for the purity of religion and regardless of consequences to himself.

He made this statement to King James VI of Scotland, later to become King James I of England:

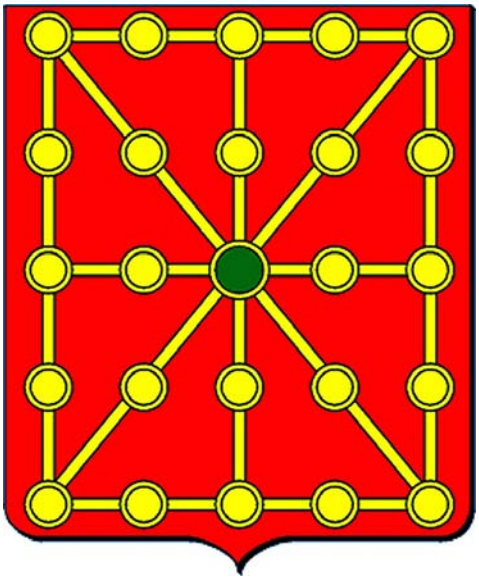
> "Sirrah, ye are God's silly vassal; there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is king James, the head of the commonwealth; and there is Christ Jesus, the king of the Church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, not a lord, not a head, but a member."

In 1599 he was deprived of the rectorship, but was made dean of the faculty of theology. The close of Melville's career in Scotland was at length brought about by James in characteristic fashion. In 1606 Melville and seven other clergymen of the Church of Scotland were summoned to London in order

"that His Majesty might treat with them of such things as would tend to settle the peace of the Church." The contention of the whole of these faithful men was that the only way to accomplish that purpose was a free Assembly. Melville delivered his opinion to that effect in two long speeches with his accustomed freedom, and, having shortly afterwards written a sarcastic Latin epigram on some of the ritual practised in the chapel of Hampton Court Palace, and some eavesdropper having relayed it to the king, he was committed to the Tower of London, and detained for four years. On being freed, but refused permission to return to his own country, he was invited to fill a professor's chair in the University of Sedan, and there he spent the last eleven years of his life.

New York Alpha's intellectual, the Reverend Andrew Melville, above, introduced the educational philosophy of Petrus Ramus at the University of Glasgow:

❖ Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) undoubtedly occupies an important place in the history of ideas. However, few academics would consider him to be one of the most significant philosophers of his time. Yet in his day he gained an impressive number of followers and admirers, and his works influenced the curriculum of many European universities, including Andrew Melville's (q.v.) work at the University of Glasgow. According to modern historians such as Walter J. Ong, Ramus' frequently reprinted books on logic "could in no real sense be considered an advance or even a reform" (Ong, p. 5). Yet, it was mainly on the basis of these books that he acquired an impressive reputation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We must look at Ramus as a typical phenomenon of the sixteenth century and its unceasing religious controversies.



Cardinal Red and Hunter Green in the Shield of Navarre.

It was also a period of state building, during which Italian humanism was transformed into its Northern European counterpart. Ramus himself took part in these events. A Huguenot convert from Catholicism, he was one of the most famous victims of the St. Bartholomew's day massacre. From early youth he fought against scholasticism and its interpretation of Aristotle; and he tried to reform the contemporary university curriculum in a way that would fulfill the new needs of the emerging states. He was, in many respects, and Andrew Dickson White (q.v.) of his day. As a good humanist, he approached everything linguistically and rhetorically.

The extent to which he was, in reality, an offspring of the scholastic tradition has yet to be recognized. Although he attracted many ardent supporters, his scholastic anti-scholasticism was the main reason why his revolt against traditional philosophy did not produce an entirely new philosophical system. Ramus soon came to be considered, not an innovative thinker, but an outmoded one.

To understand Petrus Ramus and his work, it is necessary to strike a balance between, on the one hand, the enthusiasm of his admirers and hagiographical biographers and, on the other, the historians who, from a positivistic or a scholastic perspective, have criticized his lack of originality and

consistency. It is impossible to describe Ramus' thinking and to understand his importance without considering both sides of the story. He may never have intended to achieve what posterity has blamed him for not achieving.

Information about Ramus' life, apart from scattered biographical notes in his own books, comes mainly from three of his contemporaries: Johannes Thomas Freigius, Theophilus Banosius and Nicolas Nancelius. Freigius and Banosius spent only brief periods with Ramus and relied mostly on written sources. Nancelius, however, was a close friend of his, first as a student and later as a colleague and collaborator; and the account he produced is more exhaustive and better written.

Ramus was born in 1515 to a poor but noble family who lived in a small village in Picardy not far from Noyon, the birthplace of his contemporary, the religious reformer John Calvin (1509–1564). After losing his father as a young boy, Ramus worked for a short time as a foot-soldier and a servant before he got the opportunity to study in Paris, becoming a Master of Arts in 1536. Nancelius praises his diligence and tells us that he earned his living by helping other students of greater means and consequently slept hardly more than three hours a night, resulting in a painful eye disease (Nancelius, p. 178). The lengthy curriculum of the College of Navarre at the University of Paris was mostly governed by the demands of the Church and strongly influenced by a scholastic tradition dating from the late Middle Ages. In 1529 Francis I had established several regius (i.e., royal) professorships and had also set up a special college with a more humanistic curriculum, the Collège royal (later known as the Collège de France), in order to reduce the power of the university.

Knowledge of Ramus' precise whereabouts and activities during these first years in Paris is quite limited; but it is likely that early on he began to criticize the role of scholasticism in university education. He claimed that he had reacted from the very beginning against the inconsistencies of the curriculum and of the teaching. As soon as he was allowed to give lectures, he tried to change what he himself had found so unsatisfactory. His endeavors to reform the curriculum were not, however, appreciated by his colleagues, who mounted strong resistance to them: his first textbooks, *Aristotelicae animadversiones* and *Dialecticae institutiones*, both published in 1543, were censured and eventually prohibited. He himself was briefly prohibited from teaching logic and rhetoric.

The tension between Ramus and the university did not abate. In 1551, however, he was appointed to a regius professorship. Holders of these chairs taught according to more humanist principles than those followed by university professors. The latter, for instance, strenuously defended the medieval rules for pronouncing Latin and Greek, which Ramus ridiculed, just as he derided those who tried to develop a formal logic that departed from the normal way in which people talk and write.

Ramus published many books during his career. More than (50) fifty were printed, and some came out in several editions. They vary in genre and length from commentaries on classical texts to short tracts or orations. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish Ramus' works from those of his closest colleague and friend, Omar Talon (c. 1510–1562). The two scholars influenced each other and exchanged ideas and texts. Talon's *Rhetorica* (1548), for example, was essentially a slightly revised version of Ramus' *Institutiones oratoriae* (1545). Nancelius describes an episode typical of this intricate friendship. Ramus, attacked by a colleague, took only three days to produce a witty reply, which was printed a few days later with Talon's name on the title-page, though the latter had barely seen the manuscript. It was a great loss for Ramus when Talon died in 1562.

In the 1560s Ramus took the dramatic step of converting to Protestantism. As a Huguenot, he lost the influential support of the Cardinal of Lorraine, which until then had been vital for his career advancement. From now on he could only hope for the patronage of the king. He was forced to leave Paris and the university, spending some years in Germany and Switzerland. He tried to obtain a chair in Heidelberg, where he took part in his first Protestant communion; despite this, the other professors refused him the chair that had been promised to him by the Count Palatine, Fredrick III. His attempt to be appointed to a chair in Strasbourg was also unsuccessful. Therefore, in 1570 he returned to Paris, where he took up his former position as regius professor, but without regaining his *licentia docendi*, his right to teach at the university. This meant that he was no longer permitted to deliver lectures and therefore was unable to attract large audiences (Banosius, p. 33; cf. Ong, p. 28).

Ramus was an extremely controversial figure. He acquired admirers and friends as easily as he did opponents, critics and enemies—one of whom, according to an unreliable report, was responsible for his death. In spite of the differing accounts given by his biographers, we know that Ramus was murdered during the St. Bartholomew's day massacre, which started on August 24, 1572. On the third day he was captured in his study at the Collège de Presles. His body was mutilated and perhaps decapitated before being thrown into the Seine. Although the king had ordered for him to be spared, we do not know why these instructions were disobeyed. Since, however, Ramus was not killed until the slaughter had almost died down, this may indicate that the reasons for his murder went beyond his conversion to Protestantism. At any rate, he became a kind of martyr to his many followers.

Nancelius, in order to present an accurate portrait of Ramus, provides some details about his way of life and his personality. He tells us that Ramus was as dark-skinned as an Italian or a Spaniard, rather tall and had an impressively black and bushy beard, of which he was very proud—once when the rector of the University of Paris ordered all professors to shave, Ramus obeyed but stayed at home until his beard had grown out again. His gait was graceful and regal, his

posture striking and dignified. He seems to have been quite moderate in his drinking and eating habits. He spent most of his time reading, writing and talking with friends. Nancelius also reports that Ramus took a bath only once a year, but washed his hands, face and beard daily in a mixture of water and white wine. Although as a professor he was not allowed to marry, he did from time to time have female friends.

Ramus is reputed to have had a very bad temper. Sometimes he even physically attacked his students, though apparently this did not prevent him from gaining many devoted disciples. He amassed a substantial fortune and made a provision in his will that this money should be used to establish a chair of mathematics. Significantly, it was not to be attached to the University of Paris but was instead to have the same type of special conditions granted to regius professors.

During Ramus' early years at the University of Paris he devoted himself to the disciplines or arts of the traditional *trvivium*: grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. He formulated his ideas on logic in 1540s and the early 1550s, and it is during this period that he gave most explicit expression to his anti-Aristotelianism. In 1555 he published a logic textbook in French, entitled *Dialectique*, which in many ways provided a clear indication of his ambitions and aims. Although he had become well known for his Latin eloquence, he broke with the scholastic tradition by writing in the vernacular. The following year he published the same book in Latin under the title *Dialecticae libri duo* (henceforth *Dialectica*). It was later printed in many different languages, and hundreds of editions of the Latin version were published. The book was widely disseminated and used at schools and universities throughout Europe, mostly in the Protestant countries.

Ramus' rhetoric textbook, the *Institutiones rhetoricae*, written with Talon, appeared in 1545 but with only Talon's name on the title-page. It was a kind of companion to the *Dialecticae institutiones,* published two years earlier. A second edition, entitled *Rhetorica*, though popular and frequently reprinted in new editions, never attained the diffusion and influence of his logic textbook. During the late 1550s and the 1560s Ramus published his lectures on the various arts, including physics and metaphysics. While his textbooks were succinctly organized according to very strict principles, the lectures (*Scholae*) were less laconic and offered more detailed discussion. They were later collected together and published as *Scholae in liberales artes* in a Basel edition of 1569.

Ramus also turned his hand to mathematics. He did so rather late in life and, according to Nancelius, had problems at first understanding the Greek mathematicians (Nancelius, p. 205). He improved his abilities in both Greek and mathematics, and in his will he stipulated that the holder of the chair he wanted to endow should be an expert in both. Ong's negative judgment of Ramus' mathematical capacities may be correct (Ong, p.27); nevertheless, his enthusiasm for this field was crucial to the future history of Ramism.

Thus, while the early phase of Ramus' academic career was concentrated on the disciplines of the *trivium*, in the later period, from around 1560, he moved on to the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy), though in practice his interest was largely restricted to mathematics. He could never fully endorse Copernicus' new heliocentric astronomy because he was unable to accept an hypothesis as a scientific argument (see § 2.4 below). The famous Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) left a report of an encounter he had with Ramus in Augsburg in 1569, registering his own amazement at this attitude. It was Brahe's view that, according to Ramus, the astronomer's task in describing the movements of the planets must be based solely on observation: he was not allowed to use hypotheses such as assuming a circular planetary movement.

Although Ramus challenged the values and educational principles of scholasticism, he never attempted to discuss theological issues. His sole interest was in reforming the curriculum of the arts faculty. Nancelius points out that Ramus' large library had very few volumes on theology, medicine or law (Nancelius, p.273). Nevertheless, during his final years he wrote a book on Christian theology, the *Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri quatuor*, which was published posthumously. The most striking feature of this work was that Ramus defined theology as the art of living virtuously, *ars bene vivendi*, adopting an essentially Zwinglian point of view. Theology may give us the rules by means of which we can and must live, but it cannot bring us salvation. In a particularly interesting chapter of the treatise (I:8), Ramus discusses the meaning of predestination.

Banosius mentions that several of Ramus' manuscripts were destroyed or scattered at the time of his murder and that among these were a commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* and various works on ethics and music (Banosius, p. 39). Unfortunately, no trace of these writings has survived. Nancelius was eager to mention that he had collaborated with Ramus in planning a long series of works on mathematics. For some reason, however, this *corpus mathematicum* was never printed and, along with many other manuscripts, these works disappeared after Ramus' assassination (Nancelius, pp. 205 and 273).

The enormous impact of Ramus on European education in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has seemed astonishing to some modern scholars; and among his harshest critics have been historians of logic. Carl Prantl, for instance, claimed that Ramus had no talent whatsoever for philosophy and logic (Prantl, pp. 157–169; cf. Kneale and Kneale, pp. 300–302); and Walter J. Ong was also keen to point out his incompetence (Ong, pp. 7 and 24). Without engaging in arguments with these historians, it is still legitimate to ask what it was that made Ramus so popular and so controversial. One key to understanding the impact of Ramism can be found in his own statement, in the *Scholae dialecticae*, that the aim of his reforms was to adapt Aristotle's *Organon* to the service of learning, *ad eruditionis usum*.

The arts faculty was supposed to prepare young students for further studies in theology, medicine or jurisprudence. Most students, however, never advanced to these higher faculties but left the university for employment in the Church. The arts curriculum had been geared toward this situation since the Middle Ages. The political developments which led to the rise of a new kind of state in the Renaissance also affected the educational program of universities. In the short term, rulers tried to find quick and practical solutions such as special colleges or special professorships; but in the long run, more thorough measures, which included establishing new institutions and devising new curricula, were needed. The arts faculty had gradually changed, and what we now call the humanities (history, literature, rhetoric and ethics) had started to play a more important role. The stress on some aspects of logic and metaphysics, characteristic of the medieval arts faculty, was becoming obsolete. A new curriculum adjusted to the humanities was therefore necessary.

Ramus' reform program may have been designed to respond to this need. He became famous for his strong reaction against Aristotle's undisputed primacy in the medieval university curriculum. According to his devoted biographer Freigius, his academic career began with a public disputation in 1536 where he defended the thesis “that everything Aristotle had said was false” (*quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commentitia esse*). It is unlikely, however, that such a disputation ever took place since no one apart from Freigius mentions it. Nevertheless, the episode was referred to by many contemporaries, as well as by later historians, and certainly helped to associate Ramus' name with all forms of anti-Aristotelianism (Ong, pp. 37-39). Although savage attacks on Aristotle were not uncommon during the Reformation, Ramus' criticism of his philosophy became one of the most famous outbursts of anti-Aristotelianism. Yet Ramus was hardly a typical anti-Aristotelian in the mold of Luther or other impassioned anti-intellectuals. Though many of his followers could be considered zealots, he himself was insistent on pointing out the difference between what he referred to as the true and the false Aristotle. Attacks on Aristotle were often launched by those who emphasized the fact that he had not been a Christian; some fanatics even thought that his philosophy had paved the way for Satan. Ramus did not share this view. According to him, it was not because Aristotle had been a pagan that he was wrong but rather because he had been misinterpreted by later commentators.

Ramus claimed that his work to reform the curriculum had begun during his early schooldays. As a young student he had to endure the inadequate way in which Aristotle was taught; no one seemed to care if young boys could ever use what they had learnt. For Ramus, the main reason for reforming the curriculum was related to the usefulness of education and not to the question of Aristotle's role in it. In fact, he emphasized the value of Aristotelian philosophy. He considered Aristotle to be the most important of logicians, though he pointed out that Aristotle had not invented the discipline of logic but rather developed what his predecessors had hinted at. Even more significant for Ramus was the need to

call attention to the damage that the *corpus Aristotelicum* had suffered after Aristotle's death, which meant that we could not know for certain what he had intended to say on any given question. Because of the bad state in which Aristotle's texts were transmitted, his commentators, in their discussions of individual books of the *Metaphysics* and *Physics*, had taken up certain issues that really belonged to logic. This is also why the *Organon* gives the impression of being an amalgamation of different subjects. Ramus laid the blame for all of this on the shoulders of the ancient and medieval commentators who he thought had for centuries misinterpreted the Greek philosopher owing to the poor condition of the Aristotelian corpus. He also highlighted another circumstance that helped to explain the confusions and obscurities that, in his view, were scattered throughout Aristotle's books. The Philosopher himself had intentionally made his theories a little more abstruse than they needed to be in order to sift the wheat from the chaff among his disciples (Ramus, *Scholae dialecticae*, in *Scholae in liberales artes*, col. 68).

To Ramus, Aristotle was a Socratic philosopher, whose approach was broadly in line with that of Cicero. By contrast, Aristotle's followers, especially those belonging to the scholastic camp, were merely a bunch of frauds: “Let us ignore all these Aristotelians and return to Aristotle, the author of such a noble discipline [i.e., philosophy], and to Cicero, who tries to emulate Aristotle's teaching and to imitate him” (Ramus, *Collectaneae praefationes, epistolae, orationes*, p. 299).

In 1569 there was a furious exchange of letters between Ramus and one of the most prominent and learned Aristotelians of his day, Jacob Schegk (1511–1587), a professor at the University of Tübingen. The conflict may not have been based solely on a difference of philosophical opinions. Schegk had a grudge against Ramus, who had pulled one of his books to pieces. The discussion nevertheless forced Ramus to reconsider some of his positions.

Ramus' final contribution to the debate was entitled, characteristically, *Defensio pro Aristotele adversus Jacobus Scheccium*, that is, a defense of Aristotle against Schegk. In this work he makes clear the difference between his position, which he maintained had also been that of Aristotle, and the view of Schegk and other Aristotelians. The question at stake was what logic really was: its definition, its limitations, its goal and its nature. According to the Aristotelians, the different parts of the *Organon*—the *Categories*, *On Interpretation,* the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, the *Topics* and the *Sophistical Refutations*—corresponded to the different parts of logic. There was, for instance, an essential difference between probability (the subject of the *Topics*) and certainty (dealt with in the two *Analytics*).

To understand Ramus' line of reasoning we have to start with his firm rejection of the basic Aristotelian conception of philosophy. The Aristotelians defined philosophy as a *habitus intellectualis*, a rational attitude toward being. In

looking at being we can try to understand it; but we can also, as humans, use our knowledge to act rightly or wrongly toward other humans. For this reason, Aristotle divided philosophy into a theoretical part and a practical part. Logic, however, does not fit into this division of philosophy because it does not give us any knowledge at all of being. It is instead a way of acquiring knowledge and of finding the truth. The Aristotelians therefore called it a *habitus instrumentalis*, an instrumental attitude (the Greek term *organon*, traditionally used to denote Aristotle's logical writings, means instrument or tool). According to the Aristotelians, philosophy always concerns the rational aspects of human beings; their productive aspects, by contrast, belong to the practical disciplines or arts. For the Aristotelian, it was essential to separate science and philosophy from the arts. Yet while Aristotle had firmly rooted his philosophical theories in an attitude toward being, educational practice in schools was concerned solely with theorems and rules. Young pupils had to study not being in a theoretical and abstract way but rather the items that the teacher demanded them to learn, often by heart.

The Stoic conception of philosophy, therefore, was often far more suitable to a classroom situation. For the Stoics, the universe was rationally organized in a way that was directly equivalent to human reason. They believed that there was a correspondence in the universe, or in nature, between order and reason and that the reason which organized and governed the universe was essentially the same as human reason. The connection between nature and reason could be studied from three (3) different perspectives: physical, ethical and rational or logical. One consequence of the Stoic theory was that there must be an absolute analogy between the contents of an art and those of nature, that is, all arts must also be about nature or being. There could not be a difference of rank between the parts of nature, nor between the parts of philosophy, as the Aristotelians thought. Another consequence was that logic became an integral part of philosophy rather than an instrument to be used by the other branches of the discipline.

Ramus' way of looking at philosophy and logic was in many ways similar to that of the Stoics. His definition of philosophy as a *cognitio artium liberalium*, a knowledge of the liberal arts, reveals both the influence of Stoicism and of the medieval educational tradition. Ramus thus regarded logic as a part of philosophy and defined it as an art that truly gives us knowledge of being. Ramus' followers often substituted the word *doctrina* for *cognitio*, which made it even clearer that the perspective was more pedagogical than ontological (Cf. Ramus, *Dialectica*, p. 11, where he uses another variant, defining philosophy as a *comprehensio praeceptorum*, a collection of precepts).

It may seem that Ramus' attitude toward Aristotle and the Aristotelians was not very consistent. At times, he claimed to be the only true Aristotelian and criticized the scholastic Aristotelians for misinterpreting Aristotle. On other occasions, he maintained that the entire Aristotelian tradition, including Aristotle

himself, was totally wrong. This inconsistency is due to the fact that he adopted different strategies in response to different polemical situations. Although Ramus was an offspring of the Aristotelian tradition, he was also influenced by Ciceronian and Stoic ideas. Only rarely did he directly attack Aristotle himself. So, for example, whenever there was a clash between the Aristotelian and the Stoic way of thinking, he tried to solve the problem by pointing out differences between Aristotle and his later commentators.

Ramus stressed that all arts should represent separate parts of nature. It would consequently be a serious mistake to confuse one art with another. In the *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle had set out certain rules or laws for how a predicate should be related to a subject in order to make a correct scientific proposition. Ramus took over these laws; but he applied them not only to propositions but also to the construction of entire arts.

The first law, the *lex veritatis*, or law of truth, stated that every theorem in an art must be general and indispensable. For example, a theorem stating that the angle of a triangle is a right angle would not be a false statement since there are indeed triangles with right angles. But since it is not true in relation to all triangles, such a theorem would violate the law of truth. A theorem which states that the sum of the degrees of the three angles of a triangle is 180 would, however, be totally correct and generally true.

The second law was called the *lex justitiae*, or law of justice. Ramus regarded this as the most important of the three laws. It ensured that justice was done to all the arts. No theorem belonging to one art should be allowed to trespass into the subject matter of another, since that would be unjust. This law also demanded that all parts of an art should be homogeneous. It was on the basis of this law that Ramus objected to Copernicus' planetary hypothesis (see § 1.4 above). He held that Copernicus was not allowed to put forward theories as to how the planets really moved in the heavens, which belonged to the art astrophysics, while at the same time using mathematical hypotheses, which belonged to the art of mathematics. To Ramus, this law was fundamental for the purpose of organizing a new curriculum and was also, as we shall see, an important aspect of his method.

The third law, the *lex sapientiae*, or law of wisdom, was the concrete principle of how an art should be organized according to general theorems. A more general theorem should always precede a less general and more particular one. The theorem that an isosceles triangle has angles which add up to a total of 180 degrees is quite correct; but since it is true for all triangles, it should precede theorems applicable to specific kinds of triangle.

This way of treating philosophy as an aggregate of rigidly separate arts may have had some pedagogical value, but it also raised difficulties. Ramus, for instance, could not accept metaphysics as a separate discipline. By insisting that

every art must have its correctly formulated theorems, organized from the more general to the more specific, and that no theorem should be allowed to have reference to more than one art, Ramus almost seems to impose a military discipline on nature. Sometimes his followers defined philosophy as merely a methodical collection of arts, a *collectio methodica*, which reveals even more clearly their understanding of the discipline.

On account of his idealistic belief in the correspondence between the arts—including their concepts and words—and being, some scholars have assumed that Ramus was reliant on Platonism. Indeed, his contemporaries sometimes called him the *Plato Gallicus*, the French Plato; but, in reality, the Platonic influences on him are rather vague and often concealed. Although he at times claimed to be a Platonist, his references to Plato are mostly aimed at distancing himself from Aristotle and, above all, from contemporary Aristotelians. In practice, he was more often inspired by Cicero and by Stoicism than by Platonism. And despite his attacks on Aristotle, he was essentially dependent on the scholastic tradition (cf. Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique*, who takes the opposite view on this issue).

Logic, according to the Ramist and Stoic perspective, is a part of philosophy. Ramus rejected the Aristotelian definition of logic as a *habitus instrumentalis*, since an instrumental attitude could be considered to be an effect of logic but not equivalent to it. Instead he defined logic as the *ars bene disserendi*, the art of correctly discussing or analyzing something. Consequently, Ramus thought that logic was about being, which made metaphysics superfluous.

One of the logic books that students had for centuries studied was the *Summulae logicales* of Petrus Hispanus (probably the same Petrus who was elected pope in 1276 and adopted the name John XXI). Even in the beginning of the sixteenth century the treatise was still in use and attracted severe criticism from humanists. Ramus stated explicitly that he wanted to remove the *Summulae* from the curriculum, and it was mainly this book that he was thinking about when he lamented his own youthful experiences of studying logic. His devastating judgment on the book was that it had not made him “more judicious in his studies of history and antiquity, nor more skilled in disputation, nor more competent at writing poetry, nor indeed more competent at anything at all…” (Ramus, *Scholae dialecticae*, in *Scholae in liberales artes*, col. 153). Nevertheless, Ramus' own dialectic showed many signs of influence from *Summulae*. Therefore, to understand the development of Ramist logic, we have to pay attention to this scholastic background, as well as to Cicero, who played a key role in the advance of humanist logic.

The three main parts of Aristotle's great work on logic, the *Organon*, are represented by the *Categories,* the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* and the *Topics.* The categories (*praedicamenta)* are not only treated as a formal part of a

proposition but also, and most importantly, as universals, which meant that their ontological status also had to be considered. The other two parts of Aristotle's logic dealt with the problems of how to reach scientific and dialectical conclusions respectively: the *Analytics* is about finding correct axioms and using them to acquire scientific knowledge; the *Topics* teaches us how to discuss and treat those issues where it is impossible to attain the truth, so that we have to be satisfied with seeking what is most probable.

The Stoics were inclined to concentrate on linguistic rather than ontological issues. Cicero observed that the Aristotelians were mainly interested in the aspect of logic that he called the *ars inveniendi*, that is, the art of finding the right arguments. The Stoics, on the other hand, according to Cicero, were more concerned about the different aspects of the judgments that we make. They wanted to analyze arguments. He called this kind of dialectic the *ratio disserendi*, a definition that Ramus, via Agricola, rephrased as the *ars bene disserendi*. While the Aristotelians thought that the categories were the natural introduction to logic, the Stoics preferred judgment.

During the Middle Ages both the Peripatetic and the Stoic views on dialectic were preserved, the latter via Cicero and Augustine. Petrus Hispanus' *Summulae* consisted of several treatises (*tractatus)*. In the first of these students could learn how to construct a proposition. In the second Petrus discussed the five *praedicabilia* that made it possible to classify different kinds of propositions. The third *tractatus* dealt with the *Categories*, the fourth and the fifth with the problems that Aristotle had taken up in his *Prior Analytics* and in his *Topics*. The last seven treatises were concerned with specific logical problems such as *significatio* or *suppositio*. With few exceptions these treatises do not correspond to any part of the *Organon*; instead, they are for the most part related to the *parva logicalia*, a form of medieval logical thinking which was especially repugnant to humanists. The *Posterior Analytics* was hardly considered at all. The main emphasis at school was on teaching young boys to construct syllogisms. The purpose of the *Summulae* was not to train the students to reflect on the problem of how to make scientifically correct conclusions but rather to prepare them for what they normally were expected to do: to take part in endless series of disputations. In that respect the *Summulae* succeeded (Cf. Ong, pp. 55–74).

While, for Ramus, Petrus Hispanus' *Summulae* was like a red rag to a bull, he willingly admitted that he had learned a great deal from a more recent book on logic, *De inventione libri tres* by the Dutch humanist Rudolph Agricola (1443–1485). This book, printed for the first time in 1515, was to a great extent influenced by humanism. In many ways Agricola's logic was based less on Aristotle than on Cicero. Aristotle had considered the *Topics* or dialectic as a special kind of deduction. This was the reason why Aristotelians wanted the study of logic to start with what Cicero and the humanists often called *iudicium* or judgment, to be learned from the *Categories*, *On Interpretation* and the two

Analytics, before the student went on to the *Topics*. But Agricola disagreed. In his view, you must find the arguments before you can employ them in your argumentation. Aristotelians maintained instead that it was necessary to know what to do with arguments before you could go looking for them. In fact, Agricola hardly touched on *iudicium* in the more than 400 pages of his treatise. In concentrating on the *Topic*s, it was much easier for him to lean on Cicero rather than on Aristotle. The close connection between *inventio*, as a part of logic, and the art of rhetoric made it seem, however, as if humanists could not separate the two disciplines. Another weakness which Aristotelians often pointed out in Agricola and Ramus was that they were not interested in finding answers to difficult questions but rather in finding good arguments to use in defending a certain thesis (Sellberg, p. 58).

Ramus wanted to carry on from where Agricola had left off. So, he added to *inventio* the other part of logic, *iudicium*. Although it never received as much attention as *inventio*, *iudicium* became very controversial in Ramus' account, and he therefore made large changes to his presentation of it. His most detailed discussion of *iudicium* was in the 1566 edition of the *Dialectica*, but this was neither the most read nor the most important edition. The shorter version, published in 1572, was more suitable for schools and was therefore followed in most later editions. In the 1572 edition there are 32 chapters devoted to *inventio* and only 20 to *iudicium*. Every chapter was carefully constructed with questions and definitions of the main problems and with examples, mostly taken from ancient authors.

In his first treatise on logic, *Dialecticae institutiones* (1543) Ramus had divided *iudicium* into three parts: syllogistic, method and a kind of doctrine of ideas. The third part was an odd element added in order to demonstrate that logic had a divine origin; three years later it was removed, never to return. Thereafter, he adopted a two-fold division of *iudicium* into the *axiomaticum* and the *dianoeticum*. In the former part students learnt to organize the arguments found in *inventio* into a proposition or—as Stoics and even Ramus preferred to call it—an *axioma*. The second part of *iudicium,* the *dianoeticum*, was divided into syllogistic and method. The most remarkable aspect of his treatment of syllogistic was that Ramus admitted a *syllogismus expositorius*, in which the conclusion did not have to be about something universal but could be about something individual, as we can see from the example: “Socrates is a philosopher; he is also a human being; consequently, there is at least one human being who is a philosopher” (Ramus, *Dialectica* 1623, p. 71). This type of conclusion would nowadays seem unscientific and arbitrary; but the fact that Ramus included it tells us something about his attitude toward logic. As we have seen, he was determined to make it useful for the humanities. Given the Aristotelian demand that a scientific conclusion should always be universal, it was extremely difficult to deal with the uniqueness of history and literature in a scientific framework. This syllogism was an attempt to cope with that difficulty. But it also reveals Ramus' lack of interest in the problem of how to acquire new

knowledge. It shows that his aim was instead to systemize and organize arguments. For Ramus, therefore, method became the most important part of logic.

Method was a topic of enormous interest during the sixteenth century. Aristotle's words in the *Physics* ($184^{a}10–22$) were difficult to interpret, and all sides claimed an inheritance from him. Ramus' interpretation of the lines in question made it possible for him to maintain that his method was strictly Aristotelian. The Aristotelians, for their part, largely followed Averroes' commentary on this passage, which led to a very different conclusion (Ramus, *Dialectica* 1569, pp. 513–515). The problem was to determine whether method was a way of acquiring knowledge or of displaying it. Discussions about methodological issues changed in this period from being merely commentaries on Aristotle to taking into account a wide range of considerations, including ones belonging to medicine and geometry. The concepts of analysis and synthesis, for example, were borrowed from geometry and soon became the main principles of method. The problem for many logicians was that it was impossible to find relevant discussions of these concepts in the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, despite the titles of these treatises (Gilbert, pp. 27–32). It became obvious that more than one method could exist and that there was a difference between *methodus* and *ordo*. The latter term came to be applied to a pedagogical method, a way of teaching or displaying. But it was also necessary to think about natural vs. artificial *methodus* and *ordo*, as well as considering the correct way of proceeding from the general to the particular and vice versa.

Among Aristotelians there was considerable disagreement on these issues. But Ramus took an extreme position. He explicitly denied that there could be more than one method and that there was any difference between *methodus* and *ordo*. As a consequence of his definition of an art, he could not accept any uncertainty as to how one should proceed or as to whether the procedure should be natural or artificial. In his succinct Latin formulation, he claimed that what was *notiora nobis*, more known to us, must be the same as what was *notiora naturae*, more known to nature. What is more general with respect to nature must consequently have priority in our method over what is more particular. If you see a living creature in the distance, it is not until you are closer to it that you will be able to identify it as a human being, and it will take still more time before you can eventually recognize who it is. This example shows, according to Ramus, that a method which proceeds from the general to the particular is not arbitrary but natural (Ramus, *Quod sit unica doctrinae instituendae methodus*, p. 117). Since it was obvious, at least to Ramus, that an argument is more general than an *axioma*, or proposition, that an *axioma* is more general than a syllogism and that a syllogism is more general than a method, this proved that his way of organizing logic was the correct one. The other arts should, of course, be constructed in the same way. In medicine, for example, it is natural to start with the whole body before you go on to the limbs. When you cure a man who has a wound on his forehead, you can either say that you cure him or his whole body, but not that

you cure his eyes or his belly, which, like his forehead, are parts of his body (Ramus, *Dialectica* 1569, p. 487).

This method was an important part of Ramus' logic since it had direct relevance for his philosophy as a whole. Every art must be founded on it, given that it was not merely the correct but the only method. In describing the arts, he and his followers often used large dichotomies, set out in diagrams or tables; but it is important to note that these dichotomies were an instrument to display the structure of an art. They were not—as many historians have supposed—the same thing as the method. Ramus thought it essential to construct a system of precepts arranged according to their degree of generalization, always starting with the more general and proceeding toward the more specific. This would make the method natural, so that it reflects nature, just as the arts do. To stress this point, Ramus in some of his writings preferred to call the second part of logic not *iudicium* but *dispositio* or arrangement.

Considering Ramus' desire to make logic responsive to the needs of the humanities, it is reasonable to ask whether the method was applicable to artificial products such as poetry or only to natural things. Ramus was aware of the difficulty of demonstrating his natural method in literature. This was a particular problem for him since he wanted students to learn the method by reading the great authors of antiquity. According to him, the method was also used by poets like Virgil and Horace. He had to admit, however, that the ancients had sometimes intentionally departed from it. Therefore, in earlier editions of the *Dialectica* he had included another method, a *methodus prudentiae,* which, as he pointed out, was really no different from the one method. The confusion occasioned by this special method, however, led Ramus to remove it from later editions of the treatise. Instead, he talked about a *methodi secunda illustratio*, that is, a second representation of the one method (Ramus, *Dialectica* 1623, p. 93).

It has already been pointed out that Ramus had little interest in the precise requirements for attaining scientific knowledge but was instead primarily concerned with curriculum reform. Yet he by no means rejected Aristotelian epistemology, and he accepted that the principles of every art should be based on experience and observation. The process of acquiring knowledge should consist of four steps, as we can see in the following example. In the first place, we *feel* intoxicated. Secondly, we realize by means of *observation* that this feeling may have been induced by wine, since we have consumed a great deal of it. But is there actually a causal connection between our consumption of wine and our feeling of drunkenness? To establish certain knowledge, it is necessary, thirdly, to examine by means of *induction* the effects of drinking wine, so that we can conclude that the wine is genuinely the cause of our drunkenness. Fourthly, we can by means of *experience* use our knowledge to avoid getting drunk next time.

According to Ramus, there are always three essential aspects of every art which need to be considered: nature, principles and practice (*exercitatio*). It was the third element, practice, which was essential, for it was through practice that one demonstrated that the art and its principles were correct. If they were correct, the art was useful and constructed according to nature. All three elements were thus closely connected, and Ramus often presented the various arts by setting out their three main parts (as, for instance, in the *Dialecticae institutiones*).

Ramus considered it extremely important to follow the natural method. When, however, it came to practice, this was not always possible. Sometimes it was necessary to start with the most particular, at other times the most general. Practice, moreover, required analysis as well as synthesis. Ramus wanted students to learn logic by reading and practicing the way we naturally think and argue. An oration or even a poem could reveal how the principles of logic work in practice. We should start by analyzing the text in order to see how it is constructed according to logical principles: what problem is being considered, what arguments are chosen and so on. After this has been done, the text is further analyzed with help of the main parts of logic, *inventio* and *iudicium*, and afterwards by the minor parts: the propositions, syllogisms and suchlike (Ramus, *Scholae dialecticae*, in *Scholae in liberales artes*, cols 192–193; Cf. Ong, pp. 263–267). When the analysis is completed, it is time for students to move on to synthesis, the part of practice that Ramus usually referred to as *genesis*. At this stage students were expected to imitate, more or less, the procedure which they had previously studied by means of analysis. This was a crucial moment because they could now show how useful their studies had been by demonstrating the ways in which they had benefited from their theoretical knowledge.

The same procedure could be applied to any art since analysis involved textual study. When reading Aristotle's *Physics*, students did not examine nature but rather what the ancients thought about natural things. Although this made it possible for them to apply the same procedure, but from a different angle, to other ancient texts, it also restricted their studies to a great extent by focusing solely on texts. It certainly showed that Ramus' real intention was to make the curriculum useful to students of the humanities and to future scholars (Hooykaas, p. 22).

As a young lecturer Ramus was accused of violating the rules of the University of Paris; and the specific charge was combining the different arts and bringing the study of ancient orators into them. The university statutes prescribed that studies should proceed in a specific order, starting with grammar, followed by rhetoric and so on. For instance, students were expected to read Cicero's orations before they went on to logic, which entailed memorizing a large number of rules and mnemonic aids such as the *pons asinorum*, which helped them to find the correct middle terms for various types of syllogism. This accusation may seem somewhat paradoxical given that Ramus was very anxious not to confuse

the arts in any way. The curriculum that he himself had followed in his youth had forced students to complete the study of one art before proceeding to the next. Ramus turned this upside down. The arts should be kept completely separate. When, however, students put what they had learned into practice, they should not hesitate to combine the arts. On the contrary, it was necessary for them to do so in order to make their studies truly useful.

Ramus systematized the arts according to his method, which stated that each art or *doctrina* should have exclusive rights to its own principles. One result of this was that, as mentioned above, he totally rejected metaphysics as a discipline, since ontological issues could not be separated from logical ones. Another was that he defined rhetoric as having only two parts: style and delivery (*elocutio* and *pronuntiatio*). This was an extremely radical transformation of rhetoric, which was usually considered to have three additional parts (*inventio*, *iudicium* and *memoria)*. It is easy to understand why he excluded *inventio* and *iudicium* from rhetoric, since he regarded them as belonging to dialectic. His reason for removing *memoria*, memory, was typically Ramist. All arts had to be methodologically adapted to nature. Since the natural order is also basically our normal way of thinking, a genuine knowledge of any art must always be easy for us to remember. Therefore, we do not need the aids supplied by memory.

In a letter of 1551 to his patron, the Cardinal of Lorraine, Ramus wrote that he had heard a rumor that he was considered to be an *academicus*, an adherent of the Academic school or, in other words, a skeptic, who taught his students to doubt. Although Ramus firmly rejected this accusation, he had difficulties in clearing himself of the charge (Ramus, *Collectaneae praefationes, epistolae, orationes*, p. 327).

From the very beginning he had criticized the scholastics for philosophizing, not in order to reach the truth, but to endorse the views of their master. Ramus accused them of treating Aristotle as infallible and said that in doing so they subordinated their own reason to blind faith in authority. In this respect, they were by no means true Aristotelians, for: “Aristotle philosophized with the utmost freedom and, for the sake of the truth, he held views with utter freedom, against the entire tradition of the past, including his teacher Plato. And he practiced the art of logic not only in short debates but also in continuous disputations, in which both sides of the question were discussed. It was, in fact, his interpreters who rejected the freedom to seek and defend the truth” (Ramus, *Scholae*, in *Scholae in liberales artes*, col. 29).

If Freigius' account of the 1536 disputation is correct (see § 2.2 above), this was one of the very few occasions when Ramus really did attack Aristotle. On the whole, as we have seen, he tried to separate Aristotle from his later commentators, and he often explained the mistakes of Aristotelian philosophy as the result of bad interpreters who had distorted Aristotle's original meaning. For Ramus, as for other humanists, the scholastics became the villains of the story.

In the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, Aristotle had set out a method of attaining reliable knowledge; and in the *Topics* he had dealt with all those instances where it was not possible to attain such knowledge. This latter part of logic was dominant in the tradition of *inventio* associated with Agricola (see § 3.2 above), where the standard practice, attributed to Aristotle by Ramus in the passage quoted above, was to discuss both sides of a question (*in utramque partem disserere*). This describes a confrontational situation where one side argues against another, resulting in the victory of one or the other position. In such circumstances, however, you can never say that the side which triumphs is the absolute winner, though you can come fairly close to a definitive resolution. In dialectical argumentation, therefore, we must be satisfied with probabilities. But if the very best we can attain is probability, the knowledge we reach it not as certain as that which results from a scientific demonstration. Consequently, it is more difficult to be fanatically devoted to a particular opinion. In the wake of humanism, ancient skepticism had its own renaissance. Ramus, however, in line with the majority of humanists, was more of an eclectic than a skeptic. He regarded Galen as his ideal since he had borrowed from earlier thinkers what he considered to be good and useful for his own theories (Ramus, *Dialectica* 1569, pp. 11 and 27).

Adopting radical skepticism in this period would have laid Ramus open to the serious charge of holding dangerous philosophical or theological views and even of atheism. It was therefore imperative for him to refute this accusation. To his patron, the cardinal, who had expressed concern over the claim that Ramus was an *academicus*, he explained that the *academici* were merely eclectics, who “differ from other philosophers as free men differ from slaves, as the wise differ from the reckless and as the steadfast differ from the obstinate.” Not surprisingly, Ramus declared that he would rather be a philosopher than the slave of a philosopher (Ramus, *Collectaneae praefationes, epistolae, orationes*, pp. 55 and 89). There was no danger in allowing men to think freely, he maintained, since true reason can never be wrong. As long as we used our ability to understand the natural order, everything would turn out well in the end. Risks arose when we did not dare to trust our own reason but instead, like the scholastics, uncritically adopted the opinions of others.

Ramus' belief in the freedom to philosophize and his eclecticism caused difficulties for his followers. If they showed too much enthusiasm for Ramus' ideas, would they not also be accused of being the slaves of their master? Ramus himself was aware of this problem, a kind of “Catch 22” situation. “What prevents us,” he wrote, “from briefly playing Socrates and, having left aside all our trust in Aristotelian authority, asking: is this the true and correct art of dialectic? Perhaps the Philosopher deceives us with his authority?” (Ramus, *Scholae dialecticae*, in *Scholae in liberales artes*, col. 155). Here we see the great respect that Ramus and his adherents had for Socrates, whom they regarded as their hero. Ramus associated his own dialectical procedure with the method used by Socrates, “whose main intention was to draw those with whom

he debated away from views based on opinions and the testimonies of other people and to lead them toward mental composure and freedom of judgment …" (*ibid*.)

Although his followers preferred to call their philosophy Socratic rather than Ramist, in order to avoid the accusation of slavish trust in his authority, this tactic was not very successful. One of his most devoted disciples, Guilielmus Adolphus Scribonius, attacked another Ramist for departing from the teaching of the *Dialectica* and for criticizing Ramus. Yet, at the same time, he emphatically declared that every adherent of Ramist philosophy must swear to the principle of *libertas philosophandi*, the freedom to philosophize. Scribonius was certainly aware of the difficulty of striking a balance between total freedom and permitting support for a particular school. He tried to resolve it by maintaining that while all philosophers were to some degree wrong, Ramus, like Socrates, had almost always been right. By adopting this position, however, he took some of the sting out of his own criticism of the insufficiently faithful Ramist, as the latter was quick to point out (Sellberg, pp. 106–107).

Neither Ramus nor his followers felt able to extend this freedom to theological questions, though their scholastic opponents accused them of having done so. In the end, they had to concede so many restrictions on the freedom to philosophize that hardly anything remained.

Some of Ramus' opponents called him *usuarius or usurarius*. Both words derive etymologically from the Latin verb *uti,* to use or to receive benefit from. The second term, *usurarius*, is directly related to *usura*, interest; and its application to Ramus was no doubt intended as a criticism, indicating that he was strutting around in borrowed finery. By insisting that studies should be useful, humanists were attacking the scholastics for promoting what they regarded as a useless curriculum. Ramus, along with other humanists, often ridiculed the meaningless rules and facts that young students were compelled to memorize (Nancelius, p. 212; cf. Ong 1958, p. 321n). It is easy to see why such unsatisfactory practices in the universities were condemned and why a humanist like Ramus was deeply unsympathetic toward the bad Latin which scholastics regularly employed in disputations: "Incredible as it seems, it is nevertheless true and can be found in published books that at this famous university there have been teachers who stubbornly maintained and defended the view that *Ego amat* ('I loves') is as correct as *Ego amo* ('I love')" (Ramus, *Scholae grammaticae*, in *Scholae in liberales artes*, col. 15).

As we have seen, Ramus wanted the study of every art to be directed toward practice. There was no point in memorizing rules unless one also learned how to use them. In this respect he was a pioneer in the field of pedagogy. When lecturing, he would not rattle off one paragraph after another, but instead would comment on the text page by page, a habit which earned him the nickname *paginarius*, the "page man." He set out to reform the curriculum, and he wrote

books that would fit in with the new demands of the age. Not surprisingly, his innovative ideas attracted interest from those outside the universities. The king of France and other rulers were keen to hire well-educated officials for their expanding administrations, enabling them to reduce their dependence on the church. They therefore lent their enthusiastic support to Ramus' call for useful studies.

As a humanist, Ramus was also interested in including the humanities within the encyclopedia of learning. He himself intended to edit and comment on every speech of Cicero. His lectures were famous and, according to Nancelius, his spoken Latin was eloquent (Nancelius, p. 207). Although he did not want rhetoric and philosophy to be confused as arts, he certainly wanted logic and rhetoric to be integral parts of the student's practice in every discipline; and he specifically wanted to make logic more useful for the humanities (see § 3.4 above).

Ramus was neither a bad logician nor a bad philosopher. Nonetheless, his work in these fields does not merit assigning him a prominent place in the history of logic or philosophy. But this is not what he set out to achieve. His goal was to reform university teaching of the arts; and he deserves to be regarded as pedagogical trailblazer, even though he perhaps lacked the originality and creativity of a thinker such as Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670).

It was not, in any case, his originality that brought him to a position of eminence among his contemporaries. The reason for his enormous impact, within both the university and the wider society, was his capacity to perceive new needs and to respond to new demands. His program of educational reform was, for instance, well suited to the Reformation. Because Ramist logic made possible a more concise presentation of different questions, it proved more advantageous than scholasticism to Protestant theologians, who began to set out their doctrines in the form of *loci* or brief passages on a specific topic. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, several Protestant professors tried to combine the ideas of Ramus with those of the Lutheran educational reformer Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560).

Ramus appealed to statesmen and to humanists on account of his endeavors to promote the humanities, especially the study of ancient culture and languages. His anti-scholastic and anti-Aristotelian outbursts attracted other groups who, sometimes erroneously, regarded him as an ally. The emphasis which he and other humanists laid on the usefulness of studies was to transform learned culture and eventually to give rise to problems which he could not have foreseen.

For the last 50 years Ramus has been at the center of considerable scholarly interest and activity. Several of his books have been edited, and various aspects of his philosophy have been explored. The focus has gradually

shifted from examining Ramus' own works to tracing their influence and impact. Studies have been devoted to his followers and to the context in which he developed his ideas. Ramus may not have been an important logician or philosopher; but it is impossible to deny that his ideas and his work had a wide-ranging impact for at least a century.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Petrus Ramus, above, studied at the same college as his patron, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine: the College of Navarre at the University of Paris, both below.

This brings us to the deepest root of the tradition sparked by John Andrew Rea (1869) and Andy White in their discussions leading to the founding of the Irving Literary Society.

White was deeply impressed by the Collège de Navarre, and including a stain glass window in his crypt at Sage Chapel featuring its founded, Johanna, Queen of Navarre:

❖ The Collège de Navarre was one of the colleges of the historic University of Paris. It was founded by Johanna, queen of Navarre in 1304, who provided for 3 departments, the arts with 20 students, philosophy with 30 and theology with 20 students. Provision was made also for their support, 4 Paris sous weekly for the artists, 6 for the logicians and 8 for the theologians. These allowances were to continue until the graduates held benefices of the value respectively of 30, 40 and 60 pounds. The regulations allowed the theological students a fire, daily, from November to March after dinner and supper for one half-hour.

Collège de Navarre

The luxury of benches was forbidden by a commission appointed by Urban V in 1366. On the festival days, the theologians were expected to deliver a collation to their fellow-students of the three classes. The rector at the head of the college, originally appointed by the faculty of the University, was now appointed by the king's confessor. The students wore a special dress and the tonsure and ate in common.

Classes bore little resemblance to today's universities. Subjects were included that are not taught today such as rhetoric in its classical meaning. The students were required to speak and write only in Latin and all subjects had to learned by Rote. Only after graduation were students allowed to write using their own words or discuss the subjects.

The College was suppressed at the time of the French Revolution. Its buildings were assigned to the École polytechnique by Napoleon in 1805.

Johanna “I” of Navarre founded the college, and Andrew Dickson White (q.v.) White saw his work at Cornell in her tradition. Jeanne I de Navarre, also known as Johanna or Joan of Navarre (c. 1271 – April 4, 1305), Queen Regnant of Navarre and Queen consort of France, was the daughter of king Henry I of Navarre and Blanche of Artois.

In 1274, upon the death of her father, she became Countess of Champagne and Queen regnant of Navarre. Her mother Queen Blanche was her guardian and Regent in Navarre. Various powers, both foreign and Navarrese, sought to take advantage of the minority of the heiress and the "weakness" of the female regent, which caused Jeanne and her mother to seek protection at the court of Philip III of France.

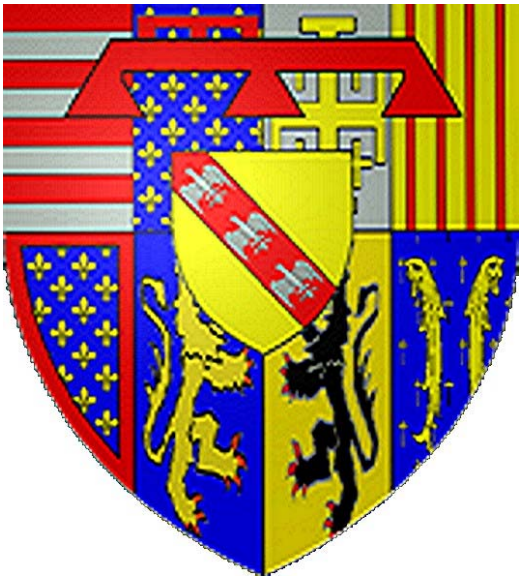
At the age of 13, Jeanne married the future Philip IV of France on August 16, 1284, becoming Queen of France a year later.Queen Jeanne founded the famous College of Navarre in Paris & died in childbirth in 1305. The crowns of Navarre and France were henceforth united for almost half a century. Their three surviving sons would all become Kings of France, in turn, and their only surviving daughter Queen consort of England.

Jeanne led an army against the Count de Bar when he rebelled against her. Jeanne died under mysterious circumstances; one chronicler even accused her husband of having killed her.

She was a bad ass, and a woman we are proud to have as a New York Alphan intellectual . . .

New York Alpha's intellectual, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, was a fellow alumnus with Petrus Ramus in the College of Navarre at the University of Paris:

❖ Charles "I" Guise de Lorraine (1524-1574), was born on February 17, 1524 (1), Joinville, France. He was the second son of Duke Claude de Guise and Antoinette de Bourbon-Vendôme. He was duke of Chevreuse. He is also known as the first Cardinal of Guise; as the second Cardinal of Lorraine; and in 1550, after the death of his uncle, Jean de Lorraine (1518), as the first Cardinal of Lorraine. His brother was Cardinal Louis I de Guise (1553) and he was uncle of Cardinal Louis II de Guise (1578), and grand-uncle to Cardinal Louis III de Guise (1615). New York Alpha's intellectual Cardinal Guise was educated at the Collège de Navarre, Paris (theology), as was fellow intellectual Petrus Ramus (q.v.).



House of Guise

Guise was a skilled orator. He was initially assigned as the Abbot *commendatario* of Saint-Urbain, diocese of Châlons and then the Abbot *commendatario* of the Benedictine monastery of Trecas. Eventually, he was elected by the canons at Rheims to be the archbishop on February 6, 1538, but was too young to take his seat. So he was constituted an administrator until reaching the canonical age of twenty-seven(27). He finally was granted his obtained the *pallium* on March 13, 1538 and consecrated in 1545 at the Guise family seat of the castle of Joinville, by Cardinal Claude de Longwy, administrator of the sees of Langres and Potiers.

The young Archbishop Guise crowned King Henri II of France, July 26, 1547, and was soon on his way to becoming the most important prelate in France. He was created Cardinal-priest in the consistory of July 27, 1547; and received the red hat and the title of Saint Cecilia on November 4, 1547. Named coadjutor with right of succession of his uncle Cardinal Jean de Lorraine, bishop of Metz, he nonetheless retaining the see of Reims, November 16, 1547. His coadjutorship was revalidated, August 25, 1548 and he succeeded to the see of Metz, May 18, 1550 and took the title of Cardinal of Lorraine. He then resigned the government of the see, April 22, 1551.

He protected fellow intellectuals François Rabelais (q.v.) and Pierre de Ronsard (q.v.). Like Andrew Dickson White, he founded a University, that of

Reims between 1547 and 1549. Cardinal Guise was Abbot *commendatario* of Cormery, 1547-1550 and Abbot *commendatario* of Saint-Martin de Laon, 1548-1564. Participated in the conclave of 1549-1550 and went on to be Abbot *commendatario* of Marmoutier; of Saint-Rémi de Reims; of Cluny and of Fécamp, 1550.

Charles was soon a member of the royal council and his ecclesiastical patronage was extensive. He was easily the wealthiest prelate in France. He participated in the two conclaves of 1555 and opted for the title of Saint Apollinare on December 11, 1555. Raised to the legate *natus* of France and duke of Chevreuse, 1555, he soon became an important voice as the Reformation spread across the Rhine river and into France. The Abbot *commendatario* of Saint-Denis was granted to him from 1557, onward.

As archbishop of Reims, he crowned Kings François II in 1559 and Charles IX in 1561. During the reign of King François II, together with his brother François, duke de Guise, he was the virtual head of the Crown government; their policy of Protestant repression provoked the Huguenot conspiracy of Amboise. But in 1559, he helped negotiate the Peace of Château-Cambrésis. He did not participate in the conclave of 1559.

After the accession of King Charles IX in 1560, Queen Catalina de Médici, who was the regent of her son, tried to reduce the Guise influence and the cardinal became less influential in state affairs; but he continued to exert religious influence over Catalina. At the colloquy of Poissy, 1561, he defended the Catholic viewpoint against the Calvinist position of Theodore Beza and went on to participated in the Council of Trent during the year 1562-1563, championing the Gallican cause of the French church. On January 2, 1563 he roiled the Pope by presenting reform articles that petitioned for the authorization of communion under both species and prayers in the vernacular French language. Pope Pius IV was indignant, and the Cardinal returned the indignation by accusing the bishop of Rome of being the source of all abuses.

Reconciliation followed, and later, the cardinal's understanding with the pope ensured the fruitful culmination and closure of the Council of Trent. While on a visit to Rome in September 1563, the cardinal, intent perhaps on securing the Pope's assistance for the realization of the political ambitions of the Guises, Charles professed opinions less decidedly Gallican. He did not succeed in having the conciliar decrees promulgated in France in 1564. He persecuted aggressively the Huguenots, but he proposed a French national council to look for a compromise with them; this was a means of threatening Pope Pius IV to secure liberties and privileges for the Gallican church.

Cardinal Guise did not participate in the conclave of 1565-1566. He retired from the Royal court in 1570 and went to the Papal conclave of 1572 but arrived after the new Pope Gregory XIII had been elected. Towards the end of his life, he

participated in the negotiations for the marriage between King Charles IX and Elizabeth of Austria, and for the one of Margaret Valois with Henri, prince of Navarre. Both these marriages sought to secure France's eastern tier with the Holy Roman Empire and its southern tier with the kingdom of Spain, also held by the Habsburgs.

This New York Alphan intellectual died with his boots on, Christmas Day in 1574, at Avignon, where he had gone to meet King Henri III, who was returning from his coronation as king of Poland. His remains were transferred to his Reims Cathedral.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, served as patron and protector of Pierre de Ronsard:

❖ Pierre de Ronsard was a French poet (Sept. 2, 1524, Château de la Poissonniere, near Vendôme – Dec. 27, 1585 at the priory of Saint-Cosme-en l'Isle, near Tours). He was first educated at home by a private tutor, and at the age of nine was sent to the College of Navarre, in Paris. Having left the college before graduating he was appointed page to the Duke of Orléans, son of Francis I, and soon afterwards to James V, King of Scotland. After a sojourn of three (3) years in Scotland and England, during which he became thoroughly proficient in the English language, he traveled throughout Europe, including the German states and the Piedmont.

Collège de Navarre

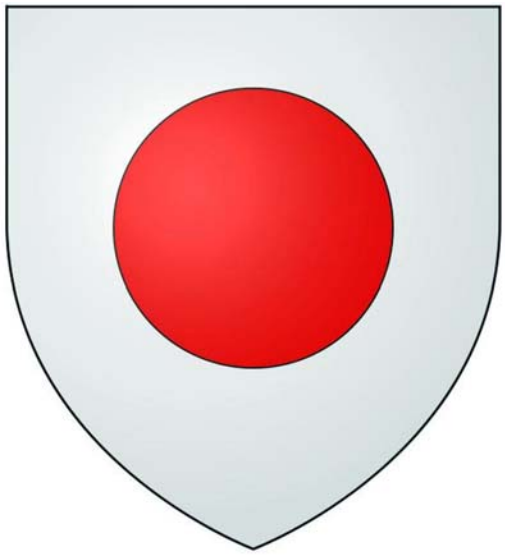
Pierre was afflicted with an incurable deafness in 1541 and retired from public life and for seven years devoted his entire time to study. He studied Greek under the famous scholar Dorat, at the Collège de Coqueret. His ambition was to find new paths for French poetry, and he was soon recognized as the "Prince of Poets", a title he merited by his *Odes* (1550), *Amours de Cassandre*, etc. He was a great favorite with Charles IX. Elizabeth, Queen of England, sent him a diamond; Mary Stuart found relief in her imprisonment by reading his poems. The City of Toulouse presented him with a solid silver Minerva; and like America's Washington Irving (q.v.), centuries thence, the literary men of that time acknowledged him as their leader. His last ten years were saddened by ill-health. He retired to Croix-Val-en-Vendômois, in the forest of Gastine, and then to the priory of Saint-Cosme-en l'Isle, where-he died.

The works of Ronsard are numerous and their chronology is very intricate. In twenty-four years (1560-84) six editions of his works were published, and the number of occasional pieces is almost incalculable. The following are the most important: *Les Amours de Cassandre* (2 books of sonnets, Paris, 1550), *Odes* (5 books, Paris, 1551-1552), *Le bocage royal* (Paris, 1554), *Les Hymnes* (2 books, Paris, 1556), *Poèmes* (2 books, Paris, 1560-73), *Discours sur les misères du temps* (1560), *La Franciade* (Paris, 1572). His influence and his reforms were far-reaching. He enriched the French vocabulary with a multitude of words borrowed not only from Greek and Latin, but from the old romance dialects as well as from the technical languages of trades, sports, and sciences. His many rules

concerning verse-making were as influential as numerous. He invented a large variety of metres, adopted the regular intertwining of masculine and feminine rhymes, proscribed the hiatus, and introduced harmony in French verse. He was perhaps the greatest French lyrical poet prior to the nineteenth century. His themes are as varied as their forms, simple and sublime, ironical and tender, solemn and familiar.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Pierre de Ronsard, was influenced by the immortal François Rabelais, below:

❖ François Rabelais' celebrated life is full of obscurities. He was born at Chinon in Touraine in 1483, 1490, or 1495. According to some his father was an apothecary, according to others a publican or inn-keeper. He began his studies with the Benedictines and finished them with the Franciscans near Angers. He became a Franciscan in the convent of Gontenay-le-Comte, where he remained fifteen years and received Holy orders. But the spirit of his order not being favourable to the studies then esteemed by the Renaissance and for which he himself displayed great aptitude, he left the convent. Through the mediation of Bishop Geoffroy d'Estissac he secured pardon from Clement VII, who authorized him to enter the Benedictine abbey of Maillezais.



Collège de Montpellier

In 1530 he was at Montpellier as a medical student, and the following year professor of anatomy at Lyons and head physician at the hospital of Pont-du-Rhône. At Lyon he was much in the society of Dolet and Marot, and became the father of a child who died young. In 1534 Cardinal du Bellay brought him to Rome as a physician, and in 1536 he obtained from Paul III an indult which absolved him from his infractions of conventual discipline and allowed him to practice medicine.

The next year he received the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Montpellier. In 1540 the pope permitted him to abandon the conventual life and to join the canons of Saint-Maur-les-Fossés. He took advantage of this to resume his wandering life. In 1541 he was at Turin as physician to the governor, Guilliaume du Bellay. Perhaps through fear of persecution which his works might draw upon him he went in 1546 to practice medicine at Metz, where he was in the pay of the city, but Cardinal du Bellay, being again sent to Rome, induced him to go thither. Du Bellay returned to France at the beginning of 1550 and secured for him the benefices of St-Martin-du-Meudon and St-Christophe-du-Jamber, both of which he resigned two years later, after having, it is said, fulfilled his duties with regularity and seriousness.

He died most probably in Paris, either, as in generally thought, in 1553, or in 1559. Statements regarding his last moments are contradictory. According to

some he died as a free-thinker and jester, saying, "Draw the curtain, the farce is played out", according to others his end was Christian and edifying.

Rabelais wrote various works, including almanacs, but he was chiefly known for the celebrated romance entitled *La Vie de Gargantua et de Pantagruel*. This work comprises four books which appeared from 1532 (or 1533) to 1552; a fifth, the most daring in its ideas, appeared after the death of its author (1562-64); it is not certain that it is his. This history of giants is a chaos wherein are found learning, eloquence, coarse humor, and extravagances. It is impossible to analyse it.

Rabelais was a revolutionary who attacked all the past, Scholasticism, the monks; his religion is scarcely more than that of a spiritually-minded pagan. Less bold in political matters, he cared little for liberty; his ideal was a tyrant who loves peace. His strange fictions seem to be a veil behind which he conceals his ideas, for he desires his readers to imitate the dog to whom a bone has been thrown and who must break it in order to reach the marrow. But many of his gigantic buffooneries were merely the satisfaction of a vast humor and boundless imagination. He took pleasure in the worst obscenities. His vocabulary is rich and picturesque, but licentious and filthy. In short, as La Bruyère says: "His book is a riddle which may be considered inexplicable. Where it is bad, it is beyond the worst; it has the charm of the rabble; where it is good it is excellent and exquisite; it may be the daintiest of dishes." As a whole it exercises a baneful influence.

New York Alpha's intellectual, François Rabelais, was influenced by the immortal Clément Marot, below:

❖ Clément Marot (1496–1544), was a French poet of the Renaissance period. Marot was born at Cahors, the capital of the province of Quercy, some time during the winter of 1496-1497. His father, Jean Marot (c. 1463-1523)(q.v.), whose more correct name appears to have been des Mares, Marais or Marets, was a Norman from the Caen region and was himself a poet of considerable merit. Jean held the post of *escripvain* (a cross between poet laureate and historiographer) to Anne of Brittany, Queen of France (q.v.). He had lived in Cahors for a considerable time, and twice married there, his second wife being the mother of Clement.

The boy was "brought into France" — it is his own expression, and is not unnoteworthy as showing the strict sense in which that term was still used at the beginning of the 16th century — in 1506.He appears to have been educated at the University of Paris, and to have then begun studying law. Jean Marot took great pains to instruct his son in the fashionable forms of verse-making, which called for some formal training.

It was the time of the *rhétoriqueurs*, poets who combined stilted and pedantic language with an obstinate adherence to the allegorical manner of the 15th century and to the most complicated and artificial forms of the *ballade* and the *rondeau*. Clément practised this form of poetry, which he would later help overthrow, and he wrote panegyrics to Guillaume Cretin, the supposed original of the *Raminagrobis* of François Rabelais, while he translated Virgil's first eclogue in 1512. He soon gave up the study of law and became page to Nicolas de Neuville, *seigneur* de Villeroy, which led to his introduction into court life. The house of Valois, which would hold the throne of France for the greater part of a century, was devoted to literature.

As early as 1514, before the accession of François I, Clément presented to him his *Judgment of Minos*, and shortly afterwards he was either styled or styled himself *facteur (poet) de la reine* to Queen Claude. In 1519 he was attached to the suite of Marguerite d'Angoulême, the king's sister, a great patron of the arts. He was also a great favourite of Francis himself, attended the Field of

the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and duly celebrated it in verse. In the next year he was at the camp in Flanders, and wrote of the horrors of war.

It is certain that Marot, like most of Marguerite's literary court, and perhaps more than most, was attracted by her gracious ways, her unfailing kindness, and her admirable intellectual accomplishments, but there is no grounds for thinking that they had a romantic relationship. At this time, either sentiment or matured critical judgment effected a great change in his style, a change probably for the better. At the same time he writes in praise of a certain Diane, whom some have identified with Diane de Poitiers. There is much against this theory, it being invariably the habit of 16th century poets to refer to real women under pseudonyms.

In 1524, Marot accompanied Francis on his disastrous Italian campaign. He was wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia, but soon released, and was back in Paris again by the beginning of 1525. However, Marguerite for intellectual reasons, and her brother for political, had until then favoured the double movement of "Aufklärung", partly humanist, partly reforming, which distinguished the beginning of the century. Formidable opposition to both forms of innovation now began to appear, and Marot, never particularly prudent, was arrested on a charge of heresy and lodged in the Châtelet in February 1526. This was only a foretaste of his coming trouble, and a friendly prelate, acting for Marguerite, arranged his release before Easter. The imprisonment caused him to write a vigorous poem entitled *Enfer* (hell), later imitated by his friend Etienne Dolet. His father died about this time, and Marot seems to have been appointed in Jean's place as *valet de chambre* (manservant) to the king. He was certainly a member of the royal household in 1528 with a stipend of 250 *livres*, besides which he had inherited property in Quercy. In 1530, probably, he married. The following year he was once again in trouble, this time for attempting to rescue a prisoner, and was again released; this time the king and queen of Navarre seem to have bailed him themselves.

In 1532 he published (it had perhaps appeared three years earlier), under the title of *Adolescence Clémentine*, the first printed collection of his works, which was very popular and was frequently reprinted with additions. Dolet's edition of 1538 is believed to be the most authoritative. Unfortunately, the poet's enemies, not discouraged by their previous failures, ensured that Marot was implicated in the 1534 Affair of the Placards, and this time he fled. He passed through Beam, and made his way to Renée, duchess of Ferrara, a supporter of the French reformers as steadfast as her aunt Marguerite, and even more efficacious, because her dominions were outside France. At Ferrara his work there included the celebrated *Blasons* (a descriptive poem, improved upon medieval models), which set all the verse-writers of France imitating them. The *blason* was defined by Thomas Sibilet as a perpetual praise or continuous vituperation of its subject. The *blasons* of Marot's followers were printed in 1543 with the title of *Blasons anatomiques du corps féminin*.

Duchess Renée was not able to persuade her husband, Ercole d'Este, to share her views, and Marot had to leave Ferrara. He went to Venice, but before very long Pope Paul III remonstrated with Francis I on the severity with which the Protestants were treated, and they were allowed to return to Paris on condition of recanting their errors. Marot returned with the rest, and abjured his heresy at Lyon. In 1539 Francis gave him a house and grounds in the suburbs.

It was at this time that his famous translations of the *Psalms* appeared. The powerful influence which the book exercised on contemporaries is universally acknowledged. The great persons of the court chose different pieces, each as his or her favourite. They were sung in the court and in the city, and they are said, probably with exaggeration, to have done more than anything else to advance the cause of the Reformation in France. Indeed, the prose translations of the Scriptures were of little merit or power in France, and poetry was still preferred to prose, even for the most incongruous subjects.

At the same time Marot engaged in a curious literary quarrel characteristic of the time, with a lesser poet named Sagon, who represented the reactionary Sorbonne. Half the verse-writers of France aligned themselves as *Marotiques* or *Sagontiques*, and a great deal of versified abuse was exchanged. Victory, as far as wit was concerned, remained with Marot, but his biographers suggest that a certain amount of ill-will was created against him by the squabble, and that, as in Dolet’s case, his subsequent misfortunes were partly the result of his own rashness.

publication of the *Psalms* gave the Sorbonne the opportunity to condemn Marot. In 1543 it was evident that he could not rely on the protection of Francis. Marot accordingly fled to Geneva; but the stars were now decidedly against him. He had, like most of his friends, been at least as much of a freethinker as a Protestant, and this was fatal to his reputation in the austere city of Calvin. He again had to flee, and made his way into Piedmont, and he died at Turin in the autumn of 1544.

In character Marot seems to have been a typical Frenchman of the old stamp, cheerful, good-humoured and amiable enough, but probably not very much disposed to elaborately moral life and conversation or to serious reflection. He has sometimes been charged with a want of independence of character; but it is fair to remember that in the Middle Ages men of letters naturally attached themselves as dependants to the great. Such scanty knowledge as we have of his relations with his equals is favourable to him. He certainly at one time quarrelled with Dolet, or at least wrote a violent epigram against him, for which there is no known cause. But, as Dolet quarrelled with almost every friend he ever had, and in two or three cases played them the shabbiest of tricks, the presumption is not against Marot in this matter. With other poets like Mellin de Saint-Gelais and Brodeau, with prose writers like Rabelais and Bonaventure des Périers, he was always on excellent terms. And whatever may have been his

personal weaknesses, his importance in the history of French literature is very great, and was long rather under- than over-valued. Coming immediately before a great literary reform--that of the *Pléiade*--Marot suffered the drawbacks of his position; he was both eclipsed and decried by the partakers in that reform.

In the reaction against the *Pléiade* he recovered honour; but its restoration to virtual favour, a perfectly just restoration, again unjustly depressed him. Yet Marot is in no sense one of those writers of transition who are rightly obscured by those who come after them. He himself was a reformer, and a reformer on perfectly independent lines, and he carried his own reform as far as it would go. His early work was couched in the *rhétoriqueur* style, the distinguishing characteristics of which are elaborate metre and rhyme, allegoric matter and pedantic language. In his second stage he entirely emancipated himself from this, and became one of the easiest, least affected and most vernacular poets of France. In these points indeed he has, with the exception of La Fontaine, no rival, and the lighter verse-writers ever since have taken one or the other or both as model.

In his third period he lost a little of this flowing grace and ease, but acquired something in stateliness, while he certainly lost nothing in wit. Marot is the first poet who strikes readers of French as being distinctively modern. He is not so great a poet as Villon nor as some of his successors of the *Pléiade*, but he is much less antiquated than the first (whose works, as well as the *[Testament],* it may be well to mention that he edited) and not so elaborately artificial as the second. Indeed if there be a fault to find with Marot, it is undoubtedly that in his gallant and successful effort to break up, supple, and liquefy the stiff forms and stiffer language of the 15th century, he made his poetry almost too vernacular and pedestrian. He has passion, and picturesqueness, but rarely; in his hands, and while the *style Marotique* was supreme, French poetry ran some risk of finding itself unequal to anything but graceful *vers de société*. But it is only fair to remember that for a century and more its best achievements, with rare exceptions, had been *vers de société* which were not graceful.

The most important early editions of Marot's *Œuvres* are those published at Lyon in 1538 and 1544. In the second of these the arrangement of his poems which has been accepted in later issues was first adopted. In 1596 an enlarged edition was edited by Francois Mizihre. Others of later date are those of N. Lenglet du Fresnoy (the Hague, 1731) and P. Jannet (1872), on the whole the best, but there is a very good selection with a still better introduction by Charles d'Hericault, the joint editor of the Jannet edition in the larger *Collection Garner* (no date). From an elaborate edition by G. Guiffrey only Vol. II and III appeared during his lifetime. Robert Yve-Plessis and Jean Plattard completed the edition in 5 vols (Paris, 1931). The first 'scientific' edition is by C.A. Mayer in 6 vols.(1958-1980), which follows the arrangement of the material in 'genres' (like the edition 1544) The last complete scientific edition is by Gerard Defaux in 2 vols. (1992).

New York Alpha's intellectual, Clément Marot, was influenced by his father, Jean Marot, below:

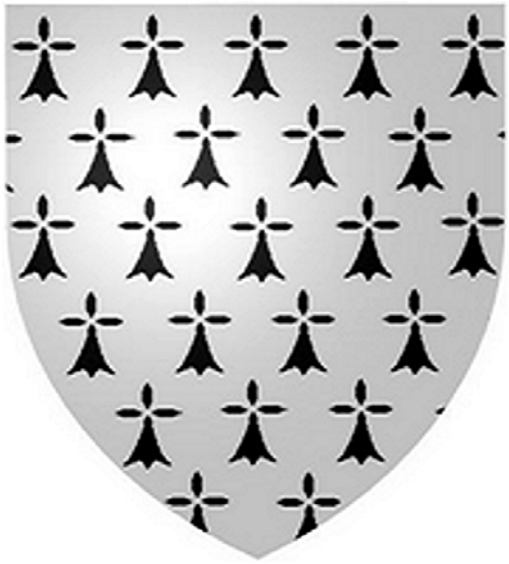
❖ **Jean Marot** (Mathieu, nr. Caen, c. 1450 – Paris, c. 1526) Jean Marot reçut une éducation négligée. On ne lui fit point apprendre le latin ; mais il y suppléa, autant qu'il fut en lui, en étudiant dans nos auteurs l'histoire, la fable et la poésie. Le *Roman de la Rose* était sa lecture favorite. Sa bonne conduite et quelques vers qu'il avait composés lui méritèrent la protection d'Anne de Bretagne, depuis femme de Louis XII ; il fut son secrétaire en 1506 et son poète en titre. Et, par son ordre, il suivit Louis XII dans ses expéditions de Gènes et de Venise.

Dans ses expéditions, il suivit avec mission expresse de les célébrer c'est ce qu'il fit dans deux poèmes intitulés l'un *Voyage de Gênes*, l'autre *Voyage de Venise*, où l'emploi du merveilleux ne nuit en rien à l'exactitude historique. Louis XII mort, il entra au service de François Ier comme valet de garde- robe, et donna à son maître une preuve d'attachement, en composant un poëme dans lequel la Noblesse, l'Église et le Labour, c'est-à-dire les trois ordres, plaident l'un après l'autre la cause du roi, qui venait d'exciter quelque mécontentement par de nouveaux impôts.

Jean Marot est le père du célèbre poète Clément Marot qui devint lui aussi un grand poète du XVI^{e} siècle, protégé du roi de France, François Ier. La très grande réputation de son fils a beaucoup nui à la sienne ; mais s'il n'en eut pas le génie et l'enjouement, il n'en eut aussi ni la licence ni l'irréligion. Il paraît certain que ce nom de Marot n'était qu'un surnom, et qu'il s'appelait Jean Desmarets. On conjecture qu'il mourut en 1523, âgé de 60 ans.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Jean Marot, was patronized by his lord, Anne de Bretagne, below:

❖ Anne of Brittany (25 January 1477 – 9 January 1514 [1]), also known as Anna of Brittany (French: Anne de Bretagne; Breton: Anna Vreizh), was a Breton aristocrat, who was to become queen to two successive French kings, and ruling Duchess of Brittany. She was born in Nantes, in Brittany, and was the daughter of Francis II, Duke of Brittany and Margaret of Foix. Her maternal grandparents were Gaston IV of Foix and Eleanor of Navarre. Upon her father's death, she became sovereign Duchess of Brittany, Countess of Nantes, Montfort and Richmont and Viscountess of Limoges. In her time, she was the richest European woman.



Bretagne

Anne was the only child of Francis and Margaret to survive childhood (she had a younger sister, Isabeau, who died in 1490). Accordingly, she was brought up as the heiress to the Duchy. She was given a good education under the guidance of Françoise de Dinan, Lady of Laval and Chateaubriant, and the poet Jean Meschinot.

Since the Breton War of Succession, Brittany had been understood to operate according to semi-Salic Law – women could only inherit if the male line had died out. By the time Anne was born, her father was the only male left of the Breton House of Dreux. The War of Succession had ended with an agreement that, in the absence of a male heir, the heirs of Jeanne of Penthievre would succeed. After a century, however, this agreement had been forgotten. Thus, in 1486 Anne's father had her recognised as heiress by the Breton estates; however, the question of her marriage remained a diplomatic issue. Francis had no intention of allowing Brittany to be absorbed by France. Therefore, he sought for his daughter a marriage with a figure capable of withstanding French power.

Brittany being an attractive prize, Anne had no shortage of suitors. She was officially promised in marriage to Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Edward IV of England in 1481; however, the boy disappeared, and was presumed dead, soon after the death of Edward IV and the accession of his brother, Richard III. Others who bid for her hand included Maximilian of Habsburg (the widower of Mary of Burgundy, another heiress), Alain d'Albret, Jean de Châlons (Prince of Orange) and even the married Louis, Duke of Orleans.

In 1488, however, the armies of Francis II were defeated at Saint-Aubin-of-Cormier, ending the Guerre folle between Brittany and France. In the Treaty of Sablé, which concluded the peace settlement, the Duke was forced to accept clauses stipulating that his daughters were not to marry without the approval of the King of France. Francis died soon afterward, on September 9, 1488, as a result of a fall from his horse. Anne became Duchess, and Brittany was plunged into fresh crisis, leading to the last Franco-Breton war.

The first necessary move for Anne was to secure a husband, preferably anti-France and powerful enough to maintain Breton independence. Maximilian of Habsburg was considered to be the most suitable candidate. The marriage with Maximilian, which took place at Rennes by proxy on December 19, 1490, gained Anne the title Queen of the Romans but proved to have serious consequences. The French regarded it as a serious provocation: it not only violated the Treaty of Verger (the King of France not having consented to the marriage), but also placed the rule of Brittany in the hands of an enemy of France. The marriage also proved ill-timed: the Habsburgs were too busy in Hungary to pay any serious attention to Brittany, and the Castilians were busy fighting in Granada. Although both Castile and England sent small numbers of troops to supplement the Ducal army, neither wished for open warfare with France. Thus, the Spring of 1491 saw new successes by the French general La Trémoille, and Charles VIII of France came to lay siege to Rennes, where Anne was encastled.

After Maximilian failed to come to his bride's assistance, Rennes fell. Anne gave in and was engaged to Charles in the vault of the Jacobins in Rennes. Then, escorted by her army (and thus apparently set free, in order to prove that she willingly consented to the marriage), Anne went to Langeais, to be married. Although Austria made diplomatic protests, claiming that the marriage was illegal because the bride was unwilling, that she was already legally married to Maximilian, and that Charles was legally betrothed to Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's daughter, Anne celebrated her second wedding at the castle of Langeais on 6 December, and married King Charles VIII of France.

The marriage was subsequently validated by Pope Innocent VIII on February 15, 1492. The marriage contract provided that whichever spouse outlived the other would retain possession of Brittany; however, it was also agreed that if Charles died without male heirs, Anne would marry his successor, thus ensuring the French Kings a second chance to permanently annex Brittany.

Anne's first marriage began badly: she brought two beds with her when she came to marry Charles, and the King and Queen often lived apart. She was anointed and crowned Queen of France at Saint-Denis on February 8, 1492; she was forbidden by her husband to use the title "Duchess of Brittany", which became a bone of contention between the two. When her husband fought in the wars in Italy, the regency powers were exercised by his sister Anne of Beaujeu.

Pregnant for most of her married life, Anne lived primarily in the royal castles of Amboise, Loaches and Plessis or in the towns of Lyon, Grenoble or Moulins (when the king was in Italy). She became Queen of Sicily and Jerusalem with the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII.

The marriage produced four living children, none of whom survived early childhood. Only the first, Charles Orland (11 October 1492 – 16 December 1495), survived infancy. A healthy and intelligent child, he was doted on by his parents, who both suffered terrible grief when he died suddenly of the measles. After him was born Charles, who lived for less than a month; and Francis and Anne, who each died almost immediately after being born. These tragedies caused a great deal of pain to Anne, who prayed openly for a son after the death of Francis.

Court of the Ladies of Queen Anne of Brittany, Miniature representing this lady weeping on account of the absence of her husband during the Italian war.--Manuscript of the "Epistres Envoyées au Roi" (Sixteenth Century), obtained by the Coislin Fund for the Library of St. Germain des Pres in Paris, now in the Library of St. Petersburg.

When Charles VIII died in 1498, Anne was 21 years old and childless. Legally, she was now obliged to marry the new king, Louis XII; however, he was already married, to Jeanne, daughter of Louis XI and sister to Charles VIII. On 19 August 1498, at Étampes, she agreed to marry Louis if he obtained an annulment from Jeanne within a year. If she was gambling that the annulment would be denied, she lost: Louis's first marriage was dissolved by the Pope before the end of the year.

In the interim, in October 1498, Anne returned to rule Brittany. She restored the faithful Philippe de Montauban to the chancellery of Brittany, named the Prince of Orange as Hereditary Lieutenant General of Brittany, convened the Estates of Brittany, and ordered production of a coin bearing her name. She took the opportunity to tour the Duchy, visiting many places she had never been able to see as a child. She made triumphal entries into the cities of the duchy, where her vassals received her sumptuously.

Anne's third marriage ceremony, on 8 January 1499 (she wore white, setting a precedent for future brides), was concluded under conditions radically different to those of the second. She was no longer a child, but was a Queen dowager, and was determined to ensure the recognition of her rights as sovereign duchess from now on. Although her new husband exercised the ruler's powers in Brittany, he accepted the title of duke consort, formally recognizing her right to the title "Duchess of Brittany" and issuing decisions in her name.

As Duchess, Anne fiercely defended the independence of her Duchy. She arranged the marriage of her daughter, Claude, to Charles of Luxembourg in

1501, to reinforce the Franco-Spanish alliance and ensure French success in the Italian Wars; however, Louis broke off the marriage when it became likely that Anne would not produce a male heir. Instead, Louis arranged a marriage between Claude and the heir to the French throne, Francis of Angouleme. Anne, determined to maintain Breton independence, refused until death to sanction the marriage, pushing instead for Claude to marry Charles, or for the Duchy to be inherited by her other daughter, Renee. The marriage of Claude and Francis eventually took place in the year following Anne's death.

Anne failed to survive the winter of 1513-1514, dying of a kidney-stone attack at the Chateau of Blois. She was buried in the necropolis of Saint Denis. Her funeral was of exceptional length, lasting 40 days, and inspiring all future French royal funerals until the 18th century.

According to her will, her heart was placed in a raised enamel gold reliquary, then transported to Nantes to be deposited, on March 19, 1514, in the vault of the Carmelite friars, in the tomb made for her parents, later being transferred to the Saint-Pierre cathedral. The reliquary of the heart of the Anne, Duchess of Brittany is a box oval, bivalvular, made of a sheet of gold pushed back and guilloched, articulated by a hinge, broadside of a gold cordelière and topped by a crown of lily and clover. It is inscribed as follows:

> En ce petit vaisseau De fin or pur et munde Repose ung plus grand cueur Que oncque dame eut au munde Anne fut le nom delle En France deux fois royne Duchesse des Bretons Royale et Souveraine.

It was made by an anonymous goldsmith of the court of Blois, perhaps drawn by Jean Perréal. In 1792, by order of the National Convention, the reliquary was exhumed, emptied, and seized as part of a collection of precious metals pertaining to churches, and sent to Nantes to be melted down. However, it was instead kept in the National Library, and was returned to Nantes in 1819, being kept in various museums, and in the Castle of the dukes of Brittany since 2007. Anne's will also conferred the succession of Brittany upon her second daughter, Renee. This was ignored by her husband, who confirmed Claude as Duchess and married her to Francis.

Anne was a highly intelligent woman who spent much of her time on the administration of Brittany. She made the safeguarding of Breton autonomy, and the preservation of the Duchy outside the French crown, her life's work: although that goal would prove failed shortly after her death.

Anne was also a patron of the arts and enjoyed music. A prolific collector of tapestries, one of her commissions were the so-called 'unicorn tapestries', made in celebration of her wedding to Louis XII; she also commissioned a book

of French manuscripts (a Book of Hours), known as The Great Hours of Anne of Brittany She also instituted the Queen's Maids of Honour at the court.

One of Anne's legs was shorter than the other, causing a limp. To fix the problem, she wore a higher heel on that leg.

Anne kept a box of precious stones and semi-precious stones. She would randomly pick one and give it to her visitors.

She was a devoted mother, spending as much time as possible with her children. For her son, Charles-Orland, she commissioned a book of prayers, intended to be used in teaching him how to pray, and as a guidance to him as the future King of France; unfortunately, Charles-Orland died in 1495, and no other son lived more than a few weeks.

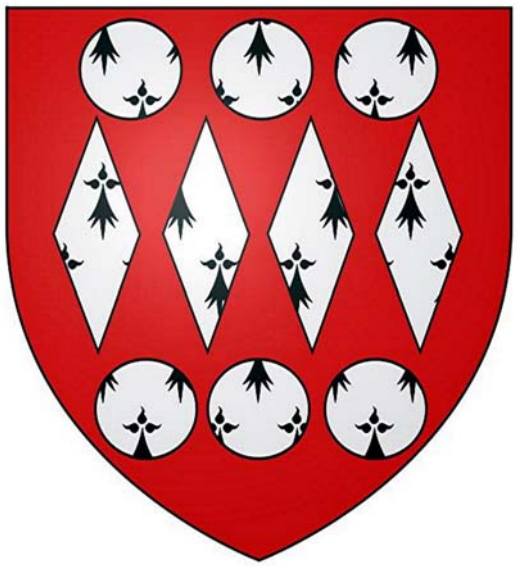
At her marriage to Charles VIII, aged 14, Anne was described as a young and rosy-cheeked girl; by the time of her marriage to Louis, aged 22, after seven pregnancies with no surviving children, she was described as pale-faced and wan.

Even while she was alive, the royal propaganda of Charles VIII and of Louis XII introduced Anne of Brittany as a perfect queen, a symbol of union and peace between the kingdom of France and the duchy of Brittany. In the following centuries, historians and popular culture sometimes presented Anne of Brittany in differing fashions, ascribing to her physical and psychological characteristics that are not necessarily supported by historical evidence.

In 1991, the five-hundredth anniversary of the marriage of Anne of Brittany and Charles VIII of France was celebrated in Langeais. In Rennes, which had paid the price of this marriage by siege, food shortage, and an occupation, it was hardly mentioned.

New York Alpha's intellectual, Anne de Bretagne, was mentored by Françoise de Dinan and the poet Jean Meschinot:

❖ Françoise de Dinan, née le 20 novembre 1436 au manoir de la Roche-Suhart en Trémuson et morte le 4 janvier 1500 à Châteaubriant, est la gouvernante d'Anne de Bretagne. Elle est la fille de Jacques de Dinan Chambellan de Bretagne, seigneur de Beaumanoir et de Catherine de Rohan. Elle perdit son père le 30 avril 1444, à l'âge de 8 ans, et devint la plus riche héritière du duché de Bretagne après la mort, sans héritier, le 21 mai 1444, de son oncle Bertrand de Dinan Maréchal de Bretagne, seigneur de Montafilant de Châteaubriant et des Hugetières.



House of Dinan

Seule héritière de sa lignée elle est dame de Châteaubriant, de Beaumanoir, du Guildo, de Montafilant, de Candé, de Vioreau, des Huguetières, du Bodister et de La Harduinais.

En 1488, Françoise de Dinan est en charge de l'éducation de la jeune Anne de Bretagne, alors âgée de 11 ans, celle qui est devenue la *Bonne duchesse Anne*, et de sa sœur Isabeau. Elle joue un rôle important dans les manœuvres matrimoniales touchant la jeune duchesse, qui épouse finalement le jeune roi de France.

Elle même se remarie en mars 1494 avec Jean de Proisy, un noble de Picardie.

Morte le 3 janvier 1500, elle est inhumée dans le chœur de l'église des Dominicains de Nantes, prés d'Isabelle de Bretagne, la première épouse de Guy XIV. Elle est la dernière représentante de la famille de Dinan.

En charge de l'éducation de la jeune Anne de Bretagne, elle employe le poete Jean Meschinot (1420-1491) est un poète breton de langue française à la cour des ducs de Bretagne. Il est né au domaine des Mortiers, en Monnières, près de Clisson, environ 30 kilomètres au sud de Nantes, capitale du duché, et était issu de la petite noblesse.

Écuyer de la maison ducale sous Jean V, il sera en grande faveur sous les ducs Pierre II et Arthur III, et compose rondeaux et ballades. Sur le point de devenir "poète officiel" il connaît la défaveur du duc François II et en est très affecté.

Il est le maître d'hôtel de la jeune Anne de Bretagne à partir de 1488. Mort en 1491 avant le mariage d'Anne, il ne connaît pas la Bretagne annexée.

Le poète est représenté dans un manuscrit contenant ses poésies (manuscrit 24314) détenu par la bibliothèque nationale de France. Il est assis dans un fauteuil de sa bibliothèque.

Il a composé diverses ballades et rondeaux. Il est plus particulièrement l'auteur des *Lunettes des Princes* (1461-1464), son œuvre principale, un poème didactique moral mêlant prose et vers, imprimé après sa mort, en 1493. Historiquement, c'est le premier livre imprimé à Nantes, où l'imprimerie n'est apparue qu'après les autres villes bretonnes de Tréguier et Rennes (voir Jean Brito).

Le poète est considéré comme l'un des « grands rhétoriqueurs » du XV^{e} siècle, en raison de ses audaces formelles. Son poème *Princes qui mains tenez* a été mis en musique par le groupe Tri Yann.

Poèmes

Rondeau de ceux qui se taisent

« Ceulx qui deussent parler sont muts
Les loyaulx sont pour sots tenus ;
Je n'en vois nuls
Qui de bonté tiennent plus compte ;
Vertus vont jus, pechié haut monte,
Ce vous est honte,
Seigneurs grans, moyens et menus.

Flateurs sont grans gens devenus
Et a hauts estats parvenus,
Entretenus,
Tant qu'il n'est rien qui les surmonte.
Ceux qui deussent parler sont muts.

Nous naquismes povres et nuds.
Les biens nous sont de Dieu venus,
Nos cas congnus
Luy sont pour vray, je vous le conte ;
Pape, empereur, roy, duc ou comte,
Tout se mescompte,

Quant les bons ne sont soustenus.
Ceulx qui deussent parler sont muts. »

Rondeau amoureux

« M'aimerez vous bien,
Dictes, par vostre ame ?
Mais que je vous aime
Plus que nulle rien,
M'aimerez vous bien ?
Dieu mit tant de bien
En vous que c'est basme,
Pour ce je me clame
Vostre. Mais combien
M'aimerez vous bien ? »

Conclusion of the Newark intellectual line

So ***what is the lesson*** of the Newark line's intellectual legacy within New York Alpha?

Newark, unlike Rhinebeck, reminds the New York Alphan that he is heir to a long tradition of educational enterprise rooted in the ecclesiastical orders of Renaissance France and Brittany, a tradition royale which includes ties to the beginnings of the Counter-Reformation. As such, Newark provides a place for brothers who profess the Roman, as well as the Protestant, rite of Christianity.

Within the American context, the example of Cardinal Charles Guise in founding the University of Rheims runs parallel to the example of Andrew Dickson White in founding the Cornell University. But the parallel comes with a contrast. Guise founded within a religious tradition; White founded without one.

With respect to New York Alpha's role as stewards of the Irving Literary Society, the Newark line provides a tie to New York Alpha's intellectual Aaron Burr (q.v.), who commanded the picket lines of Westchester during the American Revolution, serving the nation in a theatre of war later extolled by New York Alpha's first intellectuals, Washington Irving (q.v.) and James Fenimore Cooper (q.v.). Fenimore's novel, *The Spy*, was one of the most paged volumes in the fraternity's library at the Gargoyle House. This portion of the Newark line makes good our mission to remember Washington Irving and his literary friends in our work on the Hill.

The Newark intellectual line is part of New York Alpha's local Chapter lore, first recorded by brother Cadwalader E. Linthicum (1885)(1889) and preserved by Walter Sheppard ('29)('32) and Fred E. Hartzch ('28)('31).