

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

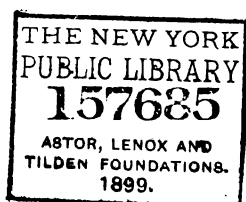
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1. EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, NOW WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY. BY REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., LL. D., LATE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE. ✓
2. WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA.: AN ARTICLE FROM THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER, 1838. BY SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL, M. D.
3. LETTER ON THE LOCATION OF ROBERT ALEXANDER'S SCHOOL, JOHN BROWN'S RESIDENCE, AND MOUNT PLEASANT. BY JUDGE JAMES T. PATTON.

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PREFACE.

This little work was undertaken about the year 1840, at the request of the professors and Society of Alumni of the College, who were to publish it in a separate volume for circulation. I found the undertaking much more laborious than I had anticipated, because the old records of the institution were mutilated and defective, and much information had to be collected from various and sometimes distant sources. This circumstance, with the pressure of official duties, and failing health, caused such delay, that the first part was not finished until 1844, nor the second part until 1847. When, after so long a time, I at last got the manuscript ready for publication, circumstances had changed, the yearly meetings of the Society of Alumni had ceased, and the work lay on my hands uncalled for. Resolved neither to publish at my own cost nor to solicit the aid of others, on the eve of my intended resignation of the presidency, I expected the work to die with me; until, subsequently to my removal westward, I was informed that it would be an acceptable contribution to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. After some unavoidable delay, I have now revised the manuscript and cheerfully send it for publication in our Virginia magazine (one of the best in America) as a historical document of Virginia. The subject, though local and particular, has afforded me occasion to notice many facts, historical and biographical, not immediately connected with the academy from which the College sprang; and in the second part, embracing a more recent period, I have interwoven with the facts many comments and opinions concerning the general management of literary institutions and the subject of liberal education. After so long experience in these matters, I thought that I might, without presumption, speak with freedom about them.

The reader will, I trust, find this little history to be composed of something more interesting than the commonplace incidents of a seminary of learning. But if on reading a few chapters he finds it destitute of both amusement and instruction, he can leave the remainder unread and console himself with the reflection that if he has lost an hour in its perusal, the poor author has lost many a weary hour in its composition.

HENRY RUFFNER.

MONTVOIS, (NEAR KANAWHA SALINES,)

October, 1857.

This work is now published by the order of the Board of Trustees, with notes prepared by William Henry Ruffner, LL. D., son of the author, and the Committee. It is believed it will prove a valuable contribution to the history of the Institution. With it are published Dr. Campbell's article in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, so often alluded to in the history, and an interesting letter from Judge James T. Patton, on the location of Robert Alexander's school, John Brown's residence and Mount Pleasant. This number will be followed by other numbers containing papers which serve to elucidate the history of the University.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,
WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,
HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,
Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
September, 1890.

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EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

PART I.

**CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY TO THE
DONATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON AND THE RESIGNATION
OF WILLIAM GRAHAM, THE FIRST RECTOR.**

CHAPTER I.

**INTRODUCTORY NOTICE OF THE PRESBYTERIAN SETTLEMENTS
IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.**

From the year 1606, when Jamestown was first permanently settled, it required about one hundred years for the infant colony of Virginia to extend itself upwards to the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge. The settlements on the upper branches of the Rapahannock, and in the Northern Neck, between this river and the Potomac, seem first to have approached the high mountain barrier, whose tops, covered with a blue mist, had long attracted the eyes of the settlers in the distant plains below. Near the Potomac the Ridge is less rugged and forbidding in its aspects, than it is farther toward the southwest. When it was surmounted by exploring parties of white men and displayed to their view the beauty and fertility of the vale of Shenando, and of the uplands beyond it; the temptation was irresistible and hardy adventurers soon braved every danger for the sake of a possession so alluring. They began to form settlements on the rich low grounds of the Shenando, but soon ventured upon the pleasant uplands beyond. About the same time the settlements in Pennsylvania were rapidly spreading

themselves along the Great Limestone Valley towards the Potomac, and some enterprising families passed over into Virginia and seated themselves on the same rich uplands. There in a basin-shaped cavity was founded the town of Winchester, where the facility of obtaining water proved more attractive than fine prospects from the surrounding hills. This, the oldest¹ town in the Great Valley of Virginia, continued to be a frontier post until the French were driven out of Canada.

Happily for these infant settlements, the country between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany was not inhabited by Indians, except by a band of Tuscaroras on the creek which bears their name. The white settlers near these Tuscaroras were chiefly Quakers, from Pennsylvania, "William Penn's People," whom the Indians well knew and justly regarded as friends to their race, because they were men of peace, and never occupied Indian lands until they had purchased them for a fair equivalent.

As the eastern part of our Valley lay equally convenient to settlers from Pennsylvania and from lower Virginia, its population became a mixture of English Virginians, and German and Scotch-Irish Pennsylvanians. Some of the latter were recent emigrants from Europe, who had landed at Philadelphia, and sooner or later, made their way thence to the new settlements in Virginia.

The German Pennsylvanians, being passionate lovers of fat lands, no sooner heard what quantities of them their brethren had found unoccupied in the Valley of Virginia, than they began to pour themselves forth, with their brethren from Europe, over the country above Winchester. Finding the main Shenando mostly pre-occupied, they followed up its North and South Branches on both sides of the Massanutten, or Peaked Mountain, until they filled up all the rich vales of the country for the space of sixty miles. So completely did they occupy this part of the Great Valley, that the few stray English or Irish settlers among them did not sensibly affect the homogeneousness of the population. They long retained, and for the most part do still retain, their German language, and the German simplicity of their manners.

¹ See Campbell's *History of Virginia*, Chapter LIV, p. 428 ; also LVII, p. 438.

Of late years, indeed, a sensible transition has been in progress about the borders of their settlements, and about the villages where law and trade have caused a mixture of population, and made inroads upon the speech, manners, and dress imported from their *fatherland*. This change has grieved their old people, who cannot give up the energetic language of their sires, though its classical beauties be unknown to them, nor the plain homespun dress of old times, nor see their children give them up, without sorrowing for the degeneracy of their race. Not a few of these Germans of the Valley have become anglicized by dispersion, where they have been led by the temptation of good farms to plunge into the mass of their Scotch-Irish neighbors. Less disposed than others to distant migrations and better qualified by their free labor to renovate the exhausted soils of the country, they are gradually filling up¹ the vacancies left by their emigrating neighbors and slowly amalgamating with those who remain. But without an efficient school system in Virginia another century will pass away before they become an intelligent people, or adopt fully the language and manners of our general population.

How far they might have originally filled up the Valley, if the way had been clear, we cannot tell; but ere they had reached the head springs of the Shenando, their immigrant columns were intercepted by another race (James River Settlers) who soon filled up an equal space beyond them in this new land of promise.

For the want of towns and roads, the new settlers in the Valley were supplied with many needful articles by pedlers who went from house to house. Among these itinerant venders of small wares, was one Morlin (or Marland) who, in Williamsburg, met with John Salling, an enterprising German, who, struck with his account of the Valley, came up with him to explore it. From Winchester they proceeded southwestwardly far beyond the settlements, to the vale of the James River. Here at the mouth of the North River, Salling found a beautiful bottom, overshadowed with mountains, where he determined to make a settlement. The exploring tour ended here. Salling returned to Williamsburg, obtained a grant for the beautiful bottom and settled upon it with a brother of his named Peter Adam Salling. John remained a

¹ 1857.

bachelor, but Peter Adam was married, and his posterity are still found in the country. There are inconsistent traditional reports of his captivity and adventures among the Indians and Spaniards of Louisiana. The one given by Hugh P. Taylor and after him by Withers, in his *Border Warfare*, is quite romantic; and pity 'tis, if it be not the true one. But there is another, different in some material particulars, floating somewhat vaguely in the traditional recollections of the family. Howbeit, they agree that he was for several years a captive, was taken to the lower Mississippi and returned to his family after his strange and eventful wanderings. The Sallings appear to have been the first settlers upon the waters of the James River above the Blue Ridge. Not long after John Salling had made his tour of exploration with Morlin, two strangers from Britain, John Lewis¹ and John Mackey, came to Williamsburg, where as tradition relates they heard Salling's story with admiration. They heard of a broad valley beyond the Blue Mountains, a variegated region of hills and vales, watered by clear streams; its soil fertile, its lower grounds covered only with shrubbery, and a rich herbage grazed by herds of buffalo, and its hills crowned with forests,—a land of beauty, for the most part as yet untouched by the hand of man, and offering unbought homes and easy subsistence to all who had the enterprise to scale the mountain barrier, by which it had been so long concealed from the colonists. Charmed with the description, they came to the valley and with their own eyes saw that the report was true. They determined, therefore, to settle in this new Arcadia, and having the whole land before them where to choose, Lewis selected his residence near the middle fork of the Shenando, on a creek which bears his name, near the present town of Staunton. Mackey went farther up the Middle River and settled near the Buffalo Gap, a place where the wild herds were accustomed to pass through the North Mountain. This was the sort of place that Mackey loved, for his heart was more delighted with hunting than with the tame pursuits of agriculture.

¹ See Peyton's *History of Augusta County*. He says John Lewis came to Pennsylvania from Ireland and moved thence into the Valley with Joist Hite. From the Opecon he went to Bellefonte, near Staunton, and there settled. Dr. Ruffner follows Campbell and Foote, but Waddell seems to prefer Peyton's account.—W. H. R.

Lewis, who was evidently a man of energy and forethought, obtained authority from the government to locate 100,000 acres of land in separate parcels, in the vacant country around him. While he was exploring the country to select good lands Mackey would frequently accompany him for the pleasure of hunting the buffalo. The result was, that Mackey died, as he had lived, a poor hunter; but that Lewis provided for his family a rich inheritance of lands. Possessed of this and of the inherent energy of their founder, the Lewis family afterwards occupied a distinguished rank among the families of Western Virginia.

In the spring of the year 1736, Lewis, on a visit to Williamsburg, met with Benjamin Burden who had lately come over as agent for Lord Fairfax, proprietor of the Northern Neck. Burden accepted Lewis's invitation to visit him in his new home in the Valley. He spent several months with his friend and hunted the buffalo with him and his sons Samuel and Andrew. But he was a more provident hunter than Mackey. The party happened once to take a young buffalo calf, which Samuel and Andrew Lewis tamed, and gave to Burden to take with him to Williamsburg. This sort of animal was unknown in lower Virginia; the calf would, therefore, be an interesting curiosity at the seat of government. Burden presented the shaggy young monster to Governor Gooch. The governor was so delighted with this rare pet, and so pleased with the donor¹ that he promptly entered an order in his official book, authorizing Benjamin Burden to locate 500,000 acres of land, or any less quantity, on the waters of the Shenando and James Rivers on the conditions that he should not interfere with any previous grants, and that within ten years he should settle at least one hundred families upon the granted lands. On these conditions he should be freely entitled to one thousand acres adjacent to every house, with the privilege of entering as much more of the contiguous lands at the rate of one shilling per acre. Burden returned forthwith to Britain for emigrants, and the next year, 1737, brought over upwards of a hundred families to settle upon his granted lands. At this time the spirit of emigration was

¹ There is such an air of romance about this story of the calf, and of its influence upon Burden's grant, that I will quote Withers as my authority. It may be literally true. Greater events have often sprung from less causes.

particularly rife among the Presbyterians in the Northern parts of Ireland and Scotland, and in the adjacent parts of England. Burden's colonists were mostly Irish Presbyterians, who, being of Scottish extraction, were often called Scotch-Irish. A few of the native Scotch and Northern English were mixed with the early settlers, but all, or nearly all, of the same Presbyterian stamp. Among the primitive emigrants to Burden's grant, we meet with the names of some who have left a numerous posterity, now dispersed far and wide, from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi and beyond it; such as Ephraim McDowell, Archibald Alexander, John Patton, Andrew Moore, Hugh Telford, John Matthews, &c.

The first party was soon joined by others, mostly of their connections and acquaintances in the mother country. These again drew others after them and they all increased and multiplied, until ere the first generation had passed away the whole land was filled with them. Then they began to send forth the colonies to new lands, southward and westward, until now, there is scarce a county in the Valley of the Mississippi, where some of their descendants may not be found.

Although some lands on the upper branches of the Shenando were not included in Burden's grant, yet from the German settlements upwards to the vale of James River, the population was generally Presbyterian, so that the whole mass for sixty miles or more along the Valley was scarcely less homogeneous and peculiar than the mass of Germans below them.

Few of the old colonists of Virginia migrated to these parts of the Valley. They lived by the cultivation of tobacco. Tobacco was the sole staple of their trade; tobacco was their money; an Arcadian life among green pastures and herds of cattle had no charms for them; tobacco was associated with all their ideas of pleasure and of profit. But how was a hogshead of tobacco to be rolled¹ to market through the rugged defiles of the Blue Ridge? Not until roads and navigation offered new facilities of trade, and the Indian weed itself lost some of its importance did the Valley cease to repel settlers from the lowlands of Virginia. Hence the

¹ It was the custom of the planters in those times and of many long afterwards to carry their tobacco to market by attaching wheels to the ends of the hogsheads and thus rolling them by means of draft horses over their level roads.

mixture of heterogeneous elements in the population, has never, until lately, been sufficient to vary the true blue hue of their primitive Scotch-Irish Presbyterianism.

When, in addition to the names before mentioned, we give others of the more numerous and influential families, long settled on Burden's grant,—the Prestons, the Paxtons, the Pattons, the Pattersons, the Lyles, the Grigsbys, the Stuarts, the Crawfords, the Cumminses, the Carutherses, the Wallaces, the Willsons, the Campbells, the McCampbells, the McClungs, the McClures, the McCues, the McKees, the McCowns, &c., &c., no one acquainted with the race that imbibed the indomitable spirit of John Knox, can fail to recognize the relationship.

One who is of a different race may be permitted to speak freely of their characteristics.

They had no sooner found a home in the wilderness, than they betook themselves to clearing fields, building houses and planting orchards, like men who felt themselves now settled, and were disposed to cultivate the arts of civilized life. Few of them ran wild in the forest, or joined the bands of white hunters, who formed the connecting link between the savage aborigines and the civilized tillers of the soil.

They showed less disposition than the English colonists to engage in traffic and speculative enterprises. Without being dull or phlegmatic, they were sober and thoughtful, keeping the native energy of their feelings under restraint, and therefore capable, when exigencies arose, of calling forth exertions as strenuous and persevering as the occasion might require.

In their devotion to civil liberty, they differed not from the majority of their fellow-colonists. Their circumstances in a new country, planted by themselves, far remote from the metropolitan government, and even the air of the wild mountains which they breathed, fostered and strengthened their ancestral spirit of freedom.

As Presbyterians, neither they nor their forefathers would submit to an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and their detestation of civil tyranny descended to them from the Covenanters of Scotland. Hence, in the dispute between the colonies and the mother country, the Presbyterians of the Valley, and indeed throughout the colo-

nies, were almost unanimously Whigs of the firmest and most unconquerable spirit. Those of our mountains were amongst the bravest and most effective militia, when called into the field. General Washington, in the darkest days of the Revolutionary struggle, expressed his confidence in their indomitable spirit;—when he said that if all other resources should fail, he might yet repair with a single standard to West¹ Augusta,² and rally a band of patriots, who would meet the enemy at the Blue Ridge, and there establish the boundary of a free empire in the West. This saying of the Father of his Country has been variously reported, but we have no reason to doubt that he did in some form declare his belief that in the last resort he could yet gather a force in Western Virginia which the victorious armies of Britain could not subdue.

Another characteristic of these people was their stiff Calvinistic, or as some would call it, Puritanical morality. Founded on religious principle, this morality was sober, firm and consistent, though in some of its aspects too stern to be altogether winning, and often unadorned by that refinement of manners which imparts a charm to the exercise of virtue in the common intercourse of life. But much of their austerity should be forgiven, in consideration of the precious substance of virtue within it. Their moral character was a rough diamond, but it was nevertheless a diamond which would brighten most under the hardest rubs.

The root of their morality was, as we have intimated, religious principle, deeply grounded by education, and nurtured by constant attendance on religious exercises.

¹ In Irving's *Life of Washington* (and in Marshall's), the phrase is not *West Augusta*, but only *Augusta*,—(then including Rockbridge, Botetourt, &c.)—two companies of whose soldiers were with Washington at Braddock's defeat, also at the Battles of the Great Meadows, Grant's Hill, &c., &c.,—while *West Augusta* was a distinct territory (represented in the first Virginia Convention) organized and named about 1777, including Pittsburg and adjacent country, now Pennsylvania. All the testimony of history I can find seems to prove that Washington did not refer to *West Augusta* (*i. e.*, Pittsburg and Pennsylvania) but meant and said *Augusta*.—(*Note by* COL. B. CHRISTIAN.)

² Augusta County then included the present County of Rockbridge, and extended westward across the Alleghany. This, as the central territory of Western Virginia, was to be, if necessary, the gathering place for the last struggle against British domination.

No sooner had they provided necessary food and shelter for their families, than they began to provide also for the decent worship of God. They built churches and called pastors to the full extent of their ability. Their pastors were either from the old country or from the Scotch-Irish settlements in Pennsylvania, from which some families of the same stock migrated to this part of Virginia. While their settlements were sparse their churches were necessarily few and far asunder. Consequently some families had to go an inconvenient distance to church. Nevertheless they went, male and female, old and young, on horses,—some of them ten or even fifteen miles to the house of God regularly on the Lord's day.¹ These were the right sort of people to found a commonwealth that should stand the wear and tear of a hundred ages.

Some of the churches built by the first generation are yet standing, substantial monuments of their pious zeal. They are constructed of the solid, imperishable limestone of the Valley. Others have been replaced by larger and fairer, but less venerable structures of brick. In building some of the primitive stone churches, before roads, wagons, and saw-mills could facilitate the collection and preparation of materials, they had to resort to some rather singular modes of conveyance. The stone lay convenient, the beams of timber could be dragged upon the ground by teams of horses, but sand for mortar could be found only about the beds of rivers that flowed out of the sandstone mountains. The (New) Providence congregation packed all the sand used in the walls of their churches from a place six miles distant, sack by sack, on the backs of horses. And what is now almost incredible, the fair wives and daughters of the congregation undertook this part of the work, while the men labored at the stone and timber. The fact will appear less miraculous when we consider that neither negro-slavery² nor the false refinements of wealth and fashion had yet invaded this land

¹ Many of them both male and female walked ten miles to church, some of them carrying their shoes and stockings under their arms until they reached the last water before arriving at the church. Here they would wash and clothe their feet.—W. H. R.

² The author was an anti-slavery man, as was James McDowell, Samuel McDowell Moore, David E. Moore, and many other of the noblest of the Scotch-Irish as well as of the German and English men of Virginia of that day, but they were slave-holders and not fanatical.—W. H. R.

of green valleys. Let not the great-granddaughters of these women blush for them, however deeply they might blush to be themselves found employed in such rough and useful labor. For ourselves we admire the conduct of these females; it was not only excusable, not only praiseworthy, it was almost, if not quite heroic. It takes Spartan mothers to rear Spartan men. These were among the women, whose sons and grandsons sustained the confidence of Washington in the most disastrous period of the Revolutionary War. But the times have changed, our free mountain air has become tainted; the labor of our fields is done in great part by fettered hands; our manners have become more refined than our morals, and instead of the sturdy but intelligent simplicity that once reigned through all the land, a half savage ignorance has grown up in its nooks and dells, while in the open country a mixed population shows much that is excellent, but upon the whole a failing spirit of energetic industry and enterprise. But let us return to the patriarchal times of this Presbyterian population.

Their social intercourse was chiefly religious. When the Lord's Supper was administered in a church, the services usually began on a Friday and continued four days; a plurality of ministers was present and the people flocked to the place from all the country round; those who lived near giving hospitable entertainment to those from a greater distance. It was customary to have two of these sacramental meetings annually in each pastoral charge, one in the spring and one in the autumn. The meetings of the Presbytery, which circulated through the principal churches, drew together a large concourse, and were celebrated as the chief religious festivals of the country.

But except these solemn festivals and the weekly meetings at church, the families of the country had little social intercourse. The young people would sometimes visit their neighbors' houses, or their more distant relations; and weddings were sometimes attended by considerable parties. Then there was a supper of the best, talking, and sometimes a few innocent country sports; but as to wine, there was none in the country, and as to dancing it was a prohibited amusement. Nothing was known of the gay amusements common in lower Virginia. Dinner parties, balls, cards, horse-racing, and all such things were either despised as vanities or

loathed as abominations. In this primitive society, there were few, if any, roistering blades, broken-down gentlemen, gamblers, spend-thrifts, or indeed any of the seed of the Cavaliers. Such characters could not flourish among them. Had any of them strayed into this sober-minded community they would have found themselves sadly out of their element, among the seed of the Covenanters, yet staunch for the most part in their hereditary manners and principles, though softened by ages of peaceful liberty. Yet, some of these people did after the first age, become dissipated, idle, merry fellows—for I have seen such of them in my boyhood—but then it was after the Revolutionary War, which corrupted the morals of the whole country, and generally out of the Valley, about the frontiers, where such characters were common.

The education of their children was one of the most important features of domestic policy among the old Presbyterians of the Valley. Common schools arose among them as soon as the state of the population admitted of them. But some considerable time necessarily elapsed before schools of a higher order could be sustained. About the year 1772, thirty-four years after the settlements first began, private teachers are reported to have commenced in two or three places to instruct pupils in the elements of classical learning. But these were transient efforts, and resulted in nothing more than to prepare the way for a permanent academy which was established a few years later, through the agency of the Presbytery.

CHAPTER II.

LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY, INSTITUTED IN 1776, AND LOCATED AT TIMBER RIDGE CHURCH.

The first settlements in Virginia having been made by Englishmen of the Established Church, it was natural that they should desire to have the same sort of religious establishment in their new country. During more than a century, the colony of Virginia was more strictly and exclusively Episcopalian than mother England herself. The few Presbyterians and other dissenters who

had settled in the country had no ecclesiastical organization or ministry.

When at last, about the time when the Eastern end of the Valley began to be settled, Presbyterian and Baptist ministers began to visit the "Ancient Dominion," they had to struggle long and hard before they could obtain toleration east of the Blue Ridge.

In the Valley, the case was different. The first settlers were nearly all Scotch-Irish and German Dissenters and their settlement served as a barrier to protect the East Virginians against the savages and the French, who were then formidable in the West and threatened the frontier. Therefore, the colonial government encouraged the settlement of the Valley by liberal grants of land, and never disturbed the religious freedom of the settlers. Thus it happened that Presbyterian churches began to grow up in the Valley about the same time that ministers of this denomination succeeded in forming others in East Virginia, especially in the counties of Hanover and Prince Edward, where the materials of Presbyterianism were found more plentiful than in other parts of Lower Virginia.

After a sufficient number of churches and pastors had risen, they were constituted into a Presbytery, which was called Hanover, in compliment to the Rev. Samuel Davies, pastor of the church, in Hanover county, and the most eloquent and efficient preacher then in Virginia. Partly through the exertions of Davies and his coadjutors in the East, and partly by the growth of the Presbyterian settlements in the Valley, there was from this time rapid increase of Presbyterianism in Virginia. Almost every year new churches were planted and the number of ministers and communicants was continually multiplying. It may be worth while to mention that the Presbyterian interest in Virginia was strengthened by the accession of some descendants of French Huguenots, who had been driven from their country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and had settled on the waters of the James River. Being Calvinistic Protestants, they were already Presbyterians.

The formation of the Presbytery and the increase of the churches suggested in a few years the expediency of establishing a seminary of liberal education, to be conducted on Presbyterian principles. William and Mary, the only college in Virginia, was

connected with the Established Church, and Princeton College, the nearest Presbyterian institution of high rank, was too distant to supply the want of a seminary in Virginia.

In the year 1771 the Presbytery made the first record on the subject in the following words :—

“The Presbytery being sensible of the great expediency of a seminary within their bounds, do recommend to all their members to take the matter into their consideration and report their thoughts thereon, at the next meeting, especially respecting the best methods of accomplishing it.”

The first result of this movement was the establishment in Prince Edward County of an academy which was afterwards incorporated as Hampden Sidney College. The location had reference to the general convenience of the Presbyterian population of Virginia and North Carolina. It could not have been better chosen.

But the Presbyterians of the Valley needed an academy among themselves. The Presbytery therefore resolved “to fix a seminary for the education of youth in Staunton.” But they adopted no measure for carrying this resolution into effect until their meeting in October, 1774.

The following extract from their minutes will show what was done at this meeting in relation to the academy.

“The Presbytery resumed the consideration of a public school for the education of youth, judging it to be of great immediate importance. We do therefore agree to establish and patronize a public school, which shall be confined to the county of Augusta.¹ At present it shall be managed by Mr. William Graham, (a gentleman properly recommended to this Presbytery) and to be under the inspection of the Rev. John Brown;² and the Presbytery reserve to themselves, the liberty at a future session more particularly to appoint the person by whom it shall be conducted, and the place where it shall be fixed; which they are

¹ Augusta still included what is now Rockbridge.

² Mr. Brown was pastor of Providence Church in the Northern part of Rockbridge. After his death his family settled in Frankfort, Kentucky. The Hon. James Brown of Louisiana, sometime Minister to France, was his son.

induced to do notwithstanding a former presbyterial appointment (fixing its location at Staunton) because there is no person to take the management in the place first agreed on, and it is uncertain whether there ever will be. In consequence therefore of this ordination, we do recommend it to the several congregations under our jurisdiction, to make such liberal contributions, as they shall find compatible with their circumstances, in order to provide a public library and other apparatus. These donations shall be applied agreeably to the order of Presbytery and for this purpose we do appoint the Rev. Messrs. Brown, Rice, Cummins, Irvine and Wallace and also Mr. Stanhope Smith, probationer, to collect subscriptions in the several congregations annexed to their names, viz.: Mr. Brown in the Pastures, Providence and the North Mountain; Mr. Rice in Botetourt on the South side of James River; Mr. Cummins in Fincastle¹; Mr. Irvine at Tinkling Spring, the Stone Meeting House (now Augusta Church) and Brown's settlement; Mr. Wallace in the forks of James River; and Mr. Smith at pleasure. The subscription papers to be headed as follows:

"We, the subscribers, do promise to pay to the persons above nominated and for the purposes aforesaid, on or before the 25th day of December, 1775, the sums annexed to our names. Dated this 13th day of October, 1774."

At their next spring meeting, in April, 1775, they again recommended the school to the patronage of their congregations, adding that, "as guardians and directors they took the opportunity to declare their resolution to establish it on the most catholic plan that circumstances would permit." As no seminary above the rank of common school had yet been established in the Valley, the Presbytery saw fit on this occasion to declare that they meant not to confine the benefits of the Academy to their own denomination of Christians, but to manage it on such liberal principles that all the country might enjoy the benefits of the institution. They meant, no doubt, as in duty they were bound, to give a religious and moral education to the pupils of their academy; but not to manage it with the sectarian view of making Presbyterians of all who might resort to it.

¹ Not the town so called, but a county which included all Southwestern Virginia beyond the New River, including Kentucky. It lost its name by division into three counties.

As William Graham, above named, was the first rector¹ of the academy, and the principal agent in giving it permanent success, we shall introduce him to the reader by presenting a sketch of his early life.

He was born in Pennsylvania of Irish² parents on the 19th of December, 1746. His father, Michael Graham, resided in Paxton Township, near the place where Harrisburg now stands. Being a farmer of small property, his son William, with the other sons, had to labor on the farm until he was fully grown, with no other schooling than such as commonly fell to the lot of farmers' sons. The family were religiously brought up according to the good old custom of Presbyterians. But William did not seem to have profited by the pious examples and precepts that had been set before him; on the contrary he became passionately fond of riotous amusements,—frolicking and dancing, whenever he had the opportunity. It was not until he was about twenty-one years old that the fruits of his religious education began to appear. He then became the subject of deep religious impressions which resulted in a thorough and permanent change of mind.

Now he became desirous of preparing himself for the ministry of the gospel. But how to obtain the means of pursuing a long course of study was the difficulty. His father could ill spare the necessary funds, and was not disposed to make sacrifices in favor of William's laudable desire. But the piety and love of the mother overcame the difficulties of the father. Her heart was set on seeing her son a minister of the gospel. She pledged her utmost exertions to contribute to his support; she prevailed with her husband, and then told William to go and prosper in his undertaking. Who can estimate the amount of good done in this case, and many

¹ The term Rector, although belonging originally to the head of the academic body, is now applied to the chairman or president of the corporate or governing body, whilst the title President is now given to the former. Historically the Rector of the school was *ex officio* President of the Board of Trustees, and so continued in this institution until about the year 1865. The offices were then separated, and the title Rector was assigned to the trustee who was made chief officer of the Board; and, in fact, it is more at home in the governing than in the teaching body, especially since the teacher has become less magisterial in his style.—W. H. R.

² Scotch-Irish: some say of English origin.—W. H. R.

others, by the pious zeal and resolution of mothers whose hearts, warmed with the sacred end in view, have trusted in Divine Providence for the issue, and have not been disappointed!

He quit the plough and eagerly took hold of the Latin Grammar. He studied first under Mr. Roan, pastor of the church to which the family belonged, and afterwards under a Mr. Finley, eking out his scanty finances by teaching school at intervals as opportunity offered and necessity required, until he was prepared to enter Princeton College.

At college he soon distinguished himself by his talents, his industry and piety. Here he became acquainted with Samuel Stanhope Smith, a fellow student, whose recommendation afterwards brought him to Virginia.

Having completed his college course in about five years after he had begun his Latin Grammar, he returned to his birthplace, and commenced the study of Divinity, under the worthy pastor, Mr. Roan.¹ This pastor, like many others, had to supply the deficiency of his salary by cultivating a farm. But like most studious men he was an awkward farmer, and often got into such perplexity with men, beasts and things in the multifarious operations and accidents of husbandry that he was ready to give up in despair. But whilst his pupil was with him, his affairs were often disentangled by one whose judgment, energy and experience qualified him to solve the knottiest difficulties of husbandry, and who needed this diversion from the intense application to study, which would otherwise have ruined his health.

Mr. Samuel S. Smith whose studies were in advance of Mr. Graham's came to Virginia immediately after he had been licensed by the Presbytery of Newcastle. He came at the time when the Presbytery of Hanover were providing means for the establishment of Hampden Sidney College, of which he became the first president. In the meantime, he travelled extensively through the country as missionary. An elder brother of his, named Ebenezer, had sometime before come from Princeton at the call of the Rev. Jno. Brown, of Providence Church, and had for a while taught a

¹ Mr. Graham graduated at Princeton, in 1773, in the same class with General Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry) and John Blair Smith, President of Hampden Sidney College.—Eds.

classical school in the bounds of Mr. Brown's charge. Thus, a beginning had been made ; but Ebenezer Smith having left the country, his pupils were without a teacher under whom they could pursue the studies which they had begun. When Samuel S. Smith visited the Valley, the young men and their fathers applied to him to recommend them a teacher. He recommended Mr. Graham, first to them, and afterwards to the Presbytery, when they resolved to establish an academy.

At the request of the young men and their fathers he wrote to Mr. Graham and advised him to come on immediately and set up a classical school where his brother, Ebenezer, had taught, assuring him that a good school might be obtained. Mr. Graham obeyed the call. A school was soon made up for him and located where Ebenezer Smith had taught, on an eminence in Timber Ridge about a mile northeast of the present village of Fairfield, in Rockbridge county.

The neighborhood was well settled for a new country ; the air was remarkably salubrious and living was very cheap. The rustic school-house stood in a fine forest of oaks, which cast a shade over it in the summer and supplied it with convenient fuel in the winter. A spring of pure water gushed from the rocks near the house. From underneath the spreading tree-tops the students had a view of the country below, and of the neighboring Blue Ridge. In short, all the features of the place made it a fit habitation for the woodland muse, and the hill deserved its name of Mount Pleasant.

Hither about thirty youths of the Great Valley repaired "to taste of the Pierian Spring," thirty-six years after the first settlement of Burden's Grant, now Rockbridge County. Of reading, writing and ciphering, the boys of the country had before acquired such knowledge as primary schools usually afford ; but with a very few late exceptions, Latin, Greek, Algebra, Geometry and other scholastic mysteries were things of which some of them had heard, and knew, perhaps, to be covered up in the learned heads of their pastors,—but of the nature and uses of which, they had no conception whatever. A large proportion of those who went to Mt. Pleasant Academy were fully grown young men, who had been waiting for opportunity to qualify themselves by academic studies for engaging in professional pursuits. Many settlers in the Valley

found themselves now in easy circumstances. Pastors, physicians and lawyers began to be in demand; and the civil distinction conferred by the learned professions, began to be understood and appreciated by the more intelligent young men.

The establishment of the first permanent school of this order was an important event in the history of the Valley. This school was the germ from which Washington College was ultimately unfolded; and the consequences of its establishment were the diffusion of a literary spirit through the Presbyterian population of the Valley and the rise of a college which is resorted to by students from nearly all parts of Virginia, and by some from other states.

When we consider these results, we need not blush for the humble style of the Mount Pleasant Academy. The building was a log hut of one room. The students carried their dinners with them from their boarding houses in the neighborhood. They coned their lessons, either in the school-room, where the recitations were heard, or under the shade of the forest, where breezes whispered and birds caroled without disturbing their studies. A horn—probably a veritable cow's horn—summoned the school from play, and the scattered classes to recitation. Instead of broadcloth coats, the students generally wore a far more graceful garment, the hunting shirt, home-spun, home-woven, and home-made by the industrious wives and daughters of the land. Their amusements were not less remote from the modern taste of students. Cards, backgammon, flutes, fiddles, and even marbles were scarcely known among these sober forest-boys. Firing pistols and ranging the fields with shot-guns to kill little birds for sport they would have considered a waste of time and ammunition. As for frequenting tippling shops of any denomination—this was impossible, for no such catch-penny lures for students existed in the country, or would have been tolerated. Had any huckster of liquors, nicknacks and explosive crackers opened his *confectionery* in those days the old puritan morality of the land was yet strong enough to abate the nuisance. The sports of the students were mostly gymnastics, both manly and healthful, such as leaping, running, wrestling, pitching quoits and playing ball.

In this rustic seminary a considerable number of young men began their liberal education, who afterwards bore a distinguished

part in the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the country. Among these were Blackburn, Breckenridge, Mitchell, Doak, Montgomery, W. Willson and Priestly.

The late Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., of Rockbridge, published a notice of this school, shortly before his death, in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. He vividly described the impression which its exercises made upon his mind, when once in early boyhood he visited the school. He was particularly struck with the sounds of the Greek verb $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ (tupto) which a class happened to be reciting to Mr. Graham, when he was present. Of the meaning or use of the exercise, he comprehended nothing. But the sweetly varied sounds of the verb, as the boys uttered their respective parts in turn, were most strange and musical to his ears. The melodious changes rung upon the radical syllable $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi$ - by means of the various terminations and prefixes, were so multitudinous, and so tuneful to the wondering sense, that he never lost the impression during the sixty years that had elapsed before he wrote the account. He, too, had the happiness afterwards to learn all the mysteries and the melodies of $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$, yet did this after familiarity never efface the charm of its sonorous variations, infused into his mind, when he first heard them in the shades of Mount Pleasant.¹

While the school was thus going on, partly as a private establishment, yet recognized and patronized by the Presbytery as the germ of their academy, the subscriptions for its benefit proceeded rather slowly. At the meeting of the Presbytery, in April, 1775, they named several laymen in various parts of the country to assist in forwarding the subscriptions.

In October of the same year, they passed an order continuing Mr. Graham as their teacher, and appointing Mr. John Montgomery as his assistant. Mr. Montgomery continued in this office until he was licensed to preach. He afterwards settled in the Pastures, upon the upper branches of the North (James) River, and had charge of the congregations of Lebanon and Rocky Spring. He was an excellent man, and lived at the same place, useful and respected, until he died, at an advanced age.

¹ Dr. Campbell in this article bears emphatic testimony concerning the ability of Mr. Graham as a teacher, as shown by his manner of conducting the classes, and by the proficiency of the students.—W. H. R.

At the same meeting the Presbytery resolved to continue their efforts to obtain subscriptions; they also appointed collectors of the moneys already subscribed, for the purpose of procuring immediately some books and philosophical apparatus for the use of the school.

The next May, 1776, they met again at Providence church, five or six miles from the academy, and visited the school for the purpose of examining the classes. They expressed a high degree of satisfaction with both teachers and pupils. At the same time Mr. Graham informed the Presbytery that £128 of the subscription moneys had been paid into his hands by the collectors, and that he had purchased in Philadelphia books and scientific apparatus to the amount of £160. The balance was ordered to be paid to him as soon as it should be collected.

The apparatus procured by Mr. Graham consisted of a small reflecting telescope, a pair of twelve-inch globes, a solar microscope, an air pump, an electrical machine with necessary appurtenances, a barometer, a miniature orrery, a Hadley's quadrant and the usual land surveyor's instruments. This was a judicious selection of apparatus.

The books consisted of about two hundred and ninety volumes of all sizes, including some standard works of English literature and of science—the rest theological—some of them useful, others of little account and lying unread, down to this day. On the whole, these purchases were well made, and cheaply, too, for a sum equivalent to \$530, and that, we presume, in the paper currency of the time.

But the time and labor consumed in raising this paltry sum for such an object among a Presbyterian population of eight or ten thousand souls may strike some readers unfavorably. But we should reflect that such an enterprise was entirely new, that the country was new, that most of its inhabitants were yet struggling with the difficulties incident to a new interior settlement, and that their distance from market and the want of roads made money exceedingly scarce. These things being considered, we think that they did well in this case; though, as always happens among all people, they might have done better.

The Presbytery now found the subscriptions sufficiently advanced to enable them to organize the academy on a permanent foundation, and to fix its site with a view to the erection of suitable buildings.

They appointed Mr. Graham rector, Mr. Montgomery assistant teacher, and the twenty-four gentlemen, named below, as trustees, viz: The Rev. Messrs. John Brown, James Waddell, Charles Cummins, William Irvine and the Rector, *ex-officio*; with Mr. Thomas Lewis, Gen. Andrew Lewis, Col. Wm. Christian, Col. Wm. Fleming, Mr. Thos. Stuart, Mr. Samuel Lyle, Col. Jno. Bowyer, Mr. Jno. Grattan, Col. Wm. Preston, Mr. Sampson Matthews, Maj. Samuel McDowell, Mr. Wm. McPheeters, Capt. Alexander Stuart, Capt. Wm. McKee, Capt. George Moffett, Mr. John Houston, Mr. Charles Campbell, Mr. Wm. Ward and Capt. John Lewis, of the Warm Springs. Seven of these trustees were to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

They were to collect subscriptions and donations, to expend the moneys collected and to conduct all the affairs of the Academy "*on behalf of the Presbytery*," who reserved to themselves the right of visitation, as often as they should judge necessary, and of appointing the rector and his assistants.

The trustees above named were selected for their intelligence and respectability from all parts of the country, west of the Blue Ridge, supposed to be interested in sustaining the Academy. It does not appear from subsequent records that the majority of these gentlemen ever accepted.

Supplementary Note.

A gap in the history occurs here, owing to the loss of four pages of the author's manuscript. The narrative is broken in the midst of the proceedings of Hanover Presbytery, at its meeting at Providence Church, in May, 1776. At this meeting it was determined to accept an offer made by persons residing near Timber Ridge Church, which offer consisted of a donation of eighty acres of land near the church, as a site for the academy, the erection thereon of a hewed log house twenty-eight by twenty-four feet, one story and a half high, besides the money subscriptions, and the probable gratuitous supply of firewood and timber for buildings for twenty years. The offer of land was made by two prominent citizens of Rockbridge County, namely, Samuel Houston (the

father of the eminent General, President and Senator Samuel Houston), and Alexander Stuart, father of Judge Archibald Stuart, and grandfather of Hon. A. H. H. Stuart. These two gentlemen owned lands adjoining each other and close to the church, and they agreed to form a tract of 80 acres, by the contribution of 40 acres each.

A singular difference of opinion exists as to the exact location of this land to which the academy was removed. The original Timber Ridge Church was of wood, and stood on top of the Ridge just at the point where the road from Lexington to Staunton, *via* Fairfield, crosses; indeed it is said that the road passes through the old foundation. This point is about nine miles from Lexington. In 1756 the congregation built the present well known stone church, which is two or three miles nearer to Lexington. A common impression is that the location of Liberty Hall made in 1776 was at the former spot. When a boy, I was shown this place, as the seat of the academy, by one whom I regarded as high authority; and many times since, even by neighborhood people have I heard it designated as the spot. And what is of still more consequence Dr. Foote in his first volume of *Sketches of Virginia* distinctly points out this as the place to which the academy was moved in 1776. See page 452, on which Dr. Foote says:—"The Academy at Timber Ridge was discontinued in 1779. The meeting house near which the academy had been built, was also in due time removed a few miles nearer Lexington, and its ancient site is known only by the old graveyard by the roadside, etc." My life-long impression has accorded with this statement, but recently my attention has been called to evidences in favor of the present stone church as the location of the school. These evidences consist of the fact that the present Timber Ridge Church had been built in 1756, and was the worshipping place of the congregation at the time of the Presbytery's action and had been for many years before. Moreover, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell in his *History of Washington College* and Dr. Archibald Alexander in his *Autobiography* both state that the site to which the academy was removed in 1776 was about seven miles from Lexington, which is the distance to the present stone church. And within the memory of persons now living, a log house answering the description of the academy building was standing near the stone church, and was called Liberty Hall. Also many intelligent friends of the institution who have had opportunities of information confidently assert this to have been the true site. All of which is corroborated by the fact that Samuel Houston lived here, and Alexander Stuart owned land close by. These facts are stronger than

those which can be arrayed in favor of the older site of Timber Ridge Church, and seem to show that Dr. Foote was misled by the erroneous local tradition, which may have confounded the old church site with Mt. Pleasant. There should be no doubt about a matter of this sort, and it can finally be put to rest by the examination of the records of the court.

Returning to the meeting of the Presbytery in 1776, we find that besides appointing a board of twenty-four trustees for the academy, it also appointed an executive committee of eight members of the board, "to have the lands given to the academy measured and bounded and the title secured, and to draw plans and to let the building of such houses as they shall judge necessary for the use of the academy and Rector."

The executive committee, pursuant to the order of the Presbytery, met May 13th, 1776, and at this meeting the name Liberty Hall first appears. In the proceedings of the Presbytery which was in session only the week before, the school is still called Augusta Academy. We are left to surmise as to just when and how the change was made, but as the institution was not then incorporated, probably there was no legal difficulty in the way of a change of name by anybody having official control over the school. And just now there were two reasons why such a change was needed. One was, that the name Augusta was local, and hence not appropriate to the wide career contemplated for the school by its new patrons and controllers. And the other was the approaching creation of Rockbridge county, which would take the school out of Augusta county. This question, however, may have escaped the attention of the Presbytery, whilst it would naturally be forced upon the consideration of the committee appointed to attend to the making of title deeds and the erection of buildings. The members of the committee who were present May 13th, were William Graham, Rector; Alexander Stuart, Samuel Lyle, Charles Campbell, John Houston and William McKee. This band of patriots, as we may reasonably suppose, on the occasion of this first meeting, gave to the newly-organized school the stirring name of Liberty Hall Academy. Most likely the name was suggested by Graham. It was a bold act of defiance, for, up to this time, the British flag floated over the capital of Virginia, and it was nearly two months in advance of the Declaration of Independence. It was the first outburst of the Rockbridge spirit, which, the next year, named the county-seat in honor of the Lexington where was shed the first blood of the Revolution. Who knows but

that the adoption of this name, followed up as it was by patriotic devotion to the end, had a decisive effect on General Washington's mind when considering what he should do with his James River stock !

The executive committee proceeded vigorously with its work. The school building was erected by the Timber Ridge people, according to promise ; other buildings were put up by means of contributions, partly obtained from distant places, some even from New England, whither Graham went for the purpose. Dr. Archibald Alexander states this (*Life of Dr. A.*, pp. 15, 16), and says : " Several small neat buildings were erected for the use of the students, and a good house on the New England model was reared for the Rector. Students came in goodly numbers, mostly grown young men."

Hither, early in 1777, came Mr. Graham with his newly married wife (Mary Kerr, of Carlisle, Pa.), his assistant, John Montgomery, and his school library and apparatus. The prospects of the academy were very good for a time, but those " grown young men " were soon wanted for sterner exercises than rolling off the inflections of *τύπτω*, or sounding the depths of Graham's metaphysics. The news of Washington's brilliant fight at Princeton mingled with the first lessons. The thunders of Saratoga soon reverberated among the mountains. The guns of Brandywine and Germantown announced the movement of the war southward. The Scotch-Irish were as one man in support of the war. Dr. Alexander says that there were but two Tories in the country, and they were soon driven off; and he, a boy of eight years in this year of 1777, " frequently saw companies of backwoodsmen with their rifles and brown hunting shirts and deer's tail cockades, passing on to the theatre of conflict." Were these " young men " likely to sit long on those academy benches parsing and figuring? Let the " Liberty Hall Volunteers " of a later date answer this question. Especially when the most enthusiastic patriot in all the country was William Graham, who, as Dr. Foote says, " so far from repressing the spirit of patriotism in his congregations or the young men under his care, by his precepts and example he inflamed them with a more vehement love of liberty."

This was good for the patriot cause but bad for the school, as was notably the case at a later epoch. But the exercises of the academy were continued with many difficulties, and all questions economic and academic were duly considered; among them the old and unending question of the modes of boarding students. Here the interrupted narrative is resumed by the author.—W. H. R.

The price of tuition was fixed at *four pounds* a year, making the total of *ten pounds ten shillings* for the yearly expenses of a student, exclusive of books, clothing and other contingencies. This was but 35 dollars in our federal money, and was paid in a paper currency, already somewhat depreciated. The smallness of the sum is decisive evidence that the necessities of life produced in the country sold at a very low rate, and that the imported commodities, now so largely consumed, were scarcely used at all.

When the trustees met at the opening of the new academy, on the 1st of January, 1777, Mr. Graham accounted to the board for the moneys which he had received for the benefit of the academy. The total sum was £230, of which he had paid out £197 "for books, apparatus and other things." He then paid over the balance in his hands to Samuel Lyle,¹ treasurer of the board. The buildings, when finished, cost—as nearly as we can now form an estimate from facts stated in the records—about £200, exclusive of donations in labor and materials. To this sum add as much more, previously expended in books and apparatus, and it will appear that Liberty Hall Academy was built and furnished for a sum of money equivalent to about 1,400 dollars, besides donations in land, labor and materials, worth perhaps 600 dollars more. The institution then possessed 80 acres of land, 2 houses, a library of 300 volumes and all the most necessary philosophical instruments. There was no chemical apparatus; for as yet chemistry was little studied even in colleges.

This Academy owed its foundation, first, to the enlightened policy and pious zeal of the Presbyterian clergy of the land; secondly, to the contributions of the Presbyterian people of the Valley; thirdly, to the energy and talents of the rector; and lastly, to the attention given to its affairs by a few of the neighboring trustees, and the gratuitous aid in land, labor and materials, given by some members of the Timber Ridge congregation.

¹ The grandfather of Mrs. Henry Ruffner.—W. H. R.

CHAPTER III.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE ACADEMY. IT IS SUSPENDED; THEN
REMOVED AND CHARTERED.

Liberty Hall Academy was founded in troublous times. The Revolutionary war had begun to press heavily on all parts of the country. Taxes necessarily increased. The paper bills issued by Congress and the State government, operated as a tax by their depreciation; militia drafts became more frequent in Virginia as the storm of war approached her borders, and increased in frequency when the territory became her principal seat of war.

The contest being for the liberties of the country, and requiring all its energies and resources, the minds of the people were kept in a state of continual excitement and were consequently withdrawn from the gentle arts of peace. Even the ministers of the Gospel partook of the military spirit, especially the Presbyterian, who suffered their patriotism to abstract their attention from the cure of souls, and to convert the sacred pulpit too often into a "drum ecclesiastic," that they might rouse the military spirit of their congregations in defense of their bleeding country. Under these circumstances the new academy could not flourish. The buildings were not finished until late in the year 1777, although the school had been removed to them at the beginning of the year. The price of provisions was so rapidly enhanced, by the depreciation of the currency, that Mr. Steward Scott soon found it a ruinous business to board students for *six pounds ten* a year. He therefore gave notice that he would resign his stewardship in the fall. No person could be obtained to fill the vacancy, though the trustees raised the price of board to £15 per annum, because the sinking value of the currency made it unsafe to contract at any fixed price. In this emergency the neighboring families actually fed the students for a while out of their own stores, each carrying them provisions in turn and acting as stewards without pay. This continued, perhaps, till the end of the year. Then, as no steward was forthcoming, these generous families agreed to board the students in their houses for the same £15 of depreciated and depreciating paper,—a sum

which no man would accept as steward. But because from *six pound ten to fifteen pounds* seemed to some persons too high a leap in the price, it was agreed between the trustees and the heads of these families,

“that any person who should furnish provisions at the old prices, their board should be at the rate of eight pounds ten shillings per annum. But no person should be at liberty to furnish provisions in less quantity than would be at least half the board last mentioned.”

Should any of our readers be disposed to smile at this *proviso*, we tell them that these small shifts, to accommodate all parties and obviate prejudices and dissatisfaction, were necessary to keep this young literary institution alive under the pressure of the times; and instead of being ridiculed as petty or low, should be rather admired as wise and benevolent. Without this careful and tender nursing, Liberty Hall Academy could not have survived the year of its birth.

In the year 1778, the few trustees who attended to the business of the Academy made an effort to raise additional funds to pay some debts outstanding, and to enlarge the scanty accommodations of the students. They issued subscription papers and requested the Presbytery of Hanover, who had now begun to neglect the Academy, to send one of their number to solicit aid from the northern churches. No great success appears to have attended their measures. Every circumstance of the times was unfavorable. But by these means two or three lodging rooms were attached to the Academy house and a balance of funds was left unexpended.

A petition to the legislature for an act of incorporation was also prepared this year, but if presented it was unsuccessful.

In the year 1779 the times grew worse. Every unfavorable circumstance of the preceding year was aggravated. The invasion of the Southern States by the British caused frequent drafts of the militia. The elder students being enrolled were thus all harassed and in part carried off to the army. The currency reached the lowest stage of depreciation. Consequently, debts contracted in former years, and stated salaries and fees became almost worthless when paid in the current trash. The worthy rector found his fees as teacher and his salary as pastor dwindling to nothing better

than a handful of rags, while his increasing family called for an increasing income. He had purchased a farm seven miles from the Academy, by the newly-founded village of Lexington.¹ He had now to depend for support on the cultivation of this farm, to which, with the consent of the trustees, he removed his family, leaving the Academy in the immediate care of William Willson, his assistant. Mr. Willson was an excellent classical scholar. He could repeat hundreds of lines from Homer without book.² He afterwards became pastor of Augusta Church, where he spent the remainder of his long life.

The rector was still to visit the academy and spend a couple of days weekly in the duties of his office. But an arrangement so inconvenient could not be long continued. He gradually withdrew his attendance, and the students, missing his able instruction and harassed by military duties, began to leave the academy. The dissolution of the school was hastened by Mr. Willson's feeble state of health, so that in the course of the year 1780, the operations of the academy were wholly suspended, and were never resumed at Timber Ridge. Thus in the fourth year of its new existence, this young seminary of learning fainted under the hard pressure of the times; and the buildings provided with such difficulty for its accommodation were scarcely completed before they were abandoned to silence and desolation. But some of the students being anxious to complete their studies, the library and apparatus were removed to Mr. Graham's residence, where he continued to give private instruction.

Among the pupils who thus followed their teacher, were Moses Hoge and Archibald Alexander, whose names are now so venerable.

This private school prevented the extinction of the academy. It was the germ of vitality, which enabled the institution to revive, when the deadly winter had passed away; and to begin new and permanent growth in the long summer of our country's prosperity. While the academy lay in this state of suspended animation, the people of Virginia were more than ever agitated by the alarms of war. Cornwallis, after a victorious career in the South, invaded

¹ Mulberry Hill, it is believed.—W. H. R.

² He told me this himself in his old age. He could even then roll off on his tongue I know not how many verses of the old bard.

our territory, and for a while drove everything before him. The legislature fled from Richmond to Charlottesville, where they hoped to sit in safety. But Tarleton with his legion of light horse made a dash at them from below, and had nearly captured them by surprise. They hastily adjourned to meet in Staunton a few days afterwards. Whilst some of the members dispersed themselves in various directions, a considerable number came directly to the appointed place of meeting. By the way, they spread the alarm of this invasion of the mountains. Heretofore the men of the Valley had gone far away to fight the battles of their country. Now they had the enemy at their doors. It was supposed that Tarleton, having missed his prey at Charlottesville, would follow it up to Staunton; that if he could not capture, he might at least chase the legislators of Virginia, "like partridges in the mountains."

Mr. Graham happened to be riding on his way to Augusta Church, eight miles below Staunton, when he met two members of the legislature in their flight from Charlottesville. He advised them to join him in carrying the alarm to Rockbridge. They took three different routes to Lexington, and on their way roused the whole intermediate country. The militia began to assemble immediately. Mr. Graham's house was one point of rendezvous for those above Lexington. He volunteered to go with them, shouldered his fire-lock, and marched with them to Rockfish Gap, through which the enemy must enter the valley. Here they found the mountain already covered with riflemen watching for Tarleton, whilst other parties were still coming in from the more distant parts of the valley. But no Tarleton appeared. This dashing cavalier wisely returned to headquarters in Richmond. On learning this fact the militia separated; some returned directly home; others continued their march to the lower country. Of these, a few remained with the army until the formidable Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown.

The deliverance of Virginia by the capture of her invaders, gave sure indication that gentle peace would ere long return to bless the land, and that no alarm of war could again disturb the valley. Now, therefore, the trustees began to think of reviving the academy.

Early in the year 1782, it appears that they met and instituted some proceedings for this end. The records of the year are lost, but from those of the next year it is evident they had previously

done two important things ; they had by petition obtained an act of incorporation for the academy, and they had removed its seat to the border of Mr. Graham's farm, near Lexington.

The act of incorporation was passed in October, 1782. It was in everything but the name a college charter ; for besides the usual privileges of incorporated academies, it authorized the institution to confer literary degrees and to appoint *professors*, as well as masters and tutors. It also gave unlimited power to acquire lands and other property for the use of the Academy.

The following are the names of the original trustees, as recited in the charter :

REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM, *Rector*.

ARTHUR CAMPBELL,	WILLIAM CHRISTIAN,
X GEN. <u>ANDREW</u> MOORE, ¹	WILLIAM ALEXANDER, ²
JOSEPH WALKER,	ALEXANDER CAMPBELL,
JOHN WILLSON,	JOHN TRIMBLE,
JOHN HAYS,	GEN. JOHN BOWYER,
MAJ. SAMUEL McDOWELL, ³	GEORGE MOFFETT,
WILLIAM MCKEE,	JAMES MCCORKLE,
SAMUEL LYLE,	ARCHIBALD STUART,
REV. CALEB WALLACE,	REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY,
REV. WILLIAM WILLSON. ⁴	

The removal of the Academy was induced, no doubt, by the fact, that on no other condition could Mr. Graham take any part in its instruction or oversight. He could not quit his farm, which was a sure resource for the support of his family, to resume at Timber Ridge a school that promised only small and precarious emoluments.

The site now chosen for the academy was a grove of oaks, where three farms met. The proprietors, Messrs. Graham, Walker and Alexander, each gave a portion of the ground. There was a

¹ The late Gen. Moore, for some time senator in Congress.

² Father of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, of Princeton.

³ Uncle of the late Col. James McDowell, who was father of James McDowell, Esq., late Governor of Virginia.

⁴ I know something of ten of these trustees, all of whom were men of mark, some of them men of great ability and distinction.—W. H. R.

fountain of pure limestone water in a ravine, and an eminence covered with trees, from the shades of which a spectator might view the pleasant scenery of fields and woodlands around, and at a distance the high mountains on either side of the valley.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE ACADEMY ; ITS TEMPORARY COALITION WITH THE SYNOD ; ITS NEW BUILDING AND ITS DEBTS.

The first meeting of the trustees, under the charter, was held on the 30th of January, 1783. Seven members would constitute a quorum for business. Eleven were present at this meeting. So full an attendance indicates considerable interest in the members for the revival of the academy.¹

Of the trustees formerly appointed by the Presbytery, a quorum could never be gotten together. Allowance must be made, however, for the fact that the new trustees had corporate powers and the complete control of the academy ; but the first board acted only as agents of the Presbytery, and had not the power of appointing teachers.

By the act of incorporation, the Presbytery lost their control over the academy which they had founded. After the first year or two, they appear to have exercised little or no care over it. During the three following years of suspension they made no effort to revive it, because the times were evil, and also, we presume, because the clergy as well as the laity had, amidst the turmoils of war, almost forgotten the institutions of peace. Pastors, churches, and individuals seem to have become alike indifferent to the fate of the school ; and it was only through the persevering attention and efforts of a few families of Timber Ridge that it had not perished almost immediately after its birth. In fact, religion and morals had sadly

¹The Trustees who attended this meeting and participated in the organization of the corporation were the following, viz. : Rev. William Graham, Rector ; John Bowyer, Andrew Moore, William Alexander, Joseph Walker, Alexander Campbell, John Willson, John Trimble, John Hayes, William McKee, and Samuel Lyle.—Eds.

declined during the struggle for independence. To this we must ascribe the indifference with which the Presbytery and the churches gave up the control and the property of their academy to an independent board. The act of incorporation transferred the lands, buildings, library, and apparatus—worth at least 2,000 dollars—to the new board.

When this board met, as before mentioned, their first act was to adopt a system of rules for themselves and for the academy.

Of the four rules of order which they adopted for themselves, the only one which differs from the common custom of such bodies is, that their meetings were to be always opened and closed with prayer.

The rules adopted for the government of the students were very similar to those of common schools. Few others could be necessary, while the students boarded and lodged in private houses, in the neighborhood, and during the business of the day all met in the single room of the little house in which the school was first kept on its new site.

In the morning the school was opened with prayer at eight or nine o'clock, after which every student was to apply himself silently to his task, and never to go out without permission until dismissed with prayer in the evening. Before dismissal two students in turn were to declaim. A monitor was appointed weekly, to note down and report all violations of the rules. This monitorial office was continued until the year 1837, when it was abolished, because it had gradually and long before degenerated into a mere calling of the roll, with defective returns of the absentees. Students in public schools have for many years been resisting all efforts on the part of their teachers to make use of their agency and information in any way to detect offences against the rules. Now it is an established principle of honor among them, that instead of informing upon one another, they shall use every exertion to screen the disorderly among them from detection and punishment. Thieves and banditti act upon the same principle; but we presume that the students of this age of improvement did not learn it of them.

Two other of these academical laws have become antiquated, namely: that which required the students "to rise and make a

decent bow when the rector, tutor, or any gentlemen should come in or go out," and that which forbade the students to call each other by nicknames.

Such formal marks of respect for their teachers and for one another, would appear very degrading and absurd to a young gentleman of 14 years or upwards in this refined age. Some of them will respond to a "decent bow" from their teachers; but many will not bow in advance, nor will they bow by rule or on compulsion.

We suspect that the rule against nicknames was not well observed, even in the early days of Liberty Hall. The enactment of the rule proves the existence of the immemorial custom of nicknaming among the boys of Rockbridge 62 years ago.¹ Boys are exceedingly tenacious of boyish customs, and this one of nicknaming has been a second nature to them, because it springs from their first nature. The love of distinction and superiority is inherent in man. The imposition of a nickname in token of derision gratifies this feeling. He that can deride another thinks himself so far his superior. Christian benevolence and gentlemanly politeness repudiate such an unbecoming affectation of superiority. But what is a poor boy to do who has neither the one nor the other, nor yet any other quality that gives him a real superiority over his fellows? He must resort to nicknames. And above all how is he to indemnify himself for being subject to the instruction and government of his teachers? Must he submit unavenged to such a mortifying state of inferiority? He can not. He may indeed do himself great credit by a cheerful submission to proper authority and by manifesting a desire for good instruction. But that is not the point; the sense of inferiority in many boys disdains such consolation. What are the remedies? Nicknames and dirty mischievous pranks. Among discreet people such things are considered degrading to the author. But among boys who have not arrived at discretion, among low-bred men, who never will arrive at it, they are deemed evidences of superior genius.² But there are some young

¹ This was written in 1844.

² College students have greatly improved in morals, manners, and habits of study within the last forty-five years. This I say of my own knowledge. I have mentioned this fact to many men of about my own age, such as President McIlwaine

gentlemen whose natural good temper or excellent home education dispose them to abstain from all such ebullitions of boyish pride and resentment.

Not long after the school was opened on its new site, the little house in which it was kept was destroyed by fire, kindled, as circumstances led many to suspect, by an incendiary.

The people of Lexington now made an attempt to get the academy located in or by the village. Its new site was three-fourths of a mile distant. Some conveniences could be obtained by the removal, yet the trustees wisely resolved to retain its beautiful and retired situation. The board took immediate measures to erect a new and better building. At first they resolved that it should be thirty feet long by twenty wide. But, comparing the cost with their scanty funds, they were constrained to reduce the dimensions to twenty-four feet by sixteen. Therefore, this second temple of the muses, like the second temple in Jerusalem, was inferior to the first, the one at Timber Ridge.

Mention has been made of an effort, in the year 1778, to raise funds. Subscription papers were circulated and the presbytery were requested to send one of their members to the north to collect donations. We have no means of ascertaining whether or not it was by order of presbytery that Mr. Graham, not long afterwards, made a northern tour as far as Boston. We infer from the records in 1783 that he collected on this tour the seemingly large sum of 776 pounds 18 shillings, besides his travelling expenses. The academy being soon afterwards suspended, this money remained in Mr. Graham's hands as a loan on interest. The board now appointed a committee to settle the accounts of Mr. Graham, and of Mr. Lyle, the treasurer.

On reducing the paper currency collected by Mr. Graham, by the scale of depreciation (compared with specie) at the date of its collection, the 776 pounds 18 shillings shrunk to the paltry sum

of Hampden Sidney, and they all agree with me. Hence our author's criticisms, whilst historically true, would not apply to the studious and gentlemanly young men who now attend Washington and Lee University. Nicknaming will never be wholly abandoned, and does not always indicate wrong feeling: in fact may express affection. In former times, however, offensive names were sometimes applied by students not only to each other but to their professors. But all social tendencies have been and are in the direction of urbanity.—W. H. R.

of 23 pounds 18 shillings, which is less than one-thirtieth part of the nominal value.¹

The treasurer had also retained on loan the sum of 151 pounds 18 shillings, the unexpended proceeds, we may presume, of the subscriptions of 1778. This, being reduced by the scale, was found to be worth 18 pounds 9 shillings, about one-eighth of the nominal sum, indicating an earlier date of collection than Mr. Graham's; yet it could not have been much more than a year earlier. The paper currency was therefore falling rapidly at this time, and its depreciation must have produced great distress throughout the country.

There are no documents to show when or on what terms the land and buildings at Timber Ridge were sold. As yet the board appear to have derived little aid from this source; and we infer from incidental notices in the record of subsequent years, that this property did not produce much more than 200 pounds.

The trustees resorted to a new subscription for the academy, to defray the cost of the new house. But the people were slow to subscribe, and slow to pay their subscriptions. So little was thus obtained, and so little else was on hand, that the trustees experienced the utmost difficulty in providing the school with any tolerable accommodations.

When the school was first opened under the charter, Mr. Graham declined to take charge of its instruction. The number of students was too small to remunerate him for the labor; and their general character was too bad to induce him to sacrifice his time, labor, and comfort for their instruction. He chose rather to cultivate his farm and to commit the labor and vexation of teaching to tutors under his general superintendence.

The first tutor employed was James Priestly, a young man whom Mr. Graham had taught gratuitously, out of regard for his indigent circumstances and his zeal for learning. Priestly was an indefatigable student, and became afterward distinguished for classical learning, and ability as a teacher of youth. After teaching

¹ No one who observed the difficulties of Washington College during the war period of 1861-65, will feel surprised at the feeble and halting condition of Liberty Hall Academy during the long and dark days of the old Revolution, and the period immediately succeeding it.—W. H. R.

with distinction at Georgetown and Annapolis, he finally settled at Nashville and became the first president of Cumberland College at that place. His eccentricities unfitted him to be the conductor of a college, though he was an excellent classical teacher and could manage a private school.

The board of trustees employed him as tutor at the rate of 80 pounds (specie currency) per annum. He resigned the tutorship in the fall of 1784. Then the board employed Mr. Archibald Roan, perhaps a son of the pastor Roan of Pennsylvania, at an assured salary of 70 pounds, with the contingent addition of 20 pounds more if the tuition fees should be sufficient. The next spring the board allowed him all the fees that might accrue up to 115 pounds per annum; but he could not be induced to continue beyond the next October. Anticipating his resignation, the board authorized Mr. Graham to employ another tutor at the salary first allowed to Mr. Roan. But none could be obtained. As the salary was a good one for a young man in those times of specie currency and cheap living, the history of this tutorship proves that the office was a very disagreeable one, and it must have been such from the bad character of the students.

Since the first establishment of the academy, a number of meritorious young men had completed the course of studies, and might now under the charter receive the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The board therefore resolved, in April 1785, that they would on the second Wednesday of next September hold a public commencement to confer degrees upon those who had merited them. On this occasion the bachelor's degree was conferred upon twelve young gentlemen, to wit: Samuel Blackburn, Moses Hoge, Samuel Houston, John McCue, James Priestly, Adam Rankin, Archibald Roan, William Willson, Samuel Carrick, William McClung, Andrew McClure, and Terah Templin.

We may conjecture that others had completed the course of studies in former years, but were not present to receive the same honor.

Several of these graduates became afterwards well known and useful men in the country.

Gen. Blackburn, of Bath county, lived to a good old age. He was a lawyer and several times a delegate to the General Assembly

of the State. He was distinguished for his eloquence. His wit and his powers of ridicule and sarcasm have seldom been surpassed.

The Rev. Dr. Hoge was distinguished for his learning and his piety, and for the apostolic simplicity of his character and his preaching, which was the product of a lucid understanding and the outpouring of a good heart, and not the less persuasive because it was attended with a natural awkwardness of gesture. He was for many years president of Hampden Sidney College.

The Rev. Samuel Houston was in his early manhood taken to the wars as a drafted militiaman. In the battle of Guilford he carefully loaded his rifle fourteen times, and as often took deliberate aim at the enemy when he fired. He was for many years afterwards pastor of the Falling Spring church, in Rockbridge.

The Rev. John McCue was pastor of the Tinkling Spring church, in Augusta county. He was a good man. When he chose—which was not often—he could tell comic stories in a manner irresistibly ludicrous. Once, in a fit of excitement, he suffered the irascibility of his constitution to get the mastery, for a moment, over his christian equanimity. He and a certain gentleman fell into a dispute which rose to a quarrel, at least on the part of the gentleman, who used provoking language, and at last said, "Sir, if it were not for your parson's coat, I would give you a drubbing." Mr. McCue put his hands down before him, stooped a little, snuffed in a way peculiar to him, and sidling up to the gentleman said, "Never mind the coat, sir; never mind the coat."

Of the other graduates on this list, Messrs. Priestly and Willson have been previously mentioned. We have no certain knowledge of the rest.¹

¹ It is surprising that the learned author knew nothing of the other graduates. They all attained prominent and some distinguished positions either in church or state. William McClung removed from Rockbridge county to Mason county, Kentucky, and rose to distinction at the bar. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature, of the Kentucky House of Representatives, and of the Kentucky Senate, and was Judge of the Circuit Court until his death in 1815.

Archibald Roan was from Dauphin county, Penn., and after serving as Tutor at the Academy removed to Tennessee, where he became a distinguished lawyer. He was Judge of the Supreme Court, Governor of Tennessee, and Judge of the United States District Court until his death in 1814.

Samuel Carrick, Andrew McClure, Adam Rankin, and Terah Templin all entered the Presbyterian ministry. Carrick was from Adams county, Penn.,

For want of a tutor, the academy was now put under the immediate government and instruction of the rector, "with full powers to enact such laws as he might find necessary for the better regulation and morals of the boys, and to provide tutors, as he might find convenient,"—all subject, however, to the revision of the Board.

There were, as before and afterwards, two annual sessions, which were now to terminate regularly on the third Wednesdays of April and October. The vacations were lengthened from three weeks to a month. This arrangement continued until 1833, when the sessions and vacations were reduced to one each.

As to the number of pupils who attended the academy in these times, we have no record, and can only infer, from the amount of salary which the fees produced for the tutors, that the number was as often under as over twenty-five. The tuition fee was still £4 per annum.

Most of the students were "mere boys," as the trustees called them, and some would appear to have come to the academy with a very defective stock of common school acquirements, if we may judge from the fact that the Board at this time received from a Mr. Todd a donation of £10 "for the purpose of providing desks and other things necessary, to have writing taught in the academy."

Mr. Graham now resumed the teacher's office, less from choice than from the necessity of the case. Since the latter years of the war, he had lost much of his zeal for the liberal education of youth. A great change had come over the youth of the country. They were no longer the moral, unsophisticated youth of the ante-revolutionary period in the Valley, where the fashionable vices of the world were scarcely known. Many of these young men of the fields and woods had been taken away to camps and towns, where depraved manners grew familiar to their eyes and corrupted their hearts. They on their return home too easily communicated their acquired knowledge of evil to their young cotemporaries. And

removed to Tennessee, where he became President of Blount College, now East Tennessee University, and died in 1809. McClure was from Augusta county, Rankin from Pennsylvania, and Templin from Bedford county. They all removed to Kentucky, and were useful ministers of the Gospel. Rankin also taught a classical school: McClure died in 1793, Rankin in 1827, and Templin in 1818.—EDS.

now, when young men and boys of the land were collected in a school of liberal education, the rural simplicity and innocent manners of the school of Mount Pleasant were gone; and a generation of profane swearers, card-playing idlers and tippling rioters appeared on the scene,—fellows who scrupled not to steal for the gratification of their appetite; and who took credit to themselves for wit and genius when they played the part of dirty rogues and perpetrated malicious tricks in a workmanlike manner. Happily, some young men were yet left who disdained such vile practices. But the number of those who studied amusement and roguery was so great as to make the teacher's office exceedingly irksome and discouraging. Mr. Graham was wont to say that the intellectual education of such depraved youth was injurious to society, because increase of knowledge with a corrupt heart only adds power to wickedness. He was right; therefore no youth of bad moral character should be admitted into a public school, or if through mistake admitted should be suffered to continue in it to corrupt his associates while there, and afterwards to become a moral pest in society. Mr. Graham's only hope for the country and for the academy was in a revival of religion. He was right again; for not until a revival came, some years later, did the morals of the country and the prospects of the academy take a favorable turn. But the Valley has never recovered, and probably never will recover, the simplicity of its primitive manners.

The trustees not only attended the public examinations of the students, and recorded their judgments of them, but they reserved to themselves the power of dismissing students from the school. There was consequently frequent occasion to call a board for the trial of offenders. On these occasions the history of the case was put on record,—the names of the accused, the acts and words charged, the evidence adduced, and the sentence of the court. We shall here give two extracts from the record, the first to illustrate what we have said respecting the prevalence of evil practices among the students in those times, and the second to show what sort of matter was sometimes put in black and white among the archives of the academy.

The following is from the records of the year 1787, the second year after Mr. Graham resumed his place in the academy.

"The rector informed the board that sundry reports had been circulated, charging the students, at least some of them, with behaving contrary to the rules of the institution, viz.: 1st, that there had been a combination of a number of students to burn the academy; 2nd, that a number of the students had taken a bee-hive from C—— K——; 3rd, that several of them spent a considerable part of their time, the last two sessions, in playing cards; 4th, that they met several times, at night, for the purpose of drinking and frolicking; and 5th, that they were guilty of and practiced profane swearing."

These were the charges, founded on public report. The board on investigation concluded that the first charge had no other foundation than some words spoken in jest. Some of those implicated in the second charge afterwards confessed that they were of the party of rogues who stole the bee-hive. The other practices charged were all proved to be more or less prevalent among the students. The board therefore resolved to punish all who might be convicted of such offences, and enjoined upon the rector to call a meeting of the trustees whenever he had grounds to suspect that any had been guilty of them and he thought the aid of the board necessary or expedient.

In April, 1794, a meeting of the board was called to try a student for misbehavior. The following is a literal transcript of the record, except that only the initials of the persons' names are given:

"The rector informed the board that he had convened them to hear, investigate and determine respecting certain complaints against A—— M——, one of the students of the academy.

"1. That he bantered T—— L—— out to kick him. That he kicked E—— G——, and that he said he would kick some of the boys, and them that he was not able to kick, he would hold a pistol in his hand and kick them.

"2. That he said he could prove J—— G—— to be a negro-headed blaggard rascal. That he came to his room window, and told him that a negro was his father and that he had the disposition of a negro. Also for telling J—— G—— that he would hate it if he would hold a pistol in one hand and cowhide him with the other.

"3. That he would let people know that he was the Devil according to his Magnitude.

"4. That he (said M——) had profanely sworn.

"5. For saying that J—— G—— had a head like a negro, and that the devil would be scared at him, and in a ridiculing manner saying he would fly at him like a Devil and carry him off to Hell.

"The said charges were substantially both acknowledged by said M—— and proved by witnesses.

"The board maturely considered the above particulars, and then the question was put, Seeing by his own declaration, and the general voice of the board, he should be censured; what is the censure should be inflicted upon him?

"And the board unanimously answered that he should be expelled, because he had been last session publicly censured for some of the same crimes, in as high a degree as the laws admit, except expulsion, and because during this session without amendment he had been dealt with in as strict a manner as possible by the rector; and because the nature of the present charges are heinous and aggravated.

"On motion the board ordered the rector to execute the above censure, and to enjoin it solemnly upon the students to strictly observe the laws of the academy; also that they should not keep company with A—— M—— upon pain of censure."

Neither in matter nor in style are the records generally so *curious* as the extract just given. We think that the culprit whose case we have presented scarcely deserved to be tried with such solemn formality, or to have his vulgarities perpetuated on the records of the Institution, but finding them there, we give them, as an illustration of the academical history of the time.¹

The board in those days not only exercised jurisdiction in the trial of offenders for such high crimes and misdemeanors as might deserve expulsion; they also received complaints from students against the rector.

A case of this sort occurred in the year 1787. A student in a written complaint charged the rector with having told him that he was nearer the gallows than he expected; that he (the rector) could not believe any fellow that had agreed to perjure himself; had refused him the use of the library, and told him that he should not return to the academy, which the student considered as an act of expulsion and therefore a usurpation of power.

¹ Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was one of the students at this period, in his autobiography speaks of having been surrounded by evil companions. "The school became exceedingly corrupt."—W. H. R.

The rector admitted that he had spoken the words charged in the complaint ; but denied that he had expelled the student. The board expressed their disapprobation of the language used by the rector, as not justified by the conduct of the student, however idle and disorderly he may have been.

The rector, like most energetic men, was subject to strong impulses of feeling, and often, when excited, used language too violent for the occasion.

Mr. Graham, after he resumed the office of teacher in the academy, continued with few intermissions in the full discharge of the duties of his office until he resigned it finally.

The school seems to have increased after he took the immediate charge of it ; so that, after a while, the new house built in 1784 became insufficient in every respect to accommodate the school. The country had begun to recover from the effects of the war, and the education of youth began to excite more general attention. Religion also began to revive, at first gradually, and then, in the year 1789, with stronger manifestations of Divine influence. This awakened among the clergy and the churches a renewed desire to promote the education of pious young men for the ministry.

Soon afterwards the board began to devise plans for the erection of a larger academy building ; but for want of funds they were unable to do anything, until the Synod of Virginia (lately formed by the division of the Hanover presbytery) broached a system of religious education and the plan of a theological seminary, to be connected with Hampden Sidney College, or with Liberty Hall Academy.

The sole resource for funds was a new subscription. This would probably have availed little if the scheme of a theological seminary had not stimulated the people to subscribe with the view of securing its location at the academy. In April, 1793, the sum subscribed was, in the opinion of the board, sufficient to justify immediate preparations to erect a house of respectable size. The first plan was to make it thirty feet by twenty-four in the clear and three stories high. The unexpected amount subscribed, and the contemplated theological department, induced them to enlarge the plan. The house was to be of stone, thirty-eight feet by thirty in the clear, and three stories high, containing twelve rooms nearly fifteen feet square.

Now the people of Lexington made another attempt to bring the academy to the town. The increase of the village enabled them on this occasion to exert considerable influence over the board. The question was strenuously debated, but the majority still adhered to their wise determination to retain the quiet rural site, where the temptations to idleness and vice were less than they are in a town.¹

In the spring of this year (1793) materials for the house were contracted for; and in the month of August, William Cravens, a stonemason of Rockingham county, was employed to build the house. He carried on the work with such vigor that the building was finished and ready for delivery by the ensuing Christmas. He also finished, by the same time, a steward's house, with its appurtenances. The substantial quality of his masonry is apparent to this day in the ruins of the building yet in part standing firm forty-five years after the wooden materials were consumed by fire.²

We cannot forbear to say a few things in commemoration of this builder of Liberty Hall Academy. He was a compact, thick-set man, of coarse features and great muscular strength, which he was fond of exercising, when a young man, in pugilistic combats. It was probably in one of these that he lost an eye. He afterwards became a local preacher in the Methodist church. He had a keen insight of human character, and no less energy, though perhaps less skill, in building up the church than he had in building stone walls. He was an honest mechanic, a bold and honest preacher, in every sense an honest man, though as rough as the rock on which he exercised his hammer. He could not look with silence upon any sort of dishonesty in other men, especially if they were

¹ Dr. Alexander, after remarking on the almost desperate condition of morals and religion in the country, tells of an old soldier who acquired a house in Lexington in 1789, and "here collected all the vagrants in the country, and a drunken bout would be kept up for weeks." There were but few earnestly religious people in the land, and they were dreaded and hated by the wildest of the people. It was this state of society, especially in the village of Lexington, which inclined the authorities of the academy to keep the school as secluded as possible.—W. H. R.

² These ruins are still prominent in one of the fields of the Mulberry Hill farm, three-quarters of a mile northwest of Lexington: an ideal spot for a large university, but not so convenient as the present beautiful site.—W. H. R.

members of his own church. As a sample of rough, home-spun wit, we give the following anecdote.¹

A neighbor of his joined the church to which he usually preached. Cravens, like most of his brethren in former times, was strongly opposed to slavery. He therefore told the new convert that he ought to liberate a slave that he had, named Ben; and easily prevailed on him to give a promise to that effect. Weeks and months passed away, but Ben was not liberated. Cravens the meanwhile said not a word more to his convert about the matter, intending to wait, and if the promise was not fulfilled to administer a rebuke that should be felt. Presently a religious excitement arose in the church and Ben's master was one of the most excited. Still Ben was not liberated. One night after sermon in the church, Cravens, who was in the pulpit, observed his convert to be much excited, and with others leaping and shouting and clapping his hands. He left the pulpit, walked up to his enraptured brother, took him by his hands and began to exercise with him. "Leap higher," said Cravens, "leap with all your might." The lofty springs of this pair soon drew the attention of the whole assembly. This was what Cravens wanted. He stopped their exercise, clapped his convert approvingly on the back, and said, "Well done, brother, well done! I did not think you could jump so high, *with Ben upon your back.*"

While the trustees were endeavoring to fit their academy for obtaining the theological school and the patronage of the Synod, the friends of Hampden Sidney on their part adopted a scheme which threatened Liberty Hall with disastrous consequences. They proposed that the theological seminary should be connected with their college, and that Mr. Graham should be called to preside over both. When the trustees of the academy heard of this scheme, they sent John Willson, one of their body, to present a petition to the Synod at their meeting in October 1792. In this petition² they urged many reasons against the transfer of Mr. Graham to Hampden Sidney, and in favor of their academy as a suitable place for the theological school.

¹ Told me by a Presbyterian minister, formerly resident in Harrisonburg.

² A copy of this petition, I found among papers left by Dr. J. W. Paine, and filed. See "No. 14."—J. Fuller.

The Synod had at their last session, the preceding year, adopted a general plan of education, literary and theological, with the view of training young men for the ministry ; and wheresoever their seminary should be located, this plan was to be pursued. In relation to this the trustees expressed themselves in their petition as follows :

“ We have maturely considered the plan proposed by the Synod last year, and we are so highly pleased with its principles and design, that we have adopted its part relative to education, and as far, or nearly so, of the rest as coincided with our act of incorporation. But as it appears that the Synod had not a direct view to our legal constitution, and therefore that some things in this plan are not consistent with it ; we therefore wish the Synod to review their plan and to make such alterations in it as will make it agree with the law, which will be laid before you for that purpose. And on such alterations being made, we shall be happy in applying our library, which consists of about 300 well chosen volumes, many of them large ones, and our mathematical and philosophical apparatus, which is nearly complete, and other property, which consists of lands, bonds¹ and buildings of considerable value, belonging to our academy, to promote the pious and well concerted design proposed by the Synod for training young men to preach the everlasting gospel.”

The Synod left it to Mr. Graham to choose whether he would remove to Hampden Sidney or remain at Liberty Hall. When he chose the latter, they determined to accept the offer expressed in the foregoing extract.

The general terms of this coalition were, that the board of trustees should endeavor to fill up vacancies in their body, chiefly with members of the presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington ; that these presbyteries or their representatives might attend with the board on the examination of the students ; and that the mode of education should be peculiarly adapted to the education of youth for the ministry of the gospel. On these terms the Synod engaged to patronize the academy.

This arrangement excited great hopes for the academy, in the most of its friends, but gave offence to some, because of its sectarian

¹ I know not what bonds they could mean, except those given by the purchaser of the property at Timber Ridge.

character, and the apprehension that it would gradually fill the board of trustees with presbyterian clergymen and put the academy entirely into the hands of the Synod. But neither the hopes of the one party nor the fears of the other were realized. The measure, no doubt, gave a temporary impulse to the exertions to raise funds and provide convenient buildings for the academy, and the number of students was somewhat increased by synodical patronage. Some members of the Lexington presbytery attended a few of the semi-annual examinations of the students; some young men studied theology under Mr. Graham, and for a while the general exercises of the academy had more of a religious character than before. But the zeal of the Synod and of its presbyteries for theological education declined with the religious excitement that had produced it; the theological character of the school soon began to wear away, and in three or four years the arrangement was silently dropped without producing any permanent change in the school or its board of trustees. But it gave the first impulse to those charges of sectarianism against the institution which continued long to pursue its career and to operate injuriously upon its interests. From the year 1793 the academy, with its enlarged accommodations and the patronage of the Synod, began to assume a more respectable standing, and went on with an increased number of students, and an improved state of morals, due chiefly to the late revival of religion in the country and the influence of the pious young men who were studying for the gospel ministry.

From the year 1785 to 1793 no academical commencement appears to have been held, for the reason probably that very few students had in the meantime merited academical honors. In the latter of these years a Mr. Freeman was honored with the bachelor's degree, but without any public formality. From the record of his examination it appears that, besides the Latin and Greek languages, the following branches of science were then taught in the academy, viz.: Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, Logic, Criticism and Rhetoric, Euclid's plane Trigonometry, Navigation, (superficially of course), and Land Surveying. Natural Philosophy is omitted in the record, but was doubtless a part of the course. No text-books are named in the record. But we have reason to believe that most of these branches of learning were more

imperfectly taught than they are now in the better sort of schools. The mathematics were taught out of old English text-books, in which (except Euclid) the theory of the science was not explained. The course of classical studies was also less thorough than is customary now; yet we know that some excellent classical scholars were made under Mr. Graham's instruction.

For a number of years afterwards the imperfect and mutilated records make no mention of graduates; yet it must have been before the year 1790 that the Rev. Dr. Alexander of Princeton (the oldest living alumnus of the institution) obtained his degree at an early age. Others were probably graduated not long after the same time, whose names are not upon record. When the new buildings were finished, a steward was employed to board the students. The first steward here was Mr. Edward Graham, a younger brother of the rector, and at a later period professor of Natural Philosophy in Washington College.¹

It may not be uninteresting to mention the quality and price of the diet furnished to the students at this period—the year 1794.

The prescribed bill of fare was: for breakfast, coffee, tea, or chocolate, with butter and bread; for dinner, one course of bread and meat (beef, pork, or bacon), with suitable sauce of vegetables; for supper, bread, butter, and milk, all to be of good quality and well prepared. Excellent fare for students; but too plain to be acceptable in these luxurious days, when many students complain if they are not permitted to fare sumptuously every day. High living in a literary institution is in all respects objectionable. It is costly; it injures the health; it obfuscates the intellect; and it induces habits of sensual indulgence, the ill consequences of which are felt through life. For the plain, wholesome fare allowed to the students of Liberty Hall, they were now to pay £7, equivalent to 23½ dollars, per session of five months, about half the customary price of board in these days; and for this sum the steward was also to have their rooms cleaned and their beds made.

These terms were predicated on the prices of provisions, which are stated in the record to have been: 58 cents a bushel for wheat,

¹ Mr. Edward Graham married a sister of Dr. Archibald Alexander and left a family of uncommon talents, whose descendants are still in Lexington.—W. H. R.

50 cents for rye, 42 cents for corn, $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars a cwt. for beef, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ dollars for pork. These prices are not upon the whole more than 20 or 25 per cent. lower than the present prices for the same articles. It is remarkable that corn has scarcely risen at all since that period.¹

Six months afterwards, namely, in October, 1794, a small rise in the price of provisions induced the trustees to add 10 shillings per session to the price of boarding, and they permitted the steward to take away the butter from the supper table, leaving the votaries of learning to satisfy their hunger with simple bread and milk—more we suspect for the good of their health than to the gratification of their desires. He was also exonerated from the duty of attending to the students' rooms. He was before required to have them swept only twice a week. We may doubt whether they were afterwards swept even once a week.

The price of board was again raised in 1796 to 10 pounds 12 shillings per session, that is, about 50 per cent. above the rate allowed three years before, it having been found that not only had the price of provisions risen somewhat, but that the profits of the steward were too small to induce a competent man to continue in the office, Mr. Graham having resigned after a trial of two years.

When the new building was finished the price of tuition was raised from four to five pounds per annum, and the room rent of the student was fixed at half a dollar a session for each student, unless five or more were crowded into a room, then they paid two dollars among them.

The board of trustees, having incurred considerable debts by the erection of the new buildings, applied to the legislature to vest in them the title to certain escheated land in Rockbridge and the adjacent counties, and to authorize the board to raise money by lottery. But this attempt, like all others to obtain aid from the government, was fruitless.

For want of other means, the trustees were obliged to pay some considerable debts by advancing the money out of their own

¹ Corn in 1888 and 1889 is about the same price it was in 1794, though generally it has been 50 cents and sometimes 75 cents. Wheat is now only 17 cents higher than in 1794. Rye is worth just the same. Beef and pork, though lower now than they have been for half a century, are still much higher than they were a century ago.—W. H. R.

pockets. A bond to Mr. John Donohoo for £200 was discharged in this way by fifteen of the trustees. Without this liberality on their part the academy would have been broken up by the levying of an execution upon its movable property. A similar act of liberality is recorded of some of the old trustees in the year 1779. The small number of them who had taken an active part in the affairs of the academy advanced each £50 in the currency of the time, to make some necessary additions to the buildings.

The institution was now, in 1795, exceedingly embarrassed for want of means to pay its debts and to improve its condition.

Influenced by the necessity of the case and the hoped-for patronage of the Synod, the trustees had undertaken the new buildings with very inadequate means. The subscriptions set on foot for this object fell short of their expectations, and in many instances were slowly paid. We have in the records no information of either the amount subscribed or the cost of the buildings. A committee estimated that a building about two-thirds of the dimensions of the one erected would cost about £286. As estimates in such cases usually fall short of the actual cost, we may infer that the new academy house cost 500 or 600 pounds. Such a house would now cost 2500 or 3000 dollars. The steward's house and its appurtenances must have swelled the whole cost to a sum little short of 800 pounds.

In this distressed condition of the academy, the trustees knew not whither to turn for aid. The creditors were pressing for their money. All had been done that could be done by calling on the people for subscriptions. An appeal had been made to the Legislature in vain. Yet in October, 1795, the board, being of opinion that "some aid from the public was necessary to prevent the academy from sinking into a useless condition," resolved once more to try the effect of a petition to the Legislature, and charged a committee with the duty of preparing it.

Just then they were saved the mortification of another Legislative refusal, by the unexpected opening of a new and more hopeful prospect.

CHAPTER V.

THE DONATION OF GENERAL WASHINGTON AND THE RESIGNATION OF MR. GRAHAM.

In January, 1796, the rector called a meeting of the trustees "to take into consideration some information that he had received that the legislature of Virginia had resolved that there should be a seminary in the upper part of the state, and that the president of the United States was about to bestow his 100 shares in the James River Company to aid in endowing the same."

The facts of the case were these: Early in the year 1784 the legislature of Virginia incorporated the first company to improve the navigation of the James River, and in October of the same year a similar company for the Potomac. Immediately afterwards they passed an act authorizing the state treasurer to subscribe on state account 100 additional shares in the former and 50 in the latter company, "the said shares to be vested in George Washington, his heirs and assigns forever."

This donation was not intended by the legislature to be committed to General Washington as a trust fund, for any public or benevolent object, but was simply a gift for his personal benefit, "out of the desire of the representatives of this commonwealth (as they said in the preamble of the act) to embrace every suitable occasion of testifying their sense of the unexampled merits of George Washington, Esquire, towards his country; and it is their wish in particular, that these great works for its improvement, which, both as springing from the liberty which he has been so instrumental in establishing, and as encouraged by his patronage, will be durable monuments of his glory, may be made monuments also of the gratitude of his country."

When a copy of this act was communicated to General Washington, he wrote to the Governor, declining to accept the donation, as intended by the Legislature, for his private emolument, whilst he expressed his "profound and grateful acknowledgments, inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards himself."

The reason assigned for declining the donation is thus expressed in his letter :

“When I was called to the station with which I was honored, during the late conflict for our liberties,—to the diffidence which I had so many reasons to feel in accepting it, I thought it my duty to join a firm resolution, to shut my hand against every pecuniary recompense; to this resolution I have invariably adhered; from this resolution, (if I had the inclination), I do not feel at liberty to depart. But if it should please the General Assembly to permit me to turn the destination of the fund vested in me from my private emolument to objects of a public nature, it will be my study, in selecting these, to prove the sincerity of my gratitude for the honor conferred on me, by preferring such as may appear most subservient to the enlightened and patriotic views of the Legislature.”

The General Assembly, at their next meeting in October, 1785, in compliance with this request, which they could not decently refuse, repealed the former act, and in its stead enacted, that the said shares, with the tolls and profits thereafter accruing from them, should stand appropriated to such objects of a public nature, in such manner, and under such distributions, as the said George Washington, Esquire, by deed during his life or by his last will and testament, should direct and appoint.

From this authentic statement it is evident, that whilst the legislature deserves credit for its just and good intentions towards General Washington, to him and to him only are to be ascribed whatever public benefits have accrued, or shall hereafter accrue, from this fund.

During ten years, while the works were unfinished and the trade small, the stock of the James River Company was unproductive. Therefore General Washington thought proper to defer the appropriation of his hundred shares, until it should appear whether any profits were likely to accrue from them. When at last they promised ere long to become productive, he turned his attention to the proper disposal of them. Having been for years absent from the State and occupied with the duties of the Presidency, he seems to have felt some diffidence in acting upon his own judgment in the case; at least he thought fit to request the Legislature to designate the object of his donation. They referred the designation back to himself, with the recommendation, that if he thought proper he should endow with these shares some seminary

of learning in the upper country, at whatever place he might think most convenient for the general accommodation of the inhabitants. The legislature was induced to make this recommendation by the consideration, probably, that the lower country had been sufficiently provided with academies and colleges, one of which, William and Mary, had been richly endowed by the colonial government ; while, as yet, nothing of this sort had been done for the growing population on the western side of the Blue Ridge.

President Washington was thus left to decide upon the object of his bounty, with the recommendation that if he thought proper he should endow with those shares some seminary of learning in the "upper country," which might be considered as including all the country in or near the mountains. On being informed of this, General Andrew Moore of Rockbridge and General Francis Preston of Washington county, who were then representatives in Congress from Western Virginia, called the attention of the illustrious patron of learning to Liberty Hall Academy as a suitable object of his donation, and then General Moore wrote to the rector, Mr. Graham, suggesting that they should apply to General Washington for the donation.

When Mr. Graham received the information he promptly called a meeting of the trustees to act upon the information he had received. They seized the happy occasion to promote the interests of their academy, now standing in jeopardy for the want of means to discharge its debts. They prepared and forwarded an address to President Washington in Philadelphia. They stated the claims of their institution to his favorable regard in designating the place and the object of his donation. They gave him a sketch of its history and pointed out the convenience of its situation and the extent of its present means for the education of youth. They stated that the buildings were capable of accommodating between 40 and 50 students, and that the whole property of the academy, without deducting its debts, we presume, was worth nearly 2,000 pounds.

Mr. Graham, though about to resign his office, aided with much zeal in the preparation of this address. Further to promote its object he drew a manuscript map of upper Virginia and sent it with the address, that the illustrious donor might see at a glance

the central situation of Liberty Hall in relation to the country which the institution to be endowed was to accommodate.

The reasons assigned by the trustees were good and therefore prevailed. In September, 1796, the Father of his Country officially communicated to Robert Brooke, governor of Virginia, his decision in favor of Liberty Hall Academy.¹ The donation was subsequently confirmed by a deed of conveyance. The par value of the 100 shares was twenty thousand dollars. His shares of Potomac stock were given to the Leesburg Academy.

Thus Liberty Hall Academy, after a precarious and struggling existence of twenty years, at length acquired the assurance of future means to discharge its debts and to increase its usefulness as a seminary of learning. Several years of embarrassment elapsed, however, before anything but good hopes resulted from this donation. When the trustees, after much delay, obtained official notice of the donation, they addressed the following letter of acknowledgment to the illustrious patron of the academy :

“ Sir,—

“ It was not earlier than September, 1797, that we were officially informed of your liberal donation to Liberty Hall Academy.

Permit us, as its immediate guardians, to perform the pleasing duty of expressing those sentiments of gratitude which so generous an act naturally inspires. We have long been sensible of the disadvantages to which literary institutions are necessarily subjected whilst dependent on precarious funds for their support. Reflecting particularly on the many difficulties through which this seminary has been conducted since the first moments of its existence, we cannot but be greatly affected by an event which secures to it a permanent and independent establishment. Convinced, as we are, that public prosperity and security are intimately connected with the diffusion of knowledge, we look around with the highest satisfaction on its rapid advances in these United States ; unfeignedly rejoicing that the citizen who has long been

¹ General Washington, when considering what disposition he should make of his James River stock, had before him the towns of Staunton, Lexington, and Fincastle in the “upper country.” He selected Lexington because a seminary had already been established there, while nothing had been done at either of the other places. He said that he preferred aiding those who had already aided themselves, rather than those who needed to be stimulated by his donation to do something for themselves.—Eds.

distinguished as the asserter of the liberties of his country, adds to this illustrious character the no less illustrious one, of Patron of the Arts and Literature. And we trust that no effort will be wanting on our part to encourage whatever branches of knowledge may be of general utility.

"That you may long enjoy, besides the uninterrupted blessings of health and repose, the superior happiness which none but those who deserve it can enjoy, and which arises from the reflection of having virtuously and eminently promoted the best interests of mankind, is the fervent prayer of the trustees of Washington Academy, late Liberty Hall.

"By order of the Board,
SAMUEL HOUSTON, *Clerk.*"

"His Excellency,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
Late President of the United States."

To which General Washington returned the following answer, the autograph of which is carefully preserved in Washington College.

"MOUNT VERNON, *June 17th, 1798.*

"Gentlemen,—

"Unaccountable as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that the address with which you were pleased to honor me, dated the 12th of April, never came to my hands until the 14th instant.

"To promote literature in this rising empire, and to encourage the arts, have ever been amongst the warmest wishes of my heart. And if the donation, which the generosity of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Virginia has enabled me to bestow on Liberty Hall, now by your politeness called Washington Academy, is likely to prove a means to accomplish these ends, it will contribute to the gratification of my desires.

"Sentiments like those which have flowed from your pen excite my gratitude, whilst I offer my best vows for the prosperity of the academy and for the honor and happiness of those under whose auspices it is conducted.

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"*Trustees of Washington Academy.*"¹

¹ At the time this donation was made the stock was real estate and passed by deed. The trustees prepared a deed, and sent it by the late James Gold, then a merchant of Lexington, who was on his way to Philadelphia to buy goods. He

Cotemporaneously with the acquisition of this permanent fund, the academy lost the services of its rector, who had for the space of twenty years conducted the infant seminary through all its trials, and kept it alive until he saw it placed on a stable foundation.

Mr. Graham had meditated the removal of his family to the West before General Washington's donation was anticipated. In the autumn of the year 1795 he made a tour to Kentucky, with the view of selecting a new abode. On passing down the Valley of the Kanawha, he was struck with admiration at the fertility and beauty of its low grounds. On the Ohio, he was charmed with the same sort of country on a larger scale. Though in the progress of his journey he saw the beautiful uplands in the interior of Kentucky, he still preferred the banks of the great rivers, where an equal fertility of soil was united with the advantages of navigation and the magnificence of water scenery.

When he arrived at Point Pleasant on his way out, he was informed that a fine tract of land, containing six thousand acres, mostly low grounds lying on the Virginia side of the Ohio at Letart's Falls, was offered for sale on very moderate terms. The next March he concluded a contract with the owners in Alexandria on terms which he considered highly advantageous; and immediately began to make arrangements for the sale of his property in Rockbridge and the removal of his family to their new home on the Ohio.

These things occupied so much of his time, that he could give little attention to his family, or to the academy during the last year of his rectorship. Having completed his preparations for removal, he addressed the following letter of resignation to the board :

went by Mount Vernon and presented it to General Washington, who on reading it and observing that it was with *general* warranty took up his pen and struck out the word *general* and inserted *special*, remarking that as he was giving the stock the Trustees ought to be satisfied with a deed with special warranty. The deed was executed and recorded in the Auditor's office, but the book in which it was recorded is missing from the office. General Washington by his will dated July 9, 1799, confirmed the gift by the following provision: "Item. The hundred shares which I hold in the James River Company I have given and now confirm in perpetuity to and for the use and benefit of Liberty Hall Academy in the County of Rockbridge in the Commonwealth of Virginia."—Eds.

" September 25th, 1796.

" Gentlemen,—

"After long and solemn deliberation I have been compelled to come to the resolution of relinquishing the care of that infant seminary which I have so long endeavored to cherish.

"After 22 years of anxious toil, it would have been one of the happiest events of my life to have seen the seminary in a condition of permanent and extensive usefulness and to have aided in its prosperity. But the impracticability of acquiring the conveniences or even the necessities of life for myself and my family, whilst my time was spent in discharge of the necessary duties of an office which brought me no return, has induced me to resign my office and title of rector of Liberty Hall.

"That you gentlemen may be more abundantly successful in your future efforts is the desire and prayer of your humble servant,

" WILLIAM GRAHAM."

Some time after the receipt of this letter the board prepared the following address to Mr. Graham :

" Dear Sir,—

"At a meeting in October, 1796, we received your resignation. Your absence then prevented any reply. The reasons you assigned, we acknowledge are weighty. We could not, however, help lamenting the hard necessity that deprived us of our rector, whilst, at the same time, as was natural, we felt emotions of gratitude and esteem.

"We have long been convinced that much time, pains and expense are requisite to fit men for literary occupations; that the business of education is extremely irksome and therefore that generous encouragement should be given to those who undertake employments of this sort. We hoped, ere now, to have been able to reward liberally the officers of the academy. But a variety of causes have contributed to render our exertions in a great measure vain. However, notwithstanding the embarrassed state of our affairs, we have been happy in seeing this seminary for many years eminently useful in diffusing knowledge and thereby subserving the general interests of literature and piety. This we attribute, under Providence, to your distinguished talents, and that steady, disinterested zeal which you have uniformly discovered for the prosperity of the academy. And though pecuniary compensation has been wanting, yet believe you have the grateful esteem of every good

man, and the approbation of Him who knows all our ways. That He may go with you through the remainder of life, that His wisdom may direct, and His Providence guard you, that every blessing may attend you and your family, is the sincere prayer of the trustees of Liberty Hall.

“SAMUEL HOUSTON, *Chairman*.

“REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

“*April 20th, 1797.*”

Shortly after his resignation Mr. Graham removed his family to their new residence on the Ohio. When he purchased the large tract of land before mentioned, his imagination was fired with the scheme of settling a colony there of pious and intelligent people who should make the wilderness blossom as the rose, and who should lead an innocent and peaceful life in the midst of social enjoyments. His too sanguine expectations were doomed to bitter disappointment in every particular.

He acted incautiously in making the purchase. He had not sufficiently viewed the land, nor ascertained its boundaries. Too late he discovered that a large portion of it consisted of poor hills of no present value. The conditions of the purchase were also hazardous to a man of his deficient means. Payment was to be made in large instalments, and in case of failure in meeting any of them his title was liable to forfeiture.

His ability to make the payments depended on his success in selling both his Rockbridge farm and parcels of his new purchase.

His scheme of settling only choice colonists on the land failed entirely: he could not get a single neighbor or acquaintance to join him in his new Arcadia. Necessity compelled him to sell parcels of the land to the first competent buyers, and these were neither gentle shepherds nor pious Presbyterians. He was therefore without a field of usefulness as a preacher, and his family had neither agreeable society nor a school for the younger children.

Last and worst of all: having failed to make prompt payment of an instalment, he was sued for the recovery of the land, and had to attend court away in Fairfax county, where the suit was brought. When afterwards he had raised a sufficient sum to make the payment, and tendered it to the creditors, they refused to receive it, or to dismiss the suit. They had gotten the advantage of

him and would not relinquish it. He left the money in the hands of a friend in Alexandria, to be paid in case the suit terminated in his favor. This friend lent the money on interest. The borrower proved insolvent and the money was lost. During two years and a half after his removal, Mr. Graham was most of the time absent from home, attending to his affairs in Rockbridge and in Fairfax, while his family lived uncomfortably among strangers in the wilderness. He made his last journey through the mountains in the spring of 1799. He met with rainy weather, and high waters which he had to ford where they were both deep and rapid. He was consequently often wet; yet frequent exposure since his removal had so hardened his constitution that he suffered no immediate illness from this cause. But the growing perplexities of his business called him to proceed from Rockbridge to Richmond. He had nearly reached the place of his destination, when a violent rain overtook him in the afternoon. He stopped at a country house, and sat in moist clothes till bed time, without fire. This was too much for his constitution to bear. He entered Richmond next morning with a violent pleurisy, which terminated fatally on the 8th of June. He met death with calm resignation, as might be expected from his previous life. His remains lie interred in the cemetery on Church Hill, near the south door of the venerable old church.¹

Shortly after his death the lawsuit terminated, and his unfortunate family were ejected from their last home in the world. He left six children, of whom the oldest, Jahab, became a respectable preacher, but died prematurely not long after he was married to a beautiful young woman, Miss Heiskel of Staunton. Three out of four daughters married and left families. The youngest child and second son, William, was educated by Priestly, an alumnus of the father, mentioned on a preceding page. He became a physician and settled in the South.

The disastrous scheme of a settlement on the Ohio exhibits some traits of Mr. Graham's character. With a strong natural love of property, especially in land, he united an ardent, sanguine temperament, and an imagination easily fired with delusive hopes. But this defect in his mental constitution was associated in him,

¹ St. John's. Dr. Samuel L. Campbell states that Mr. Graham died at the house of Col. Robert Gamble.—W. H. R.

as in many others, with excellent qualities. He had an extraordinary energy and decision of character. He was enterprising in the conception and vigorous in the execution of his designs. His mind was ever active, full of original thoughts, and rarely content to follow implicitly the views of other men.

The energy and decision of his character, while it produced many valuable results, occasionally led him into rash and injudicious measures. The following anecdote¹ presents an example in point.

The Presbyterians of the Valley had continued the custom of singing in public worship only Rouse's version of the Psalms, until the revivals of religion in the year 1789, and afterwards, began to render the smoother versification and the evangelical diction of Watts more acceptable to many in the church, especially the younger members. The church of Providence did not consent to depart from the old custom as early as the churches under Mr. Graham's charge. The Rev. Jno. Brown, pastor of the Providence Church, a good easy man, invited Mr. Graham to assist at a sacrament, or meeting for the administration of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Graham, warm with a recent revival of religion, determined, on this occasion, to introduce Watts' hymns. He was so very indiscreet as to do this without notice at the beginning of the communion service. Some of the elder members immediately left the church, and many were offended. The consequences were agitation and ill-feeling during the communion, a schism among the members, terminating in a secession of the most discontented, and the formation of a church by the seceders, called Old Providence. The division has not yet been healed.

What made the offended party irreconcilable at the time, was a sarcastic expression of Mr. Graham's. When told in the course of the day that some talked of seceding, "Let them go," said he, "Let them go without the walls, they are but the dung of the sacrifice." This caustic and unpardonable allusion to the removal of the offal of the Jewish sacrifices without the walls of the temple, was doubtless spoken under a sudden impulse of feeling; but his whole conduct on this occasion was characteristic of the man—bold

¹Told me nearly thirty years ago, by the aged William Patton of Timber Ridge, who was present on the occasion.

and resolute in pursuing what he believed to be right, but sometimes deficient in tact and discretion, and sometimes, through impatience, cutting the knot that could, with some gentle and discriminative manipulation, have been untied. For example, the church at Tinkling Spring, under the pastoral care of Mr. McCue, was indulged for more than twenty years longer in the use of Rouse's psalms; until at last, for want of opposition to this venerable psalm-book, it was by common consent laid aside.

Another illustration of Mr. Graham's bold and independent spirit was a scene which occurred at Harrisonburg at a meeting of the Synod of Virginia in the year 1794, when a company of soldiers arrived there on their way to put down the whiskey insurgents of Pennsylvania. The Rev. Moses Hoge, warm with patriotic zeal, moved that the Synod should adopt an address to the people inculcating obedience to the laws. Mr. Graham opposed all synodical action on the subject, and boldly avowed that the "whiskey boys," as they were usually called, were not rebels, but a suffering people whose grievances ought to be redressed. Other members also opposed the motion, either because they thought that an ecclesiastical body should not meddle with civil affairs, or because they sympathized with the "whiskey boys"—whiskey being at that time a chief staple of the Valley, and the tax upon its manufacture was felt as a grievance. The address was carried by a small majority. The soldiers were exasperated against Mr. Graham and his party, and threatened violence against him, insomuch that he felt it expedient to retire privately from the scene of tumult.

About this time a new state, to be called Frankland, was projected on the upper waters of the Tennessee River, and the people in some parts of the country held meetings to carry the project into execution. A committee was appointed to draft the form of a constitution for the projected state. There is a report that Mr. Graham was, by request of the committee, the draftsman, but this is not probable; for after the proposed constitution was published, he wrote and published a pamphlet in which he speaks of this constitution as the production of the committee and not of his own pen, and praised it far too highly to comport with the modesty of an author when speaking of his own work. Either this laudatory

pamphlet or the constitution so lauded—probably the former—was violently assailed by the Rev. Hezekiah Balch, a member of the Abingdon presbytery, which was mostly within the projected state. Mr. Graham in turn addressed a printed letter to Balch, in which he satirized him most bitterly. The Synod, before whom the case was brought, inflicted but a light censure on Graham, because the provocation was considered as more than a man of Graham's irascible temperament could well bear. But the people who opposed the project of a new state did not let him off so easily. His defence of the scheme so irritated some of them, that they assembled tumultuously and burnt him in effigy. These and similar acts of Mr. Graham made him many enemies, and caused some good people to question the sincerity of his religion. They looked more to his defects than to his excellencies. Mr. Graham's love of rectitude and zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of man, were strong enough generally to overcome his irascibility, and restrain his natural love of wealth and of power. His constitutional love of sway, however, was often manifest. He could seldom be content to act a subordinate part. In whatever meetings for business, civil or ecclesiastical, he took part, he always conspired to take a leading part. In general, he was courteous in debate, but still impatient of strong and especially of disrespectful opposition, which often drew from him a caustic and satirical reply that gave lasting offence.

So his manners in private life were uncommonly courteous, particularly towards inferiors. Riding once with a friend,¹ they met a negro on the road, who began "to make his manners" as soon as they approached him. Mr. Graham took off his hat, and in all sincerity and politeness responded to the poor fellow's bow; nor did he cover his head again until they had passed him. The friend having made some jesting remark about it;—"What!" said Mr. Graham, "would you have me to be outdone in politeness by a negro!"

As a teacher Mr. Graham had eminent qualifications. He possessed the art of communicating instruction in a clear and impressive manner, and of governing a school with authority and

¹ The late Capt. William Lyle of Oakly, in Rockbridge, a trustee of the academy, who succeeded his father, Samuel Lyle, as a member of the board.—W. H. R.

success. Orderly students loved him, for to them he was uniformly gentle and affectionate; the disorderly and vicious feared him, for to them he was magisterial, stern, and sometimes terrible in his rebukes.

As a preacher, a theologian, a philosopher, Mr. Graham was distinguished for profoundness and originality of thought. His views and his language were clear and forcible. Yet, for want of extensive reading and comprehensiveness of acquired knowledge, he could not so well spread his views over an extensive subject, as he could grasp strongly and unfold clearly a particular and detached train of thought. His favorite study was mental philosophy, of which he formed, without committing to paper, a system of his own, the fruit of observation and reflection, more than of reading and selection.

As a preacher he was greatly admired by the majority of his hearers, for the closeness and depth of his reasoning and the warmth of his application.

"His profound study of the human heart (says the Rev. Dr. Alexander¹) enabled him to describe the various exercises of the Christian with a clearness and truth which often greatly surprised his pious hearers; for it seemed to them as if he could read the very inmost sentiments of their minds, which he described more perfectly than they could do it themselves.

"When it was his object to elucidate some difficult points, it was his custom to open his trenches, so to speak, at a great distance, removing out of the way every obstacle, until at last they could not easily avoid acquiescence in the conclusion to which he wished to bring them. As a clear and cogent reasoner he had no superior among his cotemporaries."

As to his delivery, Dr. Alexander says that in common it was rather feeble and embarrassed, and his dark-colored eyes had rather a dull appearance; but when he was excited his voice became penetrating, his eyes brilliant and piercing, and his whole manner awakening and expressive.

In person he was of middling stature, of thin habit of body, but active and easy in his motions.

¹ In his printed address to the Alumni of Washington College.

He was not a ready nor elegant writer. His writings were few and small, consisting of some notes of sermons and of lectures on Mental Philosophy and Theology, a tract on Baptism, in which he managed well a line of argument which had not before been prominently brought out by writers on the same side; and lastly the political pamphlet before mentioned, criticising the proposed constitution of Frankland. In this pamphlet Mr. Graham showed himself to be thoroughly democratic in his political sentiments. But he had some notions on government which the sad experience of the world has demonstrated to be visionary. He imagined that by constitutional provision, the vicious part of society might be excluded from political power and only the virtuous suffered to bear rule. He was in favor of an agrarian law, to prohibit any individual from owning a large quantity of land. He was for frequent rotation in all public offices; for appointing judicial as well as other officers by popular elections; for a single legislative body; and for submitting every bill to the consideration of the people during six months, before it should become a law.

We shall give some extracts from this pamphlet, as a specimen of Mr. Graham's style and manner of thinking, in the hope also that they may do good by the exposure of certain vices, in blunt but in exceedingly strong and pertinent language.

"The report of the committee [who drew up the plan of a constitution for Frankland] contains an article which excludes from all civil offices immoral men, such as habitual drunkards, profane swearers, gamblers, lewd persons, etc.—one of the wisest and best articles in the universe, and with other articles of that report, will do honor to the gentlemen who framed it, as long as the English language is understood, whether the people of Frankland be wise enough to adopt them or not."

After some other remarks of the like sort, Mr. Graham proceeds to comment on the vices aforesaid, after this manner :

"Lewdness, gaming and drunkenness are very expensive vices, and cannot be practiced to any great degree without considerable wealth; hence we shall find these two extremes often united in persons devoted to these vices,—profuse and avaricious; *profuse* in expending what they possess upon their appetites, and *avaricious* in proportion to the crav-

ings of these appetites. The first leads to idleness and want; the last to villainy and deceit; and even robberies have not in all cases been stopped at, when they appeared the highest means of relief and gratification. Their whoring debts, drinking debts, gaming debts, (*debts of honor!*) must be paid at all events, though an innocent family should starve, honest creditors be defrauded and the public ruined. And are men to be trusted with the public safety, who have not honesty and prudence enough to manage their private estates? Will the public good be studied by men who never studied their own? Will men promote the public happiness, who are constantly laying snares for the unwary, to take their money, and give them nothing in return but remorse and anguish? Will men support morality, who contrive to break the peace of families and bring lasting infamy and disgrace upon the most helpless part of the species? The man who can be wheedled out of his senses and believe that such wretches will aim at anything but enslaving the people, as far as they dare, and glutting themselves with the public's money, may believe in the deity of Julius Cæsar, or the divine authority of the inquisition.

"Profane swearing is another vice, the practice of which is incompatible with the public good. Fully to understand this, it will be necessary to take into view a principle, supposed in all governments, and essential to their existence, *that there is an almighty and omnipotent being, who loves truth and hates falsehood, who will reward the good and punish the wicked.* Upon this principle are courts of justice founded, and the mode of ascertaining truth by oath, adopted by all civilized nations. The greater reverence men in general have for this principle, with the greater ease and certainty can almost every concern of government be conducted, and whatever tends to weaken that reverence tends to unhinge government and prevent the exercise of justice. Profane swearing tends to wear off that reverence, and proportionally introduces falsehood and perjury, and is therefore incompatible with the first ideas of happy or equal government. Then will a wise people trust the management of a state to men who are every day destroying the very essential principles upon which it is founded?"

After some good observations on habitual Sabbath breakers, he says :

"To this article [which excludes vicious men from office] it is objected that 'It excludes some men of great ability and experience who might do good.' That the Devil has great abilities, and long experience, and might possibly do good, perhaps few will deny; but I

believe no prudent set of men would choose him for a legislator. And the very same reasons that should deter them from choosing the father should deter them from choosing his sons, because he is an enemy to mankind."

Thus keenly and justly does the author satirize vicious characters and expose their unfitness for public office. Happy would the country be, if the people in the exercise of their sovereign will were always influenced by such reasoning as Mr. Graham's. But, alas! if the men who are guilty of any of the vices named above were banished from our legislative halls, there would scarcely be a quorum left. But vain would be a constitutional provision against the election of such men to office. Such men are most apt to engage in the trade of politics, being often fit for no other; and possess some advantages over virtuous men for carrying it on, being unrestrained by moral principle from using the basest arts to win popular favor. When by temporizing policy, artful flattery, impudent pretension and mock patriotism, they have won the hearts of those who sympathize with their private vices, and imposed on the simplicity of the honest, who imagine that public virtue is compatible with private vice; who or what can prevent the sovereign majority from raising them to office? If the constitution declares them ineligible, how are they to be convicted and excluded? What tribunal elected by the people dares to thwart the popular will, which in democratical governments will reign in spite of paper constitutions and official oaths? It is the policy of demagogues always to drive the popular will of the day over the salutary barriers of constitutional law. The only way in which vicious men can be excluded from office is to make the people so wise and virtuous that no vicious man can gain their favor.

But to return to Mr. Graham. We may say of him in general, that, like many men of keen sensibility and vehement passions, he had more excellencies and more faults than ordinary good men. His usefulness to mankind, after deducting the faults that he had committed, was still greater than a man of tamer character, however blameless, can ordinarily effect.

In conclusion we may affirm that the community among whom he lived and labored were much indebted to him for his valuable

and ill-rewarded services ; and the country will ever owe its most grateful remembrance to the principal founder of Liberty Hall Academy. Especially should Washington College, that owes to him its existence, embalm his memory forever. Had he been less able, faithful and disinterested in sustaining the precarious existence of Liberty Hall, from which our College sprang, this now flourishing seat of learning would in its incipient state have shared the fate of thousands of other transient academies that, like fungi, spring up, decay, perish and leave not a trace of their existence on the records of time.¹

¹ For most of the facts respecting the private life of Mr. Graham, I am indebted to a well written memoir of him, published by his younger brother, the late Edward Graham, Esq., in Dr. Rice's *Literary and Evangelical Magazine*, 1821.

PART II.

WRITTEN IN 1847.

GEORGE A. BAXTER'S APPOINTMENT TO WASHINGTON ACADEMY. DONATION BY THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE RESIGNATION OF MR. GRAHAM UNTIL THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. BAXTER AS RECTOR.

In September, 1796, General Washington officially notified the governor of Virginia of his donation to Liberty Hall Academy. When the legislature met in November of this year, they were informed of this fact and soon took it in hand to recharter and remodel the institution, without consulting the trustees, or paying the slightest regard to the rights vested in them by the original charter.

On the 21st of December they passed an act entitled "An act for erecting Liberty Hall Academy into a College." In the preamble they recited the fact of the donation, and declared as the object of the new charter, that the benevolent design of the donor might be better promoted, "by enlarging the nature of the said institution." Some circumstances prove, however, that they meant as much to *change*, as to *enlarge*, "the nature of the institution." The form which they undertook to give it is rather singular, as the following account of the principal enactments will show :

"In this college [says the act] there shall be four schools, one of Languages, one of Mathematics, one of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, and one of Logic, Moral Philosophy and Belles Lettres, in each of which schools there shall be a *professor* and as many tutors

as shall from time to time be found necessary. One of the professors shall be appointed President, and the said President and professors shall be a body corporate by the name of the President and Professors of the College of Washington in Virginia."

In this corporation the act vested all the property of the college, the right of appointing the treasurer, tutors and other subordinate officers, and the adoption of rules and regulations for the government of the college, and everything pertaining to the system of education to be pursued in the several schools.

A board of nineteen visitors was also constituted, for the purpose of appointing the President and professors, with the power of removing them also for good cause shown. They were to fix the salaries of the professors, supply all vacancies in the faculty and in their own body, determine the rates of tuition, and to have the power of making and establishing ordinances and statutes for the general government of the college; they were to examine the pecuniary accounts and inquire into the management of the college property.

The act vested all the property of the academy, old, new and future, in this new compound corporation.

The power given to each of these corporate bodies, to enact laws for the college without the consent of the other, was adapted to produce a plentiful harvest of disputes and contentions. The power of *removal*, so potent in civil government, would ultimately prevail in such a constitution and nullify the independent rights of the faculty.

A significant circumstance in this act is, that among the nineteen gentlemen named as visitors, not one was a clergyman, much less a Presbyterian clergyman, and scarcely one, if even one, was a member of the Presbyterian church. By whomsoever this new charter was contrived, one obvious part of the scheme was to deprive the Presbyterians of all share in the management of the institution, which they had founded and conducted up to the day of its *unconditional* endowment by the Father of his Country. The effect of the act would be to rob them of their academy with all that they had invested in it.

By the first act of incorporation the Synod of Virginia and the Presbytery of Lexington had lost the control of it. To this they

submitted without complaint; for the reason probably that the large proportion of Presbyterians, clergymen and church members in the board of trustees, gave assurance of a salutary degree of religious influence in the management of the institution. The agreement with the Synod of Virginia, by which a Theological school had been connected with it, was not only necessary at the time to raise the academy from its low condition, but was virtually dissolved by the resignation of Mr. Graham, several months before this new charter was enacted, and by the discontinuance of the ecclesiastical bodies to exercise the privileges derived from the agreement.

On the 21st of January, 1797, the board of trustees of Liberty Hall met and unanimously declared it as their opinion, "that the late act of the Legislature of Virginia, erecting Liberty Hall Academy into a College, was an unjustifiable infringement of the rights of the corporation of Liberty Hall, and an instance of tyrannical imposition in the Legislature, and that, moreover, it did not repeal the act incorporating Liberty Hall Academy." Therefore, the board resolved to persevere, as they had done hitherto, in executing the powers vested in them. At the same time they appointed a committee to draw up in full the reasons of the opinion which they had expressed concerning the late act and of their resolution to persevere in the exercise of their corporate rights. This committee reported to the board at their next meeting, on the 8th of February, and their report was adopted. The substance of the reasons alleged is : 1st, that the property held by a corporation is private property, and no more at the disposal of the Legislature than the property of individuals ; 2d, that the act was dangerous in its tendency, because it unsettled all chartered rights and privileges ; 3d, that the donations formerly given to the academy would justly revert to the donors by the dissolution of the corporation to whom they had been given, and the business of education would have to be suspended at the academy ; 4th, that the debts due to and from the academy thus dissolved, could not be legally recovered, and that the creditors of the academy would be defrauded ; 5th, that the property of the academy having been committed in trust to the board, they considered themselves morally responsible for the use and management of it ; and 6th, that they felt assured

that the late act was contrary to the wishes of the great majority of those worthy citizens who had given liberally of their estates to the academy.¹

The trustees who participated in this praiseworthy act of resistance to legislative usurpation were : John Willson, Joseph Walker, William Alexander, Alexander Campbell, John Lyle, William Lyle, Samuel L. Campbell, M. D., the Rev. Samuel Brown, and the Rev. Samuel Houston, at the first meeting ; and at the second, Charles Campbell and Col. James McDowell, the latter being one of the visitors named in the new charter. At subsequent meetings Col. Andrew Moore, another of these visitors, also attended. These gentlemen, therefore, adhered to the old charter.

There must have been in the country and among the gentlemen named as visitors a general sentiment of opposition to the new charter ; for the new board of visitors never met, nor does it appear that a sufficient number to form a quorum were willing to accept the office tendered them by the legislature.

From all the circumstances we may infer that the new charter was inconsiderately enacted by the legislature, at the suggestion of a few individuals, unfriendly to Presbyterian influence in particular, and generally to the management of public education by clergymen and religious associations. The singular form intended to be given to the corporation, the division into *schools* of the projected college of Washington, and other novel features of the scheme, indicate that some *influential theorist* was aiming on this occasion to introduce what he considered a necessary reform in the system of public education.²

However this may be, the scheme was completely frustrated by the firmness of the trustees in adhering to their rights. On a proper representation of the case to the next legislature, they

¹ The protest was prepared by the Rev. Samuel Brown of New Providence Church, one of the trustees. The original draft is in the possession of his son, the Rev. William Brown, D. D.—Eds.

² The author seems to suspect that Thomas Jefferson had some hand in this charter, as every point suggested applies to him. The general impression has been that the charter originated in sectarian feeling. No doubt different parties united to rob the Scotch-Irish of their school, but they found, as many others have done, that they had a tough set to deal with.—W. H. R.

promptly repealed the new charter, and conformably to the desires of the trustees changed the name of the institution to Washington Academy.¹

Mr. Graham resigned his office in September, 1796. From that time during two and a half years the academy was committed to the care of tutors.² For some time previously one or two tutors had been employed to assist Mr. Graham, who gave his attention principally to the classes in Theology, Moral Philosophy, &c. The salaries of the tutors absorbed most of the fees, and left but a small remuneration to the rector.

One of the tutors both before and after Mr. Graham's resignation was Conrad Speece, afterwards the Rev. Dr. Speece. He and George A. Baxter,—future president of Washington College,—were graduated together in October, 1796. Mr. Speece was of a German family near New London in Campbell county, Virginia. While yet a mere lad he showed an inquiring mind and a turn for literary pursuits. He was therefore sent to the New London Academy, then taught by Edward Graham, Esquire, brother of the Rev. William Graham. He was described by Mr. Graham as being, when he appeared at the academy, an awkward, uncouth boy, apparently overgrown for his age, and to a superficial observer altogether too coarse a material to be polished into any sort of refinement.

When the Latin Grammer was first put into his hands, he knew not what it meant, nor what he had to do with it; he sat down and turned over its leaves one by one, scanning the contents here and there with a puzzled curiosity that showed itself in his face.

¹ Zechariah Johnston, one of the trustees, represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the repeal of the obnoxious act. He lived at Stone Castle, two miles south of Lexington.—Eds.

² One tutor during this interregnum is said to have been Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, who became a skilful and popular physician. He continued to reside in Rockbridge, and died an old man on his Rock Castle farm near Old Monmouth Church. Dr. Campbell was a man of wit and literary accomplishment. His sketch of Mr. Graham's school on Mount Pleasant is an elegant composition. He became blind in his old age, and yet would continue to ride to Lexington on horseback without a guide. When meeting some one, he would sometimes call out in a cheerful tone, "Who's that? Take care—don't let me ride over you!"—W. H. R.

He thus labored for a while to get some insight of its nature, but finding nothing that he could understand he came to Mr. Graham in despair, saying that he could never learn *that thing*. But by Mr. Graham's persuasion he began to recite lessons, still complaining that the book had no sense in it. After a while the mystery of the Latin grammar began to reveal itself; he caught glimpses of meaning; his spirit rose; he applied himself with increasing zeal, and in half the usual time he mastered the Rudiments of Latin. His after progress in classical and scientific knowledge corresponded with this beginning; so that, before he was graduated, his distinguished scholarship and talents procured him the tutorship in Liberty Hall Academy, to which he had gone to complete his studies. He was chief tutor during a year and a half after Mr. Graham's resignation. He then studied theology, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Hanover.

The controversy about the mode and subjects of Baptism having been stirred anew in those days, Mr. Speece, having his attention called to this subject while his mind was not yet firmly settled on sundry questions in divinity, fell into such strong doubts of the validity of Presbyterian baptism, that he got himself immersed, and joined the Baptists in East Virginia. They received him gladly, as a young preacher of fine talents and acquirements, and treated him with much attention and hospitality. He travelled among their churches, preaching among them, and scarcely able to satisfy their desire to hear him. But before many months had elapsed, he found that his mind was yet unsettled on the questions that had led to his change of ecclesiastical connection. He suspected that he had been too hasty in making the change, and at the same time his heart yearning after the religious friends and connections amongst whom he had received his conversion and his education, he resolved to give the subject of Baptism a thorough reconsideration. The result was a firm and, as it proved, a lasting conviction that the church of his first love was right in all her doctrines and ordinances. He returned to her bosom and continued to the end a zealous supporter of Presbyterianism, yet free from bigotry and uncharitableness towards his fellow christians of other denominations.

However honestly Mr. Speece investigated the points of difference among Protestants, and however able he was to form a correct judgment, we infer nothing from his case in relation to the truth of Presbyterian doctrines,—knowing, as we do, that men equally honest and equally able have come to different conclusions when investigating the same questions in different circumstances and under different influences. The heart of man has much to do with the views of his understanding in all matters of opinion.

After some years he was called to take charge of the Augusta church in the Valley, about eight miles from Staunton. Here he continued as pastor during the remainder of his life. He had a sound constitution and almost uninterrupted health, until a few years before his death, when he began to be affected by a disease of the stomach, which gradually increased, and was probably the remote if not the immediate cause of his sudden decease in the year 1835.

Though he was an old man when he died, it may be reasonably suspected that he shortened his days by the excessive use of tobacco, of which he was an enormous chewer, by day and by night. He seldom ever slept without his quid. In one particular he had the advantage of less thorough-going chewers; he was never put to difficulty about a place of deposit for the liquid extract of his mastication, his stomach being always ready to receive what could not otherwise be conveniently disposed of. Why not? We read of men who could gradually accustom themselves to swallow the most virulent poisons with impunity. The weed, which he consumed with so much zest, he praised with no less zeal. He did not, like most chewers, excuse the practice which so many in the politer circles of society abominate; he justified it; he commended it; he recommended it as an innocent pleasure, as a solace in trouble, as prophylactic against irritability and impatience under the annoyances to which man is subject in the daily course of his life. Once at a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in Lexington, we happened to be in the same pew at divine service, when a clerical brother noted for tedious, commonplace sermons, rose to preach. No sooner did Speece see him open the Bible than he stooped and whispered in my ear. "We shall have need of patience, but I am fully armed for the trial," said he, producing a large twist of

tobacco, and wringing off a piece as big as he could easily cram into his mouth. He lodged it in his cheek and then sat upright and listened with exemplary composure to the monotonous prosings of the worthy brother.

His distinguished learning and talents led the trustees of Princeton College to confer on him the honorary title of Doctor of Divinity while he was yet in the middle stage of life.

In person Dr. Speece was tall, heavy and inactive, ungraceful in his movements, unpolished in his manners, unfashionable in dress, his clothes hanging loose about him, and his low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat curving up in all manner of ways. In respect to his intellect, he was distinguished for the clearness, method and precision of his thoughts, and consequently for the ready command of his knowledge and the promptitude, fluency and correctness of his language. He never in speaking, either publicly or privately, hesitated an instant for a thought or an expression, and never erred in his syntax, or failed to have at command the proper words to convey precisely what he meant.

He was a great reader of books, both theological and literary,—yet rather a general reader than a profound investigator. He could easily digest what he read, and lay up his acquisitions in the proper departments of his mental warehouse. Still he did not pursue a systematic course of reading, nor labor long and studiously upon any one subject. Hence he was full of various book knowledge, but not profoundly learned. He read Latin with considerable ease, and now and then examined a ponderous tome of former ages, especially the old Protestant Divines of Germany; but he preferred late English and American writers, and never studied French or classical German sufficiently to read authors in these languages. As a preacher he was fluent, clear, and instructive. His deep, sonorous, but not musical voice, filled the ears of the largest audience, but he was rather monotonous and unimpassioned in his delivery, and seldom uttered anything very striking or impressive. He rarely made a single note, when preparing his sermons; his ready and well furnished mind could easily arrange the topics of his discourse and glance over a fitting train of thought; and this was all the preparation he usually made. Yet when he preached his thoughts were so lucid and so well arranged, his diction so

accurate, and the flow of his utterance so easy, so full and so unbroken, that all seemed to have been elaborately prepared, and his sermons would have needed no correction if they had been copied verbatim by the press. In this respect he excelled all the preachers that I have known.

Though in person, dress and manners he was uncouth and unfashionable, he was social in his disposition, fond of conversation, especially with intelligent people, entertaining in company, and full of a droll humor and curious phrases which were very amusing. His peculiar humor sometimes showed itself in the pulpit, and not always with good effect, because it lowered the dignity of his office as an expounder of sacred truth.

He did not excel as a writer. The style of his written compositions was inferior to that of his extemporaneous discourses. His ready mind seemed to feel cramped and embarrassed by the slow mechanical process of writing. He published little, except "*The Mountaineer*," a small volume of essays. The subjects are moral and literary, and are treated with judgment, but not with the wit, the ease, and the elegant grace of style which give a classical merit to such compositions. Though a great admirer and reader of poetry, he had little imagination; his taste was therefore rather correct than delicate, and his style lacked embellishment.

He was a sincere and warm-hearted Christian, sound in his principles, and blameless in his life; yet, without being conscious of it, he was penurious in his disposition, saving not only his dollars but his cents. This did not detract from his honesty, which was unimpeachable, though it detracted from his liberality. He was of the German stock of frugal farmers, and a bachelor all his life; which may help to account for this blemish in the character of a good man who was by no means destitute of Christian benevolence. We have thought his name worthy of commemoration in the history of an institution of which he was a distinguished alumnus.¹

After Mr. Speece's resignation of the tutorship, it was found difficult to fill the vacancy. The want of a rector, and the pecuniary embarrassments of the academy, seemed likely to break up the

¹ Dr. Speece and the author were strong friends.—W. H. R.

school. The number of the students was reduced by the vacancy in the rectorship ; and those who remained became hardly manageable by an officer of inferior rank, who had himself just emerged from the condition of a student. The tutor's office therefore was both unpleasant and unprofitable. So difficult did the tutors find it to maintain order among the students that it was at one time found necessary to detail certain trustees whose duty it should be to attend the academy in turn, to assist the tutors in governing the school.

After all that the trustees could do in collecting subscriptions, it was found in March, 1798, that the debts of the academy still amounted to £350. To prevent the evil consequences of a lawsuit threatened by a creditor, some of the trustees again saved the academy, by advancing money to pay this claim, and agreeing to wait an indefinite time for repayment out of the yet future proceeds of the James River Stock.

It was in such circumstances difficult to get a competent man to take charge of the academy. At length, however, in the autumn of 1798, the board were fortunate enough to procure the services of the Rev. George A. Baxter, before mentioned as the fellow-graduate of Mr. Speece. Though yet a young man, his superior intellect and talents had already shone out sufficiently to make him a valuable acquisition to the academy. He was first appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He accepted the office immediately, and was to enter upon its duties the following spring.

Mr. Baxter was a native of Rockingham county. He was born of Presbyterian parents on the 22nd day of July, 1771. The country in which his father lived was filled chiefly by a German population, though by some means a moderate number of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians got mixed with them in that neighborhood. Of course in the last century, and in such circumstances, it was an extraordinary thing for a young man to get his mind turned towards literary pursuits. It was an extraordinary circumstance that turned young Baxter's mind in this direction. A finely educated young Irishman, son of a wealthy gentleman of Cork, lived for some time as a *servant* in his father's family. He fled suddenly from his country, for some offence, supposed to be political, and

having no money to pay his passage to America he was sold for a term of years, and by some means fell into the hands of Mr. Baxter's father. His elegant conversation, fine taste, and extensive knowledge inspired young Baxter's mind with a desire for similar accomplishments, and brought him to Liberty Hall Academy when he was about twenty-one years of age. To those who knew the powers of his mind, it is needless to say that he made rapid progress in his studies. After graduation he commenced the study of theology; but before his licensure by the Lexington Presbytery he became principal of the New London Academy, which he conducted for the space of two years. A few months after he settled here he was married to Miss Annie Christian Fleming of Botetourt county, descended of a highly respectable English family, and daughter of the Col. Fleming whose name appears in the list of the original trustees of Liberty Hall Academy, when it was first organized by the Hanover Presbytery. Mr. Baxter continued at New London until he was called to Lexington.

CHAPTER II.

DEBTS.—DIFFICULTIES.—INCOME FROM STOCK AND LOSS BY FIRE.

According to agreement, Mr. Baxter entered on the duties of his professorship in May, 1799, three years after Mr. Graham had ceased to teach in the academy. When the trustees met at the close of the session in October, they were so well satisfied with Mr. Baxter's qualifications that they appointed him rector, and thus placed him fully at the head of the institution.

The academy was without a building to accommodate its new rector. Mr. Graham having occupied his own house on his farm, near at hand, there was until now no necessity for a rector's house on the grounds of the academy. Mr. Baxter had, therefore, to occupy the steward's house with his family until another could be provided. How to build a rector's house while the academy was pressed with debts, and its James River stock was yet unproductive, and the people of the country were unwilling to give further

aid, and while moreover it was scarcely possible for the academy either to borrow money or to get work done on credit,—was a question which would have puzzled all the wise men of Greece. No wonder then that it puzzled the trustees of Washington Academy. To resort to a gratuitous subscription they knew would be vain. The disposition of the people to contribute to the institution had declined ever since its first organization, although their ability had vastly increased ; the only instance of a subscription approaching to liberality since the revolution, was during a fit of religious excitement. Now when no such excitement existed, and when the donation of General Washington secured the academy a future income, few were willing to bestow even a dollar upon such an object.

This is the way of men—shall we say Christians?—in general. They set so low a value upon the pleasure of doing a good, that any trifling gratification of sense or of fancy will draw voluntary contributions from them, when objects of public utility plead in vain for a donation ; so that the friends of useful institutions generally find it necessary to interest the selfish feelings of covetousness or vanity in enterprises of beneficence, before they can extract the voluntary contributions of mankind. Hence, more money can be raised by lottery for a charitable object than by subscriptions ; showing that a *blind* covetousness is more efficient than *open-eyed* benevolence. Gentlemen and ladies will give tens of thousands to pamper a luxurious appetite or to see the lascivious exhibitions of a dancing girl, rather than give thousands to generous philanthropy or melting charity.¹

There was but one way in which the trustees could hope to obtain funds in the present emergency. They opened a subscription for a loan to be repaid out of the first proceeds of the James River stock. In this way they did succeed in obtaining a sum sufficient to enable them to contract for the erection of a small house to accommodate the rector. For want of direct evidence we venture to presume that the trustees themselves subscribed the greater part of

¹That the world is making progress in this direction also, has been shown in the subsequent history of Washington College and Washington and Lee University. But it is not often that college trustees are willing to make the personal sacrifices made by the trustees of this institution in the earlier periods of its history.—W. H. R.

this loan. We know that they had in several other instances to relieve the academy out of their own pockets, because their fellow-citizens would give it no aid in its pressing necessities.

The debt of the academy was now increased to £500—no great sum—yet sufficient to cripple the operations of a literary institution, as yet inadequately furnished with buildings, apparatus and other requisites of a good academy.

From the year 1796 to the close of the century, only three students appear from the records to have obtained the bachelor's degree. The first of these was Mr. Robert Willson, of Rockbridge. He was graduated in 1797. He afterwards became a respectable minister of the gospel, and settled in Kentucky.

The late Edward Graham, Esq., told the following anecdote of Mr. Willson, which we think worthy of preservation.

About the beginning of the present century, when Mr. Graham resided in Charleston, Kanawha county, Mr. Willson passed through that country on his way to Kentucky. He arrived on a Saturday evening at the house of old William Morris, in the upper part of the Kanawha Valley. In the course of the evening, discovering that Mr. Morris was a member of the Baptist Church, he made known his character as a Presbyterian minister, and asked if there would be any preaching in the neighborhood on the next day. "None for you," was the blunt answer, uttered as usual with Morris in a harsh tone of voice, not meant to be offensive, but only positive. Willson was a small, delicately formed and rather timid man, and used therefore to be called little Bobby, to distinguish him from his namesakes in Rockbridge, who were generally large men. Now little Bobby was frightened with the huge old backwoodsman's rough answer,¹ and dared not say another word about preaching; but being told that Mr. Johnson, the Baptist minister, was to preach the next day near Charleston, eighteen miles below, he determined to hasten on in the morning, that he might attend this preaching, and get clear as soon as possible of this rude Kanawha Valley, of whose inhabitants he had conceived a bad opinion, from his host's illiberal treatment. He did not reach the

¹ Mr. Morris was a worthy citizen, even if he was blunt enough to express what men of like feeling usually conceal, but nevertheless act upon.—W. H. R.

place of meeting until the preacher had proceeded some way in his sermon. Appearances here also were rather unfavorable. It was summer; the meeting was in a forest; the fallen trees and stumps were the seats of the scattered audience,—the foot of a large shady tree was the minister's stand, and the sound of his loud harsh voice grated on Mr. Willson's ears,—the worse, as his rough landlord's voice had scarcely yet ceased to reverberate in the auditory chambers of his head. He dismounted, tied his horse to the branch of a tree, and walked as quietly as he could into the outskirts of the congregation, where he seated himself upon a fallen tree. He had scarcely done so before the rough-voiced preacher observed to the congregation, that he would shorten his discourse, because, if he was not mistaken, they might hope for another sermon from a stranger. Mr. Willson, though clerically dressed, did not imagine that he was the person alluded to. But Johnson soon wound up his sermon, and requesting the congregation to wait a little, he walked directly up to Willson, and politely inquired if he were not a minister of the gospel. Willson answered, "Yes." "Of what denomination?" "Presbyterian." "Well then, brother, I hope that you will favor us with a sermon." "I have no objection if you think that it would be agreeable to the people." "Certainly it would; so let me conduct you to the stand." So saying, he led the little stranger to the small elevation upon which the great tree grew, and announced to the congregation that they would have the pleasure of hearing a sermon from a Presbyterian brother.

Mr. Willson was so agreeably surprised by this courteous reception, that his spirits rose, and he preached an excellent sermon. But his soft voice after Johnson's was like a flageolet after a trumpet. The people had seated themselves sparsely here and there, where the trunks and stumps of trees—some at a considerable distance—afforded seats. Those farthest off, who could not hear the gentle cooings of the stranger, rose and drew nearer. Presently all became interested and gathered closely around him. Their ears seemed to be charmed with the mellifluous tones of his voice, so different from the harsh gratings to which they had been accustomed, and (though Johnson was an excellent backwoods preacher) with a style of pulpit eloquence never heard in those woods before. When he had concluded, many requested that he would preach to

them again. He did so, the next day, in the court house; and then proceeded on his journey, much better pleased with Kanawha than the first rough salutation had led him to expect.

In October 1798, a Mr. Ramsey, "some few years past a student of this academy [says the record by a member of the board] applied for the degree of A. B. The board considered the request as reasonable and agreed to grant it. Accordingly he is hereby graduated A. B." In this summary way were A. B.'s made in those days.

The next April, Mr. J. J. Mayers, encouraged it seems by this example, applied by letter for information respecting a diploma. Whether or not the board finally granted him one, we are not informed; all that the record tells us further concerning the matter is, "that the rector was appointed to answer the letter according to the standing rules of the academy." Mr. Mayers was an alumnus of the institution. He became a lawyer of respectable standing, and was highly esteemed as an excellent man. He began his professional life in Lexington, and then lived some years in Greenbrier county. He finally removed to Tennessee, where he died.¹

It was about the beginning of the century that the amiable and eloquent John J. Crittenden, late Senator in Congress, and Governor of Kentucky, and now Attorney-General of the United States, was a student of the academy. He was then a boy fourteen or fifteen years old. Having, like many others, "*in calida juventute*," had some trifling affray with the steward, he did not finish his education there. It is, however, an honor to the academy to have had some share in the education of such a man.

Great difficulties were again experienced during several years in obtaining the services of a steward.

The number of students appears to have been small, and the price of boarding was low. In April, 1798, Isaiah Kincaid was employed as steward; but he soon resigned, and the vacancy could not be filled until November, 1800, when Robert Scott was induced to make the experiment. We can only conjecture that he was son of his namesake, the primitive steward of Liberty Hall. But,

¹ Mr. Mayers was a trustee from 1807 to 1819.—Eds.

what a rise had taken place meanwhile in the price of board, from six pound ten (21½ dollars) per annum, to 30 and now to 33½ dollars per session of 5 months—more than three times as much.

The following was now the bill of fare. 1. Breakfast: Coffee, tea or chocolate, with butter, *meat* and bread. 2. Dinner: Bread and meat with vegetable sauce. 3. Supper: either butter with warm bread and milk, or tea or chocolate with bread and butter.

Such fare—especially the plain dinner—would now be complained of; though less simple and plain than had been prescribed a few years before.

Mr. Scott after one session's experience informed the board that he could not afford to board students at the price allowed, but when the board refused to raise the price he still continued. The European wars had caused such a demand for provisions that the price seems to have risen, especially after the navigation of the James River had been made practicable by light boats from the Valley, as it was about this time. Yet the price of board allowed to Mr. Scott, considering that he had no house rent to pay, was about equal to the present price at Washington College, for equally plain fare; showing that provisions are upon the whole as cheap now as they were in the year 1800.

In November, 1799, a new and enlarged system of academical laws was drawn up by the Rector, and after being deliberately examined and amended by the board, was adopted. Experience afterwards pointed out the necessity of additional rules, which were adopted from time to time, as the necessity for them became apparent. This was a better way of forming a code of academical laws, than if a complete system had been attempted at once upon theoretical principles. There are certain fundamental rules according to which every academy and college ought to be governed. But the special rules designed to carry them into effect, should be adapted to the nature and circumstances of each institution, and to the character and habits of the youth who frequent it; and these can be best determined by experience in each particular institution. The main points are to secure the morals of the students, to stimulate their industry, and for these ends to prevent, as far as possible, all temptations to vice and idleness.

To carry out these principles, it is necessary, 1st, that no vicious or idle student should be long retained in the institution to corrupt his associates ; 2nd, that the faculty adopt such rules and practices as are needful to make them acquainted with the habits and conduct of every student ; 3rd, that the students should have little opportunity, without the walls, of frequenting improper places, or of associating with improper persons ; and 4th, that they should have opportunity to mix with virtuous and intelligent society, both male and female, that they may learn to value the esteem of the wise and good, and feel that they have a character to sustain in general society.

There is in the exclusive association of young men in college a natural tendency to evil, which no rigor of discipline alone can effectually counteract. The exclusiveness itself must be counteracted by the salutary influences of external society—especially that of virtuous females.

For this reason the system of commons, where the students eat together at one table, is objectionable. It may be less evil in its tendency than to let the students disperse themselves over a town where they are brought into an intimacy with street society and places of ill resort ; but still it is evil in itself.

The circumstances under which colleges have generally grown up, and their want of sufficient means—to say nothing of erroneous views among their guardians—have prevented them from adopting the system which, of all others, would be the best. Every college should own all the land within a mile or two of its buildings. It should have a village of its own, inhabited by tenants from year to year—virtuous, intelligent families of merchants, mechanics, gentlemen and professional men, including the officers of the institution, amongst whom the students should board and lodge as members of their households,—not more than five or six in a house. It would be easy to people such a village with a select society ; for many of the best families of the country would deem it a privilege to reside there, for the convenience of educating their sons ; and short leases would always enable the trustees to expurgate the place, if any evil should intrude. The college income would then be derived from rents, and the necessary buildings,

besides dwelling houses, would be a chapel, some lecture rooms and a library.¹

But we must drop the subject, with the remark that a thoroughly enlightened system of public education is not of this age ;—it is reserved for a happier period, when the people shall become wiser, and their rulers more patriotic ; and when selfish office hunters shall no longer sway the politics of the country.

The academy continued to suffer under the pressure of its debts. In vain did the trustees endeavor to borrow on a long credit a sum sufficient to pay the most urgent claims. One Gabriel Jones² was reported to have money to lend, and it was thought that by offering themselves as personal securities, the trustees might borrow of him 1,000 dollars for the academy. They made the offer ; but Mr. Gabriel Jones would not lend to the academy on any security. They had authorized a committee to negotiate a loan at 8 per cent. interest. We presume that they offered this to Mr. Jones as well as to others. But neither Mr. Jones nor any other person would lend to the academy at 8 per cent. They tried Mr. Jones a second time, after they had tried others in vain ; but still Mr. Jones would not lend to the academy, though it is evident from the circumstances that he was a moneyed man. At their wits' end they turned once more to the legislature, and petitioned them to invest in the academy the title to a tract of escheated land in Rockingham county. But the legislature was more close-fisted than even Mr. Jones ;—they would neither give nor lend a suffering academy—the only literary institution west of the Blue Ridge—that which cost nothing and was probably of no great value.

It began to be rumored, about this time, that the Cincinnati Society of Virginia intended to bestow their funds on the academy. This probably led the trustees to apply to them for a loan. But

¹ The wisdom of these views has been proved by the prolonged experience of this and other institutions. The system of commons has been generally abandoned, and the students in this institution have been scattered among families where they are kept under the pure and civilizing influence of women. Man starts toward barbarism the moment he gets from under the eye of woman. The only impracticable feature in the author's views was the creation of a select community. Nor is it necessary in order to good association. In mixed society, students strike for the best families.—W. H. R.

² A distinguished but eccentric lawyer.—W. H. R.

for some reason which does not appear, the application was unsuccessful. They may have been averse to breaking their funds, then invested in public stocks, or they may have anticipated, when the application was made, that the James River stock would soon become productive and relieve the academy. So at least it turned out; the only resource was Washington's donation, and that did not fail. Like the donor himself, it was a sure reliance in the last extremity of need.

In March, 1802, five years and a half after Gen. Washington's donation, the James River stock yielded its first dividend, 3 per cent. on the capital, which gave the academy 600 dollars, a sum sufficient to pay the most pressing of its debts, and to purchase 100 dollars' worth of philosophical apparatus. The next June a second dividend of 600 dollars, and in January, 1803, a third of 1,200, delivered the institution from debt and left a surplus of 500 dollars for the purchase of books and apparatus.

At this time also, Dr. John Rodger, a native of Scotland, a resident of Rockbridge county, and a minister of the Seceder Church, gave the academy 55 volumes of books; the only donation of the sort—except now and then some stray volumes which the owner could neither read nor sell—that was ever made to the library of the institution during the first seventy years of its existence. It is true, that these books of Dr. Rodger were all either in Latin, which few, or in Hebrew, which *very* few, can read, and were chiefly on old Calvinistic Theology,—yet they were nevertheless a valuable donation, comparatively speaking, and the donor deserves commemoration in this history, as the *prince of benefactors* (in this country) to a college library. We have a little anecdote of him which may serve for his epitaph.

Once in his company a gentleman expressed his wonder that all the freemasons should for so many ages have kept the secret of their society. "Hoot, mon, I can gie you a reason why they never tell anything." "Can you?" (said the gentleman) "then, what is the reason?" "It is," said Rodger, "purely because they hae naithing to tell."

In the autumn of 1802 the faculty was increased by the appointment of the Rev. Daniel Blain as Professor of Languages. He was a native of South Carolina and an alumnus of the academy.

He was a man of respectable talents, of great moral worth, a good classical scholar, and a good teacher. Should this history reach the period of his death we shall give you a more extended notice of him.¹

In September, 1802, the trustees prudently resolved to have the academy buildings insured against fire. The committee first appointed to attend to this matter not having been furnished with the authority necessary to give legal effect to the transaction, it was not until the next meeting of the trustees, in November, that the rector was duly authorized to sign the policy of insurance in the name of the board; who, as if they had a presentiment of what was to happen, directed that the policy should be obtained as soon as possible.

Early in January, 1803, within a few weeks after the insurance was effected, the academy building accidentally took fire on the roof in the night about bed time, and as the spring from which alone water could be obtained was a hundred yards distant in a ravine, the fire had made such progress before a supply of water was brought that no efforts could save the building. All that could be done was to save the books, apparatus, and the bedding, very little of which was lost. Before morning the substantial house erected by Cravens ten years before was reduced to a ruin, and the academy was again houseless and homeless.

CHAPTER III.

THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF THE ACADEMY TO THE TOWN. DISORDERS AMONG THE STUDENTS, AND SUNDRY PARTICULARS.

The school, turned out of doors by the disastrous fire, was driven to the town for temporary accommodation. The brick dwelling house between the present Episcopal church and the western spring

¹ It is to be regretted that the history was not continued to the point where it would have been appropriate to introduce a life-sketch of this admirable man.
—W. H. R.

was obtained, and after a short intermission the business of the school was resumed, though under much disadvantage.¹

The first question that arose after the fire was, whether the old building, whose walls stood firm, should be repaired, or a new building should be erected. The trustees had the ruins inspected by "skilful workmen," as they are called in the record, who pronounced the opinion that the house could not be repaired "without more expense than profit." However skilful these workmen may have been, we confidently deny the correctness of their decision. Ten years after the fire, the writer first saw the walls, which, after so long exposure to the elements, were yet almost perfectly unimpaired. The end walls are to this day as firm as a mountain rock, after the storms of forty-five winters have beaten upon their naked sides.²

Two influences may have operated to produce this decision. By condemning the old building as unworthy of repair, the workmen increased the amount of damages payable by the insurance company. This would not, indeed, profit the academy; but it would profit those who would have a larger job by building a new house, than by repairing the old one. And then, supposing these workmen to have been of Lexington, and influenced by the ardent wish of its inhabitants to connect the academy with the town, their decision was a necessary condition for effecting that object—and this might possibly have unconsciously biased their judgment.

Certain it is that the town now succeeded at last in making the academy their own, though not without a struggle. Considering the universal power of self-interest over the opinions as well as the actions of mankind, we cannot strongly censure the people of Lexington for doing what other people would have done in their place. They injured the future usefulness of the academy, but then they did not foresee the injury, perhaps; but they did foresee to a certainty that they were promoting their own interest. And, good reader, when did you ever see a community—we speak not of rare individuals—forego their particular advantage for the

¹ Probably this was the brick house afterward occupied as a residence by Prof. Edward Graham. It stood a little below the present residence of his grandson, Dr. John A. Graham.—W. H. R.

² The walls are yet standing (1890).—Eds.

general welfare? And especially, when did you ever see a town, a county or a state, prefer the *abstract* consideration of the interests of learning and virtue, to the *concrete* consideration of the interests of the stomach, the back and the pocket? Therefore, blame not the people of Lexington, because they greatly desiderated the presence of the academy in the town, whereby they might most conveniently educate their own sons, and most copiously extract money from the sons of others.¹

But they were to pay for the advantages they promised themselves. They offered a bonus of £100, about £1 per family, to get the full benefits of the academy for themselves and their heirs forever. Several sites on the border of the town were offered—"for a consideration." The trustees accepted the offer of Andrew Alexander, Esquire, whose land adjoined both the old site and the town. He took the old site with its remaining buildings in exchange for his house and two acres of land by the town, and sold to the academy the remainder of the present college grounds, 30 acres in all, at the rate of 60 dollars an acre. Therefore the board had to pay about 1,700 dollars for exchange of sites—five times as much as the town gave for the academy. The house acquired by the exchange was the old frame house occupied by the president of the college until the new professors' houses were erected in 1844.²

This change of location was the most injudicious measure ever adopted by the trustees. By bringing the institution into immediate contact with the miscellaneous population, and frequent gatherings, and tempting shops of a country town, they greatly increased the difficulties of academical government and the temptations to idleness and vice among the students. Thenceforth the students became a part of the town. They spent much of their time in the streets. Every sound and every movement of the town commu-

¹ The author's strong views on this subject no doubt originated in certain disorders and bitter animosities which followed the removal of the institution to the borders of the town and which continued for many years. In my boyhood (fifty years ago) I saw contending parties armed with clubs, guns and pistols, and held in check only by the officers of the law. But this spirit gradually passed away, until now the most cordial friendship exists between the students and the townspeople. Could the author have foreseen the present happy relations, his views would have been modified.—W. H. R.

² This building stood on the site now occupied by the president's house, and was removed to Shields Hill, where it may still be seen.—W. H. R.

nicated itself to them. Every shop and every tavern became familiar to their eyes and ears. Every meeting of every sort—every show, every party, every concert, every riot—every horn, every bell—everything that can excite the attention of excitable youth—every lure by which shop-keepers can extract money from imprudent boys—all were thenceforth continually attracting the students from their books, and from the ways of innocence.

These evils would in some degree have existed, if the academy had remained on its former site, a mile from the town. But so considerable an interval between the place of study and the place of temptation would have enabled the faculty with comparative ease to guard the youth under their care against many of the perpetually occurring distractions and excitements now operating upon the institution from the town. Were the town purified of its evil elements its presence would be an advantage to the college.¹

The fortunate insurance that had been effected on the ruined building enabled the board without difficulty to contract for the erection of new buildings. The insurance company paid 2,563 dollars; the James River stock yielded about 6 per cent., or 1,200 dollars per annum, of which as yet only about one-fourth part was appropriated to the payment of salaries. John Robinson, who finally made the institution his heir, now began to show an interest in its welfare. He made a small donation to aid in paying for the new buildings. The sum which the board had at command in the spring of 1803 was 3,523 dollars;—but the debts of the academy,

¹ There has been a great improvement in both town and students since the period under consideration. Lexington, so far as my personal knowledge goes, always had a circle of charming and excellent people, but in my early days rioting and drunkenness were much more common than they are now. Street fights were not uncommon, even among gentlemen, and on court days fights among countrymen constituted a prominent feature. I have known ten of these rencounters in one day in the streets. Not unfrequently the college boys would take part in such contests, and when for this or any other cause the faculty would discipline offenders outside parties would often interfere and make great trouble. The author as a member of the faculty had to contend with these and other evils, until it is not surprising he should desire to separate the college and the town. But with the improvement before alluded to, that contiguity which formerly was an evil has become a mutual advantage. Lexington is now unsurpassed in the purity, peacefulness, and intelligence of its people, and its families offer homes to the students where everything tends to refine and elevate.—W. H. R.

mainly now we presume for the purchase of the new site, amounted to 1,650, of which one-third, at the least, was then demanded, leaving less than 3,000 dollars applicable to the new buildings.

The plan was to erect three buildings—a large central edifice and two wings. It was determined to erect the wings first, and to postpone the main building till a more convenient season. These wings were about 60 yards apart; each was 75 feet long by 20 wide, and two stories high, with two cross passages, and four rooms in each story. In the east wing two of the upper rooms were thrown into one for a chapel and recitation room. There were fourteen rooms therefore for the accommodation of students and tutors. On the whole these structures had two rooms and the chapel more than the former academy building.

These houses were of brick from the foundations. They were hastily constructed; the bricks and the masonry were of bad quality; and the walls near the ground began within ten years to decay so much as to require repairs. Within twenty years they became on the north side so dilapidated as to threaten speedy ruin. When the present centre building was put up in the year 1826, the old houses were no longer safely habitable, though still in part occupied during several years. In the twelve or thirteen rooms appropriated to the students, all who resorted to the academy during twenty-two years were housed. The usual number of students, exclusive of those who lived in the town, was so small, that not more than two or three were obliged to lodge in the same room, though occasionally four had to be crowded together. Two are as many as should ever occupy the same room; for if one make any noise he disturbs all his room-mates.

After the James River stock became productive, and the pressing debts of the academy were discharged, the professors applied to the board for salaries out of the permanent fund. Their emoluments from the tuition fees were small. Forty, or at most sixty students, including grammar boys, at five pounds each, per annum, would yield only two or three hundred pounds for two professors and a tutor. Therefore the board, shortly after the fire, assigned to the rector a fixed salary of 150 dollars a year and one-half of the tuition fees; to Professor Blain, 100 dollars and two-thirds of the remaining half of the fees; and 40 dollars salary with the remain-

ing sixth of the fees to the tutor. When no tutor was employed, as sometimes happened when the number of students was small, the professors divided his duties and his emoluments between themselves.

As the professors could not support their families, small as they were, on their income from the academy, they were necessarily permitted, being clergymen, to have pastoral charges. Mr. Baxter was pastor of the Lexington and New Monmouth churches, with a salary of about 400 dollars; Mr. Blain of the churches of Timber Ridge and Oxford, with a salary not quite so large. Their whole income therefore was very moderate, at that time; Mr. Baxter's averaged perhaps 900 dollars a year, Mr. Blain's about 700. But at that time the style of living in Lexington was less expensive than it is now, though provisions and clothing were little cheaper, on the whole, than those of the same quality now are.

When the academy commenced its new career, after the fire, a regular course of studies was adopted at the recommendation of the rector. It was a college course of four years, and corresponded nearly with the course pursued in Princeton College at the same time. As this system of studies continued unchanged nearly twenty years, we shall present it to the reader in full.

"1. Students who learn the Latin and Greek languages shall continue in the Grammar school until they can stand an examination in Virgil and the Greek Testament, after which time they shall enter the language class, and during their first session shall read Horace and Cicero's orations, in connection with the Pantheon and Roman Antiquities. In their second session they shall read Lucian, Xenophon and Homer, with Grecian Antiquities. But students who do not choose to learn the Greek, shall employ their second session in the study of the French.

"2. Students who have stood their examination on the branches allotted to the Language Class, and the students who do not choose to study the languages, shall be received into the Mathematical Class. This class shall spend one year in the study of Arithmetic, the first six books of Euclid's Elements, Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Algebra and Conic Sections.

"3. The third class shall be called the Philosophical Class, which shall spend one year in the study of Natural Philosophy, with Electricity, (and some lectures on Chemistry,) Astronomy and Geography.

" 4. The fourth class shall be called the Belles Lettres Class, which shall spend a year in reading English Grammar, Belles Lettres, Logic and the Law of Nature and of Nations. In connection with Logic they shall read parts of Locke, Reid and Stewart on the human mind."

This course, which, as before observed, was similar to that in Princeton, and probably in other colleges, was faulty in arrangement. It assigned but one daily study to the same student, and according to actual custom but one daily recitation. Students ought, at least until they reach the Senior Class, to appear two or three times a day before their teachers, or many of them will spend much of their time idly. Few students will begin the study of a lesson twenty-four or even twelve hours before it is to be recited. The general custom of students, especially the younger ones, is not to commence their preparations until there is a bare sufficiency of time left to complete them before the hour of recitation. Another evil of the arrangement is, that to make one daily lesson sufficiently long to fill up the student's time, it must be made so long as to become wearisome to a young mind, not yet trained to habits of patient continuance in one sort of exercise. It is better therefore to vary the exercise by assigning two different sorts of study at different periods of the day. Yet too great variety is also injurious, in two ways. It breaks up the subject of each study into too small portions, and does not so well train the mind to persevering exercise on one subject, which is an important consideration. A just medium should therefore be observed.

Another fault in such an arrangement of studies is, that by regular course a student would have finished his classical studies three years, and his mathematical two years, before he received his degree. At graduation therefore he would already have become somewhat *rusty* in the earlier studies of his course. Nor is a branch of knowledge so permanently impressed upon the mind, when it is studied *once for all*, and in a single year, though it may be well studied for the time,—as when the mind is exercised upon it, though less exclusively, yet for a longer time.

It was certainly an error, too, to allow the French language to be substituted for the Greek, as a qualification for a degree; not because the French is generally of less practical utility than the

Greek ; but, in the first place, because the study of it does not so well exercise the mental faculties of a youth ; and, secondly, because if the Greek be not acquired before graduation, it will scarcely ever be acquired at all, as the French oftener is, and easily can be, after the Latin and Greek have been well studied.

We reserve some remarks on the actual working of this course of studies, to a later period of our history.

In the year 1804, the new buildings were finished, a steward was employed, and the academy resumed its regular course of operations. The evils arising from its contiguity to the town began immediately to appear. Temptations to idleness and dissipation were brought to the doors of the institution, and the students were continually resorting to the streets, shops and bar-rooms of the town, especially at night. This required the adoption of new and stricter police regulations. The students were now forbidden to leave their rooms during study hours, particularly after 9 o'clock at night, and the faculty were required to visit their rooms after that hour—a duty which was but occasionally attended to. But no degree of vigilance could prevent frequent disorders. The difficulty of detecting offenders, who could slip out of their rooms, produce a disturbance in the streets, and return to their rooms in a few minutes, was so great, that it was found necessary to authorize the faculty, with the consent of two trustees, to have suspected students withdrawn by their parents, without proof of specific offences.

The idle and disorderly habits that now increased in the academy, caused many of the students to absent themselves from the semi-annual examinations, that they might avoid a public exposure of their ignorance. The trustees therefore enacted a law, providing that absentees from the examinations, who could not justify their absence, should, if they returned to the academy, be set back in their studies. But this had little effect ; because, as students were permitted to carry on the studies of two years at once, a student, if he did not choose to idle away another year in the same class, would take both that one and the one next above, and thus still “go ahead,” not only in his studies, but, if he chose, in his idleness.

We know that it is not the custom of colleges to dismiss students for mere neglect of study or deficiency of scholarship, especially where the fees are returned to them in case of dismission; but we know also that dismission is the only effectual remedy, and therefore ought to be applied. What is the use of idlers in a college? or anywhere else, indeed? They may count on the catalogue and count in the *treasury*; but if it were morally right to keep them, it would still be bad policy; for in the long run they injure the cause of education and diminish the number of good students; and besides, very few would be idle, if idleness were not tolerated.

The trustees still attended at the close of each session, as examiners, and expressed their judgment of the performances. Heretofore they had only entered upon the minutes a general expression of opinion on the quality of each examination. But at this period they adopted a system of marking, to denote the quality of each student's performance. They assigned three degrees of merit, *bonus* (good), *melior* (better), and *optimus* (best); and three degrees of demerit, *malus* (bad), *pejor* (worse), and *pessimus* (worst).

The examinations, from the origin of the academy up to the year 1821, were usually begun and finished on the same day. Of course they were hasty, and often slight; yet if the examiner was skilful in putting test questions, he might make them tolerably efficacious.

The trustees rarely put questions. They let the teachers examine, each his own class, while they sat as judges. The majority of the trustees had too little knowledge of the text-books, and of the subjects of examination, to determine accurately the merits of the performance. Some of them judged only by the sound, and by the number of the student's *stumps* and of the master's corrections. Readiness and fluency of answer had considerable effect, though a learned auditor might often discover such answers to be superficial if not erroneous.

The continual tendency was to mark inferior scholars too high. Thus it came to pass that not half the bad scholars got *malus*, the worst almost never fell below it, and *bonus*, though a mark of approbation, came to be considered as a disgrace, while *optimus*, which ought to have been reserved for scholars of the highest merit, was commonly bestowed on all who rose above mediocrity.

The seriously ill effect of this practice was to lower the standard of scholarship and to indulge a degree of idleness among the students. But it is not trustees only who commit this error. When professors mark they are tempted to do the same thing, and then the effect is the same or even worse. A temporizing professor who loves popularity, and desires, like the old man in the fable, to please everybody, is sure to be guilty of this fault, and, like many a politician, to sacrifice permanent good for temporary favor.

We may as well mention here that in 1829, when the writer was temporarily charged with the chief management of the institution, he got the board to change their system of marking degrees of scholarship, by substituting for the old system the three distinctions of "Disapproved," "Approved," and "Distinguished," the last to be reserved for scholars much above the ordinary degree of merit. He thus hoped to cure the evil just spoken of. But alas! within two or three years some bad scholars were approved, and good scholars were nearly all distinguished.

The system adopted of late years—to distinguish 8 degrees of scholarship, from 0 to 7, the four higher to be approved; to mark the daily recitations, as well as the public examinations; and to let each professor mark his own classes at the examinations—worked better for some years. But then the same tendency became manifest as before. It is hard to resist it; and if one professor yields to it, the rest must ultimately yield more or less, to save themselves from the clamor and hatred of the negligent and the inferior scholars, who are encouraged by the indulgence of the *popular* professor. Such is the course of human nature.

In April, 1805, at the close of the first session in the new buildings, the performance of the classes at the examination was condemned by a general sentence of the board as *not good*, the most unfavorable judgment that they had expressed upon examination.

The only graduate whose name is found upon the record about this time is John Hendren—now the Rev. Dr. Hendren, of Augusta county. He is of Irish parentage and a native of Lexington. For many years he taught a classical school and gained a merited reputation in this difficult employment. Modest and retiring, he is not as extensively known as he deserves to be, for

his learning and his sweet Christian simplicity of heart and manners.

There is a name that should have appeared upon the record either this year or the next, but like many others is missing. It shall be found in this history, as it doubtless is in the record *on high*. It is the name of the Rev. John McElhenny, D. D., "the apostle of Greenbrier," as some have called him. He is a native of South Carolina; but having completed his academical course, he remained in Rockbridge to study theology, influenced in part, perhaps, by a tender attachment to Miss Elizabeth Walkup, of Lexington, with whom, as his partner for life, he was in 1808 settled as pastor of the Presbyterian church in Lewisburg. He was then and for years afterwards the only Presbyterian minister in a region of West Virginia about 150 miles square. His salary being inadequate, he founded an academy in Lewisburg which became a permanent institution. Here during some twenty years he labored faithfully as an instructor of youth, and hundreds received of him the mental and moral improvement that afterwards made them respected and useful in society.¹ The general state of society through all that country was elevated and purified by his labors. As a minister, even more than as a teacher, did he shed a salutary influence over the population, particularly in the counties of Greenbrier and Monroe. He was indefatigable. After attending to his duties in the academy, he would mount a swift horse, dash off some fifteen or twenty miles, and spend the Saturday and the Sabbath in the labors of his ministry. On the alternate Sabbaths he would preach in the forenoon to his Lewisburg congregation, in the afternoon to some neighborhood in the country, often ten miles distant, and return in the evening, sometimes to hold a third meeting among his immediate parishioners. Occasionally he would cross rivers and mountains to preach to the destitute, fifty or a hundred miles from his residence. Such a man was and is "the Apostle of Greenbrier." He is not in the common sense of the term a great man; but he is more, "in labors more abundant." His reward has not been in this world; it is yet to come. He is now old and grey-headed and must be soon gathered

¹ The author was one of his pupils, as were many others who became distinguished.—W. H. R.

to his fathers; but he will leave the impression of his labors stamped deeply on the everlasting mountains, where his voice has been so often heard, and his memory shall be blessed for ages.¹

In 1805 the Legislature required the James River Company to complete the original scheme of improvement, by connecting the basin of the canal in Richmond by a series of locks with the harbor below—a work which proved to be useless when it was done.

The capital stock having been expended on the works above, the company were compelled to apply the proceeds of the tolls to this object, and therefore to suspend the payment of dividends to the stockholders. This cut off the academy's supply of funds, and proved very embarrassing. The teachers' salaries, the increase of the library and apparatus, and the debts arising from the purchase of the new site and the erection of the new buildings, required considerable yearly sums, and now there was a sudden failure of the source from which they were expected to come.

It was therefore determined to send agents abroad to solicit donations in this emergency. The rector himself went as agent to Lower Virginia, where he collected in Richmond, Fredericksburg, Norfolk, Lynchburg and the counties of Powhatan and Amherst, the sum of 1177 dollars in cash, besides obtaining subscriptions for 262 dollars more. On a second tour he collected 639 dollars and got subscriptions for 106 dollars; which made the handsome sum of 2,184 dollars, given to the academy by generous individuals of East Virginia,²—a sum not much inferior to the total amount that could be begged out of the people of the Valley during the space of thirty years for their own academy.³ It does not appear that the people west of the Blue Ridge contributed a cent on this occasion. Samuel B. Wilson, licentiate preacher, was sent as agent to make collections in the Carolinas and Georgia. The result of his

¹ Died in 1871, universally honored and beloved.—W. H. R.

² Mr. Jefferson, the President of the United States, contributed fifty dollars to the academy at this time.—Eds.

³ The generosity of the East Virginians should be remembered, but their merchants and planters constituted a far wealthier class than was to be found in the Valley in those days. The people of the Valley founded the school, patronized it, kept it alive, and always have been and will be its most reliable friends.—W. H. R.

agency is not recorded. The probability is that he did not obtain much ; for it is contrary to custom, if not to nature, for the current of benevolent contributions to run from South to North, like the Gulf Stream. It has always set the contrary way. Making no calculation on this we still find the Academy a gainer from East Virginian liberality by 1,869 dollars, after deducting the rector's charge of 315 dollars for his expenses and services as agent. This was equal to 18 months' income from the James River Stock.

We have fallen upon the name of the Rev. Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., who is an alumnus of the academy. He must have been graduated before this time, though his name is not upon the record as a graduate. He was long pastor of the Presbyterian church in Fredericksburg, and is now the worthy professor of theology in the Union Seminary, near Hampden Sidney College.

In 1806 the tutors, Jahab Graham (son of the Rev. William Graham) and Robert Logan, requested an increase of salary. They had between them only one-sixth of the tuition fees and 40 dollars salary—a poor pittance. The board now added 100 dollars to their salaries.

In October, 1807, Messrs. Baxter and Blain also applied for an increase of salary. The board now assigned to the rector a salary of 300 dollars per annum, to Professor Blain 200, and to the tutors 80 dollars. The tuition fee was at the same time raised to 25 dollars per annum.

In the summer of 1805 the academy had become popular, for no less than 70 students of all sorts are found on the list of that session. Most of them were from lower Virginia and from the Southern States. Unfortunately for the institution, a considerable number of them appear to have been gentlemen's sons who did not design to get a regular education, but were sent to school for two or three years at most, that they might acquire some smattering of the knowledge befitting a gentleman who was above the necessity of professional labor, or any other sort of labor. The young gentlemen themselves were evidently conscious of their dignity and independence ; for they aimed more at amusement than improvement ; feeling, like the noblemen of the middle ages, that they were born to consume the fruits of other men's labors, and that learning, which was well enough for clergymen, lawyers and

leeches, was beneath their high-born dignity. Hence they, and others of meaner birth, betook themselves to idleness and disorder, to rioting in the streets,—to drinking, quarreling and fighting,—to low and dirty mischief. Some of the most disorderly of these *renowners*, as the Germans call such characters, were suspended or dismissed. The next session the number was smaller, and their quality, we infer, a shade better. For several subsequent years the number varied from 60 to 30 or 40. In general, up to the year 1836, there was a sort of periodical flux and reflux in the number of students; a full year, like a gorged stomach, was apt to produce disorders; but then the diminished number was usually of the better sort, or at least experienced less plethora and fever in the body academic, and thus in time redeemed somewhat the character of the institution, and attracted an increase of number.

Hitherto the students had not objected—at least they had not refused—to give testimony on the trial of a fellow-student for an alleged or suspected violation of college law. But about this time they began to do what was worse, when called on as witnesses, and that was to prevaricate for the purpose of screening the guilty. Like the Irish *gentleman* who stole the “nasty poker,” their *honor* bound them to lie.

The disorderly and vicious were now powerful enough to overawe those who might be disposed to testify against them; and the members of their own party, when called on to testify, as they often would be, were interested to establish the principle, that honor required them to lie in each other's behalf.

However this may be, the frequency of false testimony was such that the board, in 1806, passed an order that every student found guilty of falsifying or prevaricating in his testimony should be expelled. But this did not cure the evil, which gradually spread, until at last it was found useless, in certain cases, to call upon those who knew the facts, to bear witness. The truth could rarely be extracted from those who were most likely to know of secret misdemeanors, acts of mischief, and scurvy tricks. The orderly and moral part of the students rarely knew anything of such matters, and when they happened to be cognizant of them, the faculty often spared them the odium of testifying the truth, when the others would not only prevaricate themselves but perse-

cute the honest witness. By 1830, the principle prevailed, that no student would testify at all against another student, except in cases wherein the students had a fight or quarrel among themselves, and the only question was which of the two parties was in the wrong. The influence of the disorderly at length established the ultimate principle of *honor*, as it was called, that every student was bound by all means to screen his fellow-student, who might be violating the laws, from detection and punishment, by warning him, hiding him, and taking his part against any officer that might be endeavoring to discover the offender.

This principle is founded on the false assumption, that the officers and students of a college are antagonistic parties, and that every act of discipline is a wrong done to the whole body of the students.

This result has grown out of the system of lodging all the students together, and apart from the rest of society, and thus giving rise to the strong *esprit de corps* that exists in all colleges, to some extent, but most in those in which the students are most closely and exclusively associated. Yet, as before observed, the evils resulting from this system should be borne, rather than the worse evil of exposing youth of sixteen or eighteen years, unguarded, to the temptations of a town.

The false principle of honor just mentioned has made a number of precautionary regulations and restrictions necessary to the preservation of good order and morals in college. Much less liberty can be allowed to students when they make themselves the guardians and partisans of every offender, than might be allowed if they acted upon the principle, that violations of law ought to be discountenanced, and, as in civil society, testimony either to exculpate or to convict ought to be given truly, when one is on trial for an offence.¹

An old source of disorder and trouble was the steward's table. When many students eat together, especially by compulsion, as when they are obliged to board with a steward, some of them are

¹ The public sentiment of the students of Washington and Lee University is now so strongly on the side of law and order, that the vulgar disorders which formerly plagued the institution would not be tolerated by the young gentlemen. Even the poor little tricks of the current period will gradually disappear before the frown of the well-bred college community.—W. H. R.

always disposed to be rude and disorderly ; complaining of the fare, snatching at the choice dishes and wasting the provisions. They get into the habit too of gulping and devouring with a swinish haste and voracity. Even in the presence of officers and under the strictest regulations there will be more or less misbehavior. To avoid complaints and insults, the steward is sometimes induced to add something to the prescribed bill of fare. But as this detracts from his profits, he then asks for an addition to the price of boarding. Thus it happened that in 1807 the price was raised from 38 to 40 dollars per session of five months. Still, Morrison, who had been steward since 1804, resigned his office in the fall of 1807, and no successor could be obtained. Several private families then took boarders on the same terms as were offered to a steward.

The students being now distributed among several houses in small parties and according to their choice, were less rude and disorderly ; yet good manners did not prevail when they ate apart from the families with whom they boarded.

The worst consequences of this private boarding were that the fare became more luxurious, and the price of boarding higher, from year to year. It was hard to please the boarders without feeding them delicately. The houses which gave the most luxurious fare got the most patronage, and indemnified themselves for the increased expense of their table by increased charges for boarding. By the year 1817 or 1818 the price of board had risen from 8 to 11 dollars a month. Then the students, like Dives, "fared sumptuously every day." But this pleased them much better than it pleased their parents, who had to pay for their delicate living, and it was particularly hard on poor young men (generally the best students) who cared more for their heads than their stomachs, and could ill afford to pay so dearly for their food.¹

¹ It is wise in college authorities to arrange, if possible, some plan by which young men of small means will not be balked in their efforts to obtain a liberal education. Such has always been the disposition and effort of this institution.
—W. H. R.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DONATION OF THE CINCINNATI SOCIETY ; AND THE
PARTIAL LOSS AND FINAL RECOVERY OF THE FUND.

We have now reached an important event in the history of Washington Academy. It is the Resolution of the Cincinnati Society of Virginia, to bestow their funds on the institution which their illustrious chief had endowed. This society, as is well known, was composed of the officers of the Revolutionary army, and was to expire with them. In the twenty-five years since the close of the war, many of them had finished their earthly course, and declining years admonished the survivors that their association would soon live only in history.

On the 16th day of December, 1807, the Society met and adopted the following resolutions :

“ Resolved, that when the Society shall be so reduced by death or removal as to prevent a general meeting of the same, for the space of three years, to commence on the 4th day of July of the next year, it shall be the duty of such members of the standing committee as shall be in being at the termination of the said three years, to declare that the difficulties contemplated by the 12th section of the Constitution, have occurred ; and after such declaration by the said members of the committee, and not sooner, the following ultimate disposition shall take effect.

“ Resolved, that the whole of the funds be presented to the seminary of learning denominated Washington Academy, near the town of Lexington, in the county of Rockbridge, as an endowment of the said seminary as now constituted, and in like manner in any future elevation of its character, on this express condition, that there shall be established and continued in the said seminary a military school, in which shall be taught (at least) the sciences of fortification and gunnery. In failure of this condition, the said funds shall be vested in the commonwealth, to be applied by the legislature in like manner, on like conditions and for the same object, to some other seminary. Provided always that whenever such transfer of the funds shall take place, all existing pensions which may have been charged thereon shall continue so charged, and shall be secured to be paid, according to the terms of the respective grants.

“Resolved, that the General Assembly shall be solicited to pass a provisional law for the purpose of carrying into effect in due time the preceding resolutions.

“Resolved, that the standing committee is hereby authorized and required to use its best endeavors to obtain from the General Assembly the law aforesaid, and that counsel be consulted thereupon.”

Such was the disposition which the Society resolved at that time to make of its funds.

On application, the General Assembly passed the provisional law spoken of in the two last resolutions, on the 5th of February, 1814. It was entitled “An act authorizing the treasurer of the commonwealth to receive into the treasury the funds of the Cincinnati Society, for the purposes therein expressed.”

The act provided, 1st, that the treasurer should receive the funds into the treasury of the commonwealth, upon the terms and for the objects specified in the above resolutions of the society, and subject to their order; and 2d, that the treasurer should pay the pensions charged on the funds, and other demands of the society, to the amount of the annual interest of the funds.

It was not until 1824 that the Society was so nearly extinct as to induce the Secretary, Maj. James Gibbon, to deposit the funds in the hands of the treasurer under the authority of this law. Not long afterwards the treasurer, Jerman Baker, failed, and on an examination of his accounts it appeared that somewhat more than the half of the Cincinnati funds were missing. He being insolvent, and having moreover committed suicide, his securities were sued on behalf of the commonwealth. The case was taken to the Court of Appeals, where it lingered for many years; and when at last in 1846 a final judgment was obtained against the securities,¹ the General Assembly released them from the interest which in so long a time had accrued upon the original defalcation. Then the trustees of Washington College, who had entitled themselves to the fund by a compliance with all the conditions of the donations, brought suit against the commonwealth for the whole, with interest; and having obtained a judgment for the same, they at length,

¹ See the case of *Wilson et als. vs. Burfort, Treasurer*, 2 Grattan's Reports, 134.—EDS.

in the present year, 1848, were enabled to obtain this valuable fund, amounting to about 25,000 dollars, for the college.

As early as the year 1822, before the funds of the Cincinnati Society were deposited in the public treasury, Judge Brooke, a member and vice-president of the society, addressed the following letter¹ to Col. John Bowyer, a delegate from Rockbridge to the Legislature :

January 11, 1822.

Dear Sir,—

“The Society of the Cincinnati is, I think, fast approaching its natural dissolution, and I think it would be well to anticipate the period at which its funds are to belong to the college at Lexington, according to its resolution ; which, whatever may be my own opinion, there is no prospect of changing to effect ; though it might be required of the college to institute a class, in which the general outlines of the Mathematical Studies in Military Science should be taught, and also in which some student should be bound to deliver an oration on the character of the institution, and of those who belong to it, in vindication of its motives, against the writers in Europe and America who have mistaken them. Upon these terms, and upon a proper application by the trustees of the college, I am of opinion that the funds might be immediately turned over, subject to the present annuities of sundry pensioners provided for by the institution.

“Yours with respect, &c.,

“COL. JOHN BOWYER.

“FRANCIS T. BROOKE, V. P.”

¹ The original is on file. See papers Cincinnati Society, No. 14.

Concluding Note.

Although in his last chapter the author follows the donation of the Cincinnati Society up to its full realization in 1848, the general history of the institution ends with the year 1806. At that time, the faculty consisted of four instructors including the president (rector); and the students all told did not reach forty. The present site of the institution had shortly before been taken possession of, and two good brick buildings (now gone) had been erected, and were in use. Every structure now on this thirty acres is of subsequent date.

The discontinuance of the history is to be accounted for by the resignation of President Ruffner, in 1848, his removal from the sources of information, and his nervous debility. He left, however, copious memoranda of the long period of his own connection with the institution, beginning in 1812 and ending in 1848, with a break of four or five years between 1813, when he received the bachelor's degree, and 1818, when he took the chair of languages. But these notes were not intended for publication, and could only be used as authority for such historical facts as would interest the public.

The Preface of the History of the College shows that the author had acceded to the request of the editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the accomplished John R. Thompson, to furnish the document for publication; but I think it was never published—for what reason, I know not. The author died in 1861, and left the manuscript among his papers. It was finally presented to Washington and Lee University a few years ago.

It is to be hoped that the eventful history of this now distinguished and wealthy institution will soon be continued by some competent hand.—W. H. R.
