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CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY
EDITED BY HERBERT B. ADAMS

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No. 2

THOMAS JEFFERSON

AND

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

BY

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ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

WITH

AUTHORIZED SKETCHES OF HAMPDEN-SIDNEY, RANDOLPH-MACON,
EMORY-HENRY, ROANOKE, AND RICHMOND COLLEGES,
WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, AND
VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON

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"The University of Virginia, as a temple dedicated to science and liberty, was, after his [Jefferson's] retirement from the political sphere, the object nearest his heart, and so continued to the close of his life. His devotion to it was intense, and his exertions unceasing. It bears the stamp of his genius, and will be a noble monument of his fame. His general view was to make it a nursery of republican patriots, as well as genuine scholars." (James Madison: Letter concerning Jefferson, November 2, 1826.)

"Our University, the last of my mortal cares, and the last service I can render my country." (Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell.)

"Our views are catholic for the improvement of our country by science." (Jefferson to George Ticknor.)

"No man of the time threw so much solid matter into his compositions as Mr. Jefferson." (Jared Sparks.)

"No cause deserves more generous support than that of higher education in the Southern States." (George William Curtis.)

"Any one who will visit the Southern colleges and schools will find in them a generation of students, alert, vigorous, manly, and tremendously in earnest. It is evident that a race of exceptional moral earnestness and mental vigor is now growing up in the South, and that it is sure to be heard from." (The Century Magazine: Topics of the Time.)

"The University is the natural ornament and the bright consummate flower of democracy." (Senator George F. Hoar: Address at the laying of the corner-stone of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., October 22, 1887.)

The University "is an institution which better than anything else symbolizes the aim and tendencies of modern life." (Bishop Spalding, at the founding of the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., May 24, 1888.)



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L E T T E R .

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D C., December 9, 1887.

The Honorable THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: The interest awakened by the history of the College of William and Mary, prepared by Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, and published by this Bureau as Circular of Information No. 1, 1887; and the Study of History in American Colleges and Universities, also prepared by Dr. Adams, and published as Circular of Information No. 2, 1887, justifies a further inquiry into the history of higher education in the State of Virginia, and in other States of the American Union. The work should be done gradually and methodically. Without attempting to cover the entire field at once, I have thought it wise to encourage the preparation by Dr. Adams of a special monograph concerning Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, with brief historical sketches of the various colleges in that State. Jefferson's work was of fundamental importance in the establishment of the University of Virginia, which is the historical successor of the College of William and Mary. The connection of the two institutions has been clearly traced by Dr. Adams in Jefferson's projects for educational reform. The first idea of the University of Virginia was the proposed transformation of the old colonial college into something higher and broader. But this idea failed of realization by reason of sectarian opposition to an Episcopal establishment. The present University of Virginia is an interesting illustration of the possible union of religious interests in the support of higher education by the State.

Jefferson was the first conspicuous advocate in this country of centralization in university education, and of decentralization in preparatory and common schools. He was a thorough believer in the concentration of State aid upon higher educational interests, and in the support of primary and secondary education by local taxation and private philanthropy. In his judgment, local government and common schools should have been established together and concurrently in the State of Virginia. He would have subdivided the counties into "hundreds" or "wards," corresponding to the militia districts, and have made the district school-house the place of local assembly and primary education.

The training of every community to good citizenship and self-help by active participation in local affairs, such as the support of schools, roads, and bridges, was the ideal of popular education in the mind of Jefferson. He proposed that the children should be taught not merely reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, but also through reading books the history of the world and their own country. Such an educational ideal, at once sound, sensible, and thoroughly democratic, is worthy of reconsideration after the lapse of more than a century since it was first proclaimed.

Jefferson devised an ingenious plan whereby the boys of best talent, the sons of the people, might be discovered and sent forward, although poor, to preparatory colleges, and finally to the University of Virginia. Such a plan is now in practical operation in the State of New York, in connection with Cornell University, which accepted the agricultural college land grant upon the condition of free education to talented graduates of local high schools and academies, and also prevails in many other States, where young men receive the benefits of the higher education, without charge for tuition, at the State universities and agricultural land-grant colleges. Natural selection and the survival of the fittest are great needs in American schools, colleges, and universities. Jefferson's ideas, if they should ever be realized throughout the country, will deliver us on the one hand from the over-education of mediocrity, and on the other from the under-education of genius. It is the duty of democracy to evolve from itself the highest talent, not only for government and administration, but for the advancement of science and the arts.

The idea is far too prevalent that the American people have done their whole duty in everywhere instituting common schools by State authority. Popular education in this form is indeed a recognized necessity, and, generally speaking, it is an accomplished fact; but there is a higher form of popular education, to the necessity of which the people as a whole have not yet risen. That form is university education in the interest of good government and the promotion of science in these United States.

Washington had this higher form of education in mind when he said to Congress that "a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation," and when he advocated a national institution in which the primary object should be "the education of our youth in the science of government."

Jefferson had it in mind when he was urging the State Legislature to establish the University of Virginia, and when he thus defined the objects of the higher education :

"To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend; to expound the principles of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unneces-

sary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another; to harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry; to develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order; to enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts and administer to the health, the subsistence, and the comforts of human life; and, finally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others and of happiness within themselves. These are the objects of that higher grade of education, the benefits and blessings of which the Legislature now propose to provide for the good and ornament of their country, the gratification and happiness of their fellow-citizens."

Jefferson's views upon the relation of the State to university education are so striking and so timely in these days, when some Legislatures are treating State universities in a grudging, short-sighted, and parsimonious spirit, that I can not refrain from quoting still further from that remarkable report which decided the establishment of the University of Virginia:

"Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements; some think they do not better the condition of men; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private, individual effort; not reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, is far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage, or not at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require. * * * Nor must we omit to mention * * * the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments, legislative, executive, and judicial, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our National Government; nothing more than education advancing the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation."

While the present monograph describes, for the encouragement of the friends of higher education, the triumph of what was called in Virginia the "holy cause of the University," after nearly fifty years of arduous struggle by Jefferson with popular indifference and local jealousy and ill-advised opposition, the study is not without its interest for the friends of primary education, which Jefferson had quite as much at heart as university education.

He believed in aiming at the highest, as did the founders of Harvard and William and Mary Colleges. He believed that with the opening of mountain sources of learning, the lower valleys and broadening plains

of popular education would the better flourish. In studying the historical origin of the University of Virginia, we discover its connection with enlarged and wide-reaching ideas of a system of public education, the influence of which should extend far beyond the borders of a single State.

In the extensive correspondence, legislative inquiries, reports of educational commissions, and legislative enactments which led to the foundation of the University of Virginia in 1819, we have a rich fund of suggestive ideas for the founders of educational institutions, whether public or private, high or low. The range of thought is from a district school to a national university. These ideas are all the more interesting, because the best of them are clearly the product of Jefferson's thoroughly democratic mind, enriched by higher education, by travel, and by an intelligent study of the best institutions of learning in the New and in the Old World. It is surprising to observe how Jefferson anticipated many of the modern educational ideas which have come into conspicuous favor since his day. For instance, non-sectarianism in university education; ethics and the languages of the Old and New Testaments as a suitable university basis for theological training; the importance of the academic study of history, politics, and economics; the teaching of history in common schools by means of reading-books; the practical value of the modern languages; the significance of German studies, particularly of Anglo-Saxon; the early English origin of free institutions; the advantage of student self-government as a substitute for faculty-espionage; physical education; military training of students; manual and industrial training; the connection of higher education with the higher interests of the American people. Jefferson seemed to recognize that our schools, colleges, and universities, if they are to serve efficiently the state or country in which they are placed, must have broad foundations, and cultivate, instead of selfish exclusiveness, a noble popularity which does honor to the Republic.

To the University of Virginia, Jefferson's creation, the whole country is indebted for the following distinguished services to the higher education: (1) The recognition of real university standards of instruction and scholarship. (2) The absolute repression of the class-system and the substitution of merit for seniority in the award of degrees. (3) The first complete introduction of the elective system. (4) The establishment of distinct "schools," in which great subjects were grouped; for example, ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, law and politics; each school having its autonomy and its own standard of graduation. (5) The institution of constitutional government, in academic form, with an appointed president or chairman of the faculty, holding office for one year, but eligible for reappointment by the board of visitors. (6) The promotion of self-government among the students, with the cultivation of an *esprit de corps* sustaining high standards of academic honor and scholarship.

I beg leave to recommend the publication of this monograph, which illustrates the educational views and wide influence of the Father of the

University of Virginia, who was also one of the founders of this Republic.

The monograph contains, besides Dr. Adams' original researches, an interesting and valuable study by one of his graduate students at the Johns Hopkins University, Mr. William P. Trent, of Richmond; who earned his degree of Master of Arts at the University of Virginia, and who, at Dr. Adams' suggestion, has investigated the influence of Jefferson's institution upon the life and thought of the South. Mr. Trent has also prepared, with very great labor, statistical tables showing the various lines of public and professional activity taken by the alumni of the University, now widely scattered throughout the Southern States.

Following these tables is an authorized sketch of the present condition and organization of the University, by Professor John B. Minor. A bibliography of the best sources of information is appended by the editor. Authorized sketches of Hampden-Sidney, Randolph-Macon, Emory and Henry, Roanoke, and Richmond Colleges, and of Washington and Lee University, have been secured through local co-operation. Illustrations for the work have been obtained from a variety of sources. The most interesting are copies of Jefferson's original drawings for the construction of the University buildings.

This contribution to the educational history of Virginia is the first of a State series, which, with your approval, Dr. Adams will continue to edit for the Bureau of Education. The present monograph will be followed by historical studies of education in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, by student representatives of those States.

The Bureau of Education has now in course of preparation a second co-operative series, on the history of higher education in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, to mark educationally the centenary of the first settlement of the old Northwest Territory. This plan of work has been undertaken with your sanction, and will be continued during the coming winter.

I deem it not improper, in the conclusion of this letter, to express how deeply the Bureau of Education is indebted to your generous and liberal encouragement, in its efforts to aid and broaden the scope and usefulness of its work.

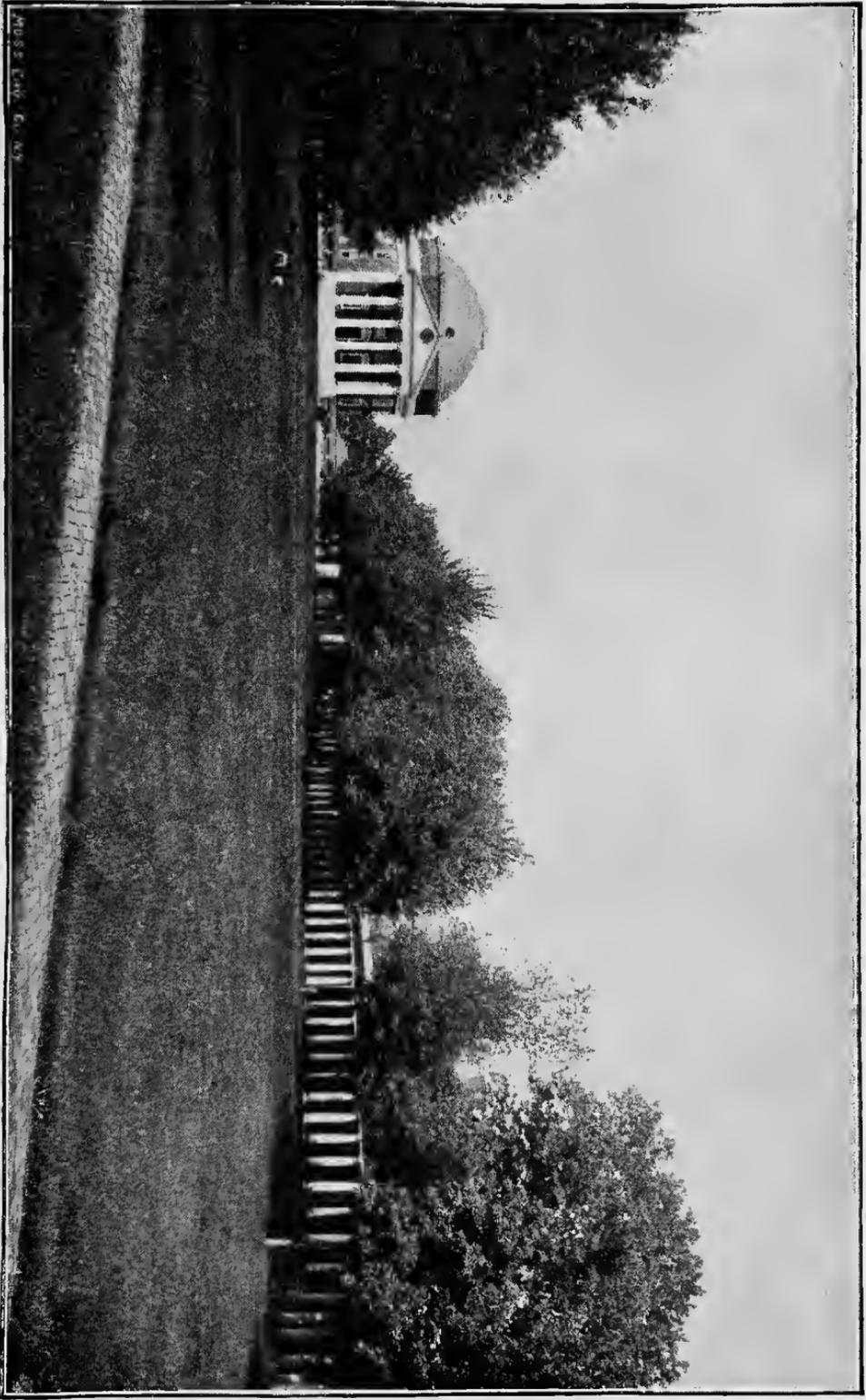
In being elevated to that august tribunal which presides over one of the three departments of this great Union of States, you will carry with you the best wishes of the friends of education, and will view from a higher stand-point the value and beneficence of public education to the whole country.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. H. R. DAWSON,
Commissioner.

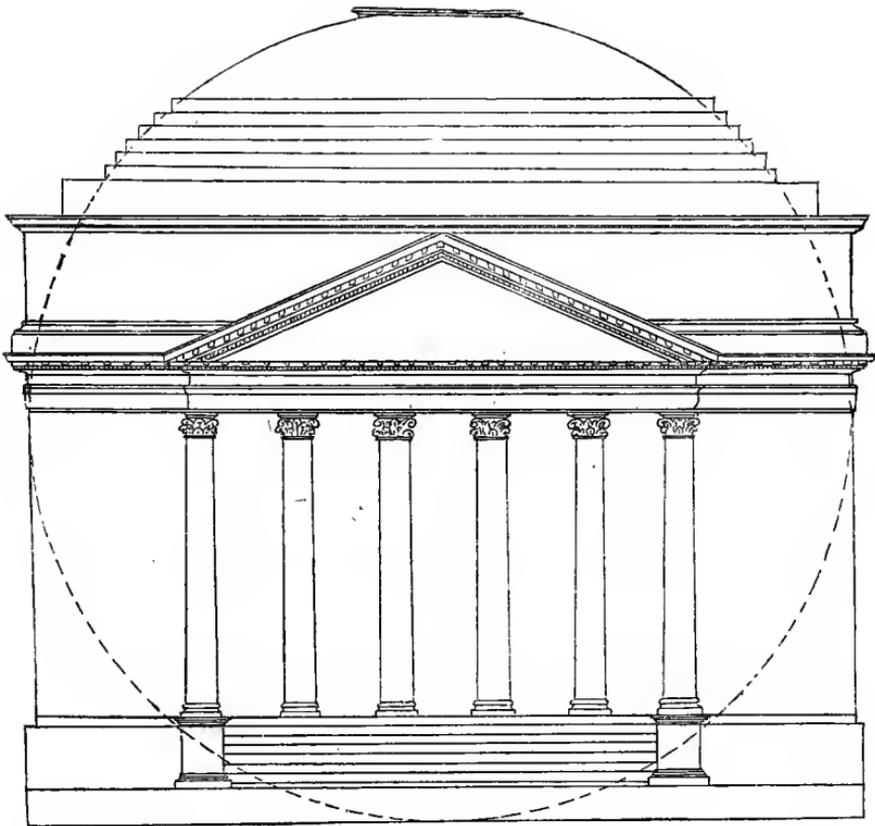
Approved.

L. Q. C. LAMAR,
Secretary.



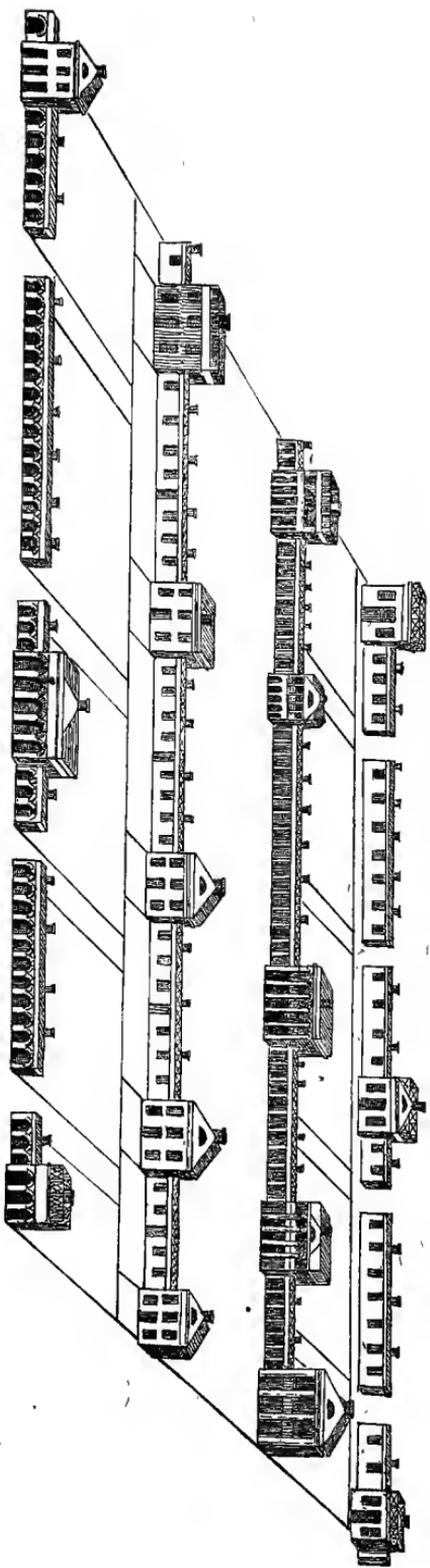
MUSEUM, CHICAGO, ILL.

LAWN AND ROTUNDA, FACING SOUTH,



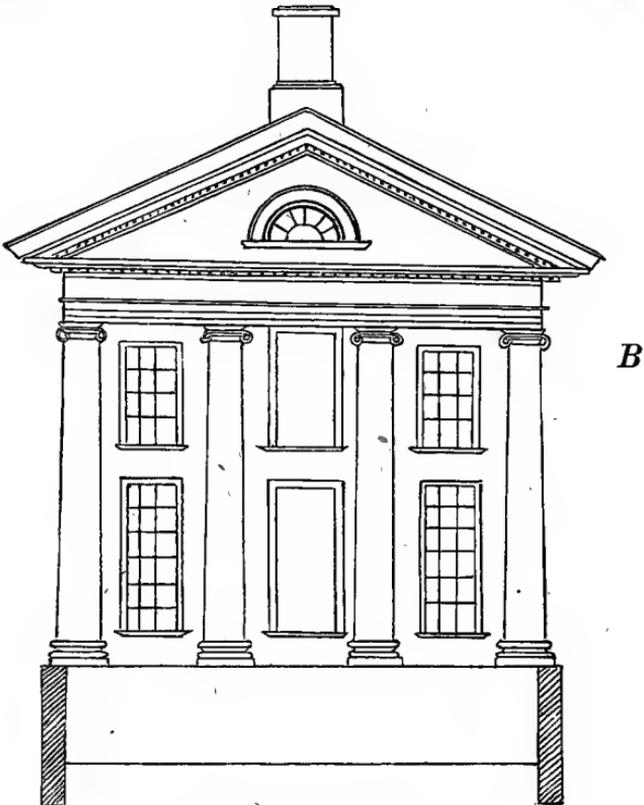
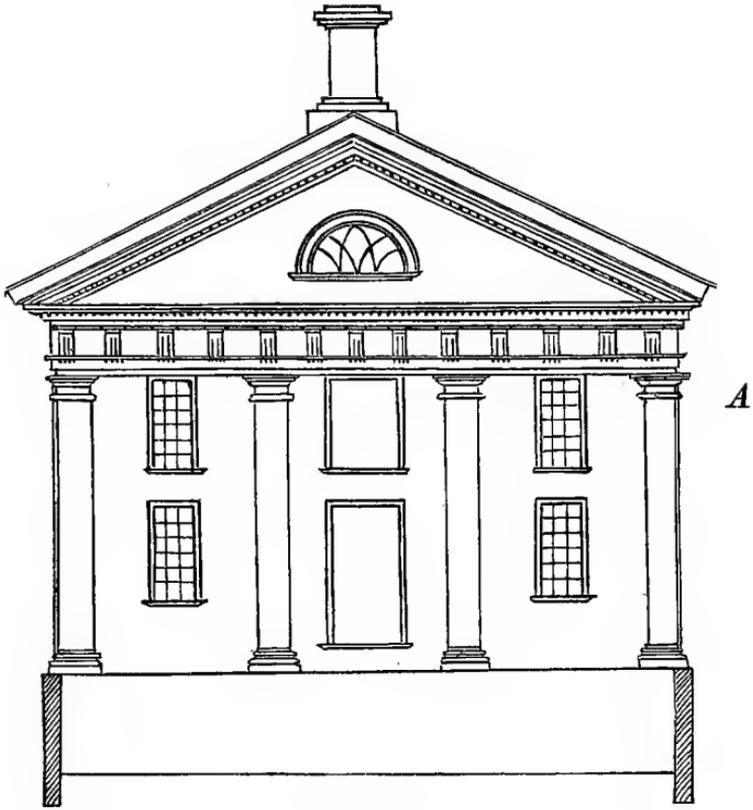
JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

This plate is marked in the corner, in Mr. Jefferson's handwriting, "Library." On a separate sheet are given the plans for the first and second floors, and on the back of this separate sheet are given the calculations for bricks and materials necessary for the building. These calculations are headed as follows: "Rotunda reduced to the proportions of the Pantheon and accommodated to the purposes of a Library for the University, with rooms for drawing, music, examinations, and other accessory purposes. The diameter of the building, 77 feet, being one-half that of the Pantheon, consequently one-fourth its area and one-eighth its volume."



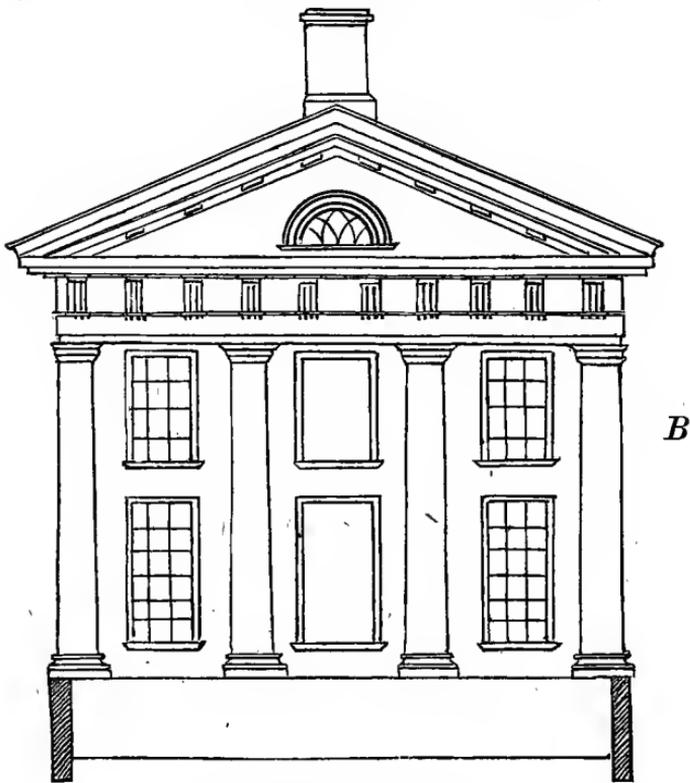
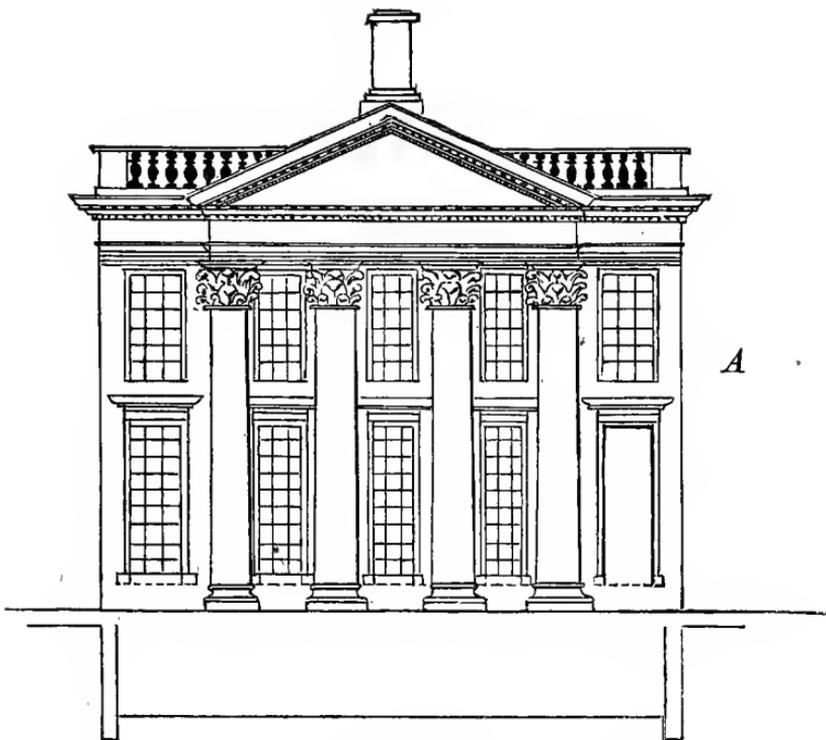
JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

This was drawn in India ink by Mr. Jefferson and shaded by his granddaughter, Cornelia J. Randolph.



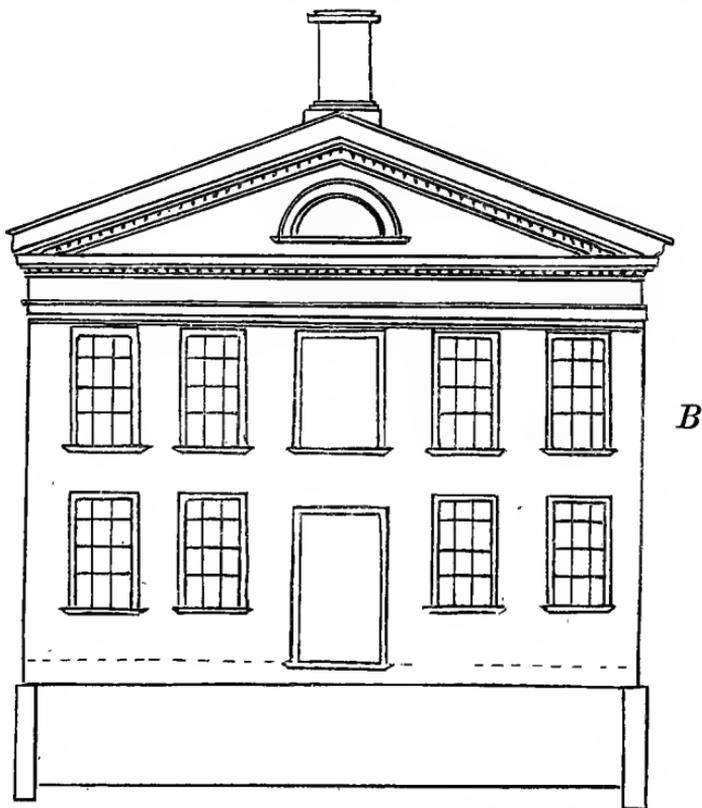
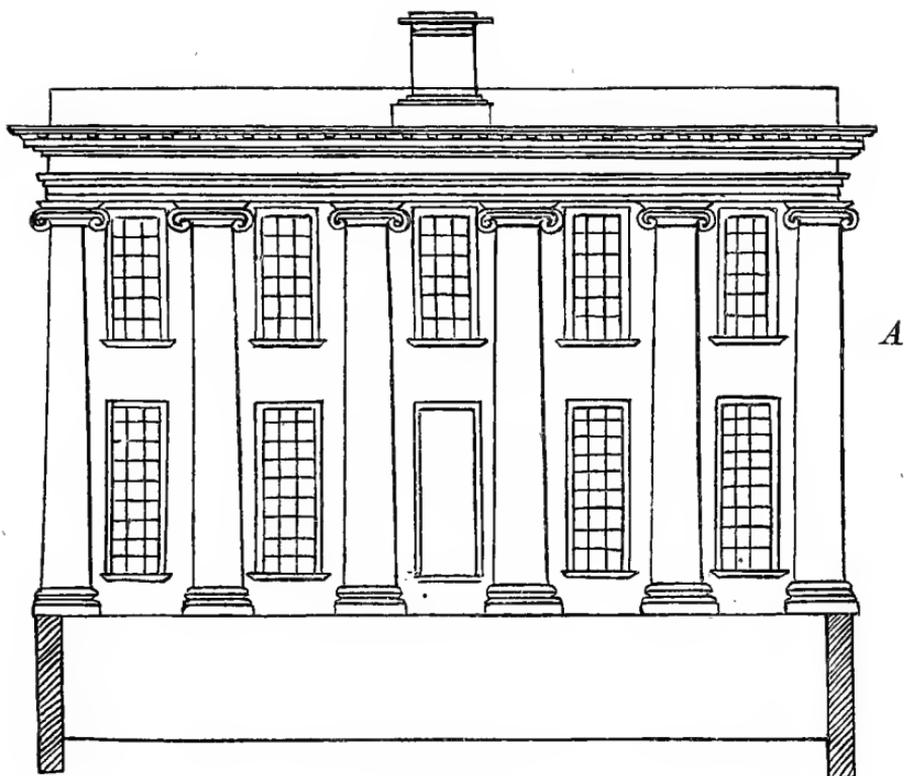
JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

A.—Pavilion No. I (west): The Doric of Diocletian's Baths—Chambray.
 B.—Pavilion No. II (east): Ionic of Fortuna Virilis.



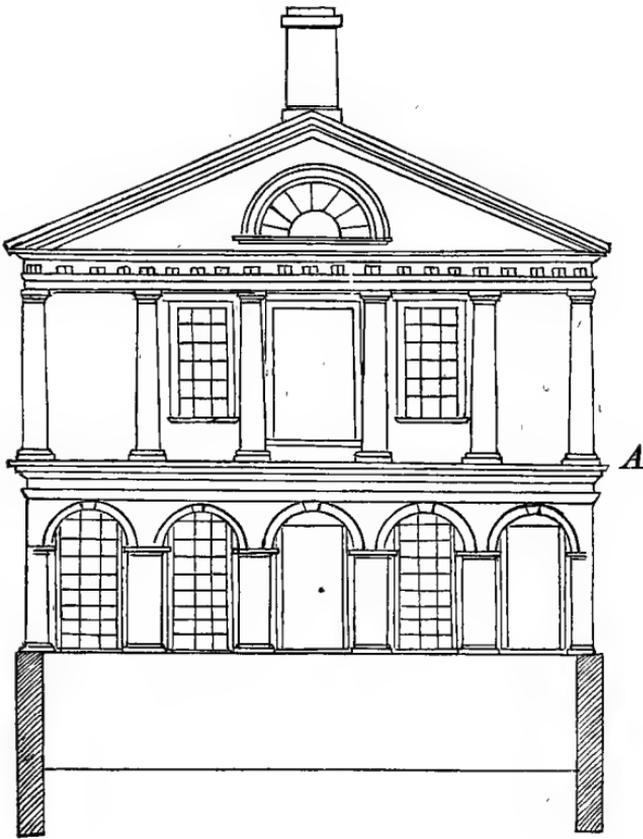
JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

- A.—Pavilion No. III (west): Corinthian of Palladio.
 B.—Pavilion No. IV (east): Doric of Albano.

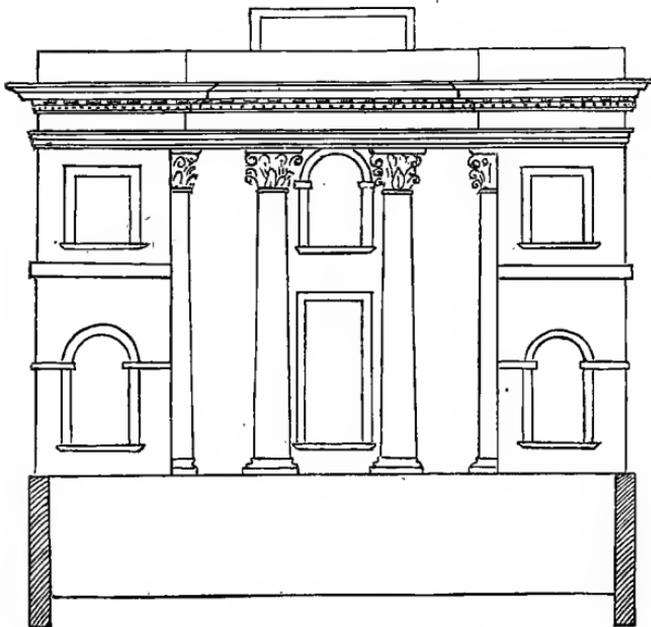


JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

- A.—Pavilion No. V (west): Palladio's Ionic order with modillions.
 B.—Pavilion No. VI (east): Ionic of the Theatre of Marcellus.



A

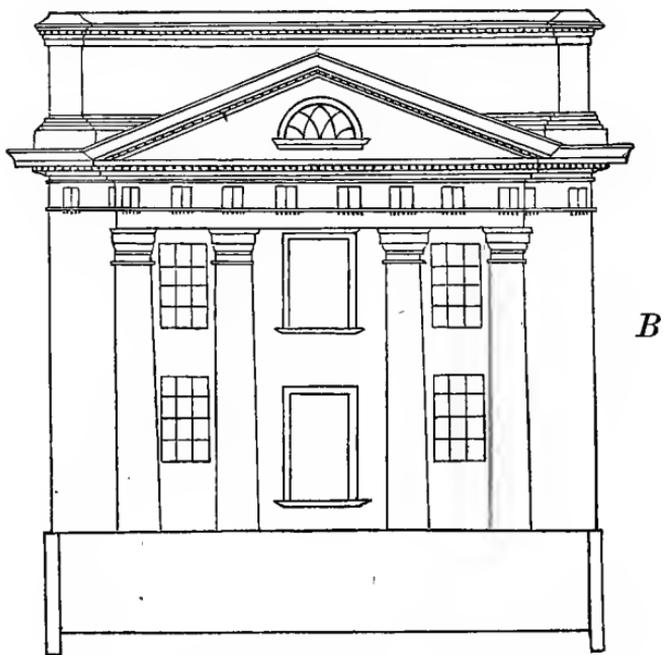
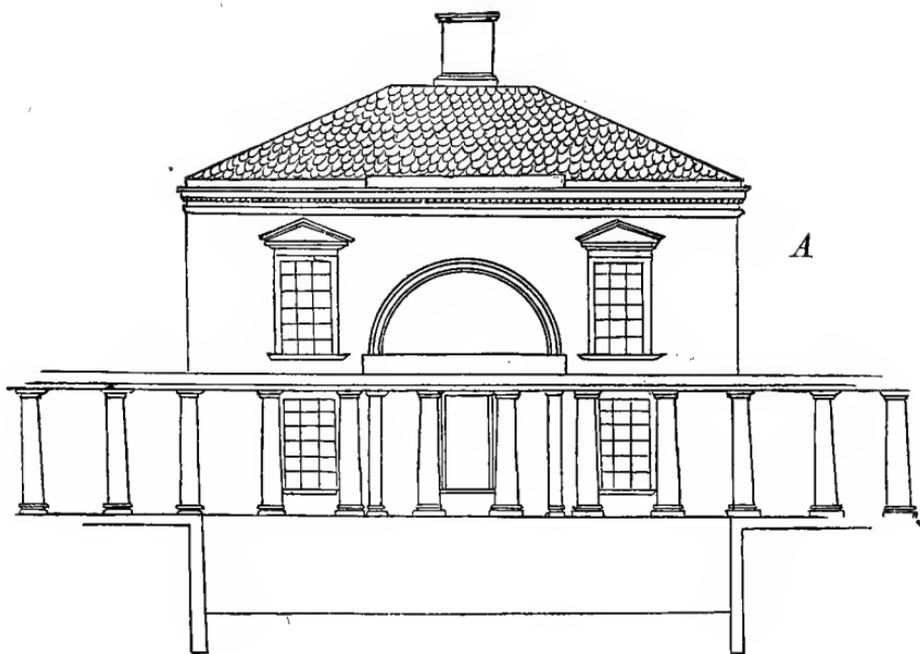


B

JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

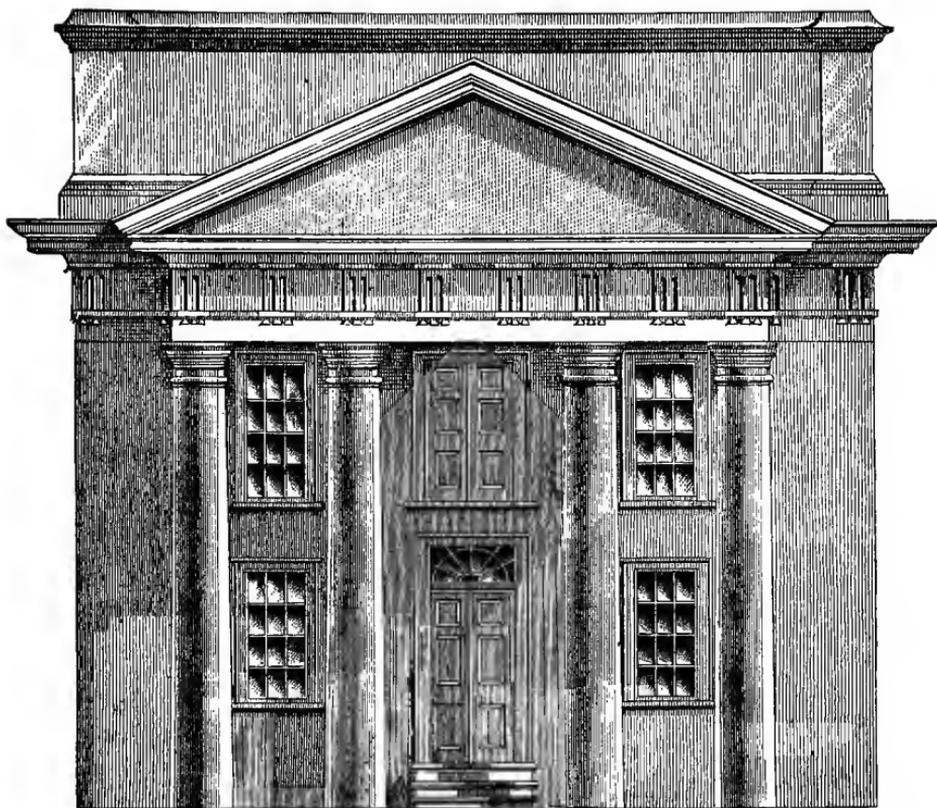
A.—Pavilion No. VII (west); Doric of Palladio.

B.—Pavilion No. VIII (east): Corinthian—Diocletian's Baths.



JEFFERSON'S DRAWINGS.

- A.—Pavilion No. LX (west): Ionic of Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
 B.—Pavilion No. X (east): Doric of the Theatre of Marcellus.



This sketch was no doubt made by Mr. Jefferson's granddaughter, Cornelia J. Randolph, and must have been taken from some book on architecture. It seems to have served as a model for "Pavilion No. X (east): Doric of the Theatre of Marcellus." The model was modified in No. X. It is interesting, as the original may some time be found, and the source of Mr. Jefferson's inspiration, for this building at least, discovered.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

INTRODUCTION.

“An institution,” said Emerson, “is the lengthened shadow of one man.” The truth of this epigrammatic saying is richly illustrated in the history of church, state, and society. Conspicuous examples occur in the founding of towns, cities, schools, colleges, and universities. There are many noble institutions which, if we look backward, seem to cast the lengthening shadows of individual influence across the valleys of history; but, if we look forward, such institutions are seen to be the advancing and growing light of the world.

It is not enough to consider the founders of human institutions as standing apart and alone. Men should be viewed historically in their relation to society. Institutions are rarely the product of one man's original ideas. Suggestions have usually been taken from other men and other institutions. There is a subtle genealogy in human creations which is as complex as the relations of man to society and to past generations. Just as every individual human life is a long train of lives, carrying the hereditary forces of family and race—a ghostly train of progenitors, with their good or evil tendencies—so every human institution is the historical resultant of many individual forces, which the will-power of one man or one set of men has brought into effective combination at some opportune time.

JEFFERSON'S ALMA MATER.

Thomas Jefferson is justly called the “Father of the University of Virginia.” That institution is clearly the lengthened shadow of one man. But William and Mary College was the *alma mater* of Thomas Jefferson. There at Williamsburg, in intimate association with a Scotch professor of mathematics and philosophy, with a scholarly lawyer, and with the Governor of the colony, Thomas Jefferson, of Albemarle, the son of a Virginia planter, received his first bent toward science and higher education, toward law and politics, the fields in which he afterward excelled. Jefferson's first idea of a university for Virginia is inseparably connected with his proposed transformation of William and Mary College, of which, as Governor of the State, he became, *ex officio*, a visitor in 1779. The writer has already explained in his sketch of William and Mary College why that ancient ecclesiastical institution, the oldest of all

colleges in the South, and, next to Harvard, the oldest in the country, failed to become a State university. The present monograph will show how an educational germ, springing from William and Mary College, invigorated by fresh ideas from beyond the sea, and transplanted to a more favorable environment, developed into larger life through the fostering care of Thomas Jefferson, supported by the Commonwealth of Virginia. Institutions like that royal old college at Williamsburg¹ never really die. They bring forth fruit in old age. Their strength is renewed, like the eagle's. They transmit their life to others in ways no less remarkable than are the processes of nature.

HISTORY OF WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE CONTINUED.

This study of the early history of the University of Virginia was begun as a natural continuation of the history of William and Mary College, but it has led to a much wider view of the subject than was originally intended. The monograph now embraces a survey, not only of Jefferson's educational work, but of the history of higher education throughout the State. In the latter part of his work, the author has received efficient co-operation from the representatives of the various Virginia colleges and universities. While under special obligations to professors and college presidents, whose names are mentioned in their proper connection, very particular thanks are due to the chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, Col. Charles S. Venable, to the distinguished head of the law school of that institution, Professor John B. Minor, and to Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, for the kind assistance and material information afforded the present writer.

JEFFERSON'S ORIGINAL DRAWINGS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Grateful acknowledgments are made to Miss Sarah N. Randolph, of Baltimore, for placing at the service of the writer the original drawings, plans, and estimates for the University of Virginia, prepared by her great-grandfather, Thomas Jefferson, whose correspondence and papers were edited by her father, Thomas Jefferson Randolph. These unique illustrative materials, preserved as heirlooms by the Randolph family, throw a wonderful light upon the origin of the University. The observer realizes as never before how entirely and absolutely that institution was the historic product of one man's mind. Not only the University itself as an academic organization, but the very ground-plan and structure of its buildings, every material estimate and every architectural detail, are the work of Thomas Jefferson.

¹The recent revival of William and Mary College by the Legislature of Virginia is a gratifying proof of popular interest in higher education and in the historical associations of that ancient institution. The college is to become a higher training school for the teachers of Virginia. The superintendent of public instruction, Dr. John L. Buchanan, has been appointed president, and the various chairs of instruction, including History and English, will soon be filled anew.

The thousand and one matters which college presidents and boards of trustees usually leave to professional architects and skilled labor, were thought out and carefully specified on paper by the "Father of the University of Virginia."

The student begins to appreciate the significance of the above phrase when he sees Jefferson's original survey of the ground for a campus or lawn, and his mathematical location of the buildings, with the minutest directions regarding every one. Cellars and foundation walls, windows, doors, roofs, chimneys, floors, partitions, stairs, the very bricks and timber requisite for every dormitory, were all estimated with nicest accuracy. "The covered way in front of the whole range of buildings is to be Tuscan, with columns of brick rough cast, their diameter 16 inches, but in front of the pavilion to be arches, in order to support the columns of the portico above more solidly." Not only did Jefferson draw plans and make estimates for every important feature of the University, but he trained his brick-makers, masons, and carpenters, and superintended every operation. He even designed tools and implements for his men, and taught them how to cover roofs with tin. One or two skilled workmen were imported from Italy to chisel the marble capitals of those classic columns which support the porticos of the pavilions in which the professors now live, but the chief work was done by home talent under Jefferson's watchful eye.



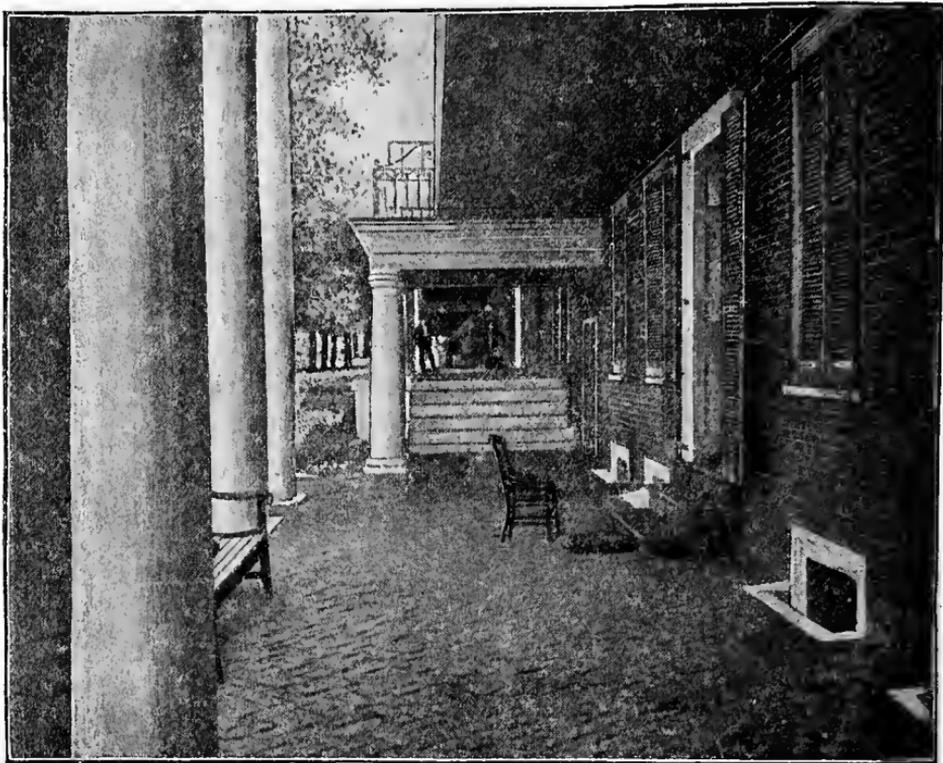
In the Colonnade of the University. West Lawn.

[Published by courtesy of the Century Company.]

ARCHITECTURAL TYPES.

A visitor pacing slowly through those monastic colonnades extending along two sides of the great quadrangle campus of the University of Virginia will receive a strange variety of impressions from the extraordinary architectural combinations which greet his wandering

eyes. The arcades themselves, from which open directly the single-chambered rooms of the students, remind one of cloistered walks in some ancient monastery. These student-rooms are like monkish cells. But what wonderful façades are those which front the professors' houses or pavilions! They reproduce classic styles of architecture.

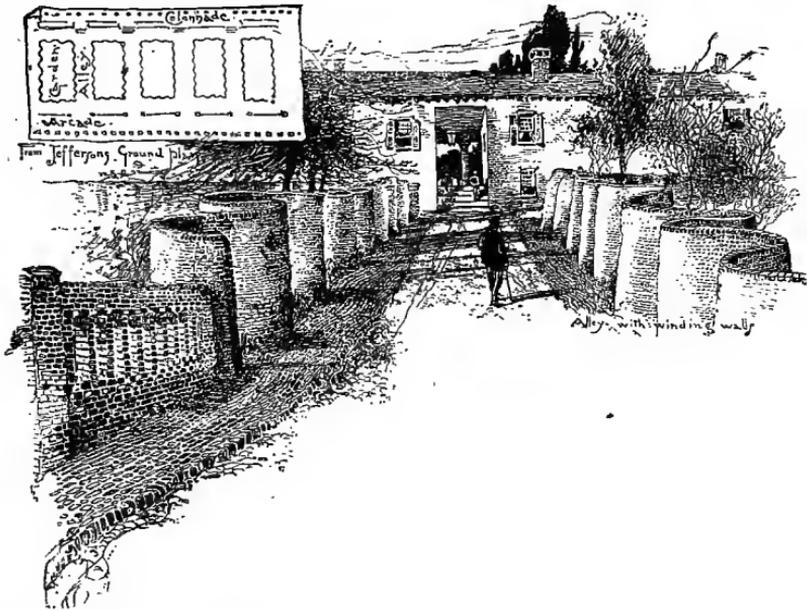


In the Colonnade of the University, East Lawn.

The shadows of remote antiquity are cast upon those beautiful grassy lawns which form the campus, or, shall we say, the *campo santo*, of the University of Virginia. From Jefferson's drawings we learn, what is now well-nigh forgotten, that these varying types of classical architecture were copied from well-known Roman buildings, pictured by Palladio¹ in his great work on architecture. There in the theatre

¹"The Architecture of A. Palladio, in four books, containing a short treatise of the five orders, and the most necessary observations concerning all sorts of buildings: as also the different construction of private and public houses, highways, bridges, market-places, xystes, and temples, with their plans, sections, and uprights, revised, designed, and published, by Giacomo Leoni, a Venetian, architect to His most Serene Highness, the late Elector Palatine; translated from the Italian original. The third edition corrected. With notes and remarks of Inigo Jones: now first taken from his original manuscript in Worcester College Library, Oxford. And also as an Appendix, containing the Antiquities of Rome, written by A. Palladio. And a Discourse of the Fires of the Ancients, never before translated. In two volumes. London, 1742." Palladio's service to architecture has recently been made the subject of an interesting article in the *Nation*, December 29, 1887, under the title "Palladio at Vicenza." There is also an interesting sketch of Palladio in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

of Marcellus dwells the household of Professor Minor. Yonder are reminders of the baths of Diocletian, the baths of Caracalla, and of the temple of Fortuna Virilis. And there, at the upper or northern end of the quadrangle, stands the Roman Pantheon, the temple of all the gods, reduced to one-third of its original size, but still majestic and imposing. This building, with its rotunda, upon which Jefferson spent almost as much pains as Michael Angelo did upon the dome of St. Peter's, is used for the library and for various lecture halls. Young people dance merrily under that stately dome at the end of the academic year. The young monks thus escape from their cells into the modern social world. How charmingly old Rome, mediæval Europe, and modern America blend together before the very eyes of young Virginia!



Alley and Serpentine Brick Walls leading through Professors' Gardens to the Central Lawns.

[Published by courtesy of the Century Company.]

THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND.

There is a manifest unity in Jefferson's institutional creation, and yet a reflecting student cannot fail to see that there is an interesting historical background to this beautiful picture. In the material structure of the University of Virginia there is much to remind the traveller of Old World forms, and in the documentary history of the institution itself there are many indications of European influence upon the mind of Jefferson. These things have greatly interested the present writer, and they may not be unworthy of the attention of friends of American educational history, in which so little work has been done, especially in the Southern States. The formative influences which entered into the making of the University of Virginia are doubtless more

numerous than those described in the following monograph; but Jefferson was the master and controller of them all. It is no detraction from his individual power of origination to open the volume of his large experience in the world, and to point out here and there his connection with men and things that shaped his purpose to its noble end. Instead of evolving the University of Virginia entirely out of his own inner consciousness, Jefferson combined, in an original and independent creation, the results of academic training, philosophical culture, foreign travel, wide observation, and of an extensive correspondence with the most illustrious educators of his time. His intelligent study of Old World institutions prepared him to devise something new for Virginia and America. How the idea of one man became the sovereign will of the State, after a struggle of fifty years for the higher education, is an instructive study, affording grounds for encouragement in these modern days.

CHAPTER I.

THE UNITED STATES ACADEMY AT RICHMOND.

SURVIVAL OF FRENCH INFLUENCE.

A very remarkable attempt was made in the latter part of the eighteenth century to establish the higher education in this country upon a grand scale. It was an attempt, growing out of the French alliance with the United States, to plant in Richmond, the new capital of Virginia, a kind of French academy of the arts and sciences, with branch academies in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. The institution was to be at once national and international. It was to be affiliated with the royal societies of London, Paris, and Brussels, and with other learned bodies in Europe. It was to be composed of a president, a vice-president, six counsellors, a treasurer-general, a secretary, a recorder, an agent for taking European subscriptions, French professors, masters, artists-in-chief attached to the academy, twenty-five resident and one hundred and seventy-five non-resident associates, selected from the best talent of the Old World and of the New.

The academy proposed to publish yearly, from its own press in Paris, an almanac, announcing to the academic world not only the officers and students of the Richmond institution, with their distinguished associates, but also the work projected by the academy from year to year. Such work when completed was to be published in the memoirs of the academy and distributed to the learned societies of Europe and to the associates and patrons of the institution. The academy was to show its active zeal for science by communicating to France and other European countries a knowledge of the natural products of North America. The museums and cabinets of the Old World were to be enriched by specimens of the flora and fauna of a country as yet undiscovered by men of science. Experts of every class were to be sent out from Paris to the new academy, where they were to teach American youth, and at the same time serve on scientific commissions for governments, corporations, and stock companies. These professors were to pay to the academy, for its economic support, one-half of all receipts for instruction and commission work. Special stress was laid upon the importance of

introducing into America French mineralogists and mining engineers. If this latter idea had been realized the mineral resources of the United States would have been exploited in the interest of European capital.

CHEVALIER QUESNAY'S PROJECT.

The projector of this brilliant scheme was the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire, grandson of the famous French philosopher and economist Dr. Quesnay, who was the court physician of Louis XV. Chevalier Quesnay, the grandson, was one of those enthusiastic Frenchmen who, like La Fayette, came over to this country to aid in the war of the Revolution. Led on, he says in his memoir,¹ by the hope of achieving military distinction, Quesnay served as a captain in Virginia during the years 1777-78. A long and severe illness compelled him to give up his military ambition. Having occasion to travel through the country, he conceived the idea of improving it by the introduction of French culture and the fine arts. He saw a good opportunity of multiplying the relations between France and America, or, as he naïvely says, "*de la lier avec ma patrie par de nouveaux motifs de reconnaissance, de conformité dans les goûts, et de communication plus intime entre les Individus des deux Nations.*"

The chevalier says that the first idea of founding an academy in America was suggested to him in 1778, by Mr. John Page, of Rosewell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, who urged him to procure professors from Europe, promising to secure their appointment and make Quesnay president of the academy. The ambitious Frenchman appears to have made diligent propaganda throughout Virginia, and indeed throughout the country, in the interest of his novel academic idea. He even succeeded in raising by subscription the sum of sixty thousand francs,—a fact which indicates that the scheme was seriously entertained. There is a published list of the original subscribers in Virginia, embracing nearly one hundred names.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS IN VIRGINIA.

The following "*Liste des Premiers Souscripteurs en Virginie, Année 1786,*" will have historical interest, for it represents the first contributors to university education at the South: "Messieurs B. Adams, R. Armstead, Moses Austin, Henry Banks, Chiswell Baret, John Baret, Smith Bleakey [Blakey ?], Robert Boling, William Booker, Richard Bowler, Robert Boyd, James Bronsley [Brownley ?], John Burton, William Burton, Archibald Cary, Cohen & Isaac, William Coulter, Samuel Cough [Couch ?], Reuben Coutls [Cutts ?], Samuel McCraw, Thomas

¹ *Mémoire, Statuts et Prospectus concernant l'Académie des Sciences et Beaux-Arts des États-Unis de l'Amérique, établie à Richemond, capitale de la Virginie; présentés à Leurs Majestés, et à la Famille Royale, par le Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie de Cailleau, Imprimeur de l'Académie de Richemond, rue Galande, No. 64, 1788. 118 pp. 12mo.*

McCruisey, Francis Dandridge, William Davis, Thomas M. Deane, Henry Dixon, John Dixon, William Duval, Serafina Formicula, William Foushée, Gabriel Galt, A. Geoghegen, John Gibson, Erasmns Gill, H. Giroude, Francis Goode, Robert Goode, Thomas Gordon, Francis Graves, Robert Greenhow, John Guun, John Harvie, William Heslet, Gilbert Hay, Custis Haynes, James Hays, Joseph Higbee, David Humphreys, Daniel Hylton, Francis James, Richard Jernon, John McKeand, John Ker, David Lambert, Robert Lauglin, Benjamin Lewis, William Lewis, Abraham Lott, John McLurg, William Lynn, Sampson Mathews, John May, William Mayo, Dabney Miller, Robert Mitchel, A. Montgomery, Richard Morris, Mme. Susanna Nevens, William Pennoch, George Pickett, Barnet Price, John Prior, N. Raguét, Thomas Randolph, T. M. Randolph, Henry Randolph, Thomas Richard, A. McRobert, Jesse Roper, Thomas Rosses, John Stewart, John Stocdelt [Stockdell?], Tenner [Turner?] Southall, R. Southgates, Thomas Taab, Stephen Tankard, Peter Tinsley, Samuel Trower, Daniel Trunchart [Truehart?], Edward Voss, Daniel Wandeval, James Warrington, Foster Web, Bikerton Web, Nathaniel Wilkinson, Isaac Yonghusbaud, P. Yonghusband."

Some of these old Virginia names are somewhat disguised by the vagaries of a French printing office, but many of them were recognized by Samuel Mordecai,¹ a Richmond antiquary of a former generation. Chevalier Quesnay says the first man who subscribed to his project was Colonel Randolph: "Le Colonel Randolph de Tachao [Tuckahoe], le premier qui ait souscrit, a fait d'autres avances considérables en faveur de cet Établissement." Quesnay says also that "John Harvie, Écuyer, Maire de la ville, Directeur de la Vente des Terres de l'État, est le premier qui ait adopté le projet de cet établissement; il l'a toujours protégé depuis avec fermeté." In order to convince the French public that he had the strongest social support in America, Quesnay referred to a great number of distinguished people in various American cities who had shown him encouragement. In view of the prospective rivalry of the Richmond Academy with old William and Mary College, it is interesting to find Quesnay mentioning, among his friends in Williamsburg, "le Rév. M. Madison, Président de l'Université, MM. John & Thomas Carter; le Général Gibson." He mentions also friends in Norfolk, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria. To Baltimoreans the following local patrons of liberal culture in the eighteenth century will not be without interest: "Eu Mariland, à Baltimore, M. Martin, Avocat-Général; M. le Docteur Buchanan (fils du feu Général de ce nom); M. Krocket, MM. Vanbibet, Williamson, Provayance Graves, le Colonel Brent, M. Hemsley, le Docteur Courter, etc." Thus the Chevalier Quesnay proceeds in his interesting tour of social progress through the older cities of the Atlantic seaboard, from Baltimore to Philadelphia, Trenton, Elizabeth, Newark, and New York. His local lists of first

¹ Samuel Mordecai: Virginia, especially Richmond, in *By-Gone Days*. Second edition, p. 205.

families afford an interesting criterion of the cultivated society of the period immediately following the American Revolution. This clever, diplomatic Frenchman evidently had the social entrée wherever he went on his academic mission. While mentioning, among his friends in New York, Governor Clinton, General Courtland, Mr. Duane (then mayor of the city), the Livingstons, Hoffmans, Halletts, Pintards, Seatons, Whites, and the army officers Niven, Ludlow, Ogden, Vandyke, Wool, and others, it is noteworthy that Quesnay speaks of General Baron von Steuben as "le premier de cet État qui ait adopté le projet" of a French academy in America. It was an educated German in New York who first recognized the clever Frenchman's brilliant idea.

LETTER TO FRANKLIN.

Quesnay's project was clearly for something higher than an American college. He had in mind the highest special training of American students in the arts and sciences. The following extract from a letter written to Dr. Franklin by his daughter, Mrs. Bache, doubtless at Quesnay's request, shows how the proposed academy was viewed by educated people at the time. The letter is here translated into English from Quesnay's French version, published in his memoir for the sake of influencing public opinion in France, where the name of Franklin was greatly revered:

"PHILADELPHIA, *February 27, 1783.*"

"MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER: With this letter you will receive a project for a French academy which is to be established here. It is a very extensive plan, which will do honor to the gentleman who has designed it, as well as to America. If it can be executed, it will in no way interfere with the plans of the colleges; it will be solely for the completion of the education of young men after they have graduated from college. Those who are already under M. Quesnay have made great progress.

"He regards you as the father of science in this country, and appreciates the advice and instruction which you have never failed to give those whose talents are worthy of recognition. Money is the one thing needful; but the brother of M. Quesnay, when he delivers this letter, will inform you how you can be most serviceable. I know well how occupied you must be in this important crisis; but as a mother who desires to give her children a useful and polite education, and who will be especially proud to have them trained in her own country and under her own eyes, I pray you to give M. Quesnay every aid and assistance that may lie in your power."

Quesnay decided to establish his academy in Richmond, because his earliest American associations and his best friends were in that capital. There he acquired, he says, a superb site for the building. His topographical description of Richmond, with reference to the situation of the academy, is pleasing and graphic: "La position de cette ville est

charmante à tous égards, son emplacement occupe une vallée et deux collines, sur l'une desquelles est bâtie l'Académie. La rivière de James forme, au pied de son enceinte, une superbe cascade, d'environ trois milles de longueur." The exact site of the academy was long ago recorded by Samuel Mordecai, the Richmond antiquary, who probably saw the building with his own eyes. He says, in his charming medley of Richmond history; "The site chosen by M. Quesnay, and on which he erected his academy, is the square on which the Monumental Church and the Medical Collège now stand, the grounds extending from those lower points up Broad and Marshall to Twelfth Street. The academy stood nearly on the spot where the Carlton House stands."

THE ACADEMY FOUNDED.

The proceedings connected with the laying of the corner-stone are described by Quesnay, in his Memoir, and by the Virginia Gazette for July 1, 1786. The foundation was laid June 24 with masonic ceremonies in the presence of a great concourse of citizens. The mayor of the city, the French consul, and, as Quesnay reported, "deputies of the French nation,"¹ were there to honor the occasion. With the corner-stone was laid a silver plate bearing this inscription, preserved in French in Quesnay's Memoir: "Première Pierre d'une Académie dans la ville de Richemond, Alexandre-Marie Quesnay, étant Président, posée à l'Orient de Richemond, par les Maîtres-Gardiens & Compagnons de la L. No. 31, le jour de la Fête de St. Jean Baptiste, l'An de la V. L. 5786, de l'Ère Vulgaire 1786. John Groves, Maître, James Mercer, Grand Maître, Edmund Randolph, D. P. G. Maître." Upon another silver plate was recorded the following Latin inscription, which perhaps suffered in the printer's hands:

Anno Domini 1786, Reipublicae 10, VIII. Kalendas Julii, Res Virginiae administrante Patrik Henri, Academiae quam designavit

ALEXANDER-MARIA QUESNAY

atque beneficiis plurimum Civium bene meritorum adjutus, tandem perficiet, prima fundamenta posuit.

JOHANNES HARVIE, PRAET. URB.

The six counsellors,² chosen by the subscribers to act with President Quesnay, are mentioned in the latter's Memoir of the academy. They were John Harvie, mayor of the city of Richmond, and "allié à la famille de son Excellence M. Jefferson;" Col. Thomas Randolph; Dr.

¹ Quesnay appears to have had several French supporters in his academic undertaking. He says: "M. Claude-Paul Raguét a rendu des services importants à l'Auteur; MM. Audrin, la Case, Omphéry, MM. les Docteurs Noel et le Maire; MM. Dorssière et Bartholomy, et MM. Cureau et Charles-François Duval, en Virginie (tous Français) ont appuyé son entreprise."

² The Virginia Gazette, May 1, 1786.

James McClurg; Col. Robert Goode; Dr. William Foushée; and Robert Boyd. Benjamin Lewis was appointed treasurer.

Having founded and organized his Academy under the most distinguished auspices, Quesnay returned to Paris, and began an active social and scientific propaganda in the interest of his grand project for uniting intellectually America and France. He called upon the savants of Paris. He visited the studios of artists. He consulted everybody whose opinion, good-will, or active co-operation was worth having. Quesnay was certainly successful in awakening the interest of the most influential people in the idea of establishing a French academy in Richmond. As grandson of a distinguished scholar, and as a returned soldier of France, he was able to obtain access to the highest circles. His project was presented to the King and Queen and to the royal family in a memoir published with the sanction of the royal censor. The most cultivated men of the time appear to have favored Quesnay's undertaking. A commission of the Royal Academy of Science, signed by De la Lande, Thouin, Tenan, and Lavoisier, and certified by its secretary, the Marquis de Condorcet, reported favorably upon the memoir, as did also a similar commission of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, signed by Vernet and other eminent artists. The published list of foreign associates (*Associés Étrangers*) of the Richmond Academy embraces the most distinguished French names in art, science, literature, and politics, together with representative men of England and the United States. French influence naturally predominated.

DISTINGUISHED ASSOCIATES.

Among the celebrities whom Quesnay managed to associate with his Richmond Academy were Beaumarchais, secretary of the King; Condorcet and Dacier, secretaries respectively of the Royal Academies of Science and of Art; the Abbé de Bevi, historiographer of France; Marquis de la Fayette, then a marshal of the armies of the King; Houdon, the sculptor; Malesherbes, minister of state; Lavoisier; the Comte de la Luzerne, minister and secretary of state; Marquis de la Luzerne, royal ambassador to Great Britain; Marquis de Montalembert; the Duc de la Rochefoucauld; Vernet, and many others.

Conspicuous as representatives of England and of America were Dr. Bancroft, of the Royal Society of London; Dr. George Buchanan, of Baltimore, Md., "Président de la Société Physique d'Edinbourg"; Thomas Paine, member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; Dr. Richard Price, of London; Thomas Shippen, of Philadelphia; Jonathan Trumbull, who is described as "John Trombul, à New Haven état de Connecticut"; Dr. Robert Walker, of Petersburg, Va.; Samuel Rutledge, of Charleston, S. C.; Benjamin West, of London, *et al.* Of all the names given, the most significant to a student of American educational history is that of Thomas Jefferson, "Ministre Plénipotentiaire des États-Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, à Paris."

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Living in Paris at this very time, and mentioned by Quesnay among the supporters of the proposed Academy, Jefferson must have been familiar with this early project for introducing the higher education of France into his native State. He looked upon the project with favor, otherwise he would not have allowed his name to be so prominently used in connection with Quesnay's scheme, which was, moreover, supported by some of the best men in Virginia. Indeed, Quesnay's idea was similar to that afterwards cherished by Jefferson himself when, in 1795, he began to correspond with George Washington about the feasibility of removing bodily to Virginia the entire faculty of the Swiss College of Geneva, which was thoroughly French in its form of culture. In this connection it is interesting to find among the associates of the Richmond Academy M. Pictet, "citoyen de Genève," probably the very man with whom Jefferson afterwards corresponded with reference to removal to Virginia. Jefferson himself says that he met some of these Swiss professors in Paris. Undoubtedly it was in that polished circle of learned men, within which Quesnay and Jefferson moved, that the latter's ideas of university education began to take cosmopolitan form. His original idea of a university for Virginia was to develop the curriculum of his *alma mater*, William and Mary College; but we hear nothing more of that idea after Jefferson's return from Paris. The idea of distinct schools of art and science, which is so prominent a characteristic of the University of Virginia to-day, is the enduring product of Jefferson's observation of the schools of Paris and of his association and correspondence with their representative men.

FRENCH CULTURE IN AMERICA.

If circumstances had favored Quesnay's project, it is probable that the University of Virginia would never have been founded. There would have been no need of it. The Academy of the United States of America, established at Richmond, would have become the centre of higher education not only for Virginia, but for the whole South, and possibly for a large part of the North, if the Academy had been extended, as proposed, to the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. Supported by French capital, to which in large measure we owe the success of our Revolutionary War, strengthened by French prestige, by literary, scientific, and artistic associations with Paris, then the intellectual capital of the world, the academy at Richmond might have become an educational stronghold, comparable in some degree to the Jesuit influence in Canada, which has proved more lasting than French dominion, more impregnable than the fortress of Quebec.

Nothing is so enduring, when once established, as forms of culture. If French ideas had really penetrated Virginian society, they would have become as dominant in the South as German ideas are now be-

coming in the State universities and school systems of the Northwest. French ideas survived in Virginia and in the Carolinas long after the Revolution, and long after the French Government had ceased to interfere in our politics. It was one of the most difficult tasks in Southern educational history to dislodge French philosophy from its academic strongholds in North and South Carolina. It was done by a strong current of Scotch Presbyterianism proceeding from Princeton College southwards. In social forms French culture lingers yet in South Carolina, notably in Charleston.

FAILURE OF QUESNAY'S SCHEME.

Quesnay's scheme was not altogether chimerical; but in the year 1788 France was in no position, financial or social, to push her educational system into Virginia. The year Quesnay's suggestive little tract was published was the year before the French Revolution, in which political maelstrom everything in France went down. If it had not been for one copy of Quesnay's Memoir, picked up years afterward among the drift-wood of the Revolutionary period by President Andrew D. White, it is doubtful whether the project for a French academy in Richmond would have found its present place in the educational history of Virginia.

Provisional arrangements had been made by Quesnay in 1788, after a year or more of social propaganda, for instituting the following "schools" of advanced instruction in Virginia: foreign languages; mathematics; design; architecture, civil and military; painting; sculpture; engraving; experimental physics; astronomy; geography; chemistry; mineralogy; botany; anatomy, human and veterinary; and natural history. The selection of suitable professors, masters, and artists was intrusted to a committee of correspondence established at Paris, and consisting of Quesnay, founder and president of the Academy, or of his representative; of a permanent and assistant secretary, a treasurer-general, and nine commissioners elected from prominent members of the Academy. The prospect of appointing a numerous faculty seems to have become darker with the approach of the Revolution in France.

The committee of correspondence was organized, but when it met it appointed only one professor. His name was Dr. Jean Rouelle. He is described as a profound scholar and an experienced traveller, having a wide acquaintance with the natural sciences. He was elected (significantly enough from a French economic view) mineralogist-in-chief of the Richmond Academy. He was also to be professor of natural history, chemistry, and botany, thus combining the leading natural sciences in one comprehensive chair. He was engaged for a term of ten years, and was instructed to form cabinets and collections for distribution in America and Europe. It was arranged that he should sail for America early in October, 1788; but it is doubtful whether he really went.

Quesnay's brilliant project attracted brief admiration and then sank into oblivion.

FATE OF THE RICHMOND ACADEMY.

The building¹ which he founded in Richmond was, however, completed. It served a purpose which entitles it to a monumental place in

¹ Quesnay's French Academy was early converted into a theatre, the first institution of the kind Richmond ever had. Dramatic art found its first American recognition at Williamsburg and Annapolis; but Richmond early became one of its favorite seats. The "Old Academy," in Theatre Square, was destroyed by fire; but a new theatre was erected in the rear of the old. This new building was also burned. Samuel Mordecai, a contemporary observer, says this theatre was "the scene of the most horrid disaster that ever overwhelmed our city, when seventy-two persons perished in the flames on the fatal 26th of December, 1811, where the Monumental Church now stands, and its portico covers the tomb and the ashes of most of the victims." This terrible holocaust and the memorial structure, piously erected upon the spot, will doubtless serve to remind the reader of the historic site of Quesnay's academy, in the beautiful city of Richmond, which is set upon hills.

Quesnay's curious and interesting *Mémoire concernant l'Académie des Sciences et Beaux Arts des États-Unis d'Amérique, établie à Richmond*, from which the above sketch is chiefly drawn, was first mentioned to the present writer by Mr. George L. Burr, instructor of history in Cornell University. Voyaging through the Thousand Islands, up that ancient river route by which the teachers and traders of France first penetrated Canada, we fell to talking of William and Mary College and of the educational history of Virginia, upon which the writer was then engaged. Mr. Burr, who had with him some of the proofs of the catalogue of the Andrew D. White Historical Library, now belonging to Cornell University, suddenly called to mind in that collection a French tract upon the Academy of Richmond. The writer's curiosity was immediately aroused, and he begged to have the tract forwarded to Baltimore for examination. A careful reading of Quesnay's Memoir proved conclusively that a current of French influence was beginning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century to penetrate Virginia. Representing science and culture rather than religious or economic zeal, this Virginia current was different from the original French influence which crept into Canada by way of the St. Lawrence; and yet it is very interesting to note what a practical direction French science took in relation to the discovery of our natural resources. Not without significance was Quesnay's casual suggestion of the propriety of establishing "une Chapelle pour les Catholiques Romains épars en Virginie."

Samuel Mordecai, the Richmond antiquary, who must have seen in his youth the "Old Academy," had access to Quesnay's Memoirs in preparing his chapter on Richmond theatres. He says of the tract: "The writer is indebted to a gentleman of literary taste and research for the use of an exceedingly rare little volume (in French), entitled Memoir and Prospectus concerning the Academy of Fine Arts of the United States of America, Established at Richmond, the Capital of Virginia, by the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaufort, Founder and President." More than a generation has passed away since Mordecai thus expressed his obligation to a gentleman of literary taste and research. The present writer can not better thank President Andrew D. White for the use of his copy than by repeating the words of the Richmond antiquary. Recent inquiry has developed the fact that Mr. Charles Poindexter, the State librarian of Virginia, whom the writer met with Mr. Burr among the American librarians upon the river St. Lawrence, presented a copy of Quesnay's tract some years ago to the State library in Richmond, and also the fact that, within a year or two, a copy of the same rare little book was bought for a private library in Baltimore at an auction sale in the capital of Virginia.

the history of Virginia architecture. It was the place of assembly for the Virginia convention which, in 1788, ratified the Constitution of the United States. There, in the building designed to be the Academy of the United States of America, the statesmen of Virginia met, day after day, to discuss the greatest question which was ever agitated by any American academic or deliberative body since the Declaration of Independence. It was the question of Federal union. It was decided after long and earnest debate, in which such men as James Madison, John Marshall, James Monroe, George Wythe, Edmund Randolph, George Mason, Pendleton, Nicholas, Grayson, Innis, Lee, and Patrick Henry took their respective parts. It was, after all, a nobler national academy than that which the Chevalier Quesnay had conceived, nobler because it was American and not French. However admirable French science and the fine arts may have appeared to the Virginians at that time, it must be acknowledged that it was far better for their Commonwealth that the introduction of these excellent gifts should have been deferred until a later period, when Jefferson was able to give Virginia the ripened fruit of a long life of observation, inquiry, and reflection in that noble university which bears Virginia's name.

CHAPTER II.

JEFFERSON ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COMMON SCHOOLS.

POPULAR EDUCATION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson's ideas of university education in Virginia were closely connected with thoughts of instituting local self-government for the support of common schools. As early as 1779 he introduced into the General Assembly, among other useful measures, a bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge. The means proposed to accomplish this desirable end was the annual election in every county of three so-called aldermen, who should proceed to divide their respective counties into hundreds.¹ This old English territorial division, which originated in the distribution of land to military groups comprising one hundred settlers, of whom ten families constituted a tithing, was now suggested by Jefferson as a suitable territorial basis for school districts. Jefferson's bill provided that the electors within every hundred should be called together to "choose the most convenient place within their hundred for building a school-house."

Since the days of the Germanic folk-mote of armed warriors there has been no better object for primary assemblies of the people. In ancient days freemen assembled in mass meeting to elect chieftains for tribal forays. The noisy clash of arms and the talk of war accompanied these local elections. In times of peace the distribution of land for tillage and rules for the herding of cattle and swine occupied village attention. In modern days higher interests have developed in our agrarian communities. The local organization and support of churches, the maintenance of common schools, roads, and bridges, and, more recently, ideas of village improvement,² have come to the front in the local councils of American freemen.

¹ That Jefferson was not altogether unconscious of the historic significance of his proposed "hundreds" is clear from a letter to a writer on the English Constitution, Major John Cartwright, written June 5, 1824, when the project of subdividing the counties into wards was again under consideration. Jefferson said the hundreds should be "about six miles square, and would answer to the hundreds of your Saxon Alfred."

² Village improvement associations now flourish from Maine to Georgia. Among the earliest were those in Berkshire County, Mass., notably the Laurel Hill Association, at Stockbridge, Mass., which is well described by N. H. Egleston, in his *Villages and Village Life*.

IDEA OF HISTORICAL READING IN COMMON SCHOOLS.

Jefferson's original bill in 1779 provided not only for the popular foundation of common schools, but for the free training of all free children, male and female, for three years in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The proposed admission of girls was a step in advance of the times, for not until the year 1789¹ did Boston allow the female sex to attend her public schools. Most remarkable, too, was Jefferson's idea, that reading in the common schools should be made the vehicle of historical instruction. The bill enjoins that "the books which shall be used therein for instructing the children to read shall be such as will at the same time make them acquainted with Grecian, Roman, English, and American history." Jefferson elsewhere maintains that, in the common schools, where most children receive "their whole education," it should be "chiefly historical." This was very advanced ground for an eighteenth century educator; indeed, the nineteenth century is likely to pass away before all American teachers reach any such rational standpoint. Jefferson regarded language simply as an instrument for attaining knowledge; and, in his opinion, a knowledge of what men have actually done in this world is a most important educational and moral force. Jefferson wished to have children's minds stored with useful historical facts. He said, "history, by apprising them of the past, will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them to act as judges of the actions and designs of men." Such an historical idea of popular education, if introduced, not by wretched manuals, but by happily illustrated, well-selected historical reading-books, in the hands of intelligent, enthusiastic teachers, capable of telling now and then a good tale not in the book, would revolutionize common-school education in America. The idea of making reading the avenue to intelligence has already begun to dawn in our modern text-books, but it was suggested more than a century ago by Thomas Jefferson. The idea is, however, capable of a special and most useful application to the teaching of history. The writer has seen tried with great success the experiment of reading history to children in a Baltimore kindergarten, and he has great faith in that method for all grades of education. Jefferson proposed that a "general plan of reading and instruction" should be recommended by the College of William and Mary, and introduced by a county superintendent or county "overseer" of education in the local hundreds.

LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS.

Above the common schools, according to Jefferson's original plan, there were to be grammar or classical schools, where Latin, Greek, English, geography, and higher arithmetic should be taught. The counties were to co-operate in local groups, from three to five or more in each group, for the institution of a joint grammar school or classical acad-

¹ Boston School Report, 1866, p. 28.

emy in a convenient location, which was to be determined by the county overseers of the common schools, who were to appoint a visitor of the grammar school from each county. The board of visitors had power to choose their own rector, to employ masters and ushers, to fix tuition, etc. The College of William and Mary, again, was to have general control of this plan of superior instruction. Thus the classical academies, middle schools, or colleges, as Jefferson afterwards termed them, would centre in the higher education, as did the common schools.

CONNECTION OF POPULAR AND HIGHER EDUCATION.

Jefferson proposed to connect the three great branches of education, the primary, the secondary, and the higher. As stated in the bill of 1779, and as further explained in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia (Query XIV), the overseers of schools in the hundreds were to select annually "the best and most promising genius" whose parents were unable to afford him further education, and this "boy of best genius" was to be sent forward to the nearest grammar school, there to be educated gratis for one or two years. At an annual visitation one-third of the least promising of these "public foundationers" were to be dismissed after one year's instruction; the rest were to remain for a second year at public cost, and then *all* were to be dismissed or thrown on their own resources "save one only, the best in genius and disposition, who shall be at liberty to continue there four years longer on the public foundation, and shall thenceforward be deemed a senior." Thus, in the twenty or more Latin schools throughout the State, a score or more of the brightest boys would be discovered each year. After six years' public training one half of this picked number were to be dismissed for the supply of Latin school teachers, and the other half, of superior genius, were to proceed to William and Mary College for three years' specialization in such sciences as they might select. Of course other students than the "foundationers" could attend, at their own expense, either the grammar schools or the College of William and Mary. The above plan was suggested for the discovery and development of natural talent among the sons of the people. By an ingenious system of natural selection and by the survival of the fittest, Jefferson hoped to secure for the service of the State the choicest products of democracy. By connecting the common schools with the academies and university, the very highest education was to be brought within the reach of the poorest boy in Virginia, if deserving of such rare educational privileges.¹

¹ Jefferson remained to the end of his life an earnest advocate of the idea of making the higher education accessible to the higher talent which is always latent in the common people. Writing to his friend Mann Page, August 30, 1795, Jefferson said: "I do most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education given to the higher degrees of genius, and to all degrees of it, so much as may enable them to read and understand what is going on in the world and to keep their part of it going on right; for nothing can keep it right but their own vigilant and distrustful superintendence."

Such was the original ground-plan of Jefferson's system of public education for Virginia. Although never adopted in its entirety, the plan served Jefferson as a basis for all subsequent educational thinking. For more than forty years his mind moved along these three lines of institutional reform for his native State: (1) subdivision of the counties into hundreds, wards, or townships, based on militia districts, which should become school districts; (2) grammar schools, classical academies, or local colleges; (3) a State university. Of the three objects, he held that the first and the third were of the greatest importance to the State and required the highest legislative care. The second object—the classical academies—could be left with greater safety, he thought, to private enterprise and philanthropy.

Jefferson never advocated university education at the expense of common schools. He labored for both forms of popular instruction, although he always maintained that primary education should be based upon local taxation and self-help, with, perhaps, some assistance from county or State sources where local means were inadequate. As to the relative importance of the university and common schools for the people of Virginia, he once said, in a letter to his friend Joseph C. Cabell, January 13, 1823: "Were it necessary to give up either the Primaries or the University, I would rather abandon the last, because it is safer to have a whole people respectably enlightened than a few in a high state of science and the many in ignorance. This last is the most dangerous state in which a nation can be. The nations and governments of Europe are so many proofs of it."

HIGHER EDUCATION THE SOURCE OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

It is, however, a matter of historical fact that civilization began with the higher education of a few, and that all forms of popular culture have proceeded from higher sources. New England and Virginia both began with classical schools and colleges. Jefferson himself was compelled to repeat the university experiment of the Old World for the higher education of democracy in Virginia. In the development of popular education, as of popular government, there have always been recognized leaders. Neither science nor religion could have gone forth in fertilizing streams for the benefit of mankind unless there had been mountain sources above the plain. The wisdom of the Egyptians was that of "a few in a high state of science." Moses was trained in one or more of those sacred colleges. In no way can we better account for the mental, moral, and religious improvement of the race than by recognizing the influence of chosen men, chosen tribes, chosen peoples, and chosen institutions that have served to train the masses to a knowledge of higher things. The common schools of America sprang from sources higher than themselves, from lakes far back in historic mountains, more remote and mysterious than were once the sources of the Nile. The history of education is one long stream of continuous, inexhaustible flow from such

high springs of science as the schools of Thebes, Memphis, Alexandria, the Græco-Roman world, and from such fountain-heads of learning as the Benedictine monasteries, the cathedral schools, colleges, and universities of mediæval Europe.

It will be disastrous for American democracy and for American educators when they begin to level their high schools and higher education in the interest of what may be thought more popular and practical for the passing moment. To level the higher education in our towns and States in the alleged interest of the people would be as dangerous as for the General Government to level the great light-houses along our coast and suffer our ships to depend upon the friendly rays that shine out from the lowly cottages of men living along the shore. This country needs to-day all the light which scholars can afford. While every State should be as full of school-houses as it is of villages and hamlets, and as rich in local colleges and classical academies as circumstances may require, there will always be need of a few men and a few institutions in "a high state of science." Universities are the light-houses of popular education. They show all educators on what course to steer. All knowledge, like all science, "moves but slowly, slowly, creeping on from point to point."

FAILURE OF COMMON SCHOOL LAW IN 1796.

Jefferson's idea of introducing common schools into Virginia in connection with higher education received no attention from the Legislature until the year 1796, when a law was passed in the interest of the general education of the people. Although the merits of the measure were freely and warmly recognized, yet a fatal mistake was made by the Virginia legislators in leaving the initiation of schools for the people to a majority of the acting justices in each county. These justices were prominent, well-to-do gentlemen, but they had no inclination to tax themselves for the education of their poorer neighbors. Accordingly free schools went by default. Jefferson strongly condemned this inefficient legislation. The State should have compelled local taxation for educational purposes, and not have left such a great public interest to local option. Jefferson returned again and again to the support of free schools in connection with local government and university education, but this grand combination of ideas found no general recognition in Jefferson's life-time.

IDEA OF LOCAL DIVISION OF COUNTIES.

More than one hundred years ago (1779) Thomas Jefferson declared for the great principles of local independence in both education and government. They were principles second only in importance to national independence and colonial union. Jefferson's political philosophy is summed up in the following striking extract from a private letter to a member of the Virginia Legislature, February 2, 1816: "Let the Na-

tional Government be intrusted with the defence of the nation and its foreign and Federal relations; the State Governments with the civil rights, laws, police, and administration of what concerns the State generally; the counties with the local concerns of the counties; and each ward direct the interests within itself. It is by dividing and subdividing these republics, from the great national one down through all its subordinations, until it ends in the administration of every man's farm and affairs by himself, by placing under every one what his own eye may superintend, that all will be done for the best."

In the same letter Jefferson declared his views with reference to the joint institution of local government and common schools: "My idea of the mode of carrying it into execution would be this: Declare the county *ipso facto* divided into wards for the present by the boundaries of the militia captaincies; somebody attend the ordinary muster of each company, having first desired the captain to call together a full one. There explain the object of the law to the people of the company; put to their vote whether they will have a school established, and the most central and convenient place for it; get them to meet and build a log school-house; have a roll taken of the children who would attend it and of those of them able to pay; these would probably be sufficient to support a common teacher, instructing gratis the few unable to pay. If there should be a deficiency, it would require too trifling a contribution from the county to be complained of, and especially as the whole county would participate, where necessary, in the same resource. Should the company, by its vote, decide that it would have no school, let them remain without one."¹

¹ Correspondence with Jefferson and Cabell, 53, 54. Other interesting evidence of Jefferson's views of the relation of local government to popular education may be found in the above Correspondence, pp. 103, 186, 413. See also Jefferson's Writings, VI, 542, 566; VII, 205, 357, 358. Very suggestive upon the importance of local government as a means of education for citizens are the remarks of Colonel Coles, Jefferson's private secretary, addressed to Mr. Joseph C. Cabell, July 17, 1807. The secretary undoubtedly reflected the opinions of his chief: "Our division into counties is certainly much too large, and attended with a thousand inconveniences. The division into townships or hundreds might very easily be made in Virginia, if in forming them we would follow the bounds of the militia companies, which are already well known and which exist in every county in the State. Each hundred should be a little republic within the republic of the county. Each hundred should regulate its own police, should have a magistrate to try warrants, etc., hold elections, at which the most aged and infirm might attend; should provide for its own poor; establish a public school, to which even the most indigent might send their children; should annually select a jurymen who, with those selected by the different hundreds throughout the State, might be distributed by lot or otherwise among the superior and inferior courts, so as to provide a sufficient number for each. In this way the elective principle would be introduced into every department of the government, and an independent and impartial jury might always be had, which under our present system must depend entirely on the character of the marshal or sheriff. The people, too, of each hundred, becoming familiar with the transaction of business when summoned together on an occasion of emergency, would act with promptitude and force, which the *particular character* of a part of our population will render the more valuable."—Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, p. 18.

FIRST APPROPRIATION FOR SCHOOLS.

In the year 1818 the first general provision for elementary education was made by the State of Virginia. It was agreed by the Legislature that \$45,000 a year should be appropriated from the income of the so-called "literary fund" (which will be hereafter explained, for it was the economic basis of the University of Virginia). A radical legislative mistake was made in distributing this money to the counties as an educational bounty for the education of the poor. The county authorities took the money for the support of charity schools, which were supported in certain towns or in convenient local centres. Popular education was regarded in much the same pitiful light as was the care of the poor. The better class of people provided for their children by private schools, academies, and family tutors. It was an error in public policy to grant a State subsidy for county education. The counties should have been required to tax themselves.

Jefferson saw this error, and contended that local taxation was the proper basis for the support of common schools, and that State aid should be reserved for higher education. But he was not able to convince the men of his time of the soundness of his views. Not even a compromise between local taxation and State aid, which under the circumstances would have been a wise policy, would the Virginians accept for their counties. Jefferson argued that wealthy planters could well afford to tax themselves for local education, for it would people their "neighborhood with honest, useful, and enlightened citizens, understanding their own rights, and firm in perpetuating them." He said that the descendants of the rich would usually become poor in the third generation, and would then find a chance of rising again through popular education, for which other rich men would pay. The debt of one age would be repaid by succeeding ages. Jefferson said in the year 1818: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it will be the latest, of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." It was reserved for later times (1870) to begin the complete realization¹ of Jefferson's generous and democratic ideal of education for the people.

¹ The rapid and gratifying progress of common school education in Virginia since the year 1870 is shown in the able and highly instructive reports of the superintendents of public instruction in that State, notably those by Dr. W. H. Ruffner, son of a former president of Washington College, Dr. Henry Ruffner, who wrote a remarkable history of that institution, still in manuscript and in the keeping of the secretary and librarian of Washington and Lee University. The recent history of popular education in Virginia is given in the reports of the present superintendent of public instruction, Dr. John L. Buchanan, to whose courtesy as well as to that of Dr. Ruffner the writer is greatly indebted for documents and information. The Educational Journal of Virginia is a valuable collection of papers and discussions, showing a growing interest in school work, improved methods, and educational history. The reports of the Peabody Education Fund are also a mine of useful materials for the student of these

JEFFERSON ON TOWNSHIP GOVERNMENT.

Jefferson greatly admired the town governments of New England, because of their compact, vigorous organization. He had experienced their energy at the time of the Embargo. "I felt the foundations of the Government shaken under my feet by the New England townships. There was not an individual in their States [New England] whose body was not thrown with all its momentum into action; and although the whole of the other States were known to be in favor of the measure, yet the organization of this little selfish minority enabled it to overrule the Union. What would the unwieldy counties of the Middle, the South, and the West do? Call a county meeting, and the drunken loungers at and about the court houses would have collected, the distances being too great for the good people and the industrious generally to attend. The character of those who really met would have been the measure of the weight they would have had in the scale of public opinion. As Cato, then, concluded every speech with the words, '*Carthago delenda est,*' so do I every opinion, with the injunction, 'Divide the counties into wards.' Begin them only for a single purpose; they will soon show for what others they are the best instruments."

TOWNSHIPS IMPRACTICABLE IN RURAL VIRGINIA.

While admiring Jefferson's ideal of local government, one may seriously doubt its practicability in that rural and widely scattered condition of Virginia population. The actual condition of society must always be taken into account when measures of social, educational, or administrative reform are under consideration. As a matter of fact, hundreds, towns, and boroughs were prominent features, on paper, in the early institutional history of Virginia; but the local government and communal life which naturally evolve with such local institutions, when suited to the actual wants of the people, did not and could not evolve in the Old Dominion. Society dispersed and sought to reproduce the more or less isolated country life of the English landed gentry. The Virginians, if they could afford it or cared to do it, educated their children after the immemorial custom of Old England, by a combination of home training under competent tutors or local clergymen, with college training and public life. William and Mary College was the Oxford of Virginia. County government played in Virginia the same rôle in the political education of the people as it has always played in Old England. County court day and county elections were subjects at the South. A good summary of the educational advantages of Virginia, based upon Dr. Ruffner's reports, was given in 1876 by Maj. Jedediah Hotchkiss, in his *Virginia: A Geographical and Political Summary*, which is for our time what Jefferson's Notes on Virginia were for his contemporaries.

the Southern counterpart of Northern town meetings, as Southern court greens are the analogue of New England town commons.

Each section of country developed its own interests as best it could, and in perfect harmony with its own environment. Communal life at the North had its peculiar advantages, and bore its peculiar fruits in common schools, libraries, lyceums, etc. Rural life at the South was not without its charms, and it certainly produced its share of able men. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, and Henry Clay were rural types of good citizenship. The roll of William and Mary College affords remarkable evidence of what Virginia produced without town government or common schools. With them she might have produced something different; but the facts are sufficiently gratifying. Virginia remained what nature and history made her. Jefferson could not establish towns and village schools in a sparsely-settled country, where population had no tendency to aggregate, but rather to scatter.¹ By the constitution of 1850 Virginia instituted districts within her counties for electoral and other convenient purposes; but there was still no proper economic basis for towns or for district schools. The Civil War did not improve the situation. Nevertheless, immediately afterward, the reconstruction party sought a panacea for all evils by introducing the township system of New England, which was never really suited to the local needs of Virginia, and was less so than ever after the State had been a battle ground of the Republic for four years. It is needless to say that the institution of town government in a State where there was no adequate communal basis for the system was the height of folly and failed miserably. There was no *raison d'être* for town government. A Northern man has only to travel in almost any direction across Virginia to realize how absurd it was to decree town government throughout regions where there were then no towns. The scattered population understood and naturally preferred their own county system, which suited their actual rural condition.

“THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH.”

There are, however, to-day along the line of Virginia railways, besides certain old boroughs, here and there indications of the gradual germination of a natural and healthful local life. With the increase of railroad stations, mills, and of settlements at cross-roads; with school-houses, churches, court-houses, and stores; with the break-up of great plantations and the multiplication of small farms, there will come a gradual increase of population and more and more of these local aggregations of society, which by and by will demand local government in smaller units than the county or the district. The more flourishing and

¹ On the disadvantages of town government for Virginia, see Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, pp. 18-19, *note*, and Tucker's Life of Jefferson, II, 352-355.

progressive localities will become incorporated as towns or villages, and tax themselves for schools and public improvements. In all probability a compromise between county and town government will prove itself best adapted to the local wants of the South, as already has proved the case in the States north west of the Ohio. Indeed, the model system of local government is this very compromise system, as developed by the blending of town and county types, notably in the State of Illinois.

CHAPTER III

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—EUROPEAN INFLUENCES.

SCHOLASTIC CURRICULUM.

Interesting evidence upon Jefferson's original idea of promoting higher education in Virginia is to be found in a bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary College, proposed by the committee appointed in 1776 for the revision of the laws. Jefferson was a member of this committee, and his hand is clearly to be traced in the provisions of the bill. After reviewing the history of the college, Jefferson describes the faculty as consisting of "one school of sacred theology, with two professorships therein, *to wit*, one for teaching the Hebrew tongue and expounding the Holy Scriptures; and the other for explaining the common-places of divinity and the controversies with heretics; one other school for philosophy, with two professorships therein, *to wit*, one for the study of rhetoric, logic, and ethics, and the other of physics, metaphysics, and mathematics; one other school for teaching the Latin and Greek tongues; and one other for teaching Indian boys reading, writing, vulgar arithmetic, the catechism, and the principles of the Christian religion."¹ This is the clearest and fullest statement which the writer has thus far discovered of the actual curriculum at William and Mary College under the colonial régime. This fresh information will supplement what the writer has elsewhere² said respecting the course of study pursued at Williamsburg in early days. In general, as was surmised, the course resembles that given at Harvard College in the seventeenth century.

JEFFERSON'S PROPOSED CHANGES.

Jefferson's propositions for the modification of this ancient scholastic curriculum represent the first current of modern ideas, which began in 1779, at Williamsburg, to flow into American academic life. In place of the president and six professors, Jefferson proposed that there should be eight professors, one of whom should be appointed president, with an additional salary of £100 a year. The eight professorships were to be as

¹ Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education for the State of Virginia, pp. 55, 56. Richmond, 1817.

² William and Mary College; Circular of Information, 1887, No. 1, p. 20.

follows: (1) Moral philosophy, the laws of nature and of nations, and the fine arts; (2) law and police, including economics, politics, and commerce; (3) history, civil and ecclesiastical; (4) mathematics; (5) anatomy and medicine; (6) natural philosophy and natural history; (7) ancient languages, including Oriental (Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac) and Northern tongues (Mæso-Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old Icelandic); (8) modern languages.¹ Very characteristic of Jefferson is the passage in the above bill respecting the Indians, a passage which is further explained in the Notes on Virginia (Query XV). Instead of the Indian school called "The Brasserton," Jefferson proposed that the faculty should appoint a missionary, who should visit the Indian tribes and "investigate their laws, customs, religions, traditions, and more particularly their languages, constructing grammars thereof, as well as may be, and copious vocabularies." When the missionary had accomplished these pious objects in one tribe, "he might pass on to another." The materials which he collected were to be deposited in the college library at Williamsburg. One can almost fancy that Jefferson had in mind an ethnological bureau, foreshadowing that developed in Washington in these latter days by Major Powell.

INTRODUCTION OF MODERN STUDIES.

Although this bill was not passed by the Legislature, nevertheless its provisions were, to a considerable extent, actually realized by Jefferson in 1779 through the board of visitors. He says in his Notes on Virginia (Query XV) that the visitors excluded the two schools of divinity (which included the study of Hebrew); and also the school of Latin and Greek, chiefly because it was a mere preparatory school, which "filled the college with children." Jefferson was warmly devoted to the classics, and, in his original bill, provided both for them and for Oriental languages; but it was found difficult to increase at once the chartered number of professorships, and Jefferson was accordingly compelled to change the subjects of instruction to matters of more immediate importance to Virginia and the political training of her sons and citizens. Accordingly the following professorships were provided for: (1) Law and police (the science of administration); (2) anatomy and medicine; (3) physics and mathematics; (4) moral philosophy, with the law of nature and nations, and the fine arts; (5) modern languages; (6) the Indian school. Jefferson did not despair of increasing ultimately the original number of professorships by legislative enactment and of adding other branches of science. Here is one of his most striking suggestions: "To the professorships usually established in the universities of Europe it would seem proper to add one for the ancient languages and literatures of the north, on account of their connection with our own language, laws, customs, and history." The modern idea of Germanic institutional and linguistic studies is here clearly foreshadowed. Indeed, Jefferson was the very first advocate of the study of Anglo-Saxon

¹Sundry Documents, p. 60.

in this country. The subject was early introduced at the University of Virginia, and Jefferson published a book upon Anglo-Saxon, which was reprinted in 1851.

ROCHEFOUCAULD ON WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE.¹

In the travels of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt through the United States in the years 1795-97 there may be found an interesting account of Williamsburg and its famous old college, which had then fallen into decay, although it was afterwards in a measure restored. He says the income, which before the Revolution was from \$17,000 to \$18,000 per annum, was then reduced to \$3,500. The colonial duties on tobacco had fallen to nothing, and the principal resources of the college were the rent on 20,000 acres of land, let out on long leases, and "all in a state of cultivation." A small duty on land surveys, which were regulated by the college, eked out its slender income, which "the Legislature does not seem inclined to augment."

Rochefoucauld describes the course of study as consisting of mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, natural and civil law, with the modern languages. He is surprised to find the students not living in dormitories, "those vast buildings destined for their reception." He says the students "are dispersed through the different boarding-houses in the town, at a distance from all inspection." The duke is still more surprised to find Bishop Madison, the president, and the professors defending this system, and asserting that "it has been proved by experience that good order, peace, and even the success of their studies are more effectually promoted by this separation of the students than by their being united together within the same walls." The duke is inclined to think that the faculty, in pursuing this policy, pay greater regard to their own ease than to the welfare of the young men intrusted to their charge.

The French traveller notes that the students pay a fee of \$14 to each professor whose course of lessons they follow. Board and lodging then cost from \$100 to \$120. The entire expense of a year at William and Mary College would amount to about \$170. Besides his fees from students, each professor received an annual salary of \$400. The president, who was also professor of natural and moral philosophy, received \$200 in addition. The internal administration of the college is described as in the hands of the professors, under the general supervision of a board of eighteen visitors chosen throughout the State. The condition of the college building seemed to the duke "very indifferent." The institution was too poor to indulge in repairs, unless aided by an appropriation from the Legislature. "It possesses a library tolerably well furnished with classical books; it consists almost entirely of old books, except two hundred volumes of the finest and best French productions."

¹Travels of the Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt through the United States in 1795-97. Second edition, III, 47-56. London, 1800.

sent as a present by Louis XVI at the termination of the American war, but which a merchant at Richmond, who was commissioned to forward them to the college, suffered to lie forgotten in his cellars amid hogsheads of sugar and casks of oil until, when at length he did forward them, they were totally spoiled. The funds of the college do not allow any addition to their library, which moreover is very ill kept in point of order and cleanliness."

These interesting and critical observations by an intelligent Frenchman upon the condition of William and Mary College at the close of the eighteenth century indicate very clearly that something better was needed in the way of higher education for the State of Virginia. Indeed, a project was already under discussion with a view to that desirable end, as will appear from the following striking extract from the duke's travels: "The Legislature of Virginia is said to entertain the design of founding a new college in a more central part of the State, but it is not known whether that of Williamsburg is to be taken as the groundwork of the intended establishment, or suffered to continue on its present footing and left to its own scanty resources, while the new college should be liberally endowed."

This information was perhaps received from Williamsburg professors who were familiar with Jefferson's early-cherished plan of transforming William and Mary College into a university. The reference to a "new college in a more central part of the State" is most striking, for it indicates that Jefferson's novel project was already in the air. How that new idea evolved we shall discover in the next two chapters. The duke says that Bishop Madison, and Mr. Andrews, professor of mathematics, "did me the honours of the town with that obliging politeness which I have been habitually accustomed to experience in America. In the two days which I spent at Williamsburg they introduced me to the chief part of the society of the place, which appears very much united, and to consist of well-informed men. Bishop Madison is himself a man of considerable knowledge in natural philosophy, chymistry, and even polite literature. His library, much less numerous than that of the college, consists of a more choice selection of books, especially of those relating to the sciences. He annually augments his collection by the addition of the most esteemed scientific and new publications. To him the public are indebted for meteorological observations very accurately made in different parts of Virginia, and to which he has devoted much time." With this pleasant picture of a Virginia college president of the last century, who, like President Ewell, appeared serene and hopeful in a trying situation, let us pass to a new chapter in the educational history of Virginia.

JEFFERSON'S INTEREST IN HIGHER EDUCATION.

Jefferson's interest in matters pertaining to higher education was quickened by acquaintance with Quesnay's project, by residence abroad from 1784 to 1789, and by a comparative study of the leading European

universities. In 1785, one year before the founding of the French Academy at Richmond, Jefferson was still loyal to his *alma mater*, and wrote to a young Virginian that he could do quite as well in most studies at William and Mary College as at foreign institutions. At that time Jefferson was inclined to favor the Italian universities, and thought Rome the best of all educational centres, because of its historic associations and its rare opportunities for art study, in which Jefferson delighted. In 1791 he had come to the conclusion that there was no place on the continent of Europe that could be compared with Geneva. Edinburgh and Geneva were, in his opinion, "the two eyes of Europe." Jefferson's educational ideals were now thoroughly European. Quesnay's project of introducing French academic culture into Virginia had its counterpart in Jefferson's scheme to transplant the College of Geneva to American shores.

THE FACULTY OF GENEVA.

In 1794 the French faculty of that latter institution became dissatisfied with their political environment, and wrote to their old friend Jefferson, whom some of the Swiss professors had met in Paris, saying that they were willing to come out to Virginia in a body if suitable arrangements could be made for the continuance of their academic work. Jefferson seized upon the idea at once. It was the historical origin¹ of his project for a cosmopolitan university, to be equipped with the best scientific talent that Europe could afford. The idea of importing a learned Irishman or a sober and attentive Scotchman to be the principal of Albemarle Academy in 1783 was perhaps a germ of this larger thought, which had been developed by European associations with Quesnay and Swiss scholars in Paris. Jefferson dreamed no longer of developing an ecclesiastical institution like old William and Mary College into a State university. He proposed now to the Virginia Legislature to make provision for the establishment of the Genevan college in Virginia.

The practically-minded Virginians thought the scheme too expensive and too grand. Jefferson then appealed to George Washington for support and encouragement. At that time Washington was in possession of certain stock in the Potomac and James River Companies, shares in which had been given him by the Virginia Legislature. Washington had accepted these shares upon the condition of his using them for a public educational purpose. Jefferson now urged Washington, in a long and enthusiastic letter, to employ the stock given him by Virginia for the purpose of endowing university education in his native State in the form proposed by the Swiss College of Geneva. Washington demurred; he doubted the expediency of importing a body of foreign professors not familiar with the English language and at variance politically with the

¹This subject of the influence of the Genevan project upon Jefferson's university idea and upon Washington's idea of a national university in the city of Washington has been treated more in detail in the writer's sketch of William and Mary College, pp. 40-47.

popular party in their own land. If foreign professors were to be imported, Washington thought they should not be all from one nation. He said that celebrated Scotchmen might also be obtained. By this wise counsel Jefferson was induced to restrain his enthusiasm, and when next we hear of his importing foreign professors, he had, for practical and conservative reasons, passed over to the English training ground of Oxford and Cambridge in search of candidates.

In his letter to D'Ivernois, in discouragement of the Swiss proposition, Jefferson unconsciously reveals the personal motive which afterward made him so strenuous upon the location of the University of Virginia in his own immediate vicinity: "I should have seen with peculiar satisfaction the establishment of such a mass of science in my country, and should probably have been tempted to approach myself to it, by procuring a residence in its neighborhood, at those seasons of the year at least when the operations of agriculture are less active and interesting."¹ This thought of intimate association with scientific men, a thought born of old associations in Williamsburg and Paris, was never afterward abandoned by Jefferson. He clung to the idea of introducing into Virginia a few representative scholars from the Old World. This idea grew stronger after his retirement from active politics, and after his settlement at Monticello for the enjoyment of a peaceful old age. Then the thought of himself approaching a distant academic community naturally gave place to the easier and pleasanter project of making science come to the neighborhood of Monticello. That happy realization of Jefferson's dream was, however, yet a long way off. Let us consider some further indications of the dawning idea of the University of Virginia as seen in his correspondence.

DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY.

In 1794 Dr. Joseph Priestley emigrated to America. He was that remarkable English scholar whose natural bent towards the physical sciences Benjamin Franklin early encouraged. He is perhaps best known to the scientific world by reason of his work on the History of Electricity, published in 1767, and his contributions to the science of chemistry. He discovered what was afterwards called oxygen, and he made the beginnings of gas analysis. Perhaps the great mass of Americans would recognize Priestley's merits with alacrity if they knew that he invented soda-water, and was a good friend of the American Colonies. The man was a scientific genius, but he was born and bred a dissenter. Unfortunately, besides teaching the ancient and modern languages, grammar, oratory, law, natural science, mathematics, and philosophy, he undertook to preach dissenting doctrines. His views were too liberal for the age in which he lived. Priestley was a Socinian, or Unitarian. No phase of dissent was more abominated in England at the close of the last century than Unitarianism. It was rivalled only in

¹Letter dated at Monticello, February 6, 1795.

popular hatred by the French Revolution, with which Priestley sympathized.

In 1791 Priestley was preaching in Birmingham, where he had a congregation of dissenters, and enjoyed the society of James Watt and Dr. Darwin, grandfather of Charles Darwin. The celebration of the second anniversary of the taking of the Bastille gave rise in Birmingham to a riot, which, curiously enough, spent its fury upon the houses and chapels of dissenters of various denominations. The walls of buildings in Birmingham were placarded with phrases like these: "Damn Priestley." "No Presbyterianism." "Damn the Presbyterians."

Although Priestley had had nothing whatever to do with the political celebration, the boys in the street, sons of worthy parents, shouted out, when they saw the inoffensive pastor and scholar: "Damn Priestley; damn him, damn him, forever, forever!" It seems almost incredible that less than one hundred years ago these things should have actually occurred in the streets of Birmingham. The facts are perfectly well authenticated. Indeed, far worse things are true. Priestley's chapel and house were burned, and he and his family barely escaped from that English town with their lives. His books, papers, scientific apparatus, and all that he possessed were destroyed by a loyal and pious mob. Priestley bore this persecution meekly, and took refuge in the great city of London. There, however, even his scientific friends began to treat him with coldness, so that in 1794, as already stated, he emigrated¹ to this country, where he found shelter and scientific occupation in Northumberland, Pa.² His son-in-law, Dr. Thomas Cooper, whom Jefferson regarded as

¹ Some idea of the bitterness of English feeling against Priestley may be derived from William Cobbett's *Observations on the Emigration of Dr. Joseph Priestley, and on the Several Addresses Delivered to him on his Arrival at New York*. (See *Porcupine's Works*, Vol. I.) Cobbett calls Priestley the "fire-brand philosopher."

² Priestley is to-day highly honored in his own land. A statue was lately erected to his memory, and Professor Huxley delivered the commemorative address, from which the above facts have been gathered. See *Humboldt Library*, No. 66: *Technical Education and other Essays; Essay on "Joseph Priestley."* See also *Priestley's Autobiography, and the Life and Correspondence of Dr. Priestley*, by J. T. Rutt. Priestley was born in 1733, near Leeds, and died, "clear-headed and busy to the last," at Northumberland, Pa., February 6, 1804. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in its interesting article on Priestley, says, "he was probably one of the very first teachers to appreciate the importance of physical science to early culture." Benjamin Franklin anticipated Priestley in scientific studies. These two men, with Dr. Thomas Cooper and Thomas Jefferson, were kindred spirits. To historical students Priestley is known by his *Chart of History*, which gained him an LL. D. at Edinburgh, and by his *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, and his *General History of the Christian Church to the Fall of the Western Empire*. He wrote on the greatest variety of subjects,—history, politics, sociology, logic, philosophy, theology, biblical interpretation, and all the sciences of his time.

Dr. Priestley's religious writings exerted a powerful influence upon the mind of Jefferson. They were the basis of his own views, which he frequently described as "Unitarian." In a letter to John Adams, dated August 22, 1813, Jefferson said: "I have read his [Priestley's] *Corruptions of Christianity* and *Early Opinions of Jesus* over and over again; and I rest on them, and on Middleton's writings, especially his

“one of the ablest men in America,” also settled in Pennsylvania. In the light of the above facts, we can understand what Jefferson meant when he spoke of these two men as refugees “from the fires and mobs of Birmingham.”

JEFFERSON AND PRIESTLEY.

To Dr. Priestley Jefferson wrote from Philadelphia, January 18, 1800: “We have in that State [Virginia] a college (William and Mary) just well enough endowed to draw out the miserable existence to which a miserable constitution¹ has doomed it. It is moreover eccentric in its position, exposed to all bilious diseases, as all the lower country is, and therefore abandoned by the public care, as that part of the country itself is in a considerable degree by its inhabitants. We wish to establish in the upper country, and more centrally for the State, an university on a plan so broad and liberal and *modern*, as to be worth patronizing with the public support, and be a temptation to the youth of other States to come and drink of the cup of knowledge and fraternize with us. The first step is to obtain a good plan; that is, a judicious selection of the sciences, and a practicable grouping of some of them together, and ramifying of others, so as to adopt the professorships to our uses and our means. In an institution meant chiefly for use, some branches of science, formerly esteemed, may be now omitted; so may others now valued in Europe, but useless to us for ages to come. As an example of the former, the Oriental learning, and of the latter, almost the whole of the institution proposed to Congress by the Secretary of War's report of the 5th instant. Now there is no one to whom this subject is so familiar as yourself. * * * To you, therefore, we address our solicitations, and to lessen to you as much as possible the ambiguities of our object, I will venture even to sketch the sciences which seem useful and practicable for us, as they occur to me while holding my pen: Botany, chemistry, zoölogy, anatomy, surgery, medicine, natural philosophy, agriculture, mathematics, astronomy, geography, politics, commerce, history, ethics, law, arts, fine arts. This list is imperfect² because I make it hastily, and because I am unequal to the subject. * * * We should propose that the professors follow no other calling, so that their whole time may be given to their academical

letters from Rome and to Waterland, as the basis of my own faith.” There would be much less obscurity and misunderstanding about Jefferson's religious views if people would take him at his word and in the light of his relations to Priestley and Coopers. All three were Unitarians.

¹The strongest reason for abandoning William and Mary College is given in a letter to Dr. Priestley, January 27, 1800: “As I had proposed that William and Mary, under an improved form, should be the University, and that was at that time pretty highly Episcopal, the Dissenters after a while began to apprehend some secret design of a preference to that sect.”

²In a subsequent letter to Dr. Priestley, Jefferson apologizes for the omission of languages in his university scheme, and takes occasion to pay a warm tribute to classical culture, including Greek.

functions; and we should propose to draw from Europe the first characters in science, by considerable temptations, which would not need to be repeated after the first set should have prepared fit successors and given reputation to the institution. From some splendid characters I have received offers most perfectly reasonable and practicable. * * * Will not the arrival of Dupont tempt you to make a visit to this quarter?"

These extracts indicate the shape which the idea of a university was already taking in Jefferson's mind as early as 1800, and the influence which Old World associations had already exerted upon him. In another letter to Dr. Priestley, dated Philadelphia, January 27. 1800, Jefferson said: "I have a letter from Mr. Dupont, since his arrival at New York, dated the 20th, in which he says he will be in Philadelphia within about a fortnight from that time, but only on a visit. How much would it delight me if a visit from you at the same time were to show us two such illustrious foreigners embracing each other in my country, as the asylum for whatever is great and good!"

DUPONT DE NEMOURS ON NATIONAL EDUCATION.

One of the most interesting of Jefferson's correspondents was the distinguished French economist and philosopher, Dupont de Nemours. He was a friend of Turgot, and belonged to that group of French economists who labored to avert the French Revolution by economic measures. His writings upon social and philosophical subjects were influential in their day, and are mentioned in some detail in the sketch of his life printed in the *Biographie Générale*. Dupont de Nemours was a member of the *Assemblée des Notables*, and was one of the best types of educated public men under the old régime. It was his earnest and unwearied endeavor to benefit society by advocating sound political economy and popular education. He made Jefferson's acquaintance in Paris before the outbreak of the Revolution, and came to this country at the close of the eighteenth century. He arrived in New York in January, 1800, and soon after visited Jefferson in Philadelphia, as is indicated in Jefferson's letter to Priestley above quoted. On the occasion of this visit it is probable that Jefferson talked over with Dupont de Nemours the general project of encouraging higher education in America. By this time Washington's scheme for a national university, to be established in the Federal city of Washington, was generally known. He had announced it to Congress and had provided for it by his last will and testament. Men's thoughts of higher education were beginning to take national scope.

Dupont de Nemours undertook to write a treatise on National Education in the United States. This work (*Sur l'Éducation Nationale dans les États-Unis*) was written in French, and was completed June 15, 1800, at 'Good Stay, près New York.' The work was published at Paris, and the author took occasion to say that it was written in the year 1800 "à a demande de M. Jefferson, alors vice-président, et depuis président des

États-Unis d'Amérique; il a eu le suffrage de ce grand Magistrat et de son respectable successeur." The work went through at least two French editions. A copy of the second edition, which the present writer has read with great care, bears the imprint, "Paris, 1812," and contains 159 small octavo pages. By a curious chance this copy was sent to the author of this report by a representative of the well-known Dupont family, long resident at Wilmington, Del., with a request for information whether this treatise, written by their ancestor, had any influence upon the plans of Thomas Jefferson for university education in Virginia. The one who sent the treatise had no knowledge of the fact that the writer, at that very time, was investigating the origin of the University of Virginia; hence the acquisition seemed remarkably good luck.

CHARACTER OF THE TREATISE.

Dupont de Nemours' treatise on National Education in the United States relates in general, as the title implies, to a general system of popular education for the whole country, rather than to the organization of a university in Virginia. The author said, indeed, that it was especially concerning the establishment of a university that he had been desired to prepare his monograph. The university idea of Dupont de Nemours included not only the higher, but also secondary and primary education. In fact, his plan embraced the whole educational field, and was described as the University of North America. The author says that he is perfectly well aware of the fact that he has broken away from the historic constitution of universities, with their traditional faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. In his judgment, however, America and even European countries require a national system of education, beginning with common schools and culminating in special, professional, and technical institutions. He proposed that the city of Washington should be made the educational, as well as the political, capital of the United States. There, he said, should be planted four *grandes écoles*: (1) a school of medicine; (2) a school of mines; (3) a school of social science and legislation; and (4) a school of the higher mathematics. To be a student of the national university in the full sense of that term, one must have passed through all the ascending grades of education, from the lowest primary to the highest special school or professional schools ("Un jeune homme qui aura suivi l'école primaire, le collège et les grandes écoles, sera un élève de notre université").

There was to be no necessary connection between the various *grandes écoles* in Washington, save perhaps in the fact of a common establishment in one grand building devoted to a national library, a national museum, with offices for the ministry of public instruction, rooms for a philosophical society, and a botanical garden attached. The brilliant imagination of the French philosopher pictured this palace of education as one of the chief adornments of the Federal city. He would have

recommended for Washington a national university in splendor second only to the Capitol itself. He would have had the American people, instead of building royal palaces, like the Louvre, or the Tuileries, or the palace at Versailles, build a People's Palace for their own higher education in art, science, and self-government.

It is obvious that the scheme for national education proposed by Dupont de Nemours was altogether too grand for realization in a federal republic, where the higher education was but feebly developed, even within the individual States. And yet, although conceived upon far too magnificent a scale, this broad scheme, based upon common schools and developing into a university system, has some general resemblance to that conceived by Jefferson for the State of Virginia as early as 1779. It is possible, and not altogether improbable, that Dupont de Nemours' treatise gave both sanction and emphasis to Jefferson's project for a State university, composed of distinct schools for the most advanced instruction. The idea was not peculiar to Dupont de Nemours. It was originated in the schools of Paris, which formed the oldest university in Europe, centuries before the time of Jefferson and his advisers. The influence exerted by Dupont de Nemours must be regarded as one that strengthened and confirmed ideas already in Jefferson's mind. The thought of State education was in the air. Alexander Hamilton grasped it in his scheme for the University of the State of New York, regulating to this day educational interests high and low. Early in the present century the statesmen of Prussia grasped the same idea, and reformed a down-trodden, humiliated people by a system of public education which began with the lowest and led to the highest.

PROFESSOR MINOR ON DUPONT DE NEMOURS.

Professor John B. Minor, in a graphic and instructive account of the origin of the University of Virginia, is generously inclined to credit Dupont de Nemours with considerable influence upon Jefferson's plan for university organization. Professor Minor says: "The scheme adopted bears a close resemblance to that of the German universities, but it is probable that Mr. Jefferson derived it not from that source, but immediately from Mons. Dupont de Nemours, a Frenchman of prominence, with whom he occasionally corresponded, and who during a sojourn in the United States was a frequent guest at Monticello. The writer has seen a manuscript translation (executed by Francis W. Gilmer) of an essay written by M. Dupont de Nemours, apparently by special request, setting forth his opinions as to the best mode of organizing seminaries of learning in the United States, the ideas of which so closely coincide in some particulars with the scheme of the University as to exclude the supposition of a resemblance merely casual."¹ Pro-

¹ Historical Sketches of Virginia: Literary Institutions of the State; University of Virginia, Part I. Published in the Old Dominion Magazine, Vol. IV, March 15, 1870 (Richmond, Va.). This invaluable series of articles on the University of Virginia

fessor Minor clearly has in mind the prominence given by both Jefferson and his French adviser to the university system of independent schools, severing allegiance from the time-honored dogma that a university must "have its foundation in arts," or consist of four faculties— theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. In this respect the Frenchman and the Virginian certainly stood upon common ground.

PROFESSOR PICTET, OF GENEVA.

The Dupont treatise on national education by Dupont de Nemours was doubtless shown to Jefferson in 1800. Three years later we find the latter corresponding with Professor Pictet, of the Swiss College at Geneva, probably the same man who had been associated with Jefferson in Quesnay's scheme for a French academy at Richmond. In a letter dated Washington, February 5, 1803, Jefferson said, respecting Pictet's proposed removal to Virginia: "I knew it was not safe for you to take such a step until it would be done on sure ground. I hoped at that time that some canal shares which were at the disposal of General Washington might have been applied toward the establishment of a good seminary of learning; but he had already proceeded too far on another plan to change their direction. I have still had constantly in view to propose to the Legislature of Virginia the establishment of one on as large a scale as our present circumstances would require or bear. But as yet no favorable moment has occurred. In the meanwhile I am endeavoring to procure materials for a good plan. With this view I am to ask the favor of you to give me a sketch of the branches of science taught in your college, how they are distributed among the professors; that is to say, how many professors there are and what branches of science are allotted to each professor, and the days and hours assigned to each branch. Your successful experience in the distribution of business will be a valuable guide to us who are without experience. I am sensible I am imposing on your goodness a troublesome task; but I believe every son of science feels a strong and disinterested desire of promoting it in every

came to the writer's attention after his own work was substantially finished, and confirms, by actual knowledge and independent testimony, many of the judgments formed by the present writer upon documentary evidence studied at a distance from the University premises. The above-mentioned historical sketches relate solely to the University of Virginia, and were continued in monthly parts from April, 1870, until June, 1871. The Old Dominion Magazine was early discontinued. Professor Minor said to the writer in a private letter: "I suspect my copy, now somewhat dilapidated, is the only one extant, and it is as precious to me as an ancient MS., because I contemplate some day reprinting it in book form." The writer made a pilgrimage to the University of Virginia to get a glimpse of this work, of which no trace could be found in the libraries of Richmond. The University of Virginia and the "Theatre of Marcellus" proved such interesting object-lessons, that a student could really find no time to read books upon those premises. By the necessities of the situation he was constrained to borrow the precious history and to take it to Baltimore for careful examination. He improves this occasion to thank Mr. Minor anew for his great kindness, and to thank also those who dwell in the "Theatre of Marcellus" for their co-operating influences.

part of the earth, and it is the consciousness as well as confidence in this which emboldens me to make the present request." This is a good illustration of Jefferson's method of acquiring information upon educational matters, and of his continued interest in the university idea, even when burdened with responsibility as President of the Federal Republic.

JOSEPH CARRINGTON CABELL'S EUROPEAN TRAINING.

In the year 1806 a young Virginian, returning from three years' travel and study in Europe, arrived in Washington with letters of introduction to Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States. This young man, then twenty-eight years old, was Joseph Carrington Cabell (1778-1856). He was a graduate of William and Mary College in the year 1798, and afterward studied law in Williamsburg with Judge Tucker. Like Thomas Jefferson, Cabell was one of the finest types of liberal and professional culture ever graduated from that royal old college, which trained up many statesmen for Virginia. Like Jefferson, too, Cabell had experienced the liberalizing and broadening influence of European culture. He went to Europe in 1803 for his health, which remained delicate throughout his entire life. Like Jefferson, again, Cabell made Paris the centre of his European study. He heard the lectures of Cuvier and other professors at the Collège de France. He studied natural science at Montpellier, and sojourned at various Italian universities, notably at Padua, Rome, and Naples. Educational methods appear to have been Cabell's as well as Jefferson's principal object of inquiry. Both men conceived the same ideal of benefiting their native State by means of progressive ideas from Europe. Like Jefferson, Cabell interested himself in Swiss education. He went to Verdun and studied the novel system of Pestalozzi, which he afterwards endeavored to introduce into Virginia. He visited also the Universities of Leyden, Cambridge, and Oxford, and thus completed a grand tour of educational observation. Such was the preliminary training of the man whose influence was to become second only to that of Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia. This man's work is almost unknown outside his native State, and it is the privilege of a student of educational history to point out the important connection established between Cabell and Jefferson.

JEFFERSON AND CABELL.

The young Virginian attracted the veteran statesman so strongly, that the latter offered Cabell various positions in the civil and in the diplomatic service; but Cabell had lived long enough away from home. He was anxious to return to Virginia and to identify himself with the interests of his own people. In the year 1807 he became interested in the project of De la Coste, a French scientist, to establish a museum of natural history at William and Mary College. Application was made to Mr. Jefferson for aid, but the project was discouraged by him. Jefferson

fessor Minor clearly has in mind the prominence given by both Jefferson and his French adviser to the university system of independent schools, severing allegiance from the time-honored dogma that a university must "have its foundation in arts," or consist of four faculties—theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. In this respect the Frenchman and the Virginian certainly stood upon common ground.

PROFESSOR PICTET, OF GENEVA.

The Dupont treatise on national education by Dupont de Nemours was doubtless shown to Jefferson in 1800. Three years later we find the latter corresponding with Professor Pictet, of the Swiss College at Geneva, probably the same man who had been associated with Jefferson in Quesnay's scheme for a French academy at Richmond. In a letter dated Washington, February 5, 1803, Jefferson said, respecting Pictet's proposed removal to Virginia: "I knew it was not safe for you to take such a step until it would be done on sure ground. I hoped at that time that some canal shares which were at the disposal of General Washington might have been applied toward the establishment of a good seminary of learning; but he had already proceeded too far on another plan to change their direction. I have still had constantly in view to propose to the Legislature of Virginia the establishment of one on as large a scale as our present circumstances would require or bear. But as yet no favorable moment has occurred. In the meanwhile I am endeavoring to procure materials for a good plan. With this view I am to ask the favor of you to give me a sketch of the branches of science taught in your college, how they are distributed among the professors; that is to say, how many professors there are and what branches of science are allotted to each professor, and the days and hours assigned to each branch. Your successful experience in the distribution of business will be a valuable guide to us who are without experience. I am sensible I am imposing on your goodness a troublesome task; but I believe every son of science feels a strong and disinterested desire of promoting it in every

came to the writer's attention after his own work was substantially finished, and confirms, by actual knowledge and independent testimony, many of the judgments formed by the present writer upon documentary evidence studied at a distance from the University premises. The above-mentioned historical sketches relate solely to the University of Virginia, and were continued in monthly parts from April, 1870, until June, 1871. The Old Dominion Magazine was early discontinued. Professor Minor said to the writer in a private letter: "I suspect my copy, now somewhat dilapidated, is the only one extant, and it is as precious to me as an ancient MS., because I contemplate some day reprinting it in book form." The writer made a pilgrimage to the University of Virginia to get a glimpse of this work, of which no trace could be found in the libraries of Richmond. The University of Virginia and the "Theatre of Marcellus" proved such interesting object-lessons, that a student could really find no time to read books upon these premises. By the necessities of the situation he was constrained to borrow the precious history and to take it to Baltimore for careful examination. He improves this occasion to thank Mr. Minor anew for his great kindness, and to thank also those who dwell in the "Theatre of Marcellus" for their co-operating influences.

part of the earth, and it is the consciousness as well as confidence in this which emboldens me to make the present request." This is a good illustration of Jefferson's method of acquiring information upon educational matters, and of his continued interest in the university idea, even when burdened with responsibility as President of the Federal Republic.

JOSEPH CARRINGTON CABELL'S EUROPEAN TRAINING.

In the year 1806 a young Virginian, returning from three years' travel and study in Europe, arrived in Washington with letters of introduction to Mr. Jefferson, President of the United States. This young man, then twenty-eight years old, was Joseph Carrington Cabell (1778-1856). He was a graduate of William and Mary College in the year 1798, and afterward studied law in Williamsburg with Judge Tucker. Like Thomas Jefferson, Cabell was one of the finest types of liberal and professional culture ever graduated from that royal old college, which trained up many statesmen for Virginia. Like Jefferson, too, Cabell had experienced the liberalizing and broadening influence of European culture. He went to Europe in 1803 for his health, which remained delicate throughout his entire life. Like Jefferson, again, Cabell made Paris the centre of his European study. He heard the lectures of Cuvier and other professors at the Collège de France. He studied natural science at Montpellier, and sojourned at various Italian universities, notably at Padua, Rome, and Naples. Educational methods appear to have been Cabell's as well as Jefferson's principal object of inquiry. Both men conceived the same ideal of benefiting their native State by means of progressive ideas from Europe. Like Jefferson, Cabell interested himself in Swiss education. He went to Verdun and studied the novel system of Pestalozzi, which he afterwards endeavored to introduce into Virginia. He visited also the Universities of Leyden, Cambridge, and Oxford, and thus completed a grand tour of educational observation. Such was the preliminary training of the man whose influence was to become second only to that of Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia. This man's work is almost unknown outside his native State, and it is the privilege of a student of educational history to point out the important connection established between Cabell and Jefferson.

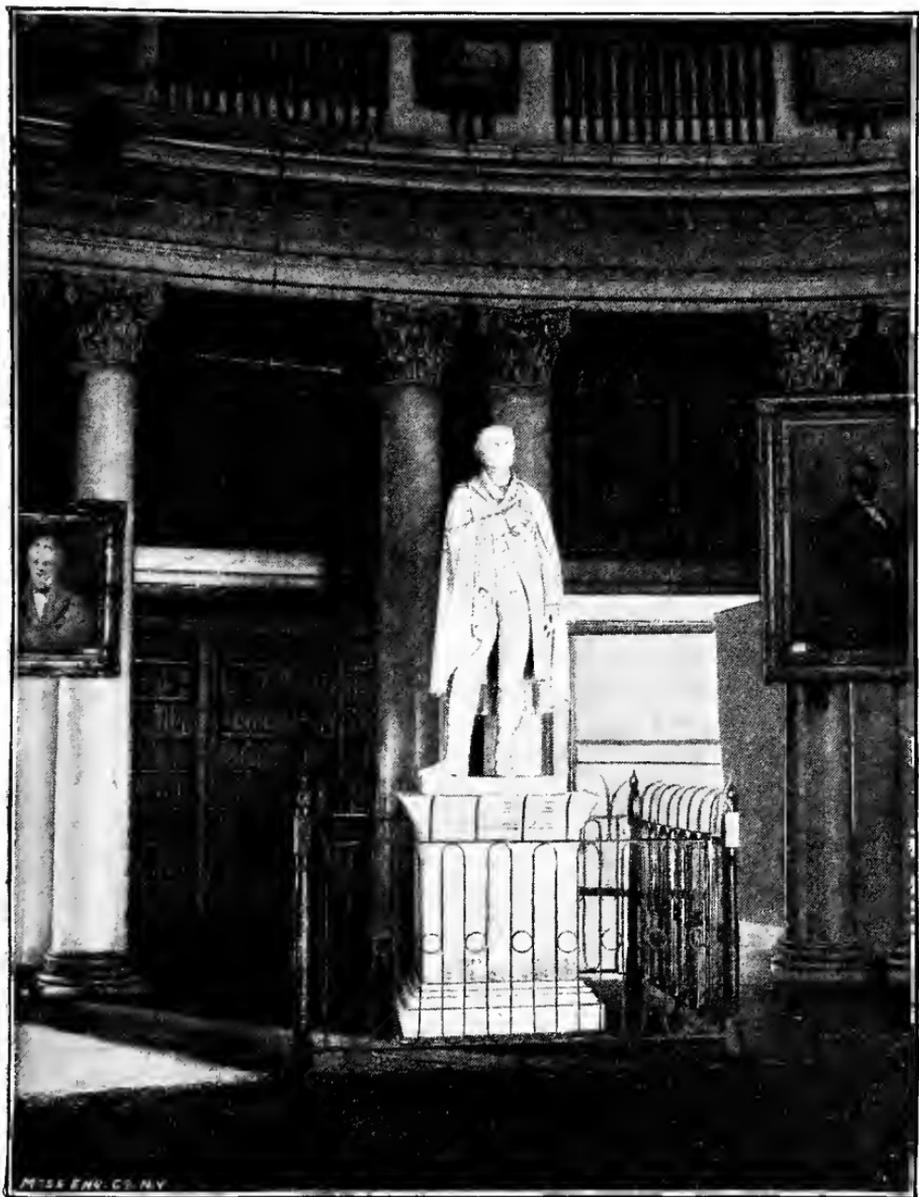
JEFFERSON AND CABELL.

The young Virginian attracted the veteran statesman so strongly, that the latter offered Cabell various positions in the civil and in the diplomatic service; but Cabell had lived long enough away from home. He was anxious to return to Virginia and to identify himself with the interests of his own people. In the year 1807 he became interested in the project of De la Coste, a French scientist, to establish a museum of natural history at William and Mary College. Application was made to Mr. Jefferson for aid, but the project was discouraged by him. Jefferson

had now drifted far away from his *alma mater*. His private secretary, Col. Isaac A. Coles, wrote to Cabell, expressing, naturally, Jefferson's own views, and making this important suggestion: "If the amelioration of education and the diffusion of knowledge be the favorite objects of your life, avail yourself of the favorable dispositions of your countrymen, and consent to go into our legislative body. Instead of wasting your time in attempting to patch up a decaying institution, direct your efforts to a higher and more valuable object. *Found a new one which shall be worthy of the first State in the Union.* This may, this certainly will one day be done, and why not now? *You may not succeed in one session, or in two, but you will succeed at last.*" Thus, in 1807, from Jefferson's own secretary came to Cabell a Declaration of Independence in the matter of higher education for Virginia. It was at once the assertion of a new line of educational policy, and a practical suggestion to an ambitious young man, able and willing to carry the university idea into the Virginia Legislature.

Following the advice of his friend, Cabell went into Virginia politics. He became a member of the House of Delegates in 1809, and two years later was elected to the State Senate, where he remained until the year 1829, the most efficient champion of Jefferson's three great ideas,—local government, popular education, and a State university. It is the simple truth to say that, without Joseph Carrington Cabell's persistent labors in the Legislature, his self-sacrifice and indomitable courage, his wonderful political tact and unfailing diplomacy, Jefferson's university ideal would never have been realized, at least in his life-time. It was once publicly stated in the Virginia Senate, in 1828, that in promoting "that monument of wisdom," the university, Cabell was "second only to Jefferson."

In visiting the library of the University of Virginia, all men gaze with interest upon the statue of Jefferson, standing there under the stately dome which he so nobly planned. Few strangers, however, seek out that interesting portrait of Cabell which hangs upon the library wall. A thoughtful, kindly, yet determined face has this Virginia scholar, who, by good politics, founded and sustained a great university. Through that one man's energy Jefferson succeeded in achieving the independence of higher education in Virginia, and in uniting men of all sects in the support of a State university.



STATUE OF JEFFERSON BY GALT, IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

CHAPTER IV.

ALBEMARLE ACADEMY AND CENTRAL COLLEGE.

JEFFERSON'S NEW PROJECT.

In the possession of Miss Sarah N. Randolph, of Baltimore, is an original letter by Jefferson, dated at Annapolis, December 31, 1783, and containing the first intimation of an attempt to establish an institute for liberal education in the vicinity of his own home. There is no address upon the letter, but it was evidently written to some gentleman in Albemarle County. A copy has been kindly made for insertion here:

“DEAR SIR: Just before I left Albemarle a proposition was started for establishing there a grammar school. You were so kind as to tell me you would write me the progress of the proposition. On my part I was to inquire for a tutor. To this I have not been inattentive. I inquired at Princeton of Dr. Witherspoon, but he informed me that that college was but just getting together again, and that no such person could of course be had there. I inquired at Philadelphia for some literary character of the Irish nation in that city. There was none such, and in the course of my inquiries I was informed that learning is but little cultivated there, and that few persons have ever been known to come from that nation as tutors. I concluded on the whole, then, if the scheme should be carried on, and fixed on so firm a basis as that we might on its faith venture to bring a man from his native country, it would be best for me to interest some person in Scotland to engage a good one. From that country we are sure of having sober, attentive men. However, this must await your information.

“We learn with certainty that a war in Europe is unavoidable—the two empires on one side and the Turks on the other. It is probable France and Prussia will aid the Turks; Great Britain is likely to be employed by Ireland. The Dutch are engaged in civil commotions, the object of which is the reduction of the power of the stadtholder. We have yet but seven States in Congress, and nine are required to ratify the treaty. As the ratification should be exchanged in Paris by the 3d of March, this gives us great uneasiness. I am, with much esteem, Dear Sir,

“Your friend and servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.”

Thus, in the greatest diplomatic crisis in our nation's history, and in the midst of world-moving events, Jefferson found time to think of the

higher educational interests of his native county. The letter is most remarkable, not only as illustrating the condition of higher education in America at the close of the Revolution, but as clearly foreshadowing that broad educational policy which Jefferson afterwards adopted for the University of Virginia in securing its first professors from Europe.

The project for an academy in Albemarle County slumbered until 1803, when the institution was chartered by the Legislature; but it remained on paper only, until after Mr. Jefferson's election to the board of trustees, March 23, 1814. From that election dates the beginning of the actual development process of the Albemarle Academy into the University of Virginia. After long years of inquiry and reflection, Jefferson had evolved in his own mind a system of higher education, of which William and Mary College had supplied the original germ. That system was now to be grafted upon Albemarle Academy and made to flourish under Jefferson's own eye.

He was present at the next meeting of the board of trustees. Peter Carr was chosen president, and Mr. Jefferson was made chairman of a committee to report a plan for raising funds. The committee reported within ten days; subscriptions were recommended, a lottery was proposed, and Jefferson was made chairman of a committee to petition the Legislature for the proceeds of the sale of certain glebe lands in Albemarle County. A committee was soon appointed to select a site for the academy, who reported August 19, 1814, in favor of placing the academy in the vicinity of the town of Charlottesville, and presented a plan for improving the site. In all probability this plan was drawn by Jefferson, who certainly prepared the ground-plan of Central College, which became the University of Virginia. Albemarle Academy, although it existed only on paper, is important historically, for it was the legal foundation of those two higher institutions, and the immediate occasion of the educational correspondence with Dr. Thomas Cooper and Peter Carr.

DR. THOMAS COOPER.

Dr. Thomas Cooper was an Englishman by birth and the son-in-law of Dr. Priestley, the English philosopher. With him Cooper came out to America, and found refuge from political and religious persecution in the State of Pennsylvania.¹ Both were liberals in politics and in religion. Cooper edited his father-in-law's writings and acquired the reputation of being a Unitarian, which greatly impeded his scientific career in this country. The man was well versed in the natural sciences, particularly in chemistry, physics, and physiology. To all the excellence of scientific training and a well-rounded university cult-

¹ Jefferson mentions Priestley and Cooper in a letter to Tench Coxe, dated Monticello, May 1, 1794: "I am sorry Mr. Cooper and Priestley did not take a more general survey of our country before they fixed themselves. I think they might have promoted their own advantage by it, and have aided the introduction of improvement where it is more wanting."

ure, he added a special aptitude for the law and for political science. He was one of the earliest writers in this country upon the subject of political economy, and he was absolutely the first to introduce the study of Roman law by his edition of Justinian,¹ with analogies and contrasts

¹Upon inquiry at the University of Virginia, the writer learned from Professor Minor, the head of the law department, that he owned a copy of Cooper's work on Roman law. Amid the varied interests attending the writer's hurried visit he neglected to note the exact title of Cooper's work. He owes the following information to the courtesy of Mr. Minor:

"LAW DEPARTMENT, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,

"December 1, 1887.

"In pursuance of yours of 30th ultimo, received this morning, I inclose a copy of the title-page of Cooper's Institutes, with the number of pages covering each part of the contents, showing also that the volume is ordinary law octavo. It contains nothing but Tribonian's elementary exposition of the leading principles of the intended *Corpus Juris Civilis*, and especially of that part known as the Pandects or Digest. The English translation of Dr. Cooper is ranged side by side with Justinian's Latin text; so that the latter alone would embrace about 250 octavo pages. Cooper's translation is founded upon that of Harris, and differs from it only in occasionally employing a more condensed expression. His notes owe very little to Harris, and in the main appear to me, who am only a sciolist in the Roman law, judicious and instructive. It is certainly remarkable that in England, as well as with us, the study of Roman jurisprudence should have been so slowly introduced amongst the professors of the common law; and especially as amongst the practitioners in the ecclesiastical courts and the courts of admiralty a familiar acquaintance with it had been cultivated from the time of Stephen, in the eleventh century. Lord Mansfield seems to have stood alone, amongst the frequenters of Westminster Hall, in his knowledge of Roman law, and Judge Story and Chancellor Kent pretty much monopolized it in the United States until comparatively a few years ago. I suppose its being the basis of the law of Louisiana may have given some impulse to the more recent tendency to study it. In 1845 Makelday's Compendium of Modern Civil Law, edited by Kaufmann, was published in New York, but I have the impression that its circulation was very limited; and to this day with us the acquaintance with the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and with the commentators is confined within the narrowest limits."

The following is a copy of the title-page of Cooper's Institutes, as described by Professor Minor: The Institutes of Justinian, with Notes, by Thomas Cooper, Esq. [Second edition.] New York: Halstead and Voorhees, Law Publishers, Corner of Nassau and Cedar Streets. 1841.

	Pages.
Index to notes and references.....	xxi
Dr. Cooper's preface.....	v
Harris's account of rise and progress of Roman law.....	vi
Institutes, <i>Proemium</i>	4
Body of work.....	386
Novels, extracts from <i>De Successione</i>	10
Dr. Cooper's notes, etc.....	206
Index.....	21
<hr/>	
Total.....	659

A copy of the original edition of Cooper's Institutes of Justinian, prepared when Cooper was professor of chemistry at Carlisle, Pa., and published at Philadelphia, 1812, was presented to the writer of this report by one of his students from Pennsylvania, after the above account of the edition of 1841 had been received from Professor Minor.

between the English and the Roman law—a work which led Jefferson to propose a history of the common law and the study of historical jurisprudence.¹ Cooper was driven to the practice of law as a livelihood in Pennsylvania, and rose to the position of a judge. Hence he is frequently mentioned in Jefferson's correspondence as Judge Cooper, although more usually known in American educational history as Dr. Cooper. He was for a time professor in Dickinson College, and was after-

¹ Jefferson anticipated some of the modern tendencies of legal education. Very interesting views with reference to historical jurisprudence and a proper course of legal study are to be found in his letter to Cooper, dated January 16, 1814, and in his advice to Dabney Terrell, February 26, 1821. (See Works, VII, 206, 209, 382, 414.) Jefferson's views in regard to the subject of law were as advanced as his views of education. As early as the time of the Revolution he attempted to put the laws of Virginia into simple, straightforward, intelligible English. He once said to Cabell, September 9, 1817: "I dislike the verbose and intricate style of the modern English statutes, and in our revised code I endeavored to restore it to the simple one of the ancient statutes, in such original bills as I drew in that work. I suppose the reformation has not been acceptable, as it has been little followed."

A valuable article on "Thomas Jefferson as a Legislator" was published in the Virginia Law Journal for December, 1887, by R. G. Kean, Esq. He says that the influence of Jefferson in the reformation of the tautological style of legal expression made itself felt in the Virginia code of 1849, prepared by the late Conway Robinson and John M. Patton. The laws of Virginia, as revised by Jefferson, Wythe, [and Pendleton,] were reported in one hundred and twenty-six bills, all embraced within ninety folio pages. Bills for a system of public education and a bill prohibiting the slave trade were among these proposed laws. Among them, also, was the famous statute establishing religious freedom, passed August 13, 1786, when Jefferson was in Paris. It excited great interest in Europe among diplomatic circles and was inserted in the *Encyclopédie*. The criminal law was wonderfully improved by Jefferson. He eliminated the barbarous features of English penal law, and reduced the cases requiring the death penalty from twenty-nine to two,—treason and murder. This portion of Jefferson's work as a legislator is remarkable for his citations from the original Anglo-Saxon laws (see Works, IV, 146).

In regard to slavery, Jefferson and his fellow commissioners not only reported a bill prohibiting the further importation of slaves (which was one of the first laws passed, 1778; see Hening, IX, 471), but were prepared to report in favor of emancipation of all of slave descent born after the passage of the act just named; but the public mind would not bear the proposition then, "nor will it bear it even at this day," said Jefferson in his memoir in 1821. "Yet the day is not distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free." There is an interesting letter on abolition in Jefferson's Works, VII, 408. Jefferson prepared statutes which swept away the English laws of entail and primogeniture, with every vestige of feudalism. So perfect was his statute of descents that "in the experience of a completed century but one single doubt as to the construction and effect of any part of it has arisen. That single doubt was resolved by the case of *Davis v. Rowe*, 6 Rauldolph, 355." Even that case, it is said, was decided by principles contained in the original act.

The above statement is condensed from Mr. Kean's interesting and suggestive article. Similar views are expressed in 2 *Minor's Institutes* (3d ed.), pp. 467-470, 531-534, and in 1 *Id.*, 6. Upon Jefferson's favorite idea of gradual emancipation, which would have been good statesmanship and good economy for the South, see Madison's Writings, III, 133 *et seq.*, and IV, 274. There is an article by A. D. White on "Jefferson and Slavery" in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. IX, 1862, p. 29.

wards a lecturer in the University of Pennsylvania. His connection with the University of Virginia and with South Carolina College, where he was the immediate predecessor of Francis Lieber, will be described in other connections.

Cooper is mentioned in Jefferson's first published letter to his friend, Joseph C. Cabell, June 27, 1810, in a most graphic way: "I enclose you a letter from Judge Cooper, of Pennsylvania, a political refugee with Dr. Priestley from the fires and mobs of Birmingham. He is one of the ablest men in America, and that in several branches of science. The law opinion which he mentions I have received, and a more luminous one has not been seen. The best pieces on political economy which have been written in this country were by Cooper. He is a great chemist, and now proposes to resume his mineralogical studies on this subject; you will perceive that he wishes a correspondent in our State. I know of nobody to whom I can so advantageously commit him as to yourself." Although Cabell was unwilling, from his connection with politics, to revert to mineralogical studies once pursued in France and Switzerland, yet Jefferson continued to correspond with Cooper, who gave him much practical advice representing English university experience. The importance of this advice to Jefferson may be suggested by the fact that Cooper was the first chosen professor of natural science and law in the University of Virginia, and that his opinion was courted with reference to filling the chair of language and history.

JEFFERSON'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH COOPER.

It is interesting to observe that Jefferson's educational inquiries of Dr. Cooper begin to have a local and definite significance just before the attempted revival of Albemarle Academy, and that the correspondence proceeds upon that local basis of university education. On the 16th of January, 1814, Jefferson wrote to Cooper:

"I have long had under contemplation, and been collecting materials for the plan of an university in Virginia which should comprehend all the sciences useful to us, and none others. The general idea is suggested in the Notes on Virginia, Qu. 14. This would probably absorb the functions of William and Mary College, and transfer them to a healthier and more central position: *perhaps to the neighborhood of this place*. The long and lingering decline of William and Mary, the death of its last president [Bishop Madison], its location and climate, force on us the wish for a new institution more convenient to our country generally, and better adapted to the present state of science. I have been told there will be an effort in the present session of our Legislature to effect such an establishment. I confess, however, that I have not great confidence that this will be done. Should it happen, it would offer places worthy of you, and of which you are worthy. It might produce, too, a bidder for the apparatus and library of Dr. Priestley, to which they might add mine on their own terms. This consists of about seven

or eight thousand volumes, the best chosen collection of its size probably in America, and containing a great mass of what is most rare and valuable, and especially what relates to America.”¹

A few months later, August 25, 1814, Jefferson again writes to Dr. Cooper, from Monticello, concerning the project for a university, and asks advice respecting the courses of study: “In my letter of January 16th, I mentioned to you that it had long been in contemplation to get a university established in this State, in which all the branches of science useful to us, and at this day, should be taught in their highest degree, and that this institution should be incorporated with the college and funds of William and Mary. But what are the sciences useful to us, and at this day thought useful to anybody? A glance over Bacon’s *arbor scientiæ* will show the foundation for this question, and how many of his ramifications of science are now lopt off as nugatory. To be prepared for this new establishment, I have taken some pains to ascertain those branches which men of sense, as well as of science, deem worthy of cultivation. To the statements which I have obtained from other sources, I should highly value an addition of one from yourself. You know our country, its pursuits, its faculties, its relations with others, its means of establishing and maintaining an institution of general science, and the spirit of economy with which it requires that these should be administered. Will you, then, so far contribute to our views as to consider this subject, to make a statement of the branches of science which you think worthy of being taught, as I have before said, at this day and in this country? But to accommodate them to our economy, it will be necessary further to distribute them into groups, each group comprehending as many branches as one industrious professor may competently teach, and, as much as may be, a duly associated family or class of kindred sciences. The object of this is to bring the whole circle of useful science under the direction of the smallest number of professors possible, and that our means may be so frugally employed as to effect the greatest possible good. We are about to make an effort for the introduction of this institution.”²

On the 10th of September, but little more than a fortnight after the letter to Dr. Cooper, quoted above, Jefferson addressed him again in language indicating that his plan was ripening fast:

“I regret much that I was so late in consulting you on the subject of the academy we wish to establish here. The progress of that business has obliged me to prepare an address to the president of the board of trustees—a plan for its organization. I send you a copy of it with a broad margin, that, if your answer to mine of August 25th be not on the way, you may be so good as to write your suggestions either in the margin or on a separate paper. We shall still be able to avail ourselves of them by way of amendments.”

¹ Writings of Jefferson, VI, 294.

² Writings of Jefferson, VI, 371-2.

LETTER TO PETER CARR.

The address to the president of the board of trustees of Albemarle Academy, of which a copy was submitted by Jefferson to Dr. Cooper for further suggestions, was a letter to Peter Carr, dated Monticello, September 7, 1814. It is the most important document in the early history of the University of Virginia, for it defines Jefferson's educational views as matured after more than thirty years of reflection, from the time when he first draughted a bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge. The letter¹ was originally printed in the *Richmond Enquirer* for the purpose of popularizing Jefferson's views. It was reprinted in 1817 in a pamphlet called "Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education for the State of Virginia," which is absolutely the oldest and most original collection of materials upon the origin of the University. It is also reprinted in the appendix to the published letters of Jefferson and Cabell. This letter to Carr not only contains the plan of organization for the academy mentioned in Jefferson's letter to Dr. Cooper, but it suggests the possibility of expanding that institution into a college, with professional schools. Jefferson's inquiries and his general plan of organization appear to have elicited three letters of comment from Dr. Cooper, written in quick succession, September 15, 21, and 22, but all arriving at Monticello in the same mail. The first of these letters Jefferson returned to Cooper, who wished to publish it in the *Portfolio*. "It will give our young men," said Jefferson,² "some idea of what constitutes an educated man." With Cooper's views that "a professorship of theology should have no place in our institution," Jefferson quite agreed, although he included it in his original plan as communicated to Peter Carr.

The following extracts and summary of the letter, which may be called the literary foundation of the University of Virginia, will not be without general interest to students of American educational history:

"On the subject of the academy or college proposed to be established in our neighborhood, I promised the trustees that I would prepare for them a plan, adapted, in the first instance, to our slender funds, but susceptible of being enlarged, either by their own growth, or by accession from other quarters. I have long entertained the hope that this, our native State, would take up the subject of education, and make an establishment, either with or without incorporation into that of William and Mary, where every branch of science, deemed useful at this day, should be taught in its highest degree. With this view, I have lost no occasion of making myself acquainted with the organization of the best seminaries in other countries, and with the opinions of the most enlightened individuals on the subject of the sciences worthy of a place

¹ It appeared in *Niles's Register*, March 16, 1816.

² Jefferson's reply, October 7, 1814, to Dr. Cooper's comments appears to have been used by the former, together with the letter to Peter Carr and other documents, for university propaganda. See *Correspondence with Joseph C. Cabell*, pp. 36, 37.

in such an institution. In order to prepare what I had promised our trustees I have lately revised these several plans with attention; and I am struck with the diversity of arrangement observable in them, no two being alike. Yet I have no doubt that these several arrangements have been the subject of mature reflection by wise and learned men, who, contemplating local circumstances, have adapted them to the condition of the section of society for which they have been framed. I am strengthened in this conclusion by an examination of each separately, and a conviction that no one of them, if adopted without change, would be suited to the circumstances and pursuit of our country. The example they have set, then, is authority for us to select from their different institutions the materials which are good *for us*, and, with them, to erect a structure whose arrangement shall correspond with our own social condition, and shall admit of enlargement in proportion to the encouragement it may merit and receive."

GENERAL VIEW OF EDUCATION.

After this sensible introduction, which contains a wholesome warning against mere imitation in educational establishments and a proper recognition of peculiar local conditions in every individual foundation, Jefferson proceeds to survey the general field of education and to mark out that particular portion to be occupied by the proposed institution in his immediate neighborhood. He considers the subject under three heads: elementary schools, general schools, and professional schools. Under the first head he observes that it is the duty of government to see that every citizen is educated according to his condition and pursuits in life. He divides the mass of citizens into the laboring and the learned classes, including under the former agricultural labor and handicrafts, and under the latter certain skilled labor and technical knowledge. Elementary schools will suffice for the laboring classes. Jefferson notes the fact that a plan was once proposed to the Legislature of Virginia to divide every county into hundreds or wards, five or six miles square, each ward to have its own schools, for the elementary education of the children in reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography. He expresses the hope that this project, once ineffectually attempted, may be resumed "in a more promising form." Passing to the second head, Jefferson remarks that pupils leaving the elementary schools will separate into two classes, for the pursuit of labor and science, respectively. Pupils destined for the latter will go to college, where higher education is afforded by general schools and is specialized in professional schools. The learned class he divides into two sections: first, those destined for professional life; and second, the wealthy, who "may aspire to share in conducting the affairs of the nation, or live with usefulness and respect in the private ranks of life." Both the learned and the wealthy will require the higher education, but the former will need to specialize and pass from the general to professional schools.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES.

Jefferson then attempts to classify the branches of useful science, which ought to be taught in the general schools. He groups them under three departments: language, mathematics, and philosophy. In the first department he arranges languages and history, ancient and modern; grammar, belles-lettres, rhetoric, and oratory, and a school for the deaf, dumb, and blind. "History," he says, "is here associated with languages, not as a kindred subject, but on a principle of economy, because both may be attained by the same course of reading, if books are selected with that view." This thought, originally advanced by Jefferson as the basis of elementary education, became in the person of George Long, the classical historian, one of the ideal corner-stones of the University of Virginia. Under the head of mathematics Jefferson classified the following sciences: pure mathematics, physico-mathematics, physics chemistry, mineralogy, botany, zoölogy, anatomy, and the theory of medicine.

Under philosophy he grouped ideology, ethics, the law of nature and of nations, government, and political economy. By the term ideology Jefferson meant simply the science of the human understanding. He borrowed his novel term from a French writer, Count Destutt Tracy, member of the Senate and of the Institute of France, whose treatise on the Elements of Ideology was first published in France in the year 1801, and is reported by Jefferson to have been condemned by Napoleon as "the dark and metaphysical doctrine of Ideology, which, diving into first causes, founds on this basis a legislation of the people."¹ This work, which the present generation would probably condemn on other grounds, made a profound impression upon Jefferson, who wished to establish democracy upon a philosophical basis.

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.

Let us observe what Jefferson said to Peter Carr concerning professional schools, the third and last topic of the discussion. To these schools would come those students who propose to make learning their profession, and who wish to pursue particular sciences with more minuteness and detail than is possible in the college proper, which would give simply a liberal education. "In these professional schools each science is to be taught in the highest degree it has yet attained." Here Jefferson discovers the real university idea, and at the same time the idea of specialization for a definite purpose. "To these professional schools will come," he says, "the lawyer to the school of law; the ecclesiastic to that of theology and ecclesiastical history; the physician to those of the practice of medicine, materia medica, pharmacy, and surgery; the military man to that of military and naval architecture and projectiles; the agricultor to that of rural economy; the gentleman, the architect, the pleasure gardener, painter, and musician, to the school of fine arts."

¹ Jefferson's letter to Colonel Duane, April 4, 1813.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Besides the university idea and the thought of these special schools, Jefferson, in his letter to Carr, clearly anticipated the modern idea of technical education. He proposed what he called a "school of technical philosophy," where certain of the higher branches should be taught in abridged form to meet practical wants. "To such a school," he said, "will come the mariner, carpenter, shipwright, pump-maker, clock-maker, mechanist, optician, metallurgist, founder, cutler, druggist, brewer, vintner, distiller, dyer, painter, bleacher, soap-maker, tanner, powder-maker, salt-maker, glass-maker, to learn as much as shall be necessary to pursue their art understandingly, of the sciences of geometry, mechanics, statics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrodynamics, navigation, astronomy, geography, optics, pneumatics, acoustics, physics, chemistry, natural history, botany, mineralogy, and pharmacy." In this school of technology Jefferson proposed to group the students in convenient classes for elementary and practical instruction by lectures, to be given in the evening, so as to afford an opportunity for labor in the day-time. Military exercises were to be required on certain days throughout the entire course for all grades of students. Thus the features of military schools, technological institutes, and modern agricultural colleges were associated with the higher education in a people's university, as conceived by Thomas Jefferson.

Of course Jefferson did not expect to realize all at once this educational scheme as proposed to Peter Carr. He urged as a practicable beginning the establishment of a general school or college, with four professorships, grouping, (1) language and history, belles-lettres, rhetoric, and oratory; (2) mathematics, physics, etc.; (3) chemistry and other natural sciences; (4) philosophy, which, in his view, included political science. He said these professorships "must be subdivided from time to time, as our means increase, until each professor shall have no more under his care than he can attend to with advantage to his pupils and ease to himself." With further increase of resources, professional schools were to be added. Such were the fundamental lines of thought which gave shape to the first project for a University of Virginia in Jefferson's own neighborhood. Like the preliminary drawings of a great artist, these bold outlines have a permanent interest to the student.

JEFFERSON'S APPEAL TO CABELL IN THE LEGISLATURE.

Peter Carr sent the letter which Jefferson had written him to a member of the Legislature, together with other documents prepared by Jefferson in the interest of the Albemarle Academy. That member appears to have held them back for some unaccountable reason. On the 5th of January, 1815, Jefferson wrote as follows to his energetic friend, Joseph C. Cabell: "Could the petition which the Albemarle Academy addressed

to our Legislature have succeeded at the late session, a little aid additional to the objects of that would have enabled us *to have here immediately the best seminary of the United States*. I do not know to whom P. Carr (president of the board of trustees) committed the petition and papers; but I have seen no trace of their having been offered. Thinking it possible you may not have seen them, I send for your perusal the copies I retained for my own use. They consist: (1) Of a letter to him, sketching, at the request of the trustees, a plan for the institution; (2) one to Judge Cooper, in answer to some observations he had favored me with, on the plan; (3) a copy of the petition of the trustees; (4) a copy of the act we wished from the Legislature. They are long, but *as we always counted on you as the main pillar of their support, and we shall probably return to the charge at the next session*, the trouble of reading them will come upon you, and as well now as then. The lottery allowed by the former act, the proceeds of our two glebes, and our dividend of the literary fund, with the reorganization of the institution, are what was asked for in that petition. In addition to this, if we could obtain a loan for four or five years only of \$7,000 or \$8,000, *I think I have it now in my power to obtain three of the ablest characters in the world to fill the higher professorships* of what in the plan is called the second or general grade of education; three such characters as are not in a single university of Europe; and for those of language and mathematics, a part of the same grade, able professors doubtless could also be readily obtained. With these characters I should not be afraid to say that the circle of the sciences composing that second or general grade would be more profoundly taught here than in any institution in the United States, and I might go farther."

It is very interesting to observe, in this same letter to Cabell, that Jefferson says he has lately received a letter from Jean Baptiste Say, who was contemplating a removal to America, "and to this neighborhood." Undoubtedly Jefferson had him in mind as "one of the three ablest characters in the world" for a professorship in the new institution. Virginia would indeed have had one of the most distinguished representatives of economics, if Jean Baptiste Say¹ had been persuaded to come, as at one time seemed highly probable. Another of the three prospective members of the faculty was undoubtedly Thomas Cooper, who would at that time have represented chemistry, and natural science in general, better than any man of Jefferson's acquaintance in America. The third genius must have been a philosopher, for, according to the above letter, Jefferson had as yet no one in view for either language or mathematics. Possibly the "ideologist" was to be Count Destutt Tracy, for whose writings Jefferson was making vigorous propaganda at this very time. It was certainly correspondence with such men as these that made Jefferson so eager to develop

¹ On Say's project of removing to "the neighborhood of Charlottesville, on which he has cast his eye," see Jefferson's letter to M. Correa de Serra, December 27, 1814.

a local academy into a larger institution, where genius could find free scope.

THE LITERARY FUND.

As early as 1810 the Legislature of Virginia had instituted the so-called literary fund. A bill, drawn up by James Barbour and presented by a committee of which Mr. Cabell was a member, was passed that year and appropriated "certain escheats, penalties, and forfeitures to the encouragement of learning." It is not at all improbable that the influence of Jefferson, through Cabell, was at the bottom of this enactment, although the credit of it was claimed by Governor Barbour in an address at a planters' convention in Richmond, in 1836.¹ In the winter of 1815-16 Charles Fenton Mercer, chairman of the committee on finance, reported to the lower house a measure favoring the increase of the literary fund by the addition of the debt then due to Virginia by the Government of the United States for expenses incurred in the war of 1812. This report, which was adopted, is the origin of Mr. Mercer's rival claim to the honor of establishing the literary fund, which claim he advanced in an address on popular education, published in 1826. Undoubtedly both Governor Barbour and Mr. Mercer deserve individual credit for their part in laying what afterward became one of the most substantial economic foundations of the University of Virginia; but we must remember that the forces of legislation are always very complex, and that the secret springs of action are not always seen. Some light is thrown upon Mr. Mercer's report by the following extract from a letter to Jefferson, written by Cabell, January 24, 1816: "Since writing the enclosed letter I have conversed with Mr. Mercer, of the House of Delegates, to whom I had lent your letter to Mr. Carr, upon being informed by him that he had it in contemplation to endeavor to get a considerable part of the debt due from the General Government to the State of Virginia appropriated to the establishment of a grand scheme of education. He appears much pleased with your view of the subject, and as he proposes to make a report to the lower house, concurs with me in the propriety of availing the country of the light you have shed upon this great interest of the community. Would you object to the publication of your letter to Mr. Carr? Indeed, sir, I may take the liberty to have your letter printed before I can get your answer.² I do not believe the General Assembly will make at this time so great an appropriation as the one proposed by Mr. Mercer; but I will do anything in my power to

¹ Ruffin's Farmer's Register, III, 688, quoted in the Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, 50.

² Jefferson consented, February 2, 1816, to the publication of his letter, and it appeared in the Richmond Enquirer about that time. On the 21st of February, 1816, Cabell wrote to Jefferson: "You will have seen your letter to Mr. Carr in the Enquirer. It came out on the morning of the day that the resolution passed the House of Delegates appropriating the surplus [all over and above \$600,000] of our United States debt to the literary fund, and, I have reasons to believe, had a considerable effect in promoting the passage of that resolution."

promote it. And should the measure succeed, my object would be to make your plan the basis of our measures. * * * My intention is, as soon as I hear from you, to secure the passage of the bill respecting the Central Collège, nearly or entirely in its present shape. Then, or previously, I will, if not prevented, publish your letter to Mr. Carr, so as to prevent this game from being easily taken out of the hands of those who are entitled to it." Cabell referred to the probable rivalry of Staunton and Lexington with Charlottesville for the establishment of "a great State seminary."

Jefferson early saw the possibilities of the literary fund for the endowment of a State university. In a letter to Cabell, dated September 30, 1814, he urges legislative precautions with reference to "the funds of the literary society," an expression which the editor of the correspondence between Jefferson and Cabell is unable to explain (see note to page 30 of that volume). Jefferson meant simply the literary fund, and he meant to secure a county-dividend of the same for the benefit of Albemarle Academy, as the petition presented to the Legislature about this time clearly shows. With the development of Albemarle Academy into Central College, Jefferson's intentions took larger scope. He proposed gradually to absorb the profits of the entire fund, and also to capture the lion's share of the endowment of William and Mary College, reducing that institution to the level of half a dozen or more small colleges, all tributary to the central university. There lurked a deep meaning in that term *Central College*. It was the idea of *centralization in the higher education*, first geographically, for general convenience, then economically and intellectually, for the highest good of the whole State. It would be the best educational policy for the United States and for the individual States. The great obstacles to the first success of this bold idea were:

(1) The democratic impulse to distribute the proceeds of the literary fund for the establishment of common schools, which, Jefferson always urged, should be founded and sustained by local government and local taxation, or by *self help* in townships, wards, or school districts.

(2) The opposition of Federalists to Jefferson's project.

(3) The powerful opposition of William and Mary College, which was fighting for life.

(4) The rivalry of Washington College at Lexington, a Presbyterian institution, second only to William and Mary in historic prestige.

(5) The municipal attractions of Richmond, Staunton, and other growing places.

(6) Ecclesiastical opposition, directed against the proposed non-sectarianism of Jefferson's university,—another great idea in modern education.

(7) The policy of decentralization and local distribution of State bounties to the higher education,—the worst of all enemies to the idea of State universities.

That Jefferson and Cabell should have succeeded in triumphing over all of these foes, in securing a large part of the literary fund, and in centralizing the higher education in the vicinity of Charlottesville, is one of the greatest triumphs in American educational history, for it was the first of its kind and cost the hardest struggle.

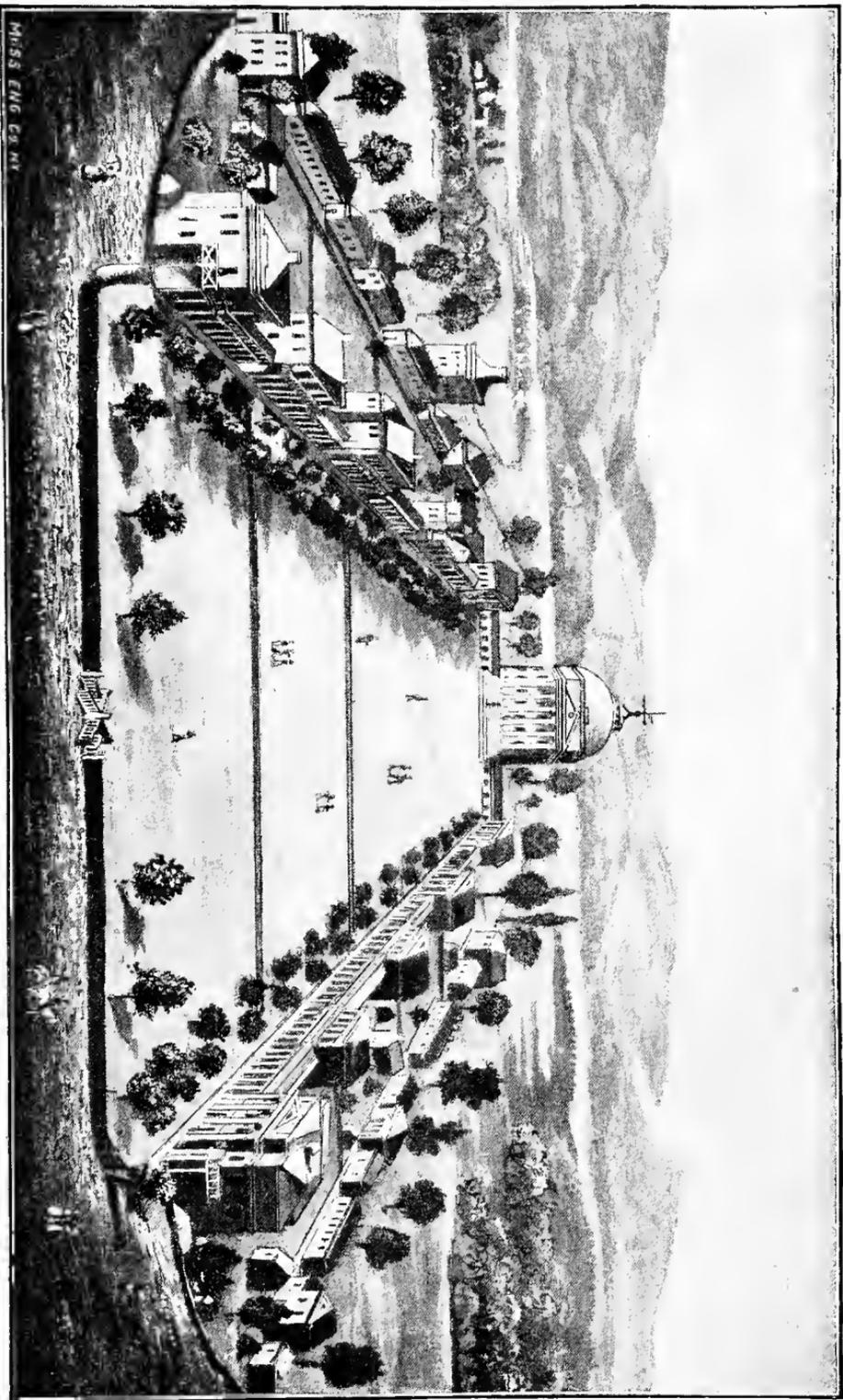
CENTRAL COLLEGE.

The methods by which the University of Virginia was evolved from the individual thought of Jefferson into a popular institution are an unwritten chapter in American educational history, but it is worth writing, because it shows how vital a connection may be established between democracy and the higher education, and that, too, under the most unfavorable conditions. There was absolutely nothing for Jefferson to build upon except an idea. It was impossible to make a State university out of old William and Mary College, which was then a church institution. There were not even common schools to render education popular. Jefferson had conceived the original idea of developing into a State university a county academy *which as yet existed only on paper*. There was no endowment whatever. Everything had to be created. Through the energy of Cabell the petition of the trustees of Albemarle Academy to receive for this institution the money which had arisen from the sale of the two glebes of the parishes of Saint Ann and Fredericksville in Albemarle County, was granted; but the application to have, for the same purpose, their county dividend of the literary fund, was rejected by the Legislature.

On the 14th of February, 1816, was passed an act changing the name of Albemarle Academy to Central College, of which the Governor of the Commonwealth was to be the patron, with power to appoint a board of six visitors and to fill vacancies. The visitors could appoint professors and other officers. Thomas Jefferson was the only one of the old academy board who was re-appointed. The new appointees were James Madison, James Monroe, Joseph C. Cabell, David Watson, and J. H. Cocke. In the new corporation were vested all the rights and privileges of the old board, which handed over the records of Albemarle Academy. The records of Central College extend from May 5, 1817, to May 11, 1818. They are interesting for the light they throw upon the gradual evolution of the University of Virginia from a local seminary. The cornerstone of Central College was laid October 6, 1817, in the presence of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe, then President of the United States. Probably no institution of learning in the United States ever had so many presidential trustees.

IDEA OF AN ACADEMICAL VILLAGE.

Among the external features of the University of Virginia, as it now stands, nothing is more interesting to the visitor than the peculiar ground-plan of construction. It seems to be a modern adaptation of the mediæval idea of cloistered retreats, with colonnades and quadrangles, the latter



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OLD ENGRAVING OF THE UNIVERSITY. FROM BOHN'S ALBUM.

opening toward the south. The buildings consist of pavilions, or large two-storied houses, for the professors, which, with the large library building or rotunda, are arranged at intervals around three sides of a square, and are all connected by small one-storied brick dormitories for the students, each dormitory containing only one room, which opens upon a covered colonnade or *kreuzgang*, suggestive of a monastic cell. A reproduction of the mediæval monastery was perhaps very far from Jefferson's mind; but, whether consciously or unconsciously, he revived some of its most striking architectural effects, although in classical rather than in Gothic style.

The historical germ of the whole plan of construction may be found in the records of the first meeting of the trustees of the Central College, May 5, 1817, when "on view of a plan presented to the trustees of the Albemarle Academy for erecting a distinct pavilion or building for each separate professorship, and for arranging these around a square, each pavilion containing a school-room and two apartments for the accommodation of the professor, with other reasonable conveniences, the board determines that one of those pavilions shall now be erected, and they request the proctor, so soon as the funds are at his command, to agree with proper workmen for the building of one, of stone or brick below ground and of brick above, of substantial work, of regular architecture, well executed, and to be completed, if possible, during the ensuing summer and winter. * * * And it is further resolved, that so far as the funds may admit, the proctor be requested to proceed to the erection of dormitories for the students adjacent to the said pavilion, not exceeding ten on each side, of brick, and of regular architecture, according to the same plan proposed."

In a report made by the trustees of Central College, January 6, 1818, to the speaker of the House of Delegates, it is stated that they purchased "at a distance of a mile from Charlottesville, and for the sum of \$1,518.75, two hundred acres of land, on which was an eligible site for the college, high, dry, open, furnished with good water, and nothing in its vicinity which could threaten the health of the students.

"Instead of constructing a single and large edifice, which might have exhausted their funds, and left nothing, or too little, for other essential expenses, they thought it better to erect a small and separate building or pavilion for each professor they should be able to employ, with an apartment for his lectures and others for his own accommodation, connecting these pavilions by a range of dormitories, capable each of lodging two students only—a provision equally friendly to study as to morals and order.

"The plan offered the further advantages of greater security against fire and infection, of extending the buildings in equal pace with the funds, and of adding to them indefinitely hereafter, with the indefinite progress of the contributions, private or public, and it gave to the whole, in form and effect, the character of *an academical village*."

Such was Jefferson's idea of the external form of the future University of Virginia. In this report, of which he is manifestly the author, the trustees of Central College assure the Legislature of their willingness to transfer all the property and rights of Central College toward the establishment of a State university. They say that they have realized nearly \$3,200 from the sale of the glebe lands, and altogether, including subscriptions, they "count with safety on forty-six or forty-seven thousand dollars." The actual subscription lists to the Central College which are printed in the Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, show a total of over \$44,000. These lists of names represent twelve different counties and three cities, Richmond, Lynchburg, and Winchester, and show a remarkably wide-spread interest in Jefferson's project. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Cabell, Cocke, and five other gentlemen subscribed each \$1,000. There were over two hundred subscriptions, ranging from \$5 to \$500. Such liberality and such a considerable number of names are interesting evidence of the favorable attitude of the Virginia planters at this period (1818) toward the higher education.

JEFFERSON TO JOHN ADAMS ON CENTRAL COLLEGE.

The progress and prospects of Central College, just before its transition into the University of Virginia, are well shown in a letter from Jefferson to John Adams, dated Poplar Forest,¹ September 8, 1817: "A month's absence from Monticello has added to the delay of acknowledging your last letters, and, indeed, for a month before I left it, our projected college gave me constant employment; for, being the only visitor in its immediate neighborhood, all its administrative business falls on me, and that, where building is going on, is not a little. In yours of July 15th, you express a wish to see our plan, but the present visitors have sanctioned no plan as yet. Our predecessors, the first trustees, had desired me to propose one to them, and it was on that occasion I asked and received the benefit of your ideas on the subject. Digesting these with such other schemes as I had been able to collect, I made out a prospectus, the looser and less satisfactory from the uncertain amount of the funds to which it was to be adapted. This I addressed, in the form of a letter, to their president, Peter Carr, which, going before the Legislature when a change in the constitution of the college was asked, got into the public papers, and, among others, I think you will find it in Niles' Register, in the early part of 1815.² This, however, is to be considered but as a *première ébauche*, for the consideration and amendment of the present visitors, and to be accommodated

¹ Mr. Jefferson's farm in Bedford County.

² The exact reference is Niles' Register, March 16, 1816, where Jefferson's letter to Peter Carr may be found. A letter from Jefferson on elementary education occurs in Niles, May 2, 1818. This Baltimore journal followed with great interest the progress of Jefferson's educational work. Niles, June 26, 1824, announces the courses of instruction that were soon to be opened at the University of Virginia.

to one of two conditions of things. If the institution is to depend on private donations alone, we shall be forced to accumulate on the shoulders of four professors a mass of sciences which, if the Legislature adopts it, should be distributed among ten. We shall be ready for a professor of languages in April next, for two others the following year, and a fourth the year after. How happy should we be if we could have a Ticknor¹ for our first. A critical classic is scarcely to be found in the United States. To this professor a fixed salary of \$500, with liberal tuition fees from the pupils, will probably give \$2,000 a year. We are now on the lookout for a professor, meaning to accept of none but of the very first order."

¹ An attempt was actually made, in 1820, to secure as professors for the University of Virginia, Mr. George Ticknor, of Boston, and Mr. Bowditch, of Salem. Apartments were promised, with a salary of \$2,000 and with fees guaranteed to the additional amount of \$500. Dr. Thomas Cooper, an Englishman, resident in Pennsylvania, was appointed the year before. All of these original negotiations excited considerable sectarian opposition in Virginia, because all three of the above-named gentlemen were reputed to be Unitarians. Upon this interesting point, see the Jefferson and Cabell correspondence, p. 233 *et seq.* The opposition to the Unitarian movement was not confined to the South. Cabell told Jefferson that it was through the correspondence of Bible Societies that "the discovery of the religious opinions of Ticknor and Bowditch was made."

CHAPTER V.

TRANSITION FROM THE COLLEGE TO THE UNIVERSITY.

TWO LINES OF POLICY.

Jefferson's plans for the development of university education in Virginia proceeded along two lines of policy. The first was local, originating in Albemarle Academy, and advancing by local subscriptions to the actual foundation of Central College. The second line of policy was legislative, and led from an economic base called the literary fund, to the idea of a State university. It is clearly apparent that Jefferson meant that these two lines should converge and unite. His purpose then was to have Central College adopted by the State as the University of Virginia. Cabell was in the Legislature watching his opportunity and informing Jefferson of the progress of events.

On the 24th of February, 1816, the president and directors of the literary fund were requested to prepare and report a system of public education, comprehending a university to be called "The University of Virginia," and such additional colleges, academies, and schools as should diffuse the benefits of education throughout the Commonwealth. The responsible member of this commission was the president of the board of directors, W. C. Nicholas, Governor of the State. There was nothing easier for him to do than to seek the counsel of Jefferson.

JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS.

Although in retirement at Monticello, Jefferson was in constant correspondence with the public men of his time, both in and out of Virginia. Early in the spring of 1816 we find Governor Nicholas asking Jefferson's advice with reference to the subject of education. The Governor was president of the board of directors of the literary fund and was naturally desirous of making a good official report. Jefferson was an acknowledged authority upon educational matters, and to him the Governor turned for counsel. Jefferson gave it liberally in a long letter, dated at Monticello, April 2, 1816. After reminding the Governor of the close resemblance between the present recommendation of the Virginia Legislature and bills for the more general diffusion of knowledge, reported in 1779, and proposing three grades of instruction,—a university, district colleges or grammar schools, and county or ward schools, Jefferson said: "The report will have to present the plan of an univer-

sity, analyzing the sciences, selecting those which are useful, grouping them into professorships, commensurate each with the time and faculties of one man, and prescribing the regimen and all other necessary details. On this subject I can offer nothing new. A letter of mine to Peter Carr, which was published during the last session of Assembly, is a digest of all the information I possess on the subject, from which the board will judge whether they can extract anything useful. * * *

“As the buildings to be erected will also enter into their report, I would strongly recommend to their consideration, instead of one immense building, to have a small one for every professorship, arranged at proper distances around a square, to admit of extension, connected by a piazza, so that they may go dry from one school to another. This village form is preferable to a single great building for many reasons, particularly on account of fire, health, economy, peace, and quiet. Such a plan had been approved in the case of the Albemarle College, which was the subject of the letter above mentioned; and should the idea be approved by the board, more may be said hereafter on the opportunity these small buildings will afford of exhibiting models in architecture of the purest forms of antiquity, furnishing to the student examples of the precepts he will be taught in that art.” Here is the connecting architectural link between the Albemarle Academy and the University of Virginia, as conceived by Jefferson.

In his letter to the Governor the Sage of Monticello did not fail to revert to his early and favorite project of elementary education by means of ward schools. He reminded the Governor that ideas upon that subject had been long ago embodied in a bill for the general diffusion of knowledge in Virginia, and that time and reflection had only served to strengthen in his mind the general principle of subdividing the counties into wards, with a school in each ward. “My partiality,” he said, “for that division is not founded in views of education solely, but infinitely more as the means of a better administration of our government, and the eternal preservation of republican principles. The example of this most admirable of all human contrivances in government is to be seen in our Eastern States; and its powerful effect in the order and economy of their internal affairs, and the momentum it gives them as a nation¹ is the single circumstance which distinguishes them so remarkably from every other national association. In a letter to Mr. Adams² a few years ago, I had occasion to explain to him the structure of our scheme of education as proposed in the bill for the diffusion of knowledge, and the views of this particular section of it, and

¹ The use by Jefferson of the word “nation” for New England is very remarkable. It is, however, paralleled by the frequent employment, in American local usage, of the term “country” for section, State, or county. And yet such usage is in perfect accord with the gradual development of our ideas of country and nation from local experience. The Germanic village community of united families was the prototype of united Germany and of the United States.

² October 28, 1813.

in another lately to Mr. Cabell,¹ on the occasion of the bill for the Albemarle College, I also took a view of the political effects of the proposed division into wards, which, being more easily copied than thrown into new form here, I take the liberty of inclosing extracts from them. Should the board of directors approve of the plan and make ward divisions the substratum of their elementary schools, their report may furnish a happy occasion of introducing them, leaving all their other uses to be adopted from time to time hereafter, as occasion shall occur."

CIRCULAR LETTER FROM GOVERNOR NICHOLAS.

On the 30th of May, 1816, Governor Nicholas issued a circular letter to various distinguished gentlemen, asking advice respecting a system of public education for the State of Virginia. As president of the board of directors of the literary fund the duty to collect information devolved upon him, but it is highly probable that Jefferson, or his friend Cabell, who was in the Legislature, made valuable suggestions to the Governor with reference to this letter and the proper persons to address. Among the latter was Jefferson's friend, Thomas Cooper, professor of chemistry in Carlisle College, Pennsylvania. The following passage from the circular letter is worthy of Jefferson himself: "The great cause of literature and science is not local in its nature, but is an object of interest to the whole human species. The commonwealth of letters embraces every region, however remote. It can not fail to excite pleasing emotions in every enlightened American to perceive that Virginia has taken this subject under its patronage, and devoted a fund to its accomplishment, which is annually increasing. To you, sir, I think it proper to address myself, knowing your attachment to literature, and feeling great confidence that you will not consider your valuable time mispent in communicating any ideas which may promote so useful an object. I can assure you that they will be received with that high sense of obligation which their importance must inspire."

DR. COOPER ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

The following extracts from the reply of Dr. Cooper are worthy of preservation, for they are characteristic of one of the most remarkable educators in the United States at this period, and of the man in whom Jefferson had perhaps more confidence than in any other in American academic circles. In the lack of illustrations of his correspondence with Jefferson, this letter of advice to the Governor of Virginia, upon the subject dearest to Jefferson's heart, is especially valuable. Cooper represents English² ideas of university education. After considering

¹ Letters of Jefferson and Cabell, 37.

² Other traces of English influence besides the counsel of Dr. Cooper may be found in Jefferson's study of English universities, as described in print. Jefferson owned Russell's Tract on the Universities of Great Britain, and lent it to Cabell, who showed it to such influential politicians as General Breckenridge and Mr. Johnson. Cabell also borrowed Jefferson's Oxford and Cambridge Guide.

briefly the subject of schools and academies, he proceeds to state his views upon the main question :

“*Universities* should be exclusively for a liberal and finished education. I doubt whether it be expedient to have more than one in the State, under State patronage. Such an university should, in my opinion, be instituted on a plan not much dissimilar to the following :

“(1) It should be considered, held up, and taken for granted, that no young man can receive a finished education sufficient to enable him to commence the pursuit of any of the liberal professions, unless he has remained at the university till the completion of his nineteenth year ; if young men could be induced to stay for half a year longer it would be a very important acquisition, privately and publicly. They usually graduate so young that they enter upon life conceited sciolists.

“(2) It should be scrupulously insisted on that no youth can be admitted to the university unless he can read with facility Virgil, Horace, Xenophon, and Homer ; unless he is able, as a preliminary to matriculation, to convert a page of English at sight into Latin ; unless he can demonstrate any proposition at sight in the six first books of Euclid, and shews an acquaintance with cubic and quadratic equations. Without this, your university will become what all the American colleges and universities are, so far as I know them, mere grammar schools. You will have fewer students, but they will do credit to the institution, and raise its reputation ; and entrance at such an university will be sought as an honor.

“(3) It can not be required, but it should be regularly and publicly expected, that the university course of education should occupy four years. The more difficult Latin and Greek classics should be read at the university,—Euripides, Sophocles, Longinus, Demosthenes, etc. *No week should pass* without at least three pages of composition in Latin prose, and one in verse, upon given subjects. All the prominent political men, all the learned men, all the scientific men of my day, have entered upon active life as good classic scholars and good mathematicians. Judging from times past before I began life, and from what I have seen and observed myself, I am *satisfied* that a young man turned into the world a good classic and mathematician is far better qualified for any other literary pursuit than those who have been educated in any other way. On this score my mind is fully made up.

“Attendant on these classical studies should be the higher parts of the mathematics, conic sections, fluxions, spherical trigonometry, etc. Also the study of the French language, with drawing, fencing, and the manual exercise.

“These should occupy chiefly the two first years. I say chiefly, because perhaps logic and a course of moral and political philosophy might be introduced the second year, though I should not incline to begin them till the third.

“The two next years might be occupied (never entirely omitting classical and mathematical studies) with—

“The elements of moral and political philosophy and jurisprudence.

“Lectures on natural philosophy—chemistry, botany, and zoölogy.

“Perhaps room might also be found for a short course of anatomy.

“Further than this it is needless to go. It will suffice to give them of these enough to show the roads that lead to the acquirement of knowledge. The basis of the system being classical and mathematical knowledge, I should not fear for a young man who was well grounded in these alone, at his first starting on the race of life, but much more may be added by a judicious course of study.”

IEWS OF PRESIDENT DWIGHT, OF YALE COLLEGE.

Replies to the circular letter sent out by Governor Nicholas came from two college presidents, John Augustine Smith, M. D., president of William and Mary College from 1814 to 1826, and from the Rev. Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College. President Smith confined his remarks to the subject of popular education, and showed no special sympathy with the university idea. He said he presumed the object of the literary fund was “to inform those who must otherwise remain in total ignorance in the humbler but more important parts of knowledge than to make a comparatively few proficient in the sublimer parts of knowledge.” The management of William and Mary College was naturally opposed to the idea of a State university, which would certainly overshadow the old college at Williamsburg and destroy its prestige. The struggle of William and Mary for existence and its race for life with Jefferson’s younger institution have been elsewhere narrated.¹

An interesting side light from New England is thrown upon colleges and universities in general, at this early period, by the answer of President Dwight, of Yale College. He said :

“There are two difficulties in the way of returning such an answer to this application as in all probability is expected. One is, that the circular does not at all explain the specific views of the Virginian Legislature. The literary institutions which are mentioned in it are so extremely different in different countries as often to have very little resemblance to each other. An *university* in *European language* is, as your Excellency perfectly well knows, a seat of education in which students are conducted through all the branches of academical and professional knowledge, so as to be fitted to enter upon the practice of medicine, or to appear at the bar, or in the desk, without any additional instruction. A *college*, in the same language, is sometimes one of the several institutions which, when combined, constitute the university, and sometimes a seminary in which students barely obtain the requirements for admission to the university. *Eton College* and the *celebrated school of Westminster* are seminaries of this nature.

¹Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education, No. 1, 1887: The College of William and Mary, pp. 58-61.

“*In American phraseology*, your Excellency must have observed, both these terms are used in a widely different manner. There are three seminaries in *New England*, which are styled universities; a fourth in *New York*; a fifth in *Pennsylvania*; a sixth in *Georgia*; and a seventh in *Kentucky*. All these differ essentially from what is meant by the term in *Europe*; and in none of them is education given to the extent specified above. That of *Cambridge*, in *Massachusetts*, approximates nearer to the *European* standard than any of the rest; but even that falls materially short.

“There are also in *New England* five colleges; and many others which bear the name in different parts of the United States. In *Yale College* there is, probably, more *science* taught than in any other seminary in the American Union; but probably less of *literature* than in the university at *Cambridge*. Yet it is styled a college. Several *American* colleges pursue nearly the same course of instruction; while others are calculated upon so low a degree of the scale that bachelors of arts, coming from them to *Yale College*, have been unable to enter at any higher grade than the beginning of the second or sophomore year; and that without any defectiveness of talents or diligence.

“After these observations, it will be unnecessary to insist any further on the indeterminate meaning of these names, or on the impossibility of my knowing the sense in which they are used by the Legislature of *Virginia*. But without such knowledge it must be obviously impossible for me to feel assured that any opinions which I might communicate would even reach the subject to which they were intentionally directed.

“The other difficulty, to which I have referred, lies in the extensive and complicated nature of the subject. Will your Excellency pardon me for observing, that, having lived more than thirty years in *Yale College*, and in every station included in its system, the experience forced upon me during this period has furnished me with a complete conviction that the views formed concerning such an institution by men unacquainted with this subject except by speculation, and those of the first talents, are necessarily inadequate and erroneous. If I am not deceived, a considerable number of *American* colleges have failed of success from defects in their original establishment; defects derived from the want of an experimental acquaintance with such an institution in those under whose direction their several systems began their operations.

“If my experience has not deceived me, such a scheme of a college in the *American* sense, and still more of a university in the *European* sense, as will fairly promise extensive utility to the public, must involve many important parts, all of them nearly or absolutely indispensable, and many more subordinate ones, each of which would contribute in a considerable degree to the perfection of the whole. To state in the most concise manner a scheme of this nature, and the proofs by which its expediency might be evinced, would require at least

a large pamphlet. For such work I have neither time, nor health, nor eyes.

“For the prolixity of this apology I have no other justification beside what is furnished by the high importance of the subject, and the respectability of the source from which the application is derived.

“With this letter I transmit to your Excellency a copy of the *Laws of Yale College*. In them may perhaps be found the best answer, in my power, to some of the questions which would naturally be asked in the course of such an investigation as that which the president and directors of the literary fund have commenced. *Here* these laws have had a happy efficacy.

“If I may suppose myself authorized to give an opinion concerning the subject at large, I beg leave to suggest that the best mode, within my knowledge, of conducting the requisite inquiries to a successful issue, so far as they may respect the *New England seminaries*, will be to commission a competent person to visit such of them as may be thought proper, and by inspection and conversation to learn whatever may be useful in their respective systems. Such a person would be able to state the specific purposes which the *Legislature of Virginia* have in view, and could ask the questions and obtain the explanations which may be conducive to the general design.”

REPORT OF GOVERNOR NICHOLAS.

Letters were received from James Monroe, then Secretary of State under Madison, and from Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, of New York. The latter sent an elaborate article upon the philosophy of education, with pedagogical plans for all grades of instruction, from domestic to scholastic, from the school to the university. Monroe recognized the importance of a general system of education for the preservation of good government, but intimated that there were men in Virginia better qualified than himself to give advice in educational matters. He accepted the appointment as one of the board of visitors of Central College, in Albemarle, but offered no suggestions to the president and directors of the literary fund. Their report was made through Governor Nicholas to the General Assembly in December, 1816, and is published in the collection of Sundry Documents on the Subject of a System of Public Education, which was distributed among the citizens of the State by legislative order. If Jefferson was not the author of this entire report, his ideas pervade it from beginning to end. We have already seen that Governor Nicholas sought Jefferson's advice before that of any one else, and we shall now see that he followed it in preference to other views. The official voice is the Governor's, but the hand is Jefferson's.

We find the general subject subdivided into primary schools, academies, and a university. The whole system was based upon a proposed subdivision of counties into townships, each to support one primary school and to have charge of its own roads, its own poor, and its own

police. The Lancastrian method of teaching was recommended. Next above the common schools were to be the academies, where Latin, Greek, French, mathematics, geography, astronomy, etc., were to be taught. Jefferson's provision for "the boys of brightest genius" re-appears in the proposed connection of the schools, academies, and university. "The term university," declares this report, "comprehends the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and extends to the utmost boundaries of human knowledge." The directors of the literary fund say they have resorted to every source of information respecting the constitution of colleges in America and Europe, but they find no two absolutely alike. Jefferson had made that observation to Peter Carr. The peculiar conditions of Virginia must be studied and the university adapted to the needs of its people. The report advises against beginning on too large a scale. The purchase of land for the university is recommended "in some central and healthy part of the Commonwealth." Here surely is Jefferson's hand. The buildings are to be paid for out of the literary fund. A board of fifteen visitors is recommended, with power to appoint nine professors, chiefly in modern and scientific studies. Jefferson had always wished such a curriculum. The visitors were also to have power to appoint seven fellows "*out of the most learned and meritorious of those who have graduated at said university.*"

IDEA OF ESTABLISHING FELLOWSHIPS, 1816.

The following extract from this remarkable report on the University of Virginia deserves to be quoted in full, because it anticipates so much of what is essentially modern in American university education. "The recommendation of the establishment of fellowships is founded on a wish to encourage the ardent pursuit of science in such young men, who, though destitute of the means of obtaining an education, have been selected for their talents, and instructed and supported at the public expense. *It is to them we ought to look as the source which is to supply us with teachers and professors,* and thus by the service they will render in imparting instruction to the youth of the country, they will amply repay what that country has done for their benefit. Besides, it is a consideration of great importance that you *create a corps of literary men,* who, enabled by receiving a decent competence to devote their whole time to the pursuits of science, will enlarge its boundaries and diffuse through the community a taste and relish for the charms of literature. The effect produced by concentrating at one place many literary men, whose co-operation, as well as whose collisions, will excite a generous spirit of emulation, is incalculable."

MERCER'S BILL FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, 1817.

The above favorable report naturally led to a bill providing for the establishment of primary schools, academies, colleges, and a university. The bill, drawn up by Mr. Mercer partly upon the basis of

Jefferson's ideas, passed the House of Delegates on the 18th of February, 1817, but it was rejected by the Senate on the 20th of the same month. The measure was, however, noteworthy in some of its features. It provided for a board of public instruction, to be elected by joint ballot of the Senate and House of Delegates, and to have general educational control of Virginia. They were to establish and locate "the University of Virginia," together with a general system of colleges and academies. The bill also provided for a system of primary schools, and for the subdivision of counties into townships and wards, and of cities, boroughs, or towns into wards, when containing more than one hundred white families; if less, the corporation was to be comprehended in some township. As soon as a ward or township had provided a school-house worth \$200, and a board of trustees for school management, the directors of the literary fund, to whom the school-house and lot must be conveyed, were authorized to pay over annually the sum of \$200 for the teacher's salary and \$10 for school books for poor children. Jefferson was always strongly opposed to such local distribution of the literary fund. He believed in the local maintenance of common schools; but the best experience of the Old World and of the New shows that localities vary so much in economic strength that county boards of equalization are sometimes a real necessity. A compromise between public bounty and local taxation is sometimes desirable.

ACADEMICAL DISTRICTS.

The bill of 1817 further provided for the division of Virginia, according to the census of free whites, into forty-eight "academical districts," containing one or more counties. Suitable and convenient academies actually existing were to be recognized as State institutions, when conveyed to the president and directors of the literary fund. While retaining their former trustees and local government, they became entitled to State aid. Where new academies were to be erected, the same line of policy was proposed as in the case of the primary schools. The academical district was obliged to furnish the necessary land, and at least three-fourths of the cost of the necessary buildings, which were estimated at \$10,000. The management of the academy was to be intrusted to a board of thirteen persons residing within the district and appointed by the general board of public instruction. One-quarter of the cost of building and one-fourth of the salaries for teachers was to be paid from the literary fund. Noteworthy is the fact that the bill of 1817 authorized the acceptance of "the Anne Smith Academy, for the education of females," and permitted the establishment of similar institutions not exceeding five.

PLAN FOR NEW COLLEGES.

To the colleges then existing in the State four more were to be added, called, respectively, Pendleton, Wythe, Henry, and Jefferson, in con-

venient and healthful localities, where sufficient land had been freely offered, and at least \$35,000 had been subscribed for the college and its library. Trustees were to be invested with governing authority by the board of public instruction. The title to the land and college buildings was to be conveyed to the managers of the literary fund, which in turn should grant the college one-fourth as much money as had been locally subscribed, and one-fifth of the annual salaries of teachers and professors. William and Mary, Hampden-Sidney, and Washington Colleges were to be allowed to make proposals with reference to entering this general system of State colleges and of sharing State bounty in a similar manner.

IDEA OF A UNIVERSITY.

The bill of 1817 made inadequate provision for the University of Virginia, but the idea was clearly in view. The board of public instruction was authorized to fix upon a proper site, with primary regard "to the geographical centre of the Commonwealth, and to the principal channels of intercourse through its territory," together with health, economy, and such advantages as might arise from local philanthropy. At least fifty acres of land, \$100,000 for buildings, and \$10,000 for a library must be secured and placed at the disposition of the literary fund for university purposes. A general subscription throughout the State was authorized through the agency of county and corporation courts. Provision was also made for reports of all trustees to the board of public instruction, and for a general educational report to the General Assembly, concerning the state of education and embracing the University of Virginia.

The provisions of this bill, although never carried out, are interesting and instructive as showing one of the first definite plans in this country for an organized system of education under the control of the State. The bill laid chief stress upon common-school education, and gave it the preference in the distribution of public money. Jefferson, while the friend of common schools, would have made them self-supporting, and have reserved State bounty for the higher education and the University.

JEFFERSON'S BILL, 1817-18.

Mr. Mercer's bill, of which an analysis has just been given, was very unsatisfactory to Jefferson. He wrote to Cabell, October 24, 1817: "I received the pamphlet you were so kind as to have directed to me, containing several papers on the establishment of a system of education. A serious perusal of the bill for that purpose convinced me that, unless something less extravagant could be devised, the whole undertaking must fail. The primary schools alone on that plan would exhaust the whole funds, the colleges as much more, and a university would never come into question. However slow and painful the operation of writing is become from a stiffening wrist, and however deadly my aver-

sion to the writing-table, I determined to try whether I could not contrive a plan more within the compass of our funds. I send you the result brought into a single bill, lest by bringing it on by detachments some of the parts might be lost."

The following is a résumé of Jefferson's bill, which is not without suggestive value. The old lines of historic continuity are discernible in this plan, and it is clearly an advance upon the views advanced in the famous letter to Peter Carr. Jefferson proposed that the judge of the superior court, in every county, should appoint three visitors of primary schools. These visitors were to subdivide their respective counties into wards, comprehending "each about the number of militia sufficient for a company." The visitors were then to call ward meetings, and the majority vote of "the warders" was to determine the location of the school-house and how it should be built. A plurality vote was to elect a resident warden, to direct the process of building, and to care for school property. All persons liable to work on the highways were to be subject to the warden's call to work on the school-house, unless it should be built by pecuniary contributions. Ward meetings were to be held in the school-house after its completion. This place should become the centre of local government as well as of local education. The selection of teachers and the examination of schools were to be intrusted to the county board of visitors—a good device for economic and uniform management.

Jefferson then proceeded to distribute the several counties into nine collegiate districts. The president and directors of the literary fund, henceforth to be known as the board of public instruction, were to appoint a board of visitors for each collegiate district, with one member from each county in that district. These visitors were to view their district and report to the central board of public instruction the best sites for a college, and the latter board was to decide the matter. The visitors were then to be empowered to purchase the approved site, exercising, if necessary, through the county sheriff, the right of condemning private property for a public purpose. They were limited to \$500 expenditure for grounds and to \$7,000 for buildings. Each college was to have two professors, with salaries of \$500 each, to be paid from the literary fund, with such additional fees from pupils as the visitors should determine. "In the said colleges shall be taught the Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and German languages, English grammar, geography, ancient and modern, the higher branches of numerical arithmetic, the mensuration of land, the use of the globes, and the ordinary elements of navigation." The visitors were to have the appointing power and the general management of the college property. They could employ a steward and a bursar. Members of the board were to visit the college at least once a year and examine its management. The action of collegiate boards was subject to revision by the board of public instruction.

PROPOSITION FOR A CENTRAL UNIVERSITY.

To these provisions for popular and collegiate education Jefferson added a proposition for a university, "in a central and healthy part of the State." With regard to the very delicate question of the site he draughted two forms of statement, one in general terms giving the power of selection to a board of eight visitors, subject to approval by the board of public instruction; and the other in specific terms providing for the acceptance of all the lands, buildings, property, and rights of Central College, whenever its board of visitors should authorize a transfer to the board of public instruction, for the purposes of a university. In the institution should be taught "history and geography, ancient and modern; natural philosophy, agriculture, chemistry, and the theories of medicine; anatomy, zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, and geology; mathematics, pure and mixed; military and naval science; ideology, ethics, the law of nature and of nations; law, municipal and foreign; the science of civil government and political economy; languages, rhetoric, belles-lettres, and the fine arts generally; which branches of science shall be so distributed and under so many professorships, not exceeding ten, as the visitors shall think most proper." Each professor was to have apartments and a salary, not exceeding \$1,000 a year, to be paid from the literary fund, with tuition fees from students. The visitors were to have the appointing power and the general control of the institution, subject to the board of public instruction.

To prepare the way for this bill, Jefferson addressed to the speaker of the House of Delegates a report of the visitors on the progress of Central College, already described in another connection. Of this instructive report two hundred and fifty copies were printed by order of the House and distributed. Jefferson wrote to Cabell, December 18, 1817: "I think you had better keep back the general plan till this report is made, as I am persuaded it will give a lift to that. Pray drop me a line when any vote is passed which furnishes an indication of the success or failure of the general plan. I have only this single anxiety in this world. It is a bantling of forty years' birth and nursing, and if I can once see it on its legs, I will sing with sincerity and pleasure my *nunc dimittas*."

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

The most cherished scheme of Jefferson's life was now to be launched anew upon the current of politics. He had attempted to promote university education in connection with William and Mary College, in the time of the American Revolution, but the project had been swamped. Now he was about to launch his own independent institution, bearing the name of Central College, but soon to be called the University of Virginia. With what anxiety the old man of seventy-five years watched the fate of his carefully drawn report on Central College, and of his bill for establishing a system of public education! In a letter to Cabell,

dated January 14, 1818, minutely explaining his plan for self-supporting elementary schools, Jefferson concludes: "A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, *as it was the earliest, so will it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest.* Nor am I tenacious of the form in which it shall be introduced. Be that what it may, our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend and amend it until it shall suit their circumstances. Give it to us, then, in any shape, and receive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young, and the blessings of the old, who are past all other services but prayers for the prosperity of their country and blessings to those who promote it."

This letter was published by Cabell in the *Richmond Enquirer*, February 10, 1818. In every possible way Cabell propagated Jefferson's ideas. While the "enlightened few" heard and read with favor, there was in the Legislature, particularly in the House of Delegates, a strong opposition to Jefferson's bill. The printing of two hundred and fifty copies was only grudgingly allowed. The "back country" and western members were particularly stubborn. They wanted the capital of Virginia removed from Richmond to Staunton, and they were afraid that Central College would establish the idea of political centrality for the neighborhood of Charlottesville. "For two months," wrote Cabell, "certain persons have been training those members to oppose all that could come from you. The back-country spirit has been industriously excited." Cabell said the friends of Staunton and Lexington wished to keep down Central College. Sectional division and the clashing of local interests made him almost despair of any general plan. Jefferson's opponents admitted that his bill was a finished production in theory, but they were not willing to let it go into practice. The bill received very few votes in a House committee of the whole, and a substitute offered by Mr. Hill, of King William County, was recommended for adoption.

FIRST APPROPRIATION FROM THE LITERARY FUND, 1818.

The House of Delegates at first favored a small appropriation from the literary fund for the education of the poor, and the application of the rest of the fund to the payment of the debts of the State. From such a Philistine view of an economic resource, long set apart for educational interests, the House at last rose, through the influence of agitation, to the idea of a compromise between the highest and lowest forms of education. Hill's substitute for Jefferson's bill proposed the appointment by local courts of school commissioners in every county, city, and corporate town, "to determine what number of poor children they will educate," and what should be paid for their education. The commissioners were to select the children and send them, with the assent of parents or guardian, to some convenient school, to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. The money for tuition, books, etc., was to come

out of a \$45,000 reservation from the income of the literary fund, to be paid over to local school commissioners of counties, cities, and towns,¹ in proportion to the free white population. To this local State aid was to be added the income of all property held by the overseers of the poor and derived from the sale or forfeiture of glebe lands. Such was the wretched provision for primary education as a local charity, dependent upon State aid and parish spoils. The House of Delegates had apparently no conception of the importance of establishing common schools and of supporting them by local taxation. The provision amounted to a State and parish bounty upon poverty.

Upon this well-meant but inadequate popular legislation the Senate had the sovereign good sense to tack a \$15,000 annual appropriation for a university, wherein all the branches of useful science were to be taught. The site of the institution was to be determined by a board of commissioners, one from each senatorial district, to be appointed by the Governor of the State. The board was to meet at the tavern in Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge, in August, 1818, and determine the following matters: (1) The site of the university; (2) a plan for its construction; (3) the branches of learning to be taught; (4) the number and description of the professorships; (5) general legislative provisions for organizing and governing the institution. This amendment passed the House of Delegates on the 21st of February, 1818. *It was the entering wedge for the Jeffersonian idea*, and it was driven in by Joseph C. Cabell, when the commissioners were appointed. He wrote to Jefferson: "We have *fifteen* districts on this side of the ridge, and I think we are safe in the hands of the executive." Mr. Preston was at this time the Governor of Virginia, and was in thorough sympathy with the university project. Cabell suggested to Jefferson that "our policy will be to invest all our funds in buildings, and get them as far advanced by August as possible." The founder of Central College needed no spurring in this direction. It had been his policy from the beginning to get his institution well under way and then make the Legislature adopt it.

¹ The results of this policy, while not the best, were better than nothing. Niles's Register for December 17, 1825, says of Virginia: "By returns from 98 counties and towns, received between the 30th of September, 1824, and 30th of September, 1825, it appears that 10,226 indigent children have been sent to school in those counties within the year."

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNIVERSITY COMMISSION AND JEFFERSON'S REPORT.

MEETING OF THE COMMISSIONERS AT ROCKFISH GAP.

Professor Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia, in a graphic article entitled "Jefferson's Pet," published originally in Harper's Magazine in May, 1872, and now forming the historical introduction to the Semi-Centennial Catalogue of the Students of the University, has given us a picturesque description of the scene of that famous meeting of the commissioners at Rockfish Gap, where the fate of the higher education in Virginia was hung in the balance.

"High up in the Blue Ridge," he says, "at an elevation from which the eye takes in at a single glance a variety of scenes unequalled on this continent for beauty and loveliness, a little river rises in a dark gorge, to fall gently from terrace to terrace, and after a brief and rapid course, abounding with falls and cascades of infinite attractiveness, to pour its waters into the James River. As the mountains here sink to a lower level, and thus afford one of the passes through which in older days immigrants passed from what is called the Piedmont region of the State to the great Valley of Virginia, the place has received the idiomatic name of Rockfish Gap. Here, at a modest country inn, unpretending in appearance, but offering an abundant and well-served table, far from the turmoil of cities and the excitement of politics, met a party of men remarkable for their ability and virtue amidst a people which had already given four Presidents to the Union, and was well known to possess as much private as public worth. In the low-ceiled, white-washed room, the whole furniture of which consisted of a dining-room table and rude 'split-bottom' chairs of home make, sat the President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, and two of his predecessors, Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson, besides a number of judges and eminent statesmen. 'Yet,' says one of Mr. Jefferson's biographers, 'it was remarked by the lookers-on that Mr. Jefferson was the principal object of regard both to the members and spectators; that he seemed to be the chief mover of the body—the soul that animated it; and some who were present, struck by these manifestations of deference, conceived a more exalted

idea of him on this simple and unpretending occasion than they had ever previously entertained.' ”

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The proceedings and report of the commissioners are printed in full in the *Analectic Magazine*, Volume XIII, published in Philadelphia, 1819, a magazine to which Dr. Cooper was a contributor. It appears that Jefferson was unanimously elected president of the board. After some discussion, a committee of six, with Mr. Jefferson as chairman, was appointed to report on all the duties assigned to the commission by the Legislature, except that relating to the site. This subject was considered by the entire board. Three places were proposed, Lexington, Staunton, and Central College. All three were acknowledged to be in healthful and fertile districts, but Jefferson is reputed to have made a point in favor of his neighborhood by exhibiting “an imposing list of octogenarians.” The question, however, turned mainly upon the relative degree of centrality. And here Jefferson had made his position impregnable. He showed the board by diagrams that Central College was well named, for it was not only geographically more central than any other college in Virginia, but it was actually nearest the centre of white population.

These calculations were afterward published by Cabell in the *Richmond Enquirer*, December 17, 1818. There was then some bantering criticism of Jefferson's method of drawing his two transverse lines in such a way that they intersected at Charlottesville. The point of departure for his westerly line was the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, which is much nearer the southern than the northern boundary of Virginia; but Jefferson defended that point by saying, “the greatest part of what is north is water.” He did not draw his line due west, because the northern boundary of Virginia tended north of northwest. He discreetly balanced his geography and followed the line of “equal division of the population.” Nor did he draw a north and south line of intersection. He found the Blue Ridge a natural line of cross division, and he sought a parallel course to that for his line of equal division of population. Jefferson's ingenious method of calculation is explained in a letter to Cabell, January 1, 1819, in which he took the bold ground, “Run your lines in what direction you please, they will pass close to Charlottesville.” Jefferson had no trouble in convincing the commissioners at Rockfish Gap, and, indeed, he was altogether fair in his general estimate of the geographical situation. A vote was taken, resulting in sixteen for Central College, three for Lexington,¹ and two for Staun-

¹ Washington College, now Washington and Lee University, at Lexington, was at this juncture of affairs in the Legislature a more dangerous rival to Central College than was old William and Mary College, which came into politics a little later, and attempted to advance on Richmond, as elsewhere described in the author's monograph on that venerable college. Washington College had developed from Liberty Hall

ton. Jefferson's committee was instructed to include this expression of opinion in the report, which was made on the 3d of August, and, after sundry amendments, unanimously adopted. The next day two copies were signed by all the members present and were transmitted, one to the Speaker of the Senate and the other to the Speaker of the House. This report was probably prepared by Jefferson before he came to the meeting at Rockfish Gap, for it is an elaborate production, indicating careful thought. In the words of introductory comment in the *Analectic Review*, the report "contains many novel suggestions worthy the attention of our seminaries of learning already established." A special consideration of some of Jefferson's views will not be out of place in this study of his influence upon education in Virginia.

JEFFERSON ON THE OBJECTS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Jefferson defined the objects of primary education as follows :

"(1) To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business ;

"(2) To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing ;

"(3) To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties ;

"(4) To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either ;

"(5) To know his rights; to exercise with order and justice those he retains; to choose with discretion the fiduciary of those he delegates; and to notice their conduct with diligence, with candor, and judgment;

"(6) And, in general, to observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed."

For thus instructing the mass of citizens in their rights, interests, and duties, Jefferson maintained that primary schools, whether private

Academy, founded in the year 1792. It had been endowed by George Washington with one hundred shares in the funds of the James River Company, his stock in the Potomac Company having been reserved for the foundation of a national university in Washington City, as described in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, third series, No. 1, pp. 93-5. The trustees of Washington College offered all of their funds, apparatus, books, grounds, etc., together with a subscription of nearly \$18,000 by the people of Lexington and vicinity, and a deed of real estate amounting to over 3,350 acres, with all his personal property and fifty-seven slaves, promised by John Robinson, to the directors of the literary fund, provided the university should be established in Lexington or vicinity. Mr. Robinson's proposed deed and gift were, however, subject "to the payment of his debts and fulfilment of his contracts," as Jefferson discreetly reminded the Legislature. Over against the Lexington offer, which was altogether generous, Central College placed its \$41,248 in subscriptions, and \$3,280 proceeds from the parish glebes; its grounds embracing 47 acres, "whereon the buildings of the college are begun, one pavilion and its appendix of dormitories being already far advanced, and with one other pavilion, and equal annexation of dormitories, being expected to be completed during the present season;" and "another parcel of 153 acres near the former, and including a considerable eminence very favorable for the erection of a future observatory." This latter Jeffersonian idea has been realized since the War, by private philanthropy.

or public, should teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of mensuration, and the outlines of geography and history. These suggestions were skilfully inserted into the report, in order to remind the Legislature that something remained to be done for the people of Virginia besides providing for the education of poor children.

OBJECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

Jefferson then proceeded to define the objects of the higher branches of education, and it is safe to say that the relation of universities to *good citizenship* and to the *practical* interests of American life has never been better formulated by any professional educator, much less have these objects been concretely realized by any institution of learning. American colleges and universities will need to advance a long way before they reach the Jeffersonian ideal. He classifies the objects of the higher education as follows :

“(1) To form the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend ;

“(2) To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another ;

“(3) To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by well-informed views of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry ;

“(4) To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instil into them the precepts of virtue and order ;

“(5) To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life ;

“(6) And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves.”

RELATION OF THE STATE TO SCIENCE.

There is so much doubt in the mind of the average American citizen as to the duty of government to foster science and education of the highest sort, that it is worth while to call attention to the views of Jefferson upon this point. If the father of American democracy could entertain such views as these, the sons of the people need have no fears that the functions of the state are abused when directed toward the maintenance of a university or the advancement of science. Jefferson said, in his report to the Virginia Legislature :

“Some good men, and even of respectable information, consider the learned sciences as useless acquirements ; some think that they do not better the condition of man ; and others that education, like private and individual concerns, should be left to private individual effort ; not

reflecting that an establishment embracing all the sciences which may be useful and even necessary in the various vocations of life, with the buildings and apparatus belonging to each, are far beyond the reach of individual means, and must either derive existence from public patronage or not exist at all. This would leave us, then, without those callings which depend on education, or send us to other countries to seek the instruction they require. * * * Nor must we omit to mention the incalculable advantage of training up able counsellors to administer the affairs of our country in all its departments,—legislative, executive, and judicial, and to bear their proper share in the councils of our National Government; nothing more than education advancing the prosperity, the power, and the happiness of a nation.”

RELATION OF EDUCATION TO MORALS AND RELIGION.

The strongest side of Jefferson's educational philosophy was its bearing upon good morals and social progress. “Education,” he said, “generates habits of application, of order, and the love of virtue; and controls, by the force of habit, any innate obliquities in our moral organization. We should be far, too, from the discouraging persuasion that man is fixed, by the law of his nature, at a given point; that his improvement is a chimera, and the hope delusive of rendering ourselves wiser, happier, or better than our forefathers were. As well might it be urged that the wild and uncultivated tree, hitherto yielding sour and bitter fruit only, can never be made to yield better; yet we know that the grafting art implants a new tree on the savage stock, producing what is most estimable both in kind and degree. Education, in like manner, ingrafts a new man on the native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social worth. And it can not be but that each generation, succeeding to the knowledge acquired by all those who preceded it, adding to it their own acquisitions and discoveries, and handing the mass down for successive and constant accumulation, must advance the knowledge and well-being of mankind, not *infinitely*, as some have said, but *indefinitely*, and to a term which no one can fix and foresee. * * * What but education has advanced us beyond the condition of our indigenous neighbors? And what chains them to their present state of barbarism and wretchedness but a bigoted veneration for the supposed superlative wisdom of their fathers, and the preposterous idea that they are to look backward for better things, and not forward, longing, as it should seem, to return to the days of eating acorns and roots, rather than indulge in the degeneracies of civilization?”

Ethics occupied a prominent place in the plan for university education which Jefferson proposed to the Legislature. He recognized that under the Constitution of Virginia, which placed all religious sects upon an equal footing, it would be quite impossible to institute any sectarian theology. He proposed to place the entire responsibility for religious training upon an ethical basis, where all sects could agree.

He said: "The proofs of the being of a God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics; to which adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages,—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects." Jefferson thought that it was the duty of each sect to provide its own theological teaching in a special school,¹ to which students might go for special instruction, as they did to their various denominational churches. An ethical solution of the theological questions in American universities has been found satisfactory in most of our State institutions, which have found themselves

¹ In a letter to Dr. Cooper, November 2, 1822, Jefferson describes his plan of allowing independent schools of theology to be established in the neighborhood of the University. "In our University you know there is no professorship of divinity. A handle has been made of this to disseminate an idea that this is an institution, not merely of no religion, but against all religion. Occasion was taken at the last meeting of the visitors to bring forward an idea that might silence this calumny, which weighed on the minds of some honest friends to the institution. In our annual report to the Legislature, after stating the constitutional reasons against a public establishment of any religious instruction, we suggest the expediency of encouraging the different religious sects to establish each for itself a professorship of their own tenets, on the confines of the University, so near as that their students may attend the lectures there, and have the free use of our library and every other accommodation we can give them; preserving, however, their independence of us and of each other. This fills the chasm objected to ours, as a defect in an institution professing to give instruction in *all* useful sciences. I think the invitation will be accepted by some sects from caudid intentions, and by others from jealousy and rivalry. And by bringing the sects together and mixing them with the mass of other students, we shall soften their asperities, liberalize and neutralize their prejudices, and make the general religion a religion of peace, reason, and morality."

The idea of a catholic grouping of theological seminaries around the University of Virginia was, of course, impracticable in a rural neighborhood, and it was never realized according to the Jeffersonian ideal. It is, perhaps, capable of an approximate fulfilment under modern conditions of university education in large municipal centres, where students naturally find their religious affiliations with their own form of church-life, and where connections are easily made which lead to special theological training upon the basis of a liberal education. A practical solution of the question of religious services within the university was early found at the University of Virginia by the professors electing a university chaplain from year to year and from different religious denominations—the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist. Other universities have come, each in its own way, to some such representative method of religious service. Harvard has its regular university preachers engaged from the Unitarian, Episcopalian, and Congregationalist denominations. Cornell has an eclectic system, and employs occasional preachers of recognized power and reputation. The Johns Hopkins University, in the city of Baltimore, is able approximately to realize the Jeffersonian ideal, and allow its students to seek such religious associations as family training or natural preference may incline them. It is the "elective system" applied to church-going. City churches give university students free seats; and university students have, among themselves, organized Sunday afternoon services, at which city clergymen and university professors speak by special invitation. The idea of religious freedom is working itself out in university life, as it has already in the church and in the state. The exclusion of religion is not desired by any

under much the same stress of circumstances as did Jefferson amid the sects of Virginia. Moral science, social science, history, and the languages of the Old and New Testaments afford sufficiently solid and neutral foundations for all subsequent specialization in theology.

JEFFERSON ON THE MODERN LANGUAGES AND ANGLO-SAXON.

While recommending the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew in the proposed university, together with his favorite groups of mathematical, physical, scientific, political, legal, and philosophical studies, Jefferson takes special pains to urge the cultivation of the modern languages. His reasons for specifying French, Spanish, Italian, and German are interesting, but his early appreciation of the importance of Anglo-Saxon is especially striking, for this study had not yet found a place in America. He says: "French is the language of general intercourse among nations, and as a depository of human science is unsurpassed by any other language, living or dead. Spanish is highly interesting to us as the language spoken by so great a portion of the inhabitants of our continents, with whom we shall probably have great intercourse ere long, and is that also in which is written the greater part of the early history of America. The Italian abounds with works of very superior order, valuable for their matter, and still more distinguished as models of the finest taste in style and composition. And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is, too, of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us. But in this point of view, the Anglo-Saxon¹ is of peculiar value. We have placed it among the modern languages because it is, in fact, that which we speak, in the earliest form in which we have knowledge of it. It has been undergoing with time those gradual changes which all languages, ancient and modern, have experienced; and even now needs only to be printed in the modern character and orthography to be intelligible, in a con-

academic community. The introduction of religious liberty is what we need. That is the ideal which Jefferson attempted to realize amid great calumny and misinterpretation.* And he, of all men, really solved the problem in the State of Virginia, by his statute for religious liberty, and prepared the way for its solution in all university education.

¹ There is an interesting article on "Thomas Jefferson as a Philologist" in the American Journal of Philology (Vol. III, No. 10, pp. 213-214), by Henry E. Shepherd, president of the College of the City of Charleston. "By reference to pp. 417-418, Vol. VII, of Jefferson's Works, it will be seen," says Professor Shepherd, "that Mr. Jefferson had remarkably clear and accurate views of the invigorating influence which dialects exert upon a language. In other words, Jefferson, writing about forty years before Max Müller, seemed distinctly to apprehend the process which, in the technical language of modern philosophy, is known as 'dialectic regeneration.' He expresses himself as follows: 'It is much to be wished that the publication of the present county dialects of England should go on. It will restore to us our language in all its shades of variation. It will incorporate into the present one all the riches of our ancient dialects; and what a store this will be may be seen by running the eye over the county glossaries, and observing the words we have lost by abandonment and

siderable degree, to the English reader. It has this value, too, above the Greek and Latin, that while it gives the radix of the mass of our language, they explain its innovations only. Obvious proofs of this have been presented to the modern reader in the disquisitions of John Horne Tooke; and Fortescue Aland has well explained the great instruction which may be derived from it to a full understanding of our ancient common law, on which, as a stock, our whole system of law is engrafted." Thus, in connection with the idea of historical study of our own English language, Jefferson came to the idea of English historical jurisprudence, which he recommended to Dr. Cooper, and the possibilities of which are just dawning upon students of the present generation.

BODILY EXERCISE AND MANUAL TRAINING.

It is interesting to note in Jefferson's report the suggestion of certain modern ideas of physical, manual, and artistic training now becoming more and more prominent in our modern systems of education. "We have proposed," he says, "no formal provision for the gymnastics of the school, although a proper object of attention for every institution of youth. These exercises with ancient nations constituted the principal part of the education of their youth. Their arms and mode of warfare rendered them severe in the extreme; ours, on the same correct principle, should be adapted to our arms and warfare; and the manual exercises, military manœuvres, and tactics generally should be the frequent exercises of the students in their hours of recreation. It is at that age of aptness, docility, and emulation of the practices of manhood that such things are soonest learned and longest remembered. The use of tools, too, in the manual arts is worthy of encouragement, by facilitating to such as choose it an admission into the neighboring workshops. To these should be added the arts which embellish life—dancing, music, and drawing; the last more especially as an important part of military education. These innocent arts furnish amusement and happiness to those who, having time on their hands, might less

disuse, which in sound and sense are inferior to nothing we have retained. When these local vocabularies are published and digested together into a single one, it is probable we shall find that there is not a word in Shakespeare which is not now in use in some of the counties in England, from whence we may obtain its true sense.' Mr. Jefferson's views in regard to the relations of Anglo-Saxon to English are probably better known to scholars than his opinions upon the points cited above. He held that Anglo-Saxon was 'Old English,' and that it could be turned into intelligible English by simply divesting it of its antique orthography. He has given us some entertaining illustrations of the mode in which this transformation might be effected. His conception of Anglo-Saxon is in one aspect essentially the same as that held by the school of Freeman, Morris, and Sweet in our own time. The process by which he arrives at his conclusions is of course different from that adopted by scientific philology. During the recent visit of Mr. Edward A. Freeman to Baltimore, I showed him Mr. Jefferson's essay on the Anglo-Saxon, which was published by the board of trustees for the University of Virginia in 1851. He examined it with great interest, and upon returning it remarked: 'Jefferson had the right view. It [Anglo-Saxon] is only Old English.' He further remarked: 'It seems so strange to see Jefferson quoting Bosworth. It is like Washington quoting Stubbs.'

inoffensively employ it. Needing, at the same time, no regular incorporation with the institution, they may be left to accessory teachers, who will be paid by the individuals employing them, the university only providing proper apartments for their exercise." Jefferson had somewhat the same ideas of the relation of bodily accomplishments to the higher education as have long prevailed at West Point and in German universities. In the matter of physical training, American universities have advanced far beyond the Jeffersonian ideal, but there is still great room for improvement in the training of bodily powers to some useful or artistic end, as in drawing and other skilled exercise of the hand and eye.

JEFFERSON ON STUDENT SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is very generally known that at the University of Virginia exists a remarkable system of student self-government, by which a high *morale* and a manly tone of self-reliance have been successfully maintained. In sharp distinction to the old-time method of tutorial supervision and professorial espionage, this system of self-government has developed the most honorable relations between faculty and students. It has established a frank and kindly spirit of co-operation between master and pupil. It has repressed all dishonorable practices of cheating in recitations and examinations, so common under the old reign of terror, and it has promoted a spirit of independence and self-respect. This condition of student society in Virginia is in no small degree the result of the teachings of Jefferson. While his ideal of student self-government was not immediately realized in that lawless period following the first introduction of his ideas, yet a wholesome harmony between liberty and law was soon and easily secured. In the light of modern tendencies towards constitutional and self-government in American colleges and universities, the following extract from Jefferson's report may prove interesting :

"The best mode of government for youth in large collections is certainly a desideratum not yet attained with us. It may be well questioned whether *fear*, after a certain age, is a motive to which we should have ordinary recourse. The human character is susceptible of other incitements to correct conduct more worthy of employ, and of better effect. Pride of character, laudable ambition, and moral dispositions are innate correctives of the indiscretions of that lively age; and when strengthened by habitual appeal and exercise, have a happier effect on future character than the degrading motive of fear. Hardening them to disgrace, to corporal punishments, and servile humiliations can not be the best process for producing erect character. The affectionate deportment between father and son offers, in truth, the best example for that of tutor and pupil; and the experience of other countries, in this respect, may be worthy of inquiry and consideration with us."

Jefferson adds, in a foot-note, that "a police exercised by the students themselves, under proper discretion, has been tried with success

in some countries, and the rather as forming them for initiation into the duties and practices of civil life." This idea of student self-government, borrowed from academic centres in the old world, where college and university government has always been more democratic than in America, was successfully planted by Jefferson in Virginia, and it is destined to spread throughout the country. It has sprung up, apparently by spontaneous generation, in certain of our colleges, and it has long survived as a precious inheritance in certain of our public schools, based upon the best old English models.

SUMMARY OF JEFFERSON'S REPORT.

All of the foregoing special views upon the subject of education Jefferson contrived to introduce into the body of his report. Upon the five specific points actually referred to the commissioners for their opinion, the following summary statement may be made:

(1) Central College was recommended as the proper site of the university.

(2) The plan of building proposed was that of an academical village, with pavilions for the professors and ranges of dormitories for the students, the buildings to be arranged on the sides of "a lawn," and to be connected by "a passage of some kind, under cover from the weather." This Jeffersonian style of university construction has been described in connection with Albemarle Academy and Central College.

(3) The branches of learning to be taught were those heretofore recommended by Jefferson, but now arranged in ten homogeneous groups, to be assigned to ten different professorships, as follows:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| I. Languages, ancient : | Acoustics, |
| Latin, | Optics, |
| Greek, | Astronomy, |
| Hebrew. | Geography. |
| II. Languages, modern : | V. Physics, or natural philosophy : |
| French, | Chemistry, |
| Spanish, | Mineralogy. |
| Italian, | VI. Botany : |
| German, | Zoölogy. |
| Anglo-Saxon. | VII. Anatomy : |
| III. Mathematics, pure : | Medicine. |
| Algebra, | VIII. Government : |
| Fluxions, | Political economy, |
| Geometry, elementary, | Law of nature and nations, |
| transcendental, | History, being interwoven with poli- |
| Architecture, military, | tics and law. |
| naval. | IX. Law, municipal. |
| IV. Physico-mathematics : | X. Ideology : |
| Mechanics, | General grammar, |
| Statics, | Ethics, |
| Dynamics, | Rhetoric, |
| Pneumatics, | Belles-lettres and the fine arts. |

(4) General legislative provisions were recommended for tuition of students, board, lodging, government, prizes, degrees, etc., details to be left to the board of visitors.

CHAPTER VII.

ESTABLISHMENT AND BUILDING OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Jefferson's report was transmitted to the speaker of the Senate through Cabell, who was the original mover of the Rockfish Gap commission. Early in December, as appears from Cabell's letter to his friend, "the report was read and received with great attention in both the houses. A resolution to print a number of copies passed each house. The ability and value of the report, I am informed, are universally admitted. It was referred in the lower house to a select committee, and the speaker is friendly to the measure. Present prospects are very favorable to a successful issue."

OPPOSITION TO THE UNIVERSITY IDEA.

But a strong opposition to Jefferson's project was speedily developed. A bill which he had prepared was reported by the House committee by a bare majority of one, "the casting vote of the chairman." Then began the fight. The western members from the Valley of Virginia and the friends of Staunton determined to defeat the university altogether. The Lexington party sought for delay, threw discredit upon Jefferson's calculations as to the centrality of his college, and sought to re-enforce their own claims. Delay endangered the bill. Cabell wrote: "The hostile interests are daily acquiring new force by intrigue and management. The party opposed altogether to the university is growing so rapidly we have just grounds to fear a total failure of the measure. * * *

The friends of William and Mary demand \$5,000 per annum as the price of their concurrence, and in the event of a refusal will carry off some votes. I have advised my friends not to enter into any compacts of the kind, and sooner will I lose the bill than I will give my assent to it." Members of the Legislature from the region of William and Mary became the most determined opponents of the bill. Cabell, said the better educated part of them, had studied at this institution, and quoted Adam Smith, the Edinburgh Review, and Dugald Stewart to prove that education should be left to individual enterprise. Others, more ignorant, maintained that the literary fund was about to be diverted from its original object, the education of the poor, and applied for the benefit of the rich. Some liberal and enlightened persons thought Charlottesville too small a place for a university. "They think a town of some size necessary to attract professors, to furnish polished society for the students, to supply accommodations, to resist the physical force, and present the means of governing a large number of young men."

SERVICES OF CABELL.

Cabell determined to break down the general opposition. He went about from man to man, laboring to convert them to his views. He "passed the night in watchful reflection and the day in ceaseless activity." He published articles in the *Richmond Enquirer* calculated to influence public opinion. Jefferson's proofs of the central situation of the proposed university were published by Cabell and explained to everybody. He even wrote to liberally minded and influential men in the various localities whence the opposition proceeded, and persuaded them to write to their representatives in the Legislature urging a favorable vote. He actually districted the entire country east of the Blue Ridge, and moved the very ground from beneath the feet of the opposition by an appeal to local good sense. The chief trouble lay with the House of Delegates, which was made up of somewhat Philistine elements; but Cabell, by his skilful tactics, at last won over the majority to his opinion. On the 18th of January, 1819, a motion in the House to strike Central College from the bill was lost by a vote of 114 to 69, "a decisive victory," wrote Cabell. Mr. Baldwin, of Augusta, one of the leaders of the western opposition, then rose and made an eloquent plea for unanimity of action and for the suppression of local prejudice. He said he had supported Staunton as long as there was any hope of success, but now he implored the House "to sacrifice all sectional feeling."¹ Democracy united in a sudden rush of good feeling, and Jefferson's cause was overwhelmingly won. Cabell was so excited that he had to leave the House before the final vote was taken. He had been suffering two days before from hemorrhage of the lungs, "brought on by exposure to bad weather and loss of sleep;" but he was now victorious; he had fought a good fight and had kept his faith in the people. It was a foregone conclusion that Jefferson's bill would pass the Senate, where Cabell was a very influential member. On the 25th of January, 1819, the University of Virginia and Central College were legally united by a vote of twenty-two to one.

The seal of the University—"a Minerva enrobed in her peplum and characteristic habiliments as inventress and protectress of the arts"—bears the date of 1819, which should be reckoned as the year of origin, although the institution was not formally opened to students until 1825.

SERVICES OF OTHER MEN.

Cabell wrote in triumph to Jefferson, December 4, 1819: "*We have got possession of the ground, and it will never be taken from us.*" He said the enlightened part of the people everywhere were in favor of the university establishment. Such a complete conquest of public opinion was very remarkable, and it could have been gained only by the hearty cooperation of intelligent men in many local centres of influence. In the

¹The western delegation was subsequently held together in the interest of the university by Judge Baldwin, General Breckenridge, and Mr. Johuson.

above letter Cabell pays an honest tribute of gratitude to the gentlemen in the various counties who had aided him in the Legislature and among the people. For example, he says: "We are very much indebted to Mr. Taliaferro and Colonel Green for the favorable change in the delegation north of the James River and below tide-water. At Christmas, every member from Richmond to Hampton, except one, was opposed to us. On the vote, all went with us, except one." Cabell acknowledges also the efficient services of Captain Slaughter, of Culpeper; Judge Brooke, Judge Brockenbrough, Mr. Stanard, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Hoomes, of King and Queen; Dr. Nicholson, of Middlesex; Mr. Scott, of the Council; Mr. Minor, of Spottsylvania; Judge Roane, Colonel Nicholas, William Cabell (the brother of Joseph), Chancellor Taylor, Mr. Pannill, and others. Mr. Francis W. Gilmer did valuable work for Central College through the press. The Rev. John H. Rice, a Presbyterian clergyman in Richmond, also lent important literary aid. He was the author of an article signed "Crito," the following passage of which is thought to have exercised great influence upon the public mind, through Cabell's frequent use of the facts stated:

"Ten years ago," said Mr. Rice, "I made extensive inquiries on the subject, and ascertained to my conviction that the amount of money annually carried from Virginia, for purposes of education alone, exceeded \$250,000. Since that period it has been greater. Take a quarter of a million as the average of the last eight-and-twenty years, and the amount is the enormous sum of \$7,000,000. But had our schools been such as the resources of Virginia would have well allowed, and her honor and interest demanded, it is by no means extravagant to suppose that the five States which bind on ours would have sent as many students to us, as under the present wretched system, we have sent to them. This, then, makes another amount of seven millions. Let our economists look to that—fourteen millions of good dollars lost to us by our parsimony! Let our wise men calculate the annual interest of our losses, and add it to this principal! They will then see what are the fruits of this precious speculation."

Such arguments, no doubt extravagant, had their weight in favorably balancing the university question in the scales of public opinion. Although Thomas Jefferson is undoubtedly "the founder of the University of Virginia," we should not forget that there were a thousand historic forces without which his ideas would have failed of realization.¹

¹ At the Boston meeting of the American Historical Association in May, 1887, Mr. James Schouler, author of a remarkable History of the United States, read a paper upon the subject of "Historical Grouping," in which he advised a study of the minor forces and subordinate characters which enter into great events and the work of great men. Individuals are, indeed, the highest expression of human thought and social action; but there is always a background of support without which the deeds of a Washington are incomprehensible, and thus it was with Jefferson's university creation. Without the aid of Cabell, it is perfectly clear that Jefferson would have been helpless, and back of Cabell were the Virginia Legislature and the common people.

SUMMARY OF JEFFERSON'S BILL, 1819.

The act establishing the University of Virginia in definite form provided for the acceptance by the State of the property of Central College, conveyed to the president and directors of the literary fund, which was really a board of public instruction. Seven visitors were to be appointed forthwith by the Governor of the State, and they were to have authority to choose a rector from their own number, and to control the general interests of the University. The provisions for instruction were much the same as in Jefferson's report. The various branches of science were to be distributed among ten professorships. Each professor should have apartments free, and those first appointed, such salary as the visitors might determine; their successors, however, a standing salary not exceeding \$1,000 a year; but all professors should have such fees from students as the visitors might allow. The visitors were to hold two stated meetings each year, in April and in October; to visit the University once a year, and to report annually to the president and directors of the literary fund. Such, in general, was the legal basis of the University of Virginia. It was generally understood that the report of the Rockfish Gap commission was to be the accepted platform of the university party. That "plan," said Jefferson in 1821, "was exactly that now carried into execution." The significance of previous inquiries into the details of that report is now, therefore, clearly apparent, for we have already seen on paper the whole substructure and the detailed plans of the University of Virginia.

JEFFERSON THE FIRST RECTOR.

The visitors appointed for the University of Virginia comprised four members of the old board representing Central College, namely: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Joseph C. Cabell, and John H. Cocks. The new appointees were James Breckenridge, Chapman Johnson, and Robert Taylor. They met March 29, 1819, and chose Thomas Jefferson to be their rector, as he had been of the former board. Henceforth, until his death in 1826, Jefferson was the directing and shaping power in the upbuilding of the University of Virginia. From his original and sovereign interest in university education, and from his residence in immediate proximity to the University, the other visitors were well content to leave to him practically the entire management of affairs. Never was an institution more completely the materialization of one man's thought than is the University of Virginia. Not only did he evolve the entire system of education there introduced, but he actually devised every feature of construction and administration. He drew plans, made estimates and contracts, busied himself about bricks and mortar, and superintended the whole process of building.

BUILDING POLICY.

The gradual rise of the University of Virginia can be best reviewed in the proceedings and annual reports of the board of visitors, and in

Jefferson's correspondence with Cabell and other personal friends. The original visitors of Central College were empowered by Jefferson's bill to continue their functions until the first meeting of their successors. This gave a fine opportunity "of expediting the objects of said institution." The old board met for the last time February 26, 1819, and voted to apply all available funds toward the erection of additional buildings for the accommodation of professors and students.

It was Jefferson's policy, from the beginning, to push forward the material construction of the University; to make it an accomplished fact, and thus an influence in appealing to the public imagination and to legislative support. It was perhaps a necessary policy in the early history of the University, before its pre-eminence over rivals and its superiority to all opposition was fully established. There was absolutely nothing in the neighborhood of Charlottesville to attract either professors or students. Jefferson was compelled, by the necessities of the situation, to create something visible and impressive which should compel admiration. Jefferson defined his building policy in a letter to Cabell, December 28, 1822, in which it appears that he regarded a good material basis for the University as necessary to its intellectual superstructure. Jefferson said: "The great object of our aim from the beginning has been to make the establishment the most eminent in the United States, in order to draw to it the youth of every State, but especially of the South and West. We have proposed, therefore, to call to it characters of the first order of science from Europe, as well as our own country, and not only by the salaries and the comforts of their situation, but by the distinguished scale of its structure and preparation, and the promise of future eminence which these would hold up, to induce them to commit their reputation to its future fortunes. *Had we built a barn for a college and log huts for accommodations*, should we ever have had the assurance to propose to an European professor of that character to come to it?"

Cabell also was thoroughly convinced of the soundness of the building policy of the University. Even the enemies of the institution acknowledged that Jefferson's course was wise. President Smith, of William and Mary College, and Judge Semple, of Williamsburg, said that "Virginians would never be pleased with anything on a small scale." The judge confessed to Cabell that an influential politician from Charles City had been won over to the University by a mere visit of inspection, which impressed him with "the extent and splendor of the establishment." Undoubtedly Jefferson's building policy served an excellent purpose, politically and educationally, but candid students of the history of the University must admit that he carried his architectural crotchets rather too far for the best economy of slender educational resources.

ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Jefferson early conceived the ingenious idea that college buildings should afford perpetual object lessons to students in the right principles

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of architecture. This idea, excellent in itself, was difficult for Jefferson to realize according to his classic ideals, for, unlike Pericles, he could not fully command the public treasury. It is interesting, historically, to note the beginning of Jefferson's architectural project. In the proceedings of the visitors of Central College, July 28, 1817, it is agreed "that it is expedient to import a stone-cutter from Italy, and that Mr. Jefferson be authorized and requested to take the requisite measures to effect that object." The intention was to have chiselled capitals for the columns of the pavilions, or professors' houses, and to make their porticos illustrate Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders of architecture. Two "Italian artists" were accordingly imported, and they proceeded to chisel the stone of Virginia into classic forms. At the second meeting of the visitors of the University in 1819, it was voted "that as the stone in the neighborhood of the University is found not capable of being wrought into capitals for the columns of some of the pavilions, and it may be necessary to procure elsewhere proper stone or marble, and to have such capitals executed here or elsewhere, the proctor be authorized to take such measures relative thereto," etc. The proctor was the business agent of the University and Jefferson's right-hand man. The above resolution prepared the way for having the capitals cut in Italy, from excellent marble, and imported, like the original master workman, or "our artist," with whom Jefferson settled for \$1,390.56, including "his past wages, his board, and passage hither." The seventeen capitals cost by contract but a trifle over \$2,000, and no one who has ever visited the University of Virginia will feel disposed to find fault with Mr. Jefferson for indulging in these inexpensive architectural luxuries, which are among the most charming features of that original creation.

PAVILIONS COMPLETED.

In the third annual report, 1821, to the president and directors of the literary fund, Jefferson stated that "the visitors, considering as the law of their duty the report of the commissioners of 1818, which was made to the Legislature, and acted on by them from time to time subsequently, have completed all the buildings proposed by that report, except one; that is to say, ten distinct houses or pavilions containing each a lecturing room, with generally four other apartments for the accommodation of a professor and his family, and with a garden and the requisite family offices; six hotels for dieting the students, with a single room in each for a refectory, and two rooms, a garden, and offices for the tenant; and an hundred and nine dormitories, sufficient each for the accommodation of two students, arranged in four distinct rows between the pavilions and hotels, and united with them by covered ways; which buildings are all in readiness for occupation, except that there is still some plastering to be done, now on hand, which will be finished early in the present season, the garden grounds and garden walls to be completed, and some columns awaiting their capitals, not yet received from

Italy." Here is the picture of an academical village, taking form and comeliness according to original designs first conceived by Jefferson for Albemarle Academy.

COST OF THE PAVILIONS.

According to Jefferson's third annual report, 1821, the ten pavilions for the professors cost something over \$86,000. The one hundred and nine dormitories for the students required an outlay of about \$65,000. The six "hotels," or boarding-houses, were estimated at \$24,000. For back yards and gardens \$1,500 were allowed. The entire expenditure proposed for buildings, lands, labor, etc., was reckoned at something over \$207,000. The final cost¹ proved much more than that amount. The library building, with its dome, proved very expensive. Jefferson continued to report progress from year to year until 1825, when the University was opened to students. He early declared in favor of prudent delay in organizing instruction. He said in his fourth report, 1822: "The visitors, from the beginning, have considered it indispensable to complete all the buildings before opening the institution; because, from the moment that it shall be opened, the whole income of the University will be absorbed by the salaries of the professors and other incidental and current expenses, and nothing will remain to erect any buildings still wanting to complete the system."

JEFFERSON'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

One of the most extraordinary features of Jefferson's management of the University was his financial policy. To begin with, he had persuaded the Legislature to adopt Central College, with its modest fortune of \$41,000, chiefly in unpaid subscriptions, and with its three thousand and odd dollars arising from the sale of glebe lands. In 1821, as appears from Jefferson's own report, only about \$25,000 of the above subscription money had been collected. The balance was for the most part deemed good, but it appears to have come in slowly and to have suffered some losses from the removal or insolvency of certain subscribers. In 1823 Jefferson estimated the probable loss at 6 per cent. of the \$43,808 up to that time subscribed. But he more than made up for any such trifling disappointment by securing money from the Legislature.

The annual appropriation originally made to the University from the income of the literary fund was only \$15,000 a year. Of course it was impossible to build, organize, and equip a real university upon such meagre resources. But Jefferson and Cabell were good politicians. They took what they could get, and then asked for more. Jefferson's financial policy in dealing with the Legislature of Virginia was something like the camel's method of entering an Arab's tent, or like a woodman's method of splitting a log. To follow one's nose, or to drive a

¹ Niles's Register for March 4, 1826, estimates the total cost at about \$400,000.

wedge is a very simple procedure, but it sometimes requires discretion. Jefferson had it. The entire income of the literary fund was about \$60,000 a year. Of this amount \$45,000 annually was appropriated for the education of poor children. This sum was not entirely exhausted by the demands of local commissioners, and Jefferson asked for the surplus. Through Cabell he tried again to establish common schools upon a self-supporting basis, and to liberate the entire fund. Failing in this excellent project, he did the next best thing. He borrowed the fund; that is, as much as he could obtain on legislative authority at one time, and pledged the annual appropriation of \$15,000 for payment. The first loan amounted to \$60,000. When this was exhausted, Jefferson asked the Legislature for another loan. This process was repeated until he had borrowed from the literary fund \$180,000. There was, of course, but one end to all this, and that was legislative relief for the university debt. Cabell supported Jefferson's financial policy in the strongest way. As early as December 23, 1822, he wrote to Jefferson: "Let us have nothing to do with the old balances, or dead horses, or escheated lands, but ask boldly to be exonerated from our debts by the powerful sinking fund of the State. This is manly and dignified legislation; and if we fail, the blame will not be ours."

Jefferson's financial policy is illustrated in the following naïve statement to the managers of the literary fund, in his fifth annual report, 1823: "The several sums advanced from the literary fund as loans, when the balance of the last shall have been received, will amount to \$180,000, bearing a present interest of \$10,800. This, with the cost and necessary care and preservation of the establishment, will leave, of the annual endowment of the University, a surplus of between two and three thousand dollars only. As before mentioned, this loan of \$180,000 will be extinguished by an annual payment of a constant sum of \$2,500, at the end of twenty-five years—a term too distant for the education of any person already born, or to be born for some time to come, and within that period a great expense will be incurred in the mere preservation of the buildings and appurtenances. These are views which it is the duty of the visitors to present, and to leave to the wisdom and paternal consideration of the Legislature, to whose care are confided the instruction and other interests of the present, as well as of future generations proceeding from us."

THE UNIVERSITY FREED FROM DEBT.

On the 27th of January, 1824, the Legislature voted to liberate the annual appropriation to the University from the incumbrances with which it was charged. This generous action, which the State could well afford from the surplus accruing to the literary fund from the United States Government and other sources, left immediately available, after all university debts had been paid, \$21,000 toward the com-

pletion of the library or central academic building, upon which nearly \$20,000 had already been expended. It left the annuity of \$15,000 for the year 1824 altogether clear for current expenses and the salaries of professors, for whose engagement Jefferson had that year sent to Europe Mr. Francis W. Gilmer, "a learned and trustworthy citizen."

Jefferson's financial policy was grossly misrepresented the last year of his life by a contributor to the *Richmond Enquirer*, February 4, 1826, who called himself an "American Citizen." He professed to have paid a visit to Jefferson at Monticello, and to have had a familiar talk with him about his method of obtaining money from the Legislature. Being asked why he had not asked for a lump sum, Jefferson is reported to have said jocosely, that *no one liked to have more than one hot potato at a time crammed down his throat*. This story naturally offended the politicians and seriously injured the pecuniary prospects of the University. Jefferson was highly indignant at the gossip, and repudiated the insinuations made by the tattling correspondent. Jefferson wrote to Cabell, February 7, 1826: "He makes me declare that I have intentionally proceeded in a course of dupery of our Legislature, teasing them, as he makes me say, for six or seven sessions for successive aids to the University, and asking a part only at a time, and intentionally concealing the ultimate cost, and gives an inexact statement of a story of Obrian. Now, our annual reports will shew that we constantly gave full and candid accounts of the money expended, and statements of what might still be wanting, founded on the proctor's estimates. No man ever heard me speak of the grants of the Legislature but with acknowledgments of their liberality, which I have always declared had gone far beyond what I could have expected in the beginning. Yet the letter-writer has given to my expressions an aspect disrespectful of the Legislature, and calculated to give them offence, which I do absolutely disavow."

But it was impossible to counteract the impression made by that ancient political anecdote, in which there was just enough truth to put Jefferson in an unfavorable light before the public.¹ And yet his defence was perfectly sound. No man ever approached a Legislature in a more frank and manly way, stating fairly and fully what he had done and what he wanted to do. He even acknowledged the mistakes he had made in importing Italian sculptors and in engaging Dr. Cooper before the University was able to pay his salary. In reading his annual reports to the president and directors of the literary fund, one can not fail to be astonished at the minuteness of detail and the completeness of statement with reference to the use made of every appropriation for the University. His method of modest and repeated applications to

¹Contemporary public opinion concerning Jefferson's undertaking is well illustrated in the following extract from the *Richmond Whig*, quoted in *Niles's Register*, March 4, 1826: "Much of the popularity which the institution might and ought to have enjoyed has been frittered away by incessant demands for pecuniary aid, anti-republican and meretricious ornament, and injudicious selections of professors."

the Legislature was the only practicable way of building up a great State university from small beginnings at that period, when public opinion was unfavorable to higher educational enterprise. Sooner or later all the friends of public education will learn that a frank and honest appeal to the public through the Legislature, or to representatives of the people, is quite as honorable business as begging money from private individuals for institutions of learning. Both methods will endure, and both are equally legitimate; but the era of democratic support of university education has dawned in many States, and it will not decline before individual or sectarian endowments, however generous. Institutions like the University of Virginia and the University of Michigan are destined to live and to grow from more to more.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FIRST PROFESSORS.

DR. KNOX, OF BALTIMORE.

The first professor for the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, was obtained from the University of Virginia, and the first professor for Jefferson's original institution was sought in Baltimore. On the 28th of July, 1817, the visitors of Central College agreed "that application be made to Dr. Knox,¹ of Baltimore, to accept the professorship of languages, belles-lettres, rhetoric, history, and geography; and that an independent salary of \$500, with a perquisite of \$25 from each pupil, together with chambers for his accommodation, be allowed him as a compensation for his services, he finding the necessary assistant ushers." Here was theoretical provision for an entire faculty, if Dr. Knox had been willing to exercise the appointing power, pay his own faculty, and teach all the humanities for \$500 a year. We are not much surprised to learn from a letter of Jefferson's to Cabell, September 10, 1817, that "Dr. Knox has retired from business, and I have written to Cooper."

DR. THOMAS COOPER.

On the 7th of October the visitors rescinded their original appointment and resolved to offer the first professorship to Dr. Thomas Cooper, of Pennsylvania, from whom Jefferson had received an encouraging letter. Cooper was elected to the chair of chemistry, to which was added provisionally the chair of law, with a fixed salary of \$1,000 a year and tuition fees of \$20 from each of his students. If Dr. Cooper accepted, it was resolved to appoint a professor of mathematics. Writing to Cabell, December 18, 1817, Jefferson speaks of "a letter I have just received from Dr. Cooper, engaging himself for our physiological and law schools."

At the first meeting of the visitors of the University, March 29, 1819, Dr. Cooper, "heretofore appointed professor of chemistry and of law for the Central College," was confirmed university professor of chemistry, mineralogy, natural philosophy, and also of law, until the development of the institution and the increase of students should justify a separate appointment to the latter chair. As we have already seen in Jefferson's correspondence with Cooper, the latter was an accomplished lawyer, as well as one of the ablest men of his time in physical science.

¹In Niles's Register, September 28, 1822, may be found a letter on "Improvement in Public Education," by Samuel Knox, 31 East Street, Baltimore.

In view of the extraordinary amount of work which the first professor was to undertake, it was voted that, in addition to his regular salary of \$1,500, he should receive such an extra allowance as would make his income, including tuition fees, not less than \$3,500 a year. The University agreed to take his apparatus at cost, and 2,500 specimens from his mineralogical collection. Dr. Cooper was in position to dictate his own terms, for at this juncture his services were demanded in New York by Governor Clinton, also in Philadelphia, and at the same time in New Orleans. Jefferson said enthusiastically of his first professor: "Cooper is acknowledged by every enlightened man who knows him to be the greatest man in America in the powers of his mind and in acquired information, and that without a single exception."¹

OPPOSITION TO DR. COOPER.

This first appointment to the faculty created a decided opposition on the part of many real friends of the University. Cooper's religious views proved for him a stumbling-block. He was known to have been obnoxious to the prevailing religious sentiment of England, and partly for that reason to have sought refuge in America. Prejudice and suspicion were naturally aroused against him in orthodox and conservative Virginia. Cooper had supplied an arsenal of attack upon his philosophical and religious opinions by editing and annotating the writings of his father-in-law, Dr. Priestley. Dr. John Rice,² the editor of a religious magazine which was published in Richmond, and one of the original promoters of the University, led the crusade against Cooper in a critical article based upon extracts from Cooper's own writings, which, in the judgment of many, were sufficient to condemn him. The clergy of Virginia could not be oblivious to the danger of introducing among Virginia youth a propagandist of new and strange doctrines, as Cooper's views appeared to the men of his generation. So much pressure was exerted upon public opinion, and through it upon Cooper himself, that he felt constrained to offer his resignation, which, after honorable treatment by the board of visitors, was finally accepted in 1820. From an economic point of view this arrangement was altogether wise, for the University needed every dollar for building purposes, and was not ready for students until five years after this unfortunate affair.

JEFFERSON ON THE LOSS OF DR. COOPER.

The loss of Dr. Cooper, the first appointed professor of the University of Virginia, was a heavy blow to its founder, and moved him to re-

¹ Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, 169. Interesting references to Cooper occur also on pp. 164, 165, 167, 169, 172, 178, 234, 235, 397-399, 454, 458, and 469.

²A strong defence of Dr. Rice and of the Presbyterian party which, under his leadership, opposed the appointment of Dr. Cooper, may be found in the Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, pp. 234, 235, *notes*. The spirit of the age is perhaps explanation enough. The Presbyterians were among the dissenters who made a State university possible in distinction from William and Mary College, which was Episcopalian, but they were not prepared for such extremes of dissent as were represented by Dr. Cooper.

peated¹ expressions of indignation in private letters to his friends. In a letter to General Taylor, May 16, 1820, Jefferson said :

“You may have heard of the hue and cry raised from the different pulpits on our appointment of Dr. Cooper, whom they charge with Unitarianism as boldly as if they knew the fact, and as presumptuously as if it were a crime, and one for which, like Servetus, he should be burned ; and perhaps you may have seen the particular attack made on him in the Evangelical Magazine. For myself, I was not disposed to regard the denunciations of these satellites of religious inquisition ; but our colleagues, better judges of popular feeling, thought that they were not to be altogether neglected, and that it might be better to relieve Dr. Cooper, ourselves, and the institution from this crusade. I had received a letter from him expressing his uneasiness, not only for himself, but lest this persecution should become embarrassing to the visitors and injurious to the institution, with an offer to resign if we had the same apprehensions. The visitors, therefore, desired the committee of superintendence to place him at freedom on this subject, and to arrange with him a suitable indemnification. I wrote accordingly, in answer to his, and a meeting of trustees of the college at Columbia [S. C.] happening to take place soon after his receipt of my letter, they resolved unanimously that it should be proposed to, and urged on, their Legislature to establish a professorship of geology and mineralogy, or a professorship of law, with a salary of \$1,000 a year to be given him, in addition to that of chemistry, which is \$2,000 a year and to purchase his collection of minerals ; and they have no doubt of the Legislature’s compliance. On the subject of indemnification, he is contented with the balance of the \$1,500 we had before agreed to give him, and which he says will not more than cover his actual losses of time and expense. He adds : ‘It is right I should acknowledge the liberality of your board with thanks. I regret the storm that has been raised on my account, for it has separated me from many fond hopes and wishes. Whatever my religious creed may be, and perhaps I do not exactly know it myself, it is pleasure to reflect that my conduct has not brought, and is not likely to bring, discredit to my friends. Wherever I have been, it has been my good fortune to meet with or to make ardent and affectionate friends. I feel persuaded I should have met with the same lot in Virginia had it been my chance to have settled there, as I had hoped and expected, for I think my course of conduct is sufficiently habitual to count on its effects.’”

“I do sincerely lament,” continues Jefferson, “that untoward circumstances have brought on us the irreparable loss of this professor, whom I have looked to as the corner-stone of our edifice. I know no one who could have aided us so much in forming the future regulations for our infant institution ; and although we may perhaps obtain from Europe equivalents in science, they can never replace the advantages of his ex-

¹An earlier and more indignant letter is that to William Short, April 13, 1820.

perience, his knowledge of the character, habits, and manners of our country, his identification with its sentiments and principles, and high reputation he has obtained in it generally."

DR. COOPER GOES TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

Jefferson's good-will followed Dr. Cooper to his new professorship in South Carolina College, at Columbia, whither, in 1820, Jefferson sent his grandson, Eppes, and another young Virginian for collegiate education, the University of Virginia being not yet open to students. Jefferson wrote to Cooper that the institution at Columbia was now "of immediate interest to me," and that he had proposed to send his grandson "to Columbia, rather than anywhere northwardly." At Columbia, S. C., Cooper taught natural science, politics, and economics. He became an exponent of free-trade doctrines, and was the academic representative and supporter of the economic views of Calhoun. He was one of the greatest and most influential teachers in the entire South. Dr. Cooper, at Columbia, and Professor Dew, at William and Mary College, were the scientific advocates of the two leading ideas in Southern politics. Cooper attacked the tariff, or protection. Dew defended slavery. A study of the writings of these two men will show the influences which shaped the political opinions of Southern statesmen. The laws of South Carolina were edited by Dr. Cooper, and his influence upon legislation in that State resembles that of Jefferson in Virginia. He was a bold and aggressive character, with warm friends and bitter enemies. He provoked considerable opposition by reason of his outspoken religious views, which were not altogether in harmony with those of the society in which he lived. The man walked rough-shod over other men's opinions, and suffered the inevitable consequences. His relation to his associates in South Carolina College is described at length, and with some feeling, in LaBorde's history of that institution, where he was succeeded in 1835 by Francis Lieber.

JEFFERSON ON THE QUALIFICATIONS OF PROFESSORS.

With regard to the qualifications of professors, Jefferson was from the first determined to have the best. His acquaintance with European men of learning and distinction, his correspondence with the faculty of Geneva, and with distinguished men like Dr. Priestley, Dr. Cooper, and M. Dupont de Nemours, had inspired him with a high ideal of professorial excellence. Upon this scientific foundation he proposed that the University of Virginia should be erected. He wrote to Cabell upon this point, February 23, 1824: "You know that we have all, from the beginning, considered the high qualifications of our professors as the only means by which we could give to our institution splendor and pre-eminence over all its sister seminaries. The only question, therefore, we can ever ask ourselves, as to any candidate, will be, is he the most highly qualified? The college of Philadelphia has lost its character of

primacy by indulging motives of favoritism and nepotism, and by conferring the appointments as if the professorships were entrusted to them as provisions for their friends. And even that of Edinburgh, you know, is also much lowered from the same cause. We are next to observe that a man is not qualified for a professor, knowing nothing but merely his own profession. He should be otherwise well educated as to the sciences generally; able to converse understandingly with the scientific men with whom he is associated, and to assist in the councils of the faculty on any subject of science on which they may have occasion to deliberate. Without this, he will incur their contempt and bring disreputation on the institution."

IDEA OF EUROPEAN PROFESSORS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

There was at least one substantial result of Jefferson's correspondence upon university matters with men like Cooper, Pictet, Dupont de Nemours, Destutt Tracy, and other men of European training or celebrity. He determined to secure a faculty of distinguished men, who should represent the best science and academical experience of the old world. Thomas Cooper, the Englishman, educated at Oxford and representing natural science and historical jurisprudence, was practically Jefferson's first choice as early as 1817. That same year he was endeavoring to persuade Jean Baptiste Say to come to the neighborhood of Charlottesville. The following year correspondence with Cabell indicates that the latter was the first special agent selected by Jefferson to go to Europe and engage professors for Central College. As we have seen, Cabell had himself studied at European universities, and it was his European culture which first attracted the friendly notice of Jefferson, and made Cabell the representative of the university idea in the Virginia Legislature. Personal and political interests compelled Cabell to remain in this country, and Francis W. Gilmer,¹ "a learned

¹ Francis W. Gilmer had early been interested in the subject of higher education, and at one time had seriously thought of becoming a professor in William and Mary College, but was dissuaded by the advice of Mr. Jefferson. The following letter is not without interest as illustrating Gilmer's relations with the founder of the University of Virginia:

"MONTICELLO, April 10, 1818.

"DEAR SIR: I thank you for the letter of Mr. Ticknor, which I have thought myself justified in communicating to his friends here on account of the pleasure it would give them, and that, I am sure, will give you pleasure. I trust you did not for a moment seriously think of shutting yourself behind the door of William and Mary College. A more complete *cul de sac* could not be proposed to you. No, dear sir, you are intended to do good to our country, and you must get into the Legislature, for never did it more need the aid of all its talents, nor more peculiarly need them than at the next session. For although the prospect of our University is so far good, yet all is to go again to the Legislature, and who can tell who they will be, and what they will do? The visitors of our college meet next on the 11th of May; Correa and Cooper will then probably be here. Make you the third, and be assured of the pleasure it will give to them and to

"Yours, affectionately,

"TH. JEFFERSON.

"FRANCIS W. GILMER, Esq."

and trustworthy citizen," who had supported the University by his pen, was sent abroad by Jefferson upon the professorial errand.

We can follow Gilmer in Jefferson's correspondence with friends in England, Richard Rush and Maj. John Cartwright. A letter to the first of these scholars is so interesting and instructive as to Jefferson's ideas of university appointments—the crucial test of all academic administration—that the text is given in full:

JEFFERSON'S LETTER TO RICHARD RUSH.

"MONTICELLO, *April 26, 1824.*

"DEAR SIR: I have heretofore informed you that our Legislature had undertaken the establishment of an University in Virginia; that it was placed in my neighborhood, and under the direction of a board of seven visitors, of whom I am one, Mr. Madison another, and others equally worthy of confidence. We have been four or five years engaged in erecting our buildings, all of which are now ready to receive their tenants, one excepted, which the present season will put into a state for use. The last session of our Legislature had by new donations liberated the revenue of \$15,000 a year, with which they had before endowed the institution, and we propose to open it the beginning of the next year. We require the intervening time for seeking out and engaging professors. As to these, we have determined to receive no one who is not of the first order of science in his line, and as such in every branch can not be obtained with us, we propose to seek some of them at least in the countries ahead of us in science, and preferably in Great Britain, the land of our own language, habits, and manners. But how to find out those who are of the first grade of science, of sober, correct habits and morals, harmonizing tempers, talents for communication, is the difficulty. Our first step is to send a special agent to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, to make the selection for us, and the person appointed for this office is the gentleman who will hand you this letter, Mr. Francis Walker Gilmer, the best-educated subject we have raised since the Revolution, highly qualified in all the important branches of science, professing particularly that of the law, which he has practised some years at our Supreme Court with good success and flattering prospects. His morals, his amiable temper, and discretion will do justice to any confidence you may be willing to place in him, for I commit him to you as his mentor and guide in the business he goes on. We do not certainly expect to obtain such known characters as were the Cullens, the Robertsons, and Porsons, of Great Britain, men of the first eminence, established there in reputation and office, and with emoluments not to be bettered anywhere. But we know that there is another race treading on their heels, preparing to take their places, and as well, and sometimes better, qualified to fill them. These, while unsettled, surrounded by a crowd of competitors of equal claims and perhaps superior credit and interest, may prefer a comfortable certainty here for an uncertain hope there, and a lingering

delay even of that. From this description we expect we may draw professors equal to those of the highest name. The difficulty is to distinguish them; for we are told that so overcharged are all branches of business in that country, and such the difficulty of getting the means of living, that it is deemed allowable in ethics for even the most honorable minds to give highly exaggerated recommendations and certificates to enable a friend or *protégé* to get into a livelihood, and that the moment our agent should be known to be on such a mission he would be overwhelmed by applications from numerous pretenders, all of whom, worthy or unworthy, would be supported by such recommendations and such names as would confound all discrimination. On this head our trust and hope is in you. Your knowledge of the state of things, your means of finding out a character or two at each place truly trustworthy and into whose hands you can commit our agent with entire safety for information, caution, and co-operation, induces me to request your patronage and aid in our endeavors to obtain such men, and such only, as will fulfil our views. An unlucky selection in the outset would forever blast our prospects. From our information of the character of the different universities, we expect we should go to Oxford for our classical professors, to Cambridge for those of mathematics, natural philosophy, and natural history, and to Edinburgh for a professor of anatomy, and the elements or outlines only of medicine. We have still our eye on Mr. Blaeterman for the professorship of modern languages, and Mr. Gilmer is instructed to engage him if no very material objection to him may have arisen unknown to us. We can place in Mr. Gilmer's hands but a moderate sum at present for merely text-books to begin with, and for indispensable articles of apparatus, mathematical, astronomical, physical, chemical, and anatomical. We are in the hope of a sum of \$50,000 as soon as we can get a settlement passed through the public offices.¹ My experience in dealing with the bookseller Lackington, on your recommendation, has induced me to recommend him to Mr. Gilmer, and if we can engage his fidelity, we may put into his hands the larger supply of books when we are ready to call for it, and particularly what we shall propose to seek in England.

"Although I have troubled you with many particulars, I yet leave abundance for verbal explanation with Mr. Gilmer, who possesses a full knowledge of everything, and our full confidence in everything. He

¹ Jefferson hoped to get this extra sum of \$50,000 from Congress in payment of the interest on the debt to the State of Virginia for expenditures during the war of 1812. The principal of the debt had been for the most part paid, but this was a claim for interest paid by the State of Virginia to the local banks which advanced the money. The whole matter is explained in a letter from Cabell to James Monroe, then President of the United States, April 2, 1824. (See Correspondence of Jefferson and Cabell, pp. 488-499.) About that time the Legislature of Virginia "appropriated, for the purpose of procuring the requisite library and apparatus for the University of the State, the sum of \$50,000, to be paid out of the first moneys which might be received from the General Government in further discharge of the debt still due to the Commonwealth." (Compare also Jefferson's letter to Cabell, January 11, 1825.)

takes with him plans of our establishment, which we think it may be encouraging to show to the persons to whom he will make propositions, as well to let them see the comforts provided for themselves as to show, by the extensiveness and expense of the scale, that it is no ephemeral thing to which they are invited.

“With my earnest solicitations that you will give us all your aid in an undertaking on which we rest the hopes and happiness of our country, accept the assurances of my sincere friendship, attachment, and respect.”

LETTER TO MAJOR JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

The following extract is from a letter to Maj. John Cartwright, June 5, 1824, in acknowledgment of his work on the English Constitution, deducing “the English nation from its rightful root, the Anglo-Saxon.” After a most remarkable tribute to early English institutions, Jefferson adverts to the University of Virginia and Gilmer’s professorial mission. He expresses his “acknowledgments for your good wishes to the University we are now establishing in this State. There are some novelties in it. Of that of a professorship of the principles of government, you express your approbation. They will be founded in the rights of man. That of agriculture, I am sure, you will approve; and that also of Anglo-Saxon. As the histories and laws left us in that type and dialect must be the text-books of the reading of the learners, *they will imbibe with the language their free principles of government.* The volumes you have been so kind as to send, shall be placed in the library of the University. Having at this time in England a person sent for the purpose of selecting some professors, a Mr. Gilmer of my neighborhood, I can not but recommend him to your patronage, counsel, and guardianship against imposition, misinformation, and the deceptions of partial and false recommendations in the selection of characters. He is a gentleman of great worth and correctness, my particular friend, well educated in various branches of science, and worthy of entire confidence.

“Your age of eighty-four and mine of eighty-one years, insure us a speedy meeting. We may then commune at leisure, and more fully, on the good and evil which, in the course of our long lives, we have both witnessed; and in the mean time, I pray you to accept assurances of my high veneration and esteem for your person and character.”

This letter from the Sage of Monticello, looking backward with historic appreciation to the Saxon sources of the great modern stream of liberty and self-government then flowing through Virginia, and looking forward with perfect calm to higher ranges of philosophic contemplation, is one of the most noteworthy in Jefferson’s later correspondence, rich as it all is in suggestive thought. To see him turning to a sage of the old world for counsel and guidance in the manning of “our University, the last of my mortal cares, and the last service I can render my country,”¹ is a nobler spectacle than the Homeric picture of

¹ Extract from a letter to Abbé Correa. Jefferson’s Works, VII, 183.

old men conversing together upon the walls of Troy; and yet it is but one of ten thousand subjects for the poet of modern democracy.

GERMAN AND ENGLISH PROFESSORS.

Agreeably to the wishes of Jefferson, the first faculty of the University of Virginia was largely selected from younger professorial talent in England. His practical reasons for preferring English to Continental sources of supply are highly creditable to Jefferson's good judgment. At one time he had thought of importing bodily into this country a French faculty from the College of Geneva. Although no Anglo-maniac, Jefferson recognized that kinship of ideas, English antecedents, habits, and manners, and, above all, a good knowledge of the English language were important considerations. For German and Romance, of course, German and French professors were requisite. As intimated in Jefferson's letter to Richard Rush, Mr. Blaettermann had been recommended for the modern languages, and he was promptly engaged. He was an accomplished Anglo-Saxon scholar, and served the University for fifteen years, from 1825 until 1840, when he was dismissed.¹

One of the finest representatives of English scholarship secured by Mr. Gilmer² was Mr. George Long (1800-1879), a graduate of the Uni-

¹ The Southern Literary Messenger for January, 1842, in a well-meant article upon the University of Virginia, has some unfavorable comments upon Dr. Blaettermann, who was perhaps too familiar with the manners of "Die alten Deutschen."

² After the present monograph was completed, the writer obtained possession of a large mass of original correspondence relating to the beginnings of the University of Virginia. Among the letters were those addressed by Francis W. Gilmer to George Long and other English scholars, and their replies. The correspondence is too extensive for reproduction here, and it has been intrusted to a graduate student at the Johns Hopkins University, Mr. William P. Trent, of Richmond, who will prepare a fresh contribution to the early history of the University of Virginia, with copious extracts from the Gilmer letters. A brief account of this new material may be found in the writer's bibliography of authorities relating to the subject of the present monograph. The following specimen letters are introduced in this connection as a foretaste of what is to come.

Francis W. Gilmer to George Long (London, August 21, 1824).

"I am sure the nature of this letter will be a sufficient excuse to Mr. L. for his receiving such a one from a perfect stranger.

"The State of Virginia has for six years been engaged in establishing a university on a splendid scheme. The homes are now finished, an avenue for the support of the professors, etc., appropriated, and I have come to England to engage professors in some of the branches in which Europe is still before us. I have heard your qualifications as professor of Latin and Greek highly commended, and wish to know whether such an appointment would be agreeable to you. My powers are absolute, and whatever engagement you make with me is binding on the University without further ratification.

"You will have (1) a commodious house, garden, etc., for a family residence, entirely to yourself, free of rent; (2) a salary of \$1,500 per annum paid by the University, and tuition fees from \$50 to \$25 from each pupil, according to the number of professors he attends; (3) your tenure of office is such that you can be removed only by the

versity of Oxford. He was an excellent type of Oxford classical culture and became the founder of the school of ancient languages, for the cultivation of which the University of Virginia has remained distinguished, from the three years' service of Long (1825-1828) and the concurrence of five out of seven, all the first men in our country, with Mr. Jefferson at the head.

"Mr. Key suggested that your being obliged to be in Cambridge next July might be an obstacle. That may be removed by a stipulation that in that year, 1825, you shall have liberty to come to England, for which reasonable time shall be allowed, so as to make your visit to Cambridge certain.

"You will be required not to teach a mere grammar school, but to instruct young men somewhat advanced in reading the Latin and Greek classics. Hebrew is also included, but there will not be occasion for it, I think, and you could easily learn enough for what may be required. You should explain the history and geography of the famous ancient nations as illustrative of their liberation.

"The whole is now only waiting for my action to go into full and active operation. You will see, therefore, the necessity of making an early decision. I should like the professors to sail October or November, and shall thank you for an intimation of your wishes on the subject as soon as convenient.

"Yours, very respectfully, etc.,

"FRANCIS W. GILMER."

George Long to Francis W. Gilmer, written after his arrival in Virginia.

"UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA, Monday, January 25, —.

"DEAR SIR: I am sorry to learn that you still continue so weak from the effects of your illness. I anticipated the pleasure of seeing you in this neighborhood during Christmas; your presence would have contributed to enliven the University up, which, being almost without inhabitants, looks like a deserted city.

"I have been settled for some weeks in one of the pavilions. I bought only a few articles in Charlottesville, as I found the prices of most things extravagantly high. Mr. Peyton has forwarded me some chairs from Richmond, and these, little that I have, will be sufficient at present. You may probably recollect that I told you I had sent my books from Liverpool, consigned to Mr. Peyton; they would be sent either to Baltimore, Norfolk, or Richmond. I shall be obliged to you if you will remind that gentleman of them, and by him to forward them to me as soon as he receives them.

"I dined with Mr. Jefferson last Monday. He was in good health, but, like all of us, very uneasy about the delay of our friends. I do not yet, being acquainted more fully with all the circumstances of the case, entertain any apprehensions about their safety, but I regret, both for the University and my own personal comfort, that they were so foolish as to embark in an old log. The people in Charlottesville, having nothing better to do, amuse themselves with inventing stories on this unfortunate subject. Almost every day, from undoubted authority, I am informed the professors have arrived; a few hours after I had received your letter a man very gravely assured me the professors were at that moment in Richmond.

"The books have arrived in safety; we have not been able to find a catalogue of them, and I believe we shall not take them out of the boxes before Mr. Jefferson receives one from you. I brought a sufficient number to employ myself on during this most anxious expectation of our friends' arrival. Besides the loss of their society at present, I am truly concerned for the interests of the University. I hear daily of many who are most eagerly looking forward to the opening of the institution; it is possible their short delay at first may cause the University some temporary loss.

"We have just had a heavy fall of snow. I am confined to my house, and see no living being but my black friend Jacob, and Mr. Grey's family where I eat.

"I remain, with the best wishes for your speedy recovery, yours, very respectfully,

"G. LONG."

longer term of Gessner Harrison down to the régimes of Gildersleeve (1856-1876), Price, and Wheeler in Greek, and Peters in Latin (since 1865).

GEORGE LONG.

Professor Long was the first of those engaged to arrive upon the University premises, and he seems to have made a favorable impression upon Jefferson. The latter wrote to Cabell, December 22, 1824: "Mr. Long, professor of ancient languages, is located in his apartments at the University. He drew, by lot, Pavilion No. 5. He appears to be a most amiable man, of fine understanding, well qualified for his department, and acquiring esteem as fast as he becomes known. Indeed, I have great hopes that the whole selection will fulfil our wishes."

Professor Long more than met the expectations of the friends of the University during the few years that he tarried in Virginia, although the English don must have surprised the authorities by marrying a Virginia widow. Jefferson had imagined that his professors would remain single and live up stairs in the pavilions, leaving the ground floor for recitation-rooms; but professors' wives soon changed all that, and the classes were driven out-doors.

Mr. Long gave a character and a standard to the classical department which it has never lost. He represented history in connection with the classics; and certainly ancient history never had a more scholarly representative upon American shores. Unfortunately for this country, but to the great gain of historical science in his own land, Mr. Long was called home in 1828, to a professorship of Greek in the new University of London. Madison, in a letter to Monroe, dated January 23, 1828, says, "I have received a letter from Mr. Brougham urging our release of Professor Long."¹ The university authorities in Virginia parted most reluctantly with Mr. Long, but recognized the superior attractiveness and advantages of his call to the English capital. They urged, however, most strongly that the professor should find a suitable successor. On the 10th of March, 1829, Madison wrote to Joseph C. Cabell: "I have just received from our minister in London and from Professor Long letters on the subject of a successor to the latter. Mr. B. is doing all he can for us, but without any encouraging prospects. Mr. Long is pretty decided that we ought not to rely on any successor from England, and is equally so that Dr. Harrison will answer our purpose better than any one attainable abroad. He appears to be quite sanguine upon this point."² Dr. Harrison was one of Mr. Long's own pupils, and one of the first graduates of the University of Virginia. No more fitting nomination or appointment, nor one better deserved, could possibly have been made.

It would be interesting to follow in detail the brilliant record of Professor Long after his return to England, if space permitted. He and his former colleague at the University, Mr. Key, who was made professor

¹ Writings of Madison, III, 613.

² Writings of Madison, IV, 35.

of Latin in the London University, introduced into England the comparative method in classical study. Long edited a great variety of classical texts, some of which remain standard to this day. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in a striking article upon this remarkable scholar, says: "Long has exercised by his writings, and indirectly through some of his London University pupils, a wide influence on the teaching of the Greek and Latin languages in England." He was prominent in founding the Royal Geographical Society, and became a leading authority in both ancient and modern geography. Long's *Classical Atlas* is known to school boys in both England and America. One can not help suspecting that Long's knowledge of this country had something to do with the inception of his *Geography of America and the West Indies*. He became a thorough democrat in education, resigning his professorship to edit the *Quarterly Journal of Education*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of which he was for years a most active member. Thirteen years of his life he devoted to the *Penny Cyclopædia*, of which he edited twenty-nine volumes. This was his greatest work for the education of the English people. He returned to academic life, and wrote his great work on Roman history. He was the chief English authority upon Roman law and was one of the academic pioneers in this study, although he was anticipated by Dr. Thomas Cooper, who, in Pennsylvania, edited parts of the Code of Justinian long before his call to represent law in the University of Virginia. That institution may well be proud of the scholarly Englishman first chosen by Jefferson to represent sound learning within its walls.

THOMAS HEWETT KEY AND CHARLES BONNYCASTLE.

Another well-trained university man from England, who was secured for Jefferson's institution, was Thomas Hewett Key. He afterward went with Long to the University of London and became its first professor of Latin. He founded in Virginia that wonderful school of mathematics for which the institution has always remained famous. He was succeeded by Charles Bonycastle, a third Englishman who came over with Key and founded a school of physics. Bonycastle remained at the University of Virginia until his death, in 1840,' when he was succeeded

¹The *Southern Literary Messenger* for January, 1842, speaking of the recent loss of three university professors, says of Professor Bonycastle: "Mr. Bonycastle was one of the early professors who came over from England with Mr. Gilmer in 1824. Though young, his high qualifications fitted him alike for several of the chairs in the University. He first filled that of natural philosophy, and, on the return of Mr. Key to England, succeeded to the mathematical, which he filled with pre-eminent ability up to the time of his death. He was always acknowledged to be the possessor of a great mind, which readily made him master of the most abstruse learning. The study of mathematics seemed to be to him but a process of attentive reading. As a lecturer he was clear, patient, and powerful; and in matters of science he was a complete agrarian, leveling its difficulties to the comprehension of every mind. At times, in one short aphorism, he would display a profundity of thought quite startling; and his students declared that, by way of illustration, he frequently solved difficulties which had perplexed

by Prof. J. J. Sylvester, who afterward returned to England, but who, in 1876, came out to America again, and founded a flourishing department of mathematics at the Johns Hopkins University. In 1884 he was called home to the chair of mathematics in Oxford. Among the American successors of this distinguished line of English mathematicians was Albert T. Bledsoe, famous after the civil war as the editor of the *Southern Review*, published in Baltimore. The present able representative of the mathematical department at the University of Virginia is Professor Charles S. Venable, now the chairman of the faculty, to whose courtesy the writer is greatly indebted for prompt and efficient cooperation in acquiring material information for this educational report.

ROBLEY DUNGLISON.

Robley Dunglison was the fourth Englishman originally appointed professor at the University of Virginia. He was the founder of the medical school, and became a distinguished contributor to medical science. His published works are still spoken of with great respect. He was Jefferson's favorite physician, and attended him in his last illness. It is to Dunglison's journal and reminiscences of Jefferson that we owe the most pleasing glimpses into Jefferson's friendly social relations with the professors of the University.

Jefferson was highly gratified with the choice of these European scholars as instructors. In a letter to William B. Giles, December 26, 1825, he said: "Our University has been most fortunate in the five professors procured from England. A finer selection could not have been made. Besides their being of a grade of science which has left little superior behind, the correctness of their moral character, their accommodating dispositions, and zeal for the prosperity of the institution leave us nothing more to wish. I verily believe that as high a degree of education can now be obtained here as in the country they left." Cabell also was delighted with the strength and promise of the new faculty. He wrote to Jefferson: "I cannot describe the satisfaction which I feel in reflecting on the present prospects of the University. Our corps of professors is full of youth and talent and energy. What will not such men accomplish with such advantages?"

them in other branches of their studies. Mathematics was rendered by him what he repeatedly said it was, 'a pure system of logio.' Many parts of his course were supplied by himself, and he wrote a text-book for his class, which gained him great renown. * * * In society and at home he was often taciturn, and it was only at certain times that he opened his stores of information; but when he did, he never failed to charm and surprise. * * * I do not know that he ever became a citizen of the United States, though he frequently spoke of his intention to do so. He thought very favorably of our country and her institutions. Mr. Bonnycastle was a close student, and perhaps his devotion to study led to a premature death. He took very little exercise, studied in an unhealthy posture and until a late hour of the night." This glimpse of Bonnycastle, evidently by one of his former students, reveals the mathematical professor.

AMERICAN PROFESSORS.

There were two professorships which, for practical reasons, Jefferson was determined to have filled by native Americans. These chairs were (1) ethics and (2) law and politics. He had the conviction that American youth should be trained to a knowledge of their duties, laws, and system of government by American teachers. The above subjects were as sacred in the mind of Jefferson as is the Protestant or Catholic religion to its respective adherents, who wish their own teachers for their own faith.

GEORGE TUCKER AND JOHN TAYLOR LOMAX.

For the chair of ethics or moral science, Hon. George Tucker, a member of Congress from Virginia, was chosen, and he served the University ably and well for twenty years, 1825-45. Greater difficulty was experienced in filling the chair of law and politics. The first choice, after Dr. Cooper, was Francis Walker Gilmer, who had selected the English professors with such excellent judgment, but he declined the honor which was thrice urged upon him. The position was then offered in succession to Chancellor Tucker, Mr. Barbour, Judge Carr, and Judge Dade; but, for professional and other reasons, all were unwilling to accept the professorial office. It was then tendered to the Attorney-General of the United States, the Hon. William Wirt, together with the presidency of the University, an additional honor specially created in order to induce Mr. Wirt to take the chair of law and politics. Jefferson heartily approved of the choice of Mr. Wirt as professor, but he entered with his own hand upon the records, at the last meeting of the board of visitors which he ever attended, a vigorous protest against the office of a permanent president, as being inconsistent with republican ideas. After Mr. Wirt's declination, the "presidency" was never revived. The executive headship is annually committed to an appointed "chairman of the faculty," a democratic office corresponding to the pro-rectorship of a German university. The professorship of law and politics was finally accepted by Mr. Gilmer, but he died in 1826. John Tayloe Lomax, of Fredericksburg, was appointed in the spring of 1826, and he held the office with distinction for four years. He was not only an able professor, but he contributed substantially to the development of jurisprudence in Virginia. He published a digest of Virginia law and various useful texts. The law school which Lomax founded has had other able representatives, but none more able or more widely known for his learning and power as a teacher than Professor John B. Minor, who has been the head of the school for many years, and whose pupils¹ are conspicuous wherever they go.

¹ One of the most successful and distinguished of Mr. Minor's pupils is Woodrow Wilson, author of *Congressional Government*, sometime professor of history and politics in Bryn Mawr College, now of Wesleyan University, and lecturer on Administration at the Johns Hopkins University, where he took his doctor's degree in the year 1886.

JOHN P. EMMET.

In addition to Tucker and Lomax, Dr. John P. Emmet should be counted among the original American professors. Although born in Ireland, he was educated in this country, chiefly at West Point and in New York City. He is the nearest approach to a "literary character of the Irish nation," such as Jefferson wished in 1783 to introduce into Albemarle County. But the young Irish-American, a nephew of Robert Emmet, the great orator, was engaged to teach chemistry and natural history, in which subjects he had been well trained in connection with medical and other scientific studies. Jefferson regarded Dr. Emmet as a representative of the natural sciences.

THE UNIVERSITY OPENED TO STUDENTS.

The University of Virginia was opened to students on the 7th of March, 1825. Jefferson, in his seventh annual report to the president and directors of the literary fund, dated October 7, 1825, said there were forty students present at the beginning; "others continued to arrive from day to day at first, and from week to week since; and the whole number matriculated on the last day of September was 116. Few more can be expected during the present term, which closes on the 15th of December next; and the state of the schools on the same day was as follows:

"In the school of—	Scholars.
Ancient languages.....	55
Modern languages.....	64
Mathematics.....	68
Natural philosophy.....	33
Natural history.....	30
Anatomy and medicine.....	20
Moral philosophy.....	14"

Jefferson said the dormitories would accommodate about 218 students, and the neighboring town of Charlottesville perhaps 50 more. Seven of the schools were organized and in successful operation in the course of the year 1825. There was some delay in securing a professor of law, as we have already seen. The original number of professors recommended in Jefferson's report to the Legislature in 1818 was ten; but motives of economy compelled a reduction to eight.

Jefferson showed the most active interest in shaping and expanding the course of study. There are two interesting letters to Professor Emmet, in Jefferson's Correspondence, dated, respectively, April 27 and May 2, 1826, concerning the importance of introducing botany into university instruction, and indicating Jefferson's views¹ with regard to the develop-

¹ Jefferson's scientific merits have been sketched in "A Discourse on the Character and Services of Thomas Jefferson, more especially as a Promoter of Natural and Physical Science. Pronounced by request before the New York Lyceum of Natural History on the 11th of October, 1826." Published by G. & C. Carville, New York, 1826.

ment and co-ordination of the various branches of scientific study. Jefferson proposed the establishment of a botanical garden and a seminary for forestry upon the university premises. He communicated to Emmet a detailed plan, prepared by the Abbé Correa, a distinguished European botanist, one of Jefferson's old friends, who had served Portugal as foreign minister at Washington. "Our institution being then on hand," writes Jefferson, "in which that was of course to be one of the subjects of instruction, I availed myself of his presence and friendship to obtain from him a general idea of the extent of ground we should employ, and the number and character of the plants we should introduce into it. He accordingly sketched for me a mere outline of the scale he would recommend, restrained altogether to objects of use, and indulging not at all in things of mere curiosity, and especially not yet thinking of a hot-house, or even of a green-house."

JEFFERSON'S CONNECTION WITH THE JARDIN DES PLANTES.

Jefferson was extremely practical in some of his scientific projects, and especially in the pursuit of botany. He wished to introduce plants and trees that would be useful to his countrymen. "For three-and-twenty years of the last twenty-five, my good old friend Thonin, superintendent of the Garden of Plants at Paris, has regularly sent me a box of seeds, of such exotics, as to us, as would suit our climate, and containing nothing indigenous to our country. These I regularly sent to the public and private gardens of the other States, having as yet no employment for them here."

This letter was written only about two months before Jefferson's death. Maintaining for nearly a quarter of a century his connections with Paris, the original source of Jefferson's enlarged ideas of university education, he had been scattering seeds from the *Jardin des Plantes* over the public and private gardens of America. Could there be a more pleasing historic picture of that dissemination of educational ideas which has now gone on for more than two generations from the University of Virginia, that seminary of higher learning, founded by the Sage of Monticello? Broadcast over the entire South have been scattered the seeds of culture and the germs of science. Some have fallen by the wayside; some where there was not much earth; but some have fallen upon good ground. Little is known at the North concerning the University of Virginia, but it is barely possible that some seeds of Jeffersonian influence have been wafted by the winds of destiny into the very gardens of New England culture.

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA AND HARVARD COLLEGE.

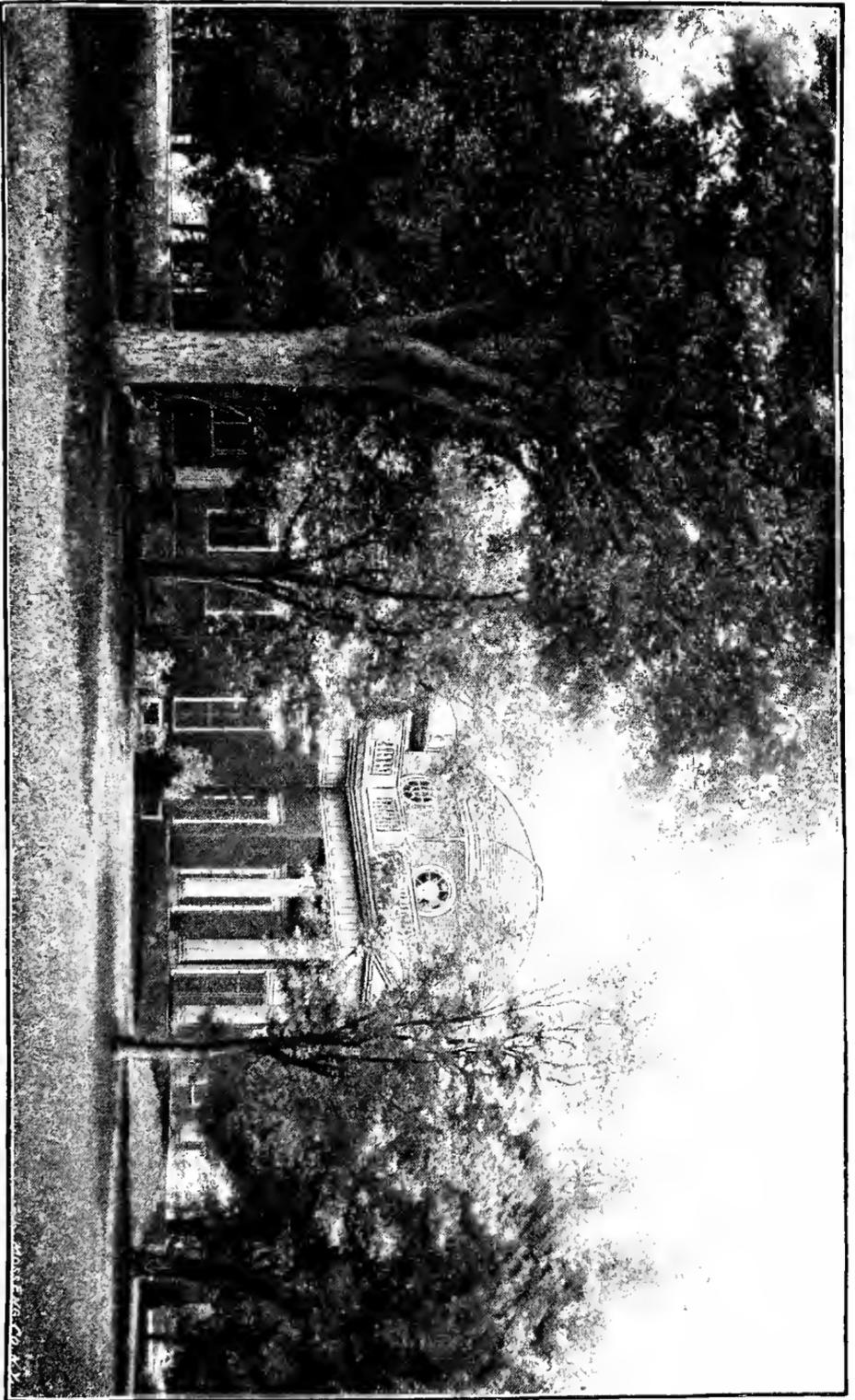
GEORGE TICKNOR VISITS JEFFERSON, 1815.

It is not beyond the range of possibility that the advanced ideas of Thomas Jefferson had some quickening influence upon educational reform at Harvard College. When only twenty-three years old George Ticknor, of Boston, on a Southern tour, visited Jefferson at Monticello. One of the most charming glimpses of social life in that hospitable mansion, in its best estate, may be found in Ticknor's letter home. In his interesting *Life, Letters, and Journals*, it is said that Mr. Jefferson "formed quite an affection for the young Federalist from New England." A pleasant correspondence sprang up between the old Virginian and the young Bostonian, who went abroad¹ after conscientiously travelling through historic portions of his own country.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH TICKNOR.

As early as 1817 Jefferson communicated to Ticknor, while the latter was yet abroad, the entire plan for the advancement of education in Virginia. In 1818 Jefferson wrote to Ticknor: "You will come home fraught with great means of promoting the science, and consequently

¹In a letter to M. Dupont de Nemours, dated February 15, 1800, Jefferson thus recommends young Ticknor: "This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Ticknor, a young gentleman from Massachusetts, of much erudition and great merit. He has completed his course of law reading, and before entering on the practice, proposes to pass two or three years in seeing Europe, and adding to his store of knowledge what he can acquire there. Should he enter the career of politics in his own country, he will go far in obtaining its honors and powers. He is worthy of any friendly offices you may be so good as to render him, and to his acknowledgments of them will be added my own. By him I send you a copy of the *Review of Montesquieu*, from my own shelf, the impression being, I believe, exhausted by the late president of the College of Williamsburg having adopted it as the elementary book there. I am persuading the author to permit the original to be printed in Paris. Although your presses, I observe, are put under the loading strings of your Government, yet this is such a work as would have been licensed at any period, early or late, of the reign of Louis XVI. Surely the present Government will not expect to repress the progress of the public mind further back than that. TH. JEFFERSON."—*Maupin MS. Collection.*



MONTICELLO. FROM A RECENT PHOTOGRAPH.

the happiness of your country." Jefferson then describes the progress of his plans, and suggests that Ticknor take the professorship of ethics, belles-lettres, and the fine arts. "I have some belief," he continues, "that our genial climate would be more friendly to your constitution than the rigors of that of Massachusetts; but all this may yield, possibly, to the *hoc cœlum, sub quo natus educatusque essem*. I have indulged in this reverie the more credulously, because you say in your letter that 'if there were a department in the central government that was devoted to public instruction, I might have sought a place in it; but there is none; there is none even in my State government.'" Jefferson then attempts to convince Ticknor that there is no possible outlook for a bureau of education in Washington without an amendment to the Constitution, and that the University of Virginia will supersede the necessity for it.

On the 3d of October, 1820, immediately after the arrangement with Dr. Cooper had been cancelled, and fully four years before any negotiations were opened with professors in England, the board of visitors of the University of Virginia, acting, as always, under Mr. Jefferson's leadership, authorized the engagement of "Mr. Bowditch,¹ of Salem, and Mr. Ticknor, of Boston," as professors, with the promise of apartments, a salary of \$2,000 per annum, and lecture-fees guaranteed to the amount of \$500 extra. This was an extremely liberal offer for those times. Harvard College had already secured² Ticknor for the professorship of French, Spanish, and belles-lettres, at the moderate salary of \$1,000, of which Ticknor afterwards regularly renounced \$400 a year to aid the embarrassed finances of the institution.

JEFFERSON ON THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM.

Ticknor's interest in the development of the University of Virginia was keen and pronounced. He continued his correspondence with Jefferson, and proposed a visit to the University as soon as it should be "fairly opened." In acknowledging Ticknor's Syllabus of Lectures on Spanish Literature, Jefferson said, June 16, 1823: "I am not fully in-

¹ Nathaniel Bowditch (1773-1838) was originally a Salem sea-captain, who became eminent for his contributions to mathematics and to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was deservedly recognized by Harvard College, which gave him the degree of LL.D. President Quincy, in his History of Harvard (II, 438) says Bowditch "received successively the offer of three professorships of mathematics—in Harvard University, in that of Charlottesville in Virginia, and in the United States Military Academy at West Point—all which he declined." Dr. Bowditch was a very modest and unassuming man. After retiring from sea-voyages he became president of the Salem Fire and Marine Insurance Company, and after 1823 was the Boston actuary of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company. His nearest approach to academic life was membership of the corporation of Harvard University. One of his many works was a commentary on the *Mécanique Céleste* of La Place, which he translated into English.

² Ticknor was elected professor in June, 1816; he accepted in January, 1817, and entered upon his duties in 1819. (Quincy's History of Harvard University, II, 324.)

formed of the practices at Harvard, but there is one from which we shall certainly vary, although it has been copied, I believe, by nearly every college and academy in the United States. That is, the holding the students all to one prescribed course of reading, and disallowing exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them for the particular vocations to which they are destined. We shall, on the contrary, allow them uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend, and require elementary qualification only and sufficient age. Our institution will proceed on the principle of doing all the good it can, without consulting its own pride or ambition; of letting every one come and listen to whatever he thinks may improve the condition of his mind." Jefferson then urges Ticknor not to defer his visit beyond the autumn of the ensuing year, when the last building would be nearly finished. "I know that you scout, as I do, the idea of any rivalry. Our views are catholic, for the improvement of our country by science, and, indeed, it is better even for your own university to have its yoke-mate at this distance rather than to force a nearer one from the increasing necessity for it."

TICKNOR VISITS THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In December, 1824, Ticknor visited Jefferson and the University of Virginia, and wrote a most charming description of both the man and the institution to William H. Prescott, the historian. The following sketch of the new foundation has an historic value: "Yesterday we formed a party, and, with Mr. Jefferson at our head, went to the University. It is a very fine establishment, consisting of ten houses for professors, four eating-houses, a rotunda on the model of the Parthenon [Pantheon], with a magnificent room for a library, and four fine lecture-rooms, with one hundred and eight apartments for students; the whole situated in the midst of two hundred and fifty acres of land, high, healthy, and with noble prospects all around it. It has cost \$250,000, and the thorough finish of every part of it and the beautiful architecture of the whole show, I think, that it has not cost too much. Each professor receives his house, which in Charlottesville, the neighboring village, would rent for \$600, a salary of \$1,500, and a fee of \$20 from every student who attends his instructions, which are to be lectures three times a week. *Of the details of the system I shall discourse much when I see you.* It is more practical than I feared, but not so practical that I feel satisfied of its success. It is, however, an experiment worth trying, to which I earnestly desire the happiest results; and they have, to begin it, a mass of buildings more beautiful than anything architectural in New England, and more appropriate to an university than can be found, perhaps, in the world."

TICKNOR'S EFFORTS FOR REFORM IN HARVARD COLLEGE.

This is high praise from a Harvard professor, who had seen the best institutions of Europe. But the point to which this narrative is di-

rectly tending is this: George Ticknor was now beginning to introduce into Harvard College precisely those educational reforms which Jefferson had been advocating in Virginia for many years. Jefferson's advanced ideas were probably well known to Ticknor by reason of his long correspondence with Jefferson, and by reason of the early negotiations regarding a professorship in the University of Virginia. There is but one opinion as to the pioneer influence of Ticknor in the reform movement at Harvard College. The history of that movement is given in the *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, Vol. I, Chap. XVIII, on the "Efforts for Reform in Harvard College." It is perfectly clear that Ticknor, through a letter to Hon. William Prescott, a member of the corporation, set on foot, in the year 1821, the first systematic inquiries which led to important educational reforms. Ticknor's views found absolutely no support from the faculty; on the contrary, the professors voted repeatedly against his innovations. It was chiefly through Hon. William Prescott and Judge Story that Ticknor's ideas found favor with the corporation and the board of overseers, who adopted them in June, 1825. At the request of Judge Story, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Prescott, Ticknor prepared an article for the *North American Review* explaining and vindicating the proposed changes. This article, although invited and accepted by the editor, was finally suppressed "by the advice of friends." It appeared, however, in pamphlet¹ form in September, 1825, and went through two editions that year.

The changes ordered by the governing authorities encountered great opposition from the faculty. In the annual visitation by the overseers, in 1826, "the new arrangements were not found working successfully in any department but that of the modern languages." The corporation was forced to relax the binding force of its own legislation. In 1827, the faculty resolved that the new law "should not be applied to the departments, or by individual instructors, without the assent of the faculty," but "that if the department of modern languages choose to apply the law to the classes instructed by that department, the faculty assent." It is therefore clear that George Ticknor, the head of that department, was the acknowledged representative of a novel policy which is best described in the following extract from President Eliot's annual report for 1883-84. Speaking of the new code of 1825, President Eliot says:

THE NEW CODE OF 1825.

"These laws provide, among other new things, for the admission to the university of persons not candidates for a degree (Statutes and Laws

¹ *Remarks on Changes Lately Proposed or Adopted in Harvard University.* By George Ticknor, Smith professor, etc. Boston: Cummings, Hilliard & Co. 1825. Speaking, on p. 40, of the desirability of an elective system, Ticknor said: "This, perhaps, is not yet possible with us, though it is actually doing in the University of Virginia; and will soon, it is to be hoped, be considered indispensable in all our advanced colleges."

of the University of Cambridge, 1826, § 11); for the division of the instruction into departments, with a professor at the head of each department responsible for its efficiency (§§ 58 and 60); for the division of classes according to proficiency (§ 61); and for the consideration, to a limited extent, of the desires of students in the arrangement of their studies (§ 63). These provisions originated in the overseers, and were adopted by the corporation and overseers against the judgment of the 'immediate government,' or faculty, and obtained but very imperfect execution; but they gave to George Ticknor, Smith professor of the French and Spanish languages and literature, the means of demonstrating, during the ensuing ten years, in the single department which he organized and controlled, the admirable working of a voluntary system."

TICKNOR'S RESIGNATION.

In 1835, when Ticknor resigned his professorship, he reviewed his fifteen years' work at Harvard in a letter from which the following significant passage is taken. He says: "Within the limits of the department I have entirely broken up the division of classes, established fully the principle and practice of progress according to proficiency, and introduced a system of voluntary study, which for several years has embraced from one hundred and forty to one hundred and sixty students, so that we have relied hardly at all on college discipline, as it is called, but almost entirely on the good disposition of the young men and their desire to learn. If, therefore, the department of the modern languages is right, the rest of the college is wrong; and if the rest of the college is right we ought to adopt its system, which I believe no person whatsoever has thought desirable for the last three or four years."

ORIGIN OF TICKNOR'S EDUCATIONAL IDEAS.

Now the question arises, where did George Ticknor get all these advanced ideas of university education, upon which Harvard has been growing from more to more during two generations? Not in Cambridge,¹ surely, for Ticknor was a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Cambridge faculty bitterly opposed his innovations. Not from Mr. Prescott and the board of corporation, for he first inspired them with the policy which the faculty for a long time successfully obstructed. The college environment was not favorable to the evolution of educational theories utterly at variance with the scholastic experience of nearly two cen-

¹ Germs of an elective system appear to have existed at Harvard College as early as 1824. Among the questions proposed to the immediate government of Harvard College by the committee of the board of visitors, October 16, 1824, was the following:

"Question II. How far have the students a choice as to what studies they may pursue?"

"Answer II. The Juniors have an option between Hebrew and several other studies, viz, French, mathematics, Latin, and Greek; and the Seniors, between the recitations in chemistry and in fluxions."

turies. It may be suggested that Ticknor came home from Goettingen and from European travel with a new educational philosophy which he was eager to put into practice. But he says: "When I came from Europe [1819], not having been educated at Cambridge, and having always looked upon it with great veneration, I had no misgivings about the wisdom of the organization and management of the college there. I went about my work, therefore, with great alacrity and confidence; not, indeed, according to a plan I proposed in writing, but according to the established order of things, which I was urged to adopt as my own, and which I did adopt very cheerfully."

Called the very next year, 1820, to a professorship in the University of Virginia, with more than double his salary at Cambridge, and in frequent correspondence with Jefferson after the year 1815, Ticknor had sufficient occasion and opportunity to become acquainted with Jefferson's educational ideas. Ticknor was a Bostonian, always on the alert for new and suggestive things. That he was deeply interested in the new institution is shown by his visit in 1824, and by his letter to William H. Prescott, the son of the man who, from the first, was Ticknor's avenue of approach to the corporation of Harvard College. The year before, in 1823, when Ticknor had proposed making this visit to Virginia, Jefferson had, by letter, distinctly emphasized the following points as characteristic of the new educational departure in Virginia:

ANALYSIS OF JEFFERSON'S VIEWS.

(1) The abolition of a prescribed curriculum for all students, and consequently the overthrow of the class system.

(2) The introduction of specialization, or, as Jefferson phrased it, "exclusive application to those branches only which are to qualify them [students] for the particular vocations to which they are destined."

(3) The elective system, or "uncontrolled choice in the lectures they shall choose to attend."

(4) The reduction of discipline to a minimum, "avoiding too much government, by requiring no useless observances, none which shall merely multiply occasions for dissatisfaction, disobedience, and revolt," etc.

ANALYSIS OF TICKNOR'S REFORMS.

Let us now analyze the reforms actually introduced into the modern language department at Harvard by George Ticknor, and reviewed by himself in 1835.

(1) The division by classes had been broken up in the modern language courses.

(2) Progress was recognized according to "proficiency." (This is the only standard of progress which has ever been recognized in the University of Virginia.)

(3) Voluntary study, or the elective system.

(4) Reliance on the good disposition of the students, rather than upon discipline.

This correspondence of ideas, to say the least, is very remarkable. There are other likenesses between reforms urged by Ticknor at Harvard and certain ideas of Jefferson. For example, Ticknor urged "instruction by *subjects* rather than by *books*, so that, for instance, a student should not merely read Livy and Horace, but learn Latin." The creation of well-organized departments, controlled by a single responsible head, was also one of Ticknor's favorite notions, which was carried into effect, however, only in the teaching of the modern languages. Ticknor had three or four tutors¹ under his direction. His was the only department thus responsibly organized under the law of 1825. The system corresponds exactly to Jefferson's plan for autonomous "schools," one of the most efficient systems of department administration in modern academic life. Ticknor was absolutely alone in representing these advanced ideas of university education and administration. In 1835 he wrote: "I have been an active professor these fifteen years, and for thirteen years of the time I have been contending, against a constant opposition, to procure certain changes which should make the large means of the college more effectnal for the education of the community. In my own department I have succeeded entirely, but I can get these changes carried no further. As long as I hoped to advance them, I continued attached to the college; when I gave up all hope, I determined to resign."

THE QUESTION STATED.

The whole spirit of Ticknor's educational reforms was clearly foreign to his environment. His ideas were far in advance² of his age, and yet they were identical, in many respects, with the ideas of Jefferson. That they were consciously borrowed from him is not asserted, but the possibility of a connection between the educational projects of the two men has been already suggested. The question is here stated: Did Jefferson and Ticknor come to absolutely the same educational conclusions in independent ways, or was some influence wafted northward from Monticello, whence Jefferson for many years had been scattering seeds of thought and suggestion. A single copy of one of Jefferson's printed educational reports, like that noticed in the *North American Review* in 1820, would have explained the whole situation to Ticknor. Jefferson borrowed many of his own educational notions from that *Jardin des Plantes*—the schools of Paris, and the universities of the Old World. The elective system was then, and is now, the life principle of higher

¹ Francis Sales, Charles Folsom, and Charles Follen all taught in Professor Ticknor's department.

² President Eliot, in his report for 1883-84, said (p. 10): "Professor Ticknor, who had so effectively promoted the legislation of 1825, was a reformer fifty years in advance of his time. Professor Longfellow, succeeding Professor Ticknor, held in the main to his methods, and the reform gradually gained new ground."

education in Europe. Ticknor must have seen it in operation at Goettingen. But the point of inquiry is this: Did Ticknor devise that entire group of advanced ideas independently of the personal influence of Thomas Jefferson, who had been writing to him for ten years before those ideas were adopted at Harvard, and who called Ticknor to a professorship in Virginia five years before the reform of 1825?

It must have required considerable gathered momentum of interest to cause Ticknor to travel all the way from Boston to Virginia to see an institution of learning. The writer had to spend some months in studying the history of the University of Virginia before he could muster enough zeal to take a few hours' trip by cars from Baltimore to Charlottesville. There was not a railroad in the country when Ticknor made his visit to the University of Virginia. Having announced his intention to do so eighteen months before, what was Ticknor's motive in putting himself to all this trouble? There is a psychological element in the problem. One must discover a sufficient cause to induce a man to travel six hundred miles by stage-coach and the slow conveyances of that period, and to be prepared to endure with patience the annoyance of bad roads and the discomfort of bad inns. Probably Ticknor had no idea of leaving Boston to become a professor in the University of Virginia. What was he thinking of in such a long journey southward? Possibly for the reformation of Harvard College he was seeking the best American model. He was going to see Jefferson's new university "fairly opened." He found "the system" "more practical" than he had feared. He found "an experiment worth trying."

MADISON'S LETTER TO TICKNOR.

Ticknor's interest remained unabated. On the 6th of April, 1825, James Madison wrote to George Ticknor: "Our University has been opened with six or seven professors, and a limited but daily increasing number of students. I shall take a pleasure in complying with your request of such information as may explain its progress. In compiling a code of regulations, the University has had the benefit of that of Harvard, which was kindly transmitted. Of all exchanges, that of useful lights ought to be the freest, as doubling the stock on both sides, without cost on either. Our University is, as you observe, somewhat of an experimental institution. Such, however, is the nature of our federative system, itself not a little experimental, that it not only excites emulation without enmity, but admits local experiments of every sort, which, if failing, are but a partial and temporary evil; if successful, may become a common and lasting improvement."

JOSIAH QUINCY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

In the life of George Ticknor, it is said (Vol. I, p. 368) that after Dr. Kirkland's resignation, in 1828, and after Josiah Quincy's succession to the presidency, a new spirit and vigor were infused into Harvard College,

and Mr. Ticknor "had no longer the same difficulties to contend with as in earlier years." The biographer of Quincy says he favored the elective system.¹ It is interesting to note that, the very next year after his election, President Quincy began to inquire about the origin and methods of the University of Virginia. In the writings of James Madison, then rector of the University, is a letter to Joseph C. Cabell, indicating that the line of inquiry which George Ticknor had first opened, by his visits to Monticello and Montpelier, and by his correspondence with Jefferson and Madison, was now leading even the president of Harvard University to a knowledge of Jefferson's original ideas, particularly with reference to theological education.²

The following is the extract in question :

"I have received a letter from Mr. Quincy, now president of Harvard University, expressing a wish to procure a full account of the origin, the progress, and arrangement of ours, including particularly what may have any reference to theological instruction; and requesting that he may be referred to the proper source of all the printed documents, that he may know where to apply for them. Can a set of copies be had in Richmond, and of whom? Mr. Quincy is so anxious on the subject that he was on his way to the University when the report of the fever stopped him."³ The historian of Harvard University was doubtless properly supplied with annual reports by Joseph C. Cabell.

FRANCIS WAYLAND AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

There was another college president who, twenty-one years later, not only set out for, but actually reached the University of Virginia. That

¹ Quincy: *Life of Josiah Quincy*, 442. President Quincy in his *History of Harvard University*, II, 344-353, 369, gives some account of the changes attempted in 1825. He says George Ticknor had recommended to the overseers "that the division into classes should be abolished, and the whole course be thrown open, as in some foreign universities." The latter statement has weight, but this very elective system made both Ticknor and Quincy interested in the University of Virginia.

²A writer in the *North American Review*, January, 1820, had called attention to a rather startling fact. Speaking of the profession of divinity, the writer said: "No provision is made for instruction in this department in the University of Virginia. As this is probably the first instance in the world of a university without any such provision, our readers will perhaps be gratified with seeing the portion of the report in which this subject is mentioned: 'In conformity with the principles of our Constitution, which places all sects of religion on an equal footing; with the jealousies of the different sects, in guarding that equality from encroachment and surprise; and with the sentiments of the Legislature in favor of freedom of religion, manifested on former occasions, we have proposed no professor of divinity; and the rather, as the proofs of the being of a God, the creator, preserver, and supreme ruler of the universe, the author of all the relations of morality, and of the laws and obligations these infer, will be within the province of the professor of ethics, to which, adding the developments of these moral obligations, of those in which all sects agree, with a knowledge of the languages of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, a basis will be formed common to all sects. Proceeding thus far without offence to the Constitution, we have thought it proper at this point to leave every sect to provide, as they think fittest, the means of further instruction in their own peculiar tenets.'"

³Madison to Cabell, March 19, 1829.

visitor was Francis Wayland, D. D., LL. D., the distinguished president of Brown University. "The result of his observation," his biographers say, "so far as it related to the practicability and efficacy of the system, was highly favorable. He was particularly impressed with the earnestness and enthusiasm of the officers of instruction."¹ President Wayland had just presented a report to the corporation of Brown University recommending a reorganization of its system of instruction. The changes proposed were quite in harmony with Jefferson's ideas of higher education. Both men advocated the elective system, specialization, modern studies, degrees for merit rather than for seniority, and the payment of professors, at least in some measure, according to their academic success, as shown by the number of students.

The publication of Dr. Wayland's report in 1850 is said to have marked "an era in the history of collegiate education in America." It is, however, very reasonable to suppose that Dr. Wayland had heard something of the above ideas from Harvard or from the University of Virginia. Every one of these ideas had been published by Jefferson in educational reports more than thirty years before the date of Dr. Wayland's recommendations to the corporation of Brown University. These ideas, moreover, had been actually realized at the University of Virginia, which Dr. Wayland visited doubtless for that very reason. At the time of George Ticknor's visit, the University was on the point of architectural completion, and was not yet open to students; but its proposed educational features had been described by Jefferson in manifold ways, by correspondence and by published reports, before Ticknor returned from Europe in 1819. Ideas of the University of Virginia were doubtless in the minds of educational reformers in New England, before the administrations of Wayland and Quincy, and before Ticknor succeeded in putting his proposed reforms into practice in 1825. One excellent source of information concerning the good example set in the South may be found as early as the year 1820.

EDWARD EVERETT'S REVIEW OF JEFFERSON'S UNIVERSITY REPORT.

The proceedings and report of the commissioners for the University of Virginia, printed in 1818, were elaborately noticed by Edward Everett in the *North American Review* for January, 1820. He made the report the basis of an article of twenty-three pages on "University Education". The phenomenon of a real university at the South must have commanded not only Everett's attention, but that of other thoughtful men of his and Ticknor's time. Speaking of the literary fund of Virginia, amounting, in 1818, to \$1,114,159, Mr. Everett, then one of the professors in Harvard College, said: "Nothing in the United States, except a similar fund in Connecticut, which amounts, we believe, to

¹Life and Letters of Francis Wayland. By his sons, Francis W. and H. L. Wayland. Vol. II, p. 93.

between thirteen and fourteen hundred thousand dollars, can be compared to this splendid public dotation of literature."

Mr. Everett copies into his article Mr. Jefferson's entire scheme of studies proposed for the University of Virginia. While criticising it in some points, the reviewer says: "We highly approve of the professorship of the modern languages, and could wish to see this example followed by such of our universities as have not already made provision for them. * * * We rejoice, too, at the kindly remembrance in which our almost forgotten ancestor, the Anglo-Saxon, is borne. An acquaintance with it unquestionably belongs to a thorough education in the English tongue."

After reviewing the entire scheme of study, Mr. Everett proceeds to discuss the two questions, what a university ought to be, and how it should be founded and supported. He regards it as a defect of the American, as well as of the English university system, "that no reference is had to the destination of the student, but that he is required to dip into the whole circle of science. "He pleads for a higher order of special education, or for the elevation of universities into professional schools. He then takes a bold stand for the support of the highest education by the state. He reviews the origin and history of European establishments of sound learning—universities which very generally were founded or are supported by the state. He contrasts this fact with the public indifference in America to higher education: "One knows not where to find the cause of the indifference which the American Government has at all periods testified to national education. One would have thought that, as a favorite object with Washington, and one of which he had himself in some sense laid a foundation, it would have found an early place among the measures adopted by the Government. It has perhaps been thought that national education should be left to the States. * * * But what have the States done? In the first place, have they founded any institutions for the most important and crowning part of education—the professional—from Georgia to Maine, from New York to Indiana? Not one. They have, indeed, in some cases, patronized the existing colleges. Massachusetts, a few years since, granted \$160,000 to her three colleges. New York has liberally endowed Hamilton College. Something, we believe, has been done in Pennsylvania; and Virginia is now establishing schools and universities. But are two or three hundred thousand dollars appropriated to colleges scattered over the country at vast distances from each other, and granted by independent bodies, without mutual concert or system, all that the people of America think that literature is entitled to?"

After this suggestive plea for the national endowment of higher education, Mr. Everett considers briefly the prevailing method of supporting institutions of learning by private endowment. He recognizes the fact that almost all of our literary establishments have been "alms-

gifts of public-spirited men." While according to private beneficence the "warmest gratitude and praise," he takes the ground that it does not become this nation "to depend on charity for the education of our sons and the upholding of our national character." He says: "This dependence on single and private bequests of rich individuals is a relic of a state of society which never existed among us, and to which we have nothing else corresponding. In the Catholic ages, * * * when men thought their peace with heaven could be made at dying for lives spent in violation of all its laws, by founding or endowing public institutions for religion and literature, there was no need of the interference of the state for the erection of these establishments." Mr. Everett says that the situation has entirely changed. We now lack the means of "extorting bequests from departing profligates and heretics." There are few good men who can really afford to build colleges, regardless of the interests of their children or natural heirs. In any case, the public has no right to depend solely upon private philanthropy for the endowment of educational institutions. Mr. Everett maintained that "enlightening, instructing, and elevating the nation" is the most sacred of public duties. "Who can see without shame that the Federal Government of America is the only government in the civilized world that has never founded a literary institution of any description or sort?"

When we reflect that the establishment of university education by the State of Virginia was the immediate occasion of this extraordinary declaration, by a Harvard professor, in favor of the Federal endowment of the highest education, we shall realize that Jeffersonian ideas were capable of starting something more than a local ripple in academic circles at Cambridge. It is very interesting to note that in 1820 the only two men in the Harvard faculty who had been educated in Europe were Edward Everett¹ and George Ticknor. Both were friends and

¹In a biographical sketch of Edward Everett (1794-1865) by Edward Everett Hale, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, it is stated that after resigning a Boston pastorate in 1814, Mr. Everett devoted five years to European study, in preparation for a professorship in Greek literature at Harvard College. Entering upon his duties about the same time as did Mr. Ticknor, Mr. Everett, "for five years more gave a vigorous impulse, not simply to the study of Greek, but to all the work of the college. About the same time he assumed charge of the *North American Review*, which now became a quarterly; and he was indefatigable in contributing on a great variety of subjects, with a spirit like Sydney Smith's in the early days of the *Edinburgh Review*. He vigorously defended American institutions against the sneers of English travellers, and had reason to congratulate himself on the success of a series of articles written to bring about a better mutual understanding between Englishmen and Americans. The success of his lectures in Cambridge, and the enthusiasm aroused by the rebellion in Greece, led him to deliver a series of popular lectures on Greek antiquities in Boston. They were the first lectures on purely literary or historical subjects ever delivered in America, and were the first steps toward a system of popular entertainment and education which now has very wide sweep in the United States." In 1824 Mr. Everett resigned his professorship and became a member of Congress. He had a seat in the House for ten years. In 1835 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and served in that office for four years. He was United States minister to England in

correspondents of Thomas Jefferson. The broad minds of these two able professors, liberalized, like Jefferson's, by European travel and study, were moved by his suggestions to thoughts that will widen in future generations.

JEFFERSON'S COMMENT ON THE REVIEW.

Everett's review of Jefferson's report came under the eye of the latter, although it is doubtful whether he knew the authorship of the article. On the 15th of August, 1820, Jefferson wrote to his old friend, John Adams: "I have lately had an opportunity of reading a critique on this institution in your North American Review of January last, having been not without anxiety to see what that able work would say of us; and I was relieved on finding in it much coincidence of opinion, and even where criticisms were indulged, I found they would have been obviated had the developments of our plan been fuller. But these were restrained by the character of the paper reviewed, being merely a report of outlines, not a detailed treatise, and addressed to a legislative body, not to a learned academy."

1841. He was the immediate successor of Josiah Quincy as president of Harvard College in 1846, resigning two years later. He was Secretary of State under Fillmore, and later became Senator from Massachusetts. Resigning on account of his health in 1854, he devoted the rest of his life to literary pursuits. He delivered his last great oration at Gettysburg in 1865, an effort which resulted in his death that year.

CHAPTER X.

JEFFERSON'S SCHOOL OF LAW, POLITICS, AND HISTORY.

PATRIOTIC MOTIVES OF JEFFERSON.

Patriotic motives moved Jefferson to the idea that youth who were to become American citizens needed such training in moral and political science as would fit them for the practical duties of citizenship and self-government. Nothing is clearer in Jefferson's educational philosophy than his recognition of the importance of moral and political education under our American system of government. Our American colleges and universities have hardly yet risen to the Jeffersonian ideal in either of these great branches of education. As a matter of fact, there is almost no recognized connection between morals and politics, either in our organized systems of instruction or in political life.

Jefferson had the idea of establishing a school of law and politics, based upon ethics, natural science, and the ancient and modern languages, which were to be associated respectively with ancient and modern history and literature. All the arts and sciences were to be tributary to the education of American citizens for their highest duties. Separate the patriotic idea from the institution of the University of Virginia and you have removed its roof and crown. Jefferson repeatedly expressed the idea that the University was patriotic in purpose; it was to be for the benefit of his State and native country. He looked upon the appointment of English professors "as one of the efficacious means of promoting that cordial good will which it is so much the interest of both nations to cherish." He wrote to the Hon. J. Evelyn Denison, a member of Parliament, that it was the interest of America to receive instruction through English teachers, and it was England's interest to furnish it; "for these two nations holding cordially together have nothing to fear from the united world. They will be the models for regenerating the condition of man, the sources from which representative government is to flow over the whole earth." Through Jefferson's plans for university education ran a broad and generous purpose; but he was practical enough to see that America must have her own political philosophy.

JEFFERSON'S INFLUENCE UPON POLITICAL EDUCATION.

Jefferson early interested himself in devising a proper system of political education for American youth. As far back as 1816 he recommended to the president of William and Mary College Destutt Tracy's *Review of Montesquieu* as "the best elementary book on the principles of government and as equally sound and corrective in political economy." He said Chipman's and Priestley's *Principles of Government* and the *Federalist* were excellent, but not comparable to the above review for fundamental principles. Tracy's work was actually adopted by Dr. Smith for the students of William and Mary College. A more formal treatise by Tracy upon political economy Jefferson caused to be translated. He revised the copy and proof with his own hands and prepared an anonymous prospectus¹ or preface to the work, sketching the history of political economy and ranking Tracy as a worthy successor of Jean Baptiste Say, Adam Smith, Dupont de Nemours, Turgot, LeFrosne, Gournay, and Quesnay who were the founders of the modern science of political economy. This preface is perhaps the first attempt of an American to treat economics from an historical point of view. The translation, published by Joseph Milligan, of Georgetown, D. C., in 1817, is probably the first systematic treatise on political economy that ever appeared in this country. The work was translated from the French manuscript, the publication of which had been forbidden in France, as was Tracy's *Review of Montesquieu*, which Jefferson brought out as a political textbook on the science of government for American youth.

Thus Jefferson prepared the way for the entrance of political science into American colleges. He deserves the credit of first introducing at Williamsburg, as early as 1779, this modern current; but it was strengthened by correspondence with the French economists, Count Destutt Tracy and Dupont de Nemours, and with the English refugee, Judge Cooper, who was one of the earliest economists in the United States and the first professor appointed for the University of Virginia. Into this institution the modern current was turned by Jefferson, and from thence it hurried on to the College of South Carolina, whither Cooper² was

¹ See Jefferson's letter to Milligan, the publisher, April 6, 1816.

² Professor Cooper brought out in the year 1819 an adaptation of Say's *Political Economy* for the use of American youth. This work continued to be used as a textbook by Francis Lieber, whose annotated copy is now in the possession of the historical department of the Johns Hopkins University. Cooper early dabbled in economics while living at Carlisle, Pa., where he appears to have edited or contributed to a publication called the *Emporium*. Jefferson wrote him January 16, 1814: "You have given us, in your *Emporium*, Bollman's medley on *Political Economy*. It is a work of one who sees a little of everything and the whole of nothing, and were it not for your own notes on it, a sentence of which throws more just light on the subject than all his pages, we should regret the place it occupies of more useful matter." In the same letter Jefferson acknowledges the receipt of Cooper's edition of *Justinian*, with notes, probably the first work on Roman law ever published in America, and advises the historical study of the common law of England, with valuable suggestions to that end.

called, and where he was succeeded by Francis Lieber, the great German tributary to American political science.

POLITICAL TEXT-BOOKS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

When the University of Virginia was founded, it became a vital question in Jefferson's mind what political philosophy should be taught to students. While he believed in general in leaving the matter of text-books entirely to the professors, yet he maintained in a letter to Cabell, February 3, 1825, "there is one branch in which we are the best judges, in which heresies may be taught of so interesting a character to our own State, and to the United States, as to make it a duty in us to lay down the principles which are to be taught. It is that of government. Mr. Gilmer being withdrawn, we know not who his successor may be. He may be a Richmond lawyer, or one of that school of quondam Federalism, now consolidation. It is our duty to guard against such principles being disseminated among our youth, and the diffusion of that poison, by a previous prescription of the texts to be followed in their discourses." Thereupon Jefferson inclosed a list of authorities which he and Madison had previously agreed upon as sufficiently sound for American pedagogical purposes. While recognizing the impropriety of using the University of Virginia as a school of party politics, the critic can really find no general fault with the political pabulum chosen for Virginia youth at that period. The works recommended were the product of their time, and were congenial to the minds of most Virginians.

The following list of authorities appears to have been agreed upon by Jefferson and Madison, after due consultation :

(1) Sidney's Discourses and Locke's Essay on Civil Government. Madison said these were "admirably calculated to impress on young minds the right of nations to establish their own governments, and to inspire a love of free ones," although, as Madison admits, they "afford no aid in guarding our republican charters against constructive violence."

(2) The Declaration of Independence, "as the fundamental act of union of these States."

(3) The Federalist, "as the most authentic exposition of the text of the Federal Constitution, as understood by the body which prepared and the authority which accepted it." Madison adds that the Federalist "has been actually admitted into two universities, if not more—those of Harvard and Rhode Island—but probably at the choice of the professors, without any injunction from superior authority."

(4) The Virginia Document of 1799. This was a political commentary on the famous Virginia resolutions of 1798,¹ which affirmed that the

¹ Upon this point see Madison's Writings, III, 481-482, and IV, 308. The Virginia Document may be found reprinted in Niles's Register, 1833. An interesting discussion of a similar set of resolutions, prepared chiefly by Jefferson, may be found in the Nation for May 5, 1887, entitled "The Kentucky Resolutions in a New Light," by Miss

ure right. To a certain extent, American youth require American training in the duties of citizenship. There *are* lines in politics, as in religion, which must be drawn. In the former they mark what men call patriotism, national independence, loyalty to kindred, country, or race.

JEFFERSON ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

It was provided in Jefferson's educational plan that ancient history and ancient geography should be studied in connection with the ancient languages, and modern history and modern geography in connection with modern languages. The representatives of these great historical fields were George Long on the one side, and George Blaetterman on the other. From the excellence of the historical and geographical¹ work represented by Long's *History of Rome* and Long's *Classical Atlas*, we may rest assured that his teaching in these branches was of a high order. Of Blaetterman's work we have only the presumptive evidence of German training, which has favored history most decidedly since the time of the Napoleonic wars, when the restoration of Germany began in schools and universities. Jefferson's own views upon the study of history are precisely stated in a letter addressed to one of the newly-appointed professors, and dated October 25, 1825:

"I know not whether the professors to whom ancient and modern history are assigned in the University have yet decided on the course of historical reading which they will recommend to their schools. If they have, I wish this letter to be considered as not written, as their course, the result of mature consideration, will be preferable to anything I could recommend. Under this uncertainty, and the rather as you are of neither of these schools, I may hazard some general ideas, to be corrected by what they may recommend hereafter.

"In all cases I prefer original authors to compilers. For a course of ancient history, therefore, of Greece and Rome especially, I should advise the usual suite of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus, Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Dion, in their originals if understood, and in translations if not. For its continuation to the final destruction of the Empire we must then be content with Gibbons [*sic*], a compiler, and with Ségur for a judicious recapitulation of the whole. After this general course, there are a number of particular histories filling up the chasms, which may be read at leisure in the progress of life. Such is Arrian, Q. Curtius, Polybius, Sallust, Plutarch, Dionysius [of] Halicarnassus, Micas, etc. The ancient universal history should be on our shelves as a book of general reference, the most learned and most faithful, perhaps, that ever was written. Its style is very plain but perspicuous.

¹ Long wrote a very valuable work on historical geography, and a treatise on the Geography of America and the West Indies. He was also one of the editors of a special work on the Geography of Great Britain (Part I, England and Wales. London, no date).

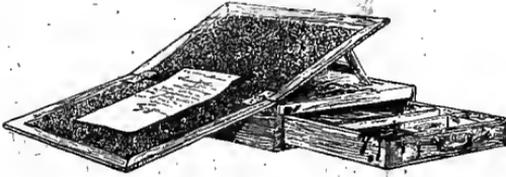
“In modern history, there are but two nations with whose course it is interesting to us to be intimately acquainted, to wit: France and England. For the former, Millot’s General History of France may be sufficient to the period when 1 Davila commences. He should be followed by Péréfixe, Sully, Voltaire’s Louis XIV and XV, Lacrosette’s XVIII^m Siècle, Marmontel’s Régence, Foulongion’s French Revolution, and Madame de Staël’s, making up by a succession of particular history the general one which they want.

“Of England there is as yet no general history so faithful as Rapin’s. He may be followed by Ludlow, Fox, Belsham, Hume, and Brodie. Hume’s, were it faithful, would be the finest piece of history which has ever been written by man. Its unfortunate bias may be partly ascribed to the accident of his having written backwards. His maiden work was the History of the Stuarts. It was a first essay to try his strength before the public. And whether as a Scotchman he had really a partiality for that family, or thought that the lower their degradation the more fame he should acquire by raising them up to some favor, the object of his work was an apology for them. He spared nothing, therefore, to wash them white and to palliate their misgovernment. For this purpose he suppressed truths, advanced falsehoods, forged authorities, and falsified records. All this is proved on him unanswerably by Brodie. But so bewitching was his style and manner, that his readers were unwilling to doubt anything, swallowed everything, and all England became tories by the magic of his art. His pen revolutionized the public sentiment of that country more completely than the standing armies could ever have done, which were so much dreaded and deprecated by the patriots of that day.”

Jefferson then proceeds, in a somewhat elaborate way, to criticise Hume’s history of the dynasties preceding the Stuarts, in which Hume maintained the thesis of his first work, that “it was the people who encroached on the sovereign, not the sovereign who usurped the rights of the people.” Hume’s third work was a complete history of England, basing its Constitution upon the physical force of the Norman conquest. Condemning this philosophy of English history, Jefferson maintained that whig historians “have always gone back to the Saxon period for the true principles of their Constitution, while the tories and Hume, their Coryphæus, date it from the Norman conquest, and hence conclude that the continual claim by the nation of the good old Saxon laws, and the struggles to recover them, were ‘encroachments of the people on the crown, and not usurpations of the crown on the people.’” Jefferson said that Hume, with Brodie, was the last of English histories which the student should read. “If first read, Hume makes an English tory, from whence it is an easy step to American toryism [Federalism]. But there is a history, by Baxter, in which, abridging somewhat by leaving out some entire incidents as less interesting now than when Hume wrote, he has given the rest in the identical words of Hume, except that when he comes to a fact falsified, he states it truly, and when to a sup-

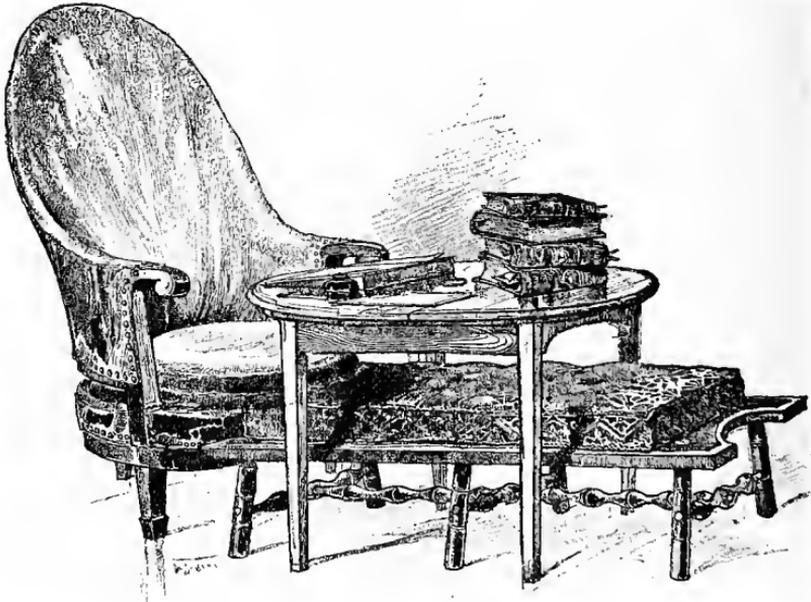
urgency. A letter of a page or two costs me a day of labor, and a painful labor."

Cabell's more active service to the University in the Virginia Legislature lasted for about twenty years. His record there is all the more remarkable, because he was a man of delicate constitution. He suffered from malaria and hemorrhages of the lungs. His declaration,



Desk on which the Declaration of Independence was written. From a Drawing by Jefferson.¹

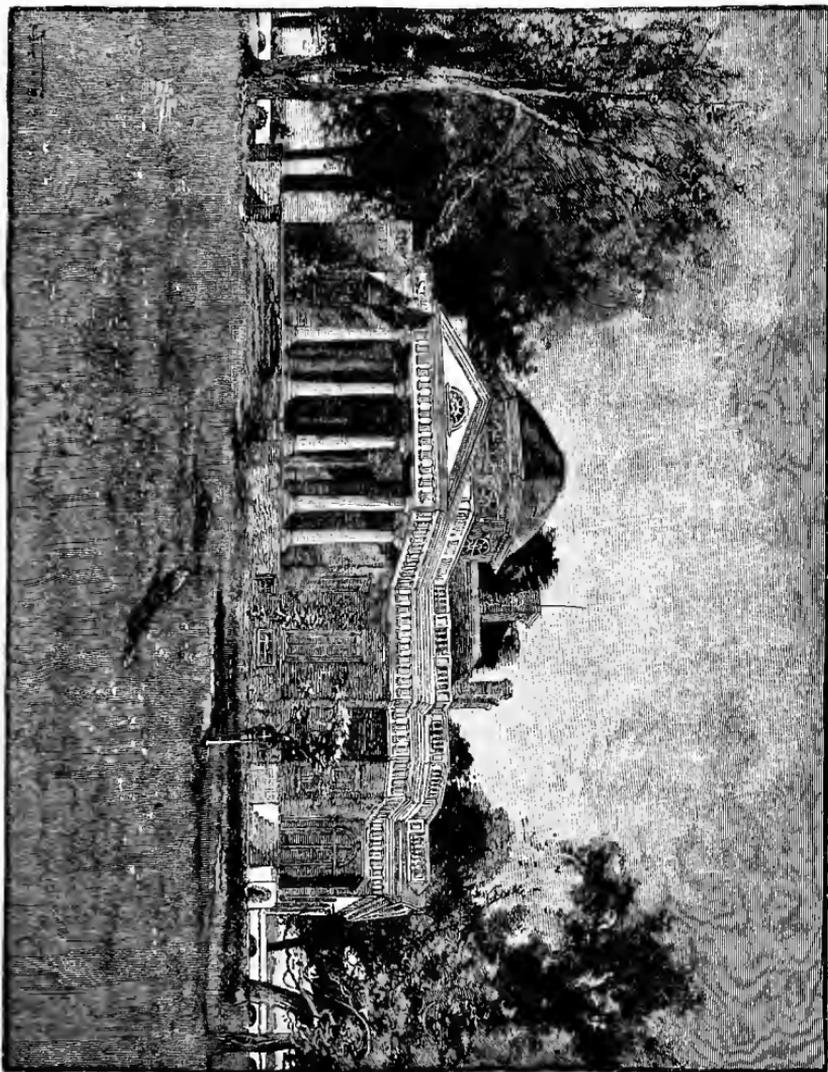
that he could not risk his life in a better cause than that of the University, was no unmeaning phrase, for he repeatedly exposed himself with the utmost daring in those arduous educational campaigns. Only once did he falter. In 1821, when suffering from bodily weakness, worn out



Jefferson's Chair and Writing Table.¹

with public speaking, utterly weary of politics, and of Richmond hotels, where he had lived for thirteen winters, and longing for return to "domestic, rural, and literary leisure," Cabell wrote to Jefferson, expressing a purpose of speedily withdrawing from the Legislature. Then it was that the old hero felt his soul stir within him. He wrote a letter from the heights of Monticello, words of almost prophetic significance, moving

¹ Published by courtesy of the Century Company.



MONTICELLO, WEST FRONT.

[Published by courtesy of the Century Company.]

Cabell to remain loyal to the greatest purpose of his life. Appealing at once to his patriotism and his sense of duty, Jefferson said: "I know well your devotion to your country, and your foresight of the awful scenes coming on her, sooner or later. With this foresight, what service can we ever render her [the University] equal to this? What object of our lives can we propose so important? What interest of our own which ought not to be postponed to this? Health, time, labor, on what in the single life which nature has given us, can these be better bestowed than on this immortal boon to our country? The exertions and the mortifications are temporary; the benefit eternal. If any member of our college of visitors could justifiably withdraw from this sacred duty, it would be myself, who, '*quadragenis stipendiis jam dudum peractis,*' have neither vigor of body nor mind left to keep the field; but I will die in the last ditch. And so, I hope, you will, my friend, as well as our firm-breasted brothers and colleagues, Mr. Johnson and General Breckenridge. * * * Pray then, dear and very dear sir, do not think of deserting us, but view the sacrifices which seem to stand in your way as the lesser duties, and such as ought to be postponed to this, the greatest of all. Continue with us in these holy labors, until having seen their accomplishment, we may say with old Simeon, '*nunc dimittas, Domine.*'"¹

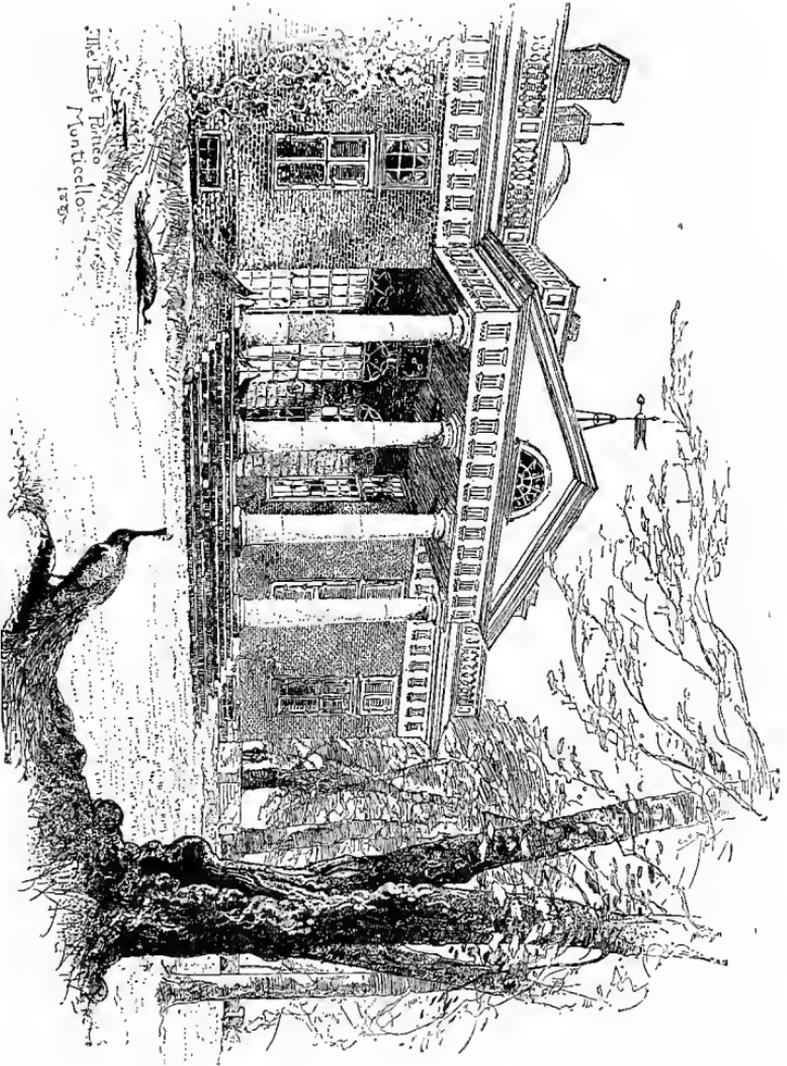
Cabell replied, "It is not in my nature to resist such an appeal." Without further words upon the subject of domestic comfort, rural pleasure, or literary ease, this noble scholar returned to politics and to the business of sustaining the University by good legislation. He continued to serve the institution as legislator, visitor, and rector until his death, in 1856. Such was the self-sacrificing and devoted spirit which entered into the life and constitution of the University of Virginia. The final recognition of the university idea and its loyal maintenance through every crisis, by the common people of Virginia, illustrates the truth of Robert Browning's verse:

"A people is but the attempt of many
To rise to the completer life of one."

THE FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

Emerson's words, with which the writer began the present monograph, recur now with renewed force: "*An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.*" This saying has peculiar significance to one who has studied with some care the origin of the University of Virginia, and who has stood in front of Jefferson's house at Monticello and looked across that beautiful country toward the "academical village" which represents the best energies of his life. From that height Jefferson watched day by day the building of his University. It is a local tradition that often, when the work of the masons appeared to be going wrong, Jefferson would mount his horse and ride over in hot haste to

¹ Jefferson's letter to Cabell, January 31, 1821.



MONTICELLO, THE EAST PORTICO.

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correct the error. We can well believe it; for in August, 1820, he wrote to John Adams: "Our University, four miles distant, gives me frequent exercise, and the oftener, as I direct its architecture." The buildings of the University of Virginia are Jefferson's thoughts materialized in artistic form. If those pavilions and that grand rotunda should ever be shaken down by an earthquake, the future archæologist might perhaps find the name of Jefferson upon every stone in the ruins.

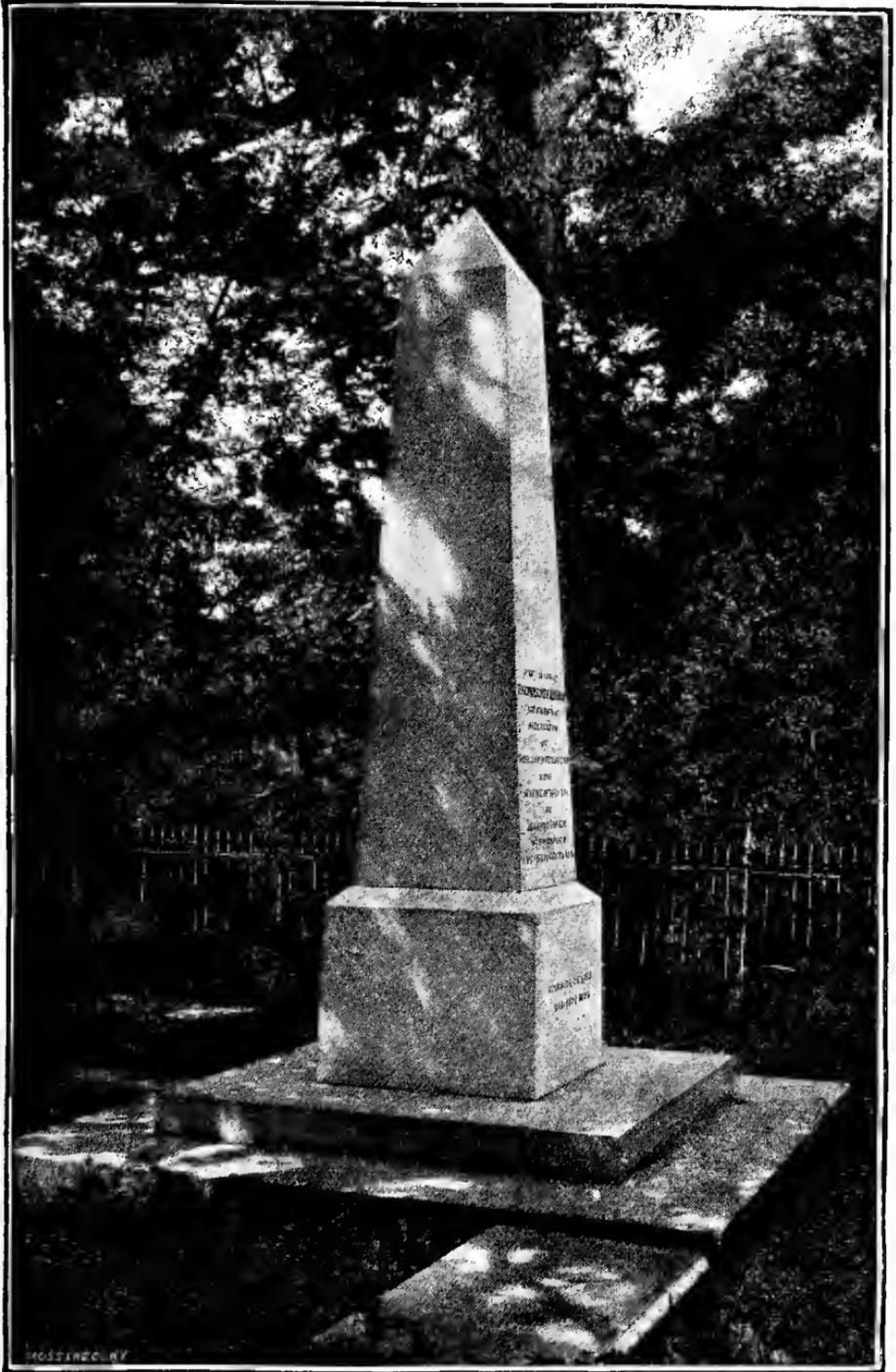
Jefferson died with the feeling that the University was not yet fully appreciated by his fellow-citizens; but he was confident that posterity would do it justice. He once wrote to Cabell: "I have long been sensible that while I was endeavoring to render our country the greatest of all services, and placing our rising generation on the level of our sister States (which they have proudly held heretofore), I was discharging the odious function of a physician pouring medicine down the throat of a patient insensible of needing it. I am so sure of the future approbation of posterity, and of the inestimable effect we shall have produced in the elevation of our country by what we have done, as that I can not repent of the part I have borne in co-operation with my colleagues." The University was the noblest work of Jefferson's life. His system of higher education marks the continuation of his personal, vitalizing influence in Virginia and in the country at large more truly than does any other of his original creations.

By order of Congress a new monument¹ has lately been erected upon the site of the old and battered shaft which stood over his grave in that little burying-ground by the road-side, to the left as one goes toward the valley from Jefferson's old home. The new monument bears the inscription copied from the old stone, which has been piously removed to the campus of the University of the State of Missouri, at Columbia: "Here was buried Thōmas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia. Born April 2d, 1743, O. S. Died July 4th, 1826."

Here lies a man who gave the best that he had to his country, his State, his friends and neighbors, and to the University which bears not his name but that of Virginia. He sacrificed a large private fortune in expenditures for the public good, in the exercise of generous hospitality, and in meeting obligations incurred by indorsing the notes of a family

¹ Monument over the Grave of Thomas Jefferson. Letter from the Secretary of State (William M. Evarts) to Hon. D. W. Voorhees, chairman of the Committee on the Library, transmitting letter of the Attorney-General in relation to the obstacles in the way of erecting a monument over the grave of Thomas Jefferson, May 11, 1880. 8vo, pp. 4, Forty-sixth Congress, second sess., Senate, Mis. Doc., No. 88.

The Jefferson Monument. Correspondence relating thereto. 1883. Letters from James S. Rollins and Mary B. Randolph concerning "the old Jefferson monument, transplanted from Monticello, Va., to the campus of the University of the State of Missouri, at Columbia."



NEW MONUMENT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, ERECTED BY ORDER OF CONGRESS, 1882.

friend, whose bankruptcy gave Jefferson what he called his *coup de grâce*.

Although the last year of his life threatened to end in trouble and poverty, yet before his death the State of Virginia and its grateful counties, together with friends in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, came to his relief. The spontaneous offering of help by grateful citizens throughout a whole country gratified Jefferson beyond measure, and "closed with a cloudless sun a long and serene day of life."



OLD MONUMENT TO THOMAS JEFFERSON, NOW ON THE CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA, MO.

[Published by courtesy of the Century Company.]

CHAPTER XI.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA UPON SOUTHERN LIFE AND THOUGHT.

AN INQUIRY INTO ITS CAUSES AND EXTENT.

BY WILLIAM P. TRENT, M. A.

INTRODUCTORY.

Doctor Adams has asked me to write an essay upon the above subject to serve as a supplementary chapter to his work upon Thomas Jefferson and his relations to the University of Virginia. As an alumnus of the University,¹ and as a modest student of institutional history, I am naturally interested in the good work Dr. Adams has undertaken, and I have not thought it right to allow any feelings of diffidence to prevent me from lending what help I can to his labors.

In studying the influences exerted by laws, by customs, or by institutions, it is by no means easy to hold the balance even; we are all inclined to forget that persuasion is not proof, or that denunciation has no place in history. I fear that mine is by no means a steady hand; but as a faulty experiment generally brings about others and, in time, the true one, I am inclined to proceed with my subject without further preface.

That the University of Virginia has had an appreciable influence upon the South goes without saying. The very fact that the institution is living and working to-day proves it. If further argument were needed, I should simply point to the creative genius of its founder, and to the fact that a professor in a sister university has worked for months over its early history. This last fact, by the way, shows the good effects of institutional studies in subduing that spirit of prejudice and captious criticism which too often alienates institutions that should work in harmony. It remains, then, for us to consider the causes, the extent, and the character of this influence.

¹The University of Virginia is known throughout the South as "the University," and this is my excuse for using an expression otherwise indefensible.

Manifestly these three objects of inquiry are interdependent; it is equally manifest that we are practically confined to two fields of investigation. On the one hand, we may study the workings of the University, both in its history and on the spot, and from such study arrive at what seem to be the causes of the influence the existence of which we have taken for granted; on the other hand, we may follow its students into the world, watch their careers, and from thousands of particular facts obtain by induction such general conclusions as to the extent and character of their influence as a fair mind might be expected to make.

When a friend of an institution endeavors to prove its usefulness, he will, as a rule, employ the first method; but it is equally the rule that he only convinces neutrals, or those who were partly inclined to his view of the matter; he will hardly silence strenuous opponents. If an appeal be made to statistics, opposition will frequently be silenced, but this, too, has limitations to its success. Unless the results obtained in the shape of statistics are given in a clear and attractive manner, they will repel neutrals and half-way friends; and, unless opponents are candid and truth-loving, the most convincing figures will be as barren of result as the mere dictum of an uninformed partisan. These are the two dangers that beset all those who would fain lay before the public the results of their institutional studies.

I.—ANALYSIS OF THE WORKINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

If this essay were to be published independently of Dr. Adams's monograph, I should have to devote some space to an examination of Jefferson's ideas with regard to higher education, in order to fairly begin any study of the workings of the University; but as Dr. Adams has already treated this subject ably and fully in the preceding pages, my labor in this respect will be considerably abridged. It suffices to say that the broadness of Mr. Jefferson's views and the suggestive quality of his genius are nowhere more strikingly displayed than in his choice of the lines along which the work of his favorite institution was to run. These lines the University has in the main adhered to. The combination of the monastic with the democratic spirit, the high standard and broad scope of study which he advised, the honor system of discipline, and the merging of party and sect into literary and scientific fellowship all survive in the University, and in their results bear testimony to the wisdom of the mind that first combined them.

LIST OF CAUSES OF THE UNIVERSITY'S INFLUENCE.

I shall now present to the reader a list of the causes or working forces which, in my opinion, have given extent and character to the influence of the University upon Southern life and thought. A brief discussion of each head will follow, and we shall then be brought to the second division of our subject, which corresponds to the second method of investigation before laid down.

These chief causes or working forces may be stated as follows :

(1) The continued refusal of the faculty and visitors to rest satisfied with the present standard of requirement in the several studies or with the number of subjects taught, and the constant tendency to improvement in both of these particulars.

(2) The substitution of the elective for the curricular system of instruction.

(3) The honor system of discipline.

(4) The even balance held between sects and parties.

(5) The high qualifications, both mental and moral, of the men chosen as instructors.

(6) The unique position of the University in the South; a position largely brought about by the existence of the above-mentioned causes, and by others to be stated hereafter.

STRIVING AFTER BETTER RESULTS.

We shall now consider the first claim made for the University.

In 1826 the faculty consisted of eight professors, occupying the following chairs: Ancient languages, modern languages (including Anglo-Saxon—see page 92), mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history, anatomy and medicine, moral philosophy, and law. I am informed by the present chairman of the faculty, Col. Charles S. Venable (to whom I am indebted for kind assistance), that the examinations held during the first years of the University were as searching and thorough, in proportion to the extent of the course, as those now in vogue, and of the thoroughness of the latter I am qualified to speak by experience. In 1827 the medical department was organized and the work distributed to three professors; in 1859 there were four professors and a special demonstrator of anatomy. Although there have been few clinical advantages connected with this school, the thoroughness of its teaching has never failed to attract students, and the men who obtain its diploma are uniformly successful in any college they may subsequently attend. In 1851 an adjunct professor of law was appointed, who became a full professor in 1854. In 1856 the chair of ancient languages was superseded by two new chairs, those of Latin and of Greek and Hebrew. In 1857 the school of history and general literature was established. Since that time the faculty has been enlarged by the appointment of professors in applied mathematics, in natural history and geology, in analytical chemistry, in English, in scientific agriculture, zoölogy, and botany, and in practical astronomy. The professor of moral philosophy had long ago delivered lectures on political economy; but in 1882 this subject was handed over to the professor of history, whose school is now known as that of historical science. In 1887 the faculty consisted of nineteen full professors, to whom may be added five special instructors. All this indicates a natural and steady growth; chairs have been created to meet the needs of the

time; there has been no rush or over-eagerness to make a display of high-sounding names on the pages of the catalogue.

If inquiry be directed to the workings of these several schools, a conformity to the laws of evolution will be discovered which would, I suspect, fairly shock the professors in charge. Attention has already been called to the strictness of the early examinations. The method of class-instruction has always been by lectures, supplemented by text-book work. Of course the horrible state of secondary education throughout the South cramped and retarded the development of the early schools; but when University graduates betook themselves to this labor-craving field, an advance in method and scope of teaching became possible—an advance characterized by the same natural and steady growth to which I before alluded. For want of space I am not able to particularize upon this subject; but when I come to speak of Dr. Gessner Harrison, who succeeded Mr. George Long in the chair of ancient languages, we shall see that the philological work of Bopp was being made familiar to students in the University of Virginia at a time when not even the professors of other colleges in this country had realized the immense importance of the great German's undertaking. The chair of moral philosophy might be selected as another example of this academical evolution, if I may be allowed the phrase. Within my own memory two lectures a week have been added to this course.

EVOLUTION OF DEGREES.

If attention be turned to the degrees awarded by the University, the same spirit of adaptation to the needs of the time will be perceived, perhaps, however, in a less degree. It was early recognized by the founders of the University that an institution was needed, upon the thoroughness of whose work the utmost reliance could be placed. A glance at the state of secondary education proved this. Thoughtful men were beginning to see that it was folly to intrust their children to teachers whose want of qualification would only be discovered after they had ruined the minds of their pupils. Hence it was that Princeton was crowded with Southern students; and hence it was that Mr. Jefferson and his coadjutors determined that their new University, by giving its honors only to the highly meritorious should send forth men stamped with a seal—ready and able to assist in the regeneration of culture and learning, not only in Virginia, but throughout the entire South.

At first an attempt was made to drop the long-established academical titles, save that of M. D., and to adopt the simple title of graduate U. V., the name of the school or schools in which the student had been “declared eminent” being expressed in his “certificate,” which was to be “attested” by the particular professor. This is certainly the most striking—probably the only instance of a lack of “sweetness and light” on the part of the founders of the University; but it gives one pleasure to see how quickly they recognized their mistake and how prompt

they were in correcting it. In 1828 the visitors recommended the faculty "to consider and report to the board whether some change be not proper in the regulations concerning degrees." The faculty, after consideration, reported in favor of that title which has since been regarded in the South as the highest academical honor a man can wear, the title of Master of Arts of the University of Virginia. For this degree, which was adopted in 1831, graduation was required in the schools of ancient languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry (which seems to have taken the place of the old school of natural history), and moral philosophy. But the visitors, in adopting the degree, showed their wisdom further by recommending the faculty "to consider and report whether higher or other degrees ought not to be provided for, and whether proficiency in the modern languages, or any of them, should be essential to such degrees." This last recommendation would suffice to show us that the visitors were no ordinary men. A glance at the catalogue discloses the names of James Madison (Mouroe's term expired in February, 1831, and he died just about the time this resolution was passed), of Joseph C. Cabell, of Chapman Johnson, of John H. Cocke, and of Thomas Jefferson Randolph. The faculty did not report on this, at least there is no record of their having done so; but in 1832 the visitors added "graduation in at least two of the languages taught in the school of modern languages" to the requisites for the master's degree. Since that date other changes have been made in the M. A., all tending to make it more difficult to obtain; but in 1884, owing no doubt to the increased difficulty of graduation in the several schools, graduation in the department of historical science ceased to be a requisite. This is one of the few backward steps the visitors have taken. To send out a master of arts who may be—and I think is, as a rule—comparatively ignorant both of history and of political economy, is hardly in keeping with the traditions of the University—is certainly not in keeping with the ideas entertained by Mr. Jefferson. The degrees subsequently added present points both for favorable and for unfavorable criticism. In the year 1840 the law school was permitted to give its full graduates the title of bachelor of law. This was a decidedly advantageous step. In 1848 the degree of bachelor of arts was authorized, but the requisites attached to it were such that it can scarcely be regarded as having served any definite purpose. A reference to the catalogues of the University will readily show the truth of the latter statement. The degree was generally, and with good reason, looked upon as a sop thrown to those who had failed to become masters; and it was entirely too difficult of attainment to answer the purpose which it serves in a curriculum college.¹ Changes have recently been made with this last end in view, and the success of the innovation is to be hoped for. Since 1848

¹ It must be stated here that the master's and the bachelor's degrees have no necessary connection with one another.

nine additional degrees have been authorized by the visitors, viz.: Bachelor of letters, bachelor of science, bachelor of philosophy, bachelor of scientific agriculture (shades of mediæval Oxford defend us!), civil engineer, mining engineer, doctor of letters, doctor of science, and doctor of philosophy. The three last-mentioned degrees are post-graduate, and denote a departure from established custom pregnant with interest to the future of the University. Whether the first four degrees enumerated serve any very good purpose is, I conceive, an open question. It is necessary to add that no honorary degrees are ever conferred by the University; a rule originating, I doubt not, in the determination before alluded to, of providing the South with an institution whose degrees should be sure evidence of high merit.

We have thus seen the truth of the statement that the faculty and visitors have never been content with present standards, but have always aimed at higher things. We have found points to criticise, it is true, but such as do not affect the general conclusion. Now, it is at once plain that this striving after better results, being, as it were, part of the mental and moral atmosphere of the place, could not fail to affect the minds and characters of many of the students. It is impossible to fully trace the effects of this spirit of enterprise and thorough-goingness; it will be sufficient to remark that from 1830 the cause of secondary education in the South began to revive, and that this revival was largely, if not entirely, due to the graduates of the new institution who went forth as teachers. Another result of this constant improvement in method and scope of instruction is found in the fact that there is scarcely any college in the South which has not to a greater or less extent modelled its system of teaching after that of the University;¹ and in the further fact that the University has always furnished these various colleges with a large proportion of their professors.² But I have already dwelt too long upon this matter; the remaining heads can, however, be more summarily dealt with.

¹Mr. S. W. Powell, in an article entitled "Schools in Dixie," which appeared in the Independent for August 18, 1837, gives the number of these colleges as thirty-five. He also adds a statement which is perfectly true: "A scholarly Northern man, who has taught many years in the South, told me that when he met a graduate of this institution (University of Virginia) he generally could count on finding him a man of exact knowledge and opposed to all shams." I may mention here that a member of our historical seminary at the Johns Hopkins, who is also an alumnus of Vanderbilt University, told me that at the latter institution it is a common thing to hear men say, "Oh, if we can just get our standard up to that of the Virginia University we shall be all right." Such praise from a progressive university like Vanderbilt is very gratifying, and shows that rivalry grows there like a flower and not like a weed.

²In reviewing my work, I find it necessary to call attention to the fact that the University is leading in the South along new lines of education as well as along the old. Since Professor Mallet began to teach industrial chemistry in 1868, the University has sent out over a dozen professors of chemistry, all of whom have their own laboratories. The great success of the Miller Manual Training School has been largely due to the fact that all the principal teachers, and nearly all the subordinate ones, have been University men; and the best school of the kind in Maryland has been since its foundation in the hands of an alumnus of the University.

SUBSTITUTION OF ELECTIVE FOR CURRICULAR SYSTEM.

To enter into a discussion of the respective merits of the elective and curricular systems, though logically not out of place here, would scarcely harmonize with the promise just made. I can dwell on only one point of advantage which the elective system offers, naturally the one which in my opinion has most increased the influence of the University upon the South, viz., the fact that under the elective system poor men who desire to become proficient in one study can come to the University at a moderate expense, and in one year by hard work fit themselves as thoroughly in that special study as they can under the ordinary college system in three or four years. It is easy to see what a powerful lever this has been for raising the poorer classes throughout the South; nor is the beneficial reaction upon the wealthier classes less apparent or important. When we come to the statistical part of our work, we shall see that the above reasoning is in no sense fanciful.

HONOR SYSTEM OF DISCIPLINE.

I shall be equally brief with regard to the third cause mentioned, viz., the confidence reposed in the students in allowing them to exercise college discipline by means of the honor system. To argue at length as to the merits of this system would be superfluous. College spies are as odious as those of government, and have not as much excuse for their existence. All the best principles of paternalism have been present at the University, but the worst principles have been banished since its foundation. The history of the institution itself furnishes the best commentary upon the workings of the honor system. Only one instance is recorded of any serious insubordination, and the cure for that insubordination was found in an appeal to the honor of the guilty parties. The effects of such training are not doubtful. Self-reliance, love of truth, jealousy for the good name of all with whom one is intimately connected—these are qualities which were inculcated in every student, and which went to form that type of Southern manhood which has had so many noble exemplars.¹

¹With regard to the honor system as extended to examinations, it may be interesting to note that such a thing as cheating is almost unheard-of, although the fullest freedom is allowed to the students during the hours set for the examination. The few instances that occur of a student's taking unfair advantage of this confidence reposed in him furnish further proofs of the excellent results of the honor system; for it is the students who practically expel the culprit, the faculty's power of expulsion being rarely exercised. An interesting letter upon this subject, addressed to the Hon. N. H. R. Dawson, Commissioner of Education, by John T. Harris, Jr., of Harrisonburg, Va., now lies before me. I cannot do better than quote his closing sentence: "It [the principle of relying upon a student's honor during examinations] is now a part of the *life* of the institution, and there are none of her alumni who do not remember with feelings of intense satisfaction that the honors of their *alma mater* are all the more worth the wearing, because they are not only testimonials of mental attainments, but evidence as well the fact of their having been fairly and honorably obtained."

BALANCE HELD BETWEEN THE SECTS AND PARTIES.

The fourth cause of the University's influence was stated to be the even balance held between sect and sect, party and party. Somewhat before the foundation of Mr. Jefferson's ideal college a reaction had set in against the religious indifference of the preceding generation. The history of the colonial church in Virginia is not a bright one, and after the Revolution the gloom deepens. French thought seems to have played an important part in strengthening the general opposition to religion; but that opposition had long been at work in the form of indifference—a form which, though it may be called weak from a philosophical stand-point, is in its effects upon the lower classes of society most subtle and dangerous. It is a mistake to suppose that the gentry alone were irreligious; the clergy and the common people were equally so. Here and there a man like Devereux Jarratt would succeed in arousing some religious enthusiasm; but one has only to read his letters of 1794 and 1795 to see the truth of the statements made above. Indeed, he gives as his reason for writing his life that he must be doing something, for, work as he would, his clerical duties left him ample time for bitter reflection. It is not my intention to describe the manner in which the revival was conducted. By 1825 its effects were very manifest.¹ That Mr. Jefferson was foolish enough to believe that he could establish, in the face of this reaction (to say nothing of the total inutility of the project), a university to be conducted on atheistical principles, I, at least, can never be brought to believe. That such a report was long current is true; but in view of the statistics I am about to present, I cannot think that it did the University any great harm. The opinion that the new institution was to be a seminary for atheists has left its evil fruits, as everything that is false must do; but it is a comfort to think that the holders of the opinion gathered the crop. It has not even yet wholly died out; but sensible people are at last becoming a little ashamed to express it—a proof of the truth of the assertion I am about to make, that this principle of holding an even balance between the sects (and the same is true to a less degree of parties) has liberalized Southern thought to a most gratifying extent. If any of my readers are opposed to such liberalizing influences, the argument may as well be dropped here; to those who appreciate the necessity of such influences, any further discussion of the point will seem superfluous.

¹For an account of the condition of the early church in Virginia, see Henshaw's *Memoir of Bishop Moore*, Chapter IV (Philadelphia, 1843); see also Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, etc.*, Article I; but the best source of all is the "Life of the Reverend Devereux Jarratt, Rector of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, Virginia, written by Himself, in a series of letters addressed to the Rev. John Coleman," etc. Baltimore: printed by Warner & Hanna, 1806. This book, in addition to its historical value, is as interesting as a novel. But for certain obvious considerations one might imagine Defoe had written it.

HIGH QUALIFICATIONS OF THE PROFESSORS.

In considering the fifth cause mentioned, viz., the high qualifications, both mental and moral, of the men chosen as instructors, I shall endeavor to avoid prolixity; but, when one is describing character, details are often invaluable, and I may have to employ them, even at the risk of some impatience on the part of my reader. It can hardly be doubted that the influence of a few fine teachers upon their scholars will be felt over almost the whole territory from which those scholars are drawn. Indeed, this will be readily admitted in the case of men of genius; such names as that of Coleridge, or, if a teacher in the professional sense of the word must be chosen, of Dr. Arnold, will at once recur to every mind. Nor must the proposition be essentially modified when we speak of men below the rank of genius; probably the influence they exert will not be so great, but even this is by no means certain. It remains then for me to show as briefly as I can that the faculty of the University of Virginia has been composed of men whose influence has been great and for the good. To avoid the invidiousness inherent in such an undertaking, is by no means an easy task; but the attempt must be made. I need hardly state that I do not intend to refer here to any professor who is still living.

Mr. Jefferson, determined that his pet institution should not start handicapped, had to look to Europe for a majority of the first faculty. "Only the two professorships of law and moral philosophy," says Prof. Schele De Vere, "Mr. Jefferson, with his usual tact and intuitive justness of perception, determined to bestow at all hazards upon natives, as the subjects here to be taught ought to be national in the highest sense of the word. He even suggested that the text-books to be used by the professor of law should be prescribed, so that 'orthodox political principles' might be taught and 'the vestal flame of republicanism' be kept alive." This last is not exactly what we should have expected from a statesman so far ahead of his age. Possibly he was not serious. Certain it is that, had his suggestion been adopted, the Andover controversy would have had its parallel in politics. The two native professors were George Tucker in the chair of moral philosophy, and John Tayloe Lomax in the chair of law. We shall speak of these before turning our attention to the distinguished foreigners whom Mr. Jefferson invited over to Virginia.

GEORGE TUCKER.

George Tucker was a native of Bermuda, but was educated at William and Mary College, and for the rest of his life was a resident of the State of Virginia. He engaged at first in the practice of the law, and such was his success, that he was chosen a member of Congress in 1819, and held his seat until called to the University in 1825. In Congress he won deserved recognition as a debater and a constitutional lawyer. He had been known as an author before Mr. Jefferson's choice placed

him at the head of the school of moral philosophy, and during his long and useful life he can almost be said to have never laid aside his pen. A reference to the list of his works given at the end of this monograph will show that Mr. Tucker's heart must have been in his labors, especially in those connected with political economy. Nor must we forget another fact connected with his work, viz., that he early recognized the necessity of teaching literature and rhetoric systematically, instead of allowing his students to pick up a knowledge of them as they could. To this end he combined instruction in these departments with his own special work in philosophy; a not illogical combination, and a most advantageous one to young men who must be presumed to have had little general education. As might have been expected, he did not include political economy in this grouping, but gave special lectures upon this subject, as Mr. Jefferson had before advised. On the whole, we are justified in concluding that the twenty years of Mr. Tucker's stay at the University were highly profitable ones, both to himself and to his students. In 1845 he retired to Philadelphia, where he lived quietly but not idly; for much of his best literary work was done during this well-earned rest. He died in 1861, in Albemarle County, Va. When we consider what a condition the country was then in, and when we remember that not twenty years before he had written a history of its progress and development, we are almost tempted to wish that he had not lived so long.

JOHN TAYLOR LOMAX.

Of John Taylor Lomax little need be said, as he only occupied the chair of law for four years—1826 to 1830. He was a distinguished lawyer in his day, and published two works—a Digest of the Law of Real Property, and The Law of Executors and Administrators. This last work is still highly prized in Virginia, and perhaps in other States. Mr. Lomax, after severing his connection with the University, became one of the justices of the General Court. He was succeeded by John A. G. Davis, a lawyer of high ability, who published a work on criminal law. Indeed, the making of books seems to have characterized the professors in this department. Mr. Davis was followed by Judge H. St. George Tucker, who was a son of the still more distinguished St. George Tucker, and who had been a member of Congress (1815–19) and president of the Court of Appeals of Virginia. Judge Tucker was the author of several legal works of high repute.

The foreigners invited over by Mr. Jefferson were five in number: George Long, George Blaetterman, LL. D., Thomas Hewett Key, Charles Bonnycastle, and Robley Dunglison. Of these we shall speak briefly.

GEORGE LONG.

George Long filled the chair of ancient languages from 1825 to 1828. He was a master of arts and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and

on the establishment of the University of London was called home to fill the chair of Greek in that institution. Mr. Long's influence upon his fellow teachers and his students was great, notwithstanding his short stay; for he fixed the standard of requirement in his classes at a higher point than was then known in this country, and he was the instructor and life-long friend of his successor, Gessner Harrison, whose immense influence upon the University we shall soon consider at some length. To characterize the scholarship of a man so well known would be a work of supererogation on my part, if not of impertinence; but I can not forbear quoting in this connection the opinion of the man who was perhaps the best fitted of all English critics to judge such matters—Mr. Matthew Arnold. In his essay on Marcus Aurelius,¹ speaking of Mr. Long's translation of the Meditations, Mr. Arnold said: "Mr. Long's reputation as a scholar is a sufficient guarantee of the general fidelity and accuracy of his translation: on these matters, besides, I am hardly entitled to speak, and my praise is of no value. But that for which I and the rest of the unlearned may venture to praise Mr. Long is this: that he treats Marcus Aurelius's writings, as he treats all the other remains of Greek and Roman antiquity which he touches, not as a dead and dry matter of learning, but as documents with a side of modern applicability and living interest, and valuable mainly so far as this side in them can be made clear; that as in his notes on Plutarch's Roman Lives he deals with the modern epoch of Cæsar and Cicero, not as food for school-boys, but as food for men, and men engaged in the current of contemporary life and action, so in his remarks and essays on Marcus Aurelius, he treats this truly modern striver and thinker, not as a classical dictionary hero, but as a present source from which to draw 'example of life, and instruction of manners.' Why may not a son of Dr. Arnold say, what might naturally here be said by any other critic, that in this lively and fruitful way of considering the men and affairs of ancient Greece and Rome, *Mr. Long resembles Dr. Arnold?*"

GEORGE BLAETTERMAN.

I regret that I have not been able to obtain more facts of importance with regard to Dr. George Blaetterman. He was a German by birth, but, was residing in London at the time Mr. Jefferson selected him to teach the modern languages. Dr. Adams has already laid sufficient stress upon Mr. Jefferson's wonderful anticipation of modern educational ideas, so I need only remind the reader that the University of Virginia was the first college in this country which taught these languages as carefully as it did the classical, and which included among them the Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Gessner Harrison bears testimony to Dr. Blaetterman's abilities in the following words: "He gave proof of extensive acquirements, and of a mind of uncommon natural vigor and penetration. In connection more especially with the lessons on German

¹ Essays in Criticism, by Matthew Arnold.

and Anglo-Saxon, he gave to his students much that was interesting and valuable in comparative philology also, a subject in which he found peculiar pleasure.”¹ Dr. Blaetterman occupied his chair until 1840.

THOMAS HEWETT KEY.²

The first professor of mathematics was Thomas Hewett Key, a master of arts of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a few years older than Long, and spent two or three years after getting his degree in studying medicine. The climate of Virginia did not suit him, so he returned to England in 1827, and in the following year was elected professor of Latin in the University of London, thus again becoming a colleague of Mr. Long’s. About 1840 he gave up the chair of Latin, and became professor of comparative grammar and head-master of the preparatory school connected with the University. He died in November, 1875. Mr. Key’s reputation as a philologist has been assured by the publication of many valuable works, of which a partial list will be found at the end of this monograph.

CHARLES BONNYCASTLE.

Charles Bonnycastle was first invited to teach natural philosophy, but on the removal of Mr. Key to England the department of mathematics was assigned to him, Robert M. Patterson, of Philadelphia, afterwards sub-director of the United States Mint, succeeding him in the chair of natural philosophy. Mr. Bonnycastle was educated at the Royal Military Academy of Woolwich, where his father was a professor. This Mr. John Bonnycastle was a noted mathematician in his day, and the University got the benefit of much of his experience through his son, who seems to have had a decided influence upon its methods of instruction. From a letter from Chairman Venable, the present professor of mathematics, I gather that the examinations set by Mr. Bonnycastle were “years ahead of any mathematical instruction given to any college classes in the United States.” He introduced the use of the ratio method of the trigonometrical functions, first used in the English universities in 1830. This is but one of the many facts which show how thoroughly the University of Virginia kept abreast with the times—in many instances almost even with the institutions of Europe—far ahead of those in this country. Mr. Bonnycastle held his chair until 1840. He was succeeded by J. J. Sylvester, who was followed by Edward Courtenay, a graduate of West Point and a mathematician of high standing. A treatise on the integral calculus, which Mr. Courtenay left at his death, was published for the benefit of his family, and was used as a text-book at the University for many years. Only within the last three or four years has a more suitable book been found for the class.

¹ Dnyckinck’s Cyclopædia of American Literature, II, 725.

² I find Mr. Key’s middle name spelt *Hewitt* in many places, but autograph letters prove that he himself wrote *Hewett*.

DR. ROBLEY DUNGLISON.¹

The name of Dr. Robley Dunglison is so familiar to all who have dipped into medical literature, even to those whose attention is not directed further than to the backs of the books, that I need hardly dwell upon it here. Dr. Dunglison was born at Keswick, England, in 1798. He was educated at Erlangen, in Germany, and came to this country at Mr. Jefferson's request in 1825. He remained eight years at the University, and left a deep impression upon the minds of all who knew him. In 1833 he became a professor in the University of Maryland, and was afterwards called to Jefferson College, Philadelphia. He died in this latter city in 1869. Dr. Dunglison, in addition to his vast professional acquirements, was a man of scholarly feelings and of general culture. His contributions to medical science were valuable and extensive. Next to Mr. Long, he was probably the most widely distinguished man connected with the early faculty.²

It may be well to note here that the medical school was at first established to give culture and training in medical science to the general student, rather than to furnish thorough professional training to the would-be practitioner. But this idea was, in some respects, too much ahead of the times, and in some not sufficiently in keeping with the requirements of the position the new college had taken upon itself to fill, so in 1827, as we have already seen, the school was re-organized as follows: Robley Dunglison, M. D., professor of physiology, theory and practice of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence; John P. Emmet, M. D., professor of chemistry and materia medica; Thomas Johnson, M. D., demonstrator of anatomy and surgery.

Certainly, if the date be borne in mind, no one can complain of the narrowness of this scheme of studies.

DR. JOHN P. EMMET.

John P. Emmet, M. D., who first taught chemistry and natural history, was a nephew of the famous Irish patriot, and was born in Dublin in 1797.

¹I have before me a copy of Dunglison's *Human Physiology*, 3d edition, Philadelphia, 1838. I am informed by high medical authority that this work has a most important position in the history of American medical science. The first edition was published before the author had left the University, and was designed as a text-book for his students. It was dedicated to ex-President Madison, whom Dr. Dunglison had known while the former was rector of the board of visitors. Foreign and native scientific journals were loud in their praise of it, and it is still interesting even to the general reader, who is at once struck by the author's acquaintance, not only with German contributions to science, but also with general literature.

²The facts presented in the preceding sketches are mainly derived from a comparison of the accounts to be found in various encyclopædias, and from an article on the University of Virginia, by Dr. Gessner Harrison, in *Duyckinok's Cyclopædia of American Literature*, II, 725. A memoir of Dr. Dunglison was published by his son, Dr. R. J. Dunglison, in 1870. For the early years of the University the preface to Dr. Schele De Vere's catalogue, and an address delivered by the late Professor Tutwiler, of Alabama, before the alumni in 1882, may be consulted.

His father having emigrated to New York, young Emmet was sent to West Point; then he got a year of travel abroad, and finally was graduated a doctor of medicine from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York. Dr. Emmet was highly qualified for the position he occupied, and was for a long time a contributor to scientific journals. His disposition was genial and winning, and we shall not be wrong in attributing to him many of those fine endowments which are not to be gained from the study of books, but which are eminently necessary to the teacher who would animate and encourage as well as instruct.

DR. GESSNER HARRISON.

We now come to the man who of all others had, as far as I am able to see, the greatest influence upon the University, and, through his students, upon Southern life and thought; I refer to Dr. Gessner Harrison.¹ Whatever may be the value of memorial literature for the historical student, it too often belongs to the "no-book" class of literature which excited—I can not say the ire—perhaps I had better say the pity of Charles Lamb; but the memorial address of Dr. John A. Broadus upon Gessner Harrison is certainly worth reading, apart from its interest to the friend or special student. The subject of the address was born in 1809, and was one of the first students entered at the new University. At the beginning of his career he intended to make a physician of himself, but he devoted much attention to the study of the ancient languages under Mr. Long. In 1828 he was one of the three graduates in Greek and also one of the three in medicine, these being the first men regularly graduated by the University. But he was not destined to be a physician. Mr. Long had been recalled to England and had been asked to name his successor. To the surprise of all he named Gessner Harrison, then barely twenty-one. The visitors, with many misgivings we may imagine, gave him the appointment for one year; the next year they made it permanent. Of course such a thing could not happen now except in the case of a second Mill. The study of Sanskrit and of comparative philology has so widened the field of investigation that no man of twenty-one would now be qualified to undertake the teaching of one of the classical languages in a college of high standing, much less of both. But the case was very different in 1828. The philosophy of language was to all intents and purposes unknown, and the ignorance of a few facts more or less as to syntax would hardly make against a teacher's general efficiency. That it was a highly responsible position can not, however, be denied; that the young man filled it nobly is equally patent to the student of his life.

We may pass over the troubles of the youthful professor, although they were serious enough, owing to the bad state of secondary educa-

¹ The best source of information with regard to Gessner Harrison seems to be a memorial address delivered before the alumni by Dr. John A. Broadus, published as a pamphlet, also in the *Southern Review*, Vol. XIII, p. 334 (1873), and in his *Sermons and Addresses* (Baltimore, 1887). I have drawn largely upon this in the following sketch.

tion and to the lawlessness of a few of the students. It is sufficient to say that in the opinion of many who from a long life and distinguished position have had opportunities for judging, Gessner Harrison achieved a remarkable triumph over his difficulties, and that without invidiousness he may be said to have done more than any one man, with the single exception of Mr. Jefferson, in raising the standard of education throughout the South. From 1828 to 1859 he labored zealously and successfully; then, worn-out and fearing that he could not make a proper provision for his large family, he resigned his professorship and opened a classical boarding school. Attracted by his reputation, pupils came from all parts of the South. But the War broke out and Gessner Harrison did not survive it. From nursing a son who had sickened with camp-fever, he contracted a modification of the disease and died on the 7th of April, 1862. A more fitting end to his career could not have been wished: he lived for others, he died for another.

A few words as to his methods of teaching, and I shall hasten on to the consideration of our sixth and last cause. He laid great stress on the necessity for a thorough knowledge of history and geography in studying the classics; and as text-books were wanting he prepared a pamphlet to meet the needs of his students. Says Dr. Broadus:

“In history he seized at the outset upon the ideas of Niebuhr, and even in the first half of his career made a great impression upon, at least, a few minds, though greatly hindered by the lack of a text-book. In the latter half he was cheered and assisted by the appearance of Arnold's *Rome* and of Grote's *Greece*, followed by manuals not ill-suited to the wants of his class. There was then in the University no professor of history in general, and many remember as an epoch in their lives the views of history and enthusiasm for its study which they derived from Dr. Harrison.”

With regard to comparative philology the labors of Gessner Harrison deserve more attention than I could give them in this article, even were I qualified to pass judgment upon them; but a few words must be said on the subject. Mr. Long sent his successor copies of the earlier portions of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, the first part of which appeared in 1833. Dr. Harrison seized upon these, and began independent work in the application of the new methods to the ancient languages. Naturally his students came in for a share of the benefits derived from this study, and Dr. Broadus gives an amusing account of how the professor's enthusiasm was received by some of them. “Old Gess's humbuggery” seems quite a fit expression for the modern sophomore. This application of the German methods was long after unknown in any other American college; it was still unpracticed in the English universities, and had not met with general recognition even in Germany itself. When Dr. Gildersleeve entered the faculty of the University, he found, to use Dr. Broadus's words, “that his colleague, Dr. Harrison, had long been making free use of comparative philology at a time when in the

leading universities of Germany it was scarcely at all applied to the explanation of Latin and Greek, and that he himself could profit by the views found in Dr. Harrison's Latin Grammar."

Besides a sketch of the University in Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, Dr. Harrison published a Latin Grammar, and a Treatise on the Greek Prepositions and the Cases of Nouns with Which They are Used. Of the value of these last I am not able to speak personally; for various reasons they were not adapted to popular use, and the predominance of German works on the subjects they treated may account for their not having taken a higher stand with advanced philologists. Dr. Broadus mentions that Bishop Ellicott, the distinguished English commentator, spoke very favorably of the "Greek Prepositions."

About 1870, according to the same authority, an American student showed the Latin grammar to Curtius at Leipsic. On returning it the great scholar said: "This is a good book, an excellent book for the time at which it appeared, though of course we have got a good way beyond it by this time." "Had Curtius known," continues Dr. Broadus, "that nearly all of the etymological portion, to which alone his attention was directed, had appeared in the earlier volume which Dr. Harrison printed for his class in 1839, only six years after Bopp's first part was published, and at least six years before Curtius himself made his first publication, he would doubtless have used still stronger language."

Such was the character and work of this extraordinary man. Although more attention has been given to him than to any other of his fellow-workers, I can not think that attention disproportionate. It necessitates, however, my passing over the names of others upon whom I would willingly dwell. I should love to write of William B. Rogers, so well known for his devotion to science, and dear to Massachusetts as the first president of her Institute of Technology.¹ Then there are other names that come to mind: Socrates Maupin, William H. McGuffey, Stephen O. Southall, John Staige Davis. All these did their work nobly and faithfully, and shall they not be mentioned? But a line must be drawn somewhere, and I draw it with my humble tribute to one whose loss the University has had recently to deplore. I refer to that highly gifted man, Dr. John H. Wheeler, a graduate of Harvard and Bonn, a pupil of Professor Gildersleeve, and the successor of Dr. Price as professor of Greek in the University of Virginia. He was one of the very few of whom it may be said that outside and inside the teacher you found the whole-souled man.

UNIQUE POSITION OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE SOUTH.

The sixth and last cause mentioned is also a resultant of the five causes previously enumerated. But the unique position of the University with regard to Southern education was also due to the absence of statesmen of Mr. Jefferson's calibre, to the inability in a large measure of the other

¹ A memorial of William B. Rogers by William Cabell Rives was published at Cambridge, Mass., in 1883.

Southern States to shake off the trammels of sectarian prejudice, and to the condition of secondary education which made it practically needless that each State should have a separate university of high standing. That of Virginia for a long time sufficed for the whole South; and the wideness of the field from which it drew its students is a partial explanation of the wide-reaching character of the influence it exerted. I now pass to the statistical portion of my inquiry.

II.—STATISTICS.

The following tables have been prepared with great pains, and it is hoped that they are comparatively free from errors. In dealing with over nine thousand names and nearly one hundred thousand facts, some small errors may have crept into my calculations, but from the nature of the work these will be found on the side of underestimation. I have still further guarded against the possibility of any mistakes in favor of the University by giving round numbers and percentages in the first two tables, always striking off the extra units and decimals. The third table could not be treated in this way; but I think it is to all intents correct. In this connection I should state that the source from which I have mainly derived my information is the semi-centennial catalogue of the University, compiled by Prof. Schele De Vere and Capt. Joseph Van Holt Nash, and published in Baltimore in 1878. This is a very valuable work, and a treasure to the alumnus who has not forgotten his *alma mater*. Its preparation cost immense labor, but its editors have already had their reward in the thanks of all well wishers to the University. Speaking of the memory of an alumnus, reminds me of a curious psychological fact mentioned in the preface to the catalogue, that not a few letters were received written by men who claimed to have won honors at the University and to be warmly attached to it, but who were found never to have been entered on the record. I have been through this catalogue, from A to Z, and have discovered very few errors. Some mistakes with reference to the degrees conferred I was enabled to correct by means of a valuable little pamphlet issued by the university authorities in 1880, entitled "A Sketch of the History of the University," etc.

TABLE I.—Statistics with regard to the whole body of students from 1825 to July, 1874.

[Whole number of students estimated at 9,160.]

Profession, etc.	Per cent.	Round Nos.	Profession, etc.	Per cent.	Round Nos.
Law	21	1,935	In Confederate service.....	25	2,300
Medicine	22.8	2,090	Emigrated from native State	16	1,485
Theology	2.9	265	Degree men	13.7	1,260
Engineering .....	.8	80	One-year men	55	5,045
Editors	1	100	Two-year men	28.5	2,615
Teachers	5.6	520	Three-year men.....	11	1,040
Farmers	12	1,110	Four-year men	3.5	320
Merchants, bankers, etc	13	1,190	Longer term men.....	1.5	140
Unknown.....	21.2	1,950			

TABLE II.—General statistics relative to the individual States, 1826-74.¹

States.	Students.		Law.	Medicins.	Theology.	Engineer- ing.	Editors.
	No.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Virginia and West Virginia..	5,390	58.8	20.4	27.2	3.3	.8	1.1
North Carolina	380	4	15.4	31.2	1.8	.....	.....
South Carolina	520	5.6	16.8	14.3	3.2	.5	1.5
Florida	67	.7	23.8	14.7	.....	2.9	.....
Georgia	320	3.4	22.8	11.2	3.4	.....	1.8
Alabama	575	6.2	21	17.5	1.3	.6	1.3
Mississippi	365	3.0	21.7	16.8	.5	.8	1
Louisiana	265	2.9	18	13.1	.3	1.5	.....
Texas	135	1.4	33	14.7	.7	.....	.7
Arkansas	48	.5	41.6	14.5	.....	4.1	2
Tennessee	230	2.5	25.8	14.6	3.8	1.7	.4
Kentucky	205	2.2	24.6	13	2.8	.9	1.4
Missouri	110	1.2	21.4	30.3	3.5	.8	.8
Maryland and District of Columbia	390	4.2	28.6	11.5	4.6	1.8	.5
Other States, etc.	155	1.7	22.2	12.1	2.5	.....	1.9

States.	Teachers.	Farmers.	In Confed- erate serv- ice.	Emigrated.	Merchants, etc., and unknown.	Degres men.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Virginia and West Virginia .	8	11.2	27	16.9	31	17
North Carolina	1	11.2	19.9	15.4	41	7
South Carolina	1.1	22.4	31.6	15.9	41	3
Florida .....	.....	14.7	37.3	14.7	43.8	7
Georgia	5.3	16.2	28.1	13.4	40	3.7
Alabama	2	14.2	27.6	16.9	42.8	8.6
Mississippi	1.6	13.8	22.5	16	45	6
Louisiana	1.1	17.2	30	12	48.2	8.7
Texas	2.5	8.8	17.6	8	39.8	11
Arkansas .....	.....	18.7	22.9	20.8	19	18
Tennessee	3.8	8.6	14.6	11.2	41.7	11
Kentucky	3.8	11.5	16.9	17.8	42.2	8
Missouri	4.4	3.5	15.1	16.9	35.7	18.7
Maryland and District of Columbia	3.6	7.2	9.7	13.1	42.8	13
Other States, etc.	3.1	1.9	5.7	20.3	56.8	12

¹ The fact that the percentages in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and twelfth columns, when added together, slightly exceed 100, is due to the fact that in some cases men have been counted twice; e. g., clergymen who conducted schools in addition to their clerical work.

TABLE III.—Particular statistics relative to the individual States, 1826-74.

States.	Judges.	Members of legislatures.	C. S. brigadier-generals and generals.	Authors and artists.	Mayors.	Attorney-generals (State).	Secretaries of state (State).
Virginia and West Virginia.....	116	226	16	42	14	4	1
North Carolina.....	3	13	1		2		
South Carolina.....	4	23	1	2	1		
Florida.....		3		1			3
Georgia.....	5	18	6	1	1	1	1
Alabama.....	9	20		6			
Mississippi.....	4	4	3	1	2	1	
Louisiana.....	4	12	1	1			
Texas.....	1	2					
Kentucky.....	7	8	1			1	
Tennessee.....	1	5	1	2			
Maryland and District of Columbia.....	5	10		2	2		
Other States.....	8	4		1		1	
Total.....	167	348	30	59	22	8	5

States.	Consuls and secretaries of legation.	Governors.	Lieutenant-governors.	Members of Congress.		Cabinet ministers.	
				U. S.	C. S.	U. S.	C. S.
Virginia and West Virginia.....	6	2	2	36	17	2	3
North Carolina.....							
South Carolina.....	2	1	2	4	4		
Florida.....							
Georgia.....			1	3	1		1
Alabama.....		2		8	6		1
Mississippi.....							
Louisiana.....			2				
Texas.....							
Kentucky.....	1			3	2		
Tennessee.....				4			
Maryland and District of Columbia.....	1	1		4			
Other States.....	1				1		
Total.....	11	6	7	62	31	2	5

EXPLANATORY REMARKS ON THE TABLES.

The tables in which my statistics are presented almost explain themselves. A few explanatory remarks may not, however, be amiss. I shall then proceed to give such additional facts as are worthy of note, but which could not well be put into a table, and shall conclude by drawing such inferences as are in keeping with my subject and my figures and which have not been introduced in other places. These infer-

ences, if their truth be admitted, together with the results obtained by our analysis of the workings of the University, will abundantly suffice to prove the truth of my thesis—that the influence of the University of Virginia upon Southern life and thought has been highly beneficial.

The figures presented in all three tables are true for the period of time between March, 1825, and July, 1874. The first table gives statistics for the whole body of students; but it must be carefully borne in mind, when attention is directed to particular percentages, that over 21 per cent. of the men enrolled as students have left no record behind them, and that of many who are not entered under the head of "unknown," our information is extremely slight and often misleading. It must further be borne in mind that of the 9,160 students who attended the University during these years, 8,505 (I am speaking in round numbers, of course), or over 92 per cent., were from the South; and further, that of the 1,485 men who left their native States to settle elsewhere, over half settled in the South, so that the University's field of influence has been emphatically Southern, although Maryland and Missouri have felt that influence strongly. It is especially interesting to note the fact that many of the students from the North and West were tempted to remain in the South, and that not a few of these immigrants took sides with the Confederacy—a fact which, whatever else may be thought of it, certainly testifies to the strength of the attachment which the University has always been enabled to elicit from its students.

With reference to the omissions in the work, it is but just to say that they are not due to any carelessness on the part of the compilers of the catalogue, but rather to the indifference of individual alumni or of their relatives and friends.

Under the head "In Confederate service" are included not only active soldiers, but all surgeons, chaplains, or others who took any part in the labors or perils occasioned by the War. The significance of the last five heads will be explained further on.

In Table II the same general statistics are given for each of the Southern and allied States, the language of percentage being employed only to avoid cumbrousness. For convenience the District of Columbia has been grouped with Maryland, and West Virginia with Virginia. The justness of the latter grouping will be obvious when it is remembered that for three-fourths of the time to which these figures apply, the two States were united.

In Table III particular statistics of interest have been brought together and referred to the individual States. It must be borne in mind, however, that the name of the State simply indicates the place of birth; it does not mean that the office was held within that State, for, as a matter of fact, many of those who emigrated rose to high positions in the State of their adoption.

ADDITIONAL FACTS OF INTEREST.

We now come to what may be termed the gleanings from my first harvest. The statistician, as well as the poet, should have sufficient patience and self-control to review his work.

Of the 1,935 lawyers, over 8 per cent. became judges, many of whom rose to the highest courts of their respective States. The number of commonwealth's and district attorneys is very large; but few seem to have been elected to the office of attorney-general. For this last fact I have been unable to find any satisfactory reason, unless it be that the office is not a lucrative one for a successful practitioner; but this reason applies also to the judgeships of many of our States. The proportion of degree men (bachelors of law) to the whole number of lawyers is nearly 25 to 100. The lawyers have, as might have been expected, proved very prominent in politics. Some of them have written law treatises of value, for example, Daniel on Negotiable Instruments.

With regard to the physicians, I quote some interesting facts from an address recently delivered at the University by Dr. Paul B. Barringer, a graduate of '76. "The record shows that from 1827, when the medical school was established, until 1880 there were over 3,000 matriculates and 616 graduates. Of these, 43 are now, or have been, professors and teachers in medical colleges. Notwithstanding the high standard exacted by the Army and Navy, 60 graduates of this school have been professionally in their service. From 1880 to 1885, 38 of the 180 graduates gained entrance into the Army and Navy; 16 of the 57 passed-assistant naval surgeons were University of Virginia men, while in the Army the number was 14." A comparison of these figures will show a decidedly increasing tendency to engage in the service of the Government (the proportion is about 9 to 20), a significant fact, if we are allowed the presumption that the standard of requirement for service in the Army and Navy has increased *pari passu* with that for graduation at the University. If the increase has been in favor of the Army and Navy service the fact is still more significant.

ALUMNI IN THE WAR.

In considering the part played by the University alumni in the late War, many interesting points are brought to our notice. In the first place, the number of generals and brigadiers is very large; I should have wearied of the task of counting the colonels, the majors, and the captains. Chairman Venable writes me that with regard to the ordnance department, so many University men got in by examination that a certain number of appointments had to be assigned to each State to avoid dissatisfaction. A large proportion of the engineers employed in the service were University men, as were most of the staff officers of rank. Perhaps more than three hundred alumni fell. If attention be turned to the legislative and executive departments of the Confeder-

ate Government, the statistics are equally striking. In the cabinet we find Robert Toombs and R. M. T. Hunter, Secretaries of State; George Wythe Randolph and James A. Seddon, Secretaries of War; and Thomas H. Watts, of Alabama, Attorney-General. In the Congress we count thirty-one alumni, many of whom were senators.

The number of authors, etc., is surprisingly small, although I was very liberal in including the producers of the "no book" class. I shall discuss this fact in a more appropriate place, and need only mention here the names of Edgar Allan Poe and John R. Thompson, and, for recent years, of Virginius Dabney and Thomas Nelson Page. After all, how many of our hundreds of American colleges can boast the name of even one man of great literary genius? It may not be amiss to notice here that Dr. Kane, the great Arctic explorer, was an alumnus of the University, as were also Capt. J. Melville Gilliss, astronomer and superintendent of the U. S. Naval Observatory, and Rear Admiral John Rodgers, who served with such bravery during the late War.

CLERGY AND TEACHERS.

If regard be had to the clergy, the statistics would not seem to prove that the University has served as a nursery for atheists. Three per cent. in the money market is considered a low rate; but that 3 per cent. of the alumni of a non-sectarian institution should, in the land of the dollar, turn aside into this laborious and often poorly paid field is a fact, to say the least, somewhat remarkable. Of those who entered the ministry, five have become bishops, viz, Bishops Lay, Galleher, Peterkin, Dudley, and Doggett. My information on this point is not exhaustive, however, and I am inclined to think that the number may be greater. To the various theological seminaries the University has furnished such men as John A. Broadus, R. L. Dabney, F. S. Sampson, of Virginia, Charles A. Briggs, of New York, and William H. Whitsitt, of South Carolina. Prof. Crawford H. Toy, of Harvard University, may be mentioned as one of the most distinguished of the masters of arts. A large number of the alumni have entered on missionary work; indeed, Colonel Venable says: "Wipe out the foreign missionaries of the Southern Presbyterian Church who are University men, and you almost destroy the enterprise."

In estimating the number of teachers I have not counted those who only taught for a year or two preparatory to entering one of the other professions. These men have unquestionably done much in helping to raise the standard of instruction throughout the South, and if they be added to the number given in the first table, we may safely say that over one thousand of the University alumni have been engaged in the good work of education. It would seem well to acknowledge individual merit here as always; but I must again disclaim any invidious intentions. My information is by no means full, nor have I too much space at my disposal. I think I shall be safe, however, in calling to mind the

noble work done in Alabama by the late Professor Tutwiler. He was one of the first graduates of the University, and was the room-mate of Gessner Harrison. I am informed by competent authority that his labors for secondary education in Alabama were as successful as they were great; and I regret that this meagre notice is all that I can give to this great pioneer of educational reform.

The work of Dr. Thomas R. Price at Randolph-Macon College, at the University of Virginia, and now at Columbia College, New York, may be cited as a further illustration of what the University has done in behalf of education. Dr. Woodrow Wilson, of Bryn Mawr, will long be known as the author of *Congressional Government*, but probably Princeton and the Johns Hopkins will dispute our claims to him. Among Anglo-Saxon scholars the names of Prof. James M. Garnett and of Prof. James A. Harrison stand deservedly high, and the latter is equally well known for successful literary work. To the Virginian the names of McCabe, Norwood, McGuire, Blackford, and Abbott, and to the North Carolinian that of Bingham, will at once suggest the noble efforts that are being made to-day in the cause of secondary education. It is a noteworthy fact, if the zeal of the University for obtaining the services of first-class scholars be borne in mind, that of the nineteen professors now composing its faculty, twelve are its own alumni, and that of fifty-five full professors since 1826, twenty have been alumni.

ALUMNI IN POLITICS.

Turning to politics, we find that the number of those who have served in the State legislatures is quite large, the percentage with respect to the whole number of students being about three and eight-tenths. The number of mayors is small; perhaps the dirty political work so often necessary for obtaining the office has deterred alumni from aspiring to it. The number of consuls and secretaries of legation is also small, but is easily accounted for by the same reason which may be given for the comparative absence of University men from the higher executive and diplomatic positions. The men who graduated between 1830 and 1840, and who might have stood forward prominently in national politics, were fighting against the Government at the very time when they would have been qualified by age and experience for positions in the cabinet and abroad. For some time after the War statesmen from the South were not greatly in demand.

The two alumni who sat in cabinets were both Virginians—the late William Ballard Preston, Secretary of the Navy under the Taylor administration, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Interior under Millard Fillmore. There have been two Speakers of the House: R. M. T. Hunter, Speaker for the Twenty-sixth Congress (1839-41), and James L. Orr, of South Carolina, Speaker for the Thirty-fifth Congress (1857-59). Mr. Orr was also the only minister plenipotentiary furnished by the University during the first fifty years of its existence. He was

made minister to Russia by President Grant in 1873, but died shortly after his arrival at St. Petersburg. Mr. Orr was also one of the commissioners sent to Washington in 1860 by South Carolina. He was a Confederate Senator, and the provisional Governor of his State.

Since the election of Mr. Cleveland the University alumni from the South have come more and more to the front. Of the ministerial appointees, Hubbard, Tree, Keiley, Winchester, Lewis, and Maury are all University men. In the consular service we find the names of Withers, Cardwell, Wingfield, Old, and others. The number of Congressmen furnished by the University is, in my opinion, a large one. Since the period covered by the tables (1825-74) the figures have been greatly increased. Colonel Venable calculates that there were thirteen alumni in the last Congress, a greater number than was furnished by any other college. Of these I may mention Tucker, Daniel, and Barbour, of Virginia; Herbert, of Alabama; and Davidson, of Florida. Of the governors we may name Swann and Ligon, of Maryland; Watts and Lewis, of Alabama; and Stevenson, of Kentucky. To these the name of F. W. M. Holliday, of Virginia, may be added.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

A few words now as to the general conclusions to be drawn from these statistics. In the first place, let me again call attention to the fact that the University's influence has been distinctly Southern. Let it next be considered what a leavening force one really educated man is. Then let it be remembered that before the advent of the modern newspaper and the railroad, a large part of the population of the South depended upon the hustings for their instruction, and that the lawyers trained by the University of Virginia furnished much of that instruction. If these facts are lost sight of, I am afraid that my statistics and any conclusions I can draw from them will be of little value.

Waiving all subtleties as to the distinction between productive and unproductive labor, we may safely assert that the influence of such a body of alumni distributed through all the channels of intellectual labor must have been enormous. Those who went to the bar carried with them, in addition to thorough professional knowledge, a sense of honor highly developed by the system of discipline to which our praise has been already given; those who went to the pulpit had chosen without constraint of any kind their life of self-sacrifice, and were ready to abide by their choice; and those who gave themselves up to the education of the young had already learned, in their own persons, the value of thorough-going work and systematic training. Many who were lauded proprietors went back to their estates to introduce new methods of agriculture, to represent their counties in their respective legislatures, to set an example of upright living to those beneath them, and to affect the society of their equals in that subtle way which can be better understood than described. Not a few left their homes and carried to the

still unsettled West the brains and hands that were needed for its development. Many entered business at home, to apply to all the affairs of mercantile life those habits of perseverance and calm study of details and that strict spirit of integrity which had been fostered by their university life. A cursory glance at the catalogue will show that they succeeded. "Bank president", "president of railroad", "treasurer", and "cashier", are words frequently seen on its pages.

But I promised to explain the significance of the last five heads of the first table. We see that over one-half of the students spent only one year at the University. This means, as I showed before, that these men were enabled to get, not as much education as they needed, but enough to fit them either to practise law, or to teach some special branch, or to pursue their studies without further assistance. Of course it is not claimed that all of these five thousand men made the most of their advantages, but they had them offered, and no other college could do the like. The large number of two-year men shows an appreciation on the part of the students of the work that was being done for them. The fifteen hundred who remained three, four, and five years mean at least a thousand finely educated men; and what a force was here!

As was to be expected, the influence of the University has been largest upon Virginia; but we must, in this connection, take into account the fact that over five hundred and fifty alumni went from Virginia to settle in the other Southern States. Virginia of course received contributions from her sister States, but not in any considerable numbers.

THE UNIVERSITY AND SOUTHERN LITERATURE.

The excess of the physicians over the lawyers would afford an opportunity for interesting but rather fine-spun reasoning, if I were to forget the impatience of my readers; but I have no such intention, and shall only dwell briefly on one more point,—the paucity of authors among the alumni. I should hardly have been tempted to notice this fact, but for the consideration that it might cause doubt in some minds as to the extent I have claimed for the University's influence, especially upon Southern thought. I do not think that the University can be blamed because her sons have not been foremost in strictly literary work—for *where is* the literature of the South? The truth seems to be that the University must have instilled a love of literature into the minds of many of its students, but that counter-forces were at work which checked or diverted the faculty of literary expression for the whole South. A diversion of this faculty is seen in the oratory, bad as it too often was, of the hustings and of the court-room. The causes of the repression are far to seek. It will not suffice to lay the charge to slavery. That much enduring institution, to whatever extent it may have retarded the South's industrial development, did not degrade society, nor could it well have checked the growth of a Southern literature.¹ Old Greece had her arts and letters in spite of slave labor. We must go deeper if we expect to

¹ See Bagehot's *Physics and Politics*, II, § 3.

find a solution of the Southern problem. From a study of colonial literature we must endeavor to ascertain how and in what manner a change of environment affects the literary capabilities of a race. Our conclusions may be exceedingly general and imperfect, but I can see no other way worthy of a serious student; and, even after such conscientious study, our results are sure to be worthless, unless we carry with us in our investigations that true literary touchstone which so few possess. How amusing, then, are many of the grave opinions we every day hear advanced with regard to the South's backwardness in literary production! The fact is there, the true explanation of it will long be wanting. There are indications, however, that the season of our barrenness is over and that the spring is at hand. If premature praise, like a March wind, do not blight this promise, we may confidently expect that the University of Virginia will play an important part in that literary development for which we are all watching and praying—many of us as if there were something almost *criminal* in our not having had a literature before.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

And now my work is over, but I part from it with reluctance. The words "influence," "alumnus," "University," which the reader is as tired of seeing as I am of trying to find substitutes for them, will occur no more. In this respect I can not even take comfort from the example of the great reiterator, for Matthew Arnold might reiterate till doomsday and still be charming. I have also tried not to assume the attitude of a special pleader (I use the phrase, of course, in its objectionable sense), but it would be too much to hope that I have always succeeded. The labor I have given to the preparation of my statistics has been very tedious, but it has been occasionally lightened in unexpected ways. For instance, it was highly interesting to watch the careers of the "rolling stones" from the University, many of whom, after trying three or more professions, finally wound up as "forty-niners" in California. One got into Garibaldi's service; one was made chief medical inspector of the Egyptian army; one started from Virginia, was a member of the Texas Congress, then treasurer of Texas, then got a diplomatic appointment abroad, and finally settled down as a farmer in Maryland. One student from Peru became a professor of law in the University of Lima, was afterwards Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and then represented his government in China and Japan. But perhaps the entry which gave me most food for reflection was the following: "Nathaniel Holt Clanton, of Augusta, Ga.; born 1847; student, Paris, France; pressed into service of Commune, and killed on barricades, 1872."

In conclusion, it may be permitted a loving son to apply to his college mother a verse from a great old poet, whom he learned to love within her walls—

"Is she not worthy of gaining golden honor?"¹

¹Sophocles: *Antigone*, 699.

CHAPTER XII.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION AND CONDITION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BY PROFESSOR JOHN B. MINOR.

The organization of the University, its government, discipline, and methods of instruction were virtually left to be prescribed by Mr. Jefferson alone; and they still retain, in a great degree, the impression derived from him, and in many respects bear the stamp of his characteristic traits.

ORGANIZATION.

The supreme government of the institution, under the General Assembly, is vested in a rector and visitors, appointed by the Governor, by and with the consent of the Senate, for four years. They are nine in number, three being selected from the Piedmont division of the State, in which the University is situated, and two from each of the other grand divisions. The visitors elect a rector from amongst themselves, and the style of the corporation is declared to be "The Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia." They are required to meet *at the University* at least once a year, and as much oftener as circumstances require; and to submit to the General Assembly an annual report setting forth the condition and progress of the institution.

The board of visitors, thus constituted, is declared by law to be charged with the care and preservation of the property belonging to the University; with the appointment of as many professors as it shall deem proper; with the power to prescribe the duties of each professor, and the course and mode of instruction; and, with the assent of two-thirds of the whole number of the visitors, may remove any professor. It is also empowered to appoint a bursar and proctor, and to employ any other agents or servants, to regulate the government and discipline of the students, and generally, in respect to the government and management of the University, to make such regulations as it may deem expedient, not being contrary to law.

Under the general direction of this board, and subject to its regulations, the affairs of the institution are administered immediately by the faculty and its chairman. The faculty, as a body, exercises the *judicial*

functions incident to the administration of the University, in respect to students and the subordinate officers, and is empowered also to make general rules for the government of those persons, provided, of course, they shall be consistent with the regulations prescribed by the board of visitors, and with the laws of the State. The chairman is selected annually, by the board of visitors, from among the professors, and discharges most of the functions usually devolved upon a president, being for the time the chief executive of the University. To this republican feature of rotation in the office of chairman, Mr. Jefferson attached not a little importance. The system is not without its disadvantages, but its benefits decidedly preponderate. The chairman does not monopolize the administration, as a president would do, but each professor, feeling that he is a constituent element of the governing body, with his proper share of influence in shaping its destiny and fortunes, is animated at once by a sense of duty, of responsibility, and of ambition to devote his utmost powers of thought, care, and assiduous effort to augment its usefulness and prosperity.

The professors were at first paid in part by salaries (\$1,000 a year each), and in part also by fees of tuition received from each student who might attend them severally, thus, as Mr. Jefferson conceived, presenting to each at once the most natural and the strongest motive to exert himself with all the strenuousness he could command to promote in all ways the efficiency, and consequently the success, of the institution. But circumstances, in the opinion of the board of visitors, and of most of the professors, were judged to require a departure from this plan, and for some years past each professor has been paid a salary of \$3,000 *per annum*, which, together with an official residence, or a money equivalent therefor, constitutes his sole emolument.

SCHOOLS OF INSTRUCTION.

The scheme of instruction contemplates no fixed and uniform curriculum of study to be pursued by every student alike without discrimination; but each distinct branch of knowledge is assigned to a separate "school" by itself, with its own instructors; and in these several schools, which are exclusively under the control of the instructors therein (subject only to the board of visitors), a separate degree is conferred, denominating the recipient a "graduate" in that school, and in a few cases carrying with it a title, as of doctor of medicine, bachelor of law, civil engineer, mining engineer, or bachelor of scientific agriculture. The University may, therefore, be fairly regarded as a *collection of schools*, each devoted to a special subject, but under a common government.

This plan gives ample scope to the just ambition of each professor, and affords a strong stimulus to each to advance the standard of attainment in his school, in point as well of accuracy as of extent, whilst it holds him, besides, to an undivided responsibility for any neglect or default. It admits also, and contemplates, an indefinite multiplication of

“schools,” so as to keep pace with the progress of knowledge and the demands of society.

Dr. Dunglison, afterwards so distinguished in the medical world as an author, was expected to teach anatomy and medicine merely as a branch of liberal education. But in 1827 the school was enlarged to a department, organized as follows: Robley Dunglison, M. D., professor of physiology, theory and practice of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence; John P. Emmet, M. D., professor of chemistry and materia medica; Thomas Johnson, M. D., demonstrator of anatomy and surgery.

Two other schools have since been added to this department; so that its organization at present embraces: (1) A school of the theory and practice of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence; (2) a school of physiology and surgery; (3) a school of chemistry and pharmacy; (4) a school of anatomy, materia medica, and therapeutics; and (5) a demonstratorship of anatomy.

In 1851 the school of law was converted into a department, by the creation of an adjunct professorship, which, in 1854, was made a full professorship; so that thenceforward in the department of law there were, and are, two schools, namely, (1) the school of common and statute law and (2) the school of constitutional and international law, equity, evidence, and the law-merchant.

In 1856 the school of ancient languages was divided into two schools, namely, (1) the school of Latin, and (2) the school of Greek and of Hebrew.

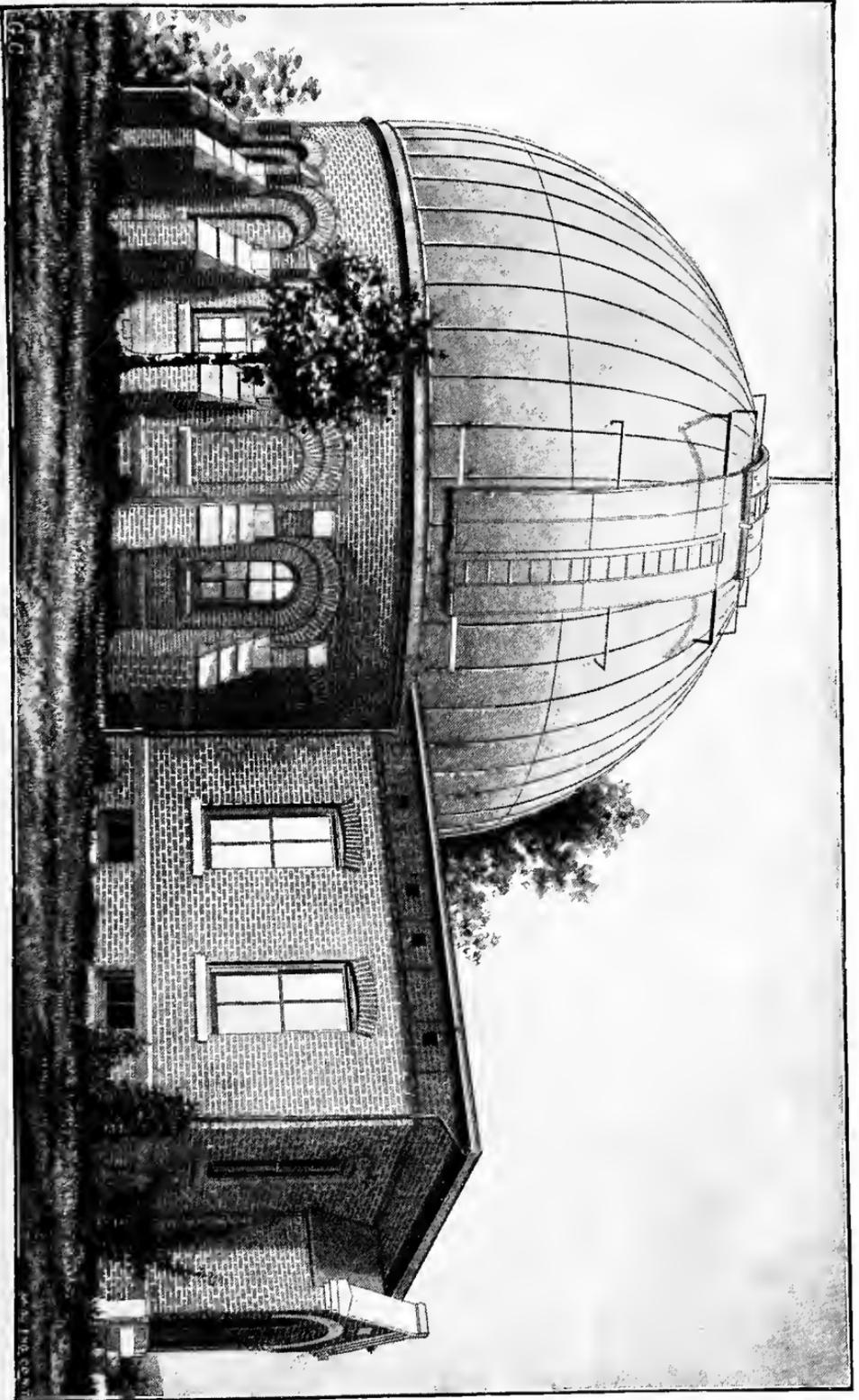
In the same year was also established the school of history and general literature, which, however, did not go into operation until the 1st of October, 1857:

In 1867 the school of applied mathematics, with reference especially to engineering, was created as an adjunct to the school of mathematics, and has since (in 1869) been constituted an independent school.

In the same year was instituted, as an adjunct to the school of chemistry, the school of technology and agricultural science, a designation soon after changed to that of analytical, industrial, and agricultural chemistry.

In 1870, by means of a munificent endowment of \$100,000, derived from the liberality of Samuel Miller, Esq., of the county of Campbell, the school of scientific, experimental, and practical agriculture was created; since, with some change of subjects, denominated the school of agriculture, zoölogy, and botany.

In 1882, by the extraordinary liberality of Leander J. McCormick, Esq., a native of Virginia but a citizen of Chicago, of William H. Vanderbilt, Esq., of New York, and of a number of other friends of learning and of the University, the means were provided to maintain, and there was instituted, the school of practical astronomy, in connection with the Leander McCormick Observatory.



LEANDER MCCORMICK OBSERVATORY, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

G.C.

1896 G.C. 3/2

In 1879 Mr. W. W. Corcoran added to his previous noble benefactions to the University the gift of \$50,000, wherewith to endow a school of natural history and geology, which was instituted accordingly.

In 1882 was established the school of the English language and literature, which necessitated a change in the subjects taught in the school of history and literature, and it was enacted that that school should thenceforward be known as the school of historical science.

Thus it appears that since 1867 the University, maimed and enfeebled as it seemed to have been by the Civil War and its consequences, has added six schools of great value to the thirteen previously existing, and so is enabled to supply the largest and most thorough instruction that the advanced requirements of the country and the times can demand.

At present the University consists of nineteen schools, with one or more instructors in each; of these schools, twelve are academic and seven professional; and of the twelve academic schools, six are literary and six scientific. Thus arranged, they may be enumerated as follows:

	I.	Lit. schools.	School of Latin,		
	II.		School of Greek,		
	III.		School of modern languages,		
	IV.		School of English language and literature,		
	V.		School of historical science,		
	VI.		School of moral philosophy.		
	VII.	Academic schools.	School of mathematics,		
	VIII.		School of natural philosophy,		
	IX.		School of general chemistry,		
	X.		School of analytical and agricultural chemistry,		
	XI.		School of natural history and geology,		
	XII.		School of practical astronomy.		
XIII.	Professional schools.	}	School of physiology and surgery,	Medical department, including also chem- istry and pharmaoy.	
XIV.			School of anatomy and materia medica,		
XV.			School of medicine, obstetrics, and medical jurisprudence.		
XVI.			School of common and statute law,		Law department, engi- neering department,
XVII.			School of constitutional and international law, mercantile law, evidence, and equity,		
XVIII.			School of mathematics applied to engineering.	Agricultural depart- ment.	
XIX.			School of agriculture, zoölogy, and botany.		

Students attend as many of the schools as they think fit, paying a tuition fee for each; but in order to insure that every student shall have his time sufficiently occupied, no one can attend less than three, without leave from the faculty. In this feature is seen Mr. Jefferson's characteristic confidence in the capacity of individuals to determine, each for himself, what is best for him. He thought it safe to submit to the judgment of each student and his friends, the choice of subjects best adapted to the cast of his mind and to his views in life. The system is certainly liable to some grave objections, but it is specially adapted to a *university* as distinguished from a *college*, and the results have upon the whole proved eminently favorable. Custom recommends a general order or

succession of studies, which experience has approved ; but if one, from peculiar circumstances, is led to prefer a different course, he is free to pursue it. One of the chief advantages, however, is found in the effect on the several schools, in stimulating the professors having them in charge to unceasing progress. And it may be observed that of late many institutions of the higher education in the United States have remodelled their methods in accordance with this example.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

It is only within a recent period that scholarships have existed in the University. The design in instituting them is to encourage sound and advanced learning by assisting the poor to attain to it, and by stimulating those to attempt it to whom such pecuniary aid is not indispensable and yet welcome. Such expedients have been resorted to ever since the revival of learning in the twelfth century, and led to the establishment, throughout western Europe, of great institutions of education. The colleges in the English universities were devised to this end, and were, indeed, simply endowed boarding-houses, with a provision for the "fellows," who were admitted to share their beneficence which, in process of time, by the enhancement in value of the lands bestowed upon them, has become, in modern times, extremely munificent.

At present there are in the University four classes of scholarships, namely: (1) University scholarships, (2) free scholarships, (3) Miller scholarships, and (4) alumni scholarships.

(1) *University scholarships* are supplied by the University itself. They are eleven in number, and entitle the successful candidates at a competitive examination to prosecute the studies of one session at the University without the payment of matriculation or tuition fees, and are open to new-comers from all the States at the beginning of each academic year, which at present is October 1st.

Of these eleven scholarships five are in the academic department, and two, severally, in the departments of medicine, of law, and of engineering. The examination is uniform for all, and embraces Latin, Greek, mathematics, and English. In order to secure positive attainments, the right is reserved to reject any papers that do not reach the standard required for a distinction at the final examination in junior Latin, junior Greek, and junior mathematics, and do not show a competent acquaintance with the grammatical and rhetorical structure of the English language.

(2) *Free scholarships*.—The board of visitors in 1882 founded three free scholarships, to be called, respectively, the Corcoran scholarship; the McCormick scholarship, and the Vanderbilt scholarship, in commemoration of three of the principal benefactors of the University, the appointments to be made by them respectively, or, if they decline, by the faculty. Each scholarship admits the beneficiary to the University in all the departments, professional as well as academic, free from the payment of matriculation and tuition fees.

(3) *Miller scholarships*.—The agricultural department having been founded upon the liberal benefaction of Samuel Miller, three scholarships have been instituted in that department, and named from the founder, Miller scholarships. The emolument belonging to each is \$333.33 $\frac{1}{3}$, and they are bestowed upon such as upon competitive examinations appear to be the most worthy.

(4) *Alumni scholarships*.—These scholarships are founded, some by the Society of Alumni, and some by individuals. The emolument attached to them is various, and the appointments to them rest with the persons who founded them, or with the executive committee of the Society of Alumni.

DURATION OF THE SESSION AND OF THE VACATION.

The session extends from the 1st day of October to the Wednesday before the 4th day of July, with no break or holiday during that period (Sundays of course excepted), save only one day at Christmas. There is no remission of college exercises even on Saturday, the school-boy's immemorial weekly holiday. The number of working days in the session is therefore about two hundred and thirty-two, which exceeds, it is believed, the number of working days in any collegiate institution in the world.

The vacation is of about three months' duration, extending from the Wednesday before the 4th of July to the 1st of October.

THE LOCAL ARRANGEMENT AND EQUIPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY.

According to its original design, the University buildings were disposed in four parallel ranges, which, it seems, it was contemplated should be extended indefinitely in both directions, as occasion might require, although the configuration of the ground seems hardly adapted to such a scheme. Their present length is about 600 feet each.

The eastern and western ranges look, respectively, towards the east and west, and front upon a broad street, which makes the circuit of the University. They consist of one-story dormitories for students, with an arcade running along the front, of some 12 feet in width, the outer wall of which consists of a series of arches, exhibiting a not unpleasing effect, reminding one of the cloisters of a monastery. This long range of low structures is broken by wide alleys, giving access to the two interior ranges, and is relieved further by dwellings which rear their roofs somewhat higher than the dormitories, and were originally meant to serve as hotels or boarding-houses for the accommodation of the students, to which use two of them, much enlarged, are still applied, whilst one is the residence of a professor, another of the proctor, and two others are society halls.

The two interior ranges front upon a grassy lawn, shaded by trees, and about 200 feet wide. They also consist of one-story dormitories for students, broken by the above-mentioned alleys communicating with the east and west ranges respectively, and agreeably relieved by five houses

in each range, the dwellings of as many professors, the fronts of which display considerable regard to architectural effect. In the front of the dormitories and of the professors' houses is a continuous colonnade of about 12 feet in width, taking the place of the arcade of the east and west ranges, the arches being replaced by handsome columns, which support a roof, nearly flat, over the paved walk below, the whole surmounted by an iron balustrade, and affording a communication in the upper story between the professors' houses on each side.

At the northeastern extremity of the two lawn-ranges stands the Rotunda, a structure modelled nearly after the Pantheon at Rome; about 70 feet in diameter, and about the same in height to the bottom of the dome, which rises about 20 feet above the body of the building. It is adorned with a very striking and classical marble portico in front, reached by stone steps extending the whole width of the portico, and contains on the ground and second floors four handsome elliptically shaped lecture-rooms, and on the third floor a circular library-room covering the whole area of the building, with two galleries between the floor and the dome extending quite around the capacious circle, and supported by graceful Corinthian columns. Accommodation is thus afforded for about 42,000 volumes, which is the present extent of the library. In the course of a few years, slowly as, with the slender revenues of the University, the books increase, it will be necessary to make some additional provision for their safe-keeping and accessibility.

This library hall, itself a remarkably handsome apartment, is graced by a statue in marble of Mr. Jefferson, executed by Galt, the Virginia artist. It was the gift of the General Assembly, and represents the great statesman in a costume modelled after that which he was accustomed to wear, the needful flowing drapery being supplied by a cloak flung over the shoulders. The pedestal bears the following inscription, which, it will be observed, is that prepared by himself for his tomb:

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

AUTHOR OF

THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE;

OF THE STATUTE OF VIRGINIA FOR

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM;

AND

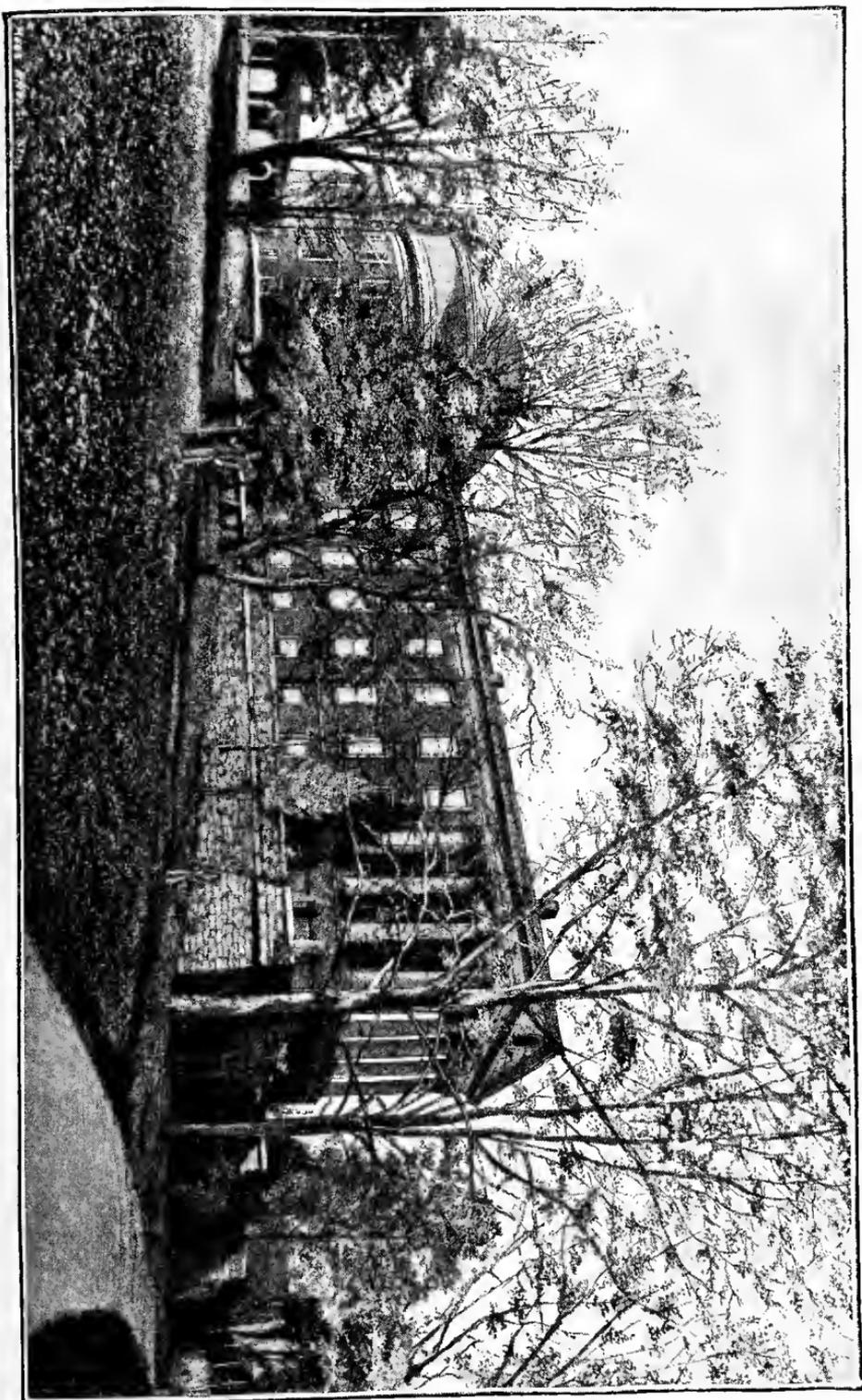
FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BORN

APRIL 2d, 1743, O. S.;

DIED

JULY 4, 1826.



ADDITION TO ROTUNDA, FACING NORTH.

The columns of the hall also are adorned by a number of portraits, among which are those of General Robert E. Lee and of Mr. W. W. Corcoran, one of the chief benefactors of the institution.

The buildings thus far described constitute all belonging to the University at the beginning. But as soon as the Medical School became the Medical Department, it was indispensable to provide therefor additional lecture-rooms, an anatomical theatre, and a dissecting hall, which were accordingly erected opposite the northwestern extremity of the west range.

The need of still additional lecture-room accommodation led, in 1851-53, to the erection of a building in rear of the Rotunda, and connected with it by a porch, corresponding in architectural design with that in front, and terminating towards the northeast in a like porch. This building is about 100 feet long by 54 wide, and the connecting and terminal porches, of about 30 feet each, make the whole additional structure extend some 160 feet towards the northeast. The ground and second floors of this building, and also the fourth floor, an attic, are occupied by lecture-rooms, and rooms for the safe keeping of the costly apparatus belonging to the school of natural philosophy; the third floor, corresponding with the second in the Rotunda, and immediately connected therewith, is taken up with the extensive public hall, used upon commencement and other similar occasions, capable of seating, upon the floor and in the galleries, about twelve hundred persons.

In this hall, occupying the greater part of one extremity of it, is a copy, made by Balze, of Raphael's famous painting of "The School of Athens," which it may be hoped will be the germ of an art gallery at some future day.

In 1854-55 a comfortable house was erected by general subscription for the residence of the chaplain, and a short time afterwards (in 1855-56), also by general subscription, a hall for the use of the Temperance Association, which has for many years existed amongst the students of the University.

In 1859 the number of students resorting to the University had so much increased (being upwards of six hundred), as to make additional accommodation needful, and accordingly a row of six buildings, containing in all about fifty rooms, was constructed to the southwest of the University, distant from it about 200 yards, arranged in the arc of a circle, which having been built largely from the proceeds of a tract of land devised to the University by the will of Martin Dawson, Esq., received the designation of "Dawson's Row."

At the close of the Civil War, in 1865, the situation of the University seemed well-nigh hopeless. Its buildings required extensive repairs, its apparatus needed to be refitted, and its revenues were virtually annihilated. The institution was much endeared, however, to the General Assembly and to the people of Virginia, and as a place of liberal and

thorough education enjoyed the entire confidence of the South and of a great part of the West; and the faculty and visitors, addressing themselves energetically and hopefully to the work of rehabilitation, with the cordial co-operation of the Legislature, experienced a success so gratifying as to warrant an enlargement of the corps of professors, and a consequent addition to the buildings. Thus a small house, once occupied by President Monroe, on what from that circumstance has been denominated "Monroe Hill," at the extreme northwestern limit of "Dawson's Row," was enlarged and otherwise fitted up so as to make a comfortable dwelling for a professor, whilst a new and handsome residence for another was erected in extension of the same line, and west of West-range, together with a chemical laboratory, said to be one of the largest and best appointed in the United States.

In 1875-76, by the munificence of Lewis Brooks, Esq., a venerable and honored citizen of Rochester, N. Y., supplemented, after his decease, by the liberality of his brother and heir, of Prof. William B. Rogers, and others, a museum of natural history was erected and equipped in the completest manner, so as to afford unsurpassed facilities for illustrating the principles taught by the sciences of zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, and geology. The collections are large and have been selected solely with a view to be aids in teaching. This building, which is of a style of architecture entirely variant from the previous structures of the University, is much admired. It is placed just at the entrance to the institution, and has its interior adorned with heads, executed in stone, of various animals, and with the names, also in stone, of the great naturalists of the world, in all ages, including, on the front, Aristotle, Linnæus, and Cuvier; on the rear, Pliny, Werner, and Humboldt; on the north or right side, Hall, Gray, Audubon, Agassiz, Dana, and Rogers; and on the south or left side, Lyell, De Candolle, Owen, Darwin, St. Hilaire, and Huxley.

In 1880-81, in response to the generous invitation of Leander J. McCormick, Esq., of Chicago, as already mentioned in this sketch, who proposed to contribute for the purpose the refracting telescope, complete, estimated at \$50,000, the enterprise of establishing an astronomical observatory in connection with the University was set on foot, and, by the singular liberality, as before stated, of William H. Vanderbilt, of New York City, and an additional most liberal gift from Mr. McCormick, and by the contributions of many other friends of learning, not only was an endowment fund created to maintain a professor of astronomy, with his assistants, and to defray contingent expenses, but also to erect the observatory building, and to put the telescope and other needful appliances in position, the University itself providing suitable accommodations for the professor and his assistants in immediate proximity to the observatory.

These buildings, which are substantial and elegant, are situated on "Observatory Mountain," or, as it is more recently styled, "Mount Jef-



LEWIS BROOKS MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.



erson," about a mile southwest of the University, on a spot selected for such a structure by Mr. Jefferson himself, and where, indeed, he caused to be erected a small building for the purpose of an observatory, but which was never used nor even completed, and in 1859 was pulled down, and the material composing it applied to other purposes.

This description of the equipment of the University for its great work would be by no means complete without reference to the experimental farm, which occupies a considerable portion of the open arable land within the University domain. It affords to the students of agriculture opportunities for observing, in connection with the scientific exposition of the principles of the subject, most of its practical processes, conducted in the most careful and approved manner, under the supervision of the professor of agriculture, by a skilled, practical farmer; and also of noting the structure, character, and working of the best agricultural implements and appliances, and of following the progress and methods of the experiments always going on under the same intelligent and skilled direction.

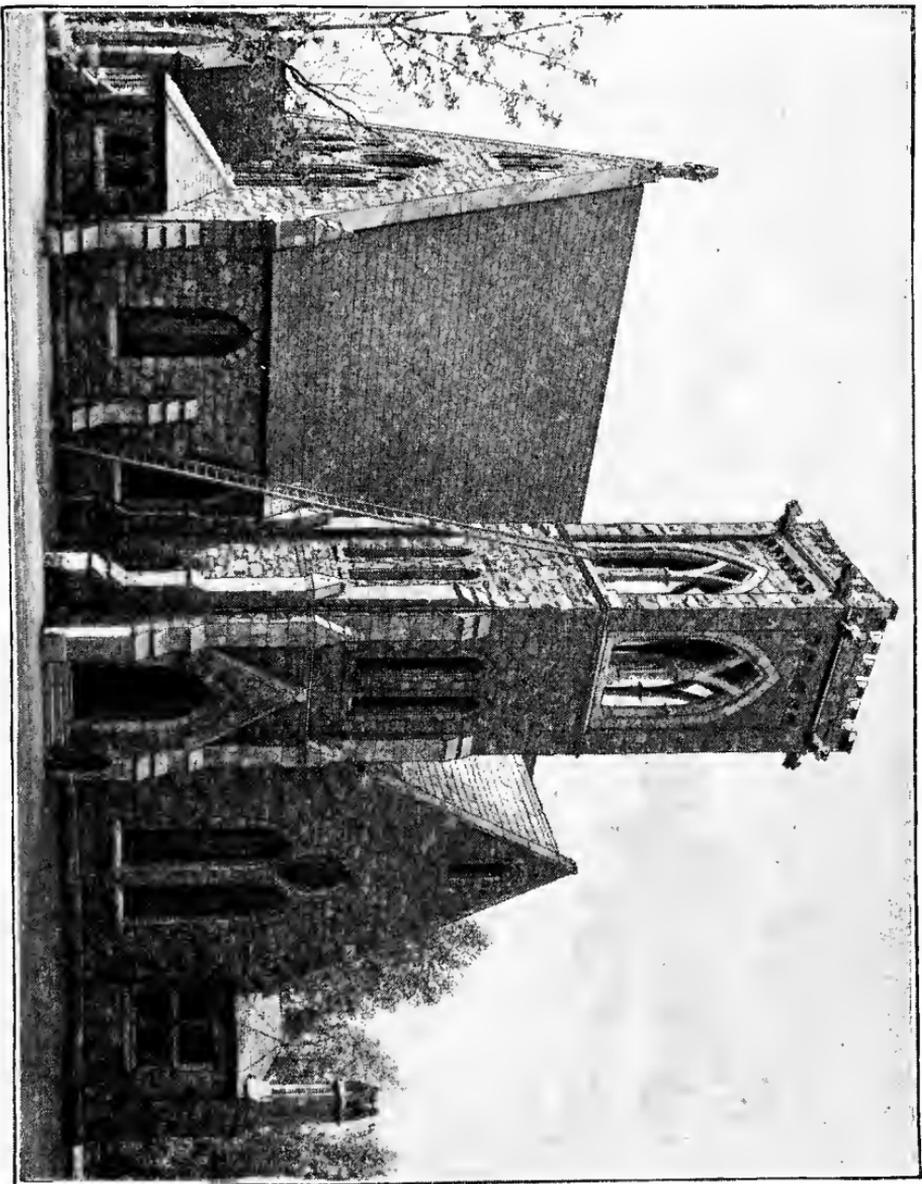
Summing up the various equipments which have been mentioned under this head, they may be enumerated as follows:

- (1) Provision of dwellings and necessary grounds for professors;
- (2) Abundant provision of lecture-rooms;
- (3) Sufficiency of lodgings and boarding-houses for students;
- (4) Costly and continually enlarging apparatus for the school of natural philosophy;
- (5) Costly and remarkably complete anatomical illustrations;
- (6) A laboratory building containing a well-equipped chemical laboratory, capable of accommodating some seventy students in chemical analysis, a very complete chemical apparatus for general chemistry, a commodious lecture hall, and a museum of industrial chemistry, the valuable illustrative collections in which are hardly equalled in this country, and are said not to be surpassed in Europe;
- (7) The Lewis Brooks Museum of natural history and geology, with singularly extensive and complete illustrative collections, costing in the aggregate, including the building, no less a sum than \$86,000;
- (8) The Leander McCormick Observatory, on Mount Jefferson, about a mile from the University, but still within its domain, which is fully equipped for its work, with the great refracting telescope, the greatest, with one or two exceptions, in the world, and with other suitable instruments and appliances; and, lastly,
- (9) The experimental farm, under the direction of the professor of agriculture, affording to the students of that school ample illustrations of all manner of farming operations, and of the best agencies and implements for conducting them.

GIFTS MADE TO THE UNIVERSITY.

1. In 1818.—A gift, by general contribution, to "Central College," the germ of the University, of about.....	\$40,000
2. In 1826.—A gift of his library, by the will of Mr. Jefferson, which the condition of his estate rendered abortive.	
3. In 1826.—A gift of books by Mr. Bernard Carter, of Maryland, estimated at, say.....	100
4. In 1831.—A gift of books and prints by Mr. Christian Bohn, of Richmond, a brother of the well-known London publisher, estimated at, say.....	500
5. In 1835.—A gift of land by the will of Mr. Martin Dawson, realizing, when sold, about.....	14,000
6. In 1836.—A gift by the will of Mr. Madison, ex-President of the United States, of a part of his library, estimated at.....	1,000
7. In 1855-56.—Gifts, by general contribution, to erect a parsonage for the residence of the chaplain, about.....	2,500
8. In 1855-56.—Gifts, by general contribution, to erect a temperance hall, about.....	4,000
9. In 1856.—Gifts, by general contribution, to procure a copy, by Balze, of Raphael's painting of "The School of Athens," about.....	4,000
Total of gifts prior to the late Civil War.....	\$66,100
10. In 1869-81.—Gifts to library and museum of industrial chemistry, estimated at more than.....	10,000
11. In 1869-81.—Gifts to library by Mr. A. A. Low, of Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1,000; by Mr. Robert Gordon, of New York City, \$500; by Mr. W. M. Meigs, of Philadelphia, \$100.....	1,600
12. In 1869-71.—Gift of "Thompson Brown Alumni Scholarship."—Appointment by donor's representative.....	2,000
13. In 1870-76.—Gifts by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington City, to the chemical department and to the University library.....	6,000
14. In 1875-76.—A gift by Mr. Lewis Brooks, of Rochester, N. Y., for the erection and equipment of a museum of natural history and geology.....	68,000
15. In 1876-77.—Gifts, for the completion of the same purpose, by Mr. Brooks's brother and heir, \$4,000; by Prof. William B. Rogers, of Boston, formerly professor of this University, \$1,000; and by alumni of the University, \$1,000.....	6,000
16. In 1881-82.—Gifts by Mr. Leander J. McCormick, a native of Rockbridge County and a citizen of Chicago, of a refracting telescope, estimated at \$50,000; and of the cost of the observatory building, say \$18,000.....	68,000
17. In 1883.—A gift by the late Mr. Isaac Carey, of Richmond, to found scholarships for the benefit of poor and deserving young men.....	7,000
18. In 1884.—Gifts, by general contribution, to erect a chapel (\$5,000 supplied by the extraordinary liberality of a lady connected with the University).....	15,000
19. In 1884.—A gift, by the will of the late Arthur W. Austin, a liberal-minded citizen of Dedham, Mass., in remainder, after certain life-interests, of about.....	470,000
	<u>\$719,700</u>

Grand total of gifts, \$719,700, of which \$653,600 have been given since the termination of the Civil War; indeed, since 1869. As the \$470,000 given by Mr. Austin will not be available for a number of years, it is not reckoned amongst the fixed endowments yielding income.



NEW UNIVERSITY CHAPEL.

PERMANENT AND FIXED ENDOWMENTS.

The permanent and fixed endowments, whence the University derives a present revenue, are as follows :

1. In 1836.—By the will of ex-President Madison, a legacy of \$1,500, the annual income to be applied to the library; income, \$90	\$1,500
2. In 1859.—Price of land leased to J. L. Maury, \$1,100; income, \$66.....	1,100
3. In 1869.—Gift by the late Mr. Samuel Miller, of Campbell County, of \$100,000, to endow a department of scientific and practical agriculture; income, \$6,000	100,000
4. In 1876.—Gift by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington City, of \$50,000, to endow the existing schools of moral philosophy, and of history and literature; income, \$3,000	50,000
5. In 1878.—Gift by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington, to endow a new chair of natural history and geology; income, \$3,000	50,000
6. In 1878-81.—Gifts amounting to \$75,000, by sundry liberal friends of the University, to endow the directorship of the observatory, etc.; income, \$4,780	75,000
7. In 1883.—Gift by the will of Mr. Douglas H. Gordon, of Baltimore, of \$5,000, in aid of the library; income, \$300	5,000
Aggregate of permanent fund, principal	\$282,600
Income	\$17,236

Of the foregoing sum of \$282,600, permanent and fixed funds, about \$2,600 had accrued before the Civil War. The residue of \$280,000 has been contributed since 1869. And if to this very large sum be added the \$653,600 mentioned under the preceding head, it appears that since 1869 the University has received gifts and contributions amounting to \$891,100! Thus wonderfully realizing, even in a period of general depression, the anticipation of Mr. Jefferson, that for the promotion of the higher education of the people, private munificence would ere long richly supplement and eclipse the contributions of the State.

THE ANNUAL INCOME OF THE UNIVERSITY.

The annual income of the University arises from sundry sources, some of which are variable, depending on the number of students. It is indeed no small hinderance to its growth and prosperity that so large a proportion of its annual receipts is derived from students, and imposes unavoidably a considerable tax on them, instead of coming from fixed investments. Some of the wealthier institutions of the country are enabled to admit pupils at lower rates of expense for tuition and other charges, and thus secure the advantage of numbers, although they may be possessed of no more educational merit. It may be hoped that ere very long the munificence of friends of learning will contribute such additional endowments as will make it possible for the University to lower its present necessary charges.

The revenues of the institution may be stated thus :

The annuity derived from the treasury of the Commonwealth, subject to the condition of admitting "white students of the State of Virginia over the age of sixteen years" without charge for tuition in the academic department. \$40,000

Matriculation and library fees (\$20 each student), supposing the number of students to be 300		\$6,000
Infirmary fees (\$7 each student), defraying medical attendance and nursing in the infirmary		2,100
Fees of schools, say 300 students		17,000
Diploma fees		1,600
Rents, hotels	\$550	
Dormitories occupied by students	4,578	
		<u>5,128</u>
Fines and contingent receipts		110
Income from fixed and permanent investments:		
State bonds belonging to University	6,156	
Observatory bonds	4,780	
Miller fund	6,000	
Douglas Gordon fund	300	
		<u>17,236</u>
Total annual income on the basis of 300 students		<u>\$89,147</u>

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.¹

BY PROFESSOR J. M. GARNETT.

[The discussion started in the November number [1885] of the *Andover Review* by the article of Professor Palmer on "The New Education" will doubtless be continued by the advocates respectively of the curriculum and the elective system of education. The present article is in no sense polemic, and the system described is not new. This elective system has been in operation in the University of Virginia for over sixty years. Its working is well known throughout the South but it is not so well understood in the North, and discussions of the elective system of education have grown out of the adoption of the system, in a somewhat different form, by Harvard University in recent years. The writer has thought that a plain and simple description, without argument, of the system pursued for so long in a sister university may not be without interest to educators who are seeking to find out the best way to attain the objects which we all have in view. The success which has attended the University of Virginia, and the prominence which its alumni have attained in all walks of life, are at least a testimony to the suitability of the system for this particular institution.

This article was prepared, by invitation, for the International Congress of Educators, which met at New Orleans in February, 1885, during the World's Exposition, and has already appeared in the proceedings of that body published by the United States Bureau of Education. It was intended to show the inner workings of the University, and as a supplement to a Sketch of the University of Virginia, prepared by a committee of the faculty as a part of the University exhibit in the Exposition, and containing a brief history of the origin of the University, an account of its early organization, and the subsequent additions to its subjects and means of instruction, and a particularly full account of its local arrangements, endowments, and income. Such matters are, therefore, not described in this article, except in so far as the present organization of the University illustrates the working of its elective system. The University of Virginia was the first institution in the country to adopt this system, and its work has been consistently done on the lines originally laid down, the question of changing it for

¹ Reprinted from the *Andover Review*, April, 1886.

any other having never even been mooted, as far as the present writer is informed.]

The University of Virginia was first opened for the reception of students on March 7, 1825, so that it may now be said to have completed its period of middle life, and to have attained the comparatively venerable age of sixty years. The system with which it started, then altogether unique in this country, continues to be the system at the present day, notwithstanding the many changes and additions which have since taken place. This system was an arrangement of the subjects of instruction taught at that time into eight separate and distinct schools, as they are technically termed, namely, ancient languages, modern languages, mathematics, natural philosophy, natural history (soon, however, limited to chemistry), moral philosophy (including mental philosophy), anatomy and medicine combined, and law. These eight schools have expanded into nineteen, in some of which, besides the professor, there are assistant instructors; and of these, twelve are academic schools, six being literary, and six scientific (though two of the latter are attended only by specialists), and seven are professional schools, three being in the medical department, two in the law, one in the engineering, and one in the agricultural.¹ Each of these schools is independent of every other as far as its course and methods of instruction are concerned. The professor himself is the sole judge of the special subjects which he shall include in his course, and of the manner in which he shall teach those subjects. Within the limits, then, of each particular chair there is the greatest freedom allowed in the selection of subjects and arrangement of the course. One of the cardinal principles of German university organization, *Freiheit des Lehrens* (freedom of teaching), was thus initiated in this country sixty years ago.

The faculty, as a whole, consisting of the professors at the head of each school, is the immediate governing body of the University, and controls the number of hours, and even the particular hours, which are devoted to instruction in each school; and, subject to the approval of the board of visitors, representing the State authority, directs what honors shall be awarded in a part, or the whole, of the course taught in each school, and what schools, in whole or in part, shall be required for

¹ These schools are now designated as follows:

ACADEMIC SCHOOLS.—*Literary department*.—Schools of Latin, Greek, modern languages, English language and literature, historical science, and moral philosophy (six). *Scientific department*.—Schools of mathematics, natural philosophy, general and industrial chemistry, analytical and agricultural chemistry, natural history and geology, and practical astronomy (six).

PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS.—*Medical department*.—Schools of physiology and surgery, anatomy and materia medica, medicine, obstetrics and medical jurisprudence, and chemistry and pharmacy [same as academic] (four). *Law department*.—Schools of common and statute law, and of constitutional and international law, mercantile law, evidence, and equity (two). *Engineering department*.—School of mathematics applied to engineering (one). *Agricultural department*.—School of agriculture, zoölogy, and botany (one).

the academic and professional degrees of the University. The faculty is presided over by a chairman, appointed annually by the board of visitors, although in practice the same professor is reappointed as often as he is willing to undertake the onerous duties, which no one desires to undertake, notwithstanding the additional compensation. Upon the chairman devolve all the administrative and executive duties usually discharged by the president of a literary institution, but his power is more limited, for every question that arises outside of the ordinary routine must be referred to the faculty, and be decided by that body. The faculty acts usually through committees, but no decision of a committee is final unless approved by the faculty. This feature of the University system is thought by some to be open to objections, and the more common organization, with a president at the head of the institution, is considered, in some respects, better; but the plan has been found to work well in practice; it is thought to place more responsibility upon the individual professor, and it is at least an open question whether a different organization would be better for this particular institution. Moreover, it was a pet idea of Mr. Jefferson's, derived, perhaps, from the annual election of a *rector magnificus* in the German universities, and we are told in a paper from the pen of Professor Minor, written thirty years ago, that "Mr. Jefferson attached not a little importance to this republican feature of rotation, insomuch that at the very last meeting of the board [of visitors] before his death [in 1826] Mr. Wirt, then Attorney-General of the United States, having been appointed professor of law and president of the University, Mr. Jefferson, while expressing his hearty concurrence in Mr. Wirt's appointment to the chair of law, entered upon the minutes, with his own hand, so strong a protest against the creation of the office of president that, upon Mr. Wirt's declining, the proposition was never renewed."¹ But though the rotation existed in the early days of the University, no professor having then held the office more than two years in succession, this ceased forty years ago, and, as already stated, it is customary for the board of visitors to reelect the same professor as often as he is willing to retain the office. Another feature of the organization of the faculty deserves notice, and that is, that there is no distinction whatever between the professors in the academic and in the professional departments. They all meet on an equal footing as one body, and questions relating to each department are decided by the whole body. The division of the philosophical faculty, which has recently agitated the German universities, has not yet been suggested here, even so far as relates to a separation of academic and professional schools, but each professor avails himself of whatever light may be thrown upon the subject under discussion by any one of his colleagues. This tends to prevent narrowness, to avoid considering the claims of one school or department separate from the rest, and to give force to a decision of the faculty as that of the whole body, and not of a fractional part of it.

¹ Jefferson and Cabell Correspondence, Appendix Q, p. 519.

The board of visitors has been referred to as the highest authority of the University. This board consists of nine members, appointed every four years by the Governor of the State, and confirmed by the Senate, three from the Piedmont region, in which the University is situated, and two from each of the other three grand divisions of the State, the Valley, Southwest Virginia, and the Tide-water region. In the hands of this board are lodged all powers usually exercised by boards of trustees, and especially the control of the finances of the University, although in respect to these the faculty, at the close of each session, through one of its committees, prepares for its annual report a statement of estimated receipts and expenditures for the ensuing session, with such suggestions as it may think proper in respect to expenditures for special purposes, which statement serves as a guide to the board of visitors in authorizing the disbursements. This board is required by law to make to the Legislature an annual report of the condition of the University. The University receives from the State an annual appropriation of \$40,000, in return for which it is required to admit, free of charge for tuition in the academic schools, all Virginia students sixteen years of age who pass an elementary examination for admission into the respective schools which they desire to attend, or who present certificates of satisfactory attainments from some college or preparatory school. The limit of age has heretofore been eighteen years, but this was changed by the Legislature in 1884 of its own motion.

Having thus briefly sketched the organization of the University as regards its subjects of instruction and its governing bodies, let us consider it from the point of view of those for whose benefit the University is established, and see how it affects them. A student who enters the University is supposed to have arrived at such an age as to know what he wishes to study, or to have had directions from his parents to pursue certain subjects of study. This is, of course, true with respect to professional students, whose average age on entrance is over twenty-one years, and it is presumed to be true with respect to academic students. The average age of these students on entrance is about nineteen years, so that the presumption is reasonable.¹ The entering student finds at least ten academic schools open for his selection, three of which he is required to enter, unless he is of age or has his parents' authority to enter a less number. Sometimes as many as four are entered, in whole or in part; but it is seldom advisable for a student, and especially a first-year student, to enter more than three. Cases frequently occur where a student has taken up more studies than he can attend to, and therefore applies to the faculty for permission to drop some one school. If the student is a candidate for a titled degree, he will find these schools grouped in accordance with the requirements for that degree, but the order in which he shall take up the specified schools is left entirely to his own selection. The schedule of hours is to some extent a limitation upon his selection,

¹ See the table on next page.

as, of course, students can not enter the same year schools of which the lecture hours conflict. If the student is not a candidate for a titled degree, he may select any three schools he pleases; there is absolutely no restriction upon his choice but that necessarily imposed by the schedule of lecture hours. Thus another principle of German university organization was introduced into this country at the inception of the University of Virginia, sixty years ago, that is, *Freiheit des Lernens* (freedom of learning). As is well known, this is termed the *elective* system in distinction from the *curriculum* system, and it has been gradually introduced into many of our higher institutions of learning. But the mistake has been made, as it seems to me, of introducing it into many of our lower institutions of learning also. We are told by Prof. Charles F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, in an article on "Southern Colleges and Schools," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1884 (p. 548), that "at least *thirty-five* Southern colleges and universities have adopted this system, following the example of the University of Virginia." I am inclined, however, to agree with the president of Tulane University, who is quoted in the above article as saying (p. 551): "It is just as demoralizing for a college to invade the domain of true university work as for a preparatory school to attempt to be a college;" and again: "While I approve of the 'elective system' for real universities, I regard its application to colleges and schools as a misfortune."

Table of ages of first-year students in the University of Virginia for session 1884-85.

Ages.	Academic.		Professional.		Mixed.	
	Virginia.	Foreign.	Virginia.	Foreign.	Virginia.	Foreign.
16.....	1	4				
17.....	10	7		2		1
18.....	6	9		3	3	3
19.....	11	7	8	4	2	
20.....	7	2	4	8	4	1
21.....		1	6	9	1	1
22.....	2	1	9	6	2	1
23.....	2		6	4		
24.....	1	1	1	1		
25.....			1	1		
27.....				1		
29.....		1				
30.....					1	
36.....	*1					
38.....	*1					
40.....				1		
Total	42	33	35	40	13	7
Average age	19½	18½	21½	21½	20½	19½

Average age of Virginia students in academic department, excluding the two marked with an asterisk as being resident clergymen, 19. Total number of first-year students of all kinds, 170; average age of first-year students of all kinds, 20½. Number of students of 1884-85 according to duration of attendance: First year, 170; second, 64; third, 44; fourth, 14; fifth, 8; sixth, 1; seventh, 1; eighth, 1. Total, 303.

The elective system as it prevails in the University of Virginia, which has never known any other system, has been often misunderstood. It has been sometimes imagined that the University of Virginia confers a titled academic degree for any combination of studies that the student himself may select, provided that he fulfils the requirements of the written examinations. This is, of course, an entire mistake. There is attached to each school the degree of *graduate* in that school, conferred on completion of the entire course taught in that school, which is tested by means of rigid written examinations, on which the student is required to attain at least three-fourths of the total value of the questions. A student who has received this diploma of graduation in Latin, say, is entitled to call himself "a graduate of the University of Virginia in Latin;" and so for all other schools. In some schools, where the subjects are capable of division, the degree of *proficient* is similarly conferred on completion of certain specified partial courses in these schools, and in a few schools the attainment of two such proficiencies on distinct subjects constitutes graduation in the school. These degrees, however, are not *titled* degrees. The requirements for titled degrees are strictly specified.¹ In some of these degrees there is no option possible, but certain fixed requirements are made, which the student must fulfil if he wishes the particular degree; in others option is permitted within very narrow limits; and in only one—the recently established degree of bachelor of philosophy—does the option vary to the extent of one-half of the academic schools of the University, graduation in five schools, any three of the six literary and any two of the four scientific schools, being requisite for the attainment of this degree, which is, to my mind, more consonant with the genius of the elective system and of a university than any other one of the bachelor's degrees. It will thus be seen that the requirements of the University of Virginia are stricter with respect to subjects for the titled degrees than those of many institutions which still retain the curriculum system; which fact, combined with the high standard requisite for graduation in each school, will account for the small number of titled degrees conferred by the University. In respect to titled degrees, there is another point which deserves mention. The B. A. degree is not preliminary to the M. A. degree, as in most institutions; it is merely a degree conferred for lower attainments. A student may attain the M. A. degree without ever having received the B. A. degree, or, in certain cases, without ever having studied some of the subjects specified for the B. A. degree, as in this last a limited substitution is allowed. Again, a student may receive the B. A. degree and never attain the M. A. degree, for it is not conferred *in course*, but only after graduation in the specified schools. The two degrees have, then, no relation to each other, and, as a matter of fact, the M. A. degree was established in 1831, seventeen years before the institution of the B. A. degree, the only degree originally instituted being that of *graduate* in a

¹ For these see Annual Catalogue.

school, which may be called the basis of all degrees. Just here I may be permitted to correct a slight error into which Prof. C. F. Smith has fallen, in the article above referred to, with reference to the requirements for the M. A. degree in the University of Virginia. There is no such "student public opinion" which "holds students to a certain order of studies" (*l. c.*, p. 549) as that with which the University is credited. I presume none would be more surprised than the students themselves to hear that such "public opinion" was reported to exist. The illustration given—namely, that "a student who had taken French and Spanish as the two modern languages for his [M. A.] degree found, after he had gotten his certificates of proficiency [read, *diplomas of graduation*], that student public opinion regarded no other modern language as an equivalent for German for the M. A. degree, and he therefore took German in addition," must have been based on misinformation as to the requirements for the M. A. degree. From 1832, when graduation in the school of modern languages was first required for the M. A. degree, to 1859 the student was at liberty to take *any two* of the four modern languages taught for his M. A. degree. In 1859 the requirement of French and German as *the two* modern languages necessary for this degree was made obligatory, and has so continued ever since. It is the faculty, under approval of the board of visitors, that regulates the requirements for all degrees at the University of Virginia as at other institutions, and no "student public opinion" affects these or concerns itself in any way with the order of studies that any student chooses to pursue. As already stated, if the student is a candidate for a *titled* degree, he finds the requirements strictly specified; if not, he is at liberty to study any subjects he pleases, and the only concern of the faculty is to see that his time is fully occupied, which is sought to be effected by the requirement that he must enter at least three schools, unless special circumstances exempt him from it, and that, having entered these schools of his own choice, he attends the lectures regularly and discharges the duties incumbent upon him. If the student is a candidate for *any* titled degree, he will find, also, that no limit of time is specified for its attainment; this depends entirely upon his ability to fulfil the requirements. Of nine M. A. graduates of 1884, the time of attendance at the University varied from three years to six, the usual time being three and four years. The one B. S. had attended for two years, and the one B. A. for six years. (I should add that the last was a professor's son, who had entered quite young—only fifteen years of age—and had therefore gone very slowly through the course.) In like manner graduation in a school is not dependent upon the time of attendance. While a student who is well prepared may graduate in a particular school the first year, another may take several years to accomplish graduation; and cases have occurred where a student has attended the Senior class of the same school for three years and still failed to graduate. As there is no annual promotion

from class to class, as in a curriculum, the element of time does not enter, and a student may accomplish his course fast or slow, according to his inclination and ability. The same standard is set for all, and it must be reached regardless of time. There is also no entrance examination, except for Virginia students who desire free tuition—and this is of a very elementary character in each school—so that no student is rejected for lack of preparation. Upon the student himself rests the responsibility of undertaking the courses prescribed. In the schools of Greek and mathematics there are three classes—Junior, Intermediate, and Senior; and in those of Latin, modern languages (that is, in French and in German), and natural philosophy, there are two classes—Junior and Senior, and the student enters whichever one, after consultation with the professor, he finds himself prepared for; but only those who complete the course of the Senior class can apply for graduation in the school.

The class-work during the year, consisting of the preparation of certain portions of the text-books, the writing of exercises in the languages, and the preparation of the notes taken from the oral lectures of the professor, is by no means all of the student's work. In all the language classes certain authors are assigned to be read privately, from which reading of the Senior classes one of the pieces for translation in the graduation examination is usually taken, the other being taken from the classical writers of the language at will. The pieces for translation in the graduation examination are never taken from what has been read in the class-room. It was formerly customary to leave to the student himself the selection of his private, or extra, reading, both pieces for translation in the examination being taken from the classical writers of the language at will, but now the so-called "parallel reading" is assigned by the professor at the beginning of the session, and the student reads it from time to time during the year. In the mathematical classes extra problems are assigned for solution each week, or even each day, so that the student's original power for this kind of work is continually tested. In some other schools a course of parallel reading in connection with the subjects studied—or corresponding private work in addition to that of the class-room—is assigned, the object being to encourage the habit of private study along with the preparation of a certain portion of the text-book or a certain quantity of lecture notes from day to day. The proper preparation of this last also is tested by careful questioning at each lecture on the portion of the text-book assigned and on the subjects of the preceding lecture.

The student's presence at each lecture is ascertained by a regular roll-call, and if his absences reach as many as three during the month in any one school without valid excuse, his name is reported to the faculty, and he is admonished to be more particular in attendance. Also, the number of times that he has absented himself from lectures in each school, and a brief statement as to how he is doing, are entered upon

the monthly report regularly rendered to his parents. A student who is persistently idle and neglectful of admonition, or whose conduct is deserving of severe censure, is usually informed at the close of the session that his presence during the following session will be dispensed with; or, in flagrant cases, his parents are requested to withdraw him forthwith. It may be truthfully said that cases of this kind seldom arise, and I do not suppose that any institution in the country enjoys greater immunity from bad conduct on the part of its students than the University of Virginia. Every student is treated as a gentleman, he respects himself as such, and conducts himself accordingly, and cause for censure very seldom arises. Supposing that the student has applied himself to his studies, and maintained a good class-standing during the year, which is determined by the regularity of his attendance at lectures and by the judgment of the professor as to the student's answers in the class questioning—for there is no marking system in vogue in the University—he presents himself for the written examinations. These occur twice during the year, in February and in June, and in some schools the two examinations count as of equal value, being on different portions of the course, while in others the whole stress is laid on the final examinations. The professor endeavors in these examinations by a series of questions, some of which often require lengthy answers, to test thoroughly the student's knowledge. A list of examination questions is often very deceptive; so much depends upon the character and extent of the answer required, and even upon the judgment of the examiner. While the professor in each school sets the questions and examines the papers, two other professors along with him constitute the committee of examination for that school, and any question that may arise relative to the examination or to the student's papers is decided by the committee and not by the professor alone. The examinations for graduation last usually from six to eight hours on each subject, though sometimes, in the case of students who write slowly, they may extend to ten hours or more. They are seldom limited to a shorter period than six hours, so that a student is not required to write against time; he is given a full opportunity to state what he knows, even if he may think slowly. As already stated, he must attain three-fourths of the total value of the questions, or he fails of graduation, and in the professional schools the standard is higher, being four-fifths in the medical department, and five-sixths in the law department. Each student appends to his examination paper a pledge that he has "neither given nor received any assistance during the examination," which pledge is most rigidly observed as a point of honor by all the students. I have never known personally of but *one* violation of this pledge, and in that case a committee of his fellow-students waited upon the offender and informed him that he must leave the University, which he did forthwith. I have heard that a few similar cases have occurred in the history of the University, which were similarly treated. Here it is "stu-

dent public opinion" that regulates the matter and sets the tone of the University. A violation of the examination pledge may not even reach the ears of the faculty, but is dealt with by the students themselves. It is simply an impossibility for any faculty to regulate this, and it must be left to the honor of the students. The University of Virginia is not peculiar, however, in this respect, for the same tone and practice exist in other institutions in Virginia and the Southern States, and have extended to the preparatory schools also. They may, too, exist in institutions in the Northern and Western States, but as to this I am no so well informed.

Thus by means of class teaching and private study during the year, and rigid written examinations at the close, the University of Virginia endeavors to secure *thoroughness* of attainment on the part of its students. A diploma of graduation in any school is an evidence that the student has worked hard on the subjects taught in that school, and has come up to the standard required, whether he has spent one, two, or three years in obtaining his diploma. A *titled* degree is evidence that the student has accomplished such hard work in several specified schools, and as the M. A. degree requires graduation in more schools than any other, it has always been regarded as the highest honor of the University.

There have been established, however, recently, doctorates of letters, science, and philosophy, which require that a student who has obtained the corresponding bachelor's degree, or, in the case of the last, the degree of B. A., or of B. Ph., shall pursue post-graduate courses in *two* schools of his own selection out of those in which he has graduated. His proficiency in these courses is tested by theses and examinations, and while no limit of time is fixed, it is estimated that the completion of the post-graduate courses will require at least two years of study after attainment of the bachelor's degree. The candidate's thesis must show independent research in the subject of his selection, and, on approval, must be printed. The effort is thus made by means of the doctorates to encourage and reward specialization. The system has been in operation too short a time as yet to produce results, but there are now certain students pursuing post-graduate courses who will apply for the doctorate in due time.¹

It deserves to be added here that no honorary degree is conferred by the University of Virginia. It may be taken for granted that any one of its graduates who writes a titled degree after his name has worked hard for it, and has attained on the written examinations the standard requisite for graduation in the several schools specified for that degree.

In order not to prolong this paper to too great length, it remains to notice briefly, in conclusion, the character of the preparation necessary

¹ The degree of doctor of philosophy was conferred for the first time in 1885, and it was in that year also decided to recognize the B. A. degree from other reputable institutions as a preliminary to this doctorate, the requirement, however, of graduation in the two selected schools of the University being still maintained.

for academic students to enter the University of Virginia profitably. Professional students, of course, being over twenty-one years of age, will enter with whatever preparation they may have been able to acquire, and will profit accordingly. From the average age of entrance of the academic students, already stated as about nineteen years, it will be seen that they have attained greater maturity of mind than the first-year students of many institutions of learning, and their preparation should correspond.

In several schools of the University no previous knowledge of the subjects taught is required, and a student may enter these schools without further preparation than is implied by the possession of a good common English education, such as the highest grade of public schools can supply, for the teaching begins with the elements of the subject, as in chemistry, for example, or moral philosophy; but some maturity of mind is requisite in order to profit by the courses taught. In judging of this preparation, then, it will be necessary to take those subjects which the preparatory schools profess to teach, namely, Latin, Greek, mathematics, French, and German, if, indeed, these last can be rightly added. I wish I could add English also, but as yet the courses in English are so meagre and so varied in the preparatory schools that one can not, for the large majority of students, count upon more than instruction in the ordinary English grammar, and in the elementary principles of composition and rhetoric. There are some important exceptions to this statement, but I think that I speak rightly as regards the English course taught in the great majority of preparatory schools in the South, which is the chief constituency of the University of Virginia, and possibly in the North and West; but of these I speak under correction. In my judgment the great want in most of our preparatory schools is a thorough course in English parallel with the courses in Latin, Greek, and mathematics, and of equal importance. We are not so deficient in good preparatory schools, at least in Virginia, as one would infer from a letter of Prof. W. M. Baskervill, of Vanderbilt University, printed in the Nation of December 18, 1884 (No. 1016), in which, after enumerating five schools by name—one in North Carolina, one in Tennessee, and three in Virginia—he adds: “All the rest of the South can not add five more such schools to this list.” I would beg leave to say that I can easily add from Virginia alone “five more such schools” and over, whose course is equally as high in grade as that of those mentioned, and, in fact, a colleague informed me that he could count fifteen. But these schools have not yet established full and thorough courses in English equal in extent and importance to their courses in classics, mathematics, and modern languages, though I look hopefully for this to come in time, even if something else must “go by the board.” While our schools are doing good work, and sending up some students every year prepared to enter the Senior classes in the University, they are not now equal in numbers, nor, perhaps, in the grade

of their work, to the schools in what was "the golden age" for Virginia preparatory schools, and for the University—the decade from 1850 to 1860. Then there were at least a half dozen schools in the State whose number of boarding pupils varied from sixty to a hundred, and several others with a less number, all preparatory to the University, and drawing their pupils from all parts of the South. The University during this period was in its most flourishing condition, having for at least six years successively over six hundred students in attendance, nearly four hundred of whom were academic students, coming from all of the Southern States from Maryland to Texas. Almost all of these preparatory schools either were conducted by graduates, usually M. A.'s of the University, or drew their principal teachers from it. Having been educated in one of these schools and having taught in another, I may be permitted to speak from personal experience of the preparation afforded, as an illustration of the school course. In the school attended we had been reading for three years the higher Latin and Greek authors—others having been previously studied—of which I recall, in Latin, Tacitus and Juvenal, Plautus and Terence, Cicero's Letters, and Tusculan Disputations; and, in Greek, Euripides, Sophocles, Thucydides, and Theocritus, and we had written weekly exercises in Latin and Greek composition, retranslating into these languages a piece of English translated from some classical author; we had studied trigonometry and surveying, analytical and descriptive geometry, and the class succeeding ours studied also the differential and integral calculus; we had pursued a French course during the three years, reading lastly Racine and Molière, and writing weekly exercises. I do not now recall any English studies pursued, except spelling, which was rigidly insisted on for the whole school, and composition and declamation; for the time of English was not yet. I can not say that all, or even a majority, of the students entering the University enjoyed this amount of preparation, but it was not any too much for entering the Senior classes in the respective schools, and any student who desired to graduate the first year in the schools named must have had somewhat equivalent preparation, even if he had not read quite as much Latin and Greek. I speak of "Senior classes" and of "graduation the first year," because a student may enter the lower classes in the schools of Latin, Greek, mathematics, and modern languages with very much less preparation, or he may even enter the Senior classes and profit by the instruction given; but he will not graduate the first year. Comparing the courses taught in these schools of the University now with those taught twenty-five years ago, I should say that graduation in Latin and mathematics is somewhat more difficult now than it was then; in Greek and modern languages it is about the same. The preparatory schools have, therefore, now a somewhat harder task than they had then, and, with some exceptions, it does not seem to me that they fulfil it as well, but I may be mistaken. Education in Virginia, if not in the whole South, does not seem to have re-

covered from the great cataclysm, notwithstanding twenty years have elapsed, and a new generation has come on the scene. The University of Virginia is certainly now much better equipped for its work than ever before. Its thirteen schools of 1860 have expanded to nineteen; it possesses a chemical laboratory and a museum of natural history and geology of extraordinary value; its gifts, endowments, and appropriations are greater than at any former period; and it has just been provided with an endowed observatory, and a refracting telescope equal to any in this country and excelled by few in Europe. That its students are not as numerous as formerly, is due, in my opinion, to two causes—the one, perfectly just in itself and not to be regretted but in its effect, that other Southern States are building up their own institutions, and are educating for themselves the students whom Virginia formerly educated for them; in this they are wise, and are to be congratulated, and no lover of education would wish to see them take one step backward; the other cause is, I fear, not so creditable to our people as a whole, and here I include Virginia, as well as other Southern States; it is, that there is not as great a desire for higher education as there once was; our people have been occupied with their material interests, and have starved their minds; young men are growing up all around us with a mere smattering of education, but as it is sufficient to enable them to enter upon an agricultural, manufacturing, mercantile, or commercial life, they are satisfied; education costs money and postpones the time for making money, and we are content to do without it. But “the three R’s” will not suffice; the education given in our public schools is very desirable as far as it goes, and these schools should, by all means, be extended; but, if we are content to stop there, it will not answer; we can never rear a cultured community on the rudiments of learning; we can never take the position we once occupied in the statesmanship of this great country, nor even hold our own, if our higher institutions of learning are neglected.

The so-called “New South” has developed in many ways, has expanded prodigiously, from a material point of view, and has extended the blessings of elementary education to a much larger number than ever before. But I question seriously whether, in proportion to the population, there are as many young men now seeking a higher education as there were in 1860.¹ Some who write about the condition of education in the South previous to 1860 do not know what was the real condition of affairs. They do not reflect that the higher institutions of learning in each State, and the private schools preparatory to them, were generally well attended, and that the character of the liberal education supplied by them was in no whit inferior, if it was not supe-

¹This view is expressed also in two thoughtful and well-written articles on “Education in the South,” which appeared in the Nashville Christian Advocate of January 24 and 31, 1885, but the anonymous writer is rather pessimistic in regard to education not only in the South, but in the whole country.

rior, to what it is now. While we have broadened, we have not deepened. Lack of private means, doubtless, has had much to do with this, but as material interests have progressed, this lack is being gradually supplied. The caution which, it seems to me, is now most needed by the people of the South is not to let regard for material interests override consideration of intellectual growth. Mind must rule, and mind must have the opportunity of being developed to its highest capacity if we would keep pace with the intellectual progress of the world. Our higher institutions of learning must be cherished, not only supported from the public funds, but aided by private benefactions, and especially sustained by receiving for education the sons of all who can afford to send their sons to be educated. With much increased facilities for instruction, the colleges and universities should not lack students, for whom these facilities are provided. Higher education should be at least as highly appreciated now as it was by our fathers, or the result will inevitably be seen in the career of our sons. We can not afford to neglect the higher education, for, if we do, it will undoubtedly react upon the lower, and we shall stand before the world a half-educated people, regardless of our most important interests. Moreover, we can never contribute our share to the literature of the world unless we lay the foundation broad and deep. Writing novels and works in the negro dialect is not contributing to the highest forms of literature. Does any of this ephemeral literature, or all of it together, deserve to be placed beside the papers which emanated from the statesmen of the past, or the speeches with which the halls of legislation once resounded? Let us not deceive ourselves. Let us realize that the higher education must be maintained, and that we must take advantage of it if we would be an educated people; that there is a higher life than the mere material, and that making money is not the chief end of man.

This sketch of the way in which the University of Virginia is endeavoring to do its part towards securing that *thoroughness* in the higher education which is so essential to success, is offered as a contribution to the general educational work in this country, and especially as a plain description of one modest phase of that work.

CHAPTER XIV.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY¹ OF THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

BY THE EDITOR.

ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Memoir, Correspondence, etc., from the papers of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph. 4 volumes, 8vo. Charlottesville, 1829.

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, being his Autobiography, Correspondence, etc. Published by order of the Joint Committee of Congress on the Library. From the original manuscripts in the Department of State, edited by H. A. Washington. 9 volumes, 8vo. Washington, 1853-54.

The above are the best sources of information concerning the origin of Jefferson's educational ideas and his early plans for the development of a university in his native State. Here will be found his correspondence with M. Pictet upon the project of transferring the Geneva faculty to Virginia; also his letters to M. Dupont de Nemours, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Cooper, and many other gentlemen, whose advice Jefferson sought upon educational questions. In Jefferson's complete works will be found his Notes on Virginia, which contain valuable historical references to his first plans for transforming William and Mary College into a university, and to his original bills for the establishment of a system of public education.

The Writings of George Washington, edited by Jared Sparks.

These contain the interesting correspondence between Washington and Jefferson respecting the project for a French-Swiss university in Virginia, a project which undoubtedly had great influence upon both of these Virginians in shaping their schemes for national and State education.

¹ The writer had substantially completed this bibliography when that excellent bibliographical work appeared, the *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana: A List of Books Written by or Relating to Thomas Jefferson*, by Hamilton Bullock Tompkins (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons). 350 copies printed. The writer's purpose in the present Bibliography is educational, and specifically concerns the University of Virginia, but he gladly expresses his gratitude to Mr. Tompkins for so comprehensive and complete a *Bibliotheca Jeffersoniana*. Such collections of historical material with regard to other American statesmen would prove of great service to students and specialists.

The Writings of James Madison.

The third and fourth volumes of these writings are very important for an understanding of the historical and political significance of the University of Virginia. Madison was one of the original board of visitors and one of Jefferson's most valued advisers in the direction of the institution, especially in the matter of political education. He and Jefferson agreed upon and prescribed text-books upon the science of government. Both men wished to keep the University out of the hands of the Federalists.

Sundry Documents on the Subject of Public Education for the State of Virginia. Published by the President and Directors of the Literary Fund. Richmond, 1817.

With this invaluable publication the documentary history of the University of Virginia begins. It was the discovery and acquisition of this pamphlet of 78 pages in an antiquarian book-store at Baltimore which first led the writer to an interest in the educational history of Virginia. The collection of "Sundry Documents" was issued through the political influence of Cabell as a means of propaganda for the university idea, which, in the year 1817, first began to influence the Virginia Legislature. The collection contains Jefferson's bill for the more general diffusion of knowledge, proposed by the committee of revisers of the laws of Virginia, appointed by the General Assembly in the year 1776. This is the historical corner-stone of Jefferson's university. The writer has called particular attention to this bill in the preceding monograph. Note also Jefferson's original bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary College, which was to be the roof and crown of a system of popular education. The next great land-mark in the history of the University of Virginia is Jefferson's letter to Peter Carr, September 7, 1814. It represents a complete break from the idea of transforming William and Mary College into a State university, and takes a fresh departure in the proposed development of Albemarle Academy into a college or university. This letter, which contains Jefferson's educational platform, was published by Cabell in the Richmond Enquirer, and marks the first introduction of the new idea into the public mind. Then follow all the legislative documents, such as the report of the president and directors of the literary fund to the General Assembly in December, 1816, a report which marks the entrance of Jefferson's educational ideas into politics. The correspondence between Governor Nicholas and the leading educators of the country upon a system of public education for Virginia, and also Mercer's bill "for the establishment of primary schools, academies, colleges, and an university," are of considerable historical interest. All of these Sundry Documents have been digested in the preceding monograph. Although the pamphlet was printed by the managers of the literary fund and "distributed among the citizens of this Commonwealth" of Virginia, yet it is not likely to have survived in any considerable number of copies. Friends of education in Virginia who happen to own these "Sundry Documents," one of the primary sources of the higher educational history of that State, would do well to present the pamphlet to public libraries and institutions of learning for preservation.

Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia, presented December 8, 1818. Richmond, 1818.

This document is quite as important as the one just mentioned, for it is the report of the Rockfish Gap Commission, which decided that the University of Virginia should be established upon the site of Jefferson's "Central College." The commission was a brilliant idea, first suggested to the Leg-

islature by Mr. Cabell. It was appointed by the Governor, who favored Jefferson's project, from the senatorial districts of the State. Some of the best men in Virginia assembled at Rockfish Gap, a pass through the Blue Ridge to the Valley of Virginia, in August, 1818, and there came under the persuasive influence of Mr. Jefferson. He convinced the commission, by maps and ingenious diagrams, that, of all competitors for the University, the region of Charlottesville was nearest the geographical centre and nearest the centre of white population. The idea of centrality and the educational foundations already laid by Jefferson carried the day in opposition to Lexington and Staunton. Jefferson prepared a most elaborate report, containing his entire philosophy of education, from the primary school to the university. The original printed document has never come to the eye of the present writer, but he has found a printed copy in the *Analectic Magazine*, Vol. XIII, pp. 103-116, Philadelphia, 1819. To this magazine Jefferson's friend Dr. Cooper, the first professor in the University of Virginia, was a contributor. For example, see his review of Count Destutt Tracy's *Political Economy*, in the March number, 1819, pp. 177-191. The book was a translation from the French, which Jefferson had caused to be made and published. This *Analectic Magazine* was evidently one of the means of contemporary propaganda for Jefferson's ideas. The report of the Rockfish Gap Commission is also reprinted in the *Early History of the University of Virginia*, a valuable documentary collection described below.

Early History of the University of Virginia, as contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, hitherto unpublished, etc. Richmond: J. W. Randolph. 1856.

This is a documentary history of the University, and by far the most important work which has ever appeared upon the subject. The work contains Jefferson's extensive correspondence with Cabell, some of which "unpublished" material may also be found in Jefferson's Writings, with Cabell's name unfortunately omitted. The above volume contains also the published records of the trustees of Albemarle Academy, of the visitors of Central College, and to a limited extent of the visitors of the University of Virginia. Jefferson's most important educational reports and the early acts of legislation for the University are also to be found in this invaluable collection, for the use of which the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, formerly of the University of Virginia,

Session Acts of the Assembly of the State of Virginia.

These contain, in the most authentic form, the fundamental law and subsequent legislation of Virginia with respect to her University. The legal regulations of the institution and the various appropriations made from time to time for its benefit, are all recorded here, and are indexed under the head of "University."

Codes of the State of Virginia.

The various codified editions of the statutes of Virginia afford the student a convenient résumé of the permanent law affecting the University and the interests of higher education.

The Annual Reports of the Board of Visitors, published by the State of Virginia.

Sets may be found in Richmond and in the library of the University.

Catalogues of the University of Virginia.

A bound set, from the first session in 1825 down to the present, is preserved in the University library.

Manuscript Records of the Board of Visitors.

From May 5, 1817, to April 7, 1826, these records are written in Jefferson's own hand. From October 2, 1826, to July, 1828, they are in the hand of Nicholas P. Trist.

Manuscript Catalogue of the University Library, by Jefferson.

This is the only manuscript in Jefferson's own hand that could be found in the University library. The catalogue gives additional evidence of Jefferson's attention to details in the organization of his University. There are catalogued 2,436 volumes, described by Jefferson as 1 grand folio, 168 folio, 388 4to, 1,609 8vo, 2,270 12mo. Jefferson classified the library as follows: (1) Ancient history; (2) Modern history (foreign); (3) British; (4) American; (5) Ecclesiastical; (6) Physics; (7) Agriculture; (8) Chemistry; (9) Anatomy; (10) Surgery; (11) Medicine; (12) Zoology; (13) Botany; (14) Mineralogy; (15) Technology; (16) Astronomy; (17) Geography, etc. He observes, characteristically, at the beginning of his catalogue: "Books are addressed to the three faculties: memory, reason, imagination."

The University Memorial. By Rev. John Lipscomb Johnson. Baltimore: Turnbull Brothers. 1871.

This work consists of a series of biographical sketches of alumni of the University of Virginia who fell in the late Civil War, and contains many glowing tributes to the character and talents of the sons of this institution.

The Gilmer Manuscripts.

Inquiring of Col. Charles S. Venable, chairman of the faculty of the University of Virginia, for original manuscript materials relating to that institution, the writer first learned of the existence of original and unpublished letters written by Thomas Jefferson to Francis W. Gilmer. Upon application to the present owner of the letters in question, John Gilmer, Esq., of Chatham, Pittsylvania County, Va., the writer was courteously intrusted with the entire bound collection, which includes not only letters from Jefferson, but also some from Madison and from the gentlemen in England to whom Gilmer had letters of introduction. There are letters of advice or suggestion from Major John Cartwright, Dugald Stewart, Benjamin Rush, Lord Brougham, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Forbes, Dr. Samuel Parr, Henry Drury of Harrow, Prof. John Leslie of Edinburgh, Peter Barlow of the Royal Military Academy, and many others. It is very interesting to trace in this correspondence the lines of personal influence, inquiry, and recommendation which led gradually to the selection and engagement of a faculty for the University of Virginia. Here are the letters written by Thomas Hewett Key, George Long, Dr. Duglison, George Blaetterman, and various other gentlemen with whom negotiations were opened. Much interesting light is thrown by the Gilmer manuscripts upon the beginnings of the University of Virginia. The collection, which is well preserved in a large volume, quarto, came into the writer's hands too late to make any use of its contents in preparing the body of the present monograph, but he has appended in foot-notes to the chapter on the first professors certain selections from the Gilmer correspondence. By the consent of the owner of the manuscripts, the editor has committed the entire collection to one of his students from Virginia, William P. Trent, A. M., for further use. There are some very interesting letters from George Ticknor, written in Boston and at Goettingen; also several communications from the Abbé José Correa de Serra, Dupont de Nemours, and a great mass of unpublished letters from Will-

iam Wirt. The discovery of the Gilmer collection, which has fortunately survived the ravages of war, is only another illustration of the importance and practical value of American students utilizing academic connections and the historical environment for the prosecution of their original studies. Probably the Gilmer collection is but one of many family collections of important papers which might be made useful to historical science in the hands of students. The field of American educational history is comparatively unbroken, and it is not unlikely that many other interesting materials and discoveries may yet be made. It is the ploughing of new lands that unearths interesting relics of a forgotten race, and it will prove no ungrateful task to follow in the track of educational pioneers like Thomas Jefferson and Francis Gilmer.

LIVES OF JEFFERSON. STANDARD WORKS.

Rayner's Life of Thomas Jefferson. Boston, 1834.

This early work contains but a few pages, 415-420, upon the origin of the University.

George Tucker's Life of Thomas Jefferson, 1837.

George Tucker was professor of moral philosophy in the University of Virginia, and naturally paid some attention to the history of the institution. See portions of Chapters XIX and XXI. His account of Mr. Jefferson's hospitality to professors and students is striking. Every week Jefferson had a little company of students to dine with him, although he himself, being a little deaf, sat apart in order not to repress student conversation.

Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, 1852.

The notice of the University is necessarily meagre.

De Bow's Industrial Statistics of the Southern and Western States.
Vol. III. "Virginia." New Orleans, 1852-55.

De Bow is a valuable source of information upon Southern educational history.

Henry S. Randall's Life of Thomas Jefferson, 1858.

Portions of Chapters XI, XII, XIII of Vol. III contain a graphic account of Mr. Jefferson's relations to the University. Here are to be found Dr. Dunglison's interesting memoranda. He says that soon after the first professors arrived in Charlottesville, "the venerable ex-President presented himself, and welcomed us with that dignity and kindness for which he was celebrated. He was then eighty-two years old, with his intellectual powers unshaken by age, and the physical man so active that he rode to and fro from Monticello, and took exercise on foot with all the activity of one twenty or thirty years younger. He sympathized with us on the discomforts of our long voyage, and on the disagreeable journey we must have passed over the Virginia roads; and depicted to us the great distress he had felt lest we had been lost at sea, for he had almost given us up when my letter arrived with the joyful intelligence we were safe."

H. W. Pierson's Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson. New York: Charles Scribner. 1862.

Miss Sarah N. Randolph's Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson. Harper and Brothers, 1871.

In Chapter XX of this pleasantly written volume there is some account of Jefferson's devotion to his University, the building of which he watched from the northeast corner of the terrace at Monticello.

James Parton's Life of Thomas Jefferson. Boston, 1874.

Chapter LXX, on Jefferson's labors to promote education, is very cleverly written, and contains valuable information, derived from Prof. Charles S. Venable, on the examination system of the University, the healthful religious life there prevailing, and the moral effect of trusting to student honor. In Mr. Parton's book are valuable notices of Dr. Priestley and Dr. Cooper. It appears that the latter suffered under the Alien and Sedition Acts for harmless animadversions upon John Adams. Judge Chase imposed upon Cooper a fine of \$400 and sentenced him to prison for six months. Jefferson's relations to Cooper and Priestley are well described. Parton's work contains a heliotype reproduction of a somewhat remarkable portrait of Jefferson, painted by Rembrandt Peale in 1803, and now in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

John T. Morse's Thomas Jefferson, in the American Statesman Series, 1883.

In this work, written from a political point of view, one could not reasonably expect to find much with regard to Jefferson's relation to the University.

Catalogue of the Library of the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, under the head of "Jefferson".

This is a remarkably good bibliography of the books, writings, essays, magazine articles, etc., that have appeared upon the subject of Jefferson.

Poole's Index of Periodical Literature.

This also contains references to a wide range of magazine literature upon Jefferson.

PAMPHLETS, REPORTS, MAGAZINE ARTICLES, ETC.**North American Review, January, 1820.**

This contains an article by Edward Everett in review of Jefferson's report for the Rockfish Gap Commission. The article is interesting as an expression of Northern opinion respecting the new educational departure in Virginia. Jefferson himself read the article, and commented upon it in a letter to John Adams, August 15, 1820.

American Quarterly Review, June, 1831. Article by Dr. Dunglison on "College Instruction and Discipline."

This article contains an important discussion of the subject of student co-operation in the matter of college discipline, by one of the original professors, who held views somewhat opposed to those of Mr. Jefferson. Cf. Randall's Life of Jefferson, III, 517-519, where the story of the disorders that occurred even in the time of Mr. Jefferson are plainly told. In spite of the disagreeable experiences through which, in common with most colleges, the University of Virginia has passed in the matter of student riots (of which Dr. Dunglison, Professor Tucker, and Professor Minor tell the unvarnished truth), there has certainly resulted from Mr. Jefferson's original experiment in college government a remarkable harmony between the faculty and the students. The principles of authority and self-government, of law and liberty, have found a happy reconciliation. Jefferson was early convinced of this possibility. He wrote to Governor Giles: "A finer set of youths I never saw assembled for instruction. They committed some irregularities at first, until they learned the lawful length of their tether; since which it has never been transgressed in the smallest degree."

Dr. H. Tutwiler, in his address before the alumni society of the University of Virginia, June 29, 1882, said: "It is but recently, as we learn from the newspapers, that the distinguished president of Amherst College has sub-

mitted to the students of that institution a proposition to make them judges, under certain limitations, in the matter of discipline. This was precisely the plan of Mr. Jefferson, as set forth in the first published edition of the laws."

Niles's Register, 15; Supplement, 79.

Under the heads of "Education," "Jefferson," "Virginia," in Niles's Register, various interesting allusions to the University may be found. The state of the Literary Fund is from time to time noted, *e. g.*, January 10, 1818.

Bohn's Album.

This work is remarkable solely for its pictures of professors and for its views of the University. Two engravings from Bohn have been reproduced in this report.

Southern Literary Messenger, January, 1842, and April, 1856.

This interesting repository of Southern literature before the War contains two articles on the University of Virginia, bearing respectively the above dates. Most remarkable side-lights are thrown upon the institution by observers belonging to those times. Friendly, although critical, their testimony is highly valuable. The first article contains interesting sketches of three professors whom the University had lost—Bonnycastle, Davis, and the German, Dr. Blaetterman—from which sketches the present writer has already drawn.

The second article, published fourteen years later, is devoted to "The University: its Character and Wants." This is a very spirited and refreshing critique of the institution by one who evidently had its interests warmly at heart. The author, who is evidently a Southerner and has seen something of the world, possibly at a German university, rushes with a free lance at some of the weak points of the rural civilization of the Old South, and does not spare the University of Virginia. This critic, whoever he was, uttered some rather striking *ante-bellum* observations. He said: "In the way of general culture our Southern States generally are not abreast of the major part of those other civilized States whom we consider our peers. Even if slavery is a blessing, even if our social state is superior to that of France or that of Maine, slavery will not therefore supply or be a substitute for *art*. Slavery can not play a tune. * * * Where are the fine arts? Where is our music? Where are our pictures? Where are our sculptures? Where are the treasures of our science? And, saddest yet, where is our literature? Will any man say that our civilization has culminated? "The great immediate wants of Virginia are physical and intellectual development, railroads, and educational appliances. If the physical resources of Virginia were developed, wealth and the growth of towns would result. * * * Railroads are as essential as the schools. There can be no higher development, no outbursting of the intellect, without a dense population, or without towns. Minds must be brought together." This reformer then advocates with great vigor a policy of internal improvements, with liberal provisions for education, "beginning with the University." He states, if not quite fairly, yet with perfect freedom, the condition of that institution as it appeared in 1856. He says: "Not a solitary additional chair has been established since its original foundation. For years, and years, and years, \$15,000 has been its annuity. No sort of effort has been made to extend its provisions. No kind of modification has been adopted from regard to the advancement of knowledge. It is just like those old French *diligences* that have been running ever since the Merovingian dynasty." This aggressive writer then proceeds to urge a longer sojourn of students at the Univer-

sity; greater attention to their qualifications for admission; the division of the chair of ancient languages into two professorships, one of Latin, the other of Greek [this was done in 1856]; the institution of a chair of history and English literature [1857]; a chair of geology [1857] and practical mining; increase of the University library. Upon this latter point the critic speaks feelingly: "Our earliest recollections are of seeing in Smith's Geography that the library of the University contained 17,000 volumes." After a long period, he says the collection has increased to 18,000; but now for many years "no additions whatever have been made to the library."

He next urges the establishment of fellowships, yielding a few hundred dollars a year, "for the purpose of fostering and encouraging an elevated scholarship." He reviews, with evident understanding and appreciation, the fellowship system of Oxford and Cambridge, and also describes the prizes and scholarships then offered at Harvard and Yale Colleges. He explains accurately and approvingly the German system of recruiting professorships from *privatdozenten*, or private lecturers, who establish themselves at a university and compete with one another and with the regular professors. He contrasts the German system with the English, saying, "the professors at Oxford and Cambridge do no work at all; they deliver an occasional languid lecture; but the business of instruction is committed to private tutors, who are in no way as such connected with the university." The critic then proceeds to urge university provision for the study of Christianity, its philosophy and literature. "Why should the authenticity or genuineness of Homer be a matter of livelier interest than who wrote the Pentateuch?" Then follows a searching review of the educational results actually accomplished at the University of Virginia by a student who reaches the highest grade, master of arts, and compares them with the results of higher education in Germany. While not yielding superiority of university standards to any American institution, the critic reviews in a frank and suggestive way the courses of instruction, number of instructors, etc., at the University of Virginia, at American colleges, and at various English and German universities. The statistics were well calculated to induce reflection. The University of Virginia had, all told, 15 instructors; Harvard, 42; Yale, 43; Princeton, 20; Amherst, 17; Montreal, 18; Quebec, 22; Oxford, 593; Cambridge, 482; Berlin, 152; Bonn, 70; Leipsic, 97; Munich, 66; Tübingen, 62; Göttingen, 83; Heidelberg, 62.

He notes the relative size of college libraries in this country in 1855-56: Harvard, 101,000 volumes; Yale, 63,000; Brown, 34,000; Bowdoin, 28,000; Dartmouth, 32,000; Georgetown, 25,000; South Carolina College, 22,000; Franklin, in Athens, Ga., 10,000; Saint Mary's, Maryland, 20,000. He then contrasts the annual appropriations for educational purposes in the different States, for schools alone: Massachusetts, \$1,140,000; New York, \$3,046,430; New Jersey, \$388,572; Pennsylvania, \$2,000,000 and over; Missouri, \$210,000; Delaware, \$50,000; North Carolina, \$240,000; Tennessee, \$280,000; Louisiana, \$250,000. "In Virginia the annual appropriation from the literary fund and the capitation tax amounts to about \$170,000, including the University and the Institute." He then compares relative endowments and appropriations for the higher education: Harvard had, in 1855, over a million dollars endowment, and annual receipts from the same, from tuition, etc., of \$256,303. The University of Virginia had \$15,000 per annum from the Legislature, and this sum, with total receipts from tuition, room-rent, etc., would amount perhaps to \$65,000 per annum. South Carolina was then appropriating \$21,000 a year to her college at Columbia;

Alabama and Louisiana were giving about \$30,000 a year to their colleges; and Mississippi appropriated annually to her university \$17,000.

The significance of these facts and figures could not have escaped the critic's mind, nor that of his readers in 1856. The object of the entire article was clearly to arouse public opinion to the needs of the university situation in Virginia. The author wished to secure a more hearty support of the institution, an increase of the faculty, better pay for the professors, alumni representation upon the board of visitors, and many other excellent reforms. He wished greater attention to be given to the qualifications of students entering the University and a longer sojourn there. Inadequate preparation for university work and insufficient time for a liberal education appear to have been radical student faults at the University of Virginia; but it is well known that the authorities have always maintained high standards of examination and graduation. The small proportion of honors awarded in 1854-55, as compared with the total number of students in the various schools, is very striking;

Subject.	No. students.	No. graduates.	Subject.	No. students.	No. graduates.
Ancient languages.....	224	16	Chemistry.....	190	24
Modern languages ¹ ..	200	.....	Moral philosophy.....	118	31
Mathematics ²	241	24	Medicine.....	96	14
Natural philosophy...	109	11	Law.....	98	8

¹ There were 18 graduates in French, 13 in Spanish, 9 in German, and 5 in Italian; but none who were graduated from the entire school of modern languages.

² The author now under review says the course in mathematics at the University of Virginia "is almost identically the West Point course, where mathematics is the main and engrossing study."

In the above attendance upon the various schools some students are counted more than once. There were in all that year, 1854-55, at the University, 514 students; 352 in the academic as distinguished from the professional schools. The proportion of graduates to undergraduates in other American colleges was, and still is, much higher than at the University of Virginia. In 1854, at Harvard, there were in all 329 undergraduates, of whom 88 were Seniors, destined, by far the greater part, to receive their diplomas in course. At Yale, in 1855, there were 473 undergraduates, including 97 Seniors, most of whom received their degree of B. A. That same year, at the University of Virginia, while 106 men, out of a total of 352, were graduated from individual academic schools, only 3 succeeded in taking the degree of B. A., and only 7 the master's degree. From statistical evidence like this, which runs through earlier and later years, from the recognized ability and requirements of the professors since the very foundation of the University, and from the high repute in which its degrees have always been held, it is clear that the standards of higher education in Virginia were kept above reproach, whatever the drawbacks and difficulties of the situation.

Mr. Jefferson's Pet [the University of Virginia]. Harpers' Magazine, May, 1872.

This readable and well-illustrated article was written by Prof. Schele de Vere, of the University of Virginia. It attracted the writer's attention when a college student, and was his first introduction to a knowledge and appreciation of that Southern institution. A year later (1873) he met upon an ocean steamer a professor of Latin from that institution, and received from him his first letters of introduction to professors in Berlin. This was the beginning of an academic comity of interest, which the writer of this report is disposed to cherish. Prof. Schele de Vere's article is reprinted as a preface to the following valuable work, edited by him:

but were simply upon subjects taught in the public and private high schools of the State, with a view to encouraging higher education by the award of examination certificates.

Summary of Virginia. By Maj. Jed. Hotchkiss. Richmond, 1876.

This useful and suggestive work contains a valuable summary of the provisions for education in Virginia, and, among other valuable sketches, one of the University of Virginia. This author acknowledges his indebtedness to the educational reports of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, which are of first authority in the educational history of Virginia.

Virginia Educational Journal.

This is a valuable repository of articles on the educational history of Virginia. Here were published many of Dr. Ruffner's articles, notably his controversy with Dr. Dabney, parts of which were published in pamphlet form and circulated by the United States Bureau of Education.

Steiger's Cyclopædia of Education.

This contains valuable contributions to the educational history of Virginia by Dr. Ruffner.

The Elective System of the University of Virginia. By Prof. James M. Garnett. Andover Review, April, 1886.

This article is extremely valuable from an educational point of view. It was prepared for the International Congress of Educators, which met at New Orleans in February, 1885, at the time of the Exposition, and is reprinted in this report from the Andover Review.

The Virginia Literary Museum and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, etc.

This was a weekly journal, edited by some of the professors, from June 17, 1829, to June 9, 1830. It is preserved in the library of the University of Virginia in a large octavo bound volume of 850 pages, and contains many articles, literary, philological, and scientific, by the professors of that early time, and some interesting Jeffersoniana.

The Virginia University Magazine.

This periodical is edited by representatives of the two literary societies of the University, and has been in existence for many years. The writer of this report observed a bound set in the library of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Virginia, which college association is the oldest and one of the most flourishing in the country. It was founded at the University in the year 1858. In the same library are bound volumes of the various addresses given before the society of the alumni, founded in 1838. It is the custom to invite distinguished graduates to address the students of the University. In the same library collection are very many printed sermons and religious addresses delivered before the students by distinguished clergymen invited for the purpose. These discourses and the earnest character of the Young Men's Christian Association at the University of Virginia, together with the maintenance of a university chaplain by voluntary subscriptions, are a sufficient refutation of the charges of irreligion which have frequently been made against the institution.

Thomas Jefferson's Home, by John G. Nicolay, and The Later Years of Monticello, by Frank R. Stockton. Century Magazine, September, 1887.

From these recent and suggestive articles various illustrations have been taken for the present moograph.

Social Life at the University of Virginia, by John B. Minor, Jr. *Lippincott's Magazine*, October, 1887.

This is a pleasantly-written sketch by a son of Professor Minor.

MEMORIALS, ADDRESSES, PERIODICALS, ETC.

Memorial sketches of the early professors of the University of Virginia, by Prof. Gessner Harrison, may be found in the old edition of *Duyckinck's Encyclopædia*.

Discourse on the Life and Character of Prof. John A. G. Davis, by Lucian Minor, 1847.

Memorial of Professor Emmet, by Prof. George Tucker, 1846.

Address before the society of the alumni, by J. R. Tucker, 1851.

Address before the society of the alumni, by James P. Holcombe, 1853.

Address before literary societies, by Commodore M. F. Maury, 1855.

Address before society of alumni, by John A. Broadus, 1856.

Address before society of the alumni, by Charles S. Venable, 1857.

Inaugural address of Prof. Stephen O. Southall, 1866.

Inaugural address of Prof. John W. Mallet, 1867.

Address before literary societies, by John S. Preston, 1868.

This address marks the addition of a chair of industrial and analytical chemistry.

Address before alumni society, by John W. Stevenson, 1870.

Memorial of Prof. Gessner Harrison, by John A. Broadus, 1874.

Address before society of alumni, by Hon. John H. Kennard, of Louisiana, 1874.

Inaugural address of William M. Fontaine, professor of geology and natural history, 1878.

This address represents the institution of a chair of natural history and geology. Geology was previously attached to the school of physics.

Address before society of alumni, by Bishop Thomas U. Dudley, 1879.

Pamphlet and appeal to the alumni and friends of the University for endowment of the Leander McCormick Observatory, 1878.

Address on opening of the Louis Brooks Museum, by J. C. Southall, LL. D., 1876.

Historical address of Hon. R. M. T. Hunter, at semi-centennial, 1875.

Semi-centennial ode, by Hon. Daniel B. Lucas, 1875.

Address before society of alumni, by H. Tutwiler, A. M., LL. D., June 29, 1882.

This address is particularly valuable for its historical reminiscences of Mr. Jefferson. It was given fifty-seven years after Mr. Tutwiler came to the University of Virginia. He was one of the students in Mr. Jefferson's time, and remembered all the early professors. He says: "I well remember the first time I saw Mr. Jefferson. It was in 1825, in the proctor's office, whither I had gone with some students on business. A tall, venerable gentleman,

in plain but neat attire, entered the room, and, bowing to the students, took his seat quietly in one corner. One of my friends privately gave me to understand that it was Mr. Jefferson. I was struck by his plain appearance and simple, unassuming manners. When Mr. Brockenbrough was done with the students he looked up and recognized Mr. Jefferson, who then came forward to greet him. We used to see him afterwards as he passed our room on the eastern range in his almost daily visits to the University. He was now in his eighty-third year, and this ride of eight or ten miles on horseback over a rough mountain road shows the deep interest with which he watched over this *child of his old age*, and why he preferred the more endearing title of *Father* to that of founder. This is also shown in the frequent intercourse which he kept up with the faculty and students. Two or three times a week the former, often with their families, dined with him by invitation, and once a week he had the students. He had a list of these, and through one of his grandsons, then a student in the University, four or five were invited to dine with him on the Sunday following. This day was selected because it did not interfere with the regular lectures. When he found that some of the students declined the invitation from religious convictions, he ascertained how many there were of this class, and invited them on a week-day. Mr. Jefferson had a wonderful tact in interesting his youthful visitors, and making the most diffident feel at ease in his company. He knew from what county each student came, and being well acquainted with the most prominent men in every part of the State, he would draw out the student by asking questions concerning them, or about something remarkable in his neighborhood, thus making one feel that he was giving instead of receiving information; or he would ask about the studies of the students, and make remarks about them or the professors, for all of whom he had a high admiration. He was thus careful to pay attention to each individual student."

Address of Hon. W. C. Rives on Life and Work of W. B. Rodgers, 1883.

Address of Prof. Asaph Hall, U. S. Navy, on opening the Leander McCormick Observatory, 1885.

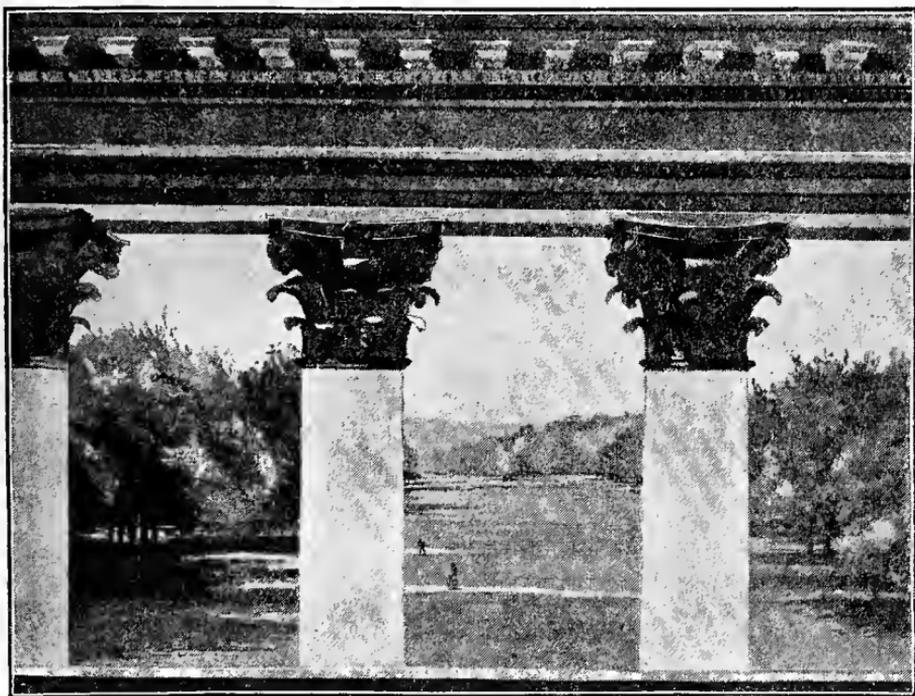
This marks the inauguration of an astronomical observatory, which was one of Mr. Jefferson's favorite projects.

Historical address, by Hugh Blair Grigsby, in 1868, on the occasion of unveiling the statue of Jefferson in the library.

This address is still in manuscript, and is in the possession of Hon. E. Johnston Barbour, Barboursville, Orange County, Virginia.

The Student's Hand-Book of the University of Virginia, 1887-88.

This convenient account of the various features of student life at the University, with a map of the buildings, was published by the Young Men's Christian Association.



VIEW OF LAWN FROM ROTUNDA-WINDOW, FACING SOUTH.

CHAPTER XV.

WRITINGS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY, 1825-1887.

BY WILLIAM P. TRENT.

The following lists are reasonably complete; in some cases proper materials have been wanting; in a few absolute completeness did not appear desirable. For reasons of convenience, a chronological order of arrangement has been preferred to an alphabetical. An asterisk (*) means that the professor was also an alumnus; a dagger (†) that the work was published during the author's connection with the University. As a personal examination of many of these works was impossible, the dates of publication were in some cases not to be obtained.

GEORGE LONG (professor of ancient languages, 1825-28):

Edited for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—

Quarterly Journal of Education (1831-35);

Biographical Dictionary (1842-44);

The Penny Cyclopædia (1833-46);

Was general editor of the Bibliotheca Classica.

Published—

An Analysis of Herodotus;

A Classical Atlas;

Editions of Cæsar's Gallic War and Sallust;

Geographical Treatises on England, Wales, and America;

A History of France (1850);

The Decline of the Roman Republic (5 vols., 1864-74).

Translated—

Select Lives from Plutarch;

Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius;

Epictetus.

Contributed to Dr. Smith's Classical Dictionary.

THOMAS HEWETT KEY (professor of mathematics, 1825-27):

Published—

A Latin Grammar (1843-46);

Philological Essays (1868);

Language in its Origin and Development (1874). Besides many contributions to philological journals.

A Latin Dictionary (1888); compiled from papers left by him.

CHARLES BONNYCASTLE (professor of natural philosophy and of mathematics, 1825-40):

†Published a Treatise on Inductive Geometry.

GEORGE TUCKER (professor of moral philosophy, 1825-45):

Published—

- Letters on the Roanoke Navigation (1811);
- Essays on the subjects of Taste, Moral and National Policy (1822);
- The Valley of the Shenandoah. A novel (2 vols., 1824);
- A Voyage to the Moon. A satirical romance (1827);
- †The Principles of Rent, Wages, and Profits (1837);
- †Life of Thomas Jefferson (2 vols., 1837);
- †The Theory of Money and Banks Investigated (1839);
- †The Progress of the United States in Fifty Years, 1790-1840 (1843);
- History of the United States to 1841 (4 vols., 1856-58);
- Political Economy for the People (1859);
- Essays, Moral and Philosophical (1860).

ROBLEY DUNGLISON (professor of medicine, 1825-33):

Published about twenty volumes, among the most valuable of which are his—

- †Human Physiology (1832);
- †Medical Dictionary (1833);
- Therapeutics and Materia Medica.

JOHN TAYLOR LOMAX (professor of law, 1826-30):

Published—

- A Digest of the Law of Real Property (3 vols., 1839);
- The Law of Executors and Administrators (2 vols., 1841).

*** GESSNER HARRISON** (professor of ancient languages, 1828-59):

Published—

- †A Latin Grammar (printed for class use in 1839; published 1852);
- †Greek Prepositions, etc. (1857).

JOHN A. G. DAVIS (professor of law, 1830-40):

†Published a Treatise on Criminal Law (1838).

WILLIAM B. ROGERS (professor of natural philosophy, 1835-53):

Was director of geological surveys in Virginia from 1835 to 1841, and wrote much in connection therewith; he also published—

- †Strength of Materials (1848);
- †Elements of Mechanical Philosophy (1852);
- Geology of the Virginias (posthumous) and many scientific papers.

*** JAMES L. CABELL** (professor of surgery, 1837-):

Published—

- †Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind (1857);
- †Syllabus of Lectures on Physiology and Surgery (1859), and the following papers: On the Treatment of Acute Pneumonia, etc. (1867); on the Architecture of the Animal Kingdom (1868); on Chronic Pneumonia in Relation to Tuberculosis (1868); on the Cell Doctrine—a Review of Clémenceau's Essay on the Genesis of the Anatomical Elements (1863); on Thermal Baths of High Temperature (1871); on the Ventilation of School-Rooms and the Diseases Incidental to the School as such—four papers (1872); on Drainage for Health, with Special Reference to the Medical Topography of Virginia (1875); on Water Supply in Relation to Health (1876); on the Etiology of Enteric Fever (1877); on a Proposed System of International Inspections and Notification of Infectious Diseases—a paper read before the International Conference at Washington in 1880; on Rise and Progress of International Hygiene (1881); on Sanitary Conditions in Surgery (1882); Annual Reports of the National Board of Health for 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883, and several reviews in Bledsoe's Southern Review and in Gaillard's Medical Journal.

HENRY HOWARD (professor of practice of medicine, 1839-67):

Published—

Outlines of Medical Jurisprudence.

J. J. SYLVESTER (professor of mathematics, 1840-41):

Has published a great number of contributions to mathematical and scientific journals and transactions of societies; Sylvester's Theorem, in Connection with "Newton's Rule" in Regard to the Number of Positive, of Negative, and of Imaginary Roots of an Equation, *Philosophical Transactions* (1864); London Mathematical Society Publications, *Philosophical Magazine* for 1866.

From 1877 to 1882 Professor Sylvester contributed 30 articles and notes to the *American Journal of Mathematics*, of which he was editor; also 22 articles and notes to the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de l'Institut de France*; also to the proceedings of the Royal Society, London, a paper "On the Limits to the Order and Degree of the Fundamental Invariants of Binary Quantics" (1878); also to the *Messenger of Mathematics*, London, 4 papers; to the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin *Philosophical Magazine*, 4 papers; and to the *Journal für reine und angewandte Mathematik*, Berlin, 6 papers.

H. ST. G. TUCKER (professor of law, 1841-45):

Published—

Commentaries on the Laws of Virginia (2 vols., 1836-37);

† Lectures on Constitutional Law (1843);

† Lectures on Natural Law and Government (1844).

ROBERT E. ROGERS (professor of chemistry, 1842-52):

Edited with his brother (Prof. James B. Rogers) Turner's Chemistry, with Additions (1846). Edited the American reprint of Lehmann's *Physiological Chemistry* (1855), and took part with his brothers in geological publications.

EDWARD H. COURTENAY (professor of mathematics, 1842-53):

Published—

A translation of Boucharlat's *Mechanics* (1836);

Treatise on the Differential and Integral Calculus—published posthumously (1855).

M. SCHELE DE VERE (professor of modern languages, 1844-):

Published—

† Outlines of Comparative Philology (1853);

† Stray Leaves from the Book of Nature (1856);

† Studies in English (1867);

† Grammar of the Spanish Language;

† Grammar of the French Language (1867);

† The Great Empress, a novel (1869);

† Americanisms (1871);

† The English of the New World, (1873) etc., and various philological papers.

WILLIAM H. MCGUFFEY (professor of moral philosophy, 1845-73):

† Published his well-known Readers and other school-books.

***JOHN B. MINOR** (professor of common law, 1845-):

† Has published his valuable Institutes (4 volumes);

† Synopsis of Criminal Law;

† History of the University of Virginia, in the *Old Dominion Magazine* (1869-70. Incomplete).

***J. LAWRENCE SMITH** (professor of chemistry, 1852-53):

Published—

Mineralogy and Chemistry—Original Researches; also
Report to the United States Government on the Progress and Condition of Several Departments of Industrial Chemistry, and over fifty scientific papers.

***JAMES P. HOLCOMBE** (professor of equity, 1854-61):

Published a work on Equity (1846);

A collection of letters of distinguished writers (1867-68).

ALBERT T. BLEDSOE (professor of mathematics, 1854-63):

Published—

A Theodicy, or Vindication of the Divine Glory (1853):

† Essay on Liberty and Slavery (1857);

Is Davis a Traitor? (1866);

Philosophy of Mathematics, etc. (1868);

Professor Bledsoe was afterwards editor of the Southern Review.

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE (professor of Greek, 1856-76):

† Latin Grammar, Primer, Reading and Exercise Books (several editions);

† Edition of Persius (1875);

Justin Martyr's Apologies, and Epistle to Diognetus; Edited with Introduction and Notes (1877);

Edition of Pindar's Olympian and Pythian Odes (1885);

† Address on Classical Study (1869);

† Legend of Venus (Southern Review, April, 1867);

† Xantippe and Socrates (Southern Review, July, 1867);

† Limits of Culture (Southern Review, October, 1867);

† Emperor Julian (Southern Review, January, 1868);

† Maximilian (Southern Review, April, 1868);

† Apollonius of Tyana (Southern Review, July, 1868);

† Lucian (Southern Review, October, 1869);

† Studies in the Attic Orators (Southern Magazine, April to September, 1873);

Personal Reminiscences of Friedrich Ritschl (American Philological Association Proc., 1877);

Address before Literary Societies of the College of New Jersey (1877);

Classics and Colleges (Princeton Review, July, 1878);

University Work in America (Princeton Review, May, 1879);

Athena Parthenos (Harper's Magazine, April, 1882), etc.;

Editor of the American Journal of Philology, to which he has made many contributions.

G. F. HOLMES (professor of historical science, 1857-):

Published—

† Series of Readers;

† English Grammar;

† Pictorial English Grammar (1868);

† History of the United States (1871);

† A New History of the United States (1886);

† A Science of Society, privately printed.

Addresses—

Inaugural, at William and Mary College, The University of Mississippi, and

† The University of Virginia.

Lectures—

Before the Virginia Historical Society—"The Virginia Colony";

Before the Peabody Institute, Baltimore—"The Romances of the Round Table";

G. F. HOLMES—Continued.

Lectures—Continued.

Before the societies of Emory and Henry College, 1852—"Demosthenes";
 Before the Virginia Teachers' Association—"The Study of English."

† Contributed to McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia Bibl. Theol. and Eccles. Literature—

Vol. II, 1868, Comte, Auguste; Descartes;

Vol. III, 1870, Elizabeth, Queen; Empiricism; Epicurus; Epicurean Philosophy; Faith and Reason; Ficinus Marsilius; Fief; Feudal System; Gasendi; Grosseteste;

Vol. IV, 1872, Hamilton, Sir William; Hartley; Hume;

Vol. V, 1875, Kant; Knighthood; Leibnitz; Locke;

Vol. VII, Nostradamus;

Vol. VIII, 1879, Philosophy; Platonic Philosophy; Pletho, Gemistus; Plotinus; Polignac; Positive Philosophy; Pythagoras; Realism;

Vol. IX, 1880, Empire, Holy Roman; Scholasticism; Scotus, Erigena; Seneca; Socrates; Spinoza;

Vol. X, 1881, Syncellus, Georgius; Synesius.

Supplement—

Vol. I, 1885, Byzantine Historians; Cause; Causation;

Vol. II, 1887, Comuena, Anna; Scepticism, Recent Phases of.

Contributed to the Southern Quarterly Review—

The North American Indians, January, 1844;

Rome and the Romans, October, 1844;

Rabelais, January, 1845;

Sue. Wandering Jew, January, 1846;

Athens and the Athenians, April, 1847;

California Gold and European Revolution, July, 1850;

Cimon and Pericles, April, 1851;

The Athenian Orators, October, 1851;

Grote's History of Greece, November, 1856;

Motley's Dutch Republic, October, 1857;

Julius Cæsar;

Hume's Philosophy;

English in the XVth Century;

The Berlin Treaty.

North British Review—

Auguste Comte and Positivism.

New York Methodist Quarterly Review—

Philosophy and Faith, April, 1851;

Faith and Science, April, 1852;

Instauratio Nova, July, 1852;

The Bacon of the XIXth Century, July, 1852;

Revival of the Black Arts, April, 1854;

The Sibylline Oracles, October, 1854;

The Positive Religion, July, 1854;

† Sir William Hamilton, January, April, 1857;

† Friar Bacon and Lord Bacon, January, April, 1858.

Southern Methodist Quarterly Review—

The Blunders of Hallam, January, 1853;

The Cæsars, July, 1853;

Sir William Hamilton, October, 1853;

Greece and its History, January, 1855;

Chastel ou Charity, January, 1856;

Remains of Latin Tragedy, January, 1856;

G. F. HOLMES—Continued.

Southern Methodist Quarterly Review—Continued.

- Spencer's Social Statics, April, 1856 ;
- Greek in the Middle Ages, August, 1856 ;
- Gibbon's Decline and Fall, July 1856 ;
- Alchemy and the Alchemists, July, 1856.

Southern Literary Messenger—

- Life and Times of Pericles, February, 18.0 ;
- John C. Calhoun, May, 1850 ;
- The Nineteenth Century, August, 1851 ;
- General Zachary Taylor, September, 1850 ;
- Greeley on Reforms, May, 1851 ;
- Uncle Tom's Cabin, December, 1852 ;
- Spiritual Manifestations, July, 1853 ;
- Universities and Colleges, August, October, and November, 1853.

De Bow's Review—

- Ancient Slavery, November and December, 1855 ;
- Increase of Gold, 1856 ;
- Gold and Silver Mines—The Golden Age, July, 1856 ;
- † Who Wrote Shakspeare? February, 1868; and many other contributions.

United States Law Magazine—

- Cancellariæ Origines, July, August, and September, 1851 ;

The Forum (Law Journal)—

- † The Civil Law, 1873-74 ;
- † Primitive Law, April and July, 1875.

*WM. E. PETERS (professor of Latin, 1865—):

Has published † A Syllabus of Latin Syntax.

*CHARLES S. VENABLE (professor of mathematics, 1866—):

Has published † a mathematical series in several volumes; also a report in a volume of Coast Survey reports for 1860 on observations made in July and August, 1860, as a member of the United States expedition to Labrador to observe eclipse of that year.

JOHN W. MALLET (professor of chemistry, 1872—):

Has published Physical and Chemical Conditions of the Culture of Cotton (London: Chapman & Hall. 1862); the British Association Earthquake Catalogue (conjointly with his father, R. Mallet); also about eighty scientific papers in the Philosophical Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society, the Journal of the Chemical Society of London, the Proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin Philosophical Magazine, the Annalen der Chemie und der Pharmacie, the American Journal of Science (Silliman's), the American Chemical Journal, the Journal of the American Chemical Society, etc. (done in part while professor at the University).

NOAH K. DAVIS (professor of moral philosophy, 1873—):

Published—

- † The Theory of Thought; a treatise on deductive logic (New York: Harper's, 1880).

Also the following papers:

- † The Duality of Mind and Brain, in the Christian Philosophy Quarterly for 1862 ;
- † Am I Free ? in the Christian Philosophy Quarterly, 1865 ;
- † Is Prayer Reasonable? in Christian Thought, July and August, 1865 ;
- † The Moral Aspects of Vivisection, in North American Review, March, 1865 ;
- † The Negro in the South, in the Forum for April, 1866 ;
- † Religious Exercises in State Schools, in the Forum for February, 1867.

* THOMAS R. PRICE (professor of Greek, 1876-82):

Published—

A New Heresy; review of Mr. Froude's views on education, in the Southern Magazine, 1870;

The Place of the Mother Tongue in Education, 1874;

† The Method of Philology; inaugural address, 1876;

† The Study of English as an Introduction to the Study of Latin and Greek, 1877;

† Methods of Language Teaching as applied to English; a course of lectures delivered before the Summer Normal School of Virginia, and published as a pamphlet, 1880;

The Construction and Types of Shakspeare's Verse-forms (*in press*); and contributions to the American Journal of Philology and other journals.

* WM. M. FONTAINE (professor of natural history and geology, 1879-):

Published—

Resources of West Virginia, octavo; prepared in conjunction with M. F. Maury, Jr., and published by the State of West Virginia;

The Upper Carboniferous or Permian Flora of Southwest Pennsylvania and West Virginia, octavo; prepared in conjunction with I. C. White, and published by the Second Geological Survey of Pennsylvania;

The Older Mesozoic Flora of Virginia, quarto; published by United States Geological Survey as Monograph VI;

The Potomac Flora of Virginia, quarto; in press.

Also the following articles in the American Journal of Science:

Notes on the West Virginia Asphaltum Deposit;

On Some Points in the Geology of the Blue Ridge of Virginia;

On the Primordial Strata of Virginia;

Notes on the Vespertine Strata of Virginia and West Virginia;

The Conglomerate Series of West Virginia;

Notes on the Mesozoic of Virginia, etc. (done in part while professor at the University).

ORMOND STONE (professor of astronomy, 1882-):

† Editor of Annals of Mathematics, 1883-87, published at the University of Virginia.

Has contributed a number of scientific papers in astronomical journals and reports (part of this work done at the University).

JOHN H. WHEELER (professor of Greek, 1882-87):

De Alcestitis et Hippolyti Euripedearum Interpolationibus (Inaugural Dissertation, Bonn, 1879);

Report of Rheinisches Museum (Philological Journal, 1881-82);

Review of Klinkenberg's De Euripdeorum Prologorum Arte (Philological Journal, 1882); also contributed to the Nation, etc.

* JAMES M. GARNETT (professor of English, 1882-):

Has published † A Translation of Beowulf (1882, 2d edition, 1885). Has contributed to the Southern Review, the Andover Review, the American Journal of Philology, Proceedings of the National Educational Association, Transactions of the Modern Language Association of America, etc. (done in part while professor at the University).

* WILLIAM M. THORNTON (professor of engineering, 1883-):

Assistant editor Annals of Mathematics.

* FRANCIS P. DUNNINGTON (professor of analytical and agricultural chemistry, 1885-):

† Has contributed various papers to the American Journal of Chemistry.

* **WILLIAM B. TOWLES** (professor of anatomy and materia medica, 1886-):

Published—

- † Syllabus of Notes on Anatomy ;
- † Syllabus of Notes on Osteology ;
- † Syllabus of Notes on Materia Medica.

* **WILLIAM C. DABNEY** (professor of practice of medicine, etc., 1886-):

Published—

- (1) *The Value of Chemistry to the Medical Practitioner*—a small book, to which was awarded the Boylston prize of Harvard, in 1873;
- (2) Over thirty papers on different medical topics in—
 - The American Journal of Medical Sciences,
 - The Medical News,
 - The Virginia Medical Journal,
 - The Maryland Medical Journal,
 - The North Carolina Medical Journal,
 - The Transactions of the American Medical Association,
 - The Transactions of the Medical Society of Virginia,
 - The Transactions of the North Carolina Medical Society.

ASSISTANT PROFESSORS.

* **JOHN A. BROADUS** (assistant in ancient languages, 1851-53):

Published—

- Preparation and Delivery of Sermons ;
- Lectures on the History of Preaching ;
- Commentary on Matthew ;
- Book of Sermons and Addresses.

* **EDWARD S. JOYNES** (assistant in ancient languages, 1853-59):

Has published several text-books on the modern languages, and papers in philological journals.

* **EDWARD B. SMITH** (assistant in mathematics, 1855-57):

Text-book of Plane Trigonometry.

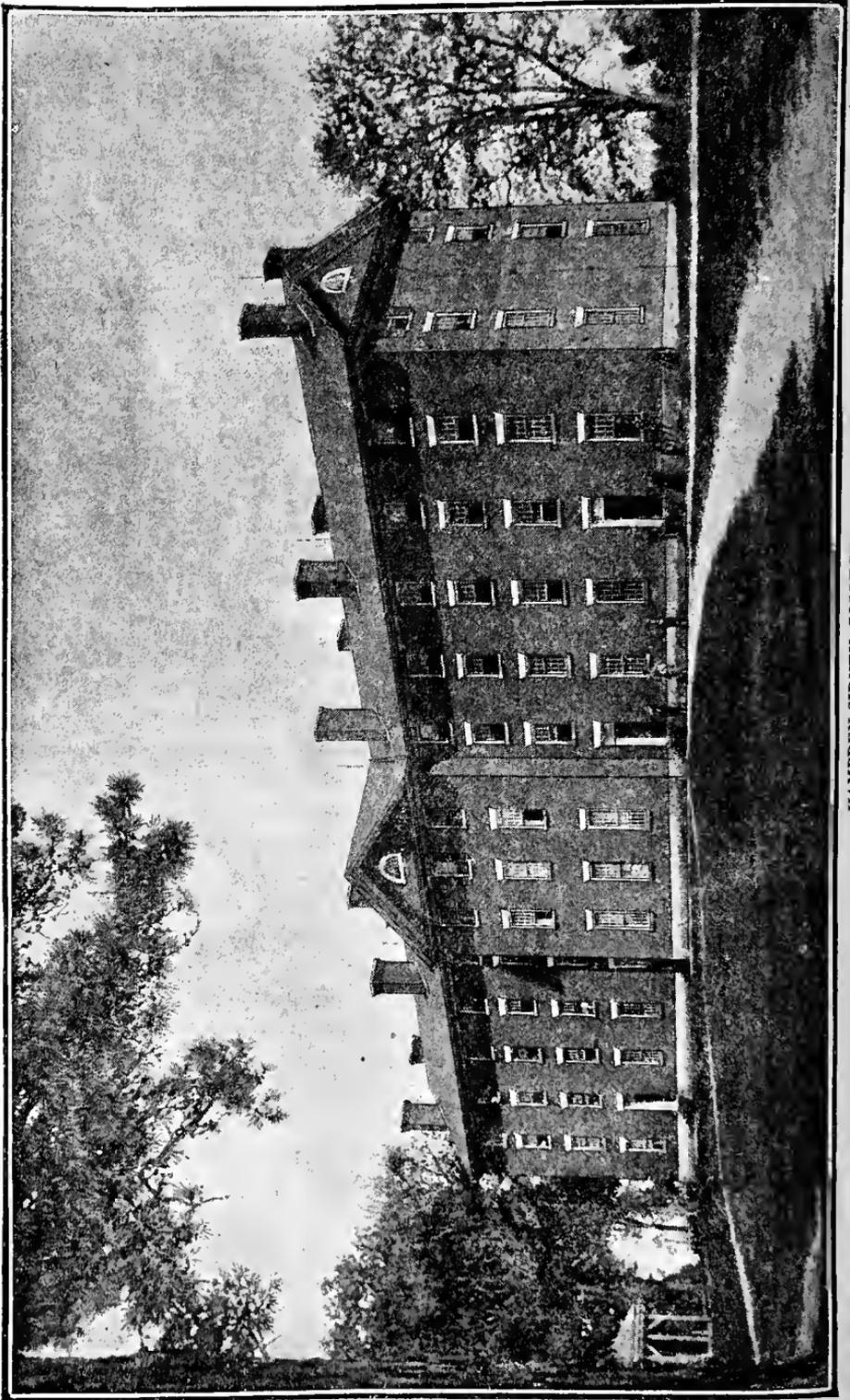
* **JAMES G. CLARK** (assistant in mathematics, 1857-58):

Text-book of the Differential and Integral Calculus.

* **GAETANO LANZA, Jr.** (assistant in mathematics, 1869-71):

Has published a work on Applied Mechanics, 1883, and scientific papers.

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HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE.

CHAPTER XVI.

HAMPDEN-SIDNEY COLLEGE.

BY C. R. McILWAINE.¹

Hampden-Sidney College, in Prince Edward County, Virginia, claims an age of more than one hundred and eleven years. As Prince Edward Academy, it originally formed one of the series of log colleges which, during the eighteenth century, began to look out from the shade of the forest, and to extend among the people the civilizing influence of letters. Its foundation is to be attributed to the intellectual and religious energies of the descendants of Scotch and Scotch-Irish blood, many representatives of which had left their native countries and the more settled portions of eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey, to found in portions of Virginia a suitable inheritance for their posterity.

The Synod of Philadelphia had already, in 1738, petitioned the Governor of Virginia to protect those of this race and religion, settling the valley in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Having received a favorable response, the authorized representative of the Synod began to settle Presbyterian families in Charlotte, Prince Edward, and Campbell. Families of this race were, at this time, scattered throughout Virginia; but, owing to the popular sentiment in favor of the established church, there had hitherto failed to exist between them that bond of civil and religious community which afterwards became so prominent a factor in the Revolutionary era of the State.

During an early period of the last half of the eighteenth century, after the formation of Hanover Presbytery, the relations between the Presbyterians became more firmly established, and they began now to excite attention as a positive element in State politics.

The College of New Jersey, the historic survivor of Nassau Hall, was laying deep the foundation for an accurate culture, and became a resort for Presbyterians who desired to extend their religious and mental training. Samuel Stanhope Smith, a native of Lancaster County, Pa., and a graduate of the College of New Jersey in 1769, subsequently united with the Presbytery at Hanover, in Virginia, and represented the cause

¹Mr. Clement R. McIlwaine is a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College and a son of its distinguished president, Dr. Richard McIlwaine. He studied for some time in the historical department of the Johns Hopkins University, and was subsequently graduated at the law school of the University of Maryland, in Baltimore. The editor of this report takes this occasion of thanking his former pupil for preparing the present chapter.—EDITOR.

of religion and education with such eminence as to make his name historic in the early annals of the Commonwealth. The cause of learning among the Presbyterians in Virginia was already advancing apace, when the impetus, happily given to it by the New Jersey pioneer, may be said to have occasioned the foundation of two academies—Prince Edward and Liberty Hall—each tracing its origin from one parent source. Under the auspices of Hanover Presbytery the Prince Edward Academy was opened to students in January, 1776, under the control and direction of Samuel Stanhope Smith, rector, to whose magical influence its early prosperity may be attributed. The Presbytery, consulting the best interests of the academy, endeavored to encourage every necessary branch of literature, and, while reserving a preference in favor of the Presbyterian service, extended the benefits of the foundation to all denominations.

The name of Prince Edward Academy was changed to that of Hampden-Sidney in May, 1777, in honor of those principles of political liberty which had been sealed by the blood of martyrs. Among the trustees of the academy may be mentioned the names of James Madison and Patrick Henry, which indicate that the institution was a product of civil and religious liberty, and was first launched upon its existence during the most important epoch in our history.

In October, 1779, the rector was released from his duties in order to accept the professorship of moral philosophy in the College of New Jersey; his brother, the Rev. John Blair Smith, by common consent succeeded him. The second rector of the academy, who afterwards became the first president of the College, when chartered by the Legislature of the State in 1783, was also a graduate of the College of New Jersey, and, through the influence of the two brothers, the curriculum and government came to resemble the Princeton model. Those who were most closely connected with the early history of Hampden-Sidney, were allied by ties of sympathy and respect with that central school, which had been so essential, not only in directing the educational tendencies, but also in shaping the political and religious principles, which were adhered to with such fidelity by the Presbyterians¹ until the bill

¹In this connection the editor notes the historical importance of the early movements in behalf of religious liberty in Virginia by the Hanover Presbytery in 1774. Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, who has discussed the pioneer influence of Patrick Henry in promoting religious freedom (see papers of the American Historical Association, Vol. III, and Dr. Stillé's reply, Vol. III), has lately made a valuable documentary discovery, which is described and published in the Central Presbyterian, Richmond, May 16, 1888. Mr. Houry's letter and the document in question are here reprinted in full:

"RICHMOND, VA., May 7, 1888.

"In looking among the archives of the State a few days ago, I found a paper of great historical value, in its bearing on the part taken by the Presbyterian Church in the struggle for religious liberty in Virginia. I enclose it with the request that it be published, and although it was written in 1774, this will be its first publication.

"The occasion of its preparation was the introduction in the House of Burgesses in 1772 of a bill having for its professed object the better security of the religious

for establishing religious freedom was finally enacted in 1785. Historical justice claims honorable mention of the first president of Hampden Sidney, in his defence of religious liberty before the committee of the whole house in the Virginia Assembly, sustained by an eloquence and astuteness which were said by many to have excelled Patrick Henry.

In characterizing that civil and religious conflict, in the midst of which Hampden-Sidney was called to life, the memorial from Hanover Presbytery of 1776 most fittingly expresses the sentiments of our founders: "That duty which we owe our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cogniz-

liberty of Protestant dissenters in the colony, but really contrived for their oppression in several particulars. The objectionable features are commented upon in the paper now sent you. Foote, in his Sketches of Virginia, p. 320, states the dissatisfaction of Hanover Presbytery with the proposed bill, and the appointment of Rev. John Todd and Capt. John Morton as commissioners to attend the next Assembly in opposition to it. Nothing was done in the next Assembly touching the matter, and at the meeting at the house of Robert Caldwell, on Cub Creek, in Charlotte County, October 14, 1774, there being apprehension that the Assembly would take action during the fall session, the Presbytery adjourned to meet on the second Wednesday of November next, at the house of Col. William Cabell, of Amherst, to remonstrate against the bill. This paper is that remonstrance, and is most interesting and instructive, not only because of its ability and the light it sheds on the then condition of the Church and the colony, but because it is the first paper of the kind, so far as I have seen, which was ever presented to the Virginia Assembly claiming equal rights for dissenters. It may therefore be regarded as the advance guard of that army of remonstrances which so vigorously attacked the Establishment, and finally overpowered it and established perfect religious liberty on its ruins.

"Foote evidently never saw this paper. Taking it in connection with the able memorials of Hanover Presbytery in 1776 and 1777, which Foote gives in full, the reader can have no difficulty in seeing where Mr. Jefferson, who was a member of the Assembly, got his views of religious liberty. His famous bill was not written before 1777, nor reported before 1779, and it shows no more advanced thought on the subject than the able papers of Hanover Presbytery. I will add that it is probable that Rev. Caleb Wallace, who wrote the memorial of 1776, wrote this paper. He was a graduate of Princeton, and became in later life a distinguished judge in Kentucky.

"WM. WIRT HENRY."

"To the Honorable the Speaker and the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses :

"The Petition of the Presbytery of Hanover, in behalf of themselves, and all the Presbyterians in Virginia in particular, and all Protestant dissenters in general, humbly sheweth, That upon application made by the Rev. Mr. James Anderson in behalf of the Synod of Philadelphia, the Honorable Governor Gooch, with the advice of the council, did in the year 1738, or about that time, for the encouragement of all Presbyterians who might incline to settle in the colony, grant an instrument of writing under the seal of the colony, containing the most ample assurances that they should enjoy the full and free exercise of their religion, and all the other privileges of good subjects. Relying upon this express stipulation, as well as upon the justice and catholic spirit of the whole legislative body, several thousand families of Presbyterians have removed from the Northern provinces into the frontiers of this colony, exposed themselves to a cruel and savage enemy, and all the other toils and dangers of settling a new country, and soon became a barrier to the former inhabitants who were settled in the more commodious parts of the colony. Ever since that time we have been considered and treated upon an equal footing with our fellow subjects, nor have our ministers or people been restricted in their religious privileges by any

able but at the tribunal of the Universal Judge." "In this enlightened age, and in a land where all are united in the most strenuous efforts to be free, we hope and expect that our representatives will cheerfully concur in removing every species of civil as well as religious bondage."

By the act of 1783 the academy became a college, thereby dissolving all connection with the parent presbytery. The ties of an earlier connection, however, have not been forgotten or ignored, and the board of trustees, which has annually assembled under the protection of the charter since 1783, has been often constrained to refer with pride to the parent of one of the most important literary institutions in the State.

law of the colony. Your humble petitioners further show, that with gratitude they acknowledge the catholic design of our late honorable Assembly to secure by law the religious liberties of all Protestant dissenters in the colony; accordingly they did in the year 1772 prepare and print a Toleration Bill, but as the subject was deeply interesting it was generously left open for amendment. But notwithstanding we are fully persuaded of the catholic and generous design of our late representatives, yet we are deeply sensible that some things in the above named bill will be very grievous and burdensome to us if passed into a law. Therefore we humbly and earnestly pray that the said bill may not be established without such alterations and amendments as will render it more agreeable to the principles of impartial liberty and sound policy, which we presume were the valuable ends for which it was first intended. Therefore we humbly beg leave, while we are making the prayer of our petition in a more particular way, to lay before this honorable House, in the most respectful manner, a few remarks upon the bill.

"The preamble is agreeable to what we desire, only we pray that the preamble and every other part of the bill may be so expressed as will be most likely to obtain the royal assent.

"We are also willing that all our clergymen should be required to take the oaths of allegiance, etc., usually taken by civil officers, and to declare their belief of the Holy Scriptures.

"Likewise, as is required in the said bill, we shall willingly have all our churches and stated places for public worship registered, if this honorable House shall think proper to grant it. But every minister of the gospel is under indispensable obligations to follow the example of our blessed Savior, 'who went about doing good,' and the example of his Apostles, who not only 'taught in the Temple, but in every house where they came they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ.' From which, and their constant practice of travelling into every quarter of the world, we humbly trust that it will appear to this Assembly that we cannot, consistent with the duties of our office, wholly confine our ministrations to any place or number of places; and to be limited by law would be the more grievous, because in many parts of this colony, even where the majority of the inhabitants are Presbyterians, it is not, and perhaps it may not in any short time be, easy to determine where it would be the most expedient to fix upon a stated place for public worship, and, indeed, where we have houses for worship already built, generally the bounds of our congregation are so very extensive that many of our people, especially women, children, and servants, are not able to attend by reason of the distance, which makes it our duty, as faithful ministers of Christ, to double our diligence, and frequently to lecture and catechise in the remote corners of our congregations. This restriction would also be very grievous to us in many other respects. We only beg leave to add: That the number of Presbyterians in this province is now very great and the number of clergymen but small, therefore we are obliged frequently to itinerate and preach through various parts of the colony, that our people may have an opportunity to worship God and receive the sacraments in the way agreeable to their own consciences. As to our hav-

The historic influence to which Hampden-Sidney owes its origin has been briefly stated, and as the second college founded in the history of the State, its life began under different auspices from those of the more venerable William and Mary; which sprang into existence at a period when a college was the dream of individuals, but had made no impress upon the people of the colony. Nor is there any historic connection between Hampden-Sidney and the University of Virginia, which was matured many years after the organic life of Hampden-Sidney began. The educational ideas of Jefferson found embodiment in an institution which has proved a fountain of intellectual culture, not only

ing meetings for public worship in the night, it is not in frequent practice among our churches; yet sometimes we find it expedient to attend night meetings, that a neighborhood may hear a sermon or a lecture, or be catechised, without being much interrupted in their daily labor. And so long as our fellow-subjects are permitted to meet together by day or by night for the purposes of business or diversion, we hope we shall not be restrained from meeting together, as opportunity serves us, upon business of all others the most important; especially if it be considered that the Apostles held frequent societies by night, and once St. Paul continued his speech till midnight; accordingly it is well known that in city and collegiate churches evening prayers and lectures have long been esteemed lawful and profitable exercises. As to any bad influence this practice may have upon servants or any others, it is sufficient to say that there is nothing in our principles or way of worship that tends to promote a spirit of disobedience or disorder, but much to the contrary; and if any person shall be detected in doing or teaching anything criminal in this respect, we presume he is liable to punishment by a law already in being; therefore we pray that no dissenting minister, according to law, may be subjected to any penalty for preaching or teaching at any time, or in any place in this colony.

"We confess it is easy for us to keep open doors in time of divine service, except in case of a storm or other inclemencies of the weather; yet we would humbly represent that such a requirement implies a suspicion of our loyalty, and will fix a stigma upon us to after ages, such as we presume our honorable representatives will not judge that we have anyhow incurred; therefore we pray that this clause may also be removed from the bill.

"And as to baptizing or receiving servants into our communion, we have always anxiously desired to do it with the permission of their masters; but when a servant appears to be a true penitent and makes profession of his faith in Christ, upon his desire it is our indispensable duty to admit him into our Church, and if he has never been baptized, we are to baptize him according to the command of Christ: 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.' And we are so confidently persuaded of the liberal sentiments of this House, that in obeying the laws of Christ, we shall never be reduced to the necessity of disobeying the laws of our country.

"And we also, having abundant reasons to hope that we shall be indulged in every other thing that may appear reasonable, your petitioners further pray:

"For liberty and protection in the discharge of all the functions and duties of our office as ministers of the gospel, and that the penalties to be inflicted on those who may disturb any of our congregations in the time of divine service, or misuse the preacher, be the same as on those who disturb the congregation or misuse the preachers of the Church of England, and that the dissenting clergy, as well as the clergy of the Established Church, be excused from all burdensome offices. All which we conceive is granted in the English Toleration Act.

"And we pray for that freedom in speaking and writing upon religious subjects

for Virginia, but for the entire South. Hampden-Sidney has remained true to its original vocation as a college, and cannot offer to-day more extensive advantages than might be reasonably expected from the terms of the original charter. This instrument, however, is so liberal in its character that no recourse to the Legislature for revisal or amendment has ever been deemed necessary.

According to charter provisions the corporation was established with a view to diffusing useful knowledge among the citizens of the Commonwealth. Under the legal title of "President and Trustees of Hampden-Sidney College," every right is accorded by law which is necessary to perpetuate a useful existence, and no legislative stricture is imposed to mar the symmetry of its development. By Article IV "the president

which is allowed by law to every member of the British Empire in civil affairs, and which has long been so friendly to the cause of liberty.

"And also we pray for a right by law to hold estates, and enjoy donations and legacies for the support of our churches and schools for the instruction of our youth. Though this is not expressed in the English Act of Toleration, yet the greatest lawyers in England have plead, and the best judges have determined, that it is manifestly implied.

"Finally, we pray that nothing in the Act of Toleration may be so expressed as to render us suspicious or odious to our countrymen, with whom we desire to live in peace and friendship; but that all misdemeanors committed by dissenters may be punished by laws equally binding upon all our fellow subjects, without any regard to their religious tenets. Or if any non-compliance with the conditions of the Act of Toleration shall be judged to deserve punishment, we pray that the crime may be accurately defined and the penalty ascertained by the Legislature; and that neither be left to the discretion of any magistrate or court whatsoever.

"May it please this honorable Assembly, there are some other things which we omit, because they are less essential to the rights of conscience and the interest of our Church; we trust that we petition for nothing but what justice says ought to be ours, for as ample privileges as any of our fellow-subjects enjoy: 'To have and enjoy the full and free exercise of our religion, without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever.' We are petitioning in favor of a Church that is neither contemptible nor obscure. It prevails in every province to the northward of Maryland, and its advocates in all the more southern provinces are numerous and respectable; the greatest monarch in the north of Europe adorns it; it is the established religion of the populous and wealthy states of Holland; it prevails in the wise and happy cantons of Switzerland; and it is the possession of Geneva, a state among the foremost of those who, at the Reformation, emancipated themselves from the slavery of Rome; and some of the first geniuses and writers in every branch of literature were sons of our Church.

"The subject is of such solemn importance to us that, comparatively speaking, our lives and our liberties are but of little value; and the population of the country and the honor of the Legislature, as well as the interest of American liberty, are certainly most deeply concerned in the matter. Therefore we would willingly lay before this honorable House a more extensive view of our reasons in favor of an unlimited, impartial Toleration; but fearing we should transgress upon the patience of the House, we conclude with praying that the allwise, just, and merciful God would direct you in this and all your other important determinations.

"Signed by order of Presbytery.

"DAVID RICE, *Moderator.*

"CALEB WALLACE, *Clerk.*

"*At a session of the Presbytery in Amherst County, November 11th, 1774.*"

and trustees are authorized to grant degrees in as ample a manner as any college in America can do, and to elect and commission, under their common seal, professors and masters." "The greatest care and caution shall be used in electing such professors and masters, to the end that no person shall be so elected unless the uniform tenor of his conduct manifests to the world his sincere affection for the liberty and independence of the United States of America."

Having enjoyed for more than a century an organic existence, a brief survey of its internal development during this period will be useful in explaining the present status of Hampden-Sidney.

The first laws framed for the government of the corporation were drafted by John Blair Smith, in 1784, at the instance of the board of trustees, and, while stamped by the masculine vigor of their originator, they are characterized by a simplicity almost primitive in comparison with the more refined regulations in force to-day.

The students were classified as members of the grammar school, Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors, who were all subject to the control and direction of the president and masters, assistants or tutors. The title of professor did not come into use until 1816, when a "First Professor" was appointed. The Freshman first makes his appearance in the collegiate annals in 1812.

For moral suasion, not so much respect was entertained at Hampden-Sidney as to exclude occasional recourse to corporal punishment. While this mode of correction was reserved mainly for the members of the grammar school, the liberties of Sophomores and Juniors were not so well defined as to be entirely secure from invasion. The collegiate classes, however, had their moral status well hedged in by law at an early period, while the members of the grammar school remained subject to the more paternal treatment until the school was discontinued as a department in 1865.

A peculiar respect for gravity and decorum was characteristic of the old régime at Hampden-Sidney. The president, masters, and students were enjoined to appear at church in "distinguishing habits of black;" a requirement which, it is needless to say, was soon dispensed with. The tutors resided in the college building in order to keep the students in proper obedience. The latter were strictly enjoined to remain in their rooms after the hour of nine at night. Attention to moral and religious duties was enforced by fines, provisions for which did not disappear from the code until 1809. The last of the original laws, which exists to-day in its primitive vigor, is the article forbidding proselytism. While condemning any tendency in the authorities to influence the students in favor of any particular sect, it enjoins the duty of respecting that freedom of conviction which belongs to true religion—a law which has never been violated, and which has received but one interpretation within the entire history of the College.

The development of a good curriculum has been gradual, but decided. In the period of the academy, particular attention was devoted to the classics, mathematics, and natural and moral philosophy—studies which have always commanded an important place in the curriculum of the College. To the presidents born before the era of the Revolution, the Smith Brothers, Drury Lacy, Archibald Alexander, and Moses Hoge, may be ascribed the honor of having kept alive the institution of which they were the guardians. Such learning as was taught from 1776 to 1820 was sound and good; but it was not classified according to the approved models of to-day. To a finical modern student, who has not examined the methods existing in our collegiate schools of a half century ago, the system might appear rude. Assistants and tutors were generally appointed during this period at the instance of the president, and, as they were always men of the soundest moral and intellectual vigor, they were quite as efficient in the discipline of youth, and quite as well adapted to impart what was then considered sound learning, as many of their historical successors, the professors of our day and generation. A tendency to improvement began under the presidency of Moses Hoge, and resulted in a well-regulated and durable system under the enlightened administration of his successor, Jonathan P. Cushing.

With the death of Dr. Hoge, the era of masters and assistants ends, and that of the professors properly begins. The administration of President Cushing is the most unique, and, in many respects, the most masterly, in the history of the college. Jonathan Peter Cushing was born in 1793, at Rochester, N. H., and at an early period of life was apprenticed as a mechanic. Imbued with a desire to pursue learning, and to cultivate the tendencies of a naturally refined and energetic mind, he withdrew from his not less honorable but more humble sphere in order to become a scholar. Having studied at Phillips Exeter Academy, he graduated at Dartmouth College in 1817, and subsequently removed to Virginia, where he became identified in early manhood with Hampden-Sidney College. As tutor and professor of natural philosophy his ability and rare executive talents were discovered. Upon the death of Dr. Hoge, Mr. Cushing was elevated to the presidency of the College in 1821. About this time professorships in natural philosophy and mathematics were established, followed in quick succession by professorships in literature and *bell-lettres*, Latin and Greek.

From the conclusion of President Cushing's administration to the beginning of the present régime, 1835 to 1883, the names of the successive presidents are Carroll, Maxwell, Sparrow, Wilson, Green, and Atkinson. During this period the development was in some respects painfully slow, although the curriculum as established under Cushing was maintained in its entirety. The classical influence had for many years attained a supremacy to which it was not legitimately entitled. The curriculum at one time seems to have solidified to such an extent as not to permit healthful development. The Civil War of 1861–65 tried the institution

severely, but it survived and incorporated into its course such studies as were calculated to impart new life and vigor to the College, and to keep it apace with the demands of the age. A professorship of English and a systematic course of Bible studies were established. The facilities for studying German and French were enlarged, and their importance was duly emphasized. Under strict but reasonable limitations elective studies were allowed. With these important changes the administration of President Atkinson terminated in 1883.

The department of the English professorship embraces English, rhetoric, history, political economy, and logic, a blending of courses which, from the view of a specialist, may be subject to many objections; but, as different combinations of these branches are pursued during each academic year, the elements of each may be taught with some degree of precision within the period prior to graduation. This is the germ from which a more extended course of history and political science may be developed in the future. A recent introduction, indicating the practical tendencies of the curriculum, without marring its classical and scientific features, was the establishment, in 1886, of a department of commercial arithmetic and book-keeping.

At this point it may be interesting to mention some of the financial measures to which Hampden-Sidney has had recourse in the past in order to continue its existence as a literary institution. The original fund for erecting the academy was collected by subscription from friends in Prince Edward, Charlotte, and Cumberland, and those without the limits of these counties who sympathized with the liberal project of old Hanover Presbytery. The Presbytery, having been determined in its choice of a location for the College by the liberality of Peter Johnston,¹ of Prince Edward, who donated 100 acres of land in this county for the purpose of its erection, the foundation of Hampden-Sidney was laid in a tobacco-growing section, where currency had but a very limited circulation, and where, through the peculiar system of land tenure existing before the War, no tendency to manufactures was encouraged, and the profits to the farmer class continued unreasonably small. Cordially supported, from the beginning, by the sympathy and respect of the people living in the vicinity, the trustees of the College soon recognized the necessity of having recourse to more certain sources of revenue than were promised from the paucity of the currency in the country, in order to secure the permanency of a literary establishment. While the trustees were ever maturing plans for increasing the funds by means of private donations, they were not insensible of the privileges offered by lotteries, to which, in an emergency, so many institutions resorted for aid at that time. In May, 1777, in virtue of a petition from the board

¹Peter Johnston, of Longwood, was a Scotchman, the friend and correspondent of Sir Walter Scott's father. He was a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and was the adjutant of General Lighthorse Harry Lee's famous legion during the Revolutionary War. His son Peter was a member of the first class, and was the father of General Joseph E. Johnston, of Virginia.

of trustees of Hampden-Sidney, the Legislature permitted a lottery to be erected for the benefit of the academy. At a later epoch in the history of the College, its guardians approved most highly of the utility of lotteries, and not only invested money in the purchase of tickets, but passed resolutions, couched in the most complimentary language, in consideration of their regard for a donor who gave several lottery tickets for the use of the institution. Even so late as 1797, at a meeting of the board, during which Archibald Alexander, afterwards the founder of the theological school at Princeton, was installed as president, a petition to the General Assembly for a lottery to be erected in favor of Hampden-Sidney was most gravely approved and recorded. The wants of the institution, it is scarcely necessary to remark, were not relieved by having recourse to a source which, in time of need, had enriched many more fortunate adventurers.

From 1776 to 1820 the College was enabled to exist through the union of the pastoral office with that of president, each successive president, after his qualification, being installed pastor of Cumberland and Prince Edward churches. In 1803 a ray of hope appeared to possess the hearts of the trustees by their petition for aid to the Cincinnati Society. In so low a condition was the state of finances at that time that an offer was made to change the name of the College; but the society, not satisfied with so complete a resignation, bestowed its endowment upon a more fortunate rival. The financial success which was finally reaped by the College under the presidency of Cushing, is to be attributed, partly, to his rare administrative ability, but more reasonably, perhaps, to the greater ability of the friends of Hampden-Sidney at that time to supply her wants. During this administration the exchequer seemed to have been full to overflowing, in comparison with its exhausted state during past years.

The present college edifice was erected under the happy auspices of this era, and, while somewhat defaced by an age of more than fifty years, it is still substantially complete, and bears the symmetry and beauty of the original design. The first systematic attempt to raise a permanent endowment was matured under President Cushing, and, while the project has been slow of realization, the permanent funds of the College have continued slowly to increase. In 1846 the finances were somewhat relieved from embarrassment by the establishment of a system of scholarships. Under Doctor Atkinson's administration the College was safely brought through the period of civil strife; and while for a time enervated by that paralytic shock which no human power could avert, she has finally emerged from an apparent state of torpor, and bears to-day the same relation to present Virginia which she once sustained to the Virginia of the past. The scheme for raising \$100,000, as a permanent endowment, planned in 1859, has already been more than realized; and, while the present resources of the College are incapable of supporting her corps of instructors without recourse to the income

arising from tuition, her financial condition is more prosperous than at any epoch in her past history. The financial project set afloat by the board of trustees during the present administration, to raise a permanent fund of \$250,000, is being pursued with the same persistency which has characterized a continuous effort of more than a hundred years. If this plan can be realized, the sphere of usefulness which Hampden-Sidney has never failed to fill in the past, can be widened and extended in the future; although the territory which will most naturally patronize her in the future must, in virtue of the educational development in the Southern States, be necessarily more contracted.

There are two institutions closely connected with Hampden-Sidney which, even in this cursory review, claim particular mention. Hanover Presbytery, in 1808, conveyed to Hampden-Sidney funds for founding a theological department, the latter simply acting as trustee to execute the behest of her venerable mother. Under the administration of Moses Hoge, the president performed the duties of professor of theology, although in an entirely separate and distinct capacity. In 1824 the department was discontinued, and from the germ sprang Union Theological Seminary, an institution full of interest to the Presbyterians of the South. In 1837 a medical department was established in Richmond under the control and direction of Hampden-Sidney College. From this year until 1850 the degree of M. D. was conferred under the seal of the College, at which time the department was discontinued, and the former ward, under the name of the Medical College of Virginia, has, during a corporate existence of nearly four decades, elevated the science of medicine in the State.

In her relation to the State, Hampden-Sidney has never failed to perform those duties imposed by the terms of her charter, and, while a majority in the board of trustees have always been closely associated with those pervading influences which have never ceased to flow from the parent spring, she is only responsible for the duties imposed by a charter which renders her absolutely free from the undue influence of any denomination of Christians.

The more distinguished of her alumni have occupied prominent positions in church and state, and have been associated with the most eminent institutions of learning in Virginia and the South. Those less distinguished, but not less honorable, have shown a power of endurance ingrained in their natures by a principle transmitted from the academy to the College,—that liberty is only valuable when submissive to reason and law.

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"One of the most interesting pages of American history is to be found in the annals of old Hanover Presbytery, and one of its most important features is the concern felt and the measures adopted to provide for the scholastic, moral, and religious education of the youth of the State. At a meeting of this venerable body, held in the county of Charlotte, in the year 1774, the subject of Christian education was prayerfully considered, and it was determined to establish an academy for the education of youth on the east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. In February, 1775, this institution was located in Prince Edward County, was opened for students in January, 1776, and the spirit of American independence being abroad in the land, was named *Hampden-Sidney*, after the two English patriots who sealed their love of constitutional freedom with their blood. The school was at once filled to overflowing with students, and among the first acts of the Legislature of Virginia after independence had been acknowledged, was the incorporation, in 1783, of Hampden-Sidney College, under a charter broad in its provisions and ample in the privileges it conferred. In that instrument these memorable words occur: 'And that, in order to preserve in the minds of the students that sacred love and attachment they should ever bear to the principles of the present glorious Revolution, the greatest care and caution shall be used in electing such professors and masters, to the end that no person shall be so elected unless the uniform tenor of his conduct manifests to the world his sincere affection for the liberty and independence of the United States of America.'

"It is worthy of remark that the history of Hampden-Sidney has ever been in accord with this patriotic declaration. Even during the pendency of the Revolution, its students were formed into a company under the command of the president, Rev. John Blair Smith, and marched to Williamsburg and placed at the service of the Governor of the Commonwealth. So, too, in the war of 1812, the young men, under the command of John Kirkpatrick, a late graduate, who was then pursuing his theological studies under Rev. Dr. Moses Hoge, the president of the college, took part in the defence of Norfolk, and were for some time in service. And again, in our late War, Captain J. M. P. Atkinson, better known to you as my predecessor, led the *Hampden-Sidney Boys* out to the field of conflict in defence of what they believed to be the rights of constitutional government. * * *

"We have at Hampden-Sidney a faculty of six professors, and also a fellow, annually elected to give instruction in sub-freshman studies. Our professors are gentlemen of marked ability, cultivated scholars, exemplary Christians, and most laborious and earnest in the discharge of all their duties. We have over one hundred students, the sons of our ministers, elders, and christian people, whose general bearing, behavior, and studiousness can not be excelled by any similar number of young men on the continent. We have a college building 160 feet long by 40 wide, an excellent structure

of solid masonry, which, with some improvements, can be made all that is wanted in such a building. Besides, we have a commodious steward's hall and five professorial residences in a fair state of preservation, and in addition we have about two hundred and fifty acres of land, on and in the midst of which these buildings stand.

"Our endowment amounts to \$110,000, and we have a building fund of something more than \$8,000, which we are now endeavoring to increase in order to erect buildings absolutely necessary to the well-being of the college.

"It will be seen from this statement that we already have a good foundation. Our board of trustees has authorized an effort to raise \$250,000 in addition, \$200,000 for permanent endowment and \$50,000 for buildings and improvements.

"As to the location of the college, I may say that I regard it one of the most desirable in Virginia. It is in a portion of the State where it is greatly needed; is the only institution of high grade in southside Virginia between the mountains and the sea, and is in a region proverbially healthful, and distinguished for its moral and religious influence. Union Theological Seminary is immediately adjacent, and the intercourse maintained between the faculties and students of the two institutions is mutually salutary. Our community is composed entirely of the families and students of the college and seminary, and can not be excelled for the genial and kindly influence exerted on our young men. * * *

"It was from Hampden-Sidney that the venerable Samuel Doak, one of its first corps of teachers, and the founder of Presbyterianism in Tennessee, went forth to establish a college across the mountains. He carried on the backs of mules the first library which was ever on the west of the Alleghanies, before a wagon road had been cut across the mountains. From that day to this Hampden-Sidney has been among the foremost institutions in the land in furnishing Christian educators for our colleges and schools. The largest institution in the South is to-day presided over by a Hampden-Sidney graduate, the venerable Landon C. Garland, chancellor of Vanderbilt University. The present presiding officer at our own State University and another member of its faculty are Hampden-Sidney men, and another, the lamented and gifted Southall, lately fell at his post as professor of law. Two of our graduates have been presidents of Davidson College; one a professor of Washington College; one of Washington and Lee University; one is now in Richmond College; one in the University of Texas; another is the noble chancellor of Central University, Kentucky; another is the founder of the Southwestern Presbyterian University, and now professor of biblical literature at that institution; another is professor in your own theological seminary; five are professors in our own college; and there are many others in colleges and at the head of classical and high schools, male and female, throughout the country."

CHAPTER XVII.

RANDOLPH-MACON COLLEGE.

BY AUTHORITY.

Rev. John E. Edwards, D. D., a well-known trustee of the college, thus describes the origin of the institution in "A Fragmentary Sketch" communicated to the centennial edition of the *Randolph-Macon Monthly*, April, 1882, a magazine which may be regarded as a good source of collegiate history :

"Randolph-Macon College is the oldest Methodist college in the United States. Its charter was granted by the Legislature of Virginia at the session of 1829-30. The inception or birth-idea of the college originated as early as 1828, perhaps earlier, and is traceable to Gabriel P. Dissosway, a layman, then living in Petersburg, Va., in consultation with Rev. Hezekiah G. Leigh, Rev. John Early, and other leading Methodists, ministers and laymen, of that day. At the Virginia Annual Conference, held in February, 1829, before the charter was obtained or the name agreed upon, the Rev. H. G. Leigh was appointed college agent; to canvass the subject and raise funds for the establishment of the institution. It was a new movement, and it encountered prejudice or cold indifference on the part of the preachers and people; but the eloquent and earnest appeals of the agent in the field disarmed the one and stirred the sluggishness of the other; prejudice and indifference gradually gave way, and in a comparatively short time a general interest was awakened in behalf of the new movement that foretokened success. The site was selected and the name of the college was agreed upon, and measures were put on foot for the erection of the college buildings and the inauguration of the institution. As a large portion of North Carolina was then embraced in the bounds of the Virginia Conference, it was deemed proper and advisable that the college should occupy a local position equally accessible both to Virginia and North Carolina. Hence the location near Boydton, Mecklenburg County, Va. Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, and John Randolph, of Virginia, were Representatives in the United States Congress from coterminous districts—Mecklenburg County being in Randolph's district; Macon's district was just across the State line. Whether it was to avoid a denominational name for the college, or the hope of securing large donations from these distinguished gentlemen in building up an institution



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that was to perpetuate their names, that governed the board of trustees in fixing on *Randolph-Macon* as the title of the college, I shall not attempt to determine. If the former, it was a blunder; if the latter, the hope was disappointed. Neither of these gentlemen, so far as I am advised, ever gave a dollar to the college."

The organization and development of the institution are described in an authorized article, printed in the *Richmond Dispatch*, and sent to the editor of this report by President W. W. Smith :

"In October, 1831, the board of trustees elected the first board of instruction, viz, Rev. John Emory, D. D., of New York, president and professor of moral science; Rev. Martin T. Parks, professor of mathematics; Landon C. Garland, professor of natural science; and Robert Emory, of New York, professor of languages. The first and last declined the positions to which they were elected; the other two accepted. One of these, Rev. M. T. Parks, was a graduate of West Point Academy. Professor Garland was a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College, and at the time of his election a professor in Washington College, Virginia. Rev. Stephen Olin, at that time a professor in Franklin College, Georgia, was then elected president, and Edward Dromgoole Sims, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, was elected professor of languages.

"Dr. Garland survives, now past eighty years, full of honors, filling the office of chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Tennessee. He has literally and wonderfully gratified a laudable ambition referred to in his letter of acceptance. He wrote: 'The only ambition of my life has been to devote all my time and talents to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of our common country; and that situation which would enable me to do this *most efficiently* I have ever esteemed most eligible.'

"In October, 1832, the buildings for college purposes having been partially completed, the doors were opened for the reception of students, and regular work commenced. At this time a large proportion of the students came from Georgia and South and North Carolina. This continued for a number of years, the young men coming by slow stages for hundreds of miles, until the Methodist conferences in these States established colleges of their own.

"Very soon after the inauguration of the college it was determined by the board of trustees to make the study of English more prominent than it had been in this or in the colleges generally. To accomplish this end Prof. Edward Dromgoole Sims was authorized to spend several years in the universities of Europe, making a specialty of the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic languages and perfecting his acquirements in other languages, classical and modern. On his return, in 1839, he commenced a course of English instruction, but having found no suitable text-books in Anglo-Saxon for his classes, he taught them by lessons on the blackboard, at the same time using the classics of the English language for texts. He was engaged in preparing a regular course

of English instruction when his valuable life was cut short by death. During Professor Sims's absence in Europe Rev. W. M. Wightman, of South Carolina, filled the chair of ancient languages. He was afterwards president of the Southern University, Greensborough, Ala., and then was made bishop of the Southern Methodist Church.

"The first degree was conferred on a graduate in June, 1835. The recipient was John C. Blackwell, of Lunenburg County, Va. He was a type of a large number of alumni who succeeded him. For over forty years, till time and age checked his ardent zeal, he presided over male and female schools.

"In order to give permanency to the college, efforts were made from the first to raise an endowment for it. This was mainly done through agents. One of the first agents was the Rev. John Early, who was for many years president of the board of trustees, and afterwards bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church South. He raised a goodly sum for endowment in 1839, the centennial year of Wesleyan Methodism. This work was further continued by the Rev. W. B. Rowzie, now the oldest trustee of the college, and its life-long friend. In 1855-56 this endowment was vigorously pressed to success by the late Rev. Dr. W. A. Smith, then president of the college, and Rev. H. B. Cowles, the regular agent. They canvassed the State, and succeeded in raising the amount to \$100,000 in money and solvent bonds.

"At this period, one marked by great material prosperity in Virginia, the college was largely attended. In a short time the War of the States came, which first drew all the older students away, and then put a stop to its exercises for about two years. At its close the endowment fund was sadly broken up, its libraries and apparatus mutilated by soldiers and camp followers, and its halls filled with dust and cobwebs.

"So great was the desolation and impoverishment of the people, that much hesitation was felt by the board in making a new departure, especially as during the War the railroad to Clarksville had been destroyed, thus throwing the college over twenty-five miles from any railway. However, in 1867 the institution was re-opened with a new president, Col. Thomas C. Johnson; Dr. Smith having resigned and taken the presidency of Central College, Missouri. This effort was not successful for many reasons, and the alternative seemed to be forced on the board to let the college go down or take steps to change its location, and place it where it would be accessible and central to those who were disposed to patronize it. This was more important from the fact that the Baltimore Conference had divided, and that part adhering to the Methodist Episcopal Church South had become a patronizing conference of the college. At a meeting of the board of trustees, held June, 1868, the removal was ordered. Ashland, Hanover County, was fixed upon as the new location. At this village buildings and a campus were bought, which were put in order for professors and students, and in September, 1868, the institution made its new departure under the new board of

instruction, with the late Rev. James A. Duncan, D. D., president. With such an able and popular president, and a faculty composed mainly of young and rising scholars, a short period only was required to regain its former numbers, which increased till the patronage exceeded anything known in its history.

“In 1877 the eminent president was taken away by death, and several of those associated with him were soon afterward elected to various universities. Dr. W. W. Bennett was elected, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Dr. Duncan, in November, 1877. During his presidency all the old wooden buildings first used were removed. In their places, besides the literary halls previously built during Dr. Duncan's life, new and well-arranged halls, lecture-rooms, and a chapel have been built, and also new dormitories for students. A more beautiful campus can hardly be found anywhere than this. Improvements are still going on, and will go on, till all will satisfy the most fastidious taste.

“It would be invidious, perhaps, to name individuals when space would forbid mention of all the prominent men who have been educated in this institution. In the Church they have become bishops, pastors in city and country, missionaries to the heathen on this continent and others. They may be found in all the Southern States and all the new Western States doing faithful work. Many of the highest universities and colleges have them.

“Randolph-Macon College, though denominational, in that it is supported and patronized mainly by one Church, is nevertheless not sectarian in its course of study. Many young men of other Churches have matriculated there who could testify that it is conducted liberally, and no proselyting influences are used on students belonging to families connected with other churches. It does, however, seek to combine religious influences with scholastic advantages, believing that learning divorced from religion is a dangerous accomplishment to any one who receives it, and that such divorcement made general will be injurious to the State.”

Randolph-Macon College has educated hundreds of ministers free of tuition fees. There is a regular organization for the aid of deserving young men. It is thus doing a work which is of interest and value to the State.

“When the college was removed to Ashland and reorganized, the ‘eclectic’ system was adopted. This was thought to be preferable, because the preparation of young men generally was found to be defective. Besides, it is claimed that more thorough work can be done under this system than under the old curriculum system. But students are not allowed to choose for themselves without consultation with the faculty. Practically, every student has a curriculum chosen for him according to the course he wishes to pursue, thus insuring the advan-

tages of the curriculum with the mobility of the elective system. It is found in practice that fully as many take a course leading to A. M. or A. B. as under the old system. These two degrees are the most popular. The A. B. degree has two courses leading to it, one including Greek, the other substituting the modern languages for Greek. With proper preparation to begin with this degree can be taken in four years. The A. M. course requires longer time.

“There is also a course of study laid out especially for business men requiring three years for its completion. A proud boast of this college is that it was the first in the South to establish a course of English which should be in every way equal to the classical course.”

ENGLISH AT RANDOLPH-MACON.

Prof. Richard Irby communicated to The State (Richmond, Va.) the following interesting historical statement regarding the origin and development of the English department at Randolph-Macon :

“The recent discussion of the establishment of a full English course in Randolph-Macon College and Richmond College is a matter of too great interest to pass by without getting at the full history in the case. I therefore give the record as I find it in minutes of the board of trustees of Randolph-Macon College. The first item is found in the proceedings of the board, June 3, 1836 :

““On motion of Mr. Waller [Rev. W. J. Waller] it was unanimously *Resolved*, That we establish a professorship of English literature in Randolph-Macon College.’

“On the next day Rev. Mr. Tomlinson, president of Augusta College, Kentucky, was elected to fill the new chair. This gentleman having declined to accept the chair, Rev. William M. Wightman, of South Carolina (an A. M. of Charleston College, and afterwards bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South), was elected in 1837 to the chair, and entered on his duties in March, 1838. On the 27th of September Professor Wightman resigned the place, and Prof. Edward Dromgoole Sims (A. M. of North Carolina University) was transferred from the chair of Oriental literature to that of English literature. Professor Sims had spent several years in Europe, making a special study of Anglo-Saxon and other languages, and returned to the college in 1839.

“June 19, 1839, on motion of J. Early,

““*Resolved*, That as soon as practicable the trustees of Randolph-Macon College will establish a normal school as a department in the college, in which a good and liberal English education can be obtained, and which in its organization shall be especially fitted to educate common-school teachers, and that the professor of English literature be rector thereof.’

“On the same day Professor Sims was permanently appointed professor of English literature.

“At the annual meeting of the board the report of the faculty to the board read :

“ We have had under review the whole course of study and are prepared to recommend several changes, which have for their object the introduction of Anglo-Saxon as a basis for the proper study of English literature and language.’

“Professor Sims held the chair of English literature for three years. During this period he introduced the study of Anglo-Saxon. No text-books being accessible, he taught it by exercises on the blackboard, and delivered a series of lectures on Anglo-Saxon as a basis of the English language. In connection with this language he also had as a part of the course the analysis of Milton and other English authors, English composition, structure of words, etc.

“Professor Sims was elected to a chair in the Alabama University in 1842, where he continued his labors in the same line, and was engaged in the preparation of a series of text-books in Anglo-Saxon when he was untimely cut off by death in the midst of his usefulness. His successor in the chair of English literature was Rev. D. S. Doggett. He not being acquainted with the Anglo-Saxon, this part of the course was discontinued, but the other parts were kept up as before.

“Referring to the journal, it appears that Anglo-Saxon was again introduced into the course by Prof. Thomas R. Price¹ in 1869-70. Of this step Professor Price wrote :

“The president and the trustees of Randolph-Macon College in 1868-70 deserve, I think, the credit of having made the boldest and wisest move in education that has taken place in my time. Dr. Duncan, above all, so great and wise in many directions, was, in my judgment, the most deeply devoted and the most far-sighted friend of collegiate education that I have known. When made a member of the faculty, in 1868, as professor of Greek and Latin, I had, with my large classes, to struggle against great difficulties and grave discouragements. Amid all I had his tender sympathy and wise and loving help. The fundamental difficulty of all soon revealed itself to me. I was seeking to give a knowledge of the ancient languages to boys and young men that knew not enough of their own language to receive or to apply it. It was irrational, absurd, almost criminal, for example, to expect a young man whose knowledge of English words and construction was scant and inexact to put into English a difficult thought of Plato or an involved period of Cicero. Dr. Duncan, to whom I imparted my conviction of the sense of the grave evil, braver and more hopeful than I, bade me not to despair, but to cut at the root of the trouble by introducing the study of English. His eloquence and good sense won the majority of the trustees, and the English school was founded. I had the honor,

¹ Professor Price was the successor of Professor Gildersleeve in the school of Greek at the University of Virginia, and is now professor of English literature in Columbia College, New York.—EDITOR.

which I prize highly, of being made professor of English, giving up the Latin to Dr. James A. Harrison. I had the duty laid on me by the trustees of drawing up the programme of the new course and of selecting text-books and supplementing text-books by lectures. My plan was through the course of four years to make the literary and historical study of our great language go forward evenly balanced. I began with the study of grammar, and of easy texts in the preparatory section, and then year after year thus formed in succession the four college classes up to the Senior and graduation. To Dr. Duncan and to the good and wise men of the board of trustees I am profoundly grateful for having used me to carry out the bold and noble design. It was their own work, not suggested from the outside, imitating nothing that existed, springing from their clear conception of what education meant and from their sense of duty to their Church and people.'

"The school of English, planned by Professor Price, will be found in the catalogue of 1869-70, the second year of the removal of the college to Ashland. Omitting a part of the preamble, the following will give the design and the scope of the school as laid down in the catalogue:

"It has, therefore, been resolved to put the study of English at Randolph-Macon College on an equal footing with the study of the Latin and the Greek. The same thoroughness of instruction will be aimed at, the same strictness of method will be enforced. The course of study in the introductory and Junior classes will be largely made up of English composition. The intermediate and Junior courses will be given to English literary history, the historical grammar of the English language, and to the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic languages as the sources of the English. Distinctions in the school of English as far as the end of the Junior course will be required of all graduates of the college. Graduation in the full school of English will be required of masters of arts and of bachelors of arts.'

COURSES OF STUDY AND TEXT-BOOKS.

"*Introductory class.*—Green's Analysis of the English Language, Angus's Hand-book of the English Language, readings from classical authors, English composition.

"*Junior class.*—Angus's Hand-book of the English Language, Fanchont's Five Centuries of the English Language, rhetoric, writing of essays, and orations.

"*Intermediate class.*—March's Anglo-Saxon Grammar, Klepstein's Anglo-Saxon Analecta, lectures on the history of English literature.

"*Senior class.*—Lectures on Gothic Grammar, Ulfilas's Gothic Testament edited by Stamm, lectures on the historical and comparative grammar of the English language.

"Thus I have given as briefly as possible the facts in the history of the English professorship so far as Randolph-Macon College is concerned. If other institutions have preceded it in this direction it seems

that it was not known to Professor Price, but he, with his liberal culture and sense of justice, would be the last one to withhold the meed of praise to any one justly entitled to it. I know he would say with me—
'Ferat palmam, qui meruit.'

“Yours, truly,

RICHARD IRBY.”

PHYSICAL CULTURE AT RANDOLPH-MACON.

The editor of this report observes that Randolph-Macon College is doing pioneer work in introducing the new system of physical culture at the South, a system based not upon calisthenics or acrobatic performances, but upon properly regulated exercises, which are prescribed by a competent director to each student after special examination of his individual case. Randolph-Macon has appointed Professor Crenshaw as director of its new and well-equipped gymnasium. He is a well-educated man, one of its own masters of arts, who took a graduate course at the Johns Hopkins University, and there obtained his first insight into the new system of physical culture. Besides working under Dr. E. M. Hartwell, Mr. Crenshaw had also the advantage of Dr. Sargent's personal instruction in the normal course at Harvard University, where the new system of physical education was first developed in this country. The department of physical culture at Randolph-Macon has been given professorial dignity and a position of equality by the side of the other departments of the college curriculum. This is as it should be. Physical culture has been too long kept upon the level of the prize ring. College authorities should appoint educated men instead of boxers and acrobats to direct the important work of physical education, which is the basis of good intellectual work.

LIST OF PRESIDENTS.

For presidents the college has had the services of the following distinguished men: Rev. Stephen Olin, D. D., from 1832 to 1838; Landon C. Garland, A. M., from 1838 to 1846 (in this period Mr. Garland resigned the presidency, and Dr. William Capers, of South Carolina, was elected, but he declined, and Mr. Garland was re-elected); Rev. William A. Smith, D. D., from 1846 to 1866, a faithful service of twenty years; Thomas C. Johnson, A. M., from 1866, upon the reorganization of the school after the War, to 1868, when the institution was removed to Ashland; Rev. James A. Duncan, A. M., D. D., from 1868 to 1877 (this eminent and beloved man was the only president of the college that died while filling the office); Dr. W. W. Bennett; and Prof. W. W. Smith, A. M.

LIST OF PROFESSORS.

The following gentlemen have filled the different chairs in the order named:

Mathematics.—Rev. Martin T. Parks; Landon C. Garland, A. M., LL. D.; Ezekiel A. Blanch, A. M.; Rev. John C. Wills, A. M.; Robert T.

Massie; J. E. Blaukenship; Richard W. Jones, M. A.; Harry Estill, A. M.; R. Bascom Smithey, A. M. (present incumbent).

Ancient languages.—Edward D. Sims, A. M.; David Duncan, A. M.; Oliver H. P. Corprew, A. M.; William B. Carr, A. M.; Thomas R. Price, M. A.; Charles Morris, M. A. Present incumbent of Latin, W. W. Smith, A. M.; Greek, Richard M. Smith, M. A., Ph. D.

Modern languages.—Rev. W. M. Wightman, A. M.; G. Staubly; W. W. Valentine; James A. Harrison. Present incumbent of French, R. E. Blackwell, A. M.; German, Richard M. Smith.

Natural sciences.—Robert Tolefree, M. D.; James W. Hardy, A. M.; Rev. Charles F. Deems, D. D.; Charles B. Stuart, A. M.; Nathaniel T. Lupton, A. M.; Bennett Puryear, A. M.; Rev. John C. Blackwell, A. M.; Richard M. Smith; William A. Shepard, A. M., Ph. B. (present incumbent); Benjamin F. Sharpe, adjunct professor.

English literature.—Edward D. Sims, A. M.; Rev. D. S. Doggett, D. D.; Thomas R. Price, M. A.; R. E. Blackwell, A. M. (present incumbent).

Philosophy and Biblical literature.—Rev. John A. Kern.

DISTINGUISHED ALUMNI.¹

“Among teachers the college has representatives of whom she may be justly proud. Rev. John C. Blackwell, A. M., of Virginia, the first

¹Among the graduates of Randolph-Macon who are unknown to fame but yet deserving of honor, is John Lynch Clemmons, Esq., of Louisville, Ky., step-father of the Hon. Albert S. Willis, M. C., from that State. His claim to honorable mention rests upon his early anticipation of the idea of the electric telegraph, in 1833, when he was yet a student at Randolph-Macon, from which institution he was graduated in 1837. The following statement by Mr. Clemmons to a Washington correspondent was published in the Charlotte (N. C.) Observer, March 19, 1886:

“In the spring of the year 1833, when about the age of twenty years, I commenced attending lectures on chemistry, and was forcibly struck with the powers of the galvanic battery, and its connection with electrical currents. In thinking over the matter I felt convinced that electricity could be practically used in conveying intelligence between distant points on insulated wires. I announced this belief to my classmates, and to illustrate my idea, drew a diagram * * * exhibiting a wire supported by glass brackets on upright poles, such as are now in use, with a battery at each end and an independent clock-work on which to receive messages.

“I attempted frequently to explain this to my comrades, but was only laughed at for my pains. I was regarded as a visionary, and my project as a dream. I contended that it would work, and prophesied that in the near future a man would be sitting in his chamber in New York conversing with his brother in New Orleans as familiarly as if they were seated at his own fireside. * * *

“In after years a number of my schoolmates came out with voluntary communications to different newspapers testifying to what I have above stated. Prominent among them was J. W. Cameron, at one time editor of a paper published at Wadesboro, N. C.

“Being young and somewhat diffident, I did not press my suggestions upon the public attention; but hearing that a gentleman by the name of Page, in Washington City, had become quite eminent as an electrician, I resolved to communicate to him my ideas on the subject of telegraphy by the electric current, and to obtain his views on the subject. I therefore wrote to him, explaining in detail my views, accompanying the same with diagrams, etc., and asking him for his opinion. To this request I

graduate, yet lives to reflect honor upon his *alma mater*. He has spent a long life in the work of instructing both sexes, and has had few equals and no superiors as a careful, capable, and conscientious teacher. The following gentlemen are enrolled as graduates on the records of the college: Bishop Holland N. McTyeire, D. D.; Rev. John C. Granbery, D. D., of Vanderbilt University; Rev. A. W. Mangum, D. D., of the University of North Carolina; Richard W. Jones, M. A., of the Uni-

received no answer. This failure to answer was rather a damper upon my enthusiasm and I thought that, after all, probably my theory was not practicable, or its merits would have been appreciated by a man eminent in electrical science.

"I therefore dropped the matter, and devoted myself to my studies, saying but little more about the telegraph. I was preparing myself by a collegiate literary course for entering upon my profession as a lawyer, and devoted myself exclusively to that purpose.

"Years rolled by, and I had almost forgotten the telegraph matter, when in the year 1844 I opened the Washington Globe one morning, and the first paragraph that attracted my attention was an account of the formation of a partnership between Page, Morse, Amos Kendall, and Smith, to erect an experimental telegraph wire between Baltimore and Washington City, and an application to Congress for pecuniary aid.

"The moment I saw the combination the conviction flashed upon my mind that Page had used my suggestions to him, made eleven years before, in the furtherance of the Morse project; and when I learned that at the time I wrote to Page in 1833 and for some years afterwards he was an examiner in the Patent Office and forbidden by law to take out a patent in his own name, my convictions were confirmed. Indeed, I was so positive of the fact that I wrote a communication to the Washington Globe, publicly charging Page with having availed himself of my suggestions.

"Being thus publicly charged with appropriating my suggestions, he was compelled to reply to my communication, and did so by admitting that he had eleven years before received my letter and diagrams, but excused himself for not answering it on the ground that he then thought there was nothing in it.

"In the meantime Morse, Page & Co., having received Congressional aid, proceeded to erect their line between Baltimore and Washington, which proved a success, and so linked Mr. Morse's name with the project as to give him the boom over everybody else.

"Not wishing [continued Mr. Clemmons] to place my reputation for veracity in the crucible of public criticism, and caring very little about the matter anyway, I remained silent ever afterwards.

"I should say that the alphabet which I suggested to Mr. Page was precisely the same as that which was used by Mr. Morse, and I believe is still used. I have long since ceased to give any attention to telegraphy, but take it for granted that it is now a very different thing from what it was in the beginning, on account of the numerous improvements resulting from experience.

"It is, in fact, hardly proper to say that the electric telegraph was an invention, or that it originated with any one man. It was a growth, not an invention. It commenced with Volta and Galvani, a hundred years ago, and has gradually grown up to its present stature. In the years of 1835, 1836, 1837, much attention was given to the subject, both in Europe and America. Scientists in England, France, Germany, and the United States were working upon the problem in those years. Dr. Jackson in Boston, Joseph Henry at Princeton, and others, were studying the subject, and, in fact, making experiments in a small way. Doubtless the idea of telegraphing by the electric current was original with several different persons, as well as myself. Its practical introduction, however, was due to Morse, and he is entitled to the credit of having first proved its utility. I think he is entitled to the greater honor, for while with others it was mere theory, he put it into practice, and conferred thereby its blessings upon the world. I would not pluck a single leaf from the laurel that circled his brow, or drop a word that would reflect upon his memory."

versity of Mississippi; Bennett Puryear, A. M., of Richmond College; O. H. P. Corprew, A. M., of Central College, Missouri; Rev. Turner M. Jones, A. M., president of Greensborough Female College; Rev. John S. Moore, A. M., of the Southern University, Greensborough, Ala.; Edward E. Parham, A. M., president of Murfreesborough Female College; Rev. Samuel Lander, D. D., president of female college, Williamstown, S. C.; Rev. Charles B. Stuart, A. M., president of Marshall College, Texas; James H. Peay, A. M., superintendent of public schools, Richmond City; B. W. Arnold, A. M., president of Corvallis Institute, Oregon; Rev. James B. Thomas, A. M., president of a college in California; Prof. F. C. Woodward, A. M., Wofford College, South Carolina; Professor Baskerville, Vanderbilt University; Robert Sharp, A. M., University of Louisiana; Howard Edwards, A. M., Bingham's Military School, North Carolina; Clarence Edwards, A. M., president of Beaufort Academy, South Carolina; Professors Shepard, Smith, Blackwell, and Smithey, now filling chairs in the college; and as one of the late honored sons of the college, Rev. W. W. Royall, missionary to China, who is now in charge of a branch of Dr. Allen's college at Shanghai. Besides these there are scores of others teaching in colleges and high schools whose locations are not known to us.

"Among those who have attained distinction in civil life may be named Hon. David Clopton, of Alabama; Hon. James F. Dowdell, of Georgia; Col. Richard H. Powell, of Alabama; Hon. W. McK. Robbins, of North Carolina; Hon. David R. Duncan, of South Carolina; Hon. Thomas J. Jarvis, Governor of North Carolina, and hosts of others in law, medicine, and in the less prominent, but not less honorable pursuits of life, who look back to their college days with pleasure and with earnest wishes for the permanence and prosperity of their 'dear old mother.'"

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

President W. W. Smith, of Randolph-Macon, at the opening of the year 1887-88 supplied the editor with the following supplementary information:

"To bring the sketch down to the present date, I would add that the college is free from debt, and has accumulated \$100,000 toward an endowment, in addition to the equivalent of \$60,000 in the annual payment of \$3,600 to its funds by the Church. It is expected soon to increase the fund to \$250,000. The attendance is larger than for twelve years, there being 144 present to-day, and we shall probably catalogue about 160, as against 109 last year. Improvement is being made in every direction."

Concerning the Greek course at Randolph-Macon College, the following interesting note has been furnished by Professor Richard M. Smith, a brother of President W. W. Smith.

"The professor assigns to each class, in addition to the strictly Greek work, a course in translations of the best Greek writers. From this the

student gains *what he can gain in no college course by exclusive reading of Greek*—a moderately good acquaintance with Greek literature. This is a new feature, and to it sympathetic and critical attention is invited.

“In addition to this, standard primers on Greek history, literature, education, and social and religious life, are studied, and there are given on these subjects supplementary talks, taken directly, so far as is possible and advisable, from the classic writers themselves. Thus, for instance, Plutarch is made to lecture upon Demosthenes or Alexander, while Demosthenes and Æschines may contend before the class with their own speeches. In like manner, every important author mentioned in the literature studied is illustrated by a selected reading from his own writings.

“Based on this work there is required in every class an essay, such as ‘Homeric Theology and Morality,’ ‘Contrasts between Greek and American Education,’ ‘Socrates,’ and ‘Greek and American Social Life.’

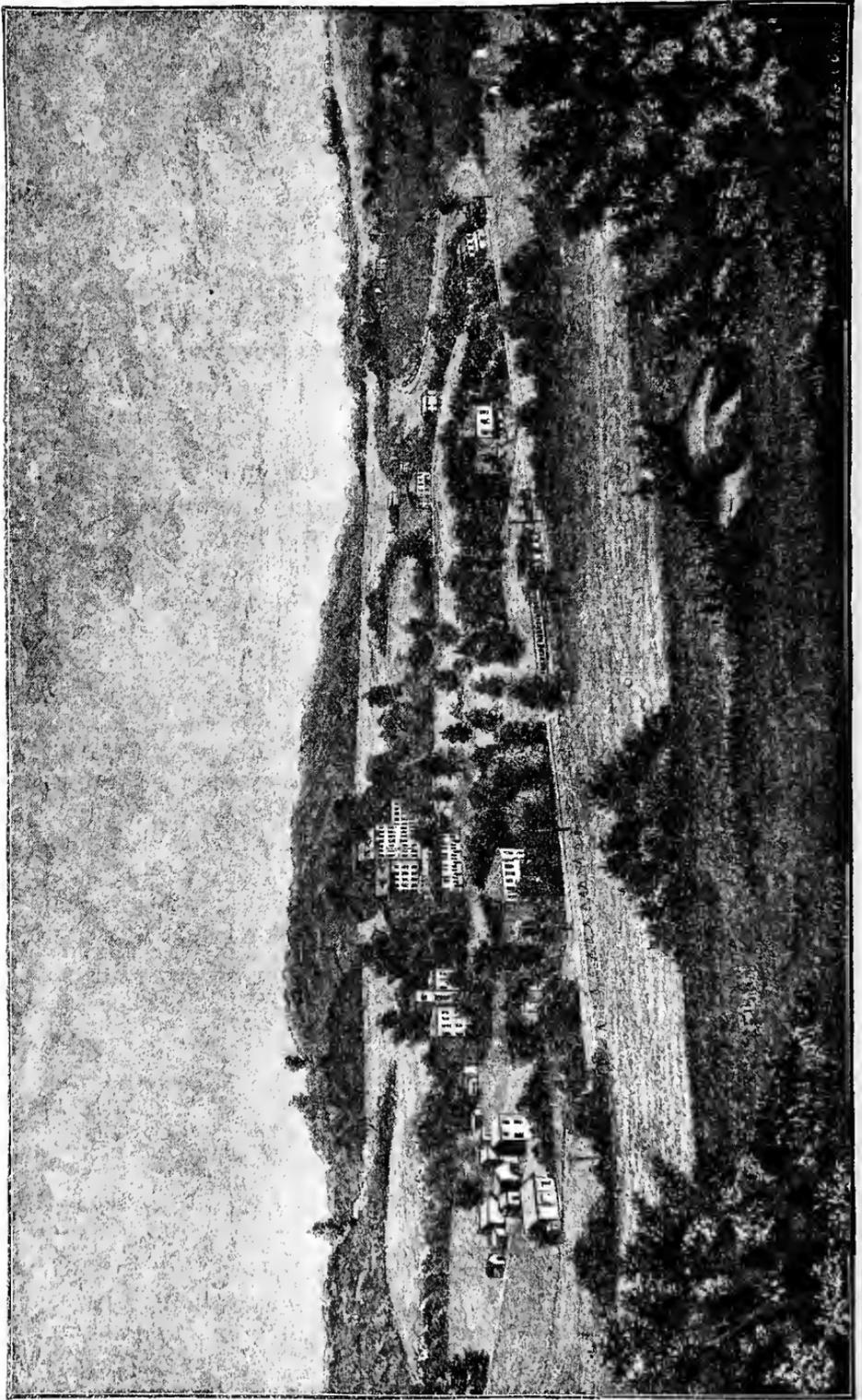
“The inspiration of this plan is the belief that God and Christ are in history, and that the Greek nation had a great mission for the world. The aim of the present course is that the student may be not merely trained by the Greek language, but also brought into extensive and stimulating contact with Greek life, Greek thought, and Greek achievements, and warned by Greek sins and disasters.

“Another feature of the course is that the student is made acquainted with the original form of the documents of what all must admit to be the greatest and purest religion, and not only studies them in class, but also hears lectures that strive to give him, not a good sermon, but all the light that the study of the Greek language and literature casts upon the New Testament. This light is great. It is easy to find. To have it is the desire, not of theological students only, but of every true Christian and of every wise man. To give it is the duty of one that professes to know and teach Greek. As few young men attend theological seminaries, it is the duty of every complete curriculum to meet this need.

“The course here suggested has been tested by the experience of three years. He who has followed it believes it to be good, and hopes it will be approved and improved by others.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Besides the authorities mentioned in the course of the preceding sketch, a good notice of Randolph-Macon College may be found in the Appendix to Part I of the Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (Dr. W. H. Ruffner) of Virginia, 1873, pp. 145-147. Perhaps the most complete and authentic history of the institution is contained in the document written by John Howard, Esq., counsel for the trustees on the occasion of a lawsuit brought against them and testing the right of removal from Boydton to Ashland. This document, or demurrer, contains a full record of all legislation affecting the college, and is of great importance.



EMORY AND HENRY COLLEGE, WASHINGTON COUNTY, SOUTHWESTERN VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EMORY AND HENRY COLLEGE.¹

BY AUTHORITY.

About the year 1833-34 the practicability of establishing an institution of learning somewhere in Southwestern Virginia or East Tennessee that would afford educational advantages of a higher order than any then existing that were accessible, began to be discussed. The want of a first-class college was felt, especially by the ministry and those in professional life. Up to this time the few who wished to obtain more than a common-school education were forced to seek it abroad. Randolph-Macon, at Boydton, Va; Hampden-Sidney, in Prince Edward County, Va.; and the college at Knoxville, Tenn., were the most available. As a class, the preachers in the Holston Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church were doubtless most impressed with the need of a first-class college. Rev. Creed Fulton, then in the prime of his life, a member of the conference, warmly and zealously advocated the enterprise before the conference and in private circles. Under his leadership that enterprise soon took definite shape.

The Holston Conference, at its annual session in the fall of 1835, held in Knoxville, Tenn., resolved to establish somewhere in Southwestern Virginia what was then called a manual-labor college, an institution of learning in which the pupils were to be trained to labor as well as think. This manual-labor feature was a very prominent one in the enterprise as it was first brought before the public; a feature that was subsequently modified and finally abandoned, for reasons which will be noticed hereafter. It is not to be regretted, however, that this feature was made prominent in these incipient movements, for the institution was to be built up by a people engaged almost wholly in agriculture and the mechanic arts; a people among many of whom a prejudice existed against what was considered a learned and lazy race. The conference at this session took further steps by appointing Rev. Creed Fulton as general agent to solicit subscriptions, and, with the aid of a committee appointed for the purpose, select a location and enter upon the work of building. Mr. Fulton hastened to Virginia. The knowledge he had of the country, acquired as a travelling preacher, enabled him to select wisely and well. The first convention of citizens was called to meet at the old Glade Spring Presbyterian Church, in Washington County.

¹This college owes its name to Bishop Emory and Patrick Henry, as representatives of Church and State in Virginia.

The fact should be recorded that this first meeting was held in a Presbyterian community, and a subscription was at once made amounting to about \$5,000. The liberal and generous aid thus given at a critical time by the members of one religious denomination to an enterprise of this kind inaugurated by another, and intended to be denominational, should ever be held in pleasant recollection. Encouraged by this success Mr. Fulton immediately called the committee to meet in Abingdon, where a further subscription of about \$5,000 was obtained. Among the men of influence who warmly espoused the cause which Mr. Fulton advocated, the names of Alexander Findlay, of Abingdon, and Col. William Byars and Tobias Smyth, citizens of Washington County, should never be forgotten. After careful deliberation it was decided to locate the institution in a beautiful valley nine miles east of Abingdon. This valley, watered by a tributary of the Holston, lies just south of the extreme west end of Walker's Mountain, and is noted for its beauty and fertility. It is 2,000 feet above sea-level. Whitetop Mountain, seen twenty miles south, rises 6,000 feet above the sea. The hand of Providence seems to have been in the location of the institution, for through this valley, then so secluded, now passes a great railway thoroughfare, connecting the East with the West, thus bringing the college, with all its beautiful surroundings, into public notice.

A farm containing about six hundred acres of highly productive land was purchased and paid for out of the funds first raised. It was at first intended that this farm should be cultivated by student labor, for which a compensation was to be allowed which would assist in paying the students' expenses. This farm, though not long cultivated according to the original plan, became subsequently a most valuable appendage, not only furnishing in its productions the means of boarding students at a low rate, but by enabling the authorities to keep at a distance any population that would be hurtful. This fine body of land was purchased from Rev. Edward Crawford, a Presbyterian minister, who we trust, true to his calling, had given more attention to the spiritual wants of his people than to the cultivation of his farm. The heavy forests were unbroken and the fields were overgrown with briars and thickets, while the inclosures and buildings were in a state of general dilapidation. These conditions all favored an easy purchase of the land, but they subsequently sorely tried the temper and patience of the young laborers.

Plans were drawn for a commodious boarding-house and for the main college building. The first was well planned and admirably built, meeting well the main purpose for which it was designed; it contained, in addition to the large dining hall, kitchen, store-rooms, and steward's apartments, a large public studying hall, and some dormitories.

The school was opened April 13, 1838, and one hundred students were enrolled the first year under the presidency of Rev. Charles Collins. No better man could have been found to take charge of the institution in its infancy and start it on its career of usefulness. A man of re-

markably clear head, in early manhood, fixed in his purpose and resolute, with a laudable ambition to succeed, he combined within himself rare elements of success, both natural and acquired.

The students were divided into small companies of eight or ten each, and each company placed under the supervision of one of the older students. These companies were taken at two o'clock each afternoon out upon the farm to work for two or three hours. They were allowed from three to five cents per hour, according to their skill and industry as estimated by their leaders. The impracticability of the manual-labor system soon became apparent. The farm work could not be done successfully in this way. A hundred hands were to be employed by the superintendent for two or three hours; the most of these had never been taught to work, and they often did more harm than good. Implements and work stock in corresponding numbers had to be provided, these to lie idle three-fourths of every day, and often the fields would scarcely be reached before the bell would summon them to return, and that too often at a time when the care of the crop required immediate and prolonged attention. It was soon discovered that a full corps of regular hands had to be employed in addition to the students. But the students had to be paid for their labor, for the subscribers and patrons had been led to expect that in this way a student could meet the greater part of his expenses. Board and tuition had to be put at scarcely more than a nominal rate. Board was \$1.25 per week and tuition \$10 per session of five months. The consequence was that debts—an incubus that presses the life out of so many colleges—began to accumulate. The fact became apparent that manual-labor institutions must be well endowed to insure their success. The system, however, was not speedily abandoned, but was persisted in for eight or ten years, changing gradually into a voluntary instead of a compulsory system. Then, as might have been anticipated, it soon ceased altogether. Viewed in another light, the system was by no means devoid of advantage. It broke the monotony of ordinary student life; it promoted health and buoyancy of spirits; in the hours of field and forest labor there was found not only relief from study, but such a variety of incident, that the students of those days found more means of solid enjoyment than others have since.

The debt alluded to as originating partly at least in the attempt to carry out the manual-labor system, continued to exist with gradual increase until 1843, when it was cancelled by obtaining a loan of \$18,000 from the literary fund of the State of Virginia. It should be stated in this connection as a very remarkable fact that, after paying the floating debt referred to above, the management of the college was such that without a single dollar of endowment or of donations it kept clear of debt for the lapse of about thirty years, and that the income from board and tuition, both of which were placed at figures unusually low for a first-class institution, was sufficient not only to meet current expenses,

but to make substantial improvements from time to time, such as the building of new and elegant houses and enlarging the library and apparatus. The patronage of the college has been drawn almost exclusively from the Southern States, and prior to the Civil War from the cotton States. The number of students attending the school, beginning with one hundred the first year, rose gradually, with slight fluctuations, to 280 in the year preceding the War. Since the War the number has varied from 80 to 150.

The financial success of the college, in *ante-bellum* years at least, was due largely to the system of boarding. All the students, except day students, boarded in a common hall, where by practising economy, and with the help of the farm, a variable surplus was realized each year, which was applied to making improvements. Since the War, however, the club or mess system has been adopted largely. Now the boarding department yields the college no revenue. The more important buildings, added from time to time, have been erected in the following order: In 1848 a professor's house was built at the west end of the campus and occupied by Professor Wiley; this building was subsequently enlarged and became the president's house. In 1852 a house was erected directly east of the one last named, and facing the campus, to be occupied by Professor Longley. In the year 1856 the number of students had so increased that one boarding hall was insufficient, and the building of a second became necessary. What is now known as the "Fulton House" was then erected on a small elevation northeast of the spring. These are all elegant brick buildings. Two additional dormitory buildings were erected—one a wooden one-story range on the east border of the campus, the other a two-story brick building. The destruction of the old boarding-house, already alluded to, was immediately followed by the erection of a more sightly and imposing building on ground a little south of that occupied by the old one. This college misfortune was promptly met by the friends of the institution in the county, mainly by a subscription of about \$16,000, to erect the new building, which in architectural skill and plan far excels any other on the premises. Several objects were happily combined in this structure. Besides all the apartments necessary for the boarding department, it was arranged so as to contain two commodious literary halls, with adjoining libraries, a large college library room, a museum and cabinet room, and an observatory on a stately tower, which furnishes independent stairways to the literary halls. This building is known as the "Byars House." As regards other changes and improvements, the campus, once limited to about four acres, has been enlarged to twenty-five, and amply supplied with shade trees. Among these trees the returning alumnus, after many years' absence, may find the one which his own hands, aided by those of his dearest friend, may have planted. On the farm there have been changes. Some fields, once worn and bare, have by careful management been restored to fertility, and are now clothed with a continuous coating

of grass. The college cemetery, now a marked feature in the landscape, with its monuments, crowns the northern hill. Here sleep, undisturbed by din of battle, more than two hundred soldiers of the Confederacy.

The building of the railroad through this valley marked an era of improvement in everything connected with it. It sweeps in a gentle curve around north of all the buildings, except the depot, giving the observer a pleasing panoramic view of them. On the margin of the college farm and half of a mile west of the college, where once grew the chincapin and the vine, a quiet, shady vale, well suited for evening walks, now quite a village has sprung up, containing some business houses, shops, and a number of handsome dwellings. On a small elevation near by stands the residence of Professor Davis. Other beautiful residences have been erected in sight on the neighboring farm. The main college building has been marked, from time to time, by varying conditions. The original wooden roof, having been many times on fire, was replaced by one of metal. After the War the building was thoroughly renovated internally; all the old lathing and plastering were removed and replaced, the rooms repaired and repainted. More recently the entire building has been painted and pencilled externally, so that its appearance is now fresh and attractive. The old college bell, whose tongue was now and then stolen, but which continued to call students and faculty to duty for nearly forty years, at length succumbed to a crack in its side. In view of its associations it was remelted and made part of a new and larger one, which now sends its heavy, but melodious tones far over the surrounding hills. The heavy forests surrounding the college have, to some extent, been cleared away, and in their places are cultivated fields. These old woods, in days of yore, were ever and anon made vocal by youthful orators. This custom still prevails, although the forest area is somewhat contracted, and often an approaching anniversary or exhibition is heralded in this way. Well-graded roads have taken the place of the original trail-like pass-ways that radiated in all directions.

Besides these physical changes to which allusion has been made, others of a different kind have been continually occurring, generally, as we trust, marking progress in harmony with the spirit of the times, though it can scarcely be claimed that these changes have always been for the better.

Comparing the routine of daily duty as prescribed and followed in the early years of the college with that practised now, many changes are found. Change sometimes is needed simply for the sake of change; it breaks the monotonies of life. The first generations of students remember this programme: The morning bell aroused them from slumber at 5 A. M. In the winter season all as yet was night. The more diligent rose at once, kindled their fires, dressed, and set their rooms in order. At half past 5 the bell summoned to morning prayers in the chapel. This signal roused the laggards from their beds, who hastened, half clad, to join their comrades in the dimly-lighted chapel—one tallow candle

usually furnishing the light. After roll call, reading the Scriptures, and prayer, during which good order was scarcely expected, some escaped in the dim light to their rooms. From the chapel a large number passed directly to the lecture rooms, well warmed and lighted, the remainder to their rooms; the diligent to their books, and the laggards possibly to their beds. Two series of recitations, of thirty minutes each, passed before the bell for breakfast rang at 7. At 8 A. M. half-hour recitations were resumed, which continued until 1, the hour for dinner. At 2 P. M., in the days of manual labor, the companies went to work until 4. When the labor feature was dispensed with, the time from 2 to 4 was given to study in private rooms. Then duty began on the huge trunks of trees which teamsters and oxen had dragged in, and which the students cut and carried to their rooms. From the supper table, at 5, they passed again to the chapel for evening prayer, at which singing was substituted for reading the Scriptures. Then followed the evening walks and recreations until 7 P. M., then studying until 9, when the bell rang for retiring—a signal which many took for ceasing to study and not retiring. Thus ended the day. This old system, though ridiculed now as something obsolete and impracticable, had much of merit in it, which one might commend without the charge of “fogyism.” It encouraged early retiring and early rising, industry, and economy in the care of rooms. In the present routine, which is more sybaritic, the morning slumber is not broken until 6 o’clock; breakfast at 7, with no recitation or study hours preceding it. Recitations begin at 8, to which forty minutes each are allowed. At 10 A. M. there is a convention of all the students, with all the faculty, in the chapel for worship, which consists in reading the Scriptures, singing, and prayer. This is a great improvement on the old system. It is the usual time for making communications and announcements to the students and for hearing Senior speeches. There is much more of the spirit of devotion, and excellent order invariably prevails. The students are not called together for afternoon prayers. There is no cutting and carrying of wood now as formerly. Coal is used for fuel, and is delivered to the students in their rooms, which is far better in point of economy and risk of damage by fire. The ringing of the 9 o’clock bell has been dispensed with, the entire night being regarded as sacred either to study or repose. The literary societies formerly met in their halls on Friday nights, now they meet on Saturday nights. This last change is found to work well. Part of Saturday was formerly employed in hearing the classes in elocution, now the time is allowed for making preparations for debate. On Sunday, in addition to the customary service of preaching, etc., much attention is given to Sabbath-school work. Bible reading is encouraged, a large and interesting Bible class being conducted every Sabbath by the president of the college.

The changes that have taken place from time to time in the board of curators and in the board of instruction will be seen by reference to

records where these boards are named. The methods of instruction have been modified, but radical changes have been avoided, while many of those introduced have been adopted, not so much from a settled conviction that they were great improvements over older methods, as from a desire to conform to the custom of the times. No substitute for mental labor on the part of the student has yet been found to yield satisfactory results. The old tread-mill methods of drilling, although often now subjects of ridicule, secured a degree of mental discipline which no short method, involving merely a passive reception of what is taught, can equal.

In the curriculum of Emory and Henry it is still maintained that Latin, Greek, and mathematics should be held as standard studies for mental discipline. Much time must be devoted to a patient study of the natural, mental, and moral sciences, and the curriculum made yet more symmetrical by due attention to the modern languages, specially the German and the French; holding the idea as preposterous that any one-sided development that may be secured by a few weeks' special study of a few branches, intended as special preparation for some particular pursuit, can be properly regarded as education. To aid instruction in the natural sciences a "Science Hall" has just been erected, with lecture-rooms and a laboratory below, and a cabinet of minerals and museum above.

The facilities for boarding students prior to the time of the War were limited, at least in variety, being confined almost entirely to the two college boarding halls. The usual evils attending such a system were manifested—such as coarseness of manners, arising from an absence of refined family influences, and dissatisfaction with the fare. After the Civil War a number of family residences were erected in the immediate neighborhood, where boarding can now be had, and the students are permitted to select any approved place or to board themselves in messes. This last method is now quite popular and economical. Companies containing fifteen or twenty each take some building, provided by the college at a small charge, and elect one of their number to superintend their operations and employ a cook. In this arrangement one of the evils alluded to above is eliminated. They are never known to complain of their board.

In the government of the college and in the administration of discipline there has been much change. The system now practised would have been inefficient in *ante-bellum* days, nor would the former methods be applicable now. These changes have not only been in harmony with, but they have been necessitated by, a change in the general character of the students. The old dispensation was emphatically one of law, and a rigid enforcement of law seemed to be necessary. The patronage of the school was drawn almost exclusively from slave-holding territory. Among the evils arising from the system, a very serious one was that it tended to weaken inducements to study, by favoring an idea

in the minds of the young men of the dominant race that they were independent, not only of the necessity of manual, but in a measure of mental labor. Their relations to the servile race at home did not tend to make them specially submissive to wholesome restraints at school; the spoiled favorites of fortune, they were frequently sent abroad because they were unmanageable at home. With such boys college rebellion was a favorite pastime, to prevent which the severest penalties belonging to college discipline were inflicted; such as reproof, private, then public dismissal, and expulsion, following these last with a publication of the same in the annual catalogue. In former years the dominant party was often composed of the worst characters, who held the better class in a state of abject fear. The idea was fostered that the faculty was one party and the students another, having no interests in common; that their stay at college, far from being a privilege, was a sort of durance, to which they were subjected contrary to their wishes, and from which they longed to be delivered. To these was added a spirit of vandalism that took delight in mutilating and destroying whatever had been prepared for the comfort and welfare of the college community. In all these things there has been a most gratifying change brought about, gradually, by many different causes. The overthrow of the "peculiar institution" prepared the way, by bringing our young men to feel that they were dependent upon themselves for success, and that education was a necessity. Much is to be attributed to the changes that have taken place in the whole social fabric; to the march of mind and of manners; to educational advantages that have been extended to all classes, and doubtless a great deal to such influences as have come from the pulpit and the Sabbath school. In the school itself much has been done, independent of faculty action or influence, to bring about this important transformation, inducing a higher and healthier tone of public sentiment among the young men, and giving to the better class a controlling power, both by numbers and influence. Among these we notice the establishment of the Young Men's Christian Association, which is becoming everywhere a power for good. To this may be added the presence of a large number of sterling young men in our college community who are preparing for the ministry; and, lastly, the influence of the periodicals published by the literary societies. Whether these in colleges generally are productive of good or evil depends entirely on the manner in which they are conducted. In Emory and Henry such publications, in late years at least, have been managed with surprising skill and prudence, reflecting great credit on those in charge of them, and by their timely suggestions and admonitions giving shape and tone to the sentiments and conduct of the students. In the midst of a body of students of this character, students who feel that their interests are identified with those of the faculty, there is but little use for so-called "college law." College law, as well as other law, "was not made for the right-

eous," and might perhaps be laid aside almost wholly, leaving the young men to be a law unto themselves, were it not that still with each returning session there are present some few of the baser sort. Rules, both general and specific, however, are always necessary for the efficient working of every institution of learning, which must be sacredly observed.

A very important feature in the history of Emory and Henry College yet remains to be noticed, and that is the origin and working of the literary societies, known respectively as the Calliopean and the Hermesian. It has been claimed for these that they stand unrivalled in their history and operations. They were established prior to the year 1840. It would not be doing them justice to say that they had encountered no perils and surmounted no difficulties. The boys of either crew have sometimes proved their ship among the breakers, when the skill of all on duty was put to the test. Working side by side, it would have been a marvel indeed if they had never been antagonistic; the great wonder is that their relations have generally been so eminently pleasant and their intercourse marked by so much of reciprocal courtesy. Club-like in their character when first organized, without libraries or equipments, they held their meetings in the lecture-rooms. In the course of two or three years, however, they fitted up the attics in the wings of the main college building as halls. These were small, with ceilings low and means of ventilation imperfect, but they were rendered very attractive. Indeed, the ornamentation seemed to be in an inverse ratio to the fitness of the apartments otherwise. Limited in space for their operations as these societies were at that period, and subjected to inconveniences of various kinds, it is, nevertheless, questionable whether the god of eloquence and the queen of the muses were ever more lavish in bestowing success on their votaries. Indeed, the reputation which Emory and Henry has borne as a school eminently successful in elocutionary training was well established at this time. In the building of the Byars House, in 1858, by special contract with the literary societies, the third story was built and devoted solely to their use, affording two halls, each about 40 by 50 feet, with lofty ceilings, and sufficient space for libraries contiguous to each hall, and separated therefrom by arched doorways and glass partitions. A large collection of books had been made by each society, by purchases and otherwise, before they entered their new halls, but with new library apartments and ample space a spirit of rivalry sprang up which has resulted in large collections. The equipments of these halls are such as to make them highly beautiful and seemingly verging on extravagance, but as each generation of students has contributed only a part, the expense has been easily met. In the main they have been wonderfully free from internal feuds and schisms or party strife. The happy exception they enjoy from such evils is due largely to the fact that secret organizations are not allowed to exist as such in the college. A generous rivalry between these literary societies, with other good results, has

modified the bearing of the older students towards new recruits. The unkind treatment of new students, technically known as "hazing," in some colleges, is here considered ungentlemaunly and is practically unknown. The manly and business-like way in which the affairs of these societies are conducted would surprise any one not familiar with them.

By inspecting the faculty record it may be seen that four members thereof were officially connected with and worked together as colleagues, for twenty-four consecutive years, while three of these were thus united for thirty-four years, and two of them are still thus associated. After a lapse of more than forty years we know of no other institution that can exhibit such a record. It indicates great steadiness in the working of the machinery and great harmony among those placed in charge of it, both of which are essential to success in operations of this kind. In later years, when similar institutions became more abundant, when competition became active and a struggle for existence began through lack of patronage, some changes were made which restored the confidence of the people in the college, and stirred them up to retaining the great school in their midst.

In the half century now closing on the history of the institution it has run a career of prosperity and usefulness surpassing the most sanguine expectations of its founders. If the career of Emory and Henry should end even now, our whole country should rejoice in the good it has already accomplished. It has proved a blessing to the country and to the church, such as has abundantly repaid all it has cost of labor and treasure. It has already aided in educating 5,200 young men; it has graduated more than 500. Of these graduates over 200 have belonged to the State of Virginia, more than 100 to Tennessee, and 31 to North Carolina, while all the other Southern States have been well represented. It has provided first-class teachers for high schools and colleges, while five universities are partly manned by its graduates. Our records show, in part at least, to what extent the pulpit and the bar, the editorial chair and the healing art, legislative bodies and our Congress halls, have been supplied with efficient men from these academic shades.

At a special meeting of the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors of Emory and Henry College held on July 18, 1888, Major R. W. Jones, of Mississippi, was elected president of the college and professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of President Jordan. Mr. E. B. Craighead, of Missouri, was elected professor of Latin and French. The Faculty now stands as follows: R. W. Jones, M. A., LL. D., president; Rev. E. E. Wiley, D. D., treasurer and financial agent; Rev. Edmund Longley, M. A., professor of moral philosophy and English; Rev. James A. Davis, M. A., professor of natural philosophy, astronomy, and botany; George W. Miles, Jr., M. A., professor of Greek and German; Samuel M. Barton, Ph. D., professor of pure and applied mathematics; R. W. Jones, M. A., LL. D., professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; E. B. Craighead, M. A., professor of Latin and French.

CHAPTER XIX.

ROANOKE COLLEGE.

BY THE EDITOR.

There is a short historical account of this institution in Dr. William H. Ruffner's Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1873, pp. 148, 149, in which attention is called to the original design of the college in the valley of the Roanoke. It was "for the especial benefit of the Anglo-German population of Virginia, who, to a great extent, then [1853] constituted the industrious, rural people of the valley counties and other parts, mostly of West Virginia, who from different causes, to a very limited extent, patronized the old established institutions of the State."

Roanoke College was the historical outgrowth of a private Lutheran foundation called the Virginia Institute, established within the limits of the Mt. Tabor congregation, in Augusta County, by the Rev. David F. Bittle and the Rev. C. C. Baughman, in the year 1842. The institution was adopted by the Virginia Synod of the Lutheran Church in 1843, and in 1847 it was removed to its present site, Salem, in the Roanoke Valley. The Virginia Collegiate Institute was chartered as Roanoke College in 1853. The college is characterized in the original charter as "A seminary of learning for the instruction of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, and the learned and foreign languages." It was distinctly asserted that nothing in the charter should be "so construed as at any time to authorize the establishment of a theological professorship." Although remaining under the auspices of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the institution has always been conducted in a most catholic spirit, and has largely drawn both its students and its support from non-Lutheran sources. About two-thirds of its present constituency come from other denominations. As indicative of the liberal tendencies of the college, it is stated that Roanoke College had representatives at seven theological seminaries in 1886-87—Lutheran (Gettysburg and Philadelphia), Presbyterian (Union, N. Y., and Princeton), Episcopalian (Alexandria), Congregational (Yale), and Baptist (Louisville, Ky.).

The sources of information concerning the historical development of Roanoke College are few and scattered. Probably the most authentic are the historical articles of the late President Bittle, the first president

and virtual founder of the college, contributed to the Roanoke Collegian, of which a bound set is preserved in the Roanoke College library. A memorial address delivered by S. C. Wells, Ph. D., at the opening of the Bittle Memorial Hall, Roanoke College, Salem, Va., October 17, 1879, and printed in the Lutheran Quarterly for October, 1880 (Gettysburg), contains an excellent sketch of Dr. Bittle's¹ life work as the builder of a good institution of learning on an educational frontier. The following scattered notices of the college have been gathered from various sources, but all have the sanction of President Julius D. Dreher, the energetic head of a hopeful college. The first notice is taken from the Journal of Education, Boston, June 30, 1887, which appears to be one of the most recent authoritative statements:

"In the Virginia mountains there is no spot more healthful than the Roanoke Valley, which lies between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, at an average elevation of 1,100 feet above the sea-level. That it is a valley of wonderful beauty also may be seen from the accompanying cut, which was made for the Century Magazine when Edward King was writing 'The Great South' papers for that popular monthly. It is a region much like the Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, the valley being small enough to be seen at one view from an elevation, together with the outline of the mountains that completely encircle it. It bears a striking resemblance to the lovely valley in which Williams College is situated. When Rev. George Müller, of Bristol, England, visited Roanoke in 1878 to address the students, he remarked that the scenery around Salem strikingly reminded him of Switzerland. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., LL. D., Dr. A. D. Mayo, and many others, have also written descriptions of the picturesque beauty of the valley of the Roanoke. * * *

"The Virginia Collegiate Institute, which was established in Salem in 1847, was erected into Roanoke College by act of the Legislature of Virginia in 1853, the charter vesting the government of the college in a self-perpetuating board of trustees. There was little except the charter to entitle the institution to the new dignity assigned. A brief historical sketch of those early days of the college informs us that—

"'Cæsus did not stand sponsor at its baptism, nor the Roanoke, as another Pactolus, stand ready to convert its ventures into gold. * * * The library at this time consisted of 140 volumes; the grounds and buildings were worth about \$10,000, with liabilities of about \$3,000 resting upon them; and willing hands and hopeful hearts kept watch and ward over the financial and academic interests of the rising institution in the prayerful hope that the blessing of Heaven would continue to attend the new enterprise.'

¹Cf. "Doctor Bittle and Roanoke College," an address delivered in the English Lutheran Church, of Richmond, October 8, 1876, by W. H. Ruffner, Superintendent of Public Instruction in Virginia, and printed in the Educational Journal of Virginia, November, 1876.



ROANOKE COLLEGE AT SALEM, VA.

“Earnest work, done at great personal sacrifice, by an overworked and underpaid faculty, has marked every step in the onward movement of Roanoke College. Only fairly started when the Civil War was begun, its doors were nevertheless kept open throughout that dark period; and the college bell rang its daily call to peaceful tasks while the music of the bugle and the drum was heard on many a teuted field. A true picture of the shifts resorted to and the sacrifices made to carry on the college during that trying time would reveal various lights and shadows—much that was amusing—to offset an otherwise too sombre background. Scarcely had the War ended before an agent was in the field to collect money to erect an additional building; the enlarged main edifice and the west hall proving altogether inadequate to meet pressing demands.

“The small library was increased from year to year until a building for its accommodation became a necessity. Through the generous gifts of friends North and South the trustees were enabled to erect such a building in 1879. It is substantially built of brick—as are all the college buildings—and is called the ‘Bittle Memorial,’ in honor of the first president of the college. The library now contains about 16,000 volumes, many of the books being rare and valuable, and a number of them from 200 to 400 years old.

“Following the example of the University of Virginia, many colleges in the South have arranged their studies into schools instead of courses. Roanoke College adheres to the historic classification of Freshman, Sophomore, Junior, and Senior classes, but allows a choice among several courses for degrees.

“Roanoke College has always manifested a warm interest in the advancement of popular education and in preparing well-qualified teachers for various grades of schools. Up to the year 1865 the college graduated only 41 men. The results the institution has achieved have been accomplished almost entirely within the brief period of a little more than two decades. The whole number of graduates now aggregates nearly 300, the majority of whom are engaged as professors, teachers, and clergymen. Graduates of the college may be found in almost every profession and in connection with leading business interests in twenty-seven States and Territories.

“Owing to the want of means and to irregular preparatory training a great many students in the South pursue only a partial course at college. Of this class Roanoke has received fully one thousand. As many of these are pretty well educated, and as no inconsiderable number of them occupy prominent positions in professional and business life, the college may justly claim large consideration for them in making up any estimate of its usefulness to the country.

“The college draws its students from every Southern State and from some parts of the North and West. At different times young men have come from Mexico. For sixteen years Roanoke has been educating In-

VIEW OF ROANOKE VALLEY.



dians. The Choctaws support a small number of students at the college at the expense of their government. Three Choctaw superintendents of schools have visited the college in the discharge of their official duties. In 1883 William H. McKinney graduated at Roanoke with the degree of A. B., being the first Indian to take a diploma at a Virginia college, and also the first one to win that honor at Yale University, where he was made a bachelor of divinity in 1886.

"The history of Roanoke College corresponds in general to that of Yale up to the year 1831, when the first endowment fund of \$100,000 was raised for that University, but more nearly with the story of the earlier years of Amherst, as told by Prof. W. S. Tyler in his history of that institution. It must be borne in mind that Roanoke College is only thirty-four years old, including the War period; that the years since the War have not been favorable to the building up of a struggling institution; that the college has never received even the smallest appropriation from the State; and that, although five bequests have been made to it, the college has as yet very little endowment—four of these bequests, left by friends in Virginia, not being yet available.¹ It is surprising that the college has lived; it is still more surprising that it has made so good a record for sound scholarship and for wide usefulness. How this work has been accomplished need not be told here in detail. Any one at all familiar with the difficulties of establishing good colleges, even in wealthy communities and under favoring conditions and influences, can fill up this outline with years of burdensome work on meagre salaries, with earnest devotion on the part of faculty, students, and friends, and, above all, with love to humanity and faith in God.

"The college owes much to the unflagging energy and self-sacrificing spirit of its first president, Dr. D. F. Bittle, who gave to it twenty three years of constant and laborious service [from 1853 to 1876]."

Speaking of this man, Dr. A. D. Mayo, associate editor of the *Journal of Education*, Boston, in an editorial on "Roanoke College," says:

"The true existence of the institution began with its first president, Dr. Bittle, who for more than twenty years toiled like a Hercules against every obstacle to establish a centre of good learning for the people of his religious connection. Around him grew up a corps of teachers worthy of such a leader, two of whom are still among the present faculty. The school slowly grew, kept itself alive during the War, and now, at the end of its first generation, is able to make an honorable show of past service. In this time it has received more than 1,000 and graduated nearly 300 students, the majority of young men of that substantial and vigorous sort on whom the future of every Southern State so largely depends. It has received students from some twenty States of the Union, and its name is cherished in every part of the South.

¹ Since this was written a bequest of real estate (valued at \$10,000) has become available by the death (October 11, 1887) of the widow of the donor. Col. G. B. Board, president of the board of trustees, died recently, leaving the college \$10,000 for endowment, already well invested.

“Our four days’ acquaintance with these young men, their professors, and the large number of visitors from the adjacent country, convinced us that President Dreher has not over-rated the importance of this fortress of the new education in new Virginia. With one exception Roanoke College is the only institution of the sort in a region as large as the State of Maryland, which is rapidly coming into notice as the mining, metallic, manufacturing, and cattle-grazing portion of the State. The new iron town of Roanoke is only seven miles away, and the whole country is alive with the omens of bright promise for a near future. It will be a great advantage if this young institution can offer, at its present moderate rates, a thorough college education to large numbers of the active young men of such a district.”

Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, in his editorial “Notes on Virginia,” in the Hartford Courant, July, 1883, says: “Roanoke College is animated by the modern spirit, has put the past behind it, and is keeuly alive to the importance of the right sort of educational training for the new Virgiuia. There is nothing more important, just now, for the South, than the thorough educational training of the so-called middle class. Only by this means can it keep step with the great industrial movement of our time. In tone and standard the college is good, its students are there to learn, and the results, according to its means, are satisfactory. But it is an institution peculiarly happily situated to tell upon the new awakening life of the South, and no amount of money would be thrown away on it. I thought while we were there, in the midst of so much agricultural richness, with the mineral wealth opening up, and such signs near at hand of a vast industrial development, that here is just the place for a grand industrial scientific school, which would probably tell more than any other one agency on the development of the resources of Virginia.”

Rev. Washington Gladden, D. D., LL. D., in a communication to the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, June 27, 1882, said:

“A large share of the students are from the middle class, and the spirit of the work and of self-reliance manifested by them is truly inspiring. In the baker’s dozen of speeches by these young men in the contest for the prize medal in oratory, and on the commencement stage, there was a revelation of the temper of the new South that bodes nothing but good to that section and to the whole nation. Without exception, the speeches were brave, manly, forward-looking. The fact that a new day had come to the South was the undertone of all this young thinking; and it was evident enough that these hopeful fellows were ready to spring to the front of the new movement, and make the most of its opportunities. National matters were referred to by most of them, and not one word of bitterness was spoken, nothing that could have given pain to the most stalwart Northerner. In a literary way, the speeches were much more rhetorical than would be heard at Yale or Amherst, and some of them needed not a little chastening; but what

they lacked in finish they made up in manliness. On the whole, I was greatly pleased with the indications given by the young men of this college, representing several different States, of the public sentiment at the South."

PROFESSIONS AND DISTRIBUTION OF ALUMNI.

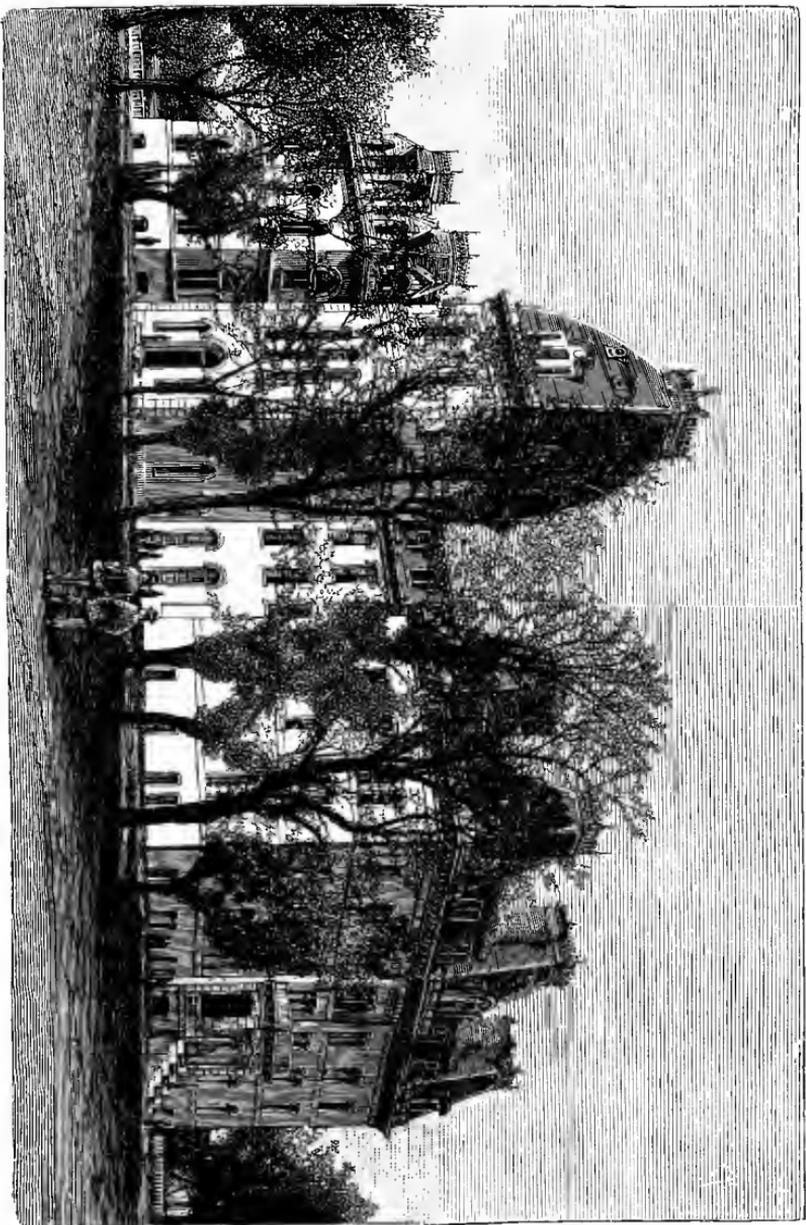
The triennial catalogue of the alumni of Roanoke College gives the names, occupations, and residences of the graduates of Roanoke College. It shows that at the close of its thirty-fourth year the college had graduated 278 men, of whom 261 are living. We give the distribution of the whole number (278) by professions and States.

By professions: Presidents, principals, professors, and teachers, 67 (of these 20 are clergymen); clergymen, 61; attorneys-at-law, 48; merchants and in general business, 23; agriculturists, 22; physicians, 20; editors, 4 (six clergymen and teachers are also engaged in editorial work); bankers, 4; civil officers, 3 (not counting lawyers who hold offices or graduates who are members of State Legislatures); United States Civil Service, 3; officers in United States Army, 1; missionary in Mexico, 1; studying in Germany, 1; unclassified, 20 (including a number of recent graduates). In this classification graduates preparing for a profession are counted as being already in it.

By States: Virginia, 135; North Carolina, 19; Texas, 18; Pennsylvania, 13; Maryland, 12; West Virginia, 9; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 8; Kentucky, 7; Mississippi, 6; New York, 5; Louisiana, California, and District of Columbia, 4 each; Alabama and Indian Territory, 3 each; New Jersey, Ohio, Missouri, Colorado, and Nebraska, 2 each; Georgia, Arkansas, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Oregon, Utah Territory, Mexico, and Germany, 1 each. This shows that the graduates of Roanoke are laboring in twenty-eight States and Territories and two other countries.

In so brief an analysis it is not possible to enumerate the prominent positions filled by Roanoke graduates. In estimating the work done by the college we must keep in mind the fact that, besides the graduates, nearly 1,500 students have taken a partial course at Roanoke, and that many of these fill prominent positions in professional and business life. When it is borne in mind that Roanoke College has done its work with almost no endowment and under many disadvantages, its faculty and friends certainly have good reason to be gratified at what has been accomplished. (Roanoke Collegian, July, 1887.)

An indication of professorial activity at Roanoke College is a History of Education, by F. V. N. Painter, A. M., professor of modern languages and literature. (International Education Series. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1888.)



RICHMOND COLLEGE.

CHAPTER XX.

RICHMOND COLLEGE.

BY PROFESSOR H. H. HARRIS,

Chairman of the Faculty.

Enduring institutions are commonly the result of slow growth, and that often from small beginnings. So it has been with Richmond College. In common with nearly all other seats of Christian learning, it owes its foundation to the desire for a better educated ministry.

ITS ORIGIN.

On the 8th of June, 1830, a few devoted men, who had gathered in Richmond for their General Association, met in the Second Baptist Church at 5 o'clock, A. M., "to devise and propose some plan for the improvement of young men who, in the judgment of the churches, are called to the work of the ministry." The slender means at their command were but as the faint light of the sun just rising upon them in comparison with the strength and beauty that were to follow. They organized the "Virginia Baptist Education Society," and for two years aided approved young men by placing them in private schools, nine with Elder Edward Baptist in Powhatan County, four with Elder Eli Ball in Henrico.

In 1832 the society bought Spring Farm, a small tract some four miles northwest of the city, and there, on the 4th of July, opened a manual-labor school called the "Virginia Baptist Seminary," with Rev. Robert Ryland teacher, and 14 students. During the second session, which began in February, 1833, the number of students ran up to 26, about two-thirds of them preparing for the ministry, the rest for other vocations. The course began with arithmetic, geography, and grammar, and, running through four years, embraced algebra and geometry, Latin and Greek, natural and moral science, with theology as an optional study. All the classes yet formed were taught by Dr. Ryland and Rev. Eli Ball.

In December, 1833, the seminary was removed to the site now held by the college, just within the present limits of the city, though then in the western suburbs, half a mile beyond the corporation lines. To this purchase of nine acres six more were added in 1836, making a location which was well described as "combining healthfulness, beauty, and convenience." The design in adding more land was to give larger scope

to the manual-labor feature of the school. This was strenuously insisted on by the authorities, as giving to the needy opportunities for self-help and to all healthful exercise, but it proved unpopular with the students. The hours of daily labor were reduced from three to two, and finally, as we read in the report for 1841, "this feature of the seminary has been gradually fading from view, until (like all similar institutions in our own and other countries) it has been virtually abandoned."

The records of the seminary during the ten years of its existence under this name are unfortunately incomplete. The attendance gradually increased to more than seventy pupils. The corps of instructors consisted of Dr. Ryland and two tutors. Dr. Ryland had leave of absence for one year to accept the chaplaincy of the University of Virginia. Among the assistants were William F. Nelson, F. W. Berryman, Caleb Burnley, R. A. Claybrook, Elias Dodson, I. G. Barker, J. C. Clopton, S. C. Clopton, George Struve, and Charles L. Coker—the first and last named served a number of years, the others for shorter periods. The first class to finish the course went out in 1836, four in number—William I. Chiles, Elias Dodson, A. P. Repiton, and John O. Turpin—three of whom have recently died, after eminent and useful lives as ministers of the gospel. Three others, who should have been with them, had left school to go as foreign missionaries—William Mylne to Africa, R. D. Davenport to Siam, J. L. Shuck to China. The classes which followed year after year were not unworthy of this first one, though they were constantly thinned by the withdrawal of young men eager to enter active life or to secure elsewhere the advantages of a fully-equipped college.

CHANGE OF NAME.

By Act of Assembly, passed March 4, 1840, thirty-seven gentlemen, therein named, were incorporated as trustees, to establish, "at or near the city of Richmond, a seminary of learning for the instruction of youth in the various branches of science and literature, the useful arts, and the learned and foreign languages, which shall be called and known by the name of Richmond College." The charter conferred ample powers, and allowed the purchase of the property of the Education Society, but provided "that nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize the establishment of a theological professorship in the said college." This proviso, according to authentic tradition, was inserted at the request of an eminent brother and influential member of the Legislature who was selected to offer the bill—Col. Edmund Broadus, of Culpeper; without it there would have been difficulty in getting a charter at that time. It was omitted from the amended charter of 1858, under which the college is now working.

The trustees spent two years in perfecting their plans and trying to raise means to carry them into effect. The work fell mainly to the lot of their president, Dr. Ryland, and his rare candor and supreme scorn for all shams made him unwilling to call the school a college until it

could do real collegiate work. The terms of transfer agreed upon in 1841 were, (1) that the college should admit free of charge, except for board, all ministers and candidates for the ministry who may be recommended by the Education Society or its board of managers [by common consent this has been extended to all such persons whether recommended by the society or not]; (2) that in case of failure to continue the institution, or to comply with the foregoing stipulation, the property, or its estimated value, \$20,000, should revert to the Education Society; (3) that any vacancy in the trustees shall be filled from a list of not less than ten persons, named by the society, if it shall in due time furnish such list; and (4) that the transfer be made only after a permanent endowment of \$50,000 had been secured. This last condition was withdrawn the next year, because, said the society, "we think that it will facilitate the collection of funds to change the institution at once into a college, and to conduct its operations in strict accordance with its resources." And so, on the 1st of January, 1843, grounds and buildings worth \$20,000, a library of 700 volumes, 3 teachers, at salaries of \$900, \$600, and \$500, and 68 students, 21 of them beneficiaries, were turned over from the care of a voluntary denominational society to the control of the legally incorporated trustees of Richmond College. The Education Society has continued its work of aiding young men recommended by the churches, in co-operation with it, in preparing for the ministry, by making arrangements for their board, leaving the care and the cost of their tuition to the college.

SECOND DECADE.

In 1842 we had a principal and two tutors, working ten months, at fixed salaries, with 68 pupils, divided into four classes, two-thirds of them engaged in preparatory studies; in 1851 we had a president and three full professors, paid partly from endowment, partly by tuition fees, a nine months' session, and 76 students, no longer classified as Freshmen, Sophomores, etc., but "admitted to any classes they are prepared to enter, and allowed to pursue the studies they may desire to prosecute." The steps by which these changes were introduced are too full of interest to be entirely omitted even in a brief sketch.

The principles which the youthful institution adopted for its guidance are shown in these memorable words, printed in the catalogue of 1842-43, and republished for several successive years:

"As the trustees are determined to avoid pecuniary embarrassment, they propose to conduct the college classes only so far as their resources may justify, taking care to have the students thoroughly taught as far as they shall go. It is not their purpose to confer degrees till they shall have afforded facilities for education equal to those of other chartered institutions. As the patronage of the community, and the proceeds of an endowment now being raised, shall increase their means, they will

continue to add to their corps of instructors, until they shall have procured a faculty sufficient to conduct the classes through the ordinary collegiate course. * * * It is far better to proceed cautiously—to live within our means—and to rise gradually, but surely, than by affecting a premature prosperity, to plunge the enterprise into the vortex of ruin.”

In accordance with these principles additional professors were chosen only as the progress of the endowment would allow. Dr. Ryland, who had been professor of ancient languages, took, in 1845, the chair of moral science, which he continued to fill till 1861. George Frederick Holmes, now of the University of Virginia, filled the chair of ancient languages, 1845–47, and was succeeded by Heath Jones Christian. Charles L. Cocke, now of Hollins Institute, appears first as tutor, then as instructor in mathematics, and upon his resignation, in 1846, he was succeeded for three years by Thomas Bolling Robertson, then by John Lawson, and in 1850 by Lewis Turner, as professor of mathematics. S. C. Clopton, second tutor, went out as a missionary to China, and his duties as teacher in the academic department were devolved on John M. Murray for two years, S. E. Brownell one year, N. H. Massie two years, T. L. Snead one year, and B. Puryear one year. The academic department ceased for a time at least to have any separate existence upon the election of Mr. Puryear, in 1850, to the professorship of natural sciences. This chair had its beginning three years before in the appointment of N. B. Webster as lecturer on natural science. Mr. Turner was elected to the chair in 1849, but soon found that an exchange with Mr. Puryear would be better for all parties. For instruction in French provision had been made year by year with Messieurs Ansmann, Guillet, Odenhall, and Michard, and in 1849 by the election of Prof. Arthur Frise, who, however, held the chair only one session. The division of tuition fees among the faculty was first made in 1849 “in proportion to the relative salaries they at present receive.”

Up to 1842 the students were divided into four classes, as in the beginning of the seminary. From that time the third and fourth were designated as Freshman and Sophomore. In 1845 a Junior class was added, and in 1848 a Senior. During all these years, however, the proportion of irregulars, or students pursuing a select course, was constantly increasing, and every facility for such selection was provided. So that the year 1849, which witnessed the first award of the degree of bachelor of arts, saw also the abolition of the curriculum, and the substitution of a system of classification and advancement in each study according to the students' abilities and attainments. The attendance increased very little, because of the constant cutting off of the lower or sub-collegiate classes, which had been fullest, and the substitution of higher, and therefore smaller classes. Of the 68 catalogued in 1843, only 25 were in collegiate classes; the number, therefore, had really trebled by 1851.

Another notable change in the period under review was the discontinuance of theological instruction as a part of the course. This did not in any wise impair, it rather increased, the religious influence of the college, but it changed the main design, or as one might say, it shifted the centre of gravity. The seminary was designed especially for ministerial students and admitted others on payment of fees; the college aimed at a liberal education for any and all vocations, and granted certain privileges and exemptions to students preparing for the ministry. The seminary, moreover, was distinctively, in fact as in name, Baptist; the college, though unquestionably denominational, had from the first other denominations represented in its trustees and faculty, as well as in its students.

THIRD DECADE.

From 1851 to 1861 the college made large strides on the road to prosperity. By the agencies hitherto employed—among which the work of Rev. L. W. Allen in 1847–49 deserves particular mention—means had been gathered for current expenses, alterations and repairs of buildings, and an interest-bearing fund of \$16,680. At the annual meeting in 1851 it was decided to raise \$85,000 in bonds of \$100 or over, payable in three annual instalments, the first to become due as soon as \$60,000 had been secured. Rev. A. M. Poindexter was appointed agent, and all unpaid bonds and pledges hitherto given were turned over to him for adjustment. His success was so complete that on the 10th of June following he reported in bonds and cash \$60,732.40; in unbonded subscriptions and pledges of less amount than \$100, \$3,696. This was counted as making the endowment \$75,000, and the agent was requested to continue his labors and raise \$25,000 more for endowment and \$50,000 for buildings. At this he worked two years longer, and secured means to erect, in 1854, according to plans drawn by Thomas A. Tefft, architect, and at a cost of \$25,500, the north wing of the present college building, devoted mainly to dormitories. The collection of bonds for endowment progressed fairly; the funds invested in public securities was, in 1854, \$72,642; in 1859, \$77,042.

Increase of funds enabled the college to give its professors better salaries and to increase their number. In 1851 the chair of ancient languages was divided, Mr. Christian retaining the Greek, and George E. Dabney being chosen professor of Latin and French. This faculty—Messrs. Byland, Christian, Dabney, Turner, and Puryear—remained without alteration for six years. The chair of Greek was filled 1857–59 by Sidney H. Owens, then for one year by E. Adkins, and then by William P. Louthan and C. H. Toy. In place of Mr. Puryear, who resigned in 1858, William G. Strange was made professor of natural science; and in 1859 William S. Chase was made professor of modern languages. The academic department, revived in 1855, was conducted by Robert Hall, John C. Long, H. W. Reinhart, and A. B. Slocomb.

The number of students fluctuated considerably. The fervid eloquence of Poindexter stirred the people all over the State and the attendance increased rapidly, reaching its highest point (161) in 1855-56, coincident with the occupation of the new building and the re-opening of an academic department. From this it declined again till 1859-60 and 1860-61, in both of which sessions the number was 114.

Upon the establishment of a chair of modern languages, in 1859, the whole subject of degrees and awards was reconsidered, and it was decided that a "certificate of proficiency be given to a student who has satisfactorily completed the studies of any department;" the degree of A. B. for "proficiency in the departments of Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural science, and moral science," with the privilege of substituting one modern language or Hebrew for the calculus; and the degree of A. M. for proficiency in the whole course except Hebrew.

SUSPENSION AND LOSSES.

Inter arma silent leges. Silent also were the voices of art and literature. With the outbreak of war in 1861 the youth of the land flocked to the front, and the college record began to receive opposite many a promising name the sad entry "Died in Confederate service," or "Killed in battle." The buildings were occupied as barracks and as a hospital by the Confederates, and again as barracks by the Federal troops in 1865; the apparatus was broken up and the library was carted away by a United States surgeon "to save it from destruction" (he afterwards kindly returned the Patent Office Reports and such like volumes); the endowment, or rather so much of it as had been invested in bank stocks and city and railroad bonds, was sold in 1862 and converted into Confederate 8's. Thus the trustees found themselves in 1865 with desolated grounds, defaced buildings, \$20,500 of State stock, and seven town lots in the suburbs of Chicago. Everything else had been swept away. They authorized Professors Ryland and Dabney to take charge of the premises for one year and open a private school.

REORGANIZATION IN 1866.

Antæus renewed his strength by falling back upon the bosom of his mother. The college was more fortunate in having both mother and sons to support and revive it in its time of prostration. The General Association, into which the Education Society had now been merged, met in Richmond June 7-11, 1866. In the body were fourteen graduates and about twenty-five other sons of the college. A few of these, with also two or three alumni resident in the city, held a consultation as to what could be done for *alma mater*, and appointed Messrs. John C. Long, George B. Taylor, and H. H. Harris to lay their views before the association. Mr. Long had already secured the appointment of a committee (T. G. Jones, A. Broadus, W. E. Hatcher, J. O.

Turpin, and W. R. McDonald, all former students) to consider and report on the interests of the college. The general feeling, however, was despondent, almost despairing.

On Monday morning, June 11, the education board presented a report, showing that they had during the year "collected no funds, assisted no young men, transacted no business," because of the suspension of the college and the depressed condition of the country. On this Drs. Burrows and Poindexter made burning appeals for the immediate resumption of ministerial education. Then Mr. McDonald presented the report of his committee, in two resolutions, recommending the immediate opening of the college, and on a scale worthy of its supporters. "The report was advocated by G. W. Samson, J. C. Long, G. B. Taylor, W. S. Penick, J. Thomas, Jr., A. M. Poindexter, H. H. Harris, T. W. Sydnor, J. E. Massey, M. L. James, C. C. Bitting, and J. B. Watkins." It will not be invidious discrimination to refer more particularly to three of the speakers. Mr. Long, in behalf of the alumni, with true filial devotion, made a pathetic plea for their dismantled college, pointed proudly to her past, and pictured with prophetic power a yet brighter future. He urged the propriety of using the remnant of endowment, if necessary, to re-open the college with full equipment. Mr. Taylor began more cautiously, advocating careful preservation of the existing fund as the nucleus of another endowment, but, warming up as he spoke, nobly seconded the appeal for early and complete resumption. The climax was reached when James Thomas, Jr., from his place near the centre of the church, briefly told how, as one of the trustees, he had protested against the change of investment, and when it was made in spite of all protest, had given up in despair, but added that "the enthusiasm of those young men" had touched him, and that he was ready to subscribe \$5,000 for another endowment, and pending its collection to pay the salary of one professor. This thrilled the audience with hope and settled the question. Dr. Poindexter at once got permission to take other subscriptions, amounting in all to some \$8,000. The association thereupon added a third resolution, tendering to the trustees the subscription just made, and requesting them to take steps to increase it to not less than \$100,000. The trustees held a meeting the very next day, appointed J. L. Burrows, James Thomas, Jr., and J. B. Jeter a committee on new organization, and elected A. M. Poindexter agent to raise the proposed endowment.

In a subsequent meeting the trustees adopted a plan of organization, which provided for a president and four professors. Of those first chosen, July 5, 1866, two only accepted—H. H. Harris and B. Puryear. E. B. Smith and Edmund Harrison were elected August 4, and Dr. T. G. Jones was chosen president August 24. To meet the expenses of refitting the buildings and providing apparatus they authorized the sale of the Chicago lots, and so, on the 1st of October, the college was

reopened with an attendance, which, during the session, ran up to ninety—sixty-five non-resident and twenty-five resident students.

NEW FEATURES.

The committee on organization sought the aid of Drs. John A. Broadus, William D. Thomas, and C. C. Bitting, all of whom then resided in Greenville, S. C., and the plan drawn up by those gentlemen, with some modifications of detail, was approved by the trustees and by the faculty when elected. Some of its improvements on the former policy are worthy of special attention :

1. It proposed a system of *independent schools*. This increases the responsibility, and therefore the efficiency, of the professor, and enables the student, under proper advice, to select the course of study best suited to his wants, his ability, and his previous progress. The certificate, under the seal of the college, formerly awarded for "proficiency in any department" is now given for certain subsidiary subjects, and a mastery of the leading subjects taught in a school secures a diploma of graduation in that school. This feature had been long in operation in the University of Virginia, and the college, as we have seen, had heretofore approached it, but now, for the first time, adopted it fully.

2. The *English language* was put on its proper plane as of equal dignity with Latin or Greek, French or German. As early as 1856 the Albemarle Female Institute had established a school of English, and a year later the State University inaugurated its school of history and literature, but Richmond College claims to have led all the colleges of the land (except possibly one, of which we are in doubt) in doing appropriate honor to our peerless mother tongue. Many others have already followed the example.

3. In reference to *discipline*, the plan provided that it should be maintained, "not so much by minute regulations, as by cultivating among the students the sentiment of personal honor and responsibility." This allows the utmost freedom of social intercourse between pupils and teachers. It works more or less satisfactorily according to the age and character of the students, but, on the whole, yields far better results than any other system of college government.

4. *Attendance upon religious exercises* was made purely voluntary. This may diminish somewhat the apparent amount of external, formal religion, but greatly to the advantage of real vital piety.

5. Circumstances, rather than any deliberate purpose, introduced the *messing system*, which has since become popular, and has been taken up by other institutions. Among the resident students who came in 1866 were some inured to camp life, while through the country provisions were abundant and money scarce. Thus clubs were formed, to live mainly on supplies sent them from home, with small contributions for necessary purchases and for the cost of serving meals. Out of this the present system has been developed through successive changes dictated by experience.

ENDOWMENTS AND BUILDINGS.

The agency of Dr. Poindexter secured in two years bonds and subscriptions to the amount of \$75,000. But to suit the condition of the country, just recovering from four years of war and still under military rule, the bonds were made payable in five annual instalments, and the donors were allowed to retain the principal so long as they paid the interest. A little more than one-third of the amount was paid in and added to the interest-bearing fund. The rest was swallowed in the whirlpool of general bankruptcy which soon followed, or merged into the memorial endowment mentioned below. To accommodate the increasing number of resident students, cottage A, with eight dormitories, was built in 1869, at a cost of \$2,500, and the year following cottage B was erected by the liberality of Judge D. B. De Land, of Fairport, N. Y., who had already contributed handsomely to the endowment fund. His beneficence was the beginning of a rich stream of Northern gifts.

In 1872 the General Association of Virginia Baptists, on motion of C. H. Ryland, resolved to celebrate next year its semi-centennial, and, among other things, to raise "a fund towards the permanent endowment and buildings of Richmond College." The sum first proposed was \$100,000, which, in the enthusiasm of the moment, was increased to \$300,000. Dr. J. L. Burrows, who was selected to take charge of this "memorial movement," employed scores of volunteer agents, who traversed the State, and collected very nearly the amount named in cash, bonds, promises, and promiscuous donations of nominal value. Several thousands were collected in Northern cities, chiefly through Rev. Dr. George B. Taylor. Of the "memorial fund" about one-half has been paid in; its collection was cut short by the panic of 1873; the rest is of doubtful value. In 1873 the central portion of the present main building, containing chapel, lecture-rooms, and society halls, was erected according to plans drawn by A. Y. Lee, architect. This, with the alterations of the north wing to conform to the new style of architecture, cost about \$50,000. In 1877 the trustees expended \$24,000 for an addition to the grounds, giving a good front eastward. This makes the campus a rectangle, 686 feet from Broad to Franklin, and 800 feet from Ryland to Lombardy Streets.

Upon the death of Dr. J. B. Jeter (February 18, 1880), a life-long friend of the college and the president of its trustees, a self-constituted committee undertook to erect to his memory a library hall. When the scheme seemed likely to fail James Thomas, Jr., again came to the rescue with a subscription of \$5,000, on condition that the hall be so planned as to complete the unfinished college building. By the agency of Dr. A. E. Dickinson some \$35,000 more was raised, mostly in the North, and the committee, in June, 1884, handed the trustees the keys of a nearly completed building. The erection of this, according to the plans of Capt. A. Lybrock, architect, and some further modifications of previous

structures, have produced an edifice second in size and beauty to none in Virginia. The improvements to the old buildings, the introduction of water and of a complete system of drainage, and the grading of the grounds entailed an expenditure of \$15,000, to which nearly as much more must be added before all will be complete. The main floor of the new wing—a splendid room 103 by 43 feet clear and 22 feet pitch—is fitted up with tasteful walnut cases for the Jeter Library Hall. The upper floor of the same size and pitch will be similarly fitted up as the Thomas Museum, in memory of our most liberal benefactor, who died October 8, 1882. Besides the two instances already mentioned, when he came to the rescue in times of crisis, he was constantly giving to the college. His last gift, made in 1881, was an endowment of \$25,000 for one of the chairs; the school of philosophy was subsequently designated.

BEQUESTS.

The college in its earlier years received some small legacies, but they were not kept separate from other funds, and can not now be satisfactorily traced. Samuel Tunstall, a merchant of King and Queen County, Va., who died in 1876, devised property amounting to \$8,200, now invested and held as the "Tunstall foundation." James Phillips, of Richmond City, died in 1878, leaving to the college \$5,000, which has been invested, and a residuary legacy, which is expected to yield several thousand more on the final settlement of his estate. Several other bequests of considerable value are known to have been made and will in due time be realized. The trustees look to this as one important source of supply for the ever-increasing needs of a growing institution.

THE TRUSTEES.

Want of space prevents us from giving a full list of all who have been trustees with the dates of their appointment, and death or resignation. They meet twice a year, in December and in June, and frequently at other times. The committees on finance, on grounds and buildings, and on library and museum, as well as not a few others of the body, give to the affairs of the college much valuable time and earnest thought. All act without fee or reward, even paying their own expenses in attending meetings of the board.

Their secretary and treasurer, Rev. C. H. Ryland, D. D., was elected in December, 1873, to attend to the "collection, preservation, and increase of the funds of the college." He is also librarian and superintendent of grounds and buildings.

CHANGES IN THE FACULTY.

In 1869 the trustees abolished the office of president, and devolved its executive duties upon a chairman, to be nominated annually by the faculty. At the same time Dr. Jones resigned his connection with the college, since which Professor Puryear has been annually elected chair-

man of the faculty. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., was elected in 1868 professor of English, and filled the chair till 1881, when he became general agent of the Peabody Fund. During most of the time he taught also the school of philosophy. Rodes Massie, now of the University of Tennessee, was elected professor of modern languages in 1873, and resigned in 1882. Prof. W. W. Valentine, in Mr. Massie's absence, had filled the chair for the session of 1880-81. Since 1882 its duties have been divided between Professors Smith and Harris. In 1873 the school of natural science was divided, Professor Puryear retaining chemistry and geology, and Charles H. Winston being chosen professor of physics. In 1877-78 George S. Thomas filled the chair of Greek during the absence of the professor. Drs. William D. Thomas and A. B. Brown were elected to the chairs of philosophy and of English in 1881.

A preparatory department was established in 1867, and was taught for one year by Messrs. L. T. Gwathmey and E. C. Cabell, undergraduates, then by H. A. Strode, E. K. Murray, William T. Thom, and L. T. Gwathmey, ranking as assistant professors. It was discontinued upon the increase of the faculty in 1873, and the work of some preparatory classes was assumed by the several professors.

A commercial department was begun in 1867, under the charge of the professor of mathematics, and from 1868 was conducted for five years by Prof. G. Morris Nicol.

A class in physiology and hygiene was formed in 1871 by Dr. Z. B. Herndon, and was continued for four years.

A law school was established in 1870, and was conducted for two years by Profs. J. D. Halyburton and William Greene; for two years more by Profs. William A. Maury and James Neeson; and from 1877-82 by Prof. Samuel D. Davies.

ATTENDANCE OF STUDENTS.

The total number enrolled in 1866-67, as we have seen, was ninety. Comparatively few of them were really prepared to enter college, because the high schools and academies which once dotted the State, had been nearly all closed for five years. A preparatory department was for a while absolutely necessary. The situation of the college marked it also as a suitable place for a commercial course and for a law school. The addition of these adjuncts to the regular course and the revival of agricultural prosperity brought a rapid increase in numbers, followed by subsequent reductions in consequence of circumstances which affected all similar institutions. Latterly there has been a steady advance to the present number, 164, which is the largest attendance of collegiate students in our whole history.

For years the college has had a larger Virginia patronage than any other institution could boast, if we exclude professional schools. In the catalogue of this year are found students from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Louisiana, and Florida (1 each), 2 each from

Maryland, West Virginia, and Mississippi, 3 from Georgia, 4 from Tennessee, 4 from North Carolina, 7 from South Carolina, and 135 from Virginia, 43 of these being from Richmond City.

In age the students range from fifteen to thirty-five, the average being about twenty. Those who will take a degree must attend from two to six sessions, according to preparation and ability; seldom less than three, rarely over five.

LIBRARY.

The library, which had been gradually accumulating up to 1860, was robbed, as we have seen, in 1865 of all its valuable volumes. The accumulation of another, while the college was struggling for existence, has been slow. Every year, however, has seen some additions by purchase or by gift. Edward Jorworth Owen, LL.D., a native of Wales, resident in Saint Louis, in 1867 (two or three years before his death), presented his very valuable library of 2,597 volumes. Charles K. Francis, of New York, gave, in 1874-75, 162 "rare and valuable books." Mrs. L. H. L. Herndon, of Washington, D. C., gave in 1875-76 "nearly 200 volumes." A. P. Repiton, D. D. (one of the first graduates of the seminary) bequeathed in 1876 "over 100 volumes." Dr. J. B. Jeter, in 1881, left to the college over 500 volumes and his manuscripts. During the same year Mrs. Frazer, of Orange County, Va., sent about 100 volumes from the library of her late husband, Rev. Herndon Frazer. Hon. Isaac Davis, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass., gave, in 1882, \$1,000, to be used in the purchase of historical works. The names of Drs. C. C. Bitting, of Philadelphia, and Edward Bright, of New York, appear in several successive years as donors of valuable books. Many others, too numerous to mention in detail, have lent their assistance. Upon the completion of the new hall, in 1884, the two literary societies turned over to the college their libraries, amounting to nearly 2,000 volumes.

Among the books thus gotten together, there were, of course, many duplicates, and some of little value. The librarian, with the assistance of Messrs. E. B. Pollard, W. A. Harris, and A. Bagby, spent a vacation in arranging and cataloguing them. There appeared as worthy of a place in the list over 9,000 volumes. The system of library management, adopted after consultation with many experts, is believed to be the simplest and best.

In prosecuting his agency for the Jeter memorial, Dr. A. E. Dickinson undertook to raise also a library fund of \$50,000—one-half to be expended at once, the other to be invested, and the interest used from year to year. He has not yet collected the full amount, but has enough secured to warrant the committee in making large purchases, and to insure valuable additions every year.

In connection with the library, two reading-rooms have been opened—one in a public hallway, supplied with daily newspapers; another, more quiet, for the monthlies and quarterlies, as well as for examining books of reference.

MUSEUM.

In 1874 the two literary societies, working independently, began the collection of museums. Within a year they had the nucleus of a good collection, and while continuing to work for its increase, handed it over to the care of the faculty. No satisfactory catalogue has yet been completed, and until it is made, proper credit to donors can not be given. The number of contributors up to 1877 was about seventy-five, among them Rev. Dr. Bitting, Hon. B. O. Duncan, United States consul at Naples; Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Rome, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, are mentioned. The last named has been unremitting in his interest, and has added much more than any other one person to the value of the collection. Among many contributors, since 1877, may be mentioned Lieut. J. C. Gresham, United States Army (Indian curiosities), Mrs. T. P. Crawford, and Mrs. S. J. Holmes, of Tung Chow, China; Rev. W. J. David, of Lagos, Africa; Rev. R. H. Graves, D. D., of Canton (a large historical collection of Chinese coins and other articles); Col. William Townes, of Mecklenburg, Virginia (valuable collection of coins), and Rev. W. C. Bitting (numerous specimens from the Luray Cavern). In the fall of 1876 the trustees made a small appropriation, and sent Prof. C. H. Winston to Philadelphia, where he obtained, partly by gift and partly by purchase, many articles which had been exhibited in the Centennial Exposition. As soon as everything is mounted in the new hall, a complete catalogue, with full acknowledgments, will be prepared.

LITERARY SOCIETIES.

Very important adjuncts of the college are the two societies which meet weekly for debate and other literary exercises. The Mu Sigma Rho dates from 1846, its name and motto having been suggested by Dr. G. F. Holmes, then professor of ancient languages. The Philologian was organized in 1855. Each stimulates the other by a generous rivalry, and both work together, as in starting the museum, for the common good.

MEDALS.

The Woods medal for excellence in declamation, awarded by a select committee after public contest, was founded in 1868 by a gift of \$100, yielding \$6 a year, from Hiram Woods, Esq., of Baltimore, Md. It is made in the shape of a crescent inscribed with the names of Chatham and Henry.

The Frances Gwin medal, awarded by the professor of philosophy to his best graduate, was established in 1872 by Rev. D. W. Gwin, D. D., then of Atlanta, Ga., in honor of his mother. On it is engraved the figure of a student kneeling, with the motto, *credo ut intelligam*.

The Steel medal, for excellence in reading, awarded by the faculty after competitive trial, was founded in 1875 by Dr. George B. Steel, of Richmond, who gave \$200 so invested as to yield \$10 a year.

The Tanner medal, awarded by the professor of Greek to his best graduate, was established in 1883 by the gift of \$250, so invested as to yield \$15 a year, from Col. William E. Tanner, of Richmond, in memory of his parents, John F. and Harriet L. Tanner. It is in the shape of a Grecian helmet inscribed with the figure of Athena presenting a crown and the legend, *οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου*.

SCHOLARSHIPS.

The First Baptist Church, of Richmond, Va., gave in 1876, \$1,055 to found a scholarship. It pays the tuition of one student nominated by the church. About the same time other sums amounting to \$1,645 were contributed to found scholarships for the benefit of sons of Virginia Baptist ministers. Still another, to be named in memory of Dr. A. M. Poindexter, has been undertaken by the Dan River Association, in which he long lived and labored. On it \$300 have been paid.

In 1883 Hon. George A. Woolverton, of Albany, N. Y., proposed the raising of a scholarship fund of \$10,000. He has paid \$1,000 for his part and the rest has been subscribed and partly paid. As soon as it is completed due publication will be made of the names of other donors and of the conditions on which the benefits may be obtained. Hon. J. B. Hoyt, of Stamford, Conn., has recently paid over for a kindred purpose the sum of \$5,000.

ALUMNI.

The plan of the college in requiring thorough mastery and rigid examinations in every school, and in allowing selection of studies with reference to the student's needs rather than to his graduation, limits the honor of its degrees to comparatively few persons. Many others are quite as much benefited by the instruction received and reflect quite as much honor on the institution. The list of over 2,000 students who have not taken a degree includes three college presidents, half a dozen professors, as many judges, six or eight editors, and scores of lawyers, doctors, teachers, preachers, and other influential men.

SOME GENERAL REMARKS.

The foregoing sketch shows that Richmond College is emphatically a growing institution. Its plan allows indefinite expansion and admits contraction without jar whenever required by stress of circumstances. It is therefore able, while holding firmly to whatever is good in the ideas and systems of the past, to adapt itself readily to the demands of the future. Firmly rooted in the affections of a great Christian denomination, and commanding the respect, the confidence, and, to no inconsiderable extent, the patronage of all denominations, including Israelites, it has grown by the combined labors and liberality of many.

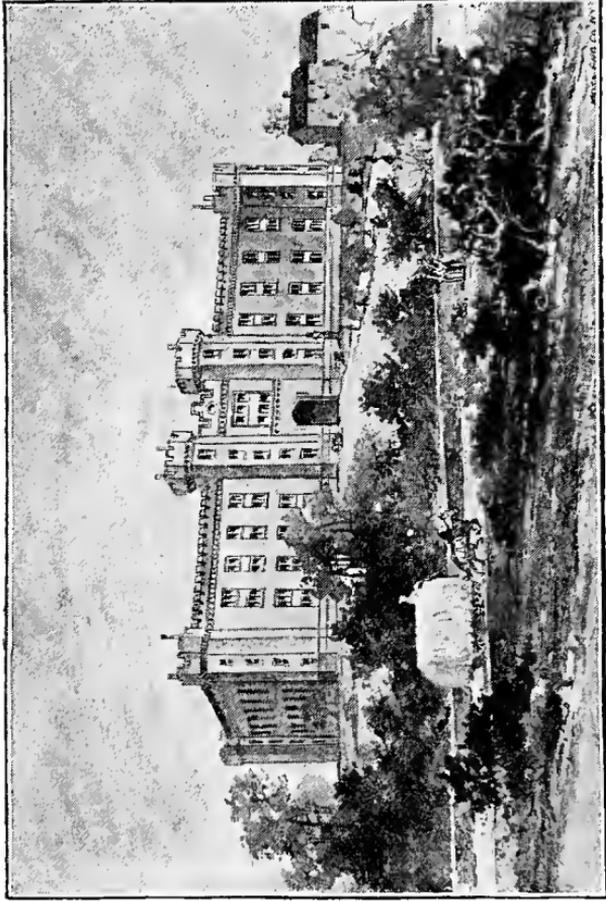
Its eight schools, equipped with all needful maps, charts, and apparatus and manned by seven professors, its buildings sufficient for the

accommodation of two hundred and fifty students, its library and museum, its aids and incentives, its general and special endowments, and its alumni, scattered from New York to California, and from the lakes to Texas, are no mean result from these years of toil. But it has not attained its goal, has not reached its purposed stature, it is but entering as if upon young manhood with bright visions of many victories yet to be won, great advances still to be made. All its traditions and all its hopes require that it shall offer the best facilities for getting a sound, liberal education at the lowest possible cost. The trustees have always carefully avoided debt, and cared more for solid worth than for mere show; the faculty have constantly insisted on honest industry, rigid examinations, and a high standard of graduation; the students have generously responded to the genius of the place, have aimed at real learning, and worked faithfully for its attainment; most of all, and best of all, the blessings of God have rested richly upon this outgrowth of the prayers and the self-sacrifices of His faithful servants.

The following additional information has been received from the chairman of the faculty of Richmond College: "Of the present faculty, Professors Thomas and Harris were students at Richmond College, obtaining their B. A. in 1851 and 1856, respectively. Professors Thomas, Smith, Winston, and Harris (in the order named), obtained the master's degree at the University of Virginia. Puryear and Harrison were students there but did not complete a degree-course. Pollard was educated at Columbian College, District of Columbia, and Hasseleff in Europe. Since the sketch was written we have considerably increased our endowment. It is about as follows:

Grounds, buildings, apparatus, etc	\$350,000
Invested funds.....	250,000
	<hr/>
Valued below market rates.....	600,000

"The increase of invested funds within the past twelve months has been \$85,000."



VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE, LEXINGTON.

CHAPTER XXI.

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE.¹

The Virginia Military Institute was established and is supported by the State of Virginia. It was organized in 1839 as a State military and scientific school, upon the basis of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and has been in successful operation for forty-seven years. The cadets admitted consist of two classes, State and pay cadets. The Institute supplies to the State cadet his board and tuition; and, in consideration thereof, he is required to teach two years after graduation. The pay cadet is at his own expense, which averages \$360 per academic year, for every charge, including clothing. The State cadets are selected from those who are unable to pay their own expenses.

The State makes an annual appropriation for the support of the Virginia Military Institute of \$30,000. This sum supplies tuition and board to the State cadets without charge, and supports—by the aid of the

¹ Reprinted from "The South" June, 1887. A brief but excellent sketch of the Virginia Military Institute may be found in the report of the superintendent of public instruction (Dr. W. H. Ruffner) of Virginia for 1872. A good sketch may also be found in the official register of the institute for 1886-87. The revised regulations for the Virginia Military Institute describe in minute detail its martial discipline and interior administration. The introductory address to the corps of cadets on the resumption of the academic exercises September 10, 1866, on "The Inner Life of the Virginia Military Institute Cadet," by General Francis H. Smith, LL. D., superintendent of the institute, gives a striking picture of cadet life in *ante-bellum* days. The following interesting letter is printed in the official register for 1886-87:

"HQRS. FIRST BRIGADE, SECOND CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"Centreville, October 22, 1861.

"GENTLEMEN: Your circular of the 9th instant has been received, and I beg leave to say, in reply, that I only took the field from a sense of duty; and that the obligation that brought me into service still retains me in it, and will probably continue to do so as long as the War shall last. At the close of hostilities I desire to assume the duties of my chair, and accordingly respectfully request that, if consistent with the interest of the Institute, the action of the board of visitors may be such as to admit of my return upon the restoration of peace.

"Respectfully, your obedient servant,

"T. J. JACKSON,

"Prof. Nat. and Ex. Philosophy, V. M. I.

"To

"General WM. H. RICHARDSON,

"General T. H. HAYMOND,

"Committee."

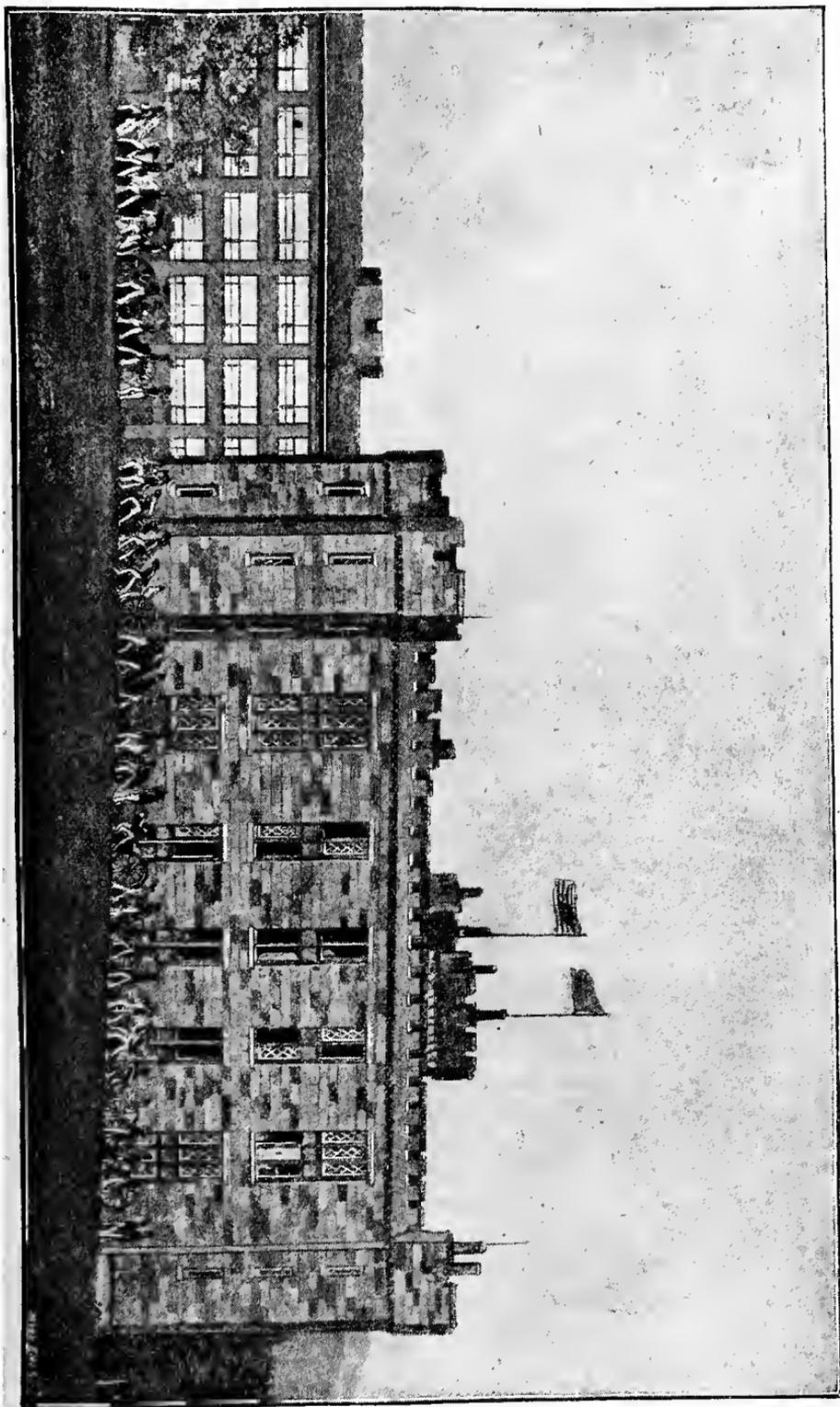
tuition fees, and the income from vested funds—the faculty. In 1860 a donation of \$20,000 was made by General Philip St. George Cocke, for the endowment of the chair of agriculture, and in the same year a donation was made of \$11,000 by Dr. William Newton Mercer, of Louisiana, to endow the chair of animal and vegetable physiology, applied to agriculture. A donation was made at the same time by Mrs. E. L. Claytor, of Virginia, of \$5,000, to erect a hall of natural history.

The Virginia Military Institute had just placed itself before the public as a general school of applied science, for the development of the agricultural, mineral, commercial, manufacturing, and internal improvement interests of the State and country, when the army of General Hunter destroyed its stately buildings and consigned to the flames its library of 10,000 volumes, the philosophical apparatus used for ten years by “Stonewall” Jackson, and all its chemicals. The cadets were then transferred to Richmond and the institution was continued in vigorous operation until the evacuation of Richmond on the 3d of April, 1865.

On the 21st of September, 1864, the board of visitors met in Richmond to reorganize the institution. The War had made sad traces on the school, besides the destruction of its building, library, and apparatus. Three of its professors, Lieut. Gen. “Stonewall” Jackson, Maj. Gen. R. E. Rodes, and Col. S. Crutchfield, two of its assistant professors, Capt. W. H. Morgan, and Lieut. L. Crittenden, and 200 of its alumni had been slain in battle, and 350 others maimed. Considering, however, the great demand flowing from the general suspension of education in the South, and the special field of usefulness distinctly marked out for this school of applied science, the board of visitors proceeded with energy and resolution in their work, and having elected Gen. G. W. Custis Lee and Col. Wm. B. Blair, distinguished graduates of the U. S. Military Academy, to fill two of the chairs made vacant by the death of General Jackson and General Rodes, and at subsequent meetings appointed Commodore M. F. Maury, LL. D., late of the Observatory, professor of physics and superintendent of the physical survey of Virginia, and Capt. John M. Brooke, late of the Navy, to the new chair of practical astronomy, geodesy, physical geography, and meteorology, the Virginia Military Institute resumed its accustomed work amid its ruins at Lexington on the 17th of October, 1865, with some 50 cadets, organized in four classes, and prosecuted its work with earnestness and effect, and on the Fourth of July following, 10 cadets, constituting the first class, who had borne the hardships and perils of the institution during the whole of the War, were graduated, having completed a course of scientific and general study which will commend them to the confidence of the scientific scholar.

The Legislature of Virginia promptly responded to these evidences of vitality on the part of the school by providing for the payment of its annuity and the interest on its vested funds. This provision enabled the board of visitors to appoint the State cadets required by law to be

VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE—CADETS AT BATTERY DRILL.



admitted, and arrangements were at the same time in progress to restore the buildings; and on the 1st of July, 1870, they had the pleasure to report to the Governor the complete execution of this work, including a full equipment of the laboratories, engineering, and drawing departments of the institution. The Virginia Military Institute now numbers 1,334 graduates, 430 of whom were State cadets. There have been altogether 4,975 matriculates, and of these 813 were State cadets.

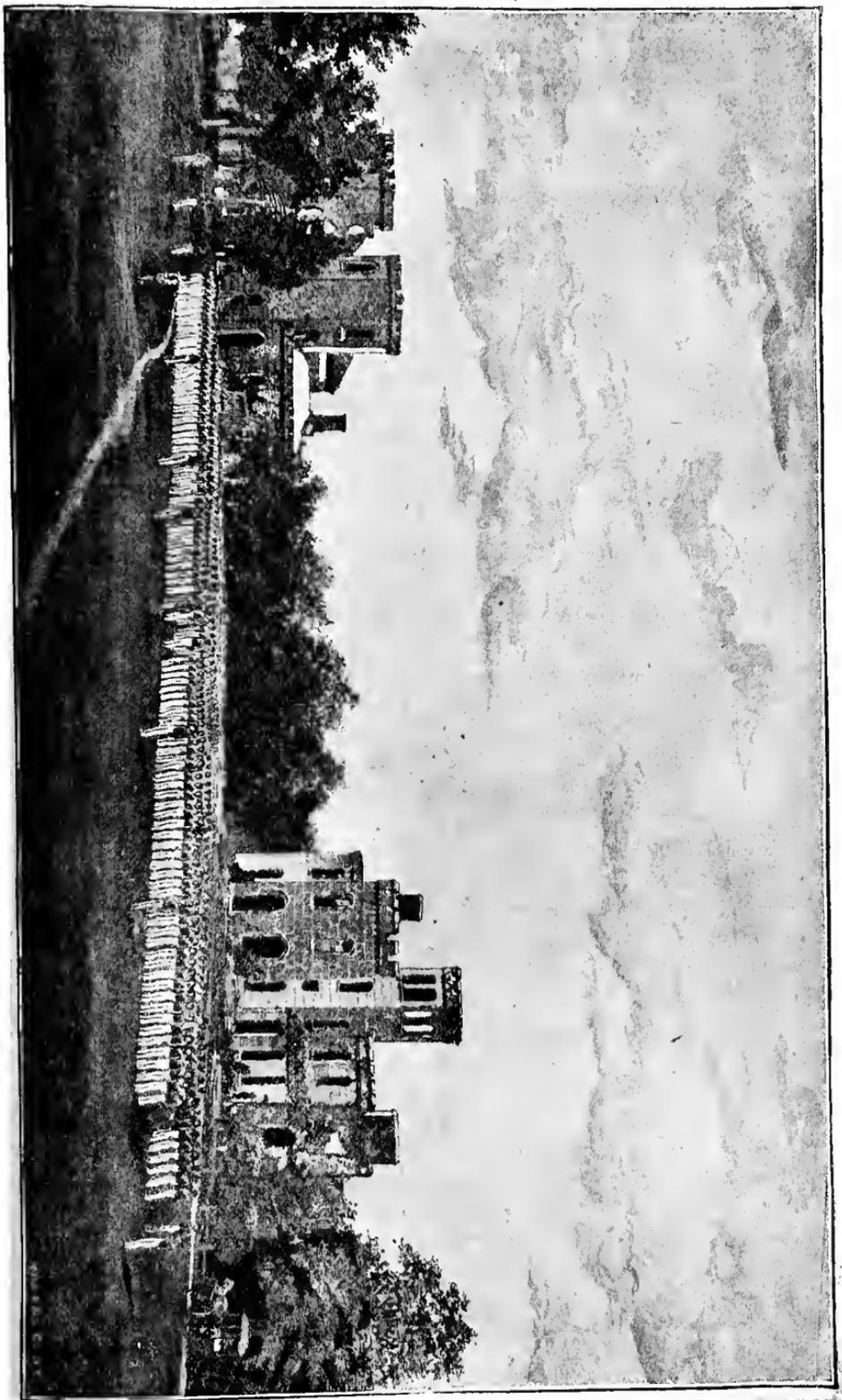
By the Act approved March 15, 1884, relief was given to the Virginia Military Institute, by providing substantially for the payment of the floating debt and the gradual retirement of the whole of its bonded debt; these debts resulting from the work of restoring the ruin of war.

SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION AND GOVERNMENT.

The system of instruction and government in the Virginia Military Institute is distinctive, and is founded upon that of the United States Military Academy at West Point. As soon as a young man enters this institution it assumes over him an entire control, and not only directs his moral and intellectual education, but provides everything required for his personal wants or comfort. A cadet may, if his parents desire it, remain in the charge of the institution for the entire term of four years, as the system of government keeps it always in operation. The months of July and August in each year are devoted exclusively to military exercises. Furloughs are granted to those who may desire it, in turn, during this period. The cadets are lodged and boarded in the institution, their clothing, books, and other supplies being provided by the quartermaster of the Institute at cost. The sick are under the special care of the surgeon, with hospital and other facilities for nursing.

The energy, system, subordination, and self-reliance which the military government of the Institute cultivates give a practical character to the education which it supplies. The high reputation which its alumni have established for the school is the evidence of its value. Attendance at church and Bible instruction are prescribed for each Sabbath. The government of the Virginia Military Institute, although military in its organization, is carefully arranged for the protection and development of the moral character of the cadets. Attendance on the public services of the sanctuary and regular Bible instruction on the Sabbath are positively enjoined by the regulations.

Appended to the report of the examining board, July, 1875, is the following remark: "In conclusion, your committee can not too highly commend what has seemed to them the marked and distinguishing features of this institution, the happy combination of the military system of instruction with the department of science and of literary culture, and the more ennobling culture of the heart and soul. Nowhere else have we seen this combination so complete and perfect. We can not speak of it too highly. It is such a system as fits a pupil for life and for death. Under its guidance he is sure to tread always the path of duty, virtue, and honor."



VIRGINIA MILITARY INSTITUTE (AFTER THE WAR)—CAPTION AT CORNER, PAGE 291

MEDALS AND SCHOLARSHIPS.

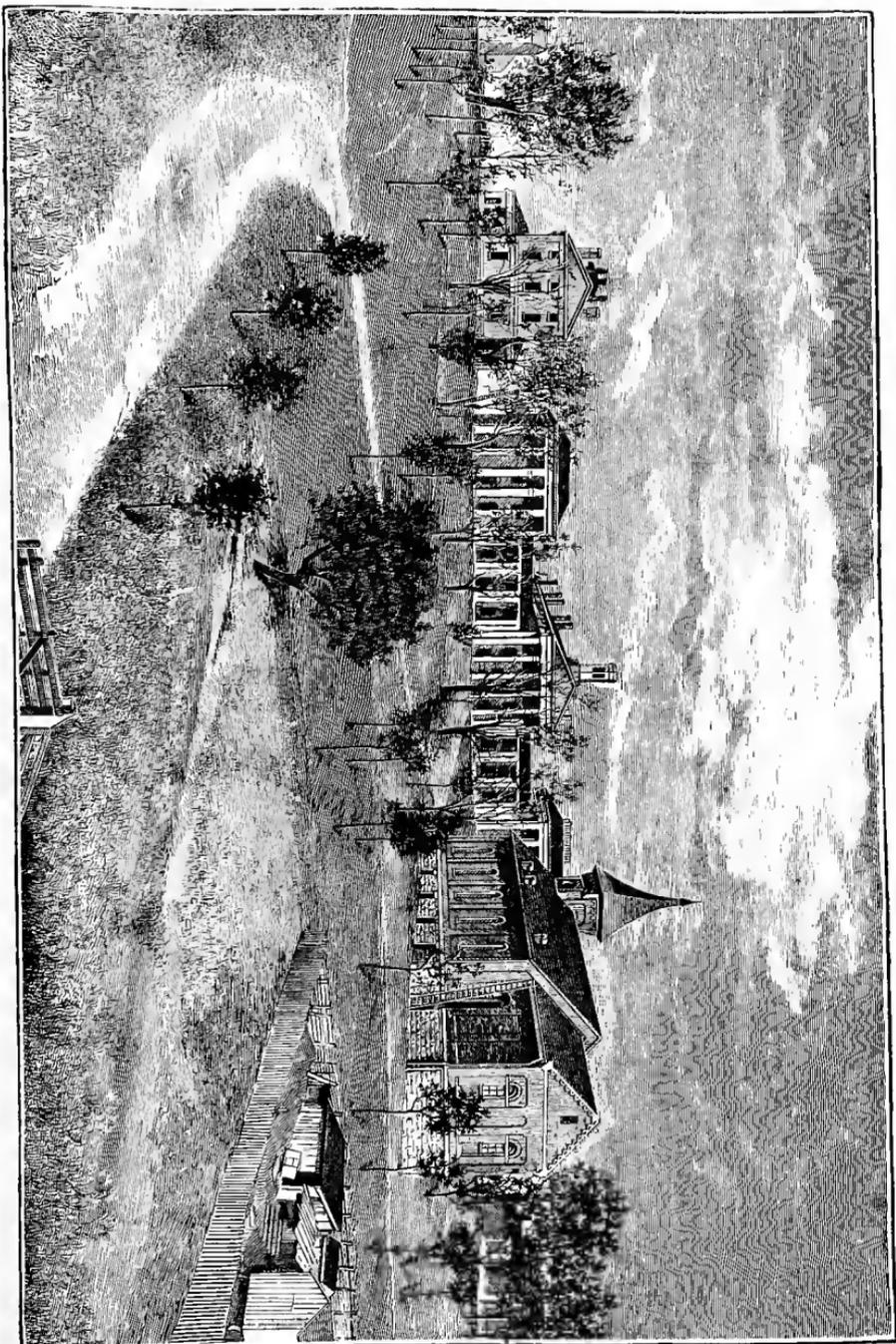
The Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M. P. for the University of Cambridge, England, acting as representative of the association which presented to Virginia the statue of "Stonewall" Jackson, by Foley, transmitted, in 1876, the sum of £243 16s. 1d., being a surplus of the statue fund, to be invested as the foundation of a further memorial of the great Confederate soldier. By authority of the honored donors, and in execution of their wishes, this fund was dedicated to be invested and perpetuated as an inalienable and inviolable capital, the annual income from which shall be expended in procuring two prizes of gold, to be engraved and designated as "The First Jackson-Hope Medal," and "The Second Jackson-Hope Medal," respectively, and to be bestowed annually, as rewards of merit, upon the two most distinguished graduates of the Virginia Military Institute in the order of their distinction.

It was deemed most becoming that this fund should be dedicated to the institution of learning which Jackson, as instructor and disciplinarian, so long and conspicuously adorned, his official connection with which was severed only by his illustrious death; and it is equally appropriate that its designation shall forever associate the munificence of his English admirers with his imperishable name.

As long as the Virginia Military Institute stands it will prize, as one of its prerogative distinctions, the peculiar relation which it bears to the history of General T. J. Jackson. Here for a long time he labored as a professor: From her parade ground, in command of the corps of cadets, he made his first march in his career of glory, and when his career was closed by a soldier's death, to the corps of cadets was assigned the solemn charge of conducting his remains to the resting place selected by himself with his dying breath.

By the generosity of those English gentlemen, whose munificence presented to the Commonwealth of Virginia a majestic statue of her illustrious son, this distinction for the Institute has been signalized and rendered conspicuous and perpetual. The two costly medals provided for in the benefaction, to be bestowed hereafter, annually, upon the first and second distinguished graduates of the Institute, will connect their names with that of Jackson, and will be cherished heirlooms for their descendants.

Two scholarships have been established by the board of visitors on the endowment of General Philip St. George Cocke, for some time president of the board of visitors, and two on the endowment of Messrs. J. K. Gilliat & Co., of London, England. These scholarships entitle the holders to free board, tuition, and room-rent, and are valued each at the sum of \$275.



WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY, LEXINGTON, VA.

CHAPTER XXII.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.

BY PROFESSORS WHITE AND HARRIS.

The history of Washington and Lee University is connected with the early settlement of the beautiful "Valley of Virginia." The lands lying contiguous to the headwaters of the James and Shenandoah Rivers were occupied, about a century after the settlement at Jamestown, by an energetic, adventurous, and brave race of people, distinguished for their devotion to civil and religious liberty. These hardy "Scotch-Irish"¹

¹ Among these Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley of Virginia was Robert Alexander, a master of arts of Trinity, who settled in Augusta County, 1743. In the Historical Sketch of the Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Washington and Lee University (1749-1888), it is said that the germ of this institution was "a mathematical and classical school, called the Augusta Academy, established in 1749 by Robert Alexander, and first located two miles south-west of the site of Greenville, in Augusta, and near the interlacings of the headsprings of the Shenandoah on the eastward and of the James River on the westward. It was the first classical school in the Valley of Virginia, and was continued by an uninterrupted succession of principals and assistant instructors, on successive sites, increasing in usefulness and influence, until it gradually developed into Washington College [now Washington and Lee University]." Robert Alexander is said to have been the predecessor of Dr. Brown and Mr. Graham, as principal of Augusta Academy. The early history of Augusta Academy is very obscure, and the editor of this report has been much perplexed by the varying accounts of recognized authorities, some of which he has endeavored to disentangle in the next chapter, on the "Bibliography of Washington and Lee University."

The following account of Scotch-Irish educational beginnings in Virginia and at the South has been taken, at the suggestion of the Commissioner of Education, from The Early History of the Scotch and Irish Churches, and their Relations to the Presbyterian Church of America, by Rev. J. G. Craighead, D. D.:

"The Presbyterian colonists of Virginia also made as ample provision for the education of their youth as their circumstances permitted. In most of their congregations pastors established classical and scientific schools. West of the Blue Ridge such a school was carried on at New Providence [in Augusta County] by the Rev. John Brown; while east of the Ridge [in Louisa County] a similar institution was conducted by the Rev. John Todd. * * *

"The first of these, after removals to Mount Pleasant, where it was known as Augusta Academy, and then to Timber Ridge as Liberty Hall, finally became Washington College. The widespread desire for literary institutions of a high order led the Presbytery of Hanover, as early as 1771, to take measures to establish an academy in Prince Edward County, which subsequently was chartered as Hampden-Sidney College. These institutions, so humble in their origin, awakened such a thirst for knowledge in the minds of large numbers of the youth of that State, that not a few

occupants of the Blue Mountains of Virginia were among the bravest of Revolutionary soldiers. In the darkest days of our struggle for independence General Washington expressed his confidence in their patriotism and courage; saying that, if all other resources should fail, he might retire with a single standard to Augusta, and rally a band of patriots who would meet the enemy on the line of the Blue Ridge, and there establish the boundary of a free empire in the West. Augusta embraced the fine country, in the heart of the valley, now bearing that name, and the neighboring counties of Rockbridge and Botetourt, lying southwest and immediately on the headwaters of the James. Two companies of soldiers from Augusta were with General Washington at Braddock's defeat and at the battle of the Great Meadows.

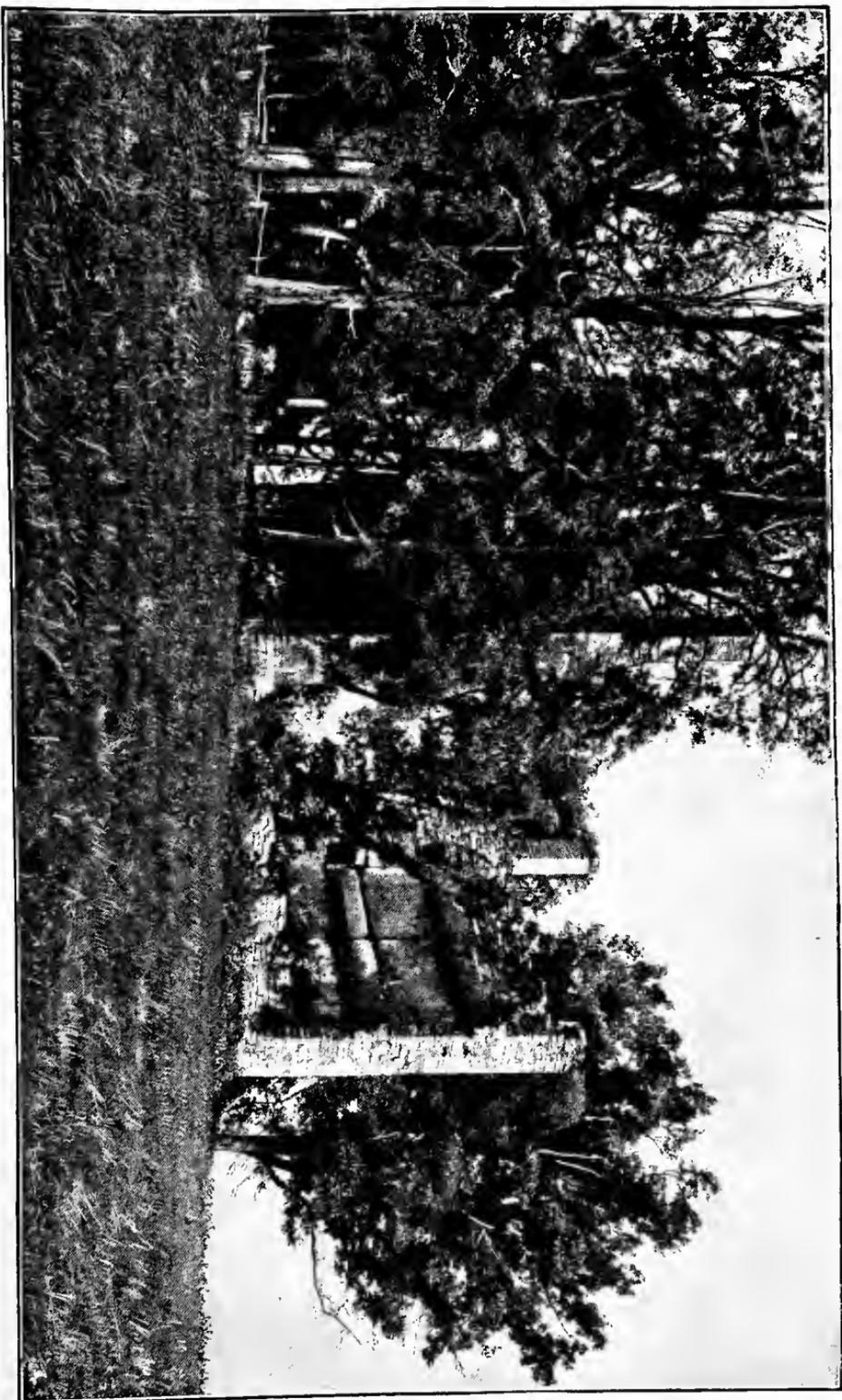
These valley people, distinguished as they were for patriotism, were not less devoted to the cause of religion and education, and had hardly established places of abode when they erected the temple of worship and the school-house, the men quarrying the stone and hewing the timber while their wives and daughters carried the sand, packed in sacks on horses, sometimes to the distance of six or eight miles.

William and Mary was the only college in Virginia at this early period, and as it was located in the lower portion of the State, the Scotch-Irish settlers of the valley determined to establish a high school in their section.

of them afterward became eminent for their literary attainments, and were distinguished in the pulpit and at the bar.

"Classical schools of great excellence were organized by Dr. David Caldwell at Buffalo, and afterward at Guilford, N. C., in which many of the most eminent men of the South—lawyers, statesmen, and clergymen—were educated; by Dr. Samuel E. McCorkle, a thorough scholar and earnest student, whose school at Thyatira, N. C., bore the significant name of Zion Parnassus, and in which there was a department for the education of school teachers, and provision was made to have poor and pious young men taught free of expense, of whom 45 entered the pulpit; by the Rev. William Bingham, at Wilmington, and subsequently at Chatham and Orange; by Dr. Joseph Alexander, at Sugar Creek; by Dr. Alexander McWhorter, principal of 'Queen's Museum,' in whose hall the debates preceding the Mecklenburg Declaration were held, and which the Legislature of North Carolina afterward chartered under the name of Liberty Hall Academy. Other classical and scientific schools were taught by Rev. Dr. Robinson, at Poplar Tent; by Dr. Wilson, at Rocky River; by Dr. Hall, at Bethany; by the Rev. Henry Patillo, at Orange and Granville; and by Dr. Waddell, at Wilmington, under whose instruction some of the ablest civilians of the State were educated.

"A large number of Presbyterian families moved at an early day from Virginia and the Carolinas into Tennessee, who carried with them their love of education. The Rev. Samuel Doak, a graduate of Princeton College, opened a classical school in Washington County [Tenn.], which was afterwards incorporated under the name of Martin Academy, and finally became known as Washington College. This was the first literary institution established in the Mississippi Valley. The books that formed the nucleus of the college library were transported from Philadelphia over the mountains in sacks on pack-horses. After acting as president of the college for several years, Mr. Doak resigned and removed to Bethel, where he founded Tusculum Academy, and continued to be the active advocate and patron of learning, as he had ever been the decided friend of civil and religious liberty."



RUINS OF LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY, NEAR LEXINGTON, VA. BURNED IN 1802.

One of the earliest, if not the very earliest school established, was known first as Augusta Academy,¹ then as Mount Pleasant, and during the Revolutionary War as Liberty Hall. This school, after occupying other neighboring localities, was finally established in the vicinity of Lexington, Va., May, 1776, under the name of Liberty Hall Academy with William Graham, its virtual founder, as its rector. Mr. Graham was the son of a Pennsylvania farmer, who lived in Paxton Township, near the site of the city of Harrisburg, and was educated at Princeton, where he was a class-mate of General Henry Lee, familiarly known as "Light-Horse Harry," the confidential friend of Washington, and ancestor of Gen. Robert E. Lee, the late president of Washington and Lee University. There was thus, in some sort, an association between General Washington and the founder of Liberty Hall Academy. Liberal subscriptions, considering their scanty means, were made for the maintenance of their school by these good and true men, who gave sums ranging from 1 to 10 pounds sterling, and Mr. Graham made a northern tour as far as Boston, collecting 776 pounds and 18 shillings.

Among the pupils of Liberty Hall were Priestly, the distinguished teacher of Tennessee, and Alexander, of Princeton, whose descendants to the third generation are so widely known for their worth, talents, and learning.

Liberty Hall was seriously embarrassed in its operations, and almost disbanded during the struggle for independence then convulsing the country. When the General Assembly was driven from the low country towards the mountains by the British dragoons under Tarleton, the rector of the academy, with his boys and such of his neighbors as he could rally, marched to Rockfish Gap to dispute the passage of the Blue Ridge. What with the interruptions incident to the War, and the embarrassed condition of its finances in consequence of a depreciated currency, the academy was very much crippled, its entire property at this time being estimated at £2,000.

¹"The Presbytery of Hanover, about the year 1773, determined to establish 'Augusta Academy,' and it was at first proposed to locate the institution at Staunton. At a meeting of Presbytery in April, 1775, persons were appointed to solicit subscriptions in behalf of the academy, among whom were William McPheeters and John Trimble at North Mountain; Thomas Stuart and Walter Davis at Tinkling Spring; Sampson Mathews at Staunton, and George Mathews, George Moffett, and James Allen in Augusta Congregation. In May, 1776, the Presbytery determined to locate the school on Timber Ridge 'as there was no one in Staunton to take the management and it was uncertain whether there ever would be.' At the same time the Rev. William Graham was elected rector, and a young man named John Montgomery his assistant. Mr. Graham was born in Pennsylvania in 1746, and was educated at Princeton College. Mr. Montgomery was born in Augusta, and graduated at Princeton in 1775. He spent the last years of his life as pastor of Rocky Spring Church in Augusta. Trustees were also appointed: Rev. John Brown, Rev. James Waddell, Thomas and Andrew Lewis, William Preston, Sampson Mathews, Samuel McDowell, George Moffett, and others. In 1779 the school was removed to Lexington and called 'Liberty Hall.' An act of incorporation by the Legislature was obtained in 1782, and the institution has now become 'Washington and Lee University.'" (Waddell's Annals of Augusta County, Va., pp. 184, 185.)

Liberty Hall Academy was chartered in 1782 by the Legislature of Virginia, and was the first literary institution incorporated by the State after the English colony became a Commonwealth.

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."

Early in 1784 the Virginia Legislature chartered the first company to improve the navigation of James River. Soon afterwards they passed an act instructing the State treasurer to subscribe 100 additional shares in the company, "the said shares to be vested in George Washington, his heirs and assigns forever." This was not designed as a trust fund, but was a gift, as they expressed it in the preamble to the act, "out of the desire of the representatives of this Commonwealth 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." On receiving a copy of this act, Washington wrote to the Governor declining to accept the donation designed for his private emolument, expressing, however, his "profound and grateful acknowledgments inspired by so signal a mark of their beneficent intentions towards himself." His reason for declining the gift is expressed in the following letter: "When I was called to the station with which I was honored, during the late conflict of 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 the ensuing meeting in October, 1785, in compliance with this request, 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."

During ten years of unfinished work the James River stock was unproductive, and Washington determined to defer the appropriation of his interest until it should appear whether any profits would accrue. Washington referred the decision of the object to the Legislature, who referred it back to him, with the suggestion that he should bestow the gift upon some seminary of learning in the upper country, as the lower country was adequately provided with academies and colleges. On learning that General Washington was left to determine the object of his bounty, General Andrew Moore, of Rockbridge, and General Francis Preston, of Washington County, both at that time Representatives in Congress from western Virginia, called the attention of the illustrious patriot to Liberty Hall Academy, as an object worthy of his donation. In September, 1796, General Washington officially communicated to Governor Brooke his decision in favor of Liberty Hall Academy. In recognition of this generous gift the authorities at Liberty Hall addressed the following letter to Washington:

“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 can not 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 been long distinguished as the assertor 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 present prayer of the trustees of Washington Academy, late Liberty Hall.

“By order of the board,

“SAMUEL HOUSTON,

“Clerk.”

General Washington wrote in reply as follows:

“MOUNT VERNON, *June 17, 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 mean 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.”

The Washington donation at this day yields 6 per cent. interest on \$50,000.

The foregoing details are derived mainly from an unpublished manuscript of the late Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D., who was for many years president of Washington College.

The Association of the Cincinnati of Virginia was organized by the surviving officers of the Revolutionary War, with the view of perpetuating fraternal relations and to provide for the widows and orphans of their comrades in arms. When there had ceased to be any objects requiring relief from their treasury, the society resolved, influenced by the example of their illustrious chief, as they declared, to appropriate their funds to Washington Academy, and on 13th December, 1802, in the city of Richmond, adopted the following resolutions :

“1st. That a committee be appointed of thirteen to make an appropriation of the funds of the society to such objects as may be agreed upon by the present meeting, subject, however, to confirmation by a majority of the whole number composing the society at the next general meeting, in person or by proxy, appointed in writing or by letter to the president, and of which due notice shall be given in the public papers and by letter from the president.

“2d. That the object of the appropriation of the funds of the society be the seminary of learning in the county of Rockbridge, denominated Washington Academy (to which the shares of the James River Company, heretofore vested in our late illustrious leader and hero, General Washington, have by him been appropriated), subject to such charges of a charitable nature as have been or may be adopted by this society.”

The fund, so generously conveyed, now yields to the institution that received it the interest on about \$23,000.

John Robinson, of Rockbridge County, Va., a native of Ireland and a soldier under Washington, in imitation of the munificence of his commander, bequeathed to the school, now under a new charter styled Washington College, of which he was himself a trustee, his estate, which the authorities of the college made available as an endowment for about \$40,000.

Founded in the opening of our eventful struggle for independence, generously sustained by its original friends, and at a later period in its history munificently endowed by Washington and his compatriots, Washington College became and continued to be a valuable seminary of learning, sending out a large number of alumni, who conspicuously adorned the various learned professions, the halls of legislation, both State and national, and the walks of private life.

Having on two occasions, in its earlier history, been the victim of fire, and having participated in and survived the struggle for American independence, the College during the late unhappy War suffered very seriously in the damage done to its buildings, its library, and philosophical apparatus, and in the temporary failure of any income from its endowment fund.

Notwithstanding this prostration of its material interests, the board of trustees met in the summer of 1865, and with a liberality highly commendable pledged their individual credit in negotiating a loan, by means of which they might repair the desolations and see again in operation the school that had been entrusted to their control.

General Robert Edward Lee, who it was known had declined all proposals that seemed to involve a compromise of personal independence, was tendered the presidency of Washington College, in the belief that he might accept a position which would give him honorable employment, the thing that he desired, and would at the same time be a channel through which he might do something for the intellectual and moral training of the young men of the country. The position was accepted by General Lee under the influence of these considerations, and in doing so he gave a new impulse to the old college of Washington, attracting a large number of students, reassuring its friends and enlisting in its behalf many generous benefactors in all parts of the country.

The course of instruction, academic and professional, was greatly enlarged under the energetic and wise administration of General Lee, who brought to the school, not only the weight of his elevated Christian character, which gave him unsurpassed influence over all who came within its sphere, but also a thorough and intelligent knowledge of what should be required in a leading institution of learning.

Washington College, up to 1865, had the organization of most American colleges—a fixed curriculum of four years, terminating in the degree of bachelor of arts. In 1865–66 the course of instruction was broken up into separate schools. This change was made in view of the heterogeneous character of the students and their varying aims and grade of preparation. As the inconveniences of this organization became more apparent there has been a gradual reversion to a curriculum, with a pretty wide election, so that the present organization is substantially the same as that of Yale or Princeton. The University at present embraces three courses for the degree of bachelor of arts; fuller and more thorough courses for the degree of master of arts; special courses

for doctor of philosophy, and schools of law and civil engineering. The present productive endowment of Washington and Lee University amounts to a little over \$600,000, and its entire property is valued at about \$800,000.

The course which General Lee proposed to pursue in the disturbed condition of the country at that time is shown by the following sentiments, expressed in his letter of August 24, 1865, addressed to the board of trustees, in which he indicated his acceptance of the presidency :

"I think it the duty of every citizen, in the present condition of the country, to do all in his power to aid in the restoration of peace and harmony, and in no way to oppose the policy of the State or General Government directed to that object. It is particularly incumbent on those charged with the instruction of the young to set them an example of submission to authority."

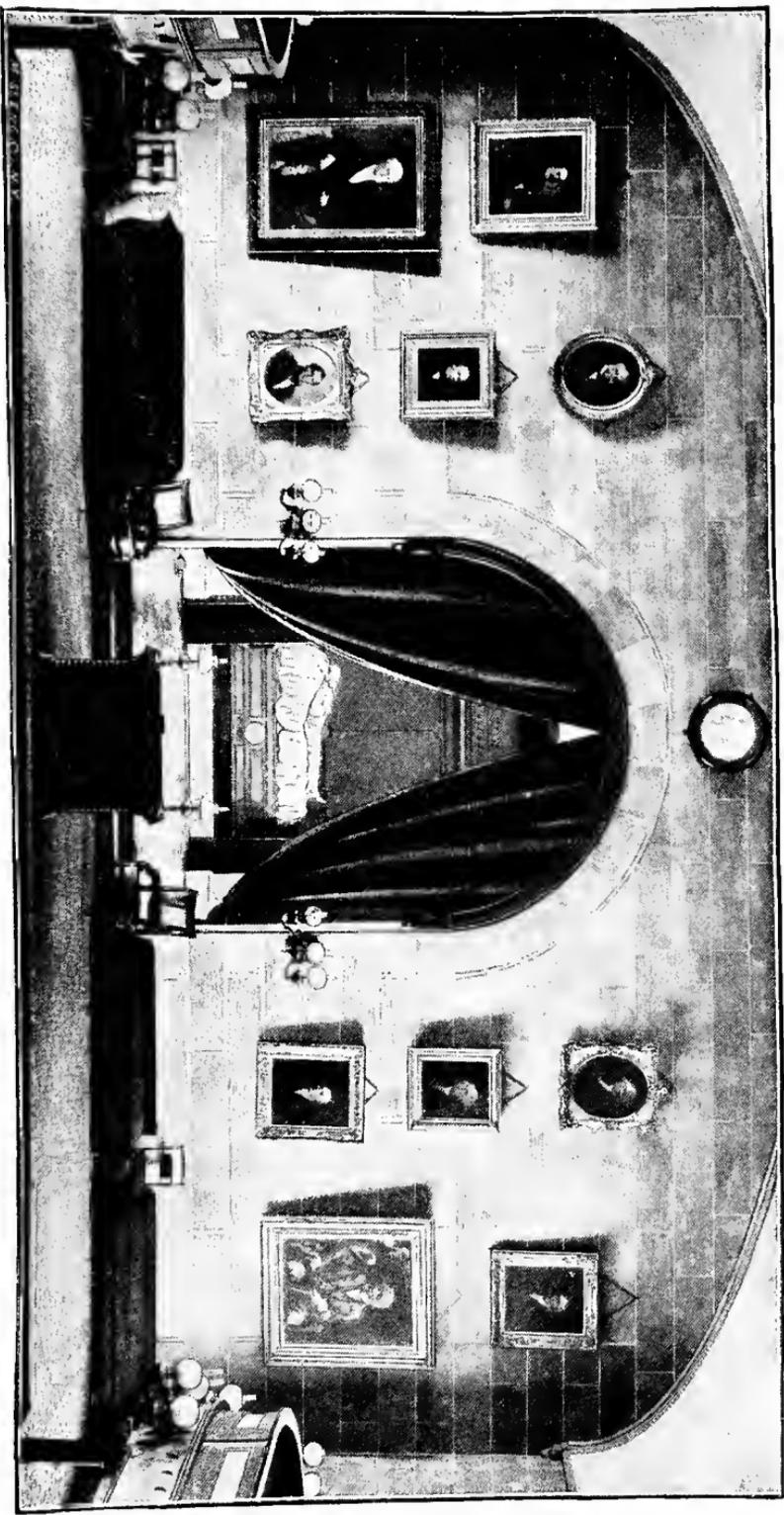
The work of fully organizing the professional, classical, and scientific departments was completed under the assiduous supervision of General Lee, and remains a monument to his faithful labor, and the effort to secure a more adequate endowment fund was progressing favorably, when, in October, 1870, Washington College was called to mourn the death of its honored president.¹

The board of trustees at once assembled, and elected General George Washington Custis Lee to fill the office of president, made vacant by the death of his father, the name of the institution being changed by an act of the Legislature from Washington College to Washington and Lee University.

He was inaugurated in February, 1871, and has filled the presidency of Washington and Lee University for the period of seventeen years, during which the institution has received many signal testimonials of public favor, has sustained its reputation as a thorough school of learning, and now affords superior educational advantages to the young men of the country.

¹ General Lee is buried in the chapel of Washington and Lee University, standing in the foreground of the general view of the institution. This chapel, without the apse-like addition, was the first building erected under the direction of General Lee after he assumed the presidency of the University. The accompanying view of the interior of the apsis shows the monumental chamber, in which is placed Valentine's recumbent figure of General Lee. The lower story of the apsis contains the crypt or vault, in which the remains of General Lee repose. Adjoining the crypt and underneath the chapel is the room used as an office by General Lee during his presidency, and kept now precisely as he left it. The foreground of the picture represents the platform of the University chapel. The portraits upon the wall are of certain distinguished men: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Chief-Justice Marshall, General Zachary Taylor; and certain benefactors of the institution: W. W. Corcoran, Warren Newcomb, Thomas A. Scott, Dr. W. N. Mercer, and Vincent L. Bradford. The general effect is very striking, and illustrates the educational history of Virginia in a remarkable manner. Harvard University has its memorial hall, frequented daily by Cambridge students. Here is the shrine of Washington and Lee University, facing young Virginians as they meet for chapel service. These memorials are now historic, and they can be viewed with interest and profit by any historical student.

VIEW OF GENERAL LEE'S STATUE FROM THE INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL OF WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.



CHAPTER XXIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

BY THE EDITOR.

Manuscript History of Washington College, by Henry Ruffner, D. D.

This unpublished account of the early history of the college is by one of its former presidents, the father of Dr. W. H. Ruffner, who was for a long time superintendent of public instruction in Virginia. The editor of this report finds the Ruffner manuscript quoted in Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, p. 433, where the origin of the academy of Hampden-Sidney in 1774 (chartered as a college in 1783) is explained as a Presbyterian foundation, "established in Prince Edward, at a point convenient for the Presbyterians of Virginia and North Carolina." Howe quotes at some length from Dr. Henry Ruffner, not only upon the origin of Hampden-Sidney, but upon the origin of the other Presbyterian foundation in the State of Virginia, which Howe says was built upon Timber Ridge, near Fairfield, in Rockbridge County, 1776. (See Howe's Historical Collections, pp. 449, 454, and 455.) Howe's quotation from Dr. Ruffner is not very satisfactory, and students of Virginia educational history would be glad to see the original manuscript in published form. The historian's son, Dr. W. H. Ruffner, informs the writer that the manuscript is in the keeping of the secretary and librarian of Washington and Lee University, Mr. Jacob Fuller.

Foote's Sketches of Virginia. First Series, Chapters XX, XXI, pp. 438-489; and Second Series, Chapter VII, pp. 96-97.

This work is far more satisfactory than Howe's Collections upon the educational beginnings of Virginia. In fact, Foote is invaluable for students of Virginia local history and ecclesiastical biography. Foote finds the germ of Washington College, or Liberty Hall Academy, in a private grammar school, kept by the Rev. John Brown,¹ and adopted, in 1774 by the Presbytery of

¹ Rev. John Brown was a graduate of Nassau Hall, in the class of 1749, and a licentiate of the New Castle Presbytery.

He began his ministerial life in 1753, when he became the pastor of New Providence church, Augusta County, Virginia. He married Margaret Preston, the second daughter of John Preston and Elizabeth Patton, who emigrated from Ireland in 1740, and settled near Staunton, Va. After serving his congregation faithfully for forty-four years, weighed down with the infirmities of age, he resigned his charge of New Providence and followed his children to Kentucky, where he died, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, 1803. His wife preceded him to the grave, dying, in 1802, in the seventy-third year of her age. They are both buried at Frankfort, Ky. They reared seven children: First, Elizabeth, who married Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, of Tennessee; second, John, who married Margaretta Mason, of New York; third, William, a physician, who died early, in South Carolina; fourth, Mary, who married Dr. Alexander Humphreys, of Staunton, Va.; fifth, James; sixth, Samuel, and seventh, Preston. Several of these sons reached distinction in the service of the country. Their descendants are now found throughout the Southern and Western States. (See Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 99.)

Hanover, then embracing all Virginia. The Presbyterian school was then intrusted to William Graham, under the supervision of the Rev. John Brown, and was removed in 1777 to Timber Ridge, from the region of Mr. Brown's home, near Fairfield. Liberty Hall Academy was chartered in 1782, and was endowed by George Washington in 1796. To him it owes the names, Washington Academy and Washington College.

History of Washington College, Virginia, in the American Quarterly Register, conducted by B. B. Edwards and W. Cogswell, and published by the American Education Society, Volume X, No. 2, November, 1837, pp. 145-150.

This invaluable repository of American educational, ecclesiastical, biographical, and local history contains interesting and important extracts from the original records of the Presbytery of Hanover, Virginia. It appears that the discussion of the project of "erecting a seminary of learning somewhere within their bounds" began as early as October 9, 1771. After various postponements, it was decided, October 4, 1773, at Rockfish Gap (where the site of the University of Virginia was afterward determined), "to fix the public seminary for the liberal education of youth in Stannton, Augusta County." On the 12th of October, 1774, it was agreed that the proposed institution should "be managed by Mr. William Graham,—a gentleman properly recommended to this Presbytery,—and to be under the inspection of the Rev. John Brown." It was stated that there was no person to take the management of the school "in the place first agreed on," that is, at Stannton. Committees were appointed to collect subscriptions: "Mr. Brown, in the Pastures, Providence, and the North Mountain; Mr. Rice, in Botetourt, on the south side of James River; Mr. Cummins, in Fincastle; Mr. Irvine, at Tinkling Spring, the Stone Meeting-House, and Brown's Settlement; Mr. Wallace, in the fork of James River; and Mr. Smith, at pleasure." This extract gives a local coloring to the efforts of those Presbyterian clergymen to establish an educational centre in the Valley of Virginia. An extract from the records of the Presbytery, dated April 15, 1775, shows that the institution was already developing under the direction of the Rev. John Brown. "As the Presbytery have now an opportunity of visiting the school under the direction of Mr. Brown, they accordingly repaired to the school-house, and attended a specimen of the proficiency of the students in the Latin and Greek languages and pronouncing orations, with which they were well pleased." On the 27th of October, 1775, it was agreed that Mr. William Graham continue to have the care and tuition of the school, and that John Montgomery, "late from Princeton College," be his assistant. To understand the origin of Presbyterian colleges in the Southern States, one should know that Nassau Hall and the "log college" at Princeton, N. J., were the original points of departure. Those Scotch Presbyterian ministers who were so prominent in the educational upbuilding of Virginia and Kentucky were Princeton men. This current of influence is very marked. The log college in American institutional history is a pioneer type well worthy of careful investigation, and the man who undertakes it must study the records of Presbyteries. For example, the Hanover Presbytery, May 6, 1776, agreed to accept the offers of Capt. Alexander Stewart and Mr. Samuel Houston, in the congregation of Timber Ridge, who propose to give forty acres of land apiece for Augusta Academy if it is placed there, and "the neighbors have offered to build a house of hewn logs, 28 by 24 feet, one and a half stories high, besides their subscriptions, and assuring us of the probability that the firewood and timber for buildings will be furnished gratis for at least twenty years." This is all as interesting and graphic as the

order of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, November 13, 1644, that the deputies and elders in every town should urge every family to give one peck of corn or twelve pence in money for the college at Cambridge (see Records of the Colony Massachusetts Bay, II, 86): The log college upon Timber Ridge was opened January 1, 1777. The rector had a framed house. "They both had well-walled cellars and stone chimneys. Both buildings are now (1836) standing, are likely to outlast the present generation, and remain as a memorial of the zeal and energy of the Hanover Presbytery." The above facts, which serve to place the original foundation of the Augusta or Liberty Hall Academy in a clear light, appear to have been drawn from the records of the Hanover Presbytery, from the Richmond Religious Telegraph for December 19, 1834, January 2, January 23, and February 6, 1835, and from the life of President Graham, in the Richmond Literary and Evangelical Magazine, 1821, p. 75 *et seq.*

Catalogue of the Alumni of Washington College. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1869.

This valuable catalogue, containing a list of the faculty, trustees, and students from the very beginning of the Academy, contains also a valuable historical sketch of the institution. The statement is therein made that "on the first meeting after the battle of Lexington, the trustees direct the record for the 6th of May, 1776, to be entitled 'Liberty Hall'—as this academy is hereafter to be called, instead of Augusta Academy." Many of the facts mentioned in the preceding note are recorded here, evidently from the records of the Hanover Presbytery. This catalogue of the alumni of Washington College will prove very helpful to the student who may wish to trace the influence of the institution upon Virginia and the South, for it gives not merely the names of alumni, arranged chronologically, but also their occupations.

Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Washington and Lee University, 1749-1888. Baltimore: John Murphy. 1888. Pp. 245.

This revised edition is complete to date and is very satisfactory.

Peyton's History of Augusta County; Waddell's Annals of Augusta County; Proceedings of the Centennial of the Augusta Presbytery; Junkin's Historical Account of the New Providence Church; Winterbotham's Historical Account of the United States (republished in Barnard's Journal of Education, Vol. XXIV, p. 155).

These authorities are deservedly commended by Col. John Mason Brown, of Louisville, Ky., as bearing upon the origin of Liberty Hall Academy and upon the beginning of higher education in the Valley of Virginia and in Kentucky.

Hugh Blair Grigsby's Address on the Scotch-Irish Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy, 1887.

Col. Bolivar Christian's Address before the Alumni Association, July 1, 1859, on the Scotch-Irish Settlers of the Valley of Virginia.

Rev. Archibald Alexander's Address before the Alumni Association of Washington College, 1843.

Rev. George Junkin's Inaugural Address [as president of the college], 1849.

Dr. W. H. Ruffner's Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1873, pp. 138-141.

John Mason Brown's Oration, delivered on the occasion of the Centennial Commemoration of the Battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1882.

Prof. C. A. Graves' Historical Sketch of Washington and Lee University (illustrated), in the Richmond Dispatch, August 14, 1885.

Mrs. S. P. McD. Miller on A Virginian University Town, Overland Monthly, May, 1883.

This article contains a pleasantly written account of the Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley and of the beginnings of Augusta Academy. It describes happily the character of its early presidents and professors. Lexington in war time is graphically pictured, and the story of the "boy companies following their illustrious leader, 'Stonewall' Jackson," is well told. The Virginia Military Institute, the West Point of the South, where Jackson was professor of mathematics, holds no insignificant place in the University-town of Lexington. The Ann Smith Female Academy, in the same academic community, is one of the oldest establishments in the United States for the education of young women. It has flourished for nearly a century. The coming woman who writes the history of woman's education in this country should inquire about the Ann Smith Academy, in Lexington, Va., as well as about Smith College, in Northampton, Mass.

Lexington, Va., an article published in The South, June, 1887.

This is one of the most recent sketches of the "Athens of the Old Dominion," with its educational jewels and economic setting.

General Lee and Washington College, reprinted in the Educational Journal of Virginia, December, 1870, from the Old Dominion Magazine, November 15, 1870, pp. 673-676.

The latter magazine attempted to give a prominent place to the educational history of the State of Virginia. The fourth volume, now before the writer, contains a series of "Historical Sketches of Virginia. Literary Institutions of the State: University of Virginia." The latter was the only institution systematically treated. The Old Dominion Magazine, long since suspended, has a decided value on account of its educational articles and as a *post-bellum* repository of Southern literature, the evolution of which will some day attract historical attention.

Prof. E. S. Joynes, on General Lee as a College President, Old Dominion Magazine, April, 1871, Volume V, No. 4, pp. 209-220 (reprinted from the University Monthly, University Publishing Company).

Rev. J. L. Kirkpatrick, D. D., Professor of Moral Philosophy, Washington and Lee University: Sketch of Gen. R. E. Lee as College President. Printed in Personal Reminiscences of General Robert E. Lee, by Rev. J. William Jones, D. D., 1874.

Newspaper articles and editorials on Washington and Lee University have appeared in Progress (edited by Col. John W. Forney), Philadelphia, June 18, 1881; Philadelphia Inquirer, June 9, 1881; Kansas City Times, October 30, 1870; Missouri Republican, October 26, 1870; and in the New York Evening Post, 1871 and 1880.

The Southern Collegian, nineteen volumes.

This student periodical, representing Washington and Lee University, was established in 1868, by S. Z. Ammen and C. R. Breckinridge. It is full of suggestive materials, illustrating the character and growth of the institution. With the second volume the name of the magazine was changed from the *Collegian* to the *Southern Collegian*, under the editorial direction of Charles A. Graves, now a professor of law in the above University. Volume IV contains the first literary efforts of Thomas Nelson Page, whose recent writings are characteristic of Southern life and thought, as well as of peculiar local dialects. In the commencement number for 1887 there is a remarkable address upon "The Old South," delivered by Mr. Page before the alumni association of Washington and Lee University, June 14, 1887. The main thesis of the address is that "the new South is really the old, with its energies directed in new lines."

SUPPLEMENTARY LETTER TO THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION.

The following interesting letter throws additional light upon the origin of Liberty Hall Academy¹ and upon the educational pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky.—EDITOR.

“LOUISVILLE, KY., *October 17, 1887.*

“MY DEAR SIR: I am obliged by yours of the 13th, and only regret that my information as to the organization and history of Augusta Academy, in Virginia, is quite limited. My great-grandfather, Rev. John Brown, came in his youth from County Limerick, Ireland, where his family, of English extraction, had long been settled. He entered Nassau Hall (Princeton), and graduated in 1749 in the second class turned out from the college. His diploma, which I found in his old papers, has been presented by me to Princeton College as a relic, and is now framed and hangs in the college library. The class consisted of only two, one being my great-grandfather, the other being the Rev. John Todd,² afterwards of Louisa County, Va., uncle and preceptor of that very extraordinary man Col. John Todd, killed at Blue Licks, in 1782. My great-grandfather, John Brown, after his academic graduation, studied theology and became a Presbyterian minister. In 1753 he took charge of the churches of New Providence and Timber Ridge, in Augusta County, Va., and continued in the pastorate of the former for forty-

¹The ruins of old Liberty Hall are still standing on a hill about three-quarters of a mile west of Washington University, and in full sight of it. They are in an open field, some two hundred yards from the road, surrounded by a small grove of trees evidently younger than the building. The material is grey limestone, and the workmanship is admirable. Only the end-walls are standing. They show the building to have been three stories high, with low ceilings, rather small rooms, and the uppermost story apparently one large dormitory. The walls are very thick. The owner values this interesting relic as it deserves, and has protected it from spoliation. The photograph was taken by M. Miley, of Lexington, in the fall of 1885.

²See Collins' History of Kentucky, II, 183-4, and Winterbotham's Historical Account of the United States, republished in Barnard's Journal of Education, XXIV, 125.

four years. He then followed his sons, who had long before settled in Kentucky, and died at Frankfort, in 1803. His wife was Margaret Preston, daughter of John Preston. At the commencement of his pastorate he opened an academy, to which he gave greater attention as his own sons came to need educational care. His home, or rather the home of his people, in County Limerick, had borne the name of Liberty Hall (I found the place still so called and still inhabited by Browns in 1877), and I think it is not a very strained conjecture that the early name of 'Liberty Hall,' which Washington and Lee College bore, may have had something of suggestion in the old man's memories of his youth. At all events, the germ of the college was his school, and his own home, the stone walls of which yet exist, was 'Liberty Hall.' When he came to Kentucky, he took charge of Pisgah Church, in Woodford, residing in the neighborhood. He actively promoted what was known as Kentucky Academy, at that place, and was to some extent an instructor, but chiefly an emeritus and advisor. The active principal was Mr. Moore. This Kentucky Academy, and another institution called 'Transylvania Academy,' were blended in 1798 into Transylvania University by a legislative act. I think with much satisfaction of my reverend ancestor as being a pioneer in educational matters in both Virginia and Kentucky. He has left a number of old papers, chiefly sermons, dull and hard to read. But among them is one preached in 1759, to his Calvinistic congregation, in which is sounded the first note of question of royal authority. It traces the origin of kings, the probable way in which hereditary right came to be claimed and recognized, and the fallacy of the claim, and concludes with the general proposition that governments and governmental institutions have no existence save in the consent of the people, and no right to exist except so far as they represent the will of the people. It was very bold language for that early day. Dr. John Todd¹ (class-mate of my great-grandfather) be-

¹ Rev. Dr. John Todd graduated at Nassau Hall in 1749, in the second class admitted to a degree. He was licensed by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1750, and was sent to the colony of Virginia, at the request of the Rev. Mr. Davies. In the year 1751 he was ordained by the New Brunswick Presbytery, and on the 22d of April, 1752, obtained from the general court of Virginia the license required by law for a dissenting minister, and became the assistant of the Rev. Samuel Davies.

After Mr. Davies removed to Princeton, Mr. Todd became the leading minister in the Presbytery east of the Blue Ridge Mountains. During the Revolution he was a staunch Whig. For a number of years he superintended a classical school in Louisa County.

His nephews, John and Levi Todd, went from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and were educated at this school. They both became distinguished citizens of Kentucky. He preached in Virginia for forty-three years. In July, 1793, he attended the Presbytery in Albemarle County, and on Saturday, the 27th, after its adjournment, set out for home. Whether from the infirmities of age or in a fit of apoplexy, is not known, as he was alone, riding on horseback, but he was found in the road lifeless. His son, bearing his name, was licensed by the Hanover Presbytery, September 13, 1800.

For some time he supplied the churches left vacant by his father, but in the year 1809 removed to Kentucky with his family, leaving none of his name in Virginia. (See Sketches of Virginia, pp. 45-50.)

came also a Presbyterian minister, and conducted a famous academy in Louisa County, Va. It was at his instance that Dr. Gordon, of London, collected books and apparatus, to form, with Dr. Todd's additions, the library for Transylvania Academy in Kentucky.¹ This academy was, as I have said, united with Dr. Brown's Kentucky Academy in 1798 to form Transylvania University. Dr. Samuel Brown, son of my great-grandfather, was one of the first professors of Transylvania University. This Dr. Samuel Brown married Miss Percy, of Alabama. You are thus, by marriage with my cousin, allied to two educational pioneers, Rev. Dr. John Brown and Rev. Dr. John Todd, and their descendants may feel glad that their worthy names are to have a chronicler.

"I inclose a memorandum of some sources from which you may glean other bits of interesting information.

"Very truly, yours,

"JOHN MASON BROWN.

"Hon. N. H. R. DAWSON,
"Washington, D. C."

FINAL NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Colonel Brown's valuable memoranda are incorporated with the bibliography of Washington and Lee University, appended to the historical sketch. An interesting notice of the Rev. John Todd may be found in John Mason Brown's oration, delivered on the occasion of the centennial commemoration of the battle of Blue Licks, August 19, 1882, and published under the auspices of the Kentucky Historical Society. The worthy Presbyterian divine trained up at his famous classical academy in Louisa County, Va., a nephew, John Todd, who afterward became famous as a leader in border warfare, and as a pioneer of law, government, and education in Kentucky. Col. John Todd was one of the first two burgesses from the county of Kentucky (created out of Newcastle County, December 31, 1776). He was largely instrumental in persuading the Virginia Assembly and Patrick Henry, then Governor, to commission George Rogers Clark for the conquest of the Northwest Territory. Colonel Todd took part in that eventful campaign, which secured the Northwest to Virginia and the United States, and he succeeded Clark in command of the frontier, being commissioned "Colonel Commandant and County Lieutenant." He appeared in the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1780, and was there the successful champion of a system of public education for Kentucky, a system based upon land grants. He was one of the earliest advocates of emancipation in Kentucky, and favored the exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory. This noble pioneer of liberty, education, law, and order upon a

¹See Collins' History of Kentucky, II, 183-4, and Winterbotham's Historical Account of the United States, republished in Barnard's Journal of Education, XXIV, 125.

dangerous frontier; this friend of Daniel Boone, who with him and a few trusty companions first organized government under a great elm-tree at Boonesborough, lost his life in the battle of the Blue Licks, with the Indians, on the 19th of August, 1782. "In the blood of that day were cemented the solid foundations of a powerful State." The coming student of the educational beginnings of Kentucky, the daughter of Virginia, will learn more of those remarkable pioneers of Scotch Presbyterian ancestry. The Todds and the Browns were men of good blood and fine character. (See Foote's Sketches of Virginia, second series, 44-49, 94-99). Their descendants are numerous, and are now scattered throughout the Southwest from Kentucky to Louisiana. The Rev. John Brown, principal of Augusta Academy, married the daughter of John Preston,¹ of Staunton, himself the ancestor of a distinguished line. Among the first graduates of the old academy were the sons of the principal: John Brown, who became a member of Congress from Kentucky; James Brown, who became United States Senator from Louisiana and afterwards minister to France; Samuel Brown, who became a professor of medicine in Transylvania University, Kentucky; Preston Brown and William Brown, who both became physicians, the one in Kentucky, the other in South Carolina. Among the first students at the old academy was Archibald Stuart, afterwards a prominent lawyer, legislator, judge, and a member of the Virginia Convention in 1788. He married a sister of the Rev. John Brown, and was the ancestor of the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, the present rector of the University of Virginia. Blood is thicker than water in Virginia and Kentucky.

Collins, in his History of Kentucky, Vol. II, p. 183, says that Transylvania University, the first literary institution of the West, was established in 1780 by the Legislature of Virginia; one-sixth of the surveyor's fees, formerly contributed to the College of William and Mary, with 8,000 acres of the first land in the then county of Kentucky, which land was to be confiscated, were granted for the endowment and support of the seminary.

Kentucky and Tennessee are fields of educational history which should be entered and explored. It will be pioneer work, but none the less profitable on that very account. The whole country will be glad to see educational inquiries pushed where they are most needed, into the North-west and South-west and beyond the Mississippi.

¹ John Preston was a native of County Derry, Ireland, and, with his wife Elizabeth Patton, came to America in 1740, and settled in Augusta County. John Preston died in 1747, leaving five children, all of whom were born in Ireland: William, who married Miss Susanna Smith; Letitia, who married Col. Robert Breckenridge; Margaret, who married Rev. John Brown; Ann, who married Francis Smith; and Mary, who married John Howard, all of whom, except William, emigrated to Kentucky, where they left a number of descendants, who have multiplied, and are now found in many of the Southern and Western States. (Peyton's History of Augusta County, p. 303.)

