

## Virginians and Marylanders at Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century



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# William and Mary College

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### VIRGINIANS AND MARYLANDERS AT HARVARD COLLEGE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

By Samuel Eliot Morison.

During the seventeenth century Harvard College, founded in 1636 and opened in 1638, was the only educational institution in the English colonies which offered a course even roughly equivalent to that of Oxford and Cambridge, leading to the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts.<sup>2</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that a few Virginians, and Marylanders may have sent their sons thither for a university education, particularly during the period of the Puritan supremacy, when conditions in England were unsettled. Early Harvard was far from contemptible as a place of education. The college building, "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness,"<sup>3</sup> contained "a spacious Hall," kitchen and butteries, a library with several hundred volumes, and numerous chambers with small private studies let into their corners, on the model of English college buildings. In 1652 a nearby dwelling house was purchased and fitted up with chambers and studies. The founders and early governors of Harvard, graduates of the University of Cambridge, reproduced as far as their means and their principles would permit, the amenities of English college life. Students were treated like gentlemen and were expected to conduct themselves accordingly; there was a butler to draw their beer, poor students corresponding to the Cambridge sizars to wait on table, and ancient goodwives (stilled called "goodies" by Harvard students) to make their beds. Fellows dined at high table on a dais in the Hall, and enjoyed a fellows' orchard on the site of the present College Library; Commencement was celebrated with dignified academic exercises and Latin disputations, and with a feast that cost each commencer in the neighborhood of £3. The course for the bachelor's degree was not a specialized course in divinity, but a liberal education for the times, including considerable reading in belles lettres; and as early as 1648

<sup>1</sup> I am greatly indebted for assistance in gathering the information on which this paper is based, to Miss Leah James (A. B. William and Mary College, 1926) and to Miss Louise Inches (A. B. Radcliffe, 1923) of Boston.

<sup>2</sup> William and Mary College was founded in 1693; but "for about twenty years after the charter in 1693 the College was only a grammar school where boys from 8 to 15 years were taught reading and writing, and the Latin and Greek languages." Lyon G. Tyler, *Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College* (Williamsburg, 1905), p. 1. Yale College was opened in 1702.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence* (1910 ed.), p. 201.

the Harvard course was recognized by the University of Oxford as of university standard, by admitting Harvard graduates *ad eundem gradum* in Oxford.

Among the men who graduated from Harvard College in the seventeenth century, there were several English boys who had been sent over by their parents especially to be educated at Harvard, and at least two students from Bermuda. These last went to Harvard through the good offices of the Reverend Patrick Copland, rector designate of the Indian College at Henrico, Virginia. But no graduate can be identified as coming from the Continental colonies south of New England. The graduates of 1642-1700, 446 in number, whose names alone are printed in the Quinquennial Catalogue of the University, do not include all Harvard students. In addition to those who took a degree, the names of at least 90 students who did not graduate are found in the manuscript records, and in other sources. John Langdon Sibley, who compiled the *Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates*, paid slight attention to these non-graduates, and even misread some of the unfamiliar names in the records. Three of these students who did not take a degree, may with reasonable probability be identified as sons of prominent planters on Chesapeake Bay.

Two of the three were fellow-commoners. Both the name and the institution were copied from the University of Cambridge. A fellow-commoner was a superior class of undergraduate who in return for paying double tuition and presenting the College with a piece of plate, outranked all other undergraduates, as a freshman was exempted from running errands or uncovering to upperclassmen, and was addressed with the title "Mr." which was not accorded to other students until they had commenced Master of Arts. These privileges were not greatly appreciated by the thrifty New Englanders, and there are only sixteen fellow-commoners in Harvard history.<sup>4</sup> To the more aristocratic society of Maryland and Virginia, this superior rank would naturally be considered desirable; and two of the hitherto unidentified fellow-commoners of Harvard were in all probability from that region.

One of them, with a second Virginian or Marylander, was in the Class of 1655. The graduates of that Class, as listed in the Quinquennial Catalogue, numbered only two; but the full strength of the Class, as we gather from the manuscript records of the Steward of Harvard College, was seventeen. Cotton Mather tells us of a student revolt which explains the small number of graduates. Speaking of an early catalogue of graduates he writes:

Finally, if **Harvard** be now asked, as once **Jesse** was, **are here all thy Sons?** It must be answered, **no**; for upon a Disatisfaction, about an Hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a **Year** of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their **Degree** (about the Year 1655) there was a Considerable Number, even Seventeen of the **Scholars**, which went away from the Colledge without any **Degree** at all.<sup>5</sup>

This dissatisfaction was caused by the Harvard Corporation extending the course for the Bachelor's degree from three to four years, and enforcing it in a somewhat irregular fashion. The Class of 1652

<sup>4</sup> See tentative list in *Publications Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XV. p. cxxxix n, and XXIV. 165-176, 442. Ten of the sixteen belong to the well-known New England families of Winthrop, Saltonstall, Pelham, Willis, Wainwright, and Browne. The last fellow-commoner was of the Class of 1734.

<sup>5</sup> *Magnalia Christi* (1702 ed.), Book IV. p. 135. Cf. J. L. Sibley *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, I. 16, n.

was kept in College until 1653 before commencing bachelors, but were allowed to take their Master's degrees in 1655. The Class of 1653 graduated that year, but were required to wait the usual interval of three years before commencing Masters of Arts. The Class which expected to graduate in 1654, were not allowed to commence bachelors until 1655, or to take their M.A.'s until 1658. Hence it was on them that the full weight of the new regulations fell.

The head of this Class was one "Mr. Brookes," who entered College on June 3, 1651. Although not specifically entered in the Steward's book as a fellow-commoner, it is certain that he was one, since he was styled "Mr.," paid £2 4s 8d annual tuition—double the ordinary rate—and even as a Freshman was ranked in the Steward's book ahead of all other undergraduates, excepting a senior fellow-commoner. Mr. Brookes was charged from £4 8s 1d to £4 15s 5½d quarterly for "commons and sizings" (food and drink), over double what the average student paid; and he rented the most expensive study in the new building that was acquired in 1652. Although there were several Brooks families in New England, none of that name took a degree at Harvard until 1749; and all the known Brookses who had sons of the right age to have entered Harvard in 1651 were farmers who could hardly have afforded the rank and expense of a fellow-commoner in their family.

Moreover, all the payments which balance the accounts of Mr. Brookes were made by the President in specie, strongly suggesting that this student came from a distance, and that his father furnished the President from time to time with money for his son's college charges and allowance. The average Harvard student discharged his accounts by a variety of commodities, which were delivered to the College steward by his father, or his father's agents or debtors. Although the Steward's book records several isolated payments by the President on behalf of various students, the only other student on whose behalf practically every payment was made by the President was Samuel Megapolensis, son of a Dutch clergyman at New Amsterdam.

Mr. Brookes may possibly have been of the family of the Puritan Lord Brooke. He may have been a son or kinsman to one of the three men of that name who came to Virginia between 1621 and 1635<sup>6</sup>; but none of these appears to have acquired the position or property which would have enabled them to support a fellow-commoner at Harvard. It is much more likely that Mr. Brookes of Harvard was one of the sons of Robert Brooke of Whitechurch, Hampshire, a graduate of Wadham College, Oxford (B. A. 1620; M. A. 1624), and a wealthy and prominent planter of Charles County, Maryland. Upon the invitation of Lord Baltimore, Robert Brooke embarked with his second wife Mary (daughter of Roger Mainwaring, Bishop of St. Davids), and a large family of eight sons, two daughters, seven maid-servants and twenty-one menservants.<sup>7</sup> They arrived at St. Mary's on June 30, 1650. Robert Brooke settled about twenty miles up the Patuxent on a plantation that he called De la Brooke, and the same year was made a Councillor of the Province; two years later he transferred his residence to another plantation in Charles County, which he called Brooke Place.<sup>8</sup> If not Puritanical in his sympathies, Robert

<sup>6</sup> *Virginia Mag. Hist. Biog.*, IX. 314-15. These early Brookes appear to have had no connection with the four Brookes who were among the incorporators of the Virginia Company; and the later well-known Brooke family of Virginia is descended from one Robert Brooke who is not found in the Virginia records before 1689.

<sup>7</sup> *Maryland Archives, Council Records*, III. 256.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas Willing Balch, *The Brooke Family of Whitechurch, Hampshire, England* (Phil., 1899), pp. 9, 59, 13-16.

Brooke was a staunch Protestant; for when Governor Stone was deposed by the Parliamentary commission in 1654, Brooke was made one of the executive council which exercised executive powers *pro tem*.

Within a year of the arrival of the Brooke family in Maryland, Mr. Brookes entered Harvard College June 3, 1651. At that time, Robert Brooke's eldest son Baker was twenty-two years old. The Maryland records show him to have been active in that Province during Mr. Brooke's residence at the New England College.<sup>9</sup> Roger Brooke, thirteen years old, may be eliminated as too young to have been sent away to college, even if he could have passed the Harvard entrance requirements of being able to "make and speak true Latin, both verse and prose" and to decline the Greek paradigms.<sup>10</sup> The choice lies between Thomas, the second son, aged nineteen; and Charles, the third, aged fifteen. Both brothers began their civil service in 1661 as Commissioners (i. e., Justice of the Peace) for Calvert County.<sup>11</sup> Thomas was already active in military affairs; as "Major Brooke" he appeared in 1660 as second in command of Colonel William Evans's regiment.<sup>12</sup> Charles was the more civilian in taste and aptitude. He became a commissioner "for Coram" (Justice of the Quorum) in 1664, Sheriff of Calvert County in 1665, and the next year was sent to England to procure arms and munitions.<sup>13</sup> In 1671, when a member of the Assembly, he served on a committee to take into consideration a bill of the Council "for founding and Erecting a School or College" in the Province.<sup>14</sup> In the light of their subsequent careers, Charles Brooke is the most likely of the four brothers to have had a Harvard education.

The next unidentified Harvard student whose name catches the eye is one "Vtye," a classmate of Mr. Brookes. He is ranked in the Steward's book sixth in the Class of 1655. Utie (as the name must be),<sup>15</sup> entered College in June, 1651, and began residence on the same day as "Mr. Brookes." He remained until after Commencement, 1655, but was one of the seventeen "which went away from the Colledge without any Degree at all." Utie was somewhat more frugal than Mr. Brookes. He engaged a medium-priced study, and spent from £2 7s 11d to £4 3¼d quarterly for commons and sizings, except during the summer quarters of 1652 and 1653, when he evidently took a vacation.

The evidence in Utie's accounts which points to a Chesapeake origin, is the fact that most of his payments were made by "Captaine Gookine." Daniel Gookin, then Captain of militia and Assistant of Massachusetts Bay, was the well-known burgess from Nansemond County, Virginia, who led the Puritans of that region in requesting a supply of ministers from New England. After the passage of the Virginia Act of Conformity of 1642-43, Daniel Gookin emigrated first to Maryland, and then to New England, where he settled in Cambridge. As the only local resident from the Chesapeake region, he would have been an obvious person to entrust with funds for supplying a Virginian or Maryland student at Harvard; and he belonged to the same county, religious group, and political party as Governor Bennett, who (as we shall see) was probably Utie's step-father. The only other payments on the credit side of Utie's account, were in com-

<sup>9</sup> Maryland Archives, Council Records, III. 293, et passim.

<sup>10</sup> Roger Brooke subsequently married Dorothy Neale, sister of Mrs. Richard Bennett, Jr., and was the progenitor of Chief Justice Taney.

<sup>11</sup> Maryland Archives, Council Records, III. 424.

<sup>12</sup> Id., III. 344, 402.

<sup>13</sup> Id., III. 503.

<sup>14</sup> Maryland Archives, Assembly Records, II. 263.

<sup>15</sup> It was misread "Blye" by Sibley (op. cit., I. 557), and is so printed in Albert Matthews' list of "Temporary Students" in Publications Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XVII. 274.

modities such as "wheat," "Indian," "peasse," "flower," "backon," and "beaffe wight 282 li," which may well have been shipped to him from the Chesapeake by his father.<sup>16</sup>

The name Utie is unknown in early New England. The family came from Yorkshire. One "Thomas Uty" of Christ's College, Cambridge, was Vicar of Ottringham, Yorks, from 1579 to 1590. Philip Utey, who graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1590, was Vicar of Kilnsea, Yorks, at the turn of the century. "Emmanuel Utye" of Yorkshire, was Fellow of Emmanuel College at about the same time as the two noted New England divines, Thomas Hooker and John Cotton. At the end of his fellowship, in 1615, he became Vicar of Chigwell, Essex; was sequestered as a royalist in the Civil War, reinstated by Charles II, and died Vicar of Stepney in 1661. There was a "Nathaniel Uty" at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1602, but of him nothing further is known; and a "Jonas Uty," son of Emmanuel, took his M.A. from Emmanuel College in 1642.<sup>17</sup> The Harvard student may have been a son or brother of one of these; but it seems unlikely that a royalist parson, sequestered by the Roundheads, would have sent a son to Harvard.

I believe that the Harvard "Vtye" was none other than that Nathaniel Utie who plays a prominent part in the affairs of Maryland for a number of years after 1657. Although there is no positive proof, there is much indirect and collateral evidence that Nathaniel Utie was a son of Captain John Utie of Utimaria, York County, Virginia. Captain Utie came to Virginia in 1620, and was shortly joined there by his wife. As member of the Virginia Council, he was active in the famous Claiborne controversy over Kent Island, and leader in the bold movement that resulted in the arrest and deposition of Governor Harvey. Captain Utie died in or before 1639; and the records show that in 1641 his widow, Mary Anne Utie, was already married to Richard Bennett, the future Governor of Virginia.<sup>18</sup> Bennett was a leader of the Puritans of Nansemond County, Virginia. In 1649 he obtained from Governor Stone of Maryland a grant of 250 acres on the Severn River near the site of Annapolis, "surveyed into lots of fifteen acres, each settler taking one and Bennett all that were left. Finding their security in no way endangered, the scattering settlers soon transferred these lots, one by one, to Bennett, and within five years he owned the original tract as a single plantation.<sup>19</sup> In 1658 he assigned this grant to Nathaniel Utie, his stepson.

Although there is mention of a "Mr Vtie" in the Maryland records as early as 1654, the name of Nathaniel Utie first appears in 1658, three years after our "Vtye" left Harvard. The Governor and Council "weighing the abilities, and affectionate service done by Mr. Baker Brookes and Mr. Nathaniell Vtie in this last assemblye Called them to the [Council] board."<sup>20</sup> From that time forth, Nathaniel Utie was constantly a Burgess or Councillor. In 1659 he was sent on a mission to New Amsterdam to order the Dutch out of Delaware Bay, and eluded their attempts to arrest him. Colonel Nathaniel Utie, as he was generally called from his militia command, acquired beside the Annapolis grant from his stepfather in 1658, the plantations of "Utielsy" on

<sup>16</sup> We find many instances in the Steward's records of similar commodities being shipped from the Connecticut River to pay the accounts of Connecticut students. It is unlikely that beef would have been shipped from Virginia; this may have been a provident investment by Captain Gookin of the father's money.

<sup>17</sup> Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I, vol. IV. p. 292.

<sup>18</sup> E. D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland* (Albany, 1876), p. 49, 53; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV. 52-57; *Maryland Archives, Council, 1636-1667*, III. 5, 35, 38, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel R. Randall, *A Puritan Colony in Maryland* (1886), p. 20.

<sup>20</sup> *Maryland Archives, Council Records*, III. 342.

Sassafras River in 1658-59, 800 acres; and the manor of Spesutia Island, 2300 acres in 1661. This island, at the head of Chesapeake Bay near Havre de Grace, became his principal seat. The Council of Maryland met at Spesutia in 1661. His first wife was Mary, widow of Lawrence Ward of Nansemond, County, Virginia. She was killed by a slave in 1665, and in 1667 he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Carter, Esq., of Lancaster County, Virginia, settling on her one-third of his manor of Spesutia. Utie must have died late in the year 1675, for on January 18, 1675/76, his widow "Elizabeth Uty of Baltimore County" took out letters of administration for his estate.<sup>21</sup>

Nathaniel Utie had a brother George, to whom he assigned a patent for the plantation "Utye's Rumley" in 1658/59, and who served as Burgess in 1661. He was High Sheriff of Baltimore County in 1666, Justice of the Quorum in that county two years later<sup>22</sup>; and died in 1678. Unfortunately, we have no indication of the ages of Nathaniel and George, hence cannot decide which, if either, was of the more likely age to have been at Harvard College between 1651 and 1655. Their father died in or before 1639, and neither is mentioned in the Maryland records until 1658; hence either may have been the Harvard student.

There is a curious bit of indirect evidence which points to Nathaniel as the Harvard student of the Class of 1655. The will of James Eastwood, proprietor of the Anchor tavern in Boston, was proved in 1653, and the inventory of his estate filed on October 25 of that year. Among those mentioned as owing him money, is "Nath: Vty."<sup>23</sup> What would have been more natural than for a Harvard student from Virginia to have dined or stayed at a Boston tavern while waiting for a ship to take him home on his vacation—perhaps have given a dinner there to his classmates—and to have been trusted for the reckoning until his return? Can it be a mere coincidence that the Steward's book shows "Vtye" absent from College during the greater part of the summer of 1653,<sup>24</sup> and that he then owed the Steward the sum of £8 11s 10d?

Utie must have remained at Harvard for some time after the Commencement at which he should have taken his A. B., for he consumed £3 8s 6d worth of "commons and sizings" during the summer quarter of 1655. At the time of his departure, if my interpretation of his college accounts is correct, he still owed the Steward two or three pounds.

On July 17, 1655, while Utie was still in residence, there entered college a student who is recorded in the Steward's book as "Mr. Bennete fellow Commoner," and placed at the head of the Class of 1659. The first entry on the debit side of Mr. Bennete's accounts, dated September 7, 1655, is: "by Commones and Sizinges and for vtye £2 9s 9d." So one of Mr. Bennete's first duties was to pay Utie's debts to the College. In view of the close connection between the Utie and

<sup>21</sup> Maryland Archives, Council Records, III. 350-65, 412; *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV. 54-56.

<sup>22</sup> *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV. 54, 58; *Md. Archives, Gen. Assembly*, I. 396, Council, III. 545, 513. There was also a Bernard Utie who first appears in the records as a witness in 1668, and acquired a small plantation in 1673; but it does not appear what relation he was to the other two. *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV. 55.

<sup>23</sup> *New England Historic Genealogical Register*, VIII. 275. I have been unable to find any other mention of a Utie in the copious early records of the New England Colonies; but a "Nathanael Vtie," planter or merchant of Barbados is mentioned in an account of 1649/50, which was copied into the *Aspinwall Notarial Records* (Boston, 1903), pp. 338-39. Hence the debt to Eastwood may have been incurred by that Nathaniel Utie on a visit to Boston from Barbados, with which the New Englanders were then in frequent intercourse.

<sup>24</sup> He was charged only 3s for "commons and sizings" that quarter, which, at his usual rate of expenditure, would have lasted him less than one week.

the Bennett families, this raises an immediate presumption that "Mr. Bennete" belonged to the family of the Cromwellian governor of Virginia.<sup>25</sup> There are several other instances in the Harvard Steward's accounts of one student's debts or credits being transferred to the account of a younger brother or kinsman.

Unfortunately the credit side of Mr. Bennett's accounts was torn from the Steward's book many years ago, so we cannot tell how or by whom his payments were made; except that in the Steward's own accounts with the College, he debits himself in June, 1656, "by mr bennet by two quarters 33s 4d;" and early in 1657, "by mr bennett 31s 7d." From the student's page of debits it appears that he entered College on July 17, 1655; but there is no entry against him until the September quarter, when he is charged with £2 9s 9d for "Commones and Sizings and for vtye." In view of what Brooke had paid for tuition, it is curious that Bennett, although a fellow commoner, is charged only 20s a year; but probably there had been a revised scale of tuition fees, as we know there was of study rents, after President Chauncy replaced President Dunster in 1654. Bennett's classmate Nathaniel Saltonstall, also a fellow-commoner, and ranked next below him on the class roll, paid 20s tuition Freshman year, and 40s thereafter.

"Mr. Bennete" immediately hired a study, an unusual extravagance for a first-year man; and in the middle of his Freshman year exchanged it for the most expensive in the College, the Senior Fellow's study, which had just been vacated by Samuel Megapolensis, son of the minister of New Amsterdam. In a list of revised study rents, which from internal evidence must have been drawn up in 1658-59, this room is still designated as "Mr. Bennets study," although Mr. Bennett had been gone some two years. In the third quarter of his Freshman year, Mr. Bennett consumed only 13s 9¼d worth of commons and sizings, suggesting that he was absent a part of the term; and for the last quarter, March to June, 1656, he is charged with tuition, study rent, and detriments—an overhead charge against students not in residence—but nothing for commons and sizings. This is the last charge against him in the College accounts. It seems likely, then, that Mr. Bennett did not find Harvard College to his taste; that he left in the late winter or early spring of his Freshman year, and never returned.

Once granted that "Vtye" of 1655 was Nathaniel or George Utie, the conclusion that "Mr. Bennete" was his half-brother is irresistible. We must accept both, or neither.

Richard Bennett came to Virginia before 1628 and helped manage the plantation of his uncle Edward, a member of the Virginia Company. He served as Burgess from 1629 to 1631, and Councillor from 1642 to 1649. A man of Puritanic leanings, he aided the emigration of a number of Puritans from England about the year 1641, to people his extensive lands in Nansemond County; and in order to provide himself and his neighbors with suitable ministers, sent his brother or kinsman Philip Bennett to Boston "earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers."<sup>26</sup> No supply could be obtained from

<sup>25</sup> Sibley (*op. cit.*, I. 573), to whom never occurred the possibility of Virginians attending Harvard, attempts to identify "Mr. Bennete" as David Bennett of Rowley, Massachusetts, who later became a physician. But David Bennett had neither the age nor the fortune to have made him a likely fellow-commoner at Harvard at this time, and there was no other Bennett family in New England that could meet these qualifications.

<sup>26</sup> P. A. Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia*, I. 253-54; John Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853 ed.) II. 93-94. The petition, signed by Richard Bennett, Daniel Gookin, and others, is copied into President Dunster's commonplace book, which is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. See article on Edward Bennett, by John Bennett Boddie in the *William and Mary Quarterly*, Second Series, which will appear in the issue of April, 1933.

Harvard College, which had not yet graduated her first class; so but three settled ministers of New England obtained leave to answer this new call, and after a voyage of eleven weeks arrived in Virginia where "they found very loving and liberal entertainment."<sup>27</sup> From Governor Berkeley their reception was not so loving; and at his instance the Assembly, in 1643, passed the Act of Conformity which forbade their ministry to continue. Upon the invitation of Governor Stone of Maryland, Richard Bennett obtained the grant of Town Neck on the Severn, which later he assigned to his stepson Nathaniel Utie; and thither he retired with his family and many of his friends, about 1649, the year of Maryland's Toleration Act.

In the meantime, Richard Bennett had married Mary Anne, widow of Captain John Utie of Utimaria, and mother of Nathaniel Utie. The exact date is unknown, but as Captain Utie died in or before 1639, the Utie-Bennett wedding may have taken place the same year; and Richard Bennett Junior, their first child have been born in 1640.<sup>28</sup>

Under the Cromwellian dispensation, Richard Bennett the elder was appointed a member of the English Commonwealth's commission which obtained the submission of Virginia in March, 1651/52. Under the liberal terms accorded by the Commission, the choice of Governors was given to the Assembly; and Bennett was the first Governor so elected. He served until 1655; and in 1654, with the indefatigable William Claiborne, intervened in Maryland, deposed his benefactor Governor Stone, and put the government of that Province under a commission, of which one member was Robert Brooke.<sup>29</sup> Governor Bennett continued to reside in Virginia after the Restoration of Charles II, served as commander of the militia on the south side of the James, turned Quaker and died in 1675, leaving an immense estate to his grandson Richard Bennett 3rd.<sup>30</sup>

Supposing Richard Bennett, Jr.,—apparently the Governor's only son—to have been born in 1640, he was fifteen years old when he entered Harvard in June, 1655. Very likely his half brother Utie stayed on a bit, in order to see him settled in. For several years after his leaving Harvard in 1656, there is no trace of Richard Bennett, Jr. in the records; probably he was living with his father in Virginia. At some date which we are not informed, he acquired a plantation at Greenberry Point, on the Severn, Maryland; and in 1663 he purchased from his half-brother Colonel Utie the plantation "Green Oake" on the Sassafra River. Bennett represented Ann Arundel County in the Assembly of 1666. He married—probably between 1663 and 1665—Henrietta Maria, daughter of Captain James Neale, a Catholic who came to Maryland before 1642.<sup>31</sup> Henrietta Maria Neale was born in 1647 and named after the Queen, to whom her mother had been a maid of honour, and who gave her namesake several jewels, including a ring containing a miniature portrait of Charles I. It is amusing that the sons of such staunch Protestants and enemies to the Calverts as Robert Brooke and Richard Bennett should have married sisters of a prominent Catholic family.

Richard and Henrietta Maria Bennett had had two children, Richard 3d, and Susanna, when Richard Bennett, Junior, was drowned, early in 1667.<sup>32</sup> The widow married Philemon Lloyd, bore him many children, and died at the age of 50, in 1697. Her armorial tombstone

<sup>27</sup> Winthrop, *op. cit.*, 115-16.

<sup>28</sup> *William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV, 53.

<sup>29</sup> E. Channing, *United States*, I, 497-99, 505.

<sup>30</sup> Will in H. F. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, I, 815-16.

<sup>31</sup> Md. Archives, *Gen. Assembly*, I, 145, 169, *et passim*; II, 89 *et passim*; *William and Mary Quarterly*, IV, 54.

<sup>32</sup> J. D. Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties*, p. 42.

at Wye House, Talbot County, shows the Neale arms impaled with Lloyd on one lozenge, and with Bennett on the other.<sup>33</sup> This is her epitaph:

She that now takes her Rest within this tomb  
Had Rachell's face and Lea's fruitful womb,  
Abigall's wisdom, Lydea's Faithful heart  
With Martha's care and Mary's better part.

All other unidentified Harvard students of the seventeenth century have been eliminated as possible Virginians or Marylanders, and we are left only with "Mr. Brookes," fellow-commoner of the Class of 1655, "Vtye," his classmate, and "Mr. Bennete," fellow-commoner of the Class of 1659. Identification of persons in the early English Colonies is a very tricky business; but when it is remembered that both the fellow-commoners must have been sons of wealthy and prominent men, and that none such can be found of these names in New England, where the name Utie was unknown; when we find that Mr. Brookes's charges were paid by the President and Utie's by a former Virginia neighbor of the Uties and Bennetts; and that the student Bennett discharged Utie's unpaid accounts; when we further find that Nathaniel Utie of Maryland was half-brother to Richard Bennett, Jr., son of the Governor of Virginia at the time "Mr. Bennete" was in College, and that Roger Brooke, a brother to Charles Brooke whose age and situation fit the fellow-commoner, married the sister of Richard Bennett, Jr.'s wife; I think that we have established a strong presumptive case for the identification of these three young men of prominent Virginia and Maryland families, with three of those Harvard "Scholars which went away from the Colledge without any Degrees at all."

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<sup>33</sup> *Id.*, 42. Susan, or Susanna Bennett married a Mr. Lowe, and was ancestress of Governor Lowe and Charles Carroll of Carrollton. Richard 3d never married, although known as the "richest man of his majesty's dominion."