

The Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705

By E. D. TAPPE

INTRODUCTION

THERE has perhaps never been a time since the Reformation when some group in the Anglican Church has not been exploring the possibility of a rapprochement with some section of the Orthodox Church. In particular during the seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth, Anglicans showed considerable interest in the Greek Church, and this interest was reciprocated.¹ In 1616 Cyril Lucaris, then Patriarch of Alexandria, commended a young priest, Metrophanes Critopoulos, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At his own expense the Archbishop, George Abbot, sent Metrophanes to Oxford, to study theology at Balliol. On his return to the East, Metrophanes, in spite of an adverse report from Abbot, continued to enjoy the favour of Cyril Lucaris and rose to be, in his turn, Patriarch of Alexandria. That Metrophanes was not the only Greek anxious to study in England at that time is shown, for instance, by an appeal made in 1621 to the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London by two others, Gregory, Archimandrite of Macedonia, and Katakouzenos, who asked to be sent to Oxford to study philosophy and theology.² The period of the Civil War and the Commonwealth was as unpropitious for cultural relations with the Greek Orthodox Church as it was for commerce in the Levant. Nathaniel Conopius, another protégé of Lucaris, who fled from Constantinople when his patron was murdered, was also at Balliol, and was expelled from there by the Puritans in 1648. His chief claim on the gratitude of Oxonians is that, according to the diarist Evelyn, he was the first man to drink coffee in Oxford. There is a story that the Regicides were visited by a Patriarch of the Greek Church, sent to represent his brother Patriarchs and to pose the question, 'By what Law either of God or Man they put their King to Death?'³ But perhaps he was as mythical as the Patriarch who gave his blessing to royalists at Oxford in 1659, and received a harangue from the Professor of Greek; this personage was a London merchant, and the rag was organized by the future bishop, William Lloyd.⁴ After the Restoration, when High Churchmen were in the ascendancy, relations with the Eastern

¹ This subject is fully treated in T. Spencer's book, *Fair Greece Sad Relic*, which has appeared since this article was written.

² MS. Smith 37, ff. 25-27.

⁴ A. Wood, *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, 1, 282.

³ *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser., xi, 284.

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Church were resumed. Some able clergymen took service as Chaplains of the Levant Company in the period 1660-1710. Thomas Smith, chaplain at Constantinople 1668-1671, and his successor, John Covell, were among the more distinguished. Smith's book on the Greek Church appeared in Latin in 1676 and in an English version in 1680, with an account of Cyril Lucaris appended. (Covell's book was only published in 1722.) But Paul Rycart, who was consul at Smyrna in the chaplaincies of Smith and Covell, also published a book in 1678 on the state of the Greek Church.

It is about this time when Smith's and Rycart's books appeared that we have the first suggestion of a scheme for educating Greeks in England. Joseph Georgirenes, Archbishop of Samos, who came to England in 1676 and built a church in Soho Fields for the Greek community of London, visited Oxford in July 1677 to raise money for the completion of that church. Anthony Wood wondered whether he was not also there in connexion with a scheme for creating a Greek college in Oxford at Gloucester Hall. 'At that time,' he says, 'there was great talk of converting Gloucester Hall into a College for the educating 20 or 30 Greeks in Academical learning.'⁵ In any case, it was Georgirenes who wrote a letter to William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, apparently about 1682, in which he requests that about 12 scholars from Greece should be constantly in England, 'to be instructed and grounded in the true Doctrine of the Church of England, whereby (with the blessing of God) they may be able dispensers thereof, and so returne into Greece aforesaid to preach the same.'⁶ It is to be noted that he asks for only 12 scholars at a time, and that he does not expressly mention Oxford. But he, an Orthodox Archbishop, specifically proposes instruction in the doctrine of the Church of England. Sancroft, to whom he addressed his appeal, had already shown his interest in the Greek Church by asking Covell during his Constantinople chaplaincy to enquire into the Orthodox doctrine of the Real Presence. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, to whom—as well as to the King—Sancroft was asked by Georgirenes to communicate the scheme, had already sponsored Georgirenes' appeal for building the Greek church in Soho Fields. Thus the highest levels of the Anglican hierarchy may well have shown sympathy for the proposal. Nothing more, however, is known of it for the next ten years.

WOODROFFE'S SCHEME

Then early in 1692 the Scheme reappears. 'We have often the company of Dr. Woodroffe,' writes Edward Harley to his father.⁷ 'The Doctor is indeav-

⁵ A. Wood, *Life and Times*, ed. Clark, II, 379.

⁶ MS. Tanner 33, f. 57; printed in Williams, *The Orthodox Church of the East in the Eighteenth Century*, p. lxvi.

⁷ Portland MS., Harley Papers, xvi, 30 January 1692.

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ouring to revive an old designe of bringing over yong Greek youthes to be educated in the knowledge of the scriptures. If it take effect according as it is said, it may be of great use.' Dr. Benjamin Woodroffe, Canon of Christ Church, was also rector of St. Bartholomew near the Royal Exchange. For a short time in 1688 he had been Dean of Christ Church, being nominated by James II (to whom he had been chaplain twenty years before) but replaced by Dean Aldrich under William III. His interest in the Greek Church can be traced as far back as his twenties. Thus in 1668-9 he was acquainted with one Jeremias Germanus at Oxford, who told everyone that the Greek Church did not believe in Transubstantiation. When Covel sailed to Constantinople in 1670, Woodroffe commissioned him to deliver a present of books to this Greek priest.⁸ It may well be that Woodroffe was behind the scheme mentioned by Anthony Wood as discussed in Oxford in 1677, for creating a Greek College at Gloucester Hall. And he may well have co-operated with Georgirenes, though if he did so, he was later disillusioned.⁹

Gloucester Hall had been for years in a state of fearful decay. Under the principalship of Dr. Byrom Eaton it had become empty of students, and its buildings had fallen into disrepair—one might say, ruin. Now, on 15 August 1692, Woodroffe was admitted as Principal. Workmen began repairs on the fabric immediately. The 15th of August was a Monday, and on the following Saturday the new Principal was writing to Harley about the Greek Scheme, wishing to interest the Levant Company in it as soon as possible and hoping that when the new Ambassador to the Porte, Lord Paget, appoints his chaplain, his choice will be a man capable of forwarding the scheme.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, before the month of August was out, Woodroffe appeared before the Court of the Levant Company, explained the scheme, and obtained the Court's grant of free passage on the Company's ships for Greek students. And within six weeks of Woodroffe's institution, his scheme for a Greek College at the Hall is noted by Luttrell. '20 famous Grecians,' says Luttrell, 'are sent for from Antioch and Constantinople etc. to reside there.'¹¹ No one can accuse Woodroffe of lack of energy.

The publicity given so quickly to the scheme suggests that a printed pamphlet may already have been distributed. Indeed the printed prospectus, entitled *A Model of a College to be settled in the University for the Education of some Youths of the Greek Church*, was probably issued by Woodroffe about this time.¹² It proposes that twenty youths, who must be between the ages of 14 and 20,

⁸ J. Covel, *Some Account of the present Greek Church* (1722), p. 1.

⁹ See Appendix A, note (b).

¹⁰ Portland MS., Harley Papers, xvi, 21 August 1692.

¹¹ N. Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs* (1857), II, 583.

¹² See Appendix A.

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be trained under Woodroffe to be preachers and schoolmasters in their own country. The lines of their training and discipline are laid down. The College, it is announced, will be supported by voluntary contributions.

Such was the prospectus. Gloucester Hall was not, of course, intended to be nothing but a Greek College. Ordinary Oxford undergraduates were to reside there too. From a project for the Hall which Woodroffe sent to Harley in February 1693, we see that while the Greeks were to be accommodated in one part of the Hall and the ordinary undergraduates in another, both parties were to share in the use of Hall, Chapel and Library.¹³

The Greek scheme then was off to a flying start. But after this nothing seems to have happened for a long time. A lampoon in Latin elegiac verse, contrasting Gloucester Hall with an Oxford ale-house called Rump Hall, makes fun of the fact that the Greek scheme is hanging fire and the students show no sign of coming. This is in June 1693.

. . . *Dum pergraecatur parvae chorus ebrius aulae*
Ah ! major Graecis indiget aula suis ;
Hinc ait, insultans, vulgus Rumpense ' Calendas
*Induet ad Graecas Graeca iuventa togam '.*¹⁴

In fact the first students to receive free passage from the Company did not arrive till early in 1699.

There is, however, trace of one single Greek at Gloucester Hall much earlier than that. On 23 July 1693 Woodroffe writes to Mr. John Houghton, Apothecary in St. Bartholomew's Lane near the Royal Exchange, evidently an old parishioner of his, about a certain Dionysius the Grecian who will call at his house for a letter.¹⁵ Dionysius, who, he says, has been to Houghton's house with him in the past, is now ready to come down to Oxford. Woodroffe wants Dionysius either to come to him in Essex—the letter is dated from ' Ryse ' near Bishop's Stortford—and then travel with his party to Oxford when they return, or else to let him have his address so that Woodroffe can announce their return to Oxford, and Dionysius come down by the ' flying Coach '. Evidently the Greek did reside at Gloucester Hall for at least the academic year 1693-4 ; for on 21 June 1694 Woodroffe writes to the scholar Thomas Smith of Magdalen whom we have already had occasion to mention, asking that he may retain for another three weeks or so some books which Smith has lent him, ' there being severall things I think necessary to acquaint Dionysius the Greeke with, who is still with us here in Oxford, and having gone thorow his Studies in Mathematicks, of which he seemed to be most desirous, hath promised seriously

¹³ Portland MS., Harley Papers, xvii, 11 February 1693.

¹⁴ Wood, *op. cit.*, iii, 426.

¹⁵ Sloane MS. 4276, f. 268.

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to give me a good part of the time he yet intends to spend here, in order to the acquainting him with such Theological Authors, especially in Greek, which may make him the more usefull in his own Country at his Return.¹⁶ The reference to Dionysius's mathematical studies seems to show that he was not following the curriculum laid down in the *Model*. He was an older man, already in priest's orders, and had no doubt come to Oxford independently of the scheme. Woodroffe clearly encouraged foreigners to come to Gloucester Hall. His first student was a Frenchman. And in Hungary, in 1703, Edmund Chishull met a young Hungarian at Debrecen, by name Paul Gyöngyösi, who had recently resided at Gloucester Hall.¹⁷

While Dionysius was at Gloucester Hall, Woodroffe wrote a letter in Greek to Callinicus, Patriarch of Constantinople, explaining the scheme to him.¹⁸ The programme of studies is now more ambitious. 'First the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues; then philosophy of all kinds; by turns, medicine and mathematics; further, theology, as purely set down in the Gospel, and set forth in the ancient canons and Greek fathers; or anything else, or in any other way, acceptable to you, we will make it our business to teach.' Possibly Dionysius's influence is to be suspected in this extension of the curriculum to medicine and mathematics. From this letter and from the *Model* we can see how the whole process of recruitment and transport was planned. The four Patriarchs were to send twenty youths, five from each Patriarchate, or in any other proportion they pleased, giving the names and addresses to the Levant Company's three chaplains (Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo), together with particulars of how they are to be taken to the Company's ships. In this letter a knowledge of Syrian is added to the list of desirable qualifications. The Levant Company will bring the students to London, where Woodroffe will meet them, present them to the Bishop of London, and take them to Oxford.

The matter still moved very slowly. On 16 August 1695 Woodroffe wrote to Mr. Edward Williams, the Chaplain at Constantinople, enclosing copies of a printed scheme and a single copy of a letter to be communicated to all the Patriarchs.¹⁹ As these enclosures are not preserved, it is impossible to tell whether the printed scheme was the same as the *Model* which we have already discussed; the date of the *Model* is not known, and we cannot be sure whether it precedes the letter to Callinicus in 1694, or not. In this letter to the Chaplain, Woodroffe shows his awareness of difficulties which are likely to arise; and to such objections he provides answers. He foresees that the recruitment will be hindered:

¹⁶ MS. Smith 54, f. 169.

¹⁷ E. Chishull, *Travels in Turkey and back to England* (1747), p. 106.

¹⁸ Lambeth MS. 951, f. 1.

¹⁹ Appendix B, 1.

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- (a) by the Turks, who will not wish to lose the annual poll tax which the students would avoid by being abroad ;
- (b) by the youths' relations, who will not wish to lose wage-earners ;
- (c) by the Greek ecclesiastical authorities, who will be suspicious of foreign education.

His answers to the objections are :

- (a) the subscribers will pay the Turkish poll tax on behalf of the students ;
- (b) the education, particularly in medicine and mathematics, will make the students able to earn more ;
- (c) the Greek Church is less suspicious of the Church of England than of any other church.

He then proceeds to answer another objection : ' How shall they be maintained when they return ? ' Although such provision is unlikely to be needed, because surely the Greek hierarchy will give good preferment to those whom it has sent abroad for study, the subscribers will guarantee it where they judge it necessary. He adds that as good a provision as any might be to make presents to the Greek ecclesiastical authorities ! He is confident that the English can do more for the Greek religion than the French have lately done.

He adds that he waited on Lord Paget before he left England in 1692, and that the Ambassador promised his support for the scheme. ' Our earnest request,' he tells Williams, ' is that one way or another you would please . . . to take care that such a number of youths as we propose may be found out ; the number is not so great, but that in several places they may be gathered up and sent on board in severall places as chance-passengers ; for their country is not so straight a prison, but that daily many of them seek their liberty abroad and return again at their pleasure to their own homes.' He concludes by emphasizing that he writes at the direction of the Bishop of London.

This letter was eventually answered by Paget himself. On 1 August 1696 he wrote to Woodroffe explaining that in the present state of the Greek Church the ecclesiastical authorities were unable to send young Greeks abroad on their own initiative, as the Porte would never permit it. He had been told this by Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem (' a discret, well-temperd man '), who had seemed to appreciate Woodroffe's good intentions ; and the statement had been confirmed by the Chief Dragoman of the Porte, Alexander Mavrocordati, who suggested that the only way to get Greek students to Oxford would be to persuade individual fathers to send their sons, leaving the church out of the question. Callinicus, Patriarch of Constantinople (' a rougher man' than Dositheus), had been much less sympathetic.²⁰

The original form of the scheme having thus proved impracticable, the

²⁰ Appendix B, 2.

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way was open for Paget to propose an alternative. This was to approach individuals and suggest that they send their sons to Oxford, with a view to their becoming interpreters in the service of the Levant Company. He was evidently a little doubtful whether the English churchmen would approve this change, and in writing to Woodroffe and to the Bishop of London on 8 January 1697, he tactfully lays little stress on the training of interpreters, and says that his proposal is only another way of obtaining the original object. He has persuaded the Resident of the Prince of Wallachia to send his son and a near relation to Oxford.²¹ The Wallachian Resident at the Porte at this time appears to have been a Greek named Janachi Porfirita. Whether the two young men ever came to Oxford, and if so, whether they are identical with students whose names we already know, are questions which it seems impossible to answer.

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At length, on 11 September 1698, Woodroffe, writing to his former pupil John Ellis, Under-Secretary of State, says cautiously that it is not improbable 'that we shall have Greeks sent to study here, according to our former designe for the Education of some youths of that Church, which hath hitherto been disappointed, but is likely in a short time to take effect.'²² This expectation was fulfilled; in the following February the first batch of Greek students arrived from Smyrna. We may suppose that their appearance in Oxford caused comment; for the regulations laid down that they should wear 'the gravest habit worn in their own country', and they did in fact wear it both in Oxford and elsewhere. The original batch numbered five. Early in the following year more were expected, and seem in fact to have arrived. It would be interesting to know more of their ordinary everyday life at Oxford; as it is, we hear of them chiefly in connection with scandals, the first of which is known to us only from a sentence in a letter of William Adams to Thomas Tanner (4 May 1699): 'The young Graecians are run away from Gloster Hall.'²³ I think we may guess that Woodroffe did appoint two tutors for them, as laid down in the *Model*, and that these two men were Mr. Roger Bouchier and Mr. Edward Eden. They take part in a disputation with two of the Greeks, which Woodroffe published in 1704; and Alexander Helladius, one of the later students, actually refers in his book to 'Mr. Roger Bouchier, my most reverend tutor in Mathematics and English'.²⁴ Bouchier and Eden both took their B.A. from Gloucester Hall in 1699, and were therefore just the sort

²¹ Appendix B, 3 and 4.

²² Add. MS. 28883, f. 151.

²³ J. A. W. Bennett, 'Oxford in 1699' in *Oxoniensia*, iv (1939), 149.

²⁴ *Status praesens Ecclesiae Graecae* (1714), p. 192.

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of people Woodroffe would be likely to choose to teach his newly-arrived Greeks. Fifteen years later, when Gloucester Hall became Worcester College, Bouchier was one of the first fellows on the new foundation.

At what stage the Reverend Edward Stephens became interested in the Greek students, it is impossible to determine. He was originally a lawyer, became ordained at a fairly advanced age, and lodged in Oxford for a couple of years, possibly about 1701. His passionate desire for the reunion of Christendom is likely to have been regarded as eccentric by nearly all other Anglicans of his day. He persuaded Neophytus, Archbishop of Philippopolis, to admit him to communion with the Orthodox Church, and he used to celebrate the Eucharist according to the Greek rite ; so he may well have been interested in the college long before we first hear of him helping two of its students. Neophytus visited Oxford to receive the honorary degree of D.D. The day of its conferment (2 September 1701) must have been a great one for Woodroffe. He delivered a speech of welcome, and we may imagine that he proudly displayed Gloucester Hall and its Greeks to the visitor. Edward Thwaites, the Anglo-Saxon scholar, wrote a glowing account of the University solemnities, but could not resist a dig at the Principal of Gloucester Hall : ' Indeed Dr. Woodroffe has exerted himself and shown us that he does understand Greek.'

An even greater day perhaps was in August 1702, when Queen Anne, stopping in Oxford on her way from Windsor to Bath, heard among the many addresses presented to her an ode in Greek hexameters spoken by the senior Greek student, Simon Homerus. This ode was printed by Woodroffe along with the disputation mentioned above.

But trouble was brewing. The scheme did not escape the notice of the Jesuits. One of them, a Greek from Crete named Nicolaus Comnenus Papadopolus, who had been converted to the Roman Church and who taught Canon Law at the University of Padua, refers to it in the preface to his book *Praenotiones Mystagogicae*, 1697, and says that it will administer noxious draughts of heresy to the Greeks, though he charitably describes Woodroffe as ' a good man, but excessively simple'. Emissaries of the Roman Church were in contact with the Greek students. Late in 1702 or early in 1703 the brothers George and John Aptal, and another student named Stephen Constantine, ran away to Holland.²⁵ The ringleader was Stephen Constantine—described by Helladius as handsome, clever and rich—who had not been, like the Aptals, one of the original entry of 1699. He was tempted away by the promise of better accommodation at Paris, where Louis XIV had been persuaded to start a Greek College. The Aptal brothers seem rather to have looked forward

²⁵ The sources for this escapade are Helladius, ch. xvi ; S.P. T1/87, f. 142 (printed in *Calendar of Treasury Papers, 1702/1707*, p. 207) ; and E. Stephens, works cited in Bibliography at end.

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to getting home quickly. But it is said to have been the nefarious Deacon Seraphim who, working behind the scenes, sold them to the missionaries of Propaganda. Deacon Seraphim of Mitylene, translator of a Modern Greek version of the New Testament published in London in 1703, is portrayed by Helladius in the most lurid colours. Whether or not he was ever a member of the College, he was in Oxford in 1701 (according to Helladius, whose dating is not above suspicion), and abused the favour of Woodroffe.²⁶ Stephens says that the three students were approached by a person belonging to the chapel of the Portuguese Ambassador in London. Along the network of Roman agents—to put the matter in the melodramatic light in which Stephens saw it—the trio was passed on to Brussels, where the Papal Internuncio interviewed them, and was disappointed not to find among them the eldest of the Oxford Greeks, Simon Homerus. ‘Homer is not here!’ cried the Internuncio, and again, as he pointed at Stephen Constantine, ‘That is not Homer!’ After a stay of five months in the Irish College at Louvain, where an attempt was made to convert them to the Roman faith, the three students were sent to Paris, and then put on their way to Rome to be presented to the Pope. The brothers Aptal now began to lose their nerve; at Genoa they sought out the English Consul and got him to ship them back to England. Constantine, however, went on to Rome, confident that he had the whip hand of the Romans. He threatened that if they would not let him go, he would write to his stepfather at Smyrna to use his influence with the Pasha for reprisals on the Roman missionaries there. He said he was going to follow in the footsteps of his stepfather, the richest merchant in Smyrna, and had no intention whatever of being ordained; and to give colour to his assertion, he threw himself into the pursuit of wine, women and gambling. Stephen Constantine never returned to England. But the Aptal brothers did, and in October 1703 arrived in London, where they stayed with Edward Stephens. Woodroffe welcomed the prodigals, and wrote off to their fellow-students a letter in Greek full of rejoicing, exhortation, and dark references to ‘that loathsome one’ and his ‘scandal of scandals’, phrases which Helladius explains as referring to Seraphim. (By this time Seraphim had fled to Holland, because—according to Helladius—he had violated a small girl in London). The Levant Company made arrangements for the Aptals to sail to Smyrna, and even paid their debt when they were arrested at Gravesend for the cost of their voyage to England from Leghorn. While they were lodging with Stephens, one of them received a letter from an acquaintance in the Greek College at Rome, delivered by a member of the Florentine Envoy’s suite. By this letter and the person who brought it, an attempt was made to persuade the recipient to go to Rome; but

²⁶ Helladius, pp. 253, 279.

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under Stephens's direction he wrote an answer asking some awkward questions, to which he received no reply. The Aptal brothers probably returned to Smyrna in 1704.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1703, Lord Paget had reached England with more students in his suite, after a leisurely journey overland from Constantinople. Woodroffe wrote to him (25 April), telling him of the difficulties into which the scheme had come because it had not received adequate financial support and because the Roman Church was seeking to lure the students away to Paris.²⁷ He refers briefly to the escapade of the three runaways, who were at the time of writing in France. Particularly interesting is his report of the progress of the students. 'The Ancient Greek, which they were utter strangers to, when they came first hither, they read and understand as their Mother-Tongue; the Latin they understand so well, as to be able to discourse and dispute in that tongue. The English they speak as if they were Natives. In the Hebrew they are moderate proficient. They perform all exercises promiscuously with our Under-graduates and Batchelors of Arts, and some of them dispute with us in Divinity in the Chappel. They are well entred in all the Systems of Philosophy and in the Mathematicks, and perform all exercises indifferently either in Greek or Latin, &c.' From this it seems that the original stipulation for Ancient Greek as an entrance qualification had been waived. Another stipulation that was waived in 1703, if not before, was the maximum age of twenty for entrants.

There seem to have been three students who came over in Lord Paget's suite. One was Francis Prossalensis of Corfu, who had his 25th birthday soon after reaching England. He was accompanied by a student, junior to himself, Alexander Helladius, who calls Prossalensis his '*Praeceptor*'. This precocious youth wrote an epic on the war between the Ottoman and Hapsburg Empires and on his own Odyssey across Europe; when he wished to submit it to the Oxford University Press, Prossalensis forbade him. In later life he was to publish a chatty little book called *Status Praesens Ecclesiae Graecae*, which yields a great deal of information about Greek students in Western Europe in the early eighteenth century. The third Greek, Eustathius Placicus, a doctor, must have joined the party at Bucharest, where Paget in his progress across Europe was received with great honour by Constantine Brâncoveanu, the reigning Prince of Wallachia. Placicus was one of Brâncoveanu's court physicians.

These were probably the last students to join the College. The escapade of the three runaways had damaged its reputation; the scandal of Seraphim, though less closely connected, must also have created an unfavourable atmos-

²⁷ Appendix B, 5.

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phere. And at least one of the students, namely Prossalensis, complains of the scrappiness of their instruction. 'First they would learn grammar for a few days, then physics for five or six, then logic, then grammar again, then mathematics—in short, in the space of five or six months they read all branches of knowledge and exhaust none.'²⁸ Thus it came about that when the students found that a group of Protestants in Saxony offered them better conditions of accommodation and study, they began to leave Oxford and enrol themselves at the University of Halle. Helladius says of two friends of his, Matthew of Paros and Theodore Basilius of the Black Sea, that 'spurning Britain they made for Halle' (where they enrolled in March 1704). This sounds as though they too may have been for a while at Gloucester Hall; Stephens speaks of students staying 'not many months' because of the unsatisfactory arrangements. Eustathius Placicus enrolled at Halle in October 1705, and Helladius himself went there in the end.

By 1704 the Greek scheme was clearly a failure. On 6 July the Levant Company told Sir Robert Sutton, Paget's successor in the Embassy, that they would not accept any more students.²⁹ That the Company and their Ambassadors should train 'druggermen' at Oxford was, as we have seen, Paget's idea; it was certainly not part of the conception of those who originated the scheme for a Greek college. It is strange, as Professor A. C. Wood has pointed out, that the Company throughout the 250 years of its existence never made a practice of training Englishmen to be its interpreters.³⁰

Finally, in 1705, the Greek Church put a veto on students. Jeremias Xantheus, Registrar of the Greek Church at Constantinople, wrote to Stephens: 'The irregular life of some priests and laymen of the Greek Church living in London has greatly disturbed the Church. Therefore the Church has also prevented those who wish to go and study at Oxford.'³¹ Was this the shadow of Seraphim's profligacy again? To put the finishing stroke to the College, Woodroffe was now in financial difficulties, difficulties which were eventually to land him in the Fleet Prison; probably, as Barker says, he was the only ex-Dean of Christ Church to suffer that fate. Neither voluntary subscriptions nor Royal bounty had ever been forthcoming in sufficient sums; he claimed only to have received £400 from the Crown, and to have spent between £2,000 and £3,000 on the education and expenses of the Greeks. Some of this estimate is undoubtedly to be accounted for by his expenditure on a building opposite the gates of Gloucester Hall which he erected for the accommodation of Greek students (PL. IV). This building, according to Hearne in 1714, was

²⁸ Prossalensis, 'Ο αἰρετικὸς διδάσκαλος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου μαθητοῦ ἐλεγχόμενος (1862), p. 11.

²⁹ S.P. 105/115, 6 July 1704.

³⁰ *History of the Levant Company* (1935), pp. 226-7.

³¹ Lambeth MS. 933, f. 49.

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of such slight construction that up to that date at least, it had never been inhabited ;³² but it was not pulled down till 1806. Nicknamed ' Woodroffe's Folly ', it was for a century, as Barker says, the only memorial of the Greek scheme.

Edward Stephens made a valiant attempt to save something from the wreck in 1705, printing a leaflet in which he said : ' There is no need for a College at Oxford, nor of building a Church here, but a good House well situated, with convenient Lodgings for some Greek Clergymen and young Scholars, and a decent Oratory here in London, may be so order'd, as to serve all that is necessary and more to the Satisfaction of the Greeks.' He sent this *Proposal* to the Anglican Bishops ; with the copy at Lambeth there is what appears to be a covering letter, dated 12 December 1705.³³ But the aged Stephens had not enough time left to achieve any result, for he died four months later. And so the College faded away. Prossalensis and Placicus had sailed to Holland in the summer of 1705, the former staying for some time in Amsterdam, where in the following year he published his little book, *The Heretic Teacher Cross-examined by his Orthodox Pupil*, a work in which, as Hearne says, ' he falls upon Dr. Woodroffe very smartly '. Hearne was told about the book by one of the Grecians of Gloucester Hall, so there was evidently still one in Oxford at that date (15 March 1707).³⁴ The solitary survivor may have been Helladius. In which case, when Helladius too departed for the Continent nothing was left of the scheme but ' Woodroffe's Folly '.

REFLECTIONS ON THE FAILURE OF THE COLLEGE

Some of the causes of failure have already been noted ; lack of financial support is clearly an important one. But how far is the fundamental cause to be found in the deficiencies of Woodroffe's own personality ? Barker points out that the contemporary judgments on Woodroffe are mostly hostile, and ascribes this in great part to the dislike inspired in contemporaries by Woodroffe's self-advertisement. His intellectual ability, at any rate in languages, was not seriously denied. Was he then just a clever adventurer ? If the word ' adventurer ' implies superficiality and lack of principle, that seems a very unfair judgment. That he was a careerist, we may allow. And, of course, one aspect of this was certain to make him very unpopular in Oxford during the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first of the eighteenth : namely,

³² *Collections* (O.H.S.), II, 276-7; IV, 349. Of the two views in PL. IV, the Malchair drawing is in the Ashmolean Museum (English XIX Malchair, No. 28), and the other in the British Museum (King's Library, XXXIV, 33-5).

³³ Lambeth MS. 929, f. 131.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, I, 339.

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the fact that he, the nominee of James II for the Deanery of Christ Church, should so readily accept the Glorious Revolution. In an Oxford largely Non-Juring and Jacobite, such a man was bound to be disliked. Add to this that he was making an experiment in education, and what is more, in the education of foreigners ; while the mind which is most characteristic of Oxford (I speak *honoris causa* !) is sceptical of educational innovation and rightly vigilant for academic charlatans. I do not think that Woodroffe was a charlatan, but he probably appeared to claim more attainments than he indisputably possessed. A man with unconventional ideas, who at the same time has a liking for being conspicuous and occasionally makes a ridiculous exhibition of himself—how little likely is one to forget Humphrey Prideaux's description of Woodroffe, when both men were students of Christ Church, standing at his window in Tom Quad all afternoon, toying with Mrs. Walcup and fanning himself with her fan !—such a man may fairly earn the name of crank, especially when like Woodroffe he lacks practical ability. (Yet Prideaux said in another letter to John Ellis that Woodroffe would make a better bishop than many people thought.) No, the Principal of Gloucester Hall was not a great administrator, nor even a passably good one. Without subscribing to the view that Woodroffe was an adventurer, I would suggest that the failure of the College was partly due to his lack of practical ability, and partly to the fact that his behaviour was such as to alienate the sympathy of those who might have given financial aid.

It seems unjust to accuse Woodroffe, as Barker has done, of a breach of faith, in that he tried to wean his Greek pupils from the doctrines of the Greek Church. The authorities of the Greek Church must have realized that the students would be instructed in Anglican doctrine ; Georgirenes had asked for such instruction, and Woodroffe's *Model* had proposed instruction in the controversies between the Greek and Roman Churches, and between the Roman Church and the Protestants, which implies a knowledge of the Anglican position. Assuming that Woodroffe believed that there were doctrinal and not merely liturgical differences between the Greek Church and the Church of England, I suspect that he further believed all such differences to be Romish accretions to Orthodoxy. He may therefore have hoped to introduce his pupils as a Reforming element into the Orthodox Church. But he certainly had no intention of seducing them from their allegiance to the Patriarch ; he was not acting like the Roman missionaries, who were proselytizing for their Church among Orthodox believers. And in aiming at a Reformation in the Orthodox Church, he would not be guilty of treacherous conduct.

Was the College in fact the pitiful failure that it is usually held to have been ? We must admit that it trained very few students, probably ten in all.

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We must admit too that some of the students behaved very scandalously. In that connexion, let us remember that the selection of students was not easy. The Greek ecclesiastical authorities probably did not exert themselves to choose suitable candidates, and the English diplomatic and consular officials in the Levant were tempted to send young men who would be likely to enter their service as interpreters. This practice was not likely to ensure suitable students for Woodroffe's scheme. And as for his acceptance of the infamous Seraphim, such mistakes may be made in the best academic circles ; it is not easy to detect at first sight the charlatans among foreign intellectuals. Woodroffe's fancy ran riot when he pictured the future of his pupils ; for proof we have the absurd scene described by Prossalensis, in which the Principal assigned to his young students the various patriarchal thrones ! Gloucester Hall produced no Patriarchs ; but at least three of the Greeks—Prossalensis, Helladius, and Placicus—profited greatly by their stay in Oxford, if only because they had access to the Bodleian Library and made good use of it. The contribution of Oxford life to the development of the Greek students is something which we have no means of assessing ; but it would be strange if they—and through them their fellow-countrymen—did not receive sufficient benefit for Woodroffe to feel that his efforts had not been wasted.

ALUMNI OF THE GREEK COLLEGE

We know for certain the names of ten students. These are : (a) the seven who signed the address in verse to Queen Anne, delivered by Simon Homerus on the occasion of her visit to Oxford in August 1702, and later published by Woodroffe together with the disputation about the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures. They were : Simon Homerus, George Homerus, George Aptal, John Aptal, George Marules, Michael Damiral and Stephen Constantine. (b) The three who travelled in Lord Paget's suite. They were : Francis Prossalensis, Alexander Helladius and Eustathius Placicus.

In addition it is probable that Seraphim of Mitylene, Matthew of Paros and Theodore Basilius of the Black Sea were also at Gloucester Hall. It seems unlikely that the total of alumni exceeded fifteen.³⁵

APPENDIX A

The printed *Model of a College*, which is to be found in the Bodleian (Wood 276 A, f. 381) and at Lambeth (Tracts, Universities, 2), was reproduced by Ffoulkes. The manuscript *Draught* which I print here is from Portland MS., Harley Papers, 713 F, Box of letters from correspondents W-Z ; it is endorsed 'Dr. Woodroffe's Proposals about Building a Greek College'. This draft was slightly modified for the printed *Model* ; for instance, the minimum age of entry was lowered from 16 to 14.

³⁵ E. D. Tappe, 'Alumni of the Greek College at Oxford, 1699-1705' in *Notes and Queries*, CC (March 1955), 110-14.

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A DRAUGHT OR MODEL OF A COLLEDGE OR HALL TO BE SETTLED IN THE UNIVERSITY FOR THE EDUCATION OF SOME YOUTHS OF THE GREEK CHURCH

As there is nothing is so much the distinguishing Character of a Christian as Charity, so neither is there anything whereby we can better demonstrate that Charity, than by our true compassion to those who professing the same faith with us (those of the Greek Communion I mean) have so long struggled for it, under the greatest Tyranny and Oppression of the Mahometans. It is by assisting them in such a manner as may render them capable to continue and maintain the Faith once delivered to the Saints, that this is chiefly to be done, and nothing is there whereby we can better hope to do it, than by lending them that Key of Knowledge which God hath in his great goodnesse intrusted us with, and that is by educating some of their youths in those Studies which may qualifie them for the work of that Gospell which was first preached among them, (a) but lyes so much neglected under their present Ignorance and Barbarity.

Which being a matter so highly for the honour of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and so greatly for the honour and security of that Reformed Faith we profess in Opposition to the Church of Rome, (b) whose great design it hath long bin, and still is, to corrupt them, and so just a peice of gratitude for that knowledge, as in Religion, so in most other parts of Learning, (c) which hath been deriv'd from those whom God hath in his Providence rais'd up in those parts to be such glorious Instruments to propagate the Truth, it is propos'd :

1. That there be a Colledge or Hall in the University, for the Education of twenty youths of the Communion, (viz) 5 out of each of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antiochia and Jerusalem, to be brought up here for the space of 5 years, or fewer, if in lesse time they shall have gone through the course of Studies, which shall be thought necessary for them, and then without any delay or pretence whatever to the contrary, sent back into their own Countrey. It being for the Service of their own Church and Countrey that this Charity is designed.

2. That in the said Colledge or Hall, they be furnished with Lodging, Meat, Drink, Cloaths, Medicines, Books, and whatever else shall be necessary for their Support, Studies or Innocent Recreations.

3. That the Language in which they shall converse for the two first years be the Ancient Greek, and that then, or sooner, as their attainments shall be, they may be entred into Latin, making that their constant Language for 1 or 2 other years, and when sufficiently advanced in these, they may be entred in the Hebrew.

4. That, as to the Ancient Philosophy, they begin with Aristotle and the Greek Scholiasts, from thence be led on to Plato &c, and afterwards be acquainted with the new Philosophy, joyning with these the study of their other ancient Authors, from thence be carried on to the Greek Fathers, at least to such of their writings, as shall most conduce to the explaining of the Holy Bible, and thereby fit them to be Learned and able Preachers in their own countrey.

5. That they be likewise acquainted with the State of the cheifest Controversies, as between their own Church and that of Rome, so between the Protestant and the Papist.

6. That a Governour of the said Colledge or Hall and 2 Tutors (who may be provided out of any other Colledge or Hall in the University) so also the place where this Colledge or Hall shall be, may be forthwith settled.

7. That the aforesaid Youths shall be all alike habited in the gravest sort of Habit that is worn in their own countrey, and that they wear no other either in the University or any where else.

8. That the usuall Age at which they come over be between 16 and 20, and that they may be already entred in the ancient Greek, and if there be any of them who understand the Turkish, Arabick, Persian, Armenian or Russian Language, that as many of them as can be had, may be such.

9. That at their first arriveall their Number, Names, Age, Parents, Countrey, the Patriarchat out of which they come may be written and fixt up in a faire Table in or near the most conspicuous part of the Turkey Walk upon the Royal Exchange : where, or at the Turkey House (if thought more proper), they shall be solemnly deliver'd into the care of him who is to be their Governour, who haveing receiv'd them shall forthwith present them to the Rt. Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, and in a day or two after take them down with him to the University.

10. That the Lodgings perpar'd to receive them be so contriv'd that each Classis (for they will be to be divided into 2 Classis) may have their little Chambers and Studies in the View or under the Call of their respective Tutor, who shall be alwaies ready, as to direct them in their Studies, so to be the Guardian of their manners and keep them constantly to the Language they are to converse in.

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11. That the Governour of the Colledge or Hall constantly preside at all Publick Exercises, frequently visiting them in their Chambers and daily setting out and taking an account of their Studies.

12. That the Scholars go not out of the Colledge or Hall without Leave from the Governour thereof, not without a Companion by him to be appointed, to recompense which Restraint Places for Innocent Exercises and Recreation may be allotted within themselves.

13. That there be no Vacation in the said Colledge or Hall, but only left to the Discretion of the Governour to give what Relaxations he shall see fitt.

14. That as to the time of their solemn Devotions (which shall alwaies be in Greek), half an hour after 5 in the morning, half an hour before supper, and a Quarter after 9 at Night shall be the prefixt seasons, at each of which in their turns read a Greek Chapter out of the Holy Bible.

15. That for their better instruction in Religion, an Orthodox Catechism be compil'd in the ancient and modern Greek, as for their present use here, so to be carried with them at their Return to be distributed among poor Christians of the Eastern Church.

16. That for the satisfaction of the University, they shall twice every Term perform Publick Exercise in the Schools by declaiming once and disputing once, as shall be directed by the Vice-chancellor.

17. That for the Satisfaction of others who may be concernd and may not have the Opportunity of taking Cognizance of what is done in the University, an account of their Progress in their Studies may from year to year, or oftner (if thought fitt), to the Rt. Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, and a Duplicate thereof at the same time sent to the Turkey Company by their Governour with a particular account in writing of the whole Progress each shall have made in his Studies in the time of his stay here, to be sent with them to the respective Patriarch to whom they belong.

18. That as to all things beside what are above mentioned relating to good manners and Discipline &c, they be subject to the Statutes of the University.

Upon the perusal of the abovewritten Draught or Model, and in full confidence that all things shall be effectually performed as it is proposed, as also that the summes subscrib'd shall be Employ'd by such Trustees as the Contributors shall appoint to the uses above-mentioned, and a faithfull account of the same be quarterly given in by the Governour of the Said Youths, or the Officers of the said Colledge or Hall to such person or persons as the aforesaid Trustees shall from time to time appoint, with this farther Proviso that in case this be not faithfully and constantly done, the Charity shall forthwith cease.

We whose names are here underwritten do promise that we will contribute towards the maintenance and Education of the aforesaid Youths the Summes of

[BLANK]

NOTES IN MARGIN

- (a) See the great extent of it by St. Pauls preaching. Thessal. 1.1.5.6.7.8.
- (b) This is done in the Collegium de propaganda fide in Rome, and in other their seminaries where they entertain fugitive Greeks, whom having debauched to their erroneous Principles, they clancularly send into their own Countrey, or employ them elsewhere abroad to insinuate their Errours and make the world believe that there is little or no difference between them and the Church of Rome. Such was the Design of the false titular Archbishop of Samos and his crew some years since here in England.
- (c) Such are those who are so well known under the names of the Greek Fathers, with their Philosophers and other famous Writers.

APPENDIX B

FROM THE PAGET MSS.

I .

[These extracts from a paper endorsed 'Copy of a letter from the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of London to Mr. Edward Williams the 16th August 1695, received the 11 March 1696'.]

The inclosed will give you an account of a design there is among us for the service of our brethren of the Greek Communion; it is encouraged and promoted by our Governors both in church and state. . . . The inclosed prints show you the intention and method in which matters will be here managed, and the letters to the Patriarchs . . . wee have time onely to send one single copy of what wee desire may be communicated to them all.

[Difficulties]

1. That the Turks will not suffer any of their Subjects, for whose heads they receive an annual tax, to go out of the Countrey, and when that difficulty shall be over,

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2. That the friends and relations of the Youths will not part with them, but for profit sake (their poverty tempting them to it) will themselves be apt to make some Avantias to our prejudice ; and then

3. That the jealousy those of the Greek Communion watch over all others with, will make them unwilling to venture their countrymen to receive education abroad, or to receive them with that natural kindness as they show to others, at their return.

[Reply]

1. The first of these wee suppose will be sufficiently provided against, if the Tax required for such youths be engaged for to the Government, which our friends heer are willing to do. . . . If wee have the youths from such places where such a tax is not required, then all this caution will be superseded.

2. As to the second, wee are apt to think there will be little fear from their friends, because they who are poor will be thereby eased of a great burden, in having their children bred up at the charges of others, and thereby fitted for profitable employment : which you see is particularly in our thoughts by what you read in our proposal, and in the letter to the Patriarchs, of our intentions to bring them up in the knowledge of Physick and the Mathematicks &c, which are so much desired and useful in those parts, and as to any Avantias from them, there will be little reason to apprehend that, if the Patriarchs and bishops interest themselves in this affair.

3. Wee flatter ourselves that they have the least jealousy against us of England of any part of the Christian world besides themselves. ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ or lovers of the Greeks, is the stile wee have always given ourselves, and, as we are informed, they still allow us. The great differences and jealousies are between them and the church of Rome : as to what differences are between us and them, they were never carried so high as to make a breach or Shisme. . . .

[How shall they be maintained when they return?]

Those who propose their maintenance here, will be likewise ready to make a provision for them at their return, if that shall be judged necessary; tho we cannot imagine how those who shall be sent with the privity and good liking of the Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops . . . should not be very wellcome to them at their return, and forthwith advanced to the best places and offices among them, for which they will be so much better qualyified than others, who shall not have had the same advantages to improve themselves. Besides it may be as effectual to our design to make some presents to the respective Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops themselves, as to provide otherwise for the maintenance of the youths at their return.

We think however, the French of late may have made some figure in that court, that wee shall be able through the advantage wee have in this part of the world above them, and by our growing influence at the Port, to do them much greater service than the French have of late don for their religion. . . .

. . . The Honourable the Turkey Company heer [have] been pleased to grant such Youths, as shall from time to time be sent hither and return'd back again, a free passage in their ships ; so that what Youths shall be design'd to be transmitted to us, will there find a comfortable passage, and for the charges you or any of our friends shall be at in sending for or bringing them to the ships, wee have herewith sent you credit, that is to say, the Honourable Turkey Company have sent orders to their Agents in the severall Factories to furnish whatever mony shall be useful in this affair.

His Excellency My Lord Pagett hath likewise ben acquainted with the design, and hath promised it his Patronage. I waited on his Lordship in order thereunto, before he left England, and had the assurance of his favour herein. Only his Lordship commanded me to give him a more full account of what was desired by letter, which I hereby request you to doe ; and I hope you will likewise find his Lordship prepared for what we ask by letters from Sir Henry Ashhurst and others of the Company. . . . Our earnest request is that one way or other you would please . . . to take care that such a number of youths as we propose, may be found out ; the number is not so great, but that in several places they may be gathered up without observation and sent on board in several places as chance-passengers ; for their country is not so strait a prison, but that daily many of them seek their liberty abroad and return again at their pleasure to their own homes. . . . What is heer written I am commissioned to let you know, comes by the particular direction of the Rt. Rev. and Rt. Honourable the Lord Bishop of London. . . .

Reverend Sir,
Your most affectionate brother,
faithful friend and humble servant
Benj : Woodroffe

I presume I need not recommend it to you to take care that the youths sent over be of the most virtuous and ingenious that can be found.

THE GREEK COLLEGE AT OXFORD, 1699-1705

The instructions with the whole design, it is desired you would particularly recommend to the Chaplains of Aleppo and Smyrna, whose assistance is earnestly asked and depended on, as there shall be occasion.

2

For Dr. Benjamin Woodroff.

Constantinople primo Augusti 1696.

If your well intended design could have had the desired success in these parts, I should not have delayed the notice of it so long. Your intentions are well meant and very good, but they are not so taken here. I have severall times used means to acquaint the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem with your purpose and have explained to them the advantage it might be to their church, to have young men educated under the care of an able worthy Gentleman, by whom they would be carryd on in those studies, which are proper for the service of the Greek church. The Patriarch of Jerusalem (a discret, well temperd man) received the proposition fairly, and seems to be sensible of the benefit the thing might be to them, but says—and so does Signor Mavrocordati—that they can not do, in this or many other things, what they would, because being in (and consequently under the power of) an arbitrary government, they can not send out such young men without leave from the Port, which will not be given. Signor Mavrocordati has told me also that as the affairs of the Greek Church are now, no Patriarch or Ecclesiastick Authority here has power to dispose of any young man upon any account; he says perhaps private men, Masters of Families, might be persuaded to send their children to be educated in England, but could not be induced to do so by their clergy. In short he told me plainly, that the thing, tho kindly intended by you, as they are willing and ready gratefully to acknowledge, is not practicable here, at present.

The Patriarch of Constantinople (a rougher man) was so far from liking the offer, that he scarce received it civilly. He let me know, there were conveniences establishd here for the education of their youth, and they did not need any other. In short the Patriarch and the Ecclesiasticks of the Greek Church here are so full of passions, animosities and intrigues, to carry on their ends and manage their privat interests, that the publick is totally neglected, and the church, by that means and by the general great ignorance and distraction under which it labours, is almost irrecoverably lost. I should be too tedious, if I should enter upon a more particular relation of this poor distracted church's circumstances; I therefore return to the matter in which, as things are, nothing can be done to answer your expectation.

The letter you sent mee was shodw to the Principall men of the Profession, but after perusal they returned it to me, and giving me no encouragement to deliver it, I thought it not fit to expose the matter and the persons concernd in it to the slights it was like to receive, and therefore I keep it by mee. If you can send any directions that may make me hop my endeavours to advance your design will prove more successfull then they have ben hetherto, I entreat they may be sent, for I earnestly desire that I may have means here to serve you, for I am entierly

your affectionate, humble servant

3

Dr. Woodroffe
Reverend Sir

8 January 1696/7

By my letters sent in answer to yours of the 16th August last, you will find that the Patriarch of Constantinople does not receive the kind and well intended proposition you sent hither for the education of Greek youths, so candidly as I hoped he would have don; but little better was expected from a person that does not employ himself for the benefit of his Church. I need not repeat what I have said before; only add at present that finding no good would be don that way, I have ben advised by severall considerable persons of that communion, to use the more practicable method, and receive youths from particular persons (tho not by the direction, yet with the approbation of the Patriarch) to be educated in the University under your care and direction. Accordingly I sent two persons, one the son, the other the relation, of a considerable man heer (Kehaya or Agent for the Prince of Vallachia); they are earnestly recommended to you, and the more particularly because the account they give their friends of their reception and entertainment there, may induce others to send their sons into England.

By this means the end you propose will be obtained, tho not by the way you designed; the Gospel will be advanced, and the concerns and interest of your country will be provided for, by breeding such youths as be lively and ingenious, to be Druggermen for the Nation in this place.

I need not use any motifs to persuade you to prosecute the pious charitable design you have layd for the purpose. Your just compassion for the sad condition in which the Greek Church is at present, and your affection for the Nation's interests, are encouragements, which will induce you to go on with the work resolutely and cheerfully; wherein I have sent orders to my Son about contributing my assistance, and take leave to subscribe myself;

E. D. TAPPE

4

To the Bishop of London

Constantinople 8th January 1697

My Lord

When by his Majesty's order (with the Honourable Levant Company's choice) I came Ambassador hither, Dr. Woodroffe gave me propositions for the procuring from hence some young men of the Greek Communion, to be educated in Gloucester Colledge under his care and direction.

Since my being heer, the Doctor has writ to the Patriarch of Constantinople concerning the same business. I have often used severall means to know how the Patriarch liked the motion, and I have ben told and know that he does not relish it, for having once sent my Chaplain to himself, he was very indifferently received; the Patriarch told him that he had settled a Scoole for the purpose, which would sufficiently serve the turn.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem received the offer more civilly. He was sensible of the kindness intended by it, and returned thanks for it, but did not say any thing that might answer Dr. Woodroffe's expectation; and I easily observed, nothing would be had from them. So that, supposing the matter intended is a benefit to the Greek Church, I conceivd that if the end could be obtained the manner of attaining it was indifferent. And therefore with the advice of the most learned and reasonable persons of that Church, I used this more practicable way to compass the purpose, and have prevailed with a person of note here (CapeKehaya or Resident of the Prince of Vallachia) to send his Son and a near relation of his, tho not by the Patriarchs' orders, yet with their recommendations, to be educated in England. They by my son and Mr. Stephens, the bearer hereof, will be presented to Your Lordship with my humble intreaties, that they may be so disposed of by Your Lordships's favour, that the account they shall transmit to their friends from thence may encourage others to send a supply of youths henceforward, to receive the benefit which is charitably designed, and by Your Lordship's pious and generous example, encouragement and patronage will, I assure myself, be continued and promoted. Your Lordship's noble and considering mind will weigh the many benefits this may occasion, for the Honour of God and the advancement of the Gospel be the great ends; yet the advantage and interest our Country are like to receive, will be very considerable. Heer, the Church will not only have a supply of able Pastors, but the Ambassador the convenience of usefull and understanding Drogomen, which are extremely wanted at present and can not well be had by other methods. These considerations encourage my taking this liberty to write to Your Lordship, and I have the more easily complyd with my inclinations, because I have hereby an opportunity to offer my most humble respects and to assure Your Lordship that I am with great sincerite

P.S. Upon confidence that Your Lordship please to give me leave to offer my mind to the stock designed towards the carrying on so good a work, I have directed my Son to pay yearly 20 lb to such persons and by such methods as Your Lordship shall be pleased to appoint.

5

Oxford April 25, 1703.

My most Honoured Lord,

[Compliments on Paget's initiation of the project]

. . . Your Lordship's application to Her Majesty, in which my Lord Bishop of London will join with you (and I have presum'd to write to his Lordship on that subject) will certainly finde a gracious Audeince. What was done in this affair in his late Majestie's reign and what since her Majesty ascended the throne, my Lord of London will inform your Honour. What difficulties I have met with, I am unwilling to mention. But whilst a Fund hath been looking out for their maintenance (as his late Majesty order'd), the burden hath chiefly fell on me: and it hath been a great discouragement to the youths themselves to understand that there hath been no care taken of them by the public. And the advantage our Enimies of the Church of Rome have made of it, hath been to allure them with the promise of great rewards to accept of better conditions in France: and three have already broken away from us and are now in France.

Our design for breeding the youths of the Greek Church hath raised an Emulation to do the same in France, and there is a society settled to that purpose there, as there hath been long since at Rome; and how busie the Priests and Jesuits every where are, your Lordship too well knows.

As to my own part, I trust in God. Nothing will weary me from giving my best pains to serve them. As to the learning and knowledge of Religion these here have attain'd to, I hope we have no great reason to be ashamed of. Only I should be much troubled to have been whitting tools to put into the hands of the Philistins.

The Ancient Greek, which they were utter strangers to, when they came first hither, they read and

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understand as their Mother-Tongue ; the Latin they understand so well, as to be able to discourse and dispute in that tongue. The English they speak as if they were Natives. In the Hebrew they are moderate proficients. They perform all exercises promiscuously with our Under-graduates and Batchelors of Arts, and some of them dispute with us in Divinity in the Chappel. They are well entred in all the Systems of Philosophy and in the Mathematicks, and perform all exercises indifferently either in Greek or Latin, &c.

Our discouragements therefore are the greater that, being thus in a manner fitted for every thing, (for besides this they have the French and lingua franca) we are in danger of having them every day snatch't from us : though I must confess, if the corruption of human nature was not against us, I should not fear, but that they will be an over match for the subtlest of the Romish Sophisters. I know they have the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which will be a seed growing up in them, and Truth must prevail.

But whilst I write this to beg your Lordship's favour in representing the affair to her Majesty in order to our obtaining a Settlement for these, who are here, and for a succession to be kept up, I would not divert your Honour from sending those to us, who as I understand are come in your retinue out the East. . . .

In all faithfull Duty
Benj. Woodroffe.

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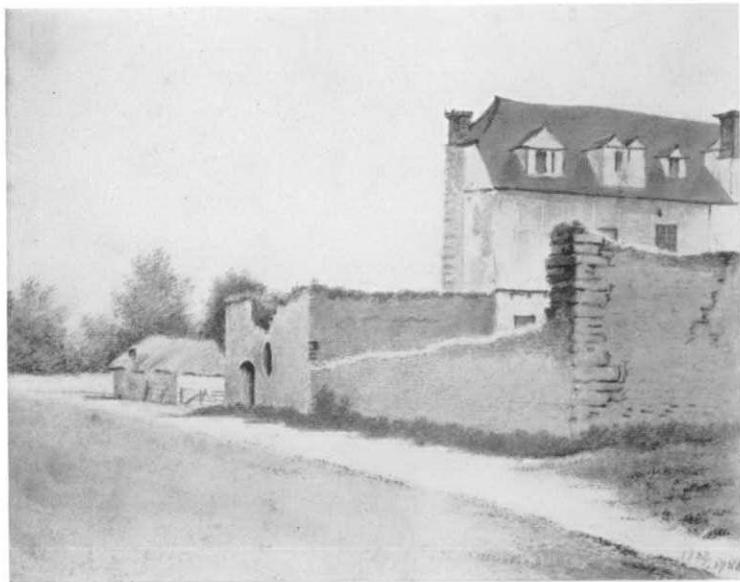
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³⁶ I am very grateful to the Marquess of Anglesey and to the Duke of Portland for allowing me to print extracts from the Paget MSS. and Harley Papers respectively.

PLATE IV



A



B

WOODROFFE'S FOLLY

A. View from N.E. (7 June 1783). By J. B. Malchair

B. View from E. By an unknown artist

(The ruin at the E. end is the Chapel of Beaumont Palace)