



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

University of Virginia Library

LD5873 .W2 1890

ALD

Historical papers.



NX 000 743 391

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

7. 1. 1. 1.
354

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 1. — 1890

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

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1890.

Virginia

LD

5873

W2

22230

1890

COPY 2

. CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, NOW WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY. BY REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D. D., LL. D., LATE PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.	

PART I.

Chapter I. Introductory Notice of the Presbyterian Settlements in the Valley of Virginia.....	1
II. Liberty Hall Academy, instituted in the year 1776, and located at Timber Ridge Church.....	11
III. Difficulties of the Academy. It is suspended in 1780; then, in 1783, removed and chartered.....	26
IV. The struggles of the Academy; its temporary coalition with the Synod; its new building and its debts.....	31
V. The Donation of General Washington and the resignation of Mr. Graham.....	50

PART II.

Chapter I. From the resignation of Mr. Graham until the appointment of Mr. Baxter as Rector.....	67
II. Debts; difficulties; income from stocks; loss by fire....	77
III. Removal of the seat of the Academy to the town; disorder among the students; sundry particulars.....	86
IV. Donation of the Cincinnati Society.....	102

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA: AN ARTICLE FROM THE SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER, 1838. BY SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL, M. D.....	107

LETTER ON THE LOCATION OF ROBERT ALEXANDER'S SCHOOL, JOHN BROWN'S RESIDENCE, AND MOUNT PLEASANT. BY JUDGE JAMES T. PATTON.....	125

EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

PART I.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ 1857.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Augusta still included what is now Rockbridge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Supplementary Note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM, *Rector*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ This was written in 1844.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

EARLY HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

for rye, 42 cents for corn, 2½ dollars a cwt. for beef, and for pork. These prices are not upon the whole more or 25 per cent. lower than the present prices for the same. It is remarkable that corn has scarcely risen at all since period.¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

" Sir,—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Gentlemen,—

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

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

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

"GEO. WASHINGTON.

"*Trustees of Washington Academy.*"¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ *September 25th, 1796.*

“ *Gentlemen,—*

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

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

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

“ WILLIAM GRAHAM.”

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

“ *Dear Sir,—*

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

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

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

“SAMUEL HOUSTON, *Chairman.*

“REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

“*April 20th, 1797.*”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

/

PART II.

WRITTEN IN 1847.

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

CHAPTER I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

submitted without complaint; for the reason probably that the large proportion of Presbyterians, clergymen and church members in the board of trustees, gave assurance of a salutary degree of religious influence in the management of the institution. The agreement with the Synod of Virginia, by which a Theological school had been connected with it, was not only necessary at the time to raise the academy from its low condition, but was virtually dissolved by the resignation of Mr. Graham, several months before this new charter was enacted, and by the discontinuance of the ecclesiastical bodies to exercise the privileges derived from the agreement. p. 4. 7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* what a rise had taken place meanwhile in the price of board, from six pound ten ($21\frac{3}{4}$ dollars) per annum, to 30 and now to $33\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per session of 5 months—more than three times as much.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

January 11, 1822.

Dear Sir,—

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

“Yours with respect, &c.,

“COL. JOHN BOWYER.

“FRANCIS T. BROOKE, *V. P.*”

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

Concluding Note.

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

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

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

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

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA.

This article was written by SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL, M. D., an alumnus and for many years a trustee of the institution, and was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in June, 1838. He was born near Mount Pleasant, and lived at Rock Castle, three miles west of Lexington, where he died in 1840.—EDS.

About threescore years ago, the Hanover Presbytery (at that time the only Presbytery in Virginia), taking into consideration the low state of literature in this commonwealth, conceived a project of establishing a seminary of learning in the upper country. They wisely concluded that such an establishment in the limestone valley would afford to all classes an opportunity of acquiring a liberal education, thereby rendering unnecessary the inconvenience and extra expense of resorting to northern colleges. In accordance with these views, the Presbytery appointed agents to solicit and receive donations, and trustees to carry their plans into execution. It was readily foreseen that the times were unfavorable for making collections of money for any public purpose. The whole valley was, comparatively, a new settlement, hitherto a frontier, often subjected to Indian depredations and to draughts on the militia for protection. This checked population, and retarded enterprise and improvements, and whatever might contribute to the wealth of the country.

The Presbytery, however, considering the necessity of the case, thought that something might be done; and on making the experiment something was done. The trustees soon determined to erect a building; and the site chosen was in a grove, on the summit of

Timber-ridge, about one mile northwest of the present village of Fairfield. Here, on either side, was a delightful prospect of a picturesque country. The situation afforded plenty of firewood; timber sufficient for building, and good water convenient; and was very appropriately denominated Mount Pleasant. It was encircled by a numerous population. By contributions from the vicinity, of labor, &c., a building was soon reared. I will not here stop to describe the materials of which it was composed; its dimensions or proportions; its ornaments or orders of architecture—suffice it to say, that it blended comfort and convenience with cheapness, and was sufficiently large for present purposes.

A teacher was now employed. The first whose name I remember was William Graham. He was a graduate of Nassau Hall, during the administration of the celebrated Doctor Witherspoon. Mr. Graham came to this country with the character of a gentleman of genius, scholarship, and piety, which character he supported through life.

A number of students from this and the neighboring counties now resorted to Mount Pleasant. In a short time a very respectable grammar school was formed. This was the first germ of Washington College.

The ability of the preceptor, the industry, proficiency and decorous demeanor of the students, soon gave *éclat* to the institution. The neighborhood viewed this novelty, a Latin School, as it was called, as an important acquisition to the country. I happened at Mount Pleasant during Mr. Graham's superintendence. It was noon, the hour of recreation. Here was seen a large assemblage of fine, cheerful, vigorous looking youth, apparently from ten to twenty years of age. They were mostly engaged in feats of strength, speed or agility; each emulous to surpass his fellows in those exercises for which youth of their age generally possess a strong predilection. Presently the sound of a horn summoned all to the business of the afternoon. The sports were dropped as by magic. Now you may see them seated singly or in pairs, or in small groups, with book in hand, conning over their afternoon's lesson. One portion resorted immediately to the hall, and, ranging themselves before the preceptor in semi-circular order, handed him an open book containing their recitation. He seemed not to

look into the book, and presently closed it ; thinking, as I supposed, that he knew as well as the book. Of the recitation I understood not a syllable ; yet it was highly agreeable to the ear, sonorous and musical ; and although more than sixty winters have rolled away since that time, the impressions then made have not been entirely effaced from my memory. I have since discovered that the recitation was a portion of that beautiful Greek verb, *τύπτω* ; in which the sound of the consonants *pi, tau, mu, theta*, predominate. It was observable that, during the recitation, the preceptor gave no instruction, corrected no errors, made no remarks of any kind. He seemed to sit merely as a silent witness of the performance. The class itself resembled one of those self-regulating machines of which I have heard. Each member stood ready, by trapping and turning down, to correct the mishaps and mistakes of his fellows ; and as much emulation was discovered here as had been an hour before, on the theatre of their sports in their athletic exercise. Since that day I have often thought that emulation would be a noble engine in the hands of a skilful teacher. It excites attention, creates accuracy and promptitude, and gives zest and variety to subjects otherwise dry and jejune. During this recitation an incipient smile of approbation was more than once observed on the countenance of the preceptor, maugre his native gravity and reserve. This happened when small boys, by their superior scholarship, raised themselves above those who were full grown. This class having gone through, several others, in regular order, presented themselves before the teacher and passed the ordeal. The business of the afternoon was closed by a devotional exercise. And now, the whole number, without delay, issuing from the hall, spread themselves over the area before the door, each conversing with much glee with those nearest to him ; then, hastening homewards, each took off his several way to some of the farm houses, which furnished them refectories and dormitories ; and the shadows of the evening lengthening fast, I, too, hied me home, much gratified and not a little disappointed. The systematic order of the place struck my attention. A signal called the whole school together ; a signal announced the hour of recitation ; each class was summoned to its recitation by a signal. These signals were obeyed without delay—and without noise. The students might pursue

their studies in the hall or the open air as pleased them best. Talking or reading aloud was not permitted in the hall, except to the class reciting. The dignity of the preceptor and his well-known fitness for the station, gave him respectability, and he was respected. Before this day I had thought the course pursued in this Latin School resembled the common English schools with which I had been acquainted.

*"Sic canibus catulos similes, sic matribus hædos
Noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam."*

But I now saw that the order and discipline of the former were essentially different from the noise, confusion and turmoil of the latter.

Fifty or sixty years after this, and but a few years ago, in passing near to Mount Pleasant I turned out of my way to see this quondam seat of the muses. It was soon found and readily recognized. The building and grove have entirely disappeared. No hedge or railing encloses the area. Neither the strength of man nor the labor of the ox—neither the harrow nor the crooked plough—have subdued the soil. It appears an entire desolation. The elevated position, however, affords the same grand and delightful prospect, and might give employment to the pen or pencil of an artist. I felt myself on classic ground.

Here Washington College drew its first breath. On this spot, Mount Pleasant, commenced the establishment of a seminary of learning. A few obscure clergymen, without political power, and, in those days of skepticism, possessing very little personal influence; without pecuniary resources, other than what might be expected from the voluntary contributions of a newly settled mountainous district of country; in perilous times, too, when the Indians behind and the British before, threatened to devour with open mouth; under all these appalling circumstances, these few men Todd, Brown, Waddell, and their associates, relying on the favor of heaven, began the work, persevered and succeeded. They have long since slept with their fathers; and, were this benevolent work alone known of them they would merit the grateful remembrance of the present and future generations. The trustees, too, were important auxiliaries in the same work. Most of them continued

in office during life. Some of them, I think, for more than half a century. They too, have gone the way of all flesh.

While remaining here I called to mind the numerous population which once encircled Mount Pleasant, and which, in various ways, contributed to the advancement of the seminary ; and I asked myself, where are they all now ? Where are the Willsons, Blackburns, Browns, Scotts, the Greenlees, McDowells, McClungs, Pattons and Pattersons ? Where are they now ? Gone to the land of forgetfulness ! As whilst a tempest, sweeping through an ancient forest, uproots and rends from its base the growth of ages, if we look abroad we behold but one universal ruin and desolation. Yet, when the wind has subsided, the clouds have dispersed, the war of elements has ceased, and the heavens have become serene, we may, here and there, descry a sturdy oak, scathed indeed, stripped of its foliage and despoiled of its beauty, the trunk yet standing and retaining the principle of vitality—so of that numerous population, of various ages, character and pursuits, which once encircled the spot where I now am. A few, very few, indeed, children of another century, may, by careful inquiry, be discovered, far dispersed from each other, with hoary heads and furrowed cheeks, their steps marked with imbecility and decrepitude, having advanced far down the vale of life, and still progressing with accelerated speed, destined soon to join, in the land of silence, their former associates. The students, too, that lovely band of youth, whom, long since, I saw animating the scenes around Mount Pleasant with youthful sports and jocundity ; whose countenances beamed with health and intelligence, the joy and hope of their parents and their country ; and in whom those hopes were not disappointed ; they, too, have felt the tempest. They, too, have bowed to the King of Terrors. Yet a single exception to this may even now be found.¹ I wish I could recollect the names of all the students of that primary school. Priestly, Mitchel, Hoge, Stuart, Blackburn, McClung, the Willsons, Browns and Breckenridges, were of the number. These entered on a classical course about the same time, and were contemporaries on the stage of public life. Several of them became practising attorneys. Two

¹ The Rev. James Mitchel, of Bedford, Virginia.

of them held seats on the bench of justice in the superior courts of law ; four have been members of State Legislatures ; four, of the Congress of the United States. One was called to preside over the important interests of a college ; and one, in diplomatic capacity, to superintend our national interests at the court of Versailles. Besides, several of these have at different times received appointments by authority of the state, to manage special important trusts in behalf of the commonwealth. I think it may be safely said, that no one of these was ever charged, or chargeable, with delinquency in their important trusts, either through want of talents, or want of fidelity. A parallel to this can hardly be found ; that twelve young men commencing a course of learning about the same time, should all appear in after life with so much respectability in the public estimation ; and these, too, not selected ; but taken, as it might be said, at random.

By this time my travelling companion became impatient, and manifested by gestures easily understood his willingness to be unmoored and to leave this desolate place. I mounted, gave him the rein, and pursued my journey, ruminating much on former days, on scenes of childhood and youth ; on my cotemporaries, the companions of my youth—how few of them now survive ! and how many of those by far my juniors, have gone the way of all flesh ! I thought, too, of the brevity of human life, composed of a few short periods—youth, maturity and decay ; and these followed by death and dissolution ; and these few periods replete with toil and pain, losses and disappointments. What caducity in human affairs ! What a perplexing maze is the life of man ! To what a shadowy, precarious, evanescent state of being is he consigned ! Might he not have been created exempt from evil ? or, if evil must be, might he not have been gifted with those faculties, which would have enabled him to foresee and avoid it, successfully to resist and overcome ? Or, could he not have been elevated to a station more congenial to the dignity of his intellectual character, where pursuits of a nobler kind might have led to permanent and substantial felicity ? Here some superior being twitched my ear and checked my arrogance. “ Man,” said he, “ forms a part of an immense system of being. The great Creator endowed him with those faculties ; placed him in that station, and subjected him to

those laws which he saw right and proper. Would'st thou, O mortal, alter the established order of things? Canst thou, who arose into being but yesterday, and to-morrow must return to thy mother earth;—frail, weak and erring creature, possessing but five scanty inlets of knowledge; resident in a remote corner of the universe, with but a speck of creation subject to your vision—can you, I say, scan the operations of the Almighty? Can you fathom the depths of the wisdom of his counsel? Would you sit in judgment on his doings? rejudge his justice, or reverse his decisions? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?

Presumptuous man, wouldst thou the reason find,
Why formed so weak, so little and so blind?
First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess,
Why formed no weaker, blinder and no less.
He, who through vast immensity can pierce,
Can tell why Heaven has made man as he is.

Silence, submission and acquiescence become the creature." I stood reprov'd. I was dumb; I opened not my mouth. "For your consolation let me inform you," subjoined he, "that the life of man, though short, is long enough for all the purposes of life, provided the time thereof be judiciously economized in accordance with the laws which a wise and beneficent Creator has given him for the regulation of his conduct; and this will lead to perpetuity of bliss." Here my monitor very unceremoniously withdrew. I had now arrived, almost unconsciously, at the dwelling of an old acquaintance. On entering, I was kindly saluted; many friendly inquiries and professions of regard succeeded, which were followed by an interesting conversation, in which every member of the cheerful family seemed willing to bear part. The conversation was not the less interesting on account of its being free from ceremony and constraint. Now the sombre train of my thoughts, which, erewhile, had held me in durance, was broken, and I soon became light-hearted and buoyant as a prisoner bird just escaped from its cage. But we have wandered far from our subject—let us return.

The seminary remained but for a few years at its first location. Land was procured by the trustees, and buildings prepared on a larger scale, about six miles south of Mount Pleasant, at Timber

Ridge meeting-house. The seminary had now obtained the name of Liberty Hall ; and a law was enacted by the legislature entitled, "An act to incorporate the Rector and Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy." Mr. Graham had been employed to travel northward to solicit donations. He went, I believe, as far as Boston. I have never heard precisely the amount of his collections ; but it is probable that the lands purchased, the buildings prepared, and some expensive instruments procured about this time, were paid for, at least partly, from this source. Among the instruments were, an air-pump, an electric-machine, a sextant, microscope and telescope, a set of large maps, a pair of ten or twelve-inch globes, together with a number of valuable books, the beginning of a library.

Lexington was established as the county town of Rockbridge in 1779. The academy was removed from Timber Ridge, I think, soon afterwards to a situation nearly a mile west of this town. Here a frame building was erected, in which the business of instruction was continued for a number of years. During the Revolutionary war, the confusion and embarrassment, public and individual, had so deranged all business that every resource of the academy was cut off, and many of its friends began to despair of its longer existence. This war had been waged for national independence ; and all the resources of the country, all its energies, physical and intellectual, were required, and also the services of every man—no one was exempt. The clergy, indeed, were exempted by law ; but they did not exempt themselves. They, laying aside the badge of their order, assuming the habiliments, and girding on the armor of the soldier, marched to the tented field, or to the field of battle. Mr. Graham, himself a clergyman as well as principal of Liberty Hall, is known to have volunteered his services, on a pressing occasion, in concert with other volunteers, who, being destitute of officers, appointed him their captain, and marched to meet the enemy. The enemy had retired, and they were discharged. The students of the academy, too, were called forth in common with the other militia. On one occasion, not yet forgotten, leaving the hall of science, exchanging Hesiod and Homer for the rifle, they hastened with their associates to the headquarters of the southern army ; and, soon after arriving, were led on to battle. Placed in open ground, they faced the British regulars for hours together,

contending with chivalrous bravery for the mastery of the field, alternately advancing or retreating, as the rifle or the bayonet prevailed. But war did not endure forever. The halcyon days of peace returned. The cruel instruments of Mars were laid aside, and the implements of husbandry and the arts were resumed. The doors of Liberty Hall were again thrown open, and students resorted thither in greater numbers than at any former period. Efforts were now made for their accommodation. A large stone building was erected, capable of accommodating forty or fifty students; also a refectory.

Mr. Graham now resumed the business of the academy, over which he had heretofore watched with parental care and solicitude. He had led it cautiously and tenderly through many difficulties to a certain stage of its existence. Besides the labor of teaching and governing, there devolved upon him the task of planning buildings; making contracts with the workmen; attending to the faithful execution of the contracts; the devising ways and means for fulfilling those engagements; and, in a word, all that was to be done for the academy fell chiefly on him. But the want of funds was now severely felt. Some, which had been possessed, were lost through the deception of a paper currency. The embarrassed state of the country precluded at present all hopes of procuring others.

Having superintended the academy for twenty or twenty-five years with great fidelity, Mr. Graham, now past the meridian of life, his strength worn down by age and toil, and seeing his labors continually increasing, without any prospect of assistance, resigned his charge into the hands of its guardians, the trustees. During this long period he had, for the most part, performed all the duties in person, which in other public seminaries are confided to a faculty consisting of several professors. He not only gave instruction in the scientific and classical departments, but paid special attention to the grammar school. "Here," said he, "should be laid a substratum on which to build a superstructure of learning." Amidst all discouragements he had always entertained the most sanguine expectations that the academy would one day become an important and useful seat of learning.¹

¹ A gentleman of Kentucky, Col. W. McKee, who formerly resided in this county, and who long acted as a trustee of the academy, expressed himself thus in a letter to a friend—"I rejoice to hear that Gen. Washington has placed Liberty

The prospects of Liberty Hall were now discouraging indeed. Without instructors and without funds, many of its friends thought it could no longer exist. But how inscrutable are the ways of Heaven! How short-sighted are mortals! The Father of His Country, whose mind was ever bent on promoting objects of great public utility, gave to it that pecuniary aid which insured its perpetuity; and, subsequently, the venerable Society of the Virginia Cincinnati gave the whole of their funds, amounting to sixteen thousand dollars, to promote the same object. Still more recently, the late John Robinson, of this county, did, by his last will bequeath, for the same purpose, the whole of his estate, which has since come into the possession of the trustees, and is estimated at fifty thousand dollars. The two first of these donations were the legitimate consequences of that very war which produced much public distress, and which had threatened even the existence of the academy. Mr. Robinson, it is known, had served for a length of time as a soldier during the Revolutionary war, in the northern army, where Gen. Washington commanded; and had always expressed a high respect for his character, and also for the character of the officers of the American army, especially those of the Virginia line, with many of whom he was personally acquainted. Is it not presumable then, that Mr. Robinson, in making this splendid bequest, was influenced by a laudable desire to emulate the example of those illustrious names which had preceded him in this patriotic act of benevolence? If this be admitted, it must be seen that all these benefactions were the result of the Revolutionary war.

When it had been known that Gen. Washington would endow a seminary in this valley, the trustees availed themselves of Mr. Graham's assistance to form a memorial to his excellency, which presented a short history of the academy, its funds, some account of the salubrity, fertility and population of the surrounding country. This was accompanied with a diagram of the adjacent counties, particularly noticing the relative situation of Liberty Hall,

Hall on a permanent foundation. This recalls to my mind the saying of Mr. Graham many years ago. I had often myself almost despaired of the academy, and on one occasion expressed my apprehensions to him. He in his usual concise manner replied, 'There are people working for this academy who don't know it.'

with respect to Fincastle, New London and Staunton, the only places that seemed to lay any claim to the donation. These papers were transmitted to Col. Moore, then a member of Congress. He being the representative of a district composed of several counties thought it indelicate to press the claims of any one place; and therefore merely delivered the papers. Gen. Washington soon put the matter to rest by making to Liberty Hall Academy a deed of gift of one hundred shares in the James River Company, worth, at this time, three thousand dollars per annum. The legislature of the State, at their next session, changed the name of the seminary to that of Washington Academy.

After the resignation of Mr. Graham¹ an interregnum of several

¹Mr. Graham died about the end of the last century, at Col. Gamble's, in Richmond, whither he had gone on business. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the old church, over which a marble slab has since been laid, with his name inscribed and some particulars of his life. His talents and public services have never been estimated according to their worth. He undertook the care of the grammar school at Mount Pleasant about the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and was soon after licensed to preach the gospel by the Hanover Presbytery. This war was a period of great perplexity and distress; and its termination was followed by another of much embarrassment and a very unsettled state of things, owing to the inefficiency of the national government. The forming of a new system of government now produced general agitation. Political questions of vital importance were discussed; parties were formed, and the whole nation was thrown into a state of fermentation. During these different periods (comprising a space of fifteen or eighteen years) the interests of literature and religion were almost entirely overlooked, matters of a political nature having engrossed the general attention, the natural consequence of which was that the instructors in religion and literature themselves suffered neglect. Another period now followed still more unfavorable to the advancement and encouragement of literary men and ministers of the gospel. About the beginning of the French revolution, a flood of novel opinions and doctrines, under the name of French philosophy, were introduced and overspread the land. Foremost among these was infidelity, that deadly upas which corrupts every atmosphere where it vegetates, and poisons every fountain with which it mingles. The actors in this drama were zealous to stigmatize as fanatics, and to bring into contempt, all those who in any way lent their aid to strengthen and support those great pillars of society and civil government; and, for a time, were lamentably successful. Their doctrines, however, were not carried out in practice to the extent to which they naturally tended, and to which they had been carried in France. That devoted country had been doomed to drink the cup of bitterness in full measure. All law, authority and government; all those institutions, which the wisdom and experience of age had established for the security of life and property were torn

years took place, during which a few grammar scholars only were taught. The Rev. Geo. A. Baxter, since Dr. Baxter, was soon after this appointed president, and subsequently the stone edifice belonging to the academy was consumed by fire. The trustees then selected a location on an eminence adjoining Lexington, where buildings have since been erected. At this time, and during the whole of Dr. Baxter's presidency, the funds were incompetent to the maintenance of a sufficient number of instructors, and to meet other considerable expenditures which were found necessary for the prosperity of the institution. Nevertheless, students returned in considerable numbers, and the college was respectable during his continuance in office. He resigned his presidency about the year 1829, and Louis Marshall, M. D., of Kentucky, was appointed his successor. On his abdication, Mr. Henry Vethake, of New York, was chosen president. His inauguration took place on the 22d of

from their foundations and became one general wreck. Anarchy ensued. The lowest, most depraved and ruthless of the community were elevated and "*swam to sovereign rule on seas of blood.*" No age, sex, rank or condition was safe. The throne and the altar; the senate chamber and the seat of justice; the castle and the college; and even the prison, exhibited scenes of crime, cruelty and carnage. Ruin in his most direful form stalked with giant strides over the length and breadth of the land. When the catastrophe was finished; when the destroying angel had executed his commission; whilst he was averting his face, about to wing his way across the vast deep to the western world, a mandate seems to have gone forth, "It is enough, stay thy hand;" and the plague was stayed. But the harbingers of the destroyer had preceded. An impulse had been given. The multitude, thoughtless of the present and regardless of the future, went with the torrent. Another class, less numerous, amazed and astonished, not knowing whence these things proceeded and whither they tended, stood aghast; whilst a still smaller class resolutely opposed this pestilential deluge, and firmly maintained those principles which observation and experience have shown to be in accordance with the best interests of man; principles which are sanctioned by divine revelation and which tend to the order of society and stability of government. Had Mr. Graham lived in other times, his talents might have been duly appreciated and his services adequately compensated. But we have seen that the whole of his public life, thus far, had been embarrassed by a want of that support which was necessary to his own comfort and the success of his public labors. The delusions of infidelity added new difficulties. He suffered, however, only in common with many others. All similarly circumstanced suffered more or less. A signal example of this kind may be found in the case of the Rev. James Waddell, D. D., who was cotemporary with Mr. Graham, and both ministers of the Presbyterian denomination. His piety was not doubted. His intellectual attain-

February, 1835, and in consequence of his resignation, the Rev. Henry Ruffner was elected president, and inaugurated the 22d of February, 1837.

Thus we have traced this seminary for more than threescore years—from a grammar-school to an academy, and from an academy to a college.

“So slow the growth of what is excellent;
So hard to attain perfection in this nether world.”

We see that in all its different stages and stations; in all its fortunes and misfortunes; during all the administrations under which it existed, it is the same individual seminary—its personal identity is manifest.¹

Our narrative has now come to a close; and although it must stop here, we trust and believe that Washington College will progress and prosper until it equals or surpasses all other kindred

ments were of a superior order. He possessed also impressive and commanding powers of eloquence. This was not the flash of a lively imagination. It was not like those evening coruscations which dazzle for a moment and then disappear, leaving the dimness of twilight more visible. It was calm, dignified and sometimes sublime. It was the effusion of a vigorous, discriminating and comprehensive mind, contemplating with emotion grand and interesting subjects, and portraying upon the minds of the audience its own vivid impressions. Dr. Waddell resided for many years in a central part of the state, not far distant from its capital. He had the care of some congregations in the vicinity of his own residence, where he performed his official duties till old age and blindness came upon him. He was well known to his clerical brethren and a few others of distinction who had learned his worth, and who sought his acquaintance and friendship. Yet it is believed that in those degenerate times he was never invited to a higher station, where his talents might have become more conspicuous, and the sphere of his usefulness more extensive. This seems the more extraordinary, as at that day there were but few preachers in Virginia, and still fewer who were respectable.

¹ Having set on foot the literary institution in the upper country, the same Hanover Presbytery, during the next year, projected a similar one in Prince Edward county, and with similar success. They applied to Nassau Hall again for an instructor. Samuel Stanhope Smith, a graduate of that college, was the first President. He, too, had profited by the teaching of Dr. Witherspoon. His successors were John Blair Smith, Archibald Alexander, Moses Hoge, ministers of the gospel; and Mr. Cushing, who has since been succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Carrol, the present incumbent. Hampden Sidney possessed the advantage of being in a more populous and wealthy country, which for many years had been free from border warfare.

seminaries of our country. This is not said through envy or bad feeling. We wish prosperity to every place in which useful learning is pursued, and that there should be no rivalry. But our belief rests upon many auspicious events and circumstances, which have attended this seminary from its origin. That it should have survived the Revolutionary war may be considered an auspicious event; but that this war should have been instrumental in promoting its greatest prosperity is very extraordinary. These donations, unsought for by the seminary, were the spontaneous bounty of benevolent individuals. We think, it may be fairly concluded, without being subjected to the charge of superstition, that these events were premonitory of the great future usefulness and celebrity of this institution.¹ Besides these events, its location promises much for its future prosperity. Situated in the centre of the largest state of the union; equally removed from the intense and long-continued cold of the northern winters, and from the tedious, sultry, enfeebling summers of the south; elevated above the region where dull and lazy streams, creeping over a flat surface, produce marshes and stagnant pools emitting those deleterious vapors which generate agues with their direful train of *asthenic* diseases, it possesses a climate mild and salubrious. Here mountain streams and mountain breezes, with mountain exercise, ensure vigorous health, a keen appetite for food, and easy digestion. All these contribute to a seasonable expansion of the different parts and powers of the youthful constitution. But it seems there must be a supply of food; and this is at hand. Good, solid, roast and boiled, with an accompaniment of esculent vegetables; also bread of several varieties, of sound materials, prepared *secundem artem*, with cheese, butter, &c., shall not be wanting; and is not this

¹ Had the writer lived thirty years later he might have seen that its "luck" did not desert the institution when again in adversity. The College emerged from the War between the States with its buildings dismantled, its library and apparatus destroyed, and its securities unproductive. War was again instrumental in promoting even greater prosperity than before. The Trustees met in the summer of 1865, and nothing appalled, pledged their private credit for the restoration of the buildings, library, and apparatus. They also called to the presidency General Robert E. Lee, who had achieved his greatest fame as the leader of the Confederate armies. This gave an impulse to the institution never equalled in its history, which has continued with enduring effect.—Eds.

quantum sufficit? Methinks these viands might satisfy an epicure. But perhaps, some fastidious stomach, vitiated by the tyrant custom, not pleased with these alpine productions, will demand foreign articles. These demands shall be met. Other climes shall be explored. The stores of the Indies shall be laid under contribution. Articles of foreign growth, leaving the place of their nativity, and travelling all the way by water, shall arrive at the very verge of Lexington without setting foot on land. Here now they are, ready for use, save only a few moments' culinary preparation. Now I have fulfilled my promise—this is the *ne plus ultra*. All the country around the college abounds with the most necessary articles of living. It has all the most useful domestic animals; all the most valuable grains, grasses and other vegetables. The materials for breadstuff are so plentiful, that after supplying the home market, a large surplus, even in the most unfavorable season, is left for exportation. The buyer here pays nothing more than the prime cost—no profit to dealers, no expense of carriage.

Other prospects, besides those already enumerated, of the future prosperity of this country, present themselves. The opening of navigable waters, improvement of roads, establishment of manufactories and the development of mineral treasures, must, before many years, have an important influence. In the mountainous country southwest of this, salt, gypsum, lead and fossil coal have been found in large quantities: the three former, in Washington and Wythe, and the latter in Botetourt county. A valuable quarry of hydraulic limestone has been found in the vicinity of Lexington, large quantities of which are now manufactured to be used by the workmen on the James River canal. Indications of coal have been discovered in various places between the Alleghany and Blue Ridge; and it is thought by many that salt and gypsum are likely to be found in the same region. All these improvements and discoveries, brought to some degree of perfection, certainly must greatly enhance the wealth and prosperity of this country, and have a most important bearing upon the interests of Washington College. In view of the available resources of our county, we think it would not be saying too much, that its wealth and population in less than a century will be tenfold. Improvements in husbandry have already commenced. These chiefly respect the

cultivation and fertilization of the soil, the rotation of crops, and the judicious selection and skilful rearing of domestic animals.

The college itself will be a source of prosperity to the country by the money which will necessarily be thrown into circulation from abroad; and thus a reciprocal influence will be exerted upon each other; for, whatever promotes the wealth and prosperity of the country, must react with a salutary influence upon the college.

By a rule of college, the students are permitted to board in private families. This is thought preferable to the practice of congregating a large number at one hotel, where freedom of speech and freedom of action often terminate in rudeness. In private families, where but few are assembled, the presence of the seniors, and especially the females, imposes a wholesome restraint. The competition of the boarding houses is a sufficient guarantee for good fare at a reasonable price.

The funds of the college have not all yet become productive. Their profits, however, have enabled the trustees to erect spacious and commodious buildings; to enlarge the philosophical, mathematical and chemical apparatus; and to constitute and maintain an able and learned faculty: these at present consist of the Rev. Henry Ruffner, President; Rev. Philo Calhoun, Professor of Mathematics; Mr. George Armstrong, Professor of Chemistry; and Mr. George Dabney, Professor of Languages. The Rev. Allen D. Metcalf conducts the grammar school attached to the college. There has also been a judicious course of study laid out for the students, which has been practised on for several years, and which it is thought could not be improved by a revision. This course comprises all the most useful branches of literature which are taught in other public seminaries. Mathematics hold a prominent place, together with those more severe studies which tend to mental discipline, and produce habits of close and accurate investigation. The ancient classics are not neglected. During a considerable part of the course the student is required to devote a portion of each day to the writings of those masters of Greece and Rome, who have so long been the admiration of the learned, and who have given to the world such fine specimens of taste and eloquence. A system of rules and regulations for the good order and govern-

ment of the institution has also been established, which experience has proved to be salutary in its operation.

And now our vessel is safely under way, with sails filled, streamers floating, gliding gallantly over the broad ocean with a strong western breeze. May all on board, fore and aft, from the captain to the cabin-boy, have good health, good cheer, and a prosperous voyage!

SENEX.

ROCKBRIDGE, VIRGINIA, *January*, 1838.

LETTER ON THE LOCATION OF ROBERT ALEXANDER'S SCHOOL, JOHN BROWN'S RESIDENCE AND MOUNT PLEASANT.

BY JUDGE JAMES T. PATTON.

FAIRFIELD, ROCKBRIDGE CO., VA.
July 18, 1890.

JUDGE WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN :

Dear Sir,—In your letter to me of the 10th instant with reference to the early history of Washington and Lee University you say :

“ In a sketch of the Rev. Samuel Doak, in *Foote's History of North Carolina*, it is stated that when he was sixteen years of age (1764) he commenced a course of classical studies with Robert Alexander, who resided about two miles from his father's house. This grammar school, he says, was soon after removed two or three miles farther south, to about where the Seceder meeting house, called Old Providence, now stands. About this time the school came more immediately under the charge of the Rev. John Brown. By Mr. Brown the school was removed to Pleasant Hill, within about a mile of his dwelling, and about the same distance north of Fairfield.”

Being familiar with the section of country above alluded to, I can comply with your request to give a sketch of the locality mentioned.

The old family residence of the Doaks is about a mile southwest of the town of Greeneville in Augusta county. It is on the

line of the Valley Railroad, on the west side—now a good-sized brick house, and at present the residence of Henry Mish.

THE ALEXANDER FARM.

Following the line of the railroad some three miles south of the Doak farm you come to the old Alexander place, the mansion house of which is also of brick, and on the west side of the railroad—occupied, at present, I learn, by a Mr. Dull. It is situated in a beautiful plateau of country, not far from the dividing line between Augusta and Rockbridge, just north of the Spotswood depot. This farm remained in the possession of the Alexander family until perhaps some thirty or forty years ago.

The last owner, of the family name, was old Squire Alexander, who long served Augusta county as a most efficient magistrate. It next passed into the hands of Capt. James Allen.

The Old Providence meeting house, alluded to by Mr. Doak, is about a mile in a southwesterly direction from the Alexander house. This locality may be considered as not only notable for being the place from which emanated the germ of Washington and Lee University, but as marking the divide between the waters of the Shenandoah and James rivers, and consequently on the line of demarkation between the Borden and Beverly Manor grants.

THE RESIDENCE OF THE REV. JOHN BROWN.

Historical accounts of New Providence and Timber Ridge churches speak of the Rev. John Brown, their early pastor, as residing about midway between the two places. From family traditions I feel pretty safe in designating the locality of the Brown house.

My grandfather's farm was the only one between it and the site of the Mount Pleasant school, and I have often heard the older members of my grandfather's family speak of their former neighbor, Parson Brown.

After leaving the Fairfield depot, going south, you pass through the Brown farm. The house is of logs and is the same that was there in the days of the Rev. John Brown, but considerably dilapi-

dated in the lapse of time. It is on the north side of the railroad, just opposite high trestle work, and but a short distance from the road. This location corresponds exactly with the description by the Rev. Samuel Houston, in a letter to the Rev. James Morrison, when he writes of Mr. Brown's school, at Mount Pleasant, as being on the highest point of the Ridge, about a mile west of Fairfield, and equally distant from his house, which was situated at a like distance from Fairfield, on the same Ridge—the road to the Academy going out from the north end of the town, and that leading to his dwelling from the south end. I have no account of the immediate possessor of the Brown farm after it passed out of his hands. As far back as 1812, I am told it was owned by John Armstrong, and subsequently by his son, Quentin. It originally contained some two hundred acres. The portion of the farm embracing the old mansion house is now the property of Wm. M. Sale. This farm is about midway between New Providence and Timber Ridge churches.

MOUNT PLEASANT ACADEMY.

The Doak sketch speaks of the locality of the school as Pleasant Hill. It is more generally known as Mount Pleasant. The point is easily designated and is accurately known to me, it being within less than a quarter of a mile of the residence of my grandfather Patton. It was originally selected on the lands of Moses Wilson, one of the early settlers. The spring used for the school is on the southern slope of the ridge, embraced by the then Scott lands. The site of the house still remains in the possession of the Wilson family, being a part of the property of the late Edgar Wilson. The spring is now embraced in the premises of the late George W. Houston.

The Valley Railroad passes within a few hundred yards of this point. On the west side the railroad passenger has a full view of Mount Pleasant and its surroundings. The old foundation, or chimney stones, now lie scattered around, plowed up by the husbandman, and being all that is left to mark this ancient and venerable seat of the Muses.

The school-house was built on the top of a high ridge, from the side of which and near by a Pierian fountain of crystal water flows.

The surroundings are grand and beautiful. In the background the North Mountain affords a sublime array of scenery and lovely landscape, covering almost the entire western boundary of Rockbridge and reaching to Elliott's Knob in Augusta, some twenty miles in the distant north. On the east stretches out far to the north and south the picturesque line of the Blue Ridge, with its many bold peaks and intervening panoramic views, dotted with the towering Peaks of Otter on the south, and limited on the north only by the dim vista of the "Shenando" vale.

REMOVAL OF THE SCHOOL FROM MOUNT PLEASANT.

At the point where the Valley Turnpike crosses Timber Ridge and immediately on the southern descent there is said to have been located the first Timber Ridge church. It was a log building. Near this place is a spring, and an old grave-yard in which are enclosed a number of the graves of the old settlers. It is believed by some that this is the place to which the school was removed—about three miles south of Mount Pleasant. Dr. Foote in his *Sketches of Virginia* (page 448) states that "on Monday, May 6th, 1776, the Presbytery determined to remove the Academy from Mount Pleasant;" and that early in the year 1777 the school was removed from Mount Pleasant to Timber Ridge; and further, the Academy did not remain long at Timber Ridge—the short time of her sojourn there being disturbed by the heavings and tossings of the all-absorbing Revolution. Then from 1764 to 1777 we have the data to fix the period the school remained at Mount Pleasant.

Now, as to the diversity of opinion as to the removal of the school from Mount Pleasant to the point on the Ridge where the old church stood, or some two miles further south where the stone church now stands, I am inclined to think that it was to the latter point. The records show that the land on which the house was built was given by Captain Alexander Stuart and Mr. Samuel Houston. It is not probable those parties ever owned lands around the old log church, but we know that Houston did own land and lived at the stone church. The stone over the entrance to the present Timber Ridge church bears the date 1756, showing

that that church was built before the school was taken from Mount Pleasant. Dr. Foote further states :

“The Academy at Timber Ridge was discontinued some time in the year 1779. The meeting house near which the Academy had been built was also removed a few miles nearer Lexington, and its ancient site is known only by the old grave yard by the roadside, with a few monuments to mark the resting place of many of the pioneers of the Valley.”

This discrepancy in dates, however, might be reconciled by the supposition that the date on the present stone church was made to correspond with that of the first one built.

The school seems to have been transitory for a few years after its removal from Timber Ridge until its more permanent establishment at Liberty Hall, near Lexington. In 1782 an act for incorporating the Rector and Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy was passed by the legislature. But as I infer that the application to me was only intended to obtain information as to the Alexander farm, the residence of the Rev. John Brown, and Mount Pleasant, I shall not undertake further to pursue the history of Washington College. Other pens will furnish full and perhaps more accurate information of the subsequent history of that noble and time-honored institution.

Very respectfully,

J. T. PATTON.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 2. — 1890

1. **THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY
HON. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D. DELIVERED JUNE
22, 1870.**
 2. **ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON
COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.
DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.**
-

**BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1890.**

PREFACE.

We now publish the address of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., on the "Founders of Washington College," delivered at the commencement on the 22nd day of June, 1870. The manuscript was retained by Mr. Grigsby for the purpose of completing it, but he died without doing so. We have added brief sketches of those omitted by him. The address is now published for the first time, and will be read with much interest by the friends of the university, and especially by the descendants of those who aided in founding this noble institution, which has attained proportions they little dreamed of.

We also publish with it the address of Dr. Archibald Alexander, delivered in 1843, which attracted so much attention when delivered and first published.

Other numbers of these Historical Papers will be published as soon as the material can be prepared.

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

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,
October, 1890.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY HON. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D., DELIVERED JUNE 22, 1870.	
Introduction.....	1
Three Periods in the History of Washington College.....	2
First Settlers of the Valley.....	3
Origin of the Scotch-Irish.....	5
Influence of Knox and the Reformation on the Scotch-Irish.....	5
Emigration of Scotch-Irish to Pennsylvania.....	8
Removal thence to the Valley of Virginia.....	9
First Classical School in the Valley, 1749.....	9
First Rector of it—Robert Alexander.....	10
Rev. John Brown, second Rector.....	11
William Graham, his Assistant, 1774.....	12
Augusta Academy removed to Mount Pleasant.....	12
Trustees appointed by Presbytery.....	12
Trustees appointed under Charter of 1782	13
Gift of Washington.....	14
Sketch of William Graham... ..	14
Birth and Early Life.....	15
Determines to Study Theology.....	16
A Student at Princeton.....	16
Removes to Virginia, 1774.....	17
His Military Service.....	18
Resigns his Rectorship.....	19
Character of Graham.....	20
As Preacher.....	20
As Professor.....	21
As Politician.....	22
His Letter to Washington in behalf of Liberty Hall.....	25
His Course on Revocation of Charter of 1782.....	26

	PAGE.
His Opposition to Federal Constitution.....	27
Summary	30
Sketch of John Montgomery.....	33
Sketch of James Waddell.....	34
Sketch of Rev. Charles Cummings.....	38
Sketch of Col. William Fleming.....	40
Sketch of Col. William Preston.....	44
Sketch of Col. Arthur Campbell.....	49
Sketch of Col. William Christian.....	52
Sketch of Gen. Andrew Moore.....	56
Sketch of Col. Samuel McDowell.....	63
Sketch of Gen. John Bowyer.....	68
Sketch of Thomas, Alexander and Archibald Stuart.....	70
Thomas.....	71
Alexander.....	72
Archibald.....	73
Sketch of Thomas and Andrew Lewis.....	78
Sketch of Andrew Lewis.....	81
Sketch of Samuel Lyle.....	84
Sketch of William Irwin.....	85
Sketch of Charles Campbell.....	85
Sketch of John and Samuel Houston.....	86
Sketch of Sampson Mathews.....	87
Sketch of Col. William McKee.....	88
Sketch of Col. George Moffett.....	90
Sketch of John Hays.....	91
Sketch of William Wilson.....	92
Sketch of John Wilson.....	93
Sketch of William Alexander.....	95
Sketch of Caleb Wallace.....	96
Sketch of John Trimble.....	98
Sketch of Alexander Campbell.....	98
Sketch of Zachariah Johnston.....	99
Sketch of Gen. William Campbell.....	100
Sketch of William McPheeters.....	103
Conclusion.....	104

APPENDIX.

Sketch of John Grattan.....	105
Sketch of Samuel Doak.....	106

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE.
Sketch of Edward Crawford.....	107
Sketch of Archibald Scott.....	108
Sketch of James McConnell.....	108
Sketch of Benjamin Erwin.....	108
Sketch of Capt. John Lewis.....	108
Sketch of James McCorkle.....	109
Sketch of Joseph Walker.....	109
Sketch of William Ward and James Trotter.....	110
Sketch of John Lyle.....	110

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D., DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.

Education necessary.....	113
Methods of mental training.....	114
Overtraining of verbal memory.....	116
Mnemonics.....	116
Quickness of apprehension.....	117
Thirst for knowledge.....	117
Importance of classical training.....	120
Religious training.....	124
The Bible in schools.....	125
Alumni and <i>alma mater</i>	126
Importance of libraries.....	127
Sketch of Rev. William Graham.....	128
Sketch of Dr. James Priestly.....	136
Conclusion.....	137
CONCLUDING NOTE.....	138

THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

*Mr. Rector and Trustees, Mr. President and
Professors, of Washington College:*

I have come in obedience to your request to aid you in commemorating the names and services of the good and great men who were the early patrons and friends of your institution, who, as Trustees, held the reins of government, or as Professors, filled your chairs, and who in the silent lapse of generations, and under the pressure of the ever-living and engrossing present, have almost passed from human memory. Your noble design to rescue from oblivion what might yet be known of your early founders, met with a cordial response from my heart. Your trustees were among the most eminent men of the age in which they lived. They were men whose valor won fields of battle, whose voices decided the fate of the greatest political measures which preceded the Revolution of 1776, who made and ruled the Revolution itself, and who aided in devising those measures necessary to secure the blessings achieved by that event. And when asked by our children to recount their deeds, and we turn to our histories, and even to the dictionaries of biography, we find but a meagre account of any one of them, and respecting the greatest number nothing at all. The task which I have undertaken involves some toil and research, but I felt in executing it that I was performing a filial duty. For if I be not a son of the Valley, I am a grandson, and as I pass from the Natural Bridge to Lexington I can trace the early homesteads cleared from the primeval forest by the hands of my fathers, and on an eminence overlooking the road is the grave of my grand-

mother, and at Falling Spring I read the inscriptions on the tombs of my great-grandfather and great-grandmother, of uncles and aunts, and cousins of every degree ; and the cemetery of this town holds the dear ashes of my beloved kindred, and has just received the fresh dust of a dear aunt who went down to the grave at the age of 96.¹ And I felt assured in the well-known courtesy of yourself and your associates, that you would be more inclined to approve what I have done, than to blame me for what I failed to do.

The theme presents three well-defined historic periods : From 1749, the foundation of Augusta Academy—for Rockbridge had not then been set apart from Augusta—to 1782, when the charter was granted to Liberty Hall Academy ; from 1782 to 1860, the beginning of the late war ; and from 1860 to the present date.

Of these three great epochs you have assigned the first to me, and I have come to perform the office in what manner I may. And I think it just, not only to myself, but to this large and imposing auditory, to say at once that mine is not the office of the orator, but that of the historian. It is not mine to imitate the example of those who are wont to address you, on these festal days of the College, and to choose some fascinating theme from the realm of philosophy or from the kindling topics of the hour, to embellish it with flowing periods and striking illustrations, to amuse the mind with the play of logic or to regale the imagination with the creations of fancy, and to seek the applause justly accorded to him who touches the heart and fills the mind with pleasing images, and with the grace of action and with the witchery of words casts a spell not willingly to be dissolved over all who hear him. My office is strictly historical. I come to speak of the men and things of a time when forests covered nearly the whole of this beautiful and flourishing land, where so many cultivated farms delight the beholder, where so many handsome dwellings are seen, where so many human beings are gathered together, and are engaged in the various pursuits of human industry ; where a single library under the guardian care of its venerable high priest now contains more books than then existed from the Blue Ridge to the Pacific Ocean,

¹ Mrs. Martha Trimble.—Eds.

and from the Pennsylvania line to the Caribbean Sea.¹ I am come to speak of a time when the proudest building in the vast region sweeping from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi was built of logs or of rough rocks ; when the rich and the poor—if indeed the word rich can be applied to any of the brave and pious settlers of this region—lived in log cabins ; when the dwelling house, the school house and the church were log cabins ; and when this hill, now adorned with its numerous and elegant structures, and overlooking a compact and busy population, was one unbroken solitude. I come to speak of some of the men who felled those forests, who cleared these lands, who built the first churches, who opened the first schools, who laid deep in the general heart the love of letters and the fear of God, and who impressed on the minds of their children the elements of their own pure and lofty character. Let us inquire who they were ; let us follow them through their varied course ; let us observe their early and unabated efforts to build up a virtuous and enlightened State, and let us pause as we pass at their humble but honored graves, and thank God that our fathers were just such men as they were, and that their dust—ever to be approached with grateful tears and honored with the voice of praise—still reposes in our soil.

It is obvious that each of the three great periods which I have mentioned would require nearly as many hours as I have minutes at my disposal ; and it has occurred to me to be the best on the whole, after giving a synopsis of the first period, to recur to the Trustees of 1776 and those of the charter of 1782.

Before we speak of the origin of this institution, let us take a rapid glance at the character of the people who reared it, and who have made so great a figure in the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia. They were mainly what is commonly called Scotch-Irish, and were professors of the Presbyterian faith. But who were the Scotch-Irish ? Who were the people, that, wherever they were borne on the tumultuous tides of a various and constant emigration that rolled through the channels of centuries, carried with them a stout and stalwart frame of body, a clear head, a

¹ Mr. John W. Fuller, for more than half a century librarian of the Franklin Society, in the town of Lexington.—EDS.

physical courage that quailed not in the presence of a mortal enemy, a moral courage superior to disaster, indomitable industry, a scorn of ease, the love of letters, a thirst for freedom, and who inscribed on their banners the name of the Lord God of Hosts? To confine ourselves to the region of recorded history, we traverse a space of two thousand years, and read in the thrilling narrative of Cæsar his conflicts with the native Britons, and we take our seat in the trireme of Agricola as he coursed for the first time around the island of Britain, and gather from the pages of Tacitus the lineaments of that picture which the Roman general presented to his son-in-law, and which now thrills us with the intensity of its colors. From the Roman invasion to the date of the Norman Conquest in 1066, a period of a thousand years, both North and South Britain were subdued and overrun by the various hordes of the Scandinavian family; and as the Scottish rivers were as easily accessible by the ships of the piratical Northmen as the British, the Forth and the Tay were invaded simultaneously with the Humber and the Thames; and the names of places which were given by the Northmen still indicate the great historic era. I may mention the names of the craigs of East Binney and West Binney near the Forth, which were bestowed probably five hundred years before the Norman Conquest and still retain their Saxon inheritance. After the Norman Conquest, Scotland received a large accession of Anglo-Saxons from the South, who sought to escape the grasp of the conqueror. And thus, while the Southern part of the island was becoming modified in the course of generations by the blood and the language and the habits of the Normans, the simple Anglo-Saxon tongue and tastes prevailed in Scotland. Hence the purity of the Scotch language in its Anglo-Saxon aspect above the tongue of the English, which had become mixed with the dialects of the Latin race, and which is the boast of the Scotch to this day. I have mentioned these facts in order to set aside the common error of regarding the Scotch as wholly Celtic or Ancient British, instead of being in the main a component part of the Anglo-Saxon family.

The history of Scotland from the first landing of the Anglo-Saxons to the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots,—an interval of more than fifteen hundred years—presents the saddest portraiture of ignorance and blood and rapine and violence, variegated indeed

at intervals with passages of extraordinary splendor, which the historic muse ever drew for the warning and instruction of mankind. It was a scene of perpetual war—war within and war without. Its chiefs after the Conquest were Normans, such as Bruce, Wallace, Randolph, Campbell, Maxwell and the Stuarts ; and they assumed a jurisdiction little less than kingly. Even the present Queen of England, though she succeeded to the crown on the right of her Scotch ancestors, has in her veins the blood of William the Norman. Feuds existed for generations, and were handed down with the sword and the helmet of the ferocious ancestor. This pugnacious trait of the Scotch receives an illustration from the name of Blair, which signifies an open place ; but as every open place in the course of centuries had been the scene of a desperate rencounter it came to mean a field of battle.

Now the grave question arises, how from such a people, whose hands were stained by the gore of two thousand years, could spring that type of character which we call Scotch-Irish ? How could spring a people, who as we know them, have ever built in the same enclosure the fortress, the school house and the church ; who, during the succession of more than two centuries have held the sword in one hand, the Bible in the other ; whose valor subdued the foe in the open field and in the recesses of the forest, and whose piety filled their humble temples and homesteads with prayer and praise ? What produced so great a transformation in the character of the Scotch ?

One great era wrought the change and one master spirit ruled the decisive hour. That era was the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, that master-spirit was John Knox. That tall, gaunt man, sprung from the people, without a dollar of income save from a miserable stipend, surrounded by warlike nobles who were insensible to religious appeals, so unterrified by authority that it was said over his corpse by the regent Morton, "There lies one who feared the face of no man living,"—this man assailed the supremacy of that venerable religion whose foundations were laid deep in the old past, whose subjects were kings, and whose power, consolidated by the respect and piety of ages, embraced the entire realm of Christianity. Let us not be unjust to the Catholic Church. It unquestionably exerted a beneficial influence for many

centuries on the Scotch people. Apart from its invaluable services in preserving the records of the past, and in fostering a taste for letters, it was the only source whence, during the dreary millennium of the Middle Ages, the blessings of Christianity were conveyed to the people. It presented the only curb to the despotism of the feudal system, and softened its atrocities. It was kind to the peasant, and in his defence placed its finger not unfrequently on the crest of the haughtiest baron, and laid on monarchs the weight of its hands. In the valleys of Scotland that church raised those stately cathedrals whose very ruins excite the awe of the modern traveller, and even in the distant Hebrides it reared its magnificent structures, and on their altars kindled a flame that shone far and wide over those stormy seas; and the iron kings of Northern Europe beheld it and trembled, and with their dying aspirations implored that their bones might repose in the crypts of the temple of Iona.

It was during the fearful conflict with this church that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since. Intelligence is the soul of Protestantism; for it is needful first to know what a thing is, before we essay to make it what it ought to be. Hence the Scotch reformers taught their flocks with an earnestness and ruled them with a rigor unknown in our times. But Knox well knew that generations, however enlightened, pass away, and that Protestantism would pass with them unless the young were instructed with care in the rudiments of knowledge and in the doctrines of the faith. Hence the zeal of Knox in obtaining from the Scotch Parliament that ever memorable act which required a school to be kept in every parish, and which gave a new direction to the fervid genius of the people.

Both local and general causes stimulated the feelings and intensified the enthusiasm of the people. It was declared by a high authority that the Presbyterian form of government was the model of the purest republican simplicity, and that it was hostile to the genius of a monarchical system. The origin of the Reformation in Scotland also differed essentially from the origin of the Reformation in England. In the latter it proceeded from the King; in the former from the people. James, accordingly, on ascending the British throne made an early effort to remodel the Presbyterian

church. Then came in due succession the appointment of the thirteen Bishops, the assertion of the King to convoke at pleasure the General Assembly of the church, the banishment of one of the Melvilles and the imprisonment of the other, the Five Articles of Perth, and the Act of Uniformity. These and similar measures wrought the people to madness. And in the midst of this excitement was passed by the Scotch Parliament the Act of Security for the military organization of the realm, which made the people of Scotland a regulated army. Then look at the civil and religious contests of the reign of Charles the First, and the Protectorate. Look at the bloody persecutions of the Restoration, and especially during the viceroyalty of the Duke of York, when not less than 20,000 men, women, and we might add children, were put to death in a time of profound peace on account of religious nonconformity; and the earlier and the later emigrations to Ireland, where the colonists were beleagured by a hostile church, and a hostile population. Thus from the period of the Reformation to the date of the departure of the Scotch-Irish for the shores of the New World, a period of a century and half, while the Scot clung to the Bible as the sheet-anchor of his faith, the fleshly weapon was rarely out of his hand; and it was during this long and terrific struggle that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since.

In the early part of the 18th century, there came a pleasing vision over the minds of the Scotch-Irish. They had ever been devoted to the employments of rural life, and to the doctrines of political and religious freedom, at least for themselves. They hailed with one accord the Revolution, which they termed glorious, and which placed William and Mary on the British throne. They cherished the tenderest affection for the House of Hanover, as did their descendants of Augusta down to our own Revolution, as their public documents of that period demonstrate. But during the reign of Queen Anne, and of the first and second Georges, though active persecution on the part of the British government no longer existed, the Scotch-Irish felt the cinctures of a religious policy that bound them severely. They were encompassed by the Catholic pale, by the pale of an established Protestant church to which they did not belong and which they were compelled to support, and by laws that bound the soil in perpetual entail; and they resolved to

go abroad. They had heard the history of the land of Penn. They were fascinated by reports of a vast territory resting on the sea in the East, and on a majestic river in the West, abounding in fertile valleys, in mountains that would remind them of their ancestral land, in mighty streams and bays penetrating into the recesses of the distant interior, and they heard, above all, of the glorious liberty of worshipping God without the interference of human authority. And they flocked by hundreds to the shores of the New World. It was vain to talk to them of savages. For two thousand years the Scotchman had rarely been without a weapon on his person or within his grasp. Fearlessly they plunged into the depths of the forests, settled farms, built forts and school houses and churches, and presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the Indian invader.

Such a population it ought to have been the pride of Pennsylvania to foster and increase. But in the progress of years there arose in that province a struggle for political power; and it was feared that the Scotch-Irish and the German immigrants would outnumber or control the proprietary element; and the results were taxes on immigrants, which were opposed by the cautious and far-seeing Franklin, a shameful and degrading inequality of representation in the Assembly, and a failure on the alleged ground of principle to protect the outer settlements from the ravages of the Indians. And thus the emigration to Virginia began and was quickened. To learn what the character of the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania was, what those people did to build up a great commonwealth in all the elements of knowledge, wealth and piety, we need only recall the names of those who distinguished themselves during the eighteenth century. What an instructive list is spread before us! Tennent and that log college that has done more to enlighten the human mind and to promote sound morals than the noble structure of Magdalen or of Christ's, whose towers have been pointing for centuries to the skies; Samuel Blair, Samuel Davies, who, though born in Delaware, was educated by Blair, John Rodgers, John Blair, Samuel Finley, Francis Allison, Robert Smith, Samuel Stanhope Smith, John Blair Smith, James Smith, who signed the Declaration of Independence, James Ross, John Rowan of Kentucky, Thomas McKean Fulton, the ancestor of the inventor of the steam engine,

at least in its application to boats, David Ramsay, Hugh Williamson, and hundreds of others of whom I have not time to tell.

How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Had the policy of Pennsylvania been liberal, very few of the Scotch-Irish family would have left her borders. She possessed thousands of acres of fertile lands; and the clanship of the Scotch would have kept them together. And there was religious freedom, not restrained, as with us it was, by the cautious provisions of the Act of Toleration, but without bound or measure. There would have been no emigration. The Valley of Virginia would have been kept back for more than the third of a century. There would have been no people from this region to have fought at Point Pleasant, on the heights of Saratoga, or at King's Mountain, or at Guilford, or at Eutaw, or at York. That those battles were fought by the aid of Valley men we owe to the fact, that the government of Pennsylvania was proprietary, and not, like our own, governed by the immediate representatives of the King and founded on the basis of a liberal county representation.

Simultaneously with the flow of the Scotch from Pennsylvania, there was a stream of emigration from our own East. Of these immigrants some were Scotch, who, under the patronage of Dinwiddie, sought to build up homes in the Valley; and some were English, who, having early settled in the counties of the seaboard, the society of which had become somewhat stereotyped in the forms of old England, desired fresh lands, comparative freedom from taxes, and a greater enlargement of religious privileges than were readily available under the established religion. Of the English who thus entered the Valley, were my own paternal ancestors. But the Scotch-Irish element predominated, and gave its hue to the general complexion of the settlement.

We now approach an event of as great significance as any recorded in the annals of a peaceful community. In 1749 was opened the first classical school west of the Blue Ridge. To teach the rudiments of the mother tongue, to teach the reading of the Bible, the Longer and Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Confession, those consummate achievements of human intellect, regarded only in a secular sense; to worship God in sincerity and truth—these were the first and natural impulses of a pious people.

But to mingle the music of Virgil and Horace, of Livy and Tacitus, of Homer and Sophocles, of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Demosthenes and Aeschines, with the clangor of the axe felling the forest trees, with the crack of the rifle and the yell of the Indian, and with that grander melody which flowed from the harp of the royal singer of Israel, was an event, if not wholly without precedent in the circumstances of the case, worthy of immortal praise. The site of this classical schoolhouse was two miles southwest of Greenville in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and which included Rockbridge, and its first teacher was Robert Alexander. That school was the origin of the noble institution whose massive buildings cast their shadows from this glorious eminence, whose professors have been for more than a century men of high intellect, of fervent piety, and of ardent patriotism, and whose pupils have upheld the torch of knowledge, of religion and of a generous civilization throughout our wide territory, and have shone in the sphere of private life, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the Senate, and in the courts of Europe.

And who was he who taught the infant mind to know those immortal productions of Greek and Roman genius which still surpass the finest achievements of later times, in that log house near the village of Greenville? His name was Robert Alexander. He was a man of thorough training in the schools, and he was a man of prayer. It is to the honor of the Scotch-Irish race that, as one of that family was the first to establish a classical school in the Province of Pennsylvania, so another of the race was the first to establish a classical school in the Valley of Virginia. And when I speak of that race, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that though myself Scotch on the maternal side, my ancestor, who was borne to this lovely country on the Virginia and not on the Pennsylvania stream, was English, and was sprung from an ancestor who came over to the colony at the date of the Restoration. I have already spoken of the various elements that made up the Scotch-Irish people. This is strikingly shown in the name of Alexander. It is the type of three or four distinct civilizations, which extend from the days of Homer to the present day. It recalls the palmy civilization of Greece, to which it belongs, a helper of men. From the Greek it passed into the Roman civil-

ization ; and thence it passed from the banks of the Tiber on the lips of Augustine to the banks of the English streams ; and many generations later than St. Augustine, it received a fresh introduction into Britain by the Norman, who, though originally a Northman, adopted the tongue of the Latin race. And so popular did it become in Scotland, that, as the Englishman is known by the sobriquet of John Bull, and the Frenchman by that of Johnny Crapeau, and the American by that of Brother Jonathan, so the Scotchman is known by the name of Sandy and Sawney, the popular abbreviation of Alexander.

But who was Robert Alexander ? He was a descendent in the fourth degree from that Archibald Alexander who, during the middle part of the seventeenth century, went over in a general emigration from Scotland to Ireland. A son of this Archibald had a son named William, and this William had four sons ; one of whom died, and the other three, Archibald, the grandfather of the late Archibald Alexander of Princeton, William, and Robert of whom we are now speaking, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736, and after a short sojourn in that province, two of them, if not all, came through the Valley to Virginia in 1743. Robert was educated at Edinburgh, where the Latin and Greek classics and Mathematics were thoroughly taught, and he was probably as well qualified to discharge the duties of a professor in the languages and in mathematics as any professor in our own times. His age I do not know exactly, but as he came over in 1736 and died in 1787 it is probable that he lived beyond the period of the Psalmist. It is the duty of all of us to mark the grave of such a man with a durable and appropriate monument.

The successor of Robert Alexander was the Rev. John Brown, who was graduated at Princeton in 1749, and was a licentiate of Newcastle Presbytery. He was called to Providence and Timber Ridge Churches in 1753. The roll on which are inserted the names of those who called him has been fortunately preserved, and presents an interesting memorial of that generation. The names are 112 in number, and it is remarkable that nearly all of them are Saxon or Norman, though the Scotch-Irish blood has a great preponderance. It is stated that the academy in the time of Mr. Brown was successively removed a few miles westward, first to

near Old Providence, and then shortly before the Revolution to Mount Pleasant, near Fairfield, in the present county of Rock-bridge. He conducted the school until 1774, when he was assisted by William Graham, who, two years later, became the principal. Of Mr. Brown it is proper to say that he remained the pastor at New Providence forty-four years, that he married a daughter of John Preston, and that in his old age he removed with his sons to Kentucky, where he died in 1803, at the age of 75. His five sons were educated here and at Princeton. John was a member of the Continental Congress and of the first Congress under the present constitution. William, who was a promising physician, died early, in South Carolina; Samuel was an eminent professor in the medical school of Transylvania University, while James may be recalled by some now present as having performed a prominent part in public life, as the first Secretary of State of Kentucky, as the Secretary of Louisiana Territory, as a member of the Senate of the United States for ten years, during a part of which time he was the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and as the Minister of the United States at the Court of France for six years. He died in Philadelphia suddenly on the 7th of April, 1835, in his seventieth year; and the students of Washington College may proudly claim him as one of their most distinguished alumni.

On the 6th of May 1776, the Presbytery of Hanover, under whose direction the school had been established, determined to remove the Augusta Academy, as it was then called, from Mount Pleasant to Timber Ridge, where a tract of eighty acres was offered as a site of the institution by Capt. Alexander Stuart and Mr. Samuel Houston, "the neighbors offering to build a hewed log-house, 28 feet by 24, one story and a half high, besides their subscriptions, and assuring of the probability that fire-wood and timber for building will be furnished gratis for at least twenty years." The body appointed the Rev. Wm. Graham, Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery his assistant; and chose a board of trustees consisting of—

1. Rev. John Brown,	4. William Irvin,
2. James Waddell,	5. Rector <i>ex officio</i> ,
3. Charles Cummings,	6. Mr. Thomas Lewis,

7. Col. William Christian,	16. Maj. Samuel McDowell,
8. Gen. Andrew Lewis,	17. Mr. William McPheeters,
9. Col. William Fleming,	18. Capt. Alexander Stuart,
10. Mr. Thomas Stuart,	19. Capt. William McKee,
11. Mr. Samuel Lyle,	20. Mr. John Houston,
12. Mr. John Grattan,	21. Mr. Charles Campbell,
13. Col. William Preston,	22. Capt. George Moffett,
14. Mr. Sampson Matthews,	23. Mr. William Ward,
15. Col. John Bowyer,	24. and Capt. John Lewis,

at the Warm Springs, of whom seven should constitute a quorum. The Presbytery also reserved to themselves the right of visitation forever, as often as they should judge it necessary, and of choosing the Rector and his assistant. And early in 1777 the Academy was removed from Mt. Pleasant to Timber Ridge. And at a meeting the Trustees on the 6th day of May 1776, "incited by the patriotic spirit of the day, directed that the record for that day be entitled Liberty Hall, as this Academy is hereafter to be called instead of Augusta Academy." In 1785, the Academy was again removed to near Lexington, to a stone building, which was destroyed by fire in 1803¹ but the picturesque ruins of which may still be seen. It was then removed to its present site within the limits of Lexington. In 1782, the Academy received a charter of incorporation, and was thenceforth under the legal control of the Trustees appointed by that instrument. The Trustees named in the charter of 1782 are :

Rev. William Graham, *Rector*.

Arthur Campbell,	William Christian,
Andrew Moore,	William Alexander,
Joseph Walker,	Alexander Campbell,
John Wilson,	John Trimble,
John Hays,	John Bowyer,
Samuel McDowell,	George Moffett,
William McKee,	James McCorkle,
Samuel Lyle,	Archibald Stuart,
Rev. Caleb Wallace,	Rev. John Montgomery,
Rev. William Wilson.	

¹ The Honorable Sidney S. Baxter informed me that the Academy was burned about Christmas, 1802. He said either the day before or the day after Christmas, I have forgotten which.—W. A.

From the date of the incorporation of the Academy to 1796, the most important incident in the history of the College was the gift of one hundred shares of the James River Company bestowed by Washington on the institution, which occurred in the latter year, and soon after the name of Liberty Hall was changed to that of Washington Academy. The letter addressed to Washington, which presented the claims of the Academy to this generous endowment, and which doubtless influenced the mind of the Father of his Country in bestowing it upon the institution, was drawn by Graham, and is a masterly production. On the 25th of September of the same year, Graham in a letter to the Trustees resigned the office of Rector, which he had held for twenty-two years.

Such is a brief outline of the Academy from its foundation in 1749 to 1796, a period of forty-seven years; and if it had then ceased to exist—if the plough had passed over its foundations—if its charter had been given to the winds—it had accomplished an amount of good, which it would be difficult to overestimate. It directed the attention of a rising community, under circumstances the most unpropitious, to a large and liberal moral and intellectual culture. It sent forth hundreds of educated men who taught schools, who filled professorships, who brought the aid of science to the cause of the Revolution, who diffused in the domestic circle the blessings of learning and religion, who filled pulpits, who shone at the bar, in the halls of legislation, and at foreign courts, and whose influence on the mind and heart of man is felt at this moment, and will be felt in time to come.

WILLIAM GRAHAM.

The facts of the life of this great man are few. He sprang from a family which for a thousand years had been conspicuous in the annals of Scotland from the hovel to the palace, in arts, in arms, in eloquence, and in song. It was a daring man by the name of Graham that first broke through the wall of Agricola, which the Roman general had built between the firths of Clyde and Forth to keep off the incursions of the Northern Britons, and the ruins of which, still visible, are called to this day the ruins of Graham's Dyke. They were borderers, as distinguished from Highlanders,

and on one occasion three hundred of the family were banished to Ireland; and it is not improbable that the blood of the fiery moss-trooper flowed in the blood of our Founder. One of the fairest personifications of the race may be seen from the pen of Sir Walter Scott in the Legend of Montrose. Michael Graham, the father of our William, emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania between 1720 and 1730; and on the 19th of December, 1746, in Paxton Township, about five miles from the present capital of Pennsylvania, William Graham was born. His parents were poor, and lived on the outskirts of civilization; and young Graham had none of those early advantages which are so efficient in developing the faculties of the mind. He attended the common schools of the neighborhood when any such existed; and until his 22d year he worked in the field with his father. Two things are told of him, that have no relation to each other, but which showed their effects in his subsequent life. He was fond of dancing; and he probably engaged in a Highland fling, or cut a pigeon wing, or danced a hornpipe, as readily as any of his ancestors, who were famed for dancing, ever did before him, and with as much ease and grace as he afterwards displayed in solving by methods of his own the most abstruse problems of metaphysics, or in explaining a dark allusion in Juvenal, or a doubtful passage in Tacitus. The other was, that as his frontier home was ever liable to the inroads of the savages, he learned the use of the rifle, and he was as familiar with it, as he subsequently became with those other instruments of science which Hanover Presbytery and the good people of Augusta had procured in the midst of war and in the sacrifices of a mountain life, to promote the cause of a generous education. On one occasion at night the dogs about his father's frontier cabin began to bark, and one of his sisters detected the movements of Indians; and the family determined to leave the house and make for the fort. With his musket loaded, and prepared for instant fight, young William headed the sally, and conducted the family in safety to the fort. And in this stern school of courage, he acquired that wonderful faculty, so often exhibited in his career, of stripping a subject of its present and temporary difficulties and of looking to distant results, which marked his course in the greatest political crisis of the age in which he lived.

At one-and-twenty that religious change which, at a later day, came over the gigantic mind of Chalmers, and which led the Scotch divine to lay all the wealth of the stars and the greenest garlands of philosophy at the foot of the Cross, came over the mind of Graham. He determined to study theology, and with only his own exertions to support him, and with only the light of a pious mother's love as a lamp to his path, he began the study of Latin. He first attended the school of the Rev. Mr. Roan and ultimately became a pupil of Finley. When he had mastered the elementary studies, he entered Princeton College, which was then radiant with the fame of its distinguished President, and with the genius of its students in the the different classes of the institution. Witherspoon, who was to sign the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, and who looked with kind feelings on the descendants of his own ancestral land, had the peculiar gift of inspiring young men with the love of study ; and in the Senior Class was Gunning Bedford, who was to sign the present Federal Constitution ; Hugh Breckenridge, James Madison and Samuel Spring ; in the Junior Class was William Bradford, afterward a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Attorney-General of the United States ; Aaron Burr, afterwards Attorney-General of New York and Vice-President of the United States, who now, after a stormy life, sleeps beside the dust of his venerable father in the shadow of the vales of Princeton, and William Smith Livingstone, also prominent in public affairs ; and among his own classmates were Henry Lee, of Legion memory ; Morgan Lewis, afterwards Governor of New York and a member of the Senate of the United States ; Aaron Ogden, afterwards Governor of New Jersey and a member the United States Senate, and John Blair Smith, afterwards President of Hampden Sidney—a name still held in tender and affectionate remembrance in the region of Virginia in which I live, and ever to be held in honor by every lover of learning and piety in this Commonwealth. He took his degree in 1773 with his class, and it was observed that he held the same rank among his fellows that he afterwards maintained in every sphere in which he happened to move. And it should also be observed for the encouragement of genius struggling with those difficulties which so often attend it, that he mainly defrayed his college expenses by his

own industry. One incident near the close of his college life is so well told by Dr. Foote and is so honorable to the parties concerned, that I ought not to pass it over. At the approach of the final examination, your distinguished father, Mr. President,¹ who I have already said was a classmate of Graham, proposed to Graham that they should review their studies together. Graham, who was afraid that the lively genius of your father might lead him astray, was disposed to decline the invitation; but young Lee persisted and Graham consented, with the condition that no conversation should be introduced during the hour of study. When the examination was over, Lee came to his friend Graham's room, and said to him: "Well, Graham, I have passed a glorious examination; and I know that I am indebted for it in a great measure to you. What recompense shall I make you?" "None at all," said Graham. After some conversation Lee left the room and soon returned; and laying on the table Belshaw's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, immediately departed. Upon opening the volume Graham found a black line had been drawn through the name of Henry Lee, and underneath was written William Graham. The volume, says Dr. Foote, is still preserved by Graham's connections in Virginia. On leaving college Graham returned to his father's house, and entered on the study of theology, under his pastor, Mr. Roan, and in 1774 he was invited to engage in a classical school in Augusta, under the direction of the Rev. John Brown of whom we have already spoken, and accepted the invitation. In 1775 he was received as a minister of the Presbyterian Church by the Presbytery at Timber Ridge, and on the 6th of May, 1776, the headship of the Academy devolved upon him, with the title of Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery as his assistant. The system of teaching pursued by Mr. Graham during the twenty years that he presided in the Academy was well designed to develop the faculties of the mind, and to prepare young men to engage with efficiency in the active duties of life. He always insisted "on the importance of classical literature as the proper foundation of a liberal education," and a thorough training in mathematics, and the sciences and knowledges dependent upon

¹ Gen. Robert E. Lee was on the platform when this address was delivered.—Eds.

these two great departments. He also taught moral and intellectual philosophy, not as sciences complete in themselves, but as an introduction to theology, being the gates called Beautiful, leading to that glorious temple not built with human hands, and whose foundations are laid in the Divine Will. While he was familiar with the existing writers on the subject, and especially with the sermons of Bishop Butler, and had introduced into the school the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon, which he had studied in Princeton, he adopted the authority of no master, and worked out an elaborate system of his own, which no less a judge than Dr. Archibald Alexander declared "to be in clearness and fulness superior to anything which has been given to the public in the numerous works which have been recently published on the subject." When we reflect that Graham had only a few imperfectly educated students from the neighboring hills and homesteads around him, and in the absence of all emulation put forth his powers so grandly, we can readily imagine what he would have done if, like Dugald Stewart, or Thomas Brown, or Thomas Chalmers, he had been surrounded by classes of hundreds of highly educated young men and a daily auditory of eminent men, to quicken his powers, and to give full scope to the excursions of his genius. And while we concede that just supremacy to the skill of Graham which it so eminently deserves, it is proper to say that he was assisted by some competent tutors, among whom the name of James Priestly should not be omitted. He was a Rockbridge boy of poor parents, whose genius was detected by Graham, who was instructed by him, and who, having been chosen a tutor in 1783, devoted his talents to Latin and Greek literature, in which he acquired great eminence. He possessed the faculty of inspiring his pupils with a love of literature, and Dr. Archibald Alexander ascribes his love of study to the instruction of Priestly. This remarkable man became the president of the Cumberland University, and died while president of that institution.

During the Revolution, while Graham was engaged in teaching his scholars, and in preaching on Sundays, he was not indisposed to unite with his countrymen in repressing the inroads of the enemy. He regarded that contest as involving religious as well as political freedom, and believed it to be the duty of

all to sustain the common cause. There has ever been a strong spice of war in the Scotch clergy. When Gibbon assigned to Buchanan the credit of having first put forth the doctrine that Christianity might be defended by the sword, he overlooked the history of that church which, during the dismal millennium of the Middle Ages, diffused from its magnificent temples, whose ruins still interest the traveller, the light of Christianity over Scotland—a light, it may be, not as pure and as brilliant as it might have been, but still a blessed and glorious light in the midst of general darkness. On one occasion when a draft was to be made from the militia of Rockbridge, and when volunteers were backward in coming forth, Graham stepped forward and the complement was soon filled. He was elected captain, but the company was not called into service. It would be interesting to inquire what would have been the result if the genius of Graham had been turned to war. He had been inured to personal danger from his infancy, he was a strict disciplinarian, and he was better versed in the sciences than most of the officers of the Revolution. He might not have met with opportunities of distinction; or, like George Rogers Clark, who was teaching a school on the Rappahannock on the breaking out of the war, he might have added an empire to his country. His character would lead us to believe that he would have accomplished all that skill, patriotism and valor could achieve in the sphere in which he happened to move. Let us rejoice that his destiny confined him to the pulpit and to the professor's chair. ✓

After twenty years of faithful service he resigned the office of Rector. He was induced to take this step from the want of adequate support for his family. The prime of life was gone, and he was poor. When he had paid his assistants, he had but little left for himself. He had reached the age of fifty, and had devoted his great talents to the cause of education; and he was solicitous to make some provision for his large and helpless family, before the approach of old age. With this view he purchased land on the Ohio; and it was his design to settle there with some chosen friends; and it was on business connected with this settlement that he rode on horseback from the Ohio to Richmond, where he was taken ill soon after his arrival, and died at the house of his friend, Col.

Gamble,¹ on the 8th of June, 1799, at the age of fifty-three. Near the south door of the Episcopal Church on Church Hill, within the walls of which Patrick Henry uttered those memorable words, "Give me liberty, or give me death," and near the ashes of George Wythe and Edward Carrington, now repose the mortal remains of your illustrious Rector.

He was above the middle stature, rather delicate than muscular in his proportions. His eyes were dark, and when he was roused, were brilliant and piercing. There was ease and grace in all his movements, and never for a moment did he lose the full command of his faculties. He had a great fund of wit, and his sarcasm was said under provocation to be scathing, and was a formidable weapon in debate. He was most amiable in private life, and was tenderly beloved by his friends. He possessed in a remarkable degree that moral courage, without which neither battles are won, nor colleges built, churches gathered together, nor opposition overcome, nor triumphs worth the winning ever won.

The character of Graham presents to the observer three distinctive aspects, which require a passing notice: that of a preacher, that of a professor, and that of a politician. As a preacher, he did not possess that blazing eloquence with which Massillon and Bourdaloue and some even of his own contemporaries kindled the passions of their auditory, and which filled the church with those eager and bustling crowds that were wont to witness the magical action of a Garrick or a Kean, or were overawed by the dignity of a Talma or a Kemble. There was a mixture of statesmanship even in his preaching. He looked to the law and the gospel as the rule of instruction. He saw neither the conflagration of Tully, nor the torrent of Demosthenes, nor the glow of passion, nor the polish of a dazzling rhetoric, in the Sermon on the Mount; and he brought to bear upon his audience the same conclusive demonstration of doctrine that from the chair of the professor made the darkest problems of moral and intellectual philosophy clear to the duller comprehension. It is an eloquent testimony of the mind as well as the preaching of Graham that the profound sermons of Butler were his favorite contemplations. He was not, however, wholly insensible to the influence of the moment; but on venturing into

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

the realm of the passions it was plain that he felt that he was a trespasser and a wayfarer there, and his stern sense of duty rebuked him back into the region of demonstration and argument. The sermon which he preached at Briery in 1789 was never forgotten by those who heard it. It remained with them through life, and the recollections of it lived after they were within their graves. The beautiful text, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," is still known in the neighborhood of Briery, after eighty years, as Mr. Graham's text. But it was reason, not passion, instruction not declamation, that marked his preaching. "As a clear and cogent reasoner," said a distinguished pupil, "he had no superior among his contemporaries."

The chair of the professor was the throne from which Graham wielded his greatest influence on the minds of his generation. It was the main business of his life to teach, and he sought the best means of developing the faculties of the young. He was no pretender. He sought no royal, no rapid roads to knowledge. Nor did he seek to teach many things. He thought the great object of academical education was to discipline the powers and not to fill the mind with a multiplicity of acquirements. His great object was to form the mind, and to make it work out its own victories. He saw the force of language as an element of power in the affairs of men, and the advantage of a thorough mastery of his native language by every student; and he studied the proper mode of teaching it. He saw that the Greeks, who have left us the purest specimens of writing, studied no other tongue than their own; but he saw at the same time, both that their language was the most perfect that existed, and that, though resting on a Pelasgian foundation, the old dialect had been lost in the lapse of ages and a perfect tongue had taken its place. He saw that the Greek studied no other tongue than his own, because that tongue was in the main homogeneous and had attained to perfection. But in looking at the teaching of the Romans he saw that the policy of teaching a single tongue did not apply, and that the Roman student studied the Greek tongue with all his diligence from earliest youth, and studied it as a model to his dying day. And he saw the reason of this devotion. The Latin was a compound language. It rested indeed on an Etruscan base, but it borrowed from all literatures,

and especially from the Greek. Nor did it possess those models of eloquence, and history, and poetry, in which the Greek abounded; and he saw that the ablest orators and poets and historians of Rome were those who were most intimate with the beauties of Greek literature. He then looked into the elements of our own tongue. He recognized it as not only the youngest in the family of languages, but that it was made up of more languages than any other; and that it demanded a more critical study than had been devoted either in Greece or Rome to a foreign tongue. And, looking to the example of England, he observed that that system of education which had produced her Bacons and Newtons and Lockes embraced a thorough study of the Latin and Greek classics and of the mathematics between the ages of eight and eighteen. Hence he taught the Latin and Greek languages, and, as far as he could, the languages that lean upon them, and the mathematics, and, as far as he could, the sciences which lean upon them, with his utmost energy,—believing that a youth who was thoroughly drilled in those two great departments had laid a foundation on which he might raise any superstructure of active or of studious life that might be desired. Once especially did he rebuke from his presence that weak and wretched philosophy which impels a parent to seek instruction for his child in those elementary departments alone which may be supposed to bear upon the destined professions of the child, and, overlooking that broad and generous culture which is best adapted to develop all the faculties and to brace the mind for its highest achievements, to doom a son to inferiority through life, and to grovel in the lower regions of that system of society of which he might have been one of the proudest columns and most honored ornaments. Such was the system of Graham—a system which bore rich fruits in his own day, and which is felt through his distinguished pupils in our own times.

Eminent as Graham undoubtedly was in the pulpit and in the professor's chair, those who look closely into his character would be apt to conclude that, had his lot been cast at the bar and in the Senate, he would have been more eminent still. He lived at a time when all the intellectual men were in a greater or less degree politicians. The questions that brought on the Revolution of 1776, were almost wholly theoretical. We suffered from no act of posi-

tive oppression. When independence became imminent, the clergy took an active part in the contest. One of the profession was a member of the convention of 1776 ; another became a general ; and others engaged directly or indirectly in active service during the war ; and in the convention of 1788 there were two clergymen in the body. I have already mentioned the election of Graham as captain of a company. On another occasion he led a company to the seat of war. But the question which particularly interested clerical men was our legislation in respect of religion. When the scheme of an assessment for the support of religion was brought forward, and was sustained by Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other prominent men, Graham, who viewed even religious questions with the eye of a statesman, was not indisposed to approve it, and he was governed by the same reasons that led Henry to favor the policy.

The Revolution had almost entirely stripped the churches of their pastors. "At the beginning of the war," says Bishop Meade, "Virginia had ninety-one clergymen officiating in one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels ; at its close only twenty-eight ministers were found laboring in the less desolate parishes of the state." Patrick Henry saw this destitution and sought to relieve it by levying an assessment to be assigned by the taxpayer to what church he pleased.

To say that it was an Episcopal measure because Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other Episcopalians supported it, would be as far from the truth as it would be to assert that the Virginia resolution of independence, which was drawn, was reported to the house, and was carried by Episcopalians, or that the Declaration of Rights, which was also drawn, reported and carried by Episcopal votes, was an Episcopal measure. Had this scheme been adopted, our numerous church buildings would have been saved from ruin ; an intelligent and pious clergy would have dispensed the word of life to thousands who remained for an entire generation without the offices of religion ; and our people would have been prepared in some degree to withstand that torrent of infidelity which a few years later swept over Christendom, and the influence of which was felt in every corner of our territory. When, however, the religious controversy assumed a broader ground, he maintained the

widest views of religious freedom, and with his friend and neighbor, Andrew Moore, who represented Rockbridge in the Assembly, earnestly advocated the passage of the Act concerning Religious Freedom.

When the new State of Frankland, so called in honor of Franklin, whose advice was invoked in its hour of difficulty, was meditated within the corporate limits of North Carolina, Graham was requested to draught a form of government, and he prepared a paper for the purpose. He had ever regarded with profound admiration the genius of John Locke. Indeed, in the simplicity of their domestic habits, in the plainness and severity of their reasoning, in their superiority over the formal modes of the schools, there was a strong resemblance between them. In 1689, the year after the great British Revolution, Locke had drawn a constitution for the Carolinas, and Graham was called upon a century later to draw a plan of government for a part of the territory embraced by the constitution of his great predecessor. The constitution of Locke has come down to us; and it may be mentioned as an illustration, not of the age in which it was written—the age of Somers and of other great lawyers who were prominent in the British Revolution—but of the peculiarities of Locke, that his constitution declares that “it is a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward” in a court of justice. Graham’s plan is lost, unless it was the scheme that was adopted by the new commonwealth, and such may have been the case. But although it attracted great attention, and led to some noisy demonstrations, we do not know positively that it was laid before the convention of the new State. In that convention John Sevier, a Valley boy, and a hero of King’s Mountain, presided. David Campbell,¹ another Valley boy, was one of the three judges elected under the constitution, and Landon Carter, a tidewater boy from the banks of the lower James, was the speaker of the first Senate of the new government. These were friends and neighbors of Graham; and he did not hesitate to assist them in preparing a plan of government.² To carve a new

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

² Samuel Houston, a pupil of Graham’s, was a member of the convention and consulted him as to the constitution. Samuel Doak, an alumnus of the Academy, was also a member.—Eds.

State out of the territory of a State without the authority of law would be a grave and unjustifiable procedure in our own times. But in the case of Sevier and his associates it was substantially a work of self-defense. They were separated by hundreds of miles from the settlements; they were surrounded by savages who awaited a favorable moment of attack; they were beyond the protection of the laws. They had not a dollar in coin to pay taxes. And when the new government was established, its officers were paid mainly in the skins of wild beasts—the governor and the judges in fox skins, the sheriff in those of the mink, and other officers in those of coons and opossums; and though this gradation is not strictly correct, it is unquestionable that skins, domestic cloth, bacon, tallow and whiskey, according to a rate fixed by law, composed the main currency of the infant commonwealth. At all events, to justify Graham in his course respecting Frankland, it is sufficient to say that, four years later than the date of the birth of Frankland, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, Patrick Henry threatened to form a state out of the lower western tier of our own counties on the North Carolina line and of these identical counties that composed the State of Frankland. He preferred the solitudes of the interior, abounding in dark forests and untravelled streams, and inhabited by fierce savages and beasts of prey, with the protection of a flag of a single star on its folds, to the cultivated plains and magnificent waters of the East under the full blaze of the new federal system.

A fine exhibition of the ready tact and ability of Graham may be seen in the letter which he prepared in compliance with an order of the Board of Trustees with a view of laying before Gen. Washington the claims of Liberty Hall Academy to the benefaction which the Father of his Country designed, to use his own words, “to the use of a Seminary, to be erected in such part of the State as they (the Legislature) should deem most proper.” Here it is plain that there was no original purpose in the mind of Washington to fix upon a particular site. He left that question for the decision of the Assembly. But the letter of Graham settled it forever. That letter displays the qualities of a scholar, a patriot, and a statesman. It is wonderful to contemplate with what accuracy he foresaw the future and pictured before the imagi-

nation of Washington the very scene that is now before us. It is enough to say that the letter produced its desired effect; and that liberal benefaction was made which yields at this day three thousand dollars annually to your funds.

An incident grew out of the Washington endowment which throws so strong a light on the genius of Graham as to require a passing remark. At the session of the General Assembly succeeding that event, the General Assembly passed an act converting the Academy into a college bearing the name of Washington, and appointed a full board of visitors for the government of the same. This was done without the knowledge or consent of the Trustees incorporated by the act of 1782, and was wholly unconstitutional. It divested the institution of its lawful property and committed it to the control of others. It was plainly designed as an act of kindness by the Assembly. It raised the institution from an academy to a college, and it nominated a board of trustees of which any college might well have been proud. This act was the law of the land; and if the trustees appointed by its provisions had sought to take possession, we should have had the celebrated Dartmouth College case by anticipation by more than a score of years. The trustees of the Academy took the subject into consideration, and adopted a protest against the proposed change. That paper was drawn by Graham, and the arguments are those which were afterwards used by Daniel Webster in the case above mentioned. It must be stated, however, that though the present Federal Constitution was then in operation, Graham never could have consented to try a question of Virginia law before a Federal tribunal. The act was repealed at the next session of the Assembly. And it may be proper to say that a committee consisting of J. Wilson, Benjamin Grigsby and S. Houston, was instructed to have the title of Liberty Hall changed into that of a college, but for some reason the change was not made by the Assembly, though the name of Washington Academy was adopted; and it was not until 1813 that the name of the Academy was changed into that of Washington College.¹

✓ ¹ Mr. Grigsby is in error in attributing the authorship of this protest to Mr. Graham. Mr. Graham had severed his connection with the Academy before the obnoxious act was passed. The protest was drawn by the Rev. Samuel Brown,

But the most important political topic which engaged the attention of Graham was the expediency of adopting the present federal constitution. That was the first great event of a strictly political nature that stirred the American mind from its innermost recesses. The Declaration of Independence was a great conjuncture ; but it came when actual war had been raging more than a twelvemonth, and when the practical question of self-preservation and defense against the greatest military and naval power of the globe overruled every other. The federal constitution was framed by the general convention which held its sessions in Philadelphia from May to September, 1787 ; and was immediately reported to the States for their action upon it. Virginia called a convention to assemble in Richmond, in June, to take the new plan into consideration. In the interval of the two conventions, the State became one vast battle-field of debate. The most accomplished speakers appeared on the rostrum, in the pulpit after preaching was over, in the court yard and at the barbecue. It was seen soon after the smoke of the first sharp volleys had cleared away and left the scene open to the observer, that, with some remarkable exceptions on either side, the statesmen who had engaged actively in the Congress of the Confederation, who had presided on the bench of our new judiciary, and had taken an active part in the field, were inclined to support the new system ; while those eminent men who had swayed the councils of the colony and the commonwealth from the dawn of the revolution to the present date, and who were then in the full vigor of their faculties, were opposed to the adoption of the constitution without many and very thorough modifications. With the first party, at the head of which was Washington, the public men of the Valley took their stand. What the considerations were that impelled them to that course, I will state at length when I come to treat of one of your trustees, Gen. Andrew Moore. But Graham took sides with Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason and others, at whose feet Washington sat, as Paul sat at the

a member of the Committee of the Board of Trustees, and the manuscript draft is in the possession of his son, the Rev. William Brown, D. D. The points made in the protest as to the unconstitutionality of the act are substantially the same as those made by Mr. Webster in his great speech in the Dartmouth College case.—EDS.

feet of Gamaliel, for a quarter of a century then past. I may say in passing, as an element of no little influence in the case, that, with certain exceptions, the religious denomination to which Graham belonged adhered to the side of the constitution; while the Episcopalians and the Baptists leaned to the other side of the question. My present office is to point out the considerations which induced Graham to bring all his abilities to bear in opposing the adoption of the constitution. Like every other Virginian of that era, he loved the union of the States, and no one could see more distinctly than he did, the absolute necessity of that union to the preservation of public liberty. It was the general conviction of that day that the treaty of peace was only a truce on the part of Great Britain, who still held the western parts in palpable violation of the treaty of Paris, and was engaged in deep intrigues with the western tribes. The question then was, not whether there should be a union with the Northern States, but what should be the terms of that union, and whether those terms were contained in the instrument proposed for adoption. Graham thought that they were not, and he brought to the discussion all the researches of his industry and all the resources of his genius. He looked at the vast territory of Virginia, stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the North Carolina line; and he saw in our fertile lands, in our mineral wealth, in the number and grandeur of our streams, in our accessibility to the sea both on the west and on the east, and in our delightful climate, the elements for the formation of a mighty commonwealth.

He saw too, that in spite of the losses sustained by the war of the Revolution—losses in population, black and white, losses in all securities, losses in a currency which, having fulfilled its office of securing the public freedom, had sunk to nothing, and losses in many other things—that the State had been steadily advancing in wealth and numbers, from the date of Independence to the year 1788, with a rapidity then unknown in her history; and that her great seaport, which had been reduced to ashes at the beginning of the war, had risen in five or six years, as if touched by the wand of a magician, into four times her former dimensions, and into twenty times her former wealth, and presented to the eye a harvest of shipping which had never before been gathered in the harbors of



the new world. But Graham possessed a quality in an eminent degree which but few statesmen of any generation possess, that of embracing all the facts of a great era in all their significance; but he worked out the legitimate results of those facts for half a century to come; and when he had ascertained them with the accuracy of deliberate calculation, he brought them palpably before him with all the distinctness of a present spectacle. But the foundation of all that prosperity rested in his view upon the right of Virginia to lay her own taxes and to regulate her own trade at her own discretion. To surrender those powers so essential to the prosperity of a State, to any authority beyond her own limits, and especially to States whose white population exceeded her own at the date of cession, and which was likely to increase in a rapid ratio, while a large part of our own population was excluded by compact from all political significance whatever, seemed to Graham a sacrifice without precedent in history, and to the last degree dangerous. Nor did he overlook the fact, that the Convention which framed the new plan of government had been convoked expressly to amend the existing confederation, and that to sanction the action of such a body was substantially to surrender all hope of amending hereafter an existing form of government under special instructions to the representative. Hence, while John Blair Smith, the rival president of Hampden Sidney and his intimate friend, advocated the constitution in opposition to Patrick Henry on the court green of Prince Edward, and while there was an almost unanimous approval of that instrument by the religious denomination to which Graham belonged, he opposed it with all his zeal. And when, during the session of the Virginia convention, it was apparent that a great change had taken place in the public mind, and that efforts were making by the people to instruct their delegates in that body to vote against the constitution, he entered warmly into this mode of opposition and succeeded in obtaining a majority of the voters of Rockbridge opposed to that instrument, and forwarded the instructions to Richmond. The representatives of the county were Andrew Moore and William McKee, and both refused to obey them.¹ Had the delegates from

¹ Andrew Moore and William McKee were elected delegates to the Convention as advocates of the adoption of the Constitution. William Graham and

Rockbridge voted against the constitution, and had the delegates of only two of the other counties who represented constituents hostile to the instrument followed their example, that constitution would have failed to receive the sanction of the body, until it had received such amendments as were deemed indispensable by its opponents. Of the course of Gen. Moore and Col. McKee in refusing to obey the will of their constituents, I will speak presently. For his course on this occasion, Graham appealed to the verdict of posterity. Almost three generations have passed since the date of his action. We are now on the very hill from which he waged his war of opposition. Yonder is the highway along which the surging streams of voters from every homestead of the county rolled on their way to the court-house to record their names on the instructions. And we are that posterity in whose unborn bosoms he lodged his appeal. The experience of eighty-two years, pronounced by the tongue and the pen and the sword, is before us. And may we not declare, whatever may be our opinion on the question of the propriety of adopting the federal constitution, that the course of Graham was marked by profound ability, by a far-seeing statesmanship, and by a love of country, which neither the authority of great names, the blandishments of applause, the fear of present unpopularity, the frowns of the church to which he belonged and of which he was a devoted pastor, nor a sense of personal interest could intimidate or impair?

Such was William Graham. Cradled in the forests of the extreme frontier of civilization, and perpetually exposed to the incursions of savages, he spent his youth and early manhood in the toils and perils of the farm. Resolved to preach the gospel, and without the means of obtaining a liberal education, he sustains himself by his industry while he pursues his elementary studies. Having entered college, and called upon with his imperfect preparation to put forth all his powers to accomplish his daily task, and withal compelled to earn the means to defray his daily expenses, he wins the applause of Witherspoon, the warmest affections of his classmates, and takes his degree with the highest honors of the

John Hays were the opposing candidates. They were opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, and were defeated by a small majority.—Eds.

institution. Devoting his talents to the pulpit and to the chair of the professor, he becomes one of the most eminent divines of the age; and he solves the most abstruse problems in mental philosophy with a skill that has been praised by some of the most famous professors of that science in our own day. Living at the epoch when Virginia was passing, amid the shock of arms, from the colony to the commonwealth, and when republican institutions were to be established, he was as ready to march to the field of battle as he was to discuss schemes and to decide upon the best means of upholding the government in a time of peace, bringing to the discussion of every political question the ability and the wariness of the statesman, and advancing in his course, alike undismayed by the voice of authority and undazzled by the specious splendor of political systems. And while performing the great business of his life, in the double capacity of a servant of his Heavenly Master, and as a professor in various departments of science, and impressing on the minds of thousands the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith and the elements of a large and generous education, and building up an institution which should continue the good work for generations to come, this great man closed his career. And, as if the lesson of so pure and so august a life should be purified from the dross of selfishness, he died poor. The talents which would have wreathed his brow with the laurels of the forum and the senate, and filled his coffers with the glittering rewards of successful industry, were spent in a private sphere, and were devoted to his country and his God. The mere worldling—the man who regards riches as the grandest of earthly distinctions—may turn with disgust from the modest, self-sacrificing course of Graham, and even laugh at his folly. But compare the two men, and mark the result. Both look steadily to the distant future. The rich man who curls his lip at the moral beauty of a career devoted to science and religion at the sacrifice of his dazzling treasures, lays his own plans of immortality. He counts his houses, and he numbers the acres of his farms, and he tells over every dollar of his hoards, and he assigns to each of his children a sum which he deems sufficient to place them hereafter within the circle of a wealthy society. Death knocks at his door, and he is laid away amid the trappings of a costly mourning; and the pon-

derous marble is evoked from its mountain bed, and, invested by the chisel with the blazonry, it may be, of an ancient and honorable line, is placed over his ashes. But he dies as the fool dieth. His memory, unredeemed by a single spark of intellectuality, or by a feeling of kinship with his race, beyond the narrow confines of his family, decays with his body, and will be dwelt upon by the world at large with no more respect and affection than that of the beasts that bore his flouting cerements to the grave. How unwise in a moral and even in a pecuniary view the conduct of such a character ! He forgot altogether that he was a man and that the concerns of his fellowmen should find a lodgment in his bosom. He forgot that riches have wings and are ever ready to fly away. He forgot that the wealth of an ancestor, however vast, unless replenished by the industry of successors, rarely descends, under our institutions, to a third generation ; and that his children's children, but for the generous liberality and noble philanthropy of him whose poverty he rebuked from him, would be denied the privilege of sharing the choicest blessings of knowledge and civilization ; and he thus becomes in a few short years, in the persons of his descendants, a suppliant for the charity of him whose poverty was his scorn.

How different is the fame of a great Teacher, whose faculties, irrespective of the lucre that perisheth, at the sacrifice of private fortune, have been faithfully devoted, through a whole generation, to the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of his race ! What a fragrance the memory of such a man sheds, not only around the sphere of his immediate labors, but over the State, and over the nation, whose ornament and dear delight he was and ever will be ! His field, in the impressive language of scripture, is the world. He makes the age in which he lives his own, and his fame looming grandly through the mists of centuries gains fresh sublimity from the progress of years, and shines with an ever increasing brightness on future generations. Though dead he yet breathes and moves in our midst in all his majesty, and he speaketh from the chair of authority, and with the lips of persuasion. Posterity bends with reverence at his grave, and looks with interest on the mouldering ruins of his infant seminary, and performs the delightful office of tracing the career of the thousands whose genius was

kindled by his instructions, who have cast the benignant light of letters and love around many a domestic hearth, whose swords have flamed on the field of battle, and whose enginery has crushed the beleaguered castle, whose eloquence has been heard in the pulpit, at the bar, and on the floor of deliberative assemblies, and decided the questions of the age, and whose patriotism, waked into vigor by his voice and example, has been the bulwark and the pride of their country. Future generations will delight to ascend the hill on which rested, amid the fallen trees of a primeval forest, and the narrow outspread of a sparse population, whose only defence was the log fort and the rifle, his humble Academy, and will delight to stray through the numerous edifices and the spacious halls which have arisen in its place; and when they pause to inspect the instruments of philosophy or the monuments of literature and science that are garnered in your treasuries, and behold the hundreds of pupils, the future guard and grace of their country, who have come hither from every part of our beloved south, and the able and accomplished men who filled the chairs of the institution, and recall the illustrious services rendered by them to their country amid the tempest of our great revolution, and in every sphere of intellectual exertion, they will feel and declare that all the glories which they behold, abounding and resplendent as they are, but serve to reflect with renewed brightness the genius of Graham, and that one of the fairest jewels in your crown of rejoicing, and in the treasury of his country, is the memory of your illustrious Founder.

JOHN MONTGOMERY.

John Montgomery, whose name is both on the Presbyterial and the chartered list of Trustees, was born in Augusta, and a graduate of Princeton in 1775. He was ordained as a minister in 1780, and accepted a call from Winchester, Cedar Creek and Opequon. After a residence of seven or eight years in this charge, he removed to the Pastures in Augusta, where he had inherited some property, and there spent the remainder of his life. Before he entered the ministry he was associated with Mr. Graham as a tutor in Liberty Hall. He is reported to have been a sound scholar, a popular

preacher, and always ready to promote the interest of the Academy. He lived to a good old age, and left numerous descendants.

JAMES WADDELL.

As I close, Mr. President, this sketch of Graham, and look over the honored names which are written on the roll of Trustees of 1776, names all of which are justly the pride of Western Virginia, and so many of which still live in their worthy descendants, I feel that the task of giving a meagre account even of their services is far beyond the limits of an occasion like the present, and that all that I can do is to take a passing glance as I go along. And after the name of the venerable Brown, the first of all is James Waddell. The pen of Wirt has made his name familiar to every reader, and I rejoice to say that it is still borne by worthy descendants. He was born of Scotch-Irish parents, in Ulster, Ireland, in July, 1739, and in the fall of the same year was brought over by them to Pennsylvania, in which colony he was educated under favorable auspices. Like Graham, he had the inestimable advantage of a pious mother whose religious training he never forgot. He made fair progress in his studies; but at the age of fourteen he met with an injury which incapacitated him for active labor, and led his parents to afford him the opportunities of a thorough education. He was hunting with his brothers, and chased a hare into a hollow tree. In the excitement of cutting him out, as his brother, says Dr. Foote, was bringing a blow with his axe, James thrust his hand under the edge, and in a twinkling it was severed almost in twain. Hastily gathering up the fingers and part of the hand, and pressing them to the stump, he ran to his parents. The mutilated hand was bandaged, and the wound healed; but the fingers and the lower part of the hand never afterwards increased in size, and were capable of very little action. Thus, as in the case of his eloquent contemporary, Drury Lacy, who lost his left hand in his youth by the bursting of a gun, the Virginia pulpit received two of its most distinguished ornaments.

He attended the Log College of Dr. Finley at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, and studied under the Rev. Mr. Campbell, who was noted for his skill in Greek. Young Waddell thus acquired

that skill in Latin and Greek, and especially in their prosody, which he retained through life, and a knowledge of the Hebrew. At the age of nineteen he left home to teach a school in South Carolina, and on his journey through Virginia called on the Rev. Samuel Davies. The immediate result of the interview was that Waddell agreed to accept a position as assistant in the school of the Rev. Mr. Todd, in the county of Louisa, and to study for the ministry. Another result was that he had the privilege of hearing Samuel Davies, and of lighting his own torch, as Patrick Henry had done before him, at the shrine of that brilliant luminary of the Presbyterian Church. An affectionate friendship existed between them, until it was ended by the early death of Davies.

In 1761 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel. His preaching became instantaneously popular. Before the end of the year he received four or five invitations to accept a pastoral charge. In the following year he accepted a call from Lancaster and Northumberland counties, where he remained until 1778, when he was called to Tinkling Spring, and afterwards divided his services between that church and the church at Staunton. After an interval of seven years, influenced by family attachments and domestic causes, he removed in 1785 to the then county of Louisa, near the present Gordonsville, where he remained till his death, which took place in September 1805, in his 66th year; and there he was buried.

In Waddell we have a fair specimen of the Scotch-Irish clergy, to whom Virginia is so deeply indebted on the score of education, of sound scholarship, of vital piety and of generous patriotism. He was critically skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and it is believed in French also, and in the literature of those tongues. It is to the immortal honor of the Scotch-Irish, that, cumbered as they were by the embarrassments of a new settlement in a wilderness distant from the sea, and exposed to its imminent dangers, they would not place the hands of their Presbytery on the heads that would not learn and could not teach, but guarded their pulpits with zealous care, and exacted a high order of attainments from every candidate for the ministry. It would form a characteristic picture of that era to present on canvas a committee of a Scotch-

Irish Presbytery, convened, it may be, in a log house, or in a building rudely constructed of the stones round and about, examining, hour after hour, a candidate for the ministry in the peculiarities of the Latin and the Greek and the Hebrew, in the metaphysical refinements of theology, and in a knowledge of general literature, before he was permitted to enter on a career that then frequently involved personal danger, at all times untiring and self-denying labors, and almost always limited comforts, if not positive poverty, to the very gates of the tomb. Excellent men! We now enjoy the results of their far-sighted wisdom and of their glorious self-denial. They thought not of present gain, but of the temporal and eternal welfare of those whom Providence had committed to their charge. They only thought of pure morals, of skill in interpreting the oracles of God, and of the diffusion of sound instruction and a pure religious faith among men. Let us ever respect the legacy which they have left us in their glorious example.

Waddell soon became known for his flowing eloquence and his apt illustrations drawn from his general reading. His tall and graceful form, his high pale forehead, his light blue eyes and his fair complexion, all heightened by a sympathetic feeling for that sad injury that had maimed him for life, arrested attention; and his voice, full and sweet, filled pleasantly the ear; and his action, at this period of his course, was polished and animated. From childhood his nervous system was delicate. At one period he could hardly lift a tumbler of water to his lips. But the great ailment of his life was the weakness of his eyes. Then came a cloud over his vision, and the researches of learning, and the light of day, and the faces of his wife and children could be seen no more. In this extremity the members of his family would read to him by turns; and in preparing his discourses he would choose his text, and have the context read to him, and the parallel passages from Cruden; and then "he would lie at full length, his right arm thrown carelessly over his head, his long fingers moving in measured beats, noting the vacuity or fulness of his thoughts, and the passage of time." After many years of total blindness there came a momentary relief. Seven years before his death, he visited Fredericktown, Maryland, with a view of being operated upon for cataract. "The

immediate effect of the operation," says Dr. Foote, "was less encouraging than had been anticipated, and he returned to his family with scarce the feeblest hope of ever seeing them, and the sweet light of heaven, again. After some time, when removing the bandages from his eyes, he thought he saw with some distinctness the divisions of the window sash, and called one of his daughters to pass her finger along the divisions of the window. By trial, he became convinced that he saw the outlines of objects correctly, though dimly. The excitement in the family was great as the word flew from child to child, '*Father can see!*' The servants caught the excitement, and '*Master can see,*' passed swiftly from mouth to mouth. He caused them all to pass in review before him that he might refresh his heart with a dim sight of those he had ever been used to look upon; and might gain some faint image of those who had been added to his household after the doors of vision had been shut, and of those too whose young bodies were rapidly increasing with their years. That was a day of rejoicing at Belle Grove. The eyes gradually recovered the power of vision sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, and to enable him to read with properly fitted lenses. But this visit of the blessed light of heaven was of short continuance; the cataract returned."

It was after this return of his blindness that Wirt heard him preach, and wrote that animated account which is printed in all the school-books, and is the staple of one of the most charming letters of the British Spy. Waddell is described in old age as being very tall and spare; his visage long, his forehead towering upward, his face thin, and his eyes blue. He wore long white top-boots, small clothes buckled at the knees, a long loose straight-bodied coat, and a white wig. He was seldom vehement in delivery; often excited, but never boisterous; often deeply pathetic in tone and manner; very courtly in his manners, and used much gesture with both hands.¹ Such was James Waddell, one of the first trustees of your infant institution.

The late Gov. James Barbour is reported to have said that Waddell was the most eloquent man he ever heard with the exception of Patrick Henry.

¹ Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 384.

THE REV. CHARLES CUMMINGS.

Next to Waddell on the list of the trustees appointed by the Presbytery stands the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings. He was in truth a representative of the Scotch-Irish race to which he belonged, of the clergy of the era in which he lived, and of that abnormal magistracy which was maintained during the Revolution in the shape of Committees of Safety, and which was the efficient means for promoting the public as well as the local interests of that struggle. He was born in Ireland about the year 1743, and in early manhood emigrated to Lancaster county in this state, and studied theology, and probably taught, in the family of Dr. Waddell. In 1765 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel, and in May 1767 he was called to "Major Brown's meeting-house" in Augusta, where he was duly ordained and installed. As a mark of his early promise it may be said that he received invitations to three different places before he was licensed. In 1773 he accepted a call from the congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring on the Holston. The names of those who invited him to this charge have been preserved by the care of the late Gov. David Campbell, and are published by Dr. Foote in his second volume. They are one hundred and thirty-eight in number, and embrace not only the ancestors of the people of Southwest Virginia, but of thousands in all the Southern States. It is a valuable document in the genealogy of the Commonwealth.

Before leaving the Northern Neck Mr. Cummings had married Mildred Carter, a daughter of John Carter of Lancaster; and in 1773, then about thirty years old, he with his family took up his abode in the wilderness of the Holston. His congregations were liable to daily attacks from the Indians. Every Sunday morning, having neatly attired himself in the dress of a minister, he put on his bullet pouch, and with rifle in hand he rode to the meeting-house. There more than a hundred brave men, equipped for instant battle, with their families, were ready to greet him. A guard was set around the house, and Mr. Cummings ascended the pulpit, and taking off his bullet pouch, and carefully placing his rifle within easy reach of his right hand, conducted the usual services. Nor were these precautions idle. During the summer

months the Indians were very troublesome, and the families of the Holston Settlement were collected in log forts for safety. "The one," says Dr. Foote, "to which Mr. Cummings always carried his family was on the land of Capt. Joseph Black, and stood on the first knoll on the Knob road, south of Abington, and on the spot where David Campbell's gate stands. In the month of July, 1776, when his family were in the fort, and he with a servant and wagon and three neighbors were going to his farm, the party were attacked by Indians, a few hundred yards from the meeting-house. Creswell, who was driving the wagon, was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and during the skirmish the two other neighbors were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant-man Job, both of whom were well armed, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who hearing the fire, came to their relief, brought in the dead and wounded. A statement has been published in a respectable historical work that on this occasion Mr. Cummings lost his wig. I speak from the information of an eye witness [says Gov. Campbell] when Mr. Cummings came into the fort, in saying that the story has no truth in it." Throughout the Revolution Mr. Cummings was an ardent and active patriot. He was a member of the Fincastle Committee of Safety, and when the county of Washington was organized he was the indefatigable chairman of the Committee of that county.¹ Nor was he averse to actual war. When Col. Christian, in October, 1776, made a campaign against the Cherokees, Mr. Cummings attended the troops, preaching at the stations on the route, his rifle ever at his elbow, and thus was the first preacher of the gospel within the limits of the present Tennessee. As a preacher he was most successful in swelling the number of his flock. He preached for many years, and until very old, "to one of the largest, most respectable, and most intelligent congregations ever assembled in Western Virginia." He continued to preach at Holston until near the time of his death, which occurred in March, 1812, in his eightieth year, and left a large number of

¹ He was also a member of the committee, of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which reported the patriotic and independent address of the Freeholders of Fincastle, on the 20th of January, 1775, to the Continental Congress.—Eds.

respectable descendants. Gov. Campbell, who knew him personally, and had been brought up under his eyes, thus described him : "He was of middle stature, about five feet ten inches high, well set and formed, possessing great personal firmness and dignity of character. His voice was strong and had great compass ; his articulation was clear and distinct. Without apparent effort, he could speak to be heard by ten thousand people. His mind was good without any brilliancy. He understood his own system well ; spoke always with great gravity, and required it from all who sat under the sound of his voice. He could not tolerate any movement among the congregation after preaching commenced. He uniformly spoke like one having authority, and laid down the law and the gospel with great distinctness as he understood them." And we are told elsewhere that he was a rigid Calvinist of the Old School, strict and even stern in the observance of the Sabbath, and faithful in teaching his children and servants the catechism. For the rest, he has left behind him a gracious memory in the records of his church and in the annals of the Commonwealth.

COL. WILLIAM FLEMING.

Few men served their country with greater zeal and ability than Col. William Fleming, of Belmont, the name of his seat in Bote-tourt, which he had chosen in honor of one of his ancestral seats in Scotland, and which was added to distinguish him from William Fleming of Cumberland, whom some present may recall, as he was in his latter years on the bench of the Court of Appeals. William Fleming, though not Scotch-Irish, was Scotch, and was born in the town of Jedburgh, on the 18th day of February, 1729. His father was of the noble family of Fleming, who held the barony of Fleming and the earldom of Wigton, and were long famous in Scottish annals. The Flemings were Catholics, and embraced with eagerness the cause of the beautiful Queen of Scots ; and in the civil dissensions of her reign were so conspicuous that Sir Walter Scott introduces not only a female of the race as one of the confidential ladies of the Queen, but the then Lord Fleming as one of the chiefs who received Mary on her escape from Lochleven. When the titles of Lord Fleming and Earl of Wigton became extinct by the death of the last possessor without a lineal

male heir, it was believed that the claims of Col Fleming, if properly urged, would have been sustained by the House of Lords ; but our old patriot, who had voted to abolish entails in Virginia, when urged to prosecute his cause was wont to say that he had two objections to such a course : the first was that he preferred the institutions of a republic to those of a monarchy ; and the second was, that he had no idea of sacrificing his other children for the sake of his eldest son who was already well provided for. It is only necessary to say that the earldom of Wigton became extinct, and that at a subsequent period the title of Lord Fleming was revived in favor of one of the family.

Col. Fleming received a thorough training in Latin at a time when Greek was hardly known in the Scotch universities, and in some of his writings which I have seen shows some skill in philology. Having resolved to study medicine he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he completed his course. From his youth he seemed fond of adventure ; and having obtained the berth of surgeon's mate in the British Navy, was in a sharp action with a Spanish man-of-war, during which he received a cut on the face that was never obliterated. His vessel was captured and was taken into a Spanish port, where he and his comrades were treated with great barbarity. It was his good fortune to receive occasional supplies from a noble Spanish lady, whose name he could never learn ; and he has been heard to say in his latter days that he would never turn a human being from his door, if for no other reason lest such a person might possibly be descended from the Spanish lady. In his 26th year, impelled by a desire to visit new countries, and perhaps by the influence of the Scotch friends of Gov. Dinwiddie, who was then governor, he determined to visit Virginia, and reached James river in the summer of 1755, when the spirits of the people were depressed by the defeat of Braddock, and when it was believed that the western country would be the seat of a long and bloody war between England and her colonies on one part and France and probably Spain on the other. Within a month after his landing he resolved to lay aside his medical profession and embark in a military career. On the 25th of August, 1755, about six weeks after the defeat of Braddock, he received from Governor Dinwiddie the commission of ensign in Col. George Washington's Virginia regiment, and served under that officer throughout the whole

of that perilous period. In 1762 he was commissioned by the Governor lieutenant, and served under Major Andrew Lewis, at Fort Chizwell, and in several expeditions of that officer ; and in the same year he was appointed by Gov. Fauquier a captain in the regiment commanded by Col. Adam Stephen. In 1774 he was appointed colonel, and led his regiment to the Ohio with others under the command of Col. Andrew Lewis. At the battle of Point Pleasant he acted a prominent part. It is well known that Col. Andrew Lewis, chief in command, sent forth his brother, Col. Charles Lewis, and Col. Fleming, with a strong detachment in the direction of the approaching enemy, who received them with a destructive volley fired from their hiding places. Both Col. Lewis and Col. Fleming were wounded at the first fire ; but as Col. Lewis and other wounded officers were carried from the ground, Col. Fleming determined to remain at all hazards. When Col. Lewis was brought to the fort, it was soon seen that he was mortally wounded, and that gallant officer died in the course of the morning. The condition of Col. Fleming seemed equally desperate. He received three balls, one of which was in the wrist of the right arm, breaking the bone ; the second was higher up on the same arm ; and the third was in the breast. In his efforts to rally the men, he greatly aggravated the wound in the lungs. When he reached the fort surgical assistance was deemed useless ; and the attention of the surgeons, who were few in number, was directed to cases not thought wholly desperate. Meantime Col. Fleming, who had sunk from exhaustion, rallied a little, and by the aid of his servant dressed his own wounds. The ball in his lungs was never extracted, produced at times acute suffering as long as he lived, and disqualified him entirely from active military service. Whenever he exerted himself, the ball, which had made a cell for itself in the lungs, would appear to move upward the height of two inches, and then fall back again, inflicting severe pain in its progress.

Although unable to endure the active labors of war, he was engaged in the civil service throughout the Revolution. On the 4th of April, 1776, he was appointed by the Committee of Safety Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the County of Botetourt. On the formation of the constitution of the State, he was elected

to the Senate from the counties of Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. He was thus a member of the first General Assembly of the State, and voted in favor of Mr. Jefferson's bill to abolish entails, and of other measures designed to accommodate our institutions to a republican model. At a later period he was appointed by the Assembly one of a commission to adjust disputed land titles in Kentucky, and to settle all claims against the State of Virginia. He was chosen in 1780 a member of the Council and rendered efficient aid in rescuing the public archives from the torch of Tarleton.¹ In 1788 he was a member of the convention of that year called to decide upon the present Federal Constitution and for reasons already assigned voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument. This was his last act of public service. He had now reached the seventh decade of life, and his health had been much impaired by the exposure and the wounds of a military career on the land and on the sea. With the exception of occasional trips to Kentucky, where he owned much valuable land, he spent his last days in the bosom of his family at Belmont, and with the surroundings of a wealthy patriarch. In all his domestic relations he was truly fortunate and happy. Before his removal to Botetourt he married a daughter of Israel Christian of Augusta, one of the early settlers of Augusta, and the father of Col. William Christian, of whom I will speak presently. Seven of Col. Fleming's children reached maturity and survived him. And of these, two, a son and a daughter, were living in 1860.² Col. Fleming died at Belmont on the 5th of August, 1795, aged 66, and was buried in the family burial ground, where his grave, enclosed by a stone wall, may now be seen. It is especially due to the memory of Col. Fleming in its present connexion to state that he was a warm friend of schools and colleges. He took an active part in the success of Hampden Sidney. He urged upon the Assembly the expediency of a high school for the county of Kentucky, which was incorporated with the name of Transylvania, and he was a cordial friend and trustee of this institution. He was a

¹ As a member of the Council he acted as chief executive of the State for a time in 1781, in the temporary absence of Mr. Jefferson from Richmond.—Eds.

² One of his daughters married the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., for many years President of Washington College.—Eds.

lover of books, and owned a good library for that day. His copy of Tillotson, carefully read and annotated by him, is in the possession of his descendants. In stature he was about the middle size; his forehead broad and massy; his nose Roman; his profile strongly marked; his eyes were blue; and his hair dark until touched with years. His teeth were sound to his dying day. He was a patriot without reproach, a brave officer, of great eminence as a physician and surgeon, one of the best of husbands and fathers, and a man whose name and virtues would confer merit on any institution with which he was connected.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

One of the early trustees of Liberty Hall before its incorporation was Col. William Preston, a name then confined to the straggling settlements of the Valley, but now well-known throughout the present Union. Who was William Preston? Come with me over the one hundred and thirty-five years last past, and I will answer the question. Let us attend the organization of the county court of Augusta, the Augusta of that day, stretching along the Blue Ridge to the North Carolina line, and from the Ridge to the Ohio and the Mississippi—and a glorious principality it was! That court was held on the 9th day of December, 1745, in the village of Staunton, which was so called, probably by John Lewis, in compliment to the wife of Governor Gooch, who had granted their patents to the early settlers; but whether the maiden name of Lady Gooch was Staunton, or Staunton was the name of her English home, I am unable to ascertain. The commission from the Governor was read; and it appeared that John Lewis was appointed the presiding justice of the court. He was then 67 years old, but he was to live seventeen years more, and to see other counties carved out of his own. Born in the reign of Charles the Second, this venerable patriarch saw the entire reigns of James the Second, of William and Mary, of Queen Anne, of George the First, and of George the Second, and was to count two years of the reign of George the Third—the first king born on the soil of England since the birth of Edward the Sixth—and closed his career at Bellefonte, where his ashes now repose, at the age of

84. By the side of John Lewis sat Hugh Thompson, Robert Cunningham, James Kerr, and Adam Dickinson. John Madison, the father of the future bishop and the uncle of the future president, rises in his place and reads his commission from Thomas Nelson, Secretary of the Colony, as clerk of the new county ; for it was not until the date of the Revolution, thirty years later, that the courts assumed the power of appointing their own clerks. The court proceeded to appoint a sheriff, and John Patton was invested with that office. Thomas Lewis, another of your trustees, then in the full flush of manhood, having entered his 27th year, steps forward, and reads his commission as surveyor of the new county, under the sign-manual of President Dawson of William and Mary College, the successor of the venerable Blair in that institution, and is approved by the court. The court holds its sessions from month to month, and at the May term of the following year, 1746, occurred an incident which it is my present province to notice, and which I shall read in the words of the record.

“John Preston came into court and prayed leave to prove his importation, which was granted him ; and thereupon he made oath that, at his own charge, he had imported himself, Elizabeth his wife, William his son, and Lettice and Ann his daughters, immediately from Ireland into this colony, and that this is the first time of proving his said right, in order to partake of His Majesty’s bounty for taking up land.”

As we contemplate this December and May session of Augusta Court, how devotedly we wish that those patriarchs of our modern State, surrounded, as they then were, by the toils and the dangers of a savage wilderness, could have had a glimpse of the future of a century of years ; could have known that the record of a part of the proceedings of that day should be read on such an occasion as the present ; could have known that the name of Lewis would be honorably connected in peace and war with the greatest civil and military revolution of the eighteenth century ; that the name of Preston would be wreathed with the glories that genius and eloquence and valor could cluster about it ; that the names of Patton and Thompson and others would be more generally known than in their own time ; and that the name of Madison, which was

known in the colony even before the massacre of 1622, would shine with a radiance as enduring as the records of history !

We thus see that Col. William Preston was born in Ireland, and, as we have reason to believe, in the city of Dublin ; that he may have spent his first years in the shadow of Trinity College, where he played his pranks on that beautiful green which still attracts the admiration of the traveller. He was the only son of John Preston named in the record, who resided in Dublin,¹ and was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and who married a sister of Col. James Patton, of Donegal, Ireland. Col. Patton was a man of enterprise and vigor and was possessed of considerable wealth, and emigrating to Virginia before 1745 obtained from the governor for himself and his partners a grant of 120,000 acres of land in the Valley. He fixed his residence on the south fork of the Shenandoah, and also took up land in the present county of Montgomery ; and in 1755, while on a visit to his lands in that region, was slain by the Indians at Smithfield. The fate of John Preston was hardly more fortunate than that of Patton. He first settled at Spring Hill, afterwards occupied by Dr. Waddell, the blind preacher, and about the year 1743 purchased and occupied a tract afterwards owned by the late General Baldwin. Here in 1747, the year after he had proved his claim to land in virtue of his emigration, he died suddenly, and a neat monument now marks his place of burial. He left a widow and five children, all but one having been born in Ireland. One of his daughters married Robert Breckenridge, the grandfather of Robert and John Breckenridge, those eloquent divines of our own times. Another daughter married the Rev. Dr. John Brown, your second rector, whose eminent sons I have spoken of in their proper places, and concerning one of whom I may now say that, as the representative of the United States at the court of France, he announced to Louis the Eighteenth the celebrated utterance of his government commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine. Another daughter married Mr. Howard, whose eldest son was the first governor of Missouri ; and another married Mr. Smith and was the grandmother of the Mar-

¹ Mr. Grigsby is mistaken in saying that John Preston resided in Dublin. He was from Londonderry.—EDS.

shalls of Kentucky. Thus it seems that though John Preston lived but a short time in the new world, his posterity may be counted by hundreds.

But it is William, the only son of John Preston, that now demands our attention. He enjoyed those advantages of education within the range of a frontier settlement, and especially, as we may suppose, the instructions of Dr. Brown, his brother-in-law, who conducted your Academy. He soon exhibited talents which placed him in after life on a level with the prominent men of that day. At that era, prowess in Indian campaigns was one of the main tests of character, just as in our late contest a wound on the battlefield was a passport to the smiles of beauty. One of his early engagements was that of a surveyor under Washington, and there arose from this connection a friendly feeling between them that was cherished by Washington after the decease of Preston. In 1756 he accompanied Maj. Andrew Lewis in the Shawanese expedition, or the Sandy Creek voyage, as it is sometimes called, which involved greater hardships than any other of our incursions into the Indian territory, and which, though no enemy was present, had nearly resulted in the destruction of the whole party by starvation. The object of the expedition was confined to the breast of Major Lewis; but its aim probably was to build a fort between the Shawanese towns on the Ohio, to destroy those towns, and to punish a race of Indians, who, for a third of a century later than 1756, committed cruel murders within the settlements of Virginia. Of this expedition we fortunately possess an account from the pen of Col. Preston himself. It consisted of about 340 men, commanded by Captains Preston, Hays, one of your trustees, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, the grandfather of the celebrated divine, Robert Breckenridge, Woodson, Overton, Montgomery, and Dunlap, with Capt. Paris at the head of a number of friendly Cherokees; Maj. Andrew Lewis holding the chief command. Maj. David Stuart, the father of good old Col. John Stuart of Greenbrier, accompanied the party. It set out from Fort Frederic on the 18th of February, and passing the Bear Garden and Burke's Garden reached the head of Clinch on the 26th, and on the 28th the head of Sandy Creek, which was so crooked that in

15 miles the men were forced to cross it sixty-six times. Their stores were soon exhausted, and their numbers were too great to be fed by hunting. After enduring the utmost extremity of hunger, the men on the 13th of March refused to proceed further, and resolved to return home. Capt. Preston, though feeble from famine, and though his entire company (except the officers) had determined to return, was resolved to carry out the expedition, and proposed the killing of the horses for food; but the men replied that horseflesh might answer, if they were returning, to support them home; but that it was not proper diet to sustain men enduring every hardship on a long march against an enemy. The failure of the expedition was attributed partly to the foul play of the guides; but a sufficient explanation may be found in the fact that so large a body of men left Fort Frederic in winter for a journey of hundreds of miles through a trackless wilderness with provisions for sixteen days only. In this trying scene the conduct of Capt. Preston deserves the highest praise. Neither famine, nor the severities of the season, nor the toil of climbing mountains with tottering limbs, sufficed to dismay him. It was in such a school that Andrew Lewis learned that discipline which enabled him eighteen years later to conduct his army through forests equally dense and over mountains as rough, and at the end of a weary march to gain the battle of Point Pleasant; that Hays, your trustee, learned that intrepidity with which he led his Rockbridge boys to ply the rifle on the heights of Saratoga; and that Preston was taught those lessons of self-command which subsequently marked his course, and which were seen in his march against the Cherokees, at Whitsell's Mills, and at Guilford.

In May, 1774, he was a member of the House of Burgesses; and when Col. Christian was advised by Lord Dunmore to return home, and to use his endeavors to prevent the inhabitants from deserting their homes from fears of the Indian war then impending, and to collect forces for the emergency, he called Col. Preston to his aid, and spoke in warm terms of his energy and skill on that trying occasion. Col. Preston also marched with Col. Christian to the head of Clinch, and remained in active service until the close of October, when the troubles were for a time appeased by the suc-

cessful issue of the battle of Point Pleasant.¹ In 1780 he was engaged with Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell in their respective expeditions against the Cherokees. He was also at the battle of Guilford, and received the congratulations of Gen. Greene for his gallant conduct. Such was the efficiency of his service in protecting the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina, that the latter state gave him in conjunction with Col. Campbell a vote of thanks for his energy and enterprise.

He lived to see the close of the war of the Revolution, and died at Smithfield, in June, 1783, aged 53 years. He was said to have been a man of imposing presence and of a pleasing address, and to have maintained a serene temper amidst the worriments of the forest and of the field. His height exceeded six feet, his complexion was fair and florid. Like his father, who won the hand of an Irish heiress by the beauty of his person and the elegance of his deportment, Col. Preston was regarded as remarkably handsome. His disposition was humane, as was shown by his treatment of the Indians and the Tories. He was a member of the church; and while living at Smithfield, in Montgomery, would ride once a year as far as Staunton to commune in the Presbyterian church in that town. The style of his letters and of his other writings that have survived him evinces good taste; and a library quite respectable for the times attested his love for letters. Some verses of his which have been seen by persons now living are said to show that he was no unsuccessful votary of the Muses. He married and left eleven children, all of whom have held a high place in the esteem of the world. Of these, five were sons: John, Francis, the father of the late William C. Preston, of South Carolina, James, William and Thomas; and six were daughters: Mrs. Madison, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Floyd.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

The name which holds the first place on your roll of incorporated trustees, and which justly maintains a prominence on the

¹ He was also a member of the committee of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which drafted the address of the Fincastle Freeholders in January, 1775.—Eds.

score of age and public service among his distinguished contemporaries, is that of Col. Arthur Campbell, of Washington county. He was the son of David Campbell, whose progenitor emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to Virginia; and in 1742, in the present county of Augusta, Arthur Campbell was born. When a youth of fifteen he was engaged in protecting the settlers from the Indians; and having been stationed at a fort near where the road from Staunton to the Warm Springs crosses the Cowpasture river, when on one occasion he and his companions sallied forth on a short excursion, was taken prisoner by a party of Indians and remained with them for three years, traversing in that interval the entire region now forming the states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. This incident, which withdrew him from the opportunities of education and which subjected him to innumerable hardships, was overruled for the advancement of his own reputation and for the benefit of his country. He became intimately acquainted with the geography of the Northwest Territory, which Virginia afterward gained by her arms, and not, perhaps, without his counsels; he learned the habits and the language and the tactics of the Indians and acquired the capacity of enduring fatigue, which was beneficial in his subsequent career. It was also observed that some traits of character, which were ever afterwards observable, might be traced to this period. On his return home to his parents, who had long mourned him as dead, he applied himself to learning, with the energy of a fully developed character, and made remarkable progress in his studies. He had run off from the Indians on the northern lakes, and made his way through a wilderness of two hundred miles to a detachment of the British army that was marching into the Indian country, and he was immediately engaged as a guide. It was his mingling with the British officers, perhaps, that first led him to perceive the importance of knowledge to the attainment of permanent and thorough success. For his conduct in guiding the army he was presented with a thousand acres of land near the present town of Louisville, Kentucky. He pursued his studies with such success as to become in due time a ready and correct writer, and from his early manhood seems to have been a favorite with the General

Assembly, and to have received every manifestation of regard from the people.

A few years before the Revolution he removed with a brother and sister to a farm called the Royal Oak on the Holston river, then a wilderness and an Indian hunting ground; and in 1776 he was chosen by the county of Fincastle, which had been separated from Botetourt four years before, a delegate to the Convention of Virginia, which met in the city of Williamsburg on the 6th day of May. That body, which dissolved the relations of Virginia with the British crown and declared her absolute independence, which instructed her delegates in Congress to bring forward a similar measure in that body, and which framed the first written constitution of a free commonwealth, holds a distinguished place in human history. To have been one of its members, and to have aided in attaining its valuable results, is an honor beside which an inscription in the roll of Battle Abbey dwindles in the comparison, and which will be a pleasing and glorious record for ages to come. And it should be said in honor of your then infant institution, that not less than four of its trustees—Thomas Lewis, John Bowyer, Samuel McDowell, and Arthur Campbell—held seats in that Assembly. And although we know from private letters that there was a disposition on the part of some of the members to shrink from the decisive action of the hour, we also know that the trustees of Liberty Hall acted with the most determined men on that occasion.¹

Col. Arthur Campbell was also a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution, and was deeply interested in the religious and political questions discussed during that session, embracing those liberal views of which Mr. Jefferson was the representative.

On the organization of Washington county in January, 1777, he was appointed county lieutenant and commander-in-chief; and in 1779 joined Col. Sevier after the battle of Boyd's Creek with a regiment of Virginians, scouring the Cherokee country, and destroying their habitations. He returned home with a firm assurance that the punishment inflicted upon the Indians would secure

¹ He was also a member of the committee that drafted the address of the Freeholders of Fincastle in January, 1775.

the settlers for some time to come. In 1781, at the head of seven hundred mounted riflemen, he led an expedition against the Cherokees, which was entirely successful, and was the first experiment on a large scale of that mode of warfare. The result of the expedition was the negotiation of the Cherokee treaty of that date. His conduct on this occasion was reported to Congress by Governor Jefferson in most flattering terms, and was warmly praised by Girardin in his History of Virginia.

For thirty-five years Col. Campbell resided on his estate on the Holston, and during that time was county lieutenant and the commander of the 70th regiment. He then removed to Yellow Creek, Knox county, Kentucky, where he died of a cancer in the face at the age of sixty-nine. He married the third sister of Gen. William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, with whom in peace and war he was so intimately associated. Two of the sons of Arthur Campbell lost their lives during the war of 1812: Capt. James Campbell, who died at Mobile, and Col. John B. Campbell, who fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing under Gen. Scott.

Col. Arthur Campbell was six feet in height, of a grave and dignified demeanor, firm and positive in action, utterly regardless of the ordinary means of acquiring popularity, and though he had some bitter enemies he counted some of the first men of the age among his personal friends. His conversational powers were said to be unusual; and from his temperate mode of life, his presidency for the third of a century in a court of justice, his correspondence with eminent men, and his habits of study, his intellectual faculties were preserved in fine play to the end of his life.

COLONEL WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

Among the earliest trustees of Liberty Hall, and second on the roll of the incorporated institution, stands the name of Col. William Christian. It was for almost an entire generation one of the foremost in war and peace in the annals of the west, when the west was within the limits of Virginia, and was bounded by the Ohio and Mississippi. He was the only son of Israel Christian, who was among the earlier settlers of Augusta, and was of Scotch-Irish

extraction. Israel Christian followed the business of a merchant, founded a large family, which was united in marriage with the most conspicuous persons of that era, and accumulated a fortune ample enough to endow his children with respectable wealth. He was esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and represented the county of Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1758, when George Mason was a young member from Fairfax, and Edmund Pendleton was another young member from Caroline, and George Washington was another young member from Frederick. This session of the House was one of the most important ever held in the colony, and was composed of the ablest men who had ever assembled in our councils. Of the proceedings of the body I have spoken elsewhere. Israel Christian died, I believe, before the Revolution, and left, besides his distinguished son William, several daughters, one of whom married Col. William Fleming, of Botetourt, one of your trustees; a second married Judge Caleb Wallace, another trustee; a third married Col. William Bowyer, of Botetourt; and a fourth married Col. Stephen Trigg, of Kentucky. Three counties in Kentucky named in honor of his son and two of his sons-in-law—Christian, Fleming and Trigg—afford a pleasing and lasting remembrance of family worth and distinction.

Col. William Christian was born in Augusta in 1743, was educated with great care by his father, and arriving at manhood was soon employed in the active schemes of offence and defence against the incessant attacks of the Indians. On the organization of the first two Virginia regiments in 1775, he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of the first, of which Patrick Henry was the colonel. To such distinction did he attain as a military man that in May, 1776, he was appointed colonel of the first battalion of Virginia militia, and commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Overhill Cherokee Indians, the troops under his command consisting of two battalions from Virginia and one from North Carolina, which, with other men necessarily employed, composed an army of 1600 men—an extraordinary number for that period. Again in 1780 he commanded another expedition against the Cherokees, and at Double Springs was joined by troops from North Carolina under Col. Sevier, whose original name of Xavier shows his French extraction, and who was a son of the Valley of Virginia. These

marches against the Indians were always successful. In 1781, after the successful expedition of Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, when it was decided to make a treaty with those Indians, and when it was then not known to whom the authority belonged to make treaties with Indians who roamed through the territories of several states, an application was made to Gen. Greene to appoint a commission for the purpose ; and that officer complied with the request, and placed Colonel Christian at its head. It consisted of Col. Christian, Col. Arthur Campbell, Col. William Preston, and Col. Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and of some able men from North Carolina.

But though called into military service at every emergency, he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and participated in the various stages of the disputes that led to the Declaration of Independence. In May, 1774, while in Williamsburg, when the Indian troubles were brewing that led to the Battle of Point Pleasant, he was earnestly entreated by Lord Dunmore to leave his seat in the house and hasten to the West to provide against the threatened danger. He accordingly hastened to the mountains and collected troops with which he marched to the seat of war. When he had successfully accomplished the object in view, he hastened to unite his forces with those of Col. Andrew Lewis ; but before he reached Camp Union, the present Lewisburg, Col. Lewis had marched to the Ohio. It is stated by Campbell, though not sustained by other authorities, that if Christian had united his forces with those of Lewis, the chief command would have devolved upon him. He hastened his march, but did not reach Lewis until the midnight after the battle of Point Pleasant, when he found that every arrangement was made for the renewal of the fight next morning. Next day he marched to meet the enemy, who had withdrawn early at the close of the fight the evening before, leaving thirty-three dead bodies which they had not been able to throw into the Ohio.

Like most of the prominent military and political actors of his time, he owned large possessions in Kentucky, whither in 1785 he removed with his family and settled on Bullskin creek, and afterwards on Oxmoor creek, an estate which is still in possession of his family, near the site of the present city of Louisville. Here

his career was destined soon to end. In the year after his arrival a party of Indians stole a number of horses in his vicinity, and he determined to pursue them. He reached a spot near where the town of Jeffersonville in Indiana now is, where he overtook two of the Indians. Col. Christian was riding in front, and was followed by Col. Bullett, his son-in-law, and Major O'Bannon. As Col. Christian dismounted, preparatory to firing, he was shot and killed by one of the Indians; and at the same instant both of the Indians were shot and mortally wounded by Col. Bullett and Maj. O'Bannon. One of the company of the name of Kelly, who ran to tomahawk the Indian whose gun had not been discharged, but who had been mortally wounded, was shot dead by the Indian, who in a dying state sprang to his feet and discharged his rifle. The body of Col. Christian was conveyed home, and was buried in the graveyard on the plantation which is still owned by his grandson. A plain slab marks the spot, and is inscribed: "Col. William Christian was killed in an action with the Indians April 9, 1786, aged 43. This monument was erected to his memory by the filial piety of his son John Henry Christian, who died Nov. 5, 1800, aged 19." So with the century expired the last male heir of William Christian.

When the intelligence of his death was spread through Kentucky, which was then a part of Virginia, and through Virginia proper, and especially in the Valley, where his talents and services were so well known and admired, grief for the sudden extinction of such a master-spirit was profound and general. None felt the loss of such a man at such a conjuncture more keenly than his brother-in-law, Patrick Henry, who wrote to his sister in a strain of pious eloquence which had probably never before fallen from his pen, and which shows that the heart of the orator responded to the tenderest emotions of domestic love. "Would to God," said the sympathizing brother, "I could say something to give relief to the dearest of women and sisters. My heart has felt in a manner new and strange to me, insomuch that, while I am endeavoring to comfort you, I want a comforter myself. I forbear to tell you how great was my love for my friend and brother. I turn my eyes to heaven where he is gone, I trust, and adore with humility the unsearchable ways of that Providence which calls us off this stage

of action at such time and in such manner as its wisdom and goodness direct." And he concludes his letter: "For, indeed, my dearest sister, you never knew how much I loved you and your husband. My heart is full. Perhaps I may never see you in this world. Oh! may we meet in that heaven to which the merits of Jesus will carry those who love and serve him. Such is the prayer of him who thinks it his honor and pride to be your affectionate brother."

Such was William Christian—a successful soldier, where other men would have yielded to despair, and a wise statesman. After the untimely death of Gen. Andrew Lewis, he was regarded as the first military genius of the West, to whom all eyes were turned at the approach of danger. Had he lived to behold the administration of Washington, who greatly esteemed him, he would have been appointed by acclamation to command those expeditions against the Indians which in other hands resulted so disastrously. It is pleasing to state that his descendants in Kentucky are numerous and respectable, and that the estate on which his ashes repose is still owned by his grandson.

GENERAL ANDREW MOORE.

The third name on the roll of incorporated trustees is that of one who long lived in this town, who often ascended this hill and mingled in your deliberations, who fought long and bravely in the armies of the North during the Revolution, who represented Rockbridge many years in the House of Delegates, who was the first representative of Rockbridge in the House of Representatives of the United States, who was the first representative of the Valley in the Senate of the United States, who spent his last days in the shadow of your college, and whose honored dust rests in yonder cemetery. Such a description can apply to one man only, and that man is Gen. Andrew Moore.

His grandfather was one of nine brothers who came over to this country from Ireland between 1740 and 1750, most of whom settled in South Carolina, and all of whom served in the war of the Revolution, in which more than one of them are believed to have fallen. When the brothers came over to America they brought with them an aged female ancestor who could remember the siege of

Derry, during which she had been driven under the walls of that city by the generals of James the Second—a policy which that cruel king adopted with a view of forcing the besieged to surrender; and she used to tell her descendants of the dead bodies beneath the walls, some of them with tufts of grass in their mouths, which they had torn from the earth to appease their hunger.

The father of Gen. Andrew Moore was David, who was an upright and industrious farmer, and who lived at a place in the northern part of Rockbridge, then Augusta, now called Cannicello, where in 1752 Andrew was born. His mother was Miss Evans, who was of Welsh descent. He probably received his early training at the Academy before it assumed the name of Liberty Hall, under the Rev. Dr. Brown, and in early life taught school for a short time; but seeking a more active sphere, he made a voyage to the West Indies, and was cast away on a desert island, where for three weeks his companions and himself were forced to feed, in the extremity of their hunger, on a species of lizard that abounded in the island; but were relieved from their fate by a passing vessel which brought them to the United States. He now turned his attention to law, and, either in the office of Chancellor Wythe in Williamsburg, or under his advisement, pursued his legal studies, and about 1774 obtained a license to practice law. But the courts were soon closed by the Revolution; and in 1776 young Moore entered the army as a lieutenant in a company that was afterwards attached to Morgan's Rifle Corps, of which John Hays, one of your trustees, was captain. It should be observed in passing, as creditable to Rockbridge, that as soon as Moore obtained his commission as lieutenant he went to a log-rolling in the neighborhood and enlisted nineteen men in one day, that being the whole number present capable of bearing arms. He soon obtained his complement of one hundred men, and was ordered to march to the North. Nearly his whole military life was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. In the last mentioned state he was actively engaged in the capture of Burgoyne's army, and was present with his company as a part of Morgan's corps in the battle of Saratoga, which resulted in the surrender of the British forces. After having obtained the rank of Captain, and having served three successive years, as there was a great number

of supernumerary officers, he resigned his commission, and returned home. He now entered the House of Delegates as one of the representatives of Rockbridge, and was a member when the Assembly was driven from Charlottesville by the cavalry of Tarleton.

He was now placed in a position in which he was to acquire his most shining titles to the public regard. The legislature of Virginia from 1780 to 1789, when he retired from the body, was one of the best schools of statesmanship ever offered to a young politician. In that interval nearly all the great questions of that era were discussed and decided. All the leading topics of a republican system in relation to foreign and domestic affairs came before the body. The expediency of a church establishment, assessments for the support of religion, paper money, the payment of taxes in kind, the confiscation of British debts, the regulation of the customs which each State controlled according to its interests, the new judiciary system, the expediency of forming the Articles of Confederation, and at a later day, of amending them, instructions to the delegates in Congress which involved a full discussion of foreign affairs, the mode and means of conducting the war, the military expeditions of the West, the disposition of the public land which extended to the Mississippi and the Northern lakes, the navigation of the Mississippi itself, were some of the topics which tasked the wisdom and the patience of the men of that era. And although our limits will not allow us to trace the course of Gen. Moore through this period with any degree of minuteness, it is due to his memory to say that, while he particularly distinguished himself in support of the act concerning religious freedom in all the phases through which it passed and recorded his name among those who carried this measure on its final passage, his votes on the test measures of that day, which were presented in the action of the House of Delegates on the bills of the revisors and otherwise, are most honorable to him, when viewed in the light which the experience of almost ninety years has cast upon them. He was a member of the Assembly when the resolution convoking the meeting at Annapolis to propose amendments to the existing Articles of Confederation was adopted, and when subsequently the resolution inviting the meeting in Philadelphia of the convention which framed the present Federal Constitution passed the House; and

when that instrument was presented to the States for approval, he was a member of the convention which in June, 1788, met in Richmond to discuss it, and voted to ratify the same in behalf of Virginia. One incident that occurred during the session of the Convention in 1788 is so illustrative of character as to require a passing notice. As the debate in the convention proceeded, the State at large shared in the excitement of the body. The opinions of the members were scrutinized by their constituents; and it became known in Rockbridge that Moore and his colleague, McKee, who was also a trustee of yours, were determined to vote for the adoption of the constitution. Accordingly the majority of the freeholders of the county, who were opposed to that instrument, drew up instructions to Moore and McKee, requiring them to oppose the constitution at all hazards, and forwarded them to Richmond. Those instructions Moore and his colleague refused to obey, and voted to ratify the constitution.¹ This was the first deliberate refusal of a representative to obey the instructions of his constituents that had then occurred in our history, and its flagrancy was the greater, as, unlike the cases of ordinary acts of Assembly, the deed was irrevocable. On his return home he gave his constituents an opportunity of punishing him by appearing as a candidate at the next election; and the result was that he received three votes to one of the opposing candidates. Had Moore and McKee, of Rockbridge, and Thomas Lewis, of Rockingham, Archibald Stuart and Zachariah Johnston, of Augusta, and William Fleming, of Botetourt, all of whom were trustees of Liberty Hall, voted against the ratification of the Federal Constitution, the fate of that paper would have been sealed. It is a fact in the history of this college and of the State, that the Federal Constitution was carried by the vote of the Trustees of Liberty Hall.

At the first election of members of the House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution, he was chosen from the Rockbridge district, and was successively elected till 1797, a period that embraced the entire administration of Washington. Being an active member of one of the two great parties that then divided the

¹ In the election of delegates to the convention the issue of the adoption or rejection of the constitution was distinctly made, and they were therefore clearly justified in refusing to obey instructions subsequently given.—Eds.

country, he declined a re-election to Congress, and with Madison and Giles entered the House of Delegates of Virginia, which was thought a more efficient field for fighting the battle which should determine the fate of the administration of the elder Adams. During his term in Congress he often spoke with ability on the complicated and irritating questions of the day, and ranged himself with the party which was then called Republican. It would be an interesting office to record his speeches and votes as I have traced them on the journals, but our limits wholly preclude the task. In 1798-'99 and 1799-1800, he sustained in the House of Delegates the resolutions of John Taylor, of Caroline, which were drawn by Mr. Madison, and the famous Virginia Report which has held so large a place in our political annals. On the election of Jefferson to the Presidency he returned to Congress and took his seat in the House of Representatives in 1803, in which he remained one year, when he was chosen by the General Assembly a Senator of the United States, in which office he served until 1809, when he withdrew from the body, and was soon after appointed United States Marshal for the district of Virginia, and held that office until his death, on the 14th day of April, 1821, in the seventieth year of his age.

Gen. Moore was in his day the representative man of the West. Every civil and military office within the gift of Virginia and the people was freely bestowed upon him. His public career began in 1776, and from that time to the date of his death, in 1821—a lapse of forty-five years—he can hardly be said to have been out of the public service. As a soldier, as a member of the House of Delegates, as a member of both Houses of Congress, as a brigadier and major-general, and as the United States Marshal of Virginia, he performed his various duties with the approbation of his country. Though passing the ordeal of twenty-nine elections in the course of his life, he was invariably successful, excepting that he failed to be elected a member of the former Executive Council by a single vote—an office which, had it been conferred upon him, he would have promptly declined. At an early date he was chosen brigadier-general, and in 1809 he was chosen major-general. He was a most successful lawyer; and there is now living a venerable

lady,¹ at the age of ninety, who can recall his return from distant courts with his saddle-bags full of coin, which he would empty on the bed, and, casting a corner of the quilt over the glittering mass, would leave it in charge of his wife. He was a man of a large frame, not above the middle height, with dark gray eyes, and at special times paid much attention to his dress, as was the case with all whom he associated with abroad. Towards the close of the last century and in the early part of the present, he wore ruffles not only on the breast, as was common in our own times, but at the wrists; and shorts buckled at the knee, and long silk stockings. When he took his departure for Congress, which held its sessions during his term of service in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, there was quite a stir in your pleasant town. A coach with four spanking bays would be driven up before his door, and on the box, neatly attired for a journey and skilled in the mysteries of the whip, would be seated Jim Berry, a white man, and in the rear of the coach would follow the baggage wagon, driven by one of his slaves. He married Sally, the eldest daughter of Col. Andrew Reid, who long survived her husband, and was known and loved by many within the sound of my voice. He was always the advocate of a thorough education, and observing the dawning genius of his young neighbor, Archibald Alexander, afterwards so celebrated as a divine, he earnestly exhorted him to proceed to Princeton and to pursue his studies in the college of New Jersey. And I may mention here a fact which has an intimate connection with this institution. It happened that when Washington received the grant of the James River shares from the State of Virginia, Moore was a member of the House of Representatives, and was sent for by the Father of his Country to be consulted about appropriating the shares to the use of some literary institution above the falls of the rivers. Gen. Moore presented the claims of Liberty Hall, and after a consultation with his colleague from the Washington district, the late Gen. Francis Preston, who united with him in urging upon Washington the claims of the Academy, he wrote to the trustees, who presented their case in the able argument already noticed in the sketch of Graham, and received that generous benefaction

¹ Mrs. McCampbell, the sister of Mrs. Moore.—Eds.

which you still enjoy. I may also add that he probably drew your charter, and certainly guarded and guided it in its passage through the Assembly. It was my fortune to see and know this noble patriot in his venerable old age. Rather more than half a century ago, and not long before his death, he visited Norfolk on official business, performing, by the way, the whole journey on horseback; and, young as I then was, I shall never forget the pleasing impression which he made upon me. He was the first human being I ever knew who was born west of the Blue Ridge, and who lived in the mountains; and to my simple inquiries about the mountains and the Indians he made kindly answers that gratified me much. He was cheerful in conversation, and although he was employed during the day with the perplexing details of business, in the evening at the house of my mother he appeared free from care, and with his pleasant address and charming talk gained the regard of us all. He ever enjoyed the cordial and unbounded confidence of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all of whom survived him several years.

Such was Andrew Moore. Sprung from the Scotch-Irish race, he was ever true to its leading characteristics. His private life was without a blemish. In the flush of youth he participated in the battles fought in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and he saw the flag of Britain lowered on the hills of Saratoga, and the proud and confident hosts of Burgoyne with all their artillery and baggage the reward of the first great victory ever won by the arms of his country—a victory in the winning of which the corps to which he belonged rendered essential service. In the House of Delegates he was the constant friend and earnest advocate of civil and religious liberty, and actively upheld those laws that constitute the base of a Republican system. And in Congress, in both houses of which he held a seat for years, he never uttered a sentence or gave a vote that did not reflect credit upon his head and his heart, and that his descendants may not contemplate with a becoming pride. It is grateful to know that the name of such a man has been illustrated in the persons of his children, and is known and honored in our own times.

COL. SAMUEL McDOWELL.

We come to a particular name in the roll of the incorporated trustees which will ever be held in grateful remembrance in the Valley. Take from the history of this beautiful region the name of McDowell, and its connections with the Greenlees, the Reids, the Moffetts, the Prestons, the Moores, and others of whom I have not time to tell, but which your own memory will supply, what a blank would appear in that catalogue of stars whose light shines upon us so delightfully from every sphere of genius, moral worth, valor, true piety and high statesmanship, and which, we fondly hope, will shine upon our children for generations and ages to come!

The ancestor of the McDowells was Ephraim, who with his wife, both well stricken in years, with his daughter Mrs. Greenlee and her husband, and with his sons James and John, came from Ireland, by the way of Pennsylvania, to Augusta in 1737. They were of the Scotch-Irish race. The venerable parents went down to the grave early and in peace. John, the younger son, married Magdalene Woods, and was a skilful surveyor and man of business; and while engaged under favorable auspices in founding a fortune for his posterity, was slain suddenly by the Indians in 1743, near the junction of the North River with the James, near where the Paxton farm now is. Thus was he cut off, after a brief residence of six years in his new home. He was buried in the cemetery surrounded by a stone wall, which may still be seen near the main road leading from Staunton to this town, and in which a rude contemporaneous head-stone bears the inscription: "Here lies the body of John McDowell, deceased December 1743." He left two sons, Samuel, your trustee, and James; and a daughter Martha, who married Col. George Moffett, another of the worthiest of your trustees. Of James, the younger son of John, I will only say in passing that he married Miss Cloyd, and died in 1770, at the age of thirty-five, leaving three children, one of whom, James, married Sarah Preston, the granddaughter of John Preston, the ancestor of the Prestons, and the daughter of Colonel William Preston, another of your trustees, and whom you will recognize at once as the well known Col. James McDowell, whose dignified person was to be seen at your board at the annual celebrations of forty years, and

whom I can recall in his handsome suit of blue and buff as he entered your hall or sat on your platform nearly half a century ago ; and whose memory will ever be fresh not only on account of his long and faithful services as a trustee of the college, but as the father of that eminent and ever to be beloved and lamented christian statesman, the late Gov. James McDowell, whose eloquence, uttered on the floor of Congress, has been likened to that of Fisher Ames when the illustrious orator of the north spoke in defence of the British treaty, and drew tears from the accomplished Winthrop then filling the speaker's chair as it has rarely been filled before or since ; who, like his father, was a pupil and a trustee of your institution, and whose memory, as fresh and as perennial as these lovely mountains that look down upon his ashes, has woven one of the brightest chaplets for the brow of his *alma mater*, and for the brow of another, greater still, the common mother of us all.

But our present office is with Samuel, the eldest son of John, who was one of the trustees of 1776, as well as one of those of the incorporated institution. He was born in 1733 in Augusta, studied law, and, like most of his contemporaries of that era, took an active part in the different expeditions against the Indians. He was at the battle of Point Pleasant, where with his comrades he fought bravely. At the mature age of forty-one, after having served a period in the House of Burgesses, and witnessed the parliamentary conflicts that preceded the Revolution, he took his seat in the March convention of 1775, and brought with him to that body in connection with his colleague Thomas Lewis the truly patriotic resolutions drawn by the Rev. Mr. Balmain, and adopted by the freeholders of Augusta on the 22nd of the previous month, which made a decided protest against the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and highly approved the conduct of the first delegates to the Congress. These resolutions, strong and patriotic as they were, very wisely abstained from the introduction of topics which were then deemed premature, and had no direct relation to independence. They took the true ground held in the state papers sent forth by Congress and the House of Burgesses at that immediate period. Indeed, at that session of March, 1775, so far from thinking of independence, the convention adopted a resolution of thanks to Lord Dunmore which I now read : "Resolved,

unanimously, that the most cordial thanks of this colony are a tribute justly due to our worthy governor Lord Dunmore, for his truly wise, noble and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemy; a conduct which at once evinces his Excellency's attention to the true interests of this colony, and a zeal in the Executive department, which no dangers can divert, or difficulties hinder, from achieving the most important services to the people who have the happiness to live under his administration."

Colonel McDowell was also a member of the convention of July of the same year, when the troubles were darkening, and when the animated contest occurred on the resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the colony into a posture of defence, and in support of which he uttered his famous exclamation, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Believing the plan of Henry to be more in unison with the demands of the moment than the grander and more costly scheme proposed by Col. Nicholas, he voted for the creation of the first two Virginia regiments and for Henry as commander-in-chief. On his return home he had a tall poplar tree cut down and skinned, and set up in his yard as a liberty pole—the first visible standard of opposition to the British government ever reared in the Valley.

In the Convention of December, 1775, he again took his seat, as the senior member of the Augusta delegation. The death of Peyton Randolph, who had presided in the previous conventions, and who had received the special thanks of Augusta, occurred in October, and the first duty of the body was to elect a successor; and when Paul Carrington proposed the name of Col. Pendleton, McDowell cast his vote for that gentleman. A few days after the meeting the battle of the Great Bridge took place, and Col. McDowell was one of those who gave cordial praise to Woodford for his gallant conduct on that occasion. Though Col. McDowell had approved the scheme of Henry in preference to that of Col. Nicholas at the preceding session, he now deemed war as imminent, and voted to raise seven additional battalions, and for the officers who should command them. He also voted for the reappointment of the Committee of Safety, which was charged with the executive duties of the Colony.

But it was in the May Convention of 1776 that Samuel

McDowell had the opportunity of connecting his name with some of the most memorable transactions of the eighteenth century. He and his colleague Thomas Lewis had brought with them from the county committee of Augusta a representation, as it is called on the journals of the Convention, which deserves a notice even in the rapid review which I am compelled to take of the most important events in our annals. It is the first deliberate expression of the policy of establishing an independent State government and a permanent confederation of the States which our parliamentary journals contain ; for, although several counties had expressed a resolution to sustain the Conventions in all measures which should be deemed necessary for the public weal, and had shown a spirit equal to every emergency, none had made so direct and so explicit a representation of the mode of redress which the crisis required. I quote the abstract of the representation which was offered by the Augusta delegates on the 10th of May, 1776, and which is thus rather rudely condensed on the journal of the Convention : "A representation from the Committee of the County of Augusta was presented to the Convention and read : Setting forth the present unhappy situation of the country ; and, from the ministerial measures of revenge now pursuing, representing the necessity of making the confederacy of the united colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages." This memorial was presented five days before the grand committee which had been previously appointed made that report recommending a declaration of independence and the formation of a State government wholly independent of the British Crown. This memorial from Augusta, as read to the House, I have never seen, nor do I believe that it has been seen by any one now living. It may possibly be found in the clerk's office of the present Augusta county, or in the archives of the clerk of the House of Delegates in Richmond, and deserves to be stereotyped as the Magna Charta of the West. It was the fortune of Samuel McDowell to vote in favor of a dissolution of the union with Great Britain, of the Declaration of Rights, and of the first written constitution of a free commonwealth. In all the measures of that

epoch he displayed wisdom and courage, and was most zealous in making preparation for the war then impending.

In October, 1776, he was a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution and cordially coöperated with Jefferson and George Mason in carrying through the bill abolishing entails, and in regulating religion, and in putting the new State on a republican tack. This was the most important session of the Assembly which had then been held in the colony, and it is proper to say that Samuel McDowell embraced and carried out the broadest views of a Republican system. A single illustration will show that the impolicy of such laws as those which regulated entails and the right of primogeniture was no new thought of his. On the death of his father in 1743, more than the third of a century before the passage of the acts regulating descents and abolishing entails, he became the sole heir of all his lands; but instead of appropriating the whole to his own use, as was then invariably done by common consent, he divided the patrimony equally with his brother and sister. After leaving the Assembly he was employed in the military service; and at the battle of Guilford, where his eldest son John was also present, commanded a regiment from Augusta. During the engagement he showed great gallantry, and had the men under his command behaved with equal spirit, Cornwallis, who was nearly taken as it was, would have given us no more trouble. On that field McDowell beheld the daring valor of the British Colonel Webster, who was the life and soul of the opposing host, and who was destined to end his career on that field; and though we should speak in a subdued tone of a generous enemy, as Webster assuredly was, it is due to the truth of history to say, what has never before been uttered to the public ear, and what I have from the best authority, that, although that officer did not fall by the aim of a Scotch-Irish rifle, he yielded to the ball and eight buckshot of a long ducking gun fired by a Presbyterian elder, the late Col. William Morton, of Charlotte, whose father, little Joe Morton, of pious memory, was the first to receive Samuel Davies on his first visit to Charlotte, then a part of Lunenburg.

At the close of the war Col. Samuel McDowell removed to Kentucky, which, it must be kept in mind, was as much a county of Virginia as the neighboring county of Botetourt now is, where

he was chosen the circuit judge of his district, and served a long term on the bench, dying on the 25th of October, 1817, at the age of 84. At the time of his death it was estimated that he had more than one hundred descendants in Virginia and Kentucky. He married in early life Mary McClung, and a daughter of this marriage married Col. Andrew Reid, one of the heroes of Point Pleasant, and a lifelong patron of your college. And a son of Andrew Reid was that excellent citizen whose name has been so long bound up with that of Lexington far and wide, the late Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, who was for an entire generation the clerk of the court of Rockbridge, as his father had been before him, who was the ornament and dear delight of the social sphere, and who has but lately departed from us in the fulness of years and in the possession of those precious treasures which patriotism and unblemished worth and generous piety lead in their train; nor should I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid, who married Gen. Andrew Moore of whom I have already spoken at length, and who has not many years gone from us; and one of whose sons, having the full name of his great-grandfather Samuel McDowell, I had the honor of acting with in the public counsels of forty odd years ago, but whose full name I shall not mention, because he is living, and is sitting by my side, and seems to wax strong even in the midst of the years. Nor can I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid,¹ who at the age of ninety is still living not far from my own residence in Charlotte, and from whose words I have gathered many things which had otherwise been lost forever, and who presents to our modern eyes something of the image of her venerable ancestor.

GEN. JOHN BOWYER.

But, as the time presses, I must give my likenesses of the venerable founders of your institution on a smaller scale; and I now introduce a name which has been familiar in our councils for more than a hundred years, and which still exists among us. I speak of General John Bowyer. His ancestors emigrated early into Augusta, and were of the Scotch-Irish race, though, like most of

¹ Mrs. McCampbell.—Eds.

that race, they were from an Anglo-Saxon stock, and appear in the secular and religious records of the time. Michael Bowyer was one of the committee that reported the famous memorial of the freeholders of Augusta of February 1775, was a member of the House of Delegates under the new constitution, and ten years later voted for the act concerning Religious Freedom. But our present purpose is with Gen. John Bowyer, your trustee, who was born in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and received a liberal education. In his young days he taught school for a season, but after his marriage devoted his time to agriculture and to public life. In 1775, and subsequently, he was appointed by Presbytery to collect funds and perform other offices connected with the establishment of the Academy, and was one of the trustees of 1776, as also one of those under the incorporated institution.

He was now to enter on a political career that continued with occasional intermissions to the close of the century. In the March convention of 1775, he, with Andrew Lewis for a colleague, represented the county of Botetourt, and in the July and December conventions of the same year he also appeared as a representative from Botetourt, and thus bore a part in all those important measures that led the way to independence, and which I have mentioned already in detail. And in the memorable convention of May 1776, he took his seat with Patrick Lockhart as his colleague, his old associate Andrew Lewis having been appointed brigadier-general by the Congress. I have already intimated that there was a disposition shown by some of the members to recoil from the decisive measure of a declaration of absolute independence of the British Crown; but of this question, as well as of all others brought forward by the leaders of the Revolution, Gen. Bowyer was a consistent and steady supporter. When the first Assembly under the new State constitution met in Williamsburg in October 1776, he again took his seat in the body, and gave a cordial support to Jefferson, Mason, and Wythe, in devising and adopting those measures which a change from a monarchical to a republican system had rendered indispensable. He continued in the Assembly at intervals until the adoption of the Federal constitution of 1788, and cordially supported the bills reported by the revisors. As I have more than once detailed the nature of the bills passed

by the Assembly from the adoption of the State constitution to the close of the century, I will merely say, by way of a schedule of the public life of Gen. Bowyer, that he voted for the celebrated resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the Colony into a posture of defence, and for organizing the first two Virginia regiments, and for the bill creating seven battalions, for the establishment of the Committee of Safety, for casting off the allegiance of Virginia to the British Crown, for the Declaration of Rights, and for the Establishment of a Commonwealth under a written constitution of its own; for the bill abolishing entails, and for other measures equally important in the organization of a republican government; closing his political career by recording his vote in favor of the resolutions of '98-'99, and for the famous report of '99-1800.

When the federal government went into operation, he acted with the Republican party, and opposed some of the leading measures of the Washington and Adams administrations. After the close of the eighteenth century he did not leave his beautiful home on Thorn Hill for any public employment, so far as I can ascertain, and died at an advanced age.¹ Though married twice, he left no children, and bequeathed his estate to his nephew. Yet, though the direct line of descent was broken, it may be observed as a historical fact, that in every organic State convention of Virginia since his decease the name of Bowyer has been borne by an able and patriotic representative.

THOMAS, ALEXANDER AND ARCHIBALD STUART.

We now come to a name which was borne by three friends and trustees of the Academy; and as they were closely connected by blood and were united in life in their affections to each other and to this college, so I will join them in the same sketch. Stuart is one of the oldest and most exalted names of Scotland; and if it cannot vie in antiquity with that of Douglas, "the dark gray man" of the Scottish legends, it rose higher in the scale of office, and for more centuries than I can tell, furnished kings for the throne, and

¹ He died in 1805.—Eds.

heroes for the field, and dames whose beauty flashed for a season from the throne of France as well as of Scotland, and dazzled every beholder, and impelled brave men and wise women to deeds which sicken and sadden our hearts to this hour.

The first of the race in Scotland was, as the name implies, a steward, a master of the household of the sovereign, an office which your Academy had in its earliest days and which my own grandfather filled ; and so faithfully did the Scotch steward perform his duty, that his descendants occupied that throne before which the ancestors had bent the knee ; and as he was a faithful steward so we may say that those who have borne his name in this lovely Valley have not forgotten the virtues of their distant progenitor, but have ever approved themselves most competent and faithful stewards of the interests which the people have committed to their charge. The Stuarts, not the men that our British ancestors expelled from the British throne, but your trustees of whom I have to give an account, are Thomas and Alexander Stuart, and Archibald, the son of Alexander. Thomas and Alexander were the sons of Archibald Stuart, who was of Scotch-Irish extraction, but was born in the north of Ireland, and when of age became concerned with one of the Irish *émeutes* of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Compelled to leave Ireland, he came to Pennsylvania, where he remained seven years ; but having been relieved by a general act of amnesty, he sent over for his family, and in 1738 removed with them to the present county of Augusta. His wife was Janet Brown, a sister of the Rev. John Brown, the second Rector of the Academy. He was an industrious and successful farmer, and left to each of his children, as appears by his will on record in the clerk's office of Augusta, a competent estate ; having died in 1759. Of the three sons whom he left behind him, Benjamin, Thomas and Alexander, were descended many of those who have so long borne the name in Eastern as well as in Western Virginia. Thomas, whose name precedes the others on the roll of trustees, was born in Pennsylvania about 1732, and coming to Virginia with his father engaged in farming, and spent a useful and pious life, leaving a large family of sons and daughters, one of the latter of whom became the wife of the Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, who was

the sixth Rector of the college, and whose learning and abilities were so much admired by his contemporaries.¹

Major Alexander Stuart, the second of your trustees of the name, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1735, and at the age of four accompanied his father to Virginia. It is probable that he was a pupil of the Academy under Brown or Graham. When the war of the Revolution began, he entered warmly into the military service, and was a major of a regiment of Rockbridge and Augusta men at the battle of Guilford, and from some accident to the colonel led his men into the battle. During the engagement, in which he behaved with great gallantry, as I know on the authority of the late Gen. Blackburn who was present on the field, he received several wounds, had his horse killed under him, and fell to the ground. While thus prostrated and unable to extricate himself, he was made a prisoner, and was conveyed to one of the prison-ships lying off the coast of North Carolina, where he was confined for six months. He endured great hardships during his imprisonment, but was at length exchanged. He was a man of gigantic stature, and of extraordinary strength; and his sword, a most unsightly and ponderous weapon which common men would wield with difficulty, is still preserved, with the pistols which he used at Guilford, among the heirlooms of his descendants.

After the close of the war he lived quietly on his estate, ever attending punctually to the duties assigned him in relation to the Academy, and died in a good old age, beloved and respected by all; leaving four sons and several daughters. These sons were Judge Archibald Stuart of Augusta, Judge Alexander Stuart of Missouri, Robert Stuart of Rockbridge, and James Stuart whose descendants live in Mississippi. Before I speak of Judge Archibald, your trustee, I pause for a moment, under the impulse of a patriotic feeling which I am sure will not be censured here, on the name of the second son Judge Alexander Stuart. This gentleman was the father of the late Archibald Stuart of Patrick, who was in Congress from the district of that name, who was long a member of the General Assembly, and was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829-'30. I was with him in public life forty odd

¹ Mrs. Ruffner was the grand-daughter, not the daughter, of Thomas Stuart. Her father was Captain William Lyle.—W. H. R.

years ago, and recall with interest his stalwart form, his manly bearing, and the fearlessness with which he expressed his opinions in debate. And he has another claim to our recollection—a claim that will never be forgotten—as the father of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart, who has a brilliant place in the history of that great contest which has recently closed—the grandest in the history of the race to which we belong, and which will be studied by posterity with feelings of admiration mixed with the tenderest emotion. And it may be stated at this literary celebration, as a coincidence in the ancestral relations of two of the gallant generals of the Southern Confederacy, that, as the ancestor of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston gave to the college of Hampden Sidney the land on which it was built, so the ancestor of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart bestowed upon your institution the ground which it occupied on its transfer to its present site, and of which Dr. Campbell has left so graphic a description.

But of the Stuarts on your roll the name of Judge Archibald Stuart holds the foremost rank. Your college was his *alma mater*; and as he grew in years and renown you called him to her side. Though thirty-eight years have passed since his death, there are some now present who can remember his dignified presence at your annual commemorations. He was, as before observed, the eldest son of Maj. Alexander Stuart and of Mary Patterson of Augusta, and was born about nine miles southeast of Staunton on the 19th day of March, 1757. His boyhood was spent in Augusta, but his father having removed to the neighborhood of Brownsburg in Rockbridge, Archibald became a resident of this county, and was one of the pupils of the Academy before it had assumed the name of Liberty Hall. In the fall of 1776 he became a student of William and Mary College, and was during a part of his college course an inmate of the family of Bishop Madison. In connection with the late Chief Justice Marshall, the late Judge Spencer Roane, the late Bushrod Washington, with Samuel Hardy, who died abroad suddenly in the public service and whose name Virginia has given to one of her counties, with John Nivison, and others who became eminent in the field and in the council, he aided in forming the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which gave a branch to Harvard, which still flourishes in other northern colleges, and which, though for

more than half a century extinct in the seat of its birth, has been reorganized in its early home. When lower Virginia was overrun by the enemy, and the college exercises were suspended, young Stuart was the president of the Society, and as such was entrusted with the seal of the institution. Having been forced to leave Williamsburg, he went to North Carolina, and joined the army a short time before the battle of Guilford, and under the command of his father was present in that engagement. During the battle he had the seal of the Phi Beta Kappa in his possession; and, as the Society became extinct in the college, he retained it during his life; and it was not until many years after his death that it was found in a secret drawer of an old escritoire, and was then restored by his son the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart to the Society, which, after a lapse of seventy-five years, had been revived in that college.

After leaving the army young Stuart pursued the study of the law with Mr. Jefferson, and, having obtained his license, settled first in Rockbridge. In the Spring of 1783 he was a candidate for the House of Delegates, and lost his election by thirteen votes; but visiting Botetourt on business two or three days after his defeat, the citizens of that county insisted on his being a candidate on the ensuing Monday, and elected him one of the members of the county. He took his seat in the House of Delegates in 1783, and was returned in 1784 and 1785 from Botetourt, when he removed to Augusta, which was his abode for the rest of his life.

The years which he spent in the House of Delegates were those in which, as we have stated more than once already, the test questions of a political system were to be discussed and decided. Mr. Jefferson, on leaving the State for the French mission, committed the revised bills which he had reported from the committee of revisors to the charge of Mr. Madison, and that gentleman was their coryphæus on the floor. There was an able and active opposition, especially on the subjects of religious assessments and religious freedom. Indeed, of all the acts reported by Mr. Jefferson, hardly excepting the statute of descents, the act concerning religious freedom was the most important. And after a tedious postponement its fate was to be decided at the session of 1785. Mr. Madison put forth all his powers in its support; and although not a word of the debate which took place on the 17th day of December

has come down to us, there is a recollection of an uncommonly tall young man with long dark hair and dark eyes, who wrestled manfully with the opponents of the bill, and sustained Mr. Madison through that perilous day. That young man was Archibald Stuart. The bill passed the House of Delegates by a vote of 74 to 20, and among its friends were three trustees of Washington College—Andrew Moore, Zachariah Johnston, and Archibald Stuart, all having been pupils as well as trustees of the institution. He represented the county of Augusta in the House of Delegates in 1786 and 1787, during which were passed the memorable resolutions convoking the meeting at Annapolis, and afterwards the convention in Philadelphia, which framed the Federal Constitution.

Having by his vote on these resolutions laid the corner-stone of the new federal system, he beheld with absorbing interest the progress of the superstructure; and when the new plan, which seemed so beautiful to the eye, with its checks and balances, was published to the world under the auspices of Washington, he resolved to enter the convention which Virginia had summoned to decide its fate. He was accordingly returned to the convention of 1788 by the county of Augusta, and voted in that body in favor of the constitution. A single fact will show the zeal which he displayed in securing the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Learning only a day before the election that the candidates for the convention in Botetourt would be chosen without an explicit pledge to vote for the ratification of the constitution, he mounted his horse and rode night and day, a distance of seventy-five miles, until he reached the court-house of that county. The poll was already opened, but he sought an intermission of the voting until he could address the people on the impolicy of sending uncommitted delegates to the convention; and such was the effect of the speech that the voters exacted from the candidates a pledge to sustain the constitution, which they faithfully redeemed.

On his return from the convention, he withdrew from public employments, and devoted his energies to the practice of the law, in which he was uncommonly successful. He watched, however, with intense solicitude the workings of the new Federal Constitution to which he was so much attached; and in the interpretation of its

powers coincided with the views of Mr. Madison, with whom during his term of service in the Assembly and in the Federal convention he had formed an intimate and affectionate friendship. Accordingly, in 1797, when it was seen that the battle for supremacy must be transferred from Congress to the legislatures of the States, he was chosen by the republican party to a seat in the Senate of Virginia; and in 1798-99 gave a cordial support to the resolutions of John Taylor of Caroline, which are now known to have been from the pen of Madison; but he did not vote upon the celebrated report drawn by Madison and adopted by the Assembly in the following year, as he had been elected in the interval a judge of the General Court.

On the bench of that court he sat for nearly the third of a century, and performed the duties of the office with ability and integrity and to the general acceptance of the people. It was the frequently expressed opinion of the late Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, who was himself distinguished at the bar, in the Senate, and on the bench, and whose manly form and genial spirit I recall as I visit this region of our State of which he was so long the bulwark and the dear delight, that "the judgment of Judge Stuart was but little if at all inferior to that of Chief Justice Marshall; and that if he had been placed in a position to require the constant exercise of all his faculties, he would have been one of the most eminent judges of his time."

It may be observed that, as Albemarle was one of the counties of Judge Stuart's judicial district, he often spent a night at Monticello with Mr. Jefferson, whose revised bills he had so earnestly defended on the floor of the House of Delegates, and whose administration he had so ably upheld. Their relations were intimate and confidential; and the form of a constitution for Virginia which Mr. Jefferson communicated to the Judge is still preserved among his papers. He was the Madison elector in 1808 and in 1812; the Monroe elector in 1816 and in 1820; the Crawford elector in 1824; and the Adams elector in 1828. When the judicial circuits were reorganized in 1831, he declined a reelection to his seat on the bench, and on the 11th of July of the following year this excellent man passed away.

In the intervals of his busy and arduous career he cultivated a

taste for literature and science. To him Mr. Wirt is indebted for some exceedingly graphic sketches of Patrick Henry and his contemporaries, with whom he had lived in intimate connection ; and it was from his reputation for mathematical science that the Assembly appointed him a commissioner with Gen. Martin and Chancellor Taylor to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, and that in early life the mathematical chair in the College of William and Mary was offered for his acceptance. And I have always understood that he was one of those brilliant writers whose articles gave to the first volumes of the *Richmond Enquirer*, published in the earlier part of the present century, a reputation previously unknown in the annals of American journalism.

He never entirely relinquished the dress which was popular among gentlemen in the early days of the republic, and especially among those who were in the public councils, and from whom was exacted a stricter attention to the toilet than from the worthy burgesses of our own times. His hair was usually combed back from his forehead and ended in a queue. Until a short time before his death he wore breeches that buckled at the knee, and fair topped boots. In his latter days, his once dark hair had become white, and his appearance was commanding and venerable. In the general aspect of his person he is said to have had a strong resemblance to General Jackson, but was on a much larger scale. It was only in his old age that I saw and knew personally this estimable man. His appearance made a deep impression upon me, and his conversation was most engaging ; and as you listened to his clear and instructive talk, and especially as you rose to take leave of him, the feeling of respect and veneration which he inspired was softened by the reflection, that he was one of the few survivors of those great men who laid the foundations of our institutions, and gave them their form and presence, and nearly all of whom had gone before him, and that he could abide but a short time longer with us. And this fear was soon realized, as before the lapse of two years he departed from us. He married, in 1791, Miss Eleanor Baldwin, a daughter of Col. Gerard Briscoe of Frederick county, Virginia, formerly of Montgomery county, Maryland. Her two sisters married Dr. Cornelius Baldwin and

Judge Hugh Holmes—names well known to our State in literature and in law.

THOMAS AND ANDREW LEWIS.

And now, Mr. President, pausing for a moment at the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings, who was of the Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania stock, and who preached on the North Mountain, at Hebron, and at Bethel, and of William Irwin, of the same Pennsylvania stock, where his name still abides with honor, we come to the names of two brothers, who were prominent in their own day and generation in the East as well as in the West, and whose memory deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. What a crowd of recollections come upon us at the mention of the names of Thomas Lewis and his brother Andrew! They too were of the Scotch-Irish stock, at least on the maternal side, and came to the Valley by the way of Pennsylvania. They were sons of John Lewis, whose ancestor fled from France during the religious persecutions of the Protestants which culminated in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and, it is believed, some time before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled first in Wales, and then in Ireland where John was born, and grew to manhood, and was the head of an interesting and prosperous family, when the rapacity and violence of his landlord forced him in self-defence to do a deed which drove him from his home, first to Oporto, and thence to Pennsylvania, and thence in the summer of 1732 to Virginia, bringing with him his wife and children. Thomas, who was born in the country of Dublin on the 27th of April 1718, and was the oldest son, was then fourteen years old. Let me say that the whole country west of the Blue Ridge on the arrival of John Lewis was then called Orange, and that it was not till 1745 that Augusta was set apart as a county. When that event occurred, John Lewis was one of the magistrates that arranged the county, and John Madison, the father of Bishop Madison and the uncle of the president, was the first clerk, and Thomas Lewis, your trustee, who was then twenty-seven years old, was appointed to the office of the first surveyor, then and long subsequently the highroad to wealth and distinction. We have no means of knowing his early

opportunities of acquiring knowledge ; but it is probable that he received a good elementary education in Ireland, and that his father obtained in his forest home the services of some redemptioner who drilled his children in the languages and mathematics ; for it is an indubitable fact, that Thomas Lewis was not only well skilled in the sciences but was a good belles-lettres scholar. It so happens that I can take you into his library and read over the titles of some of his books to you. On one shelf was Clarendon, and Bishop Burnet's history of the Reformation of his own times, and Baker's Chronicle, and the volumes of Rushworth, which our revolutionary fathers were wont to search for precedents in their early warfare with the pen ; and on another were Tillotson and Barrow and South, and the Bayle Lecture ; and on yet another were Milton and Dryden and Shakspeare, and the early dramatists, and the novels of Fielding and Smollett, which Lewis read, as we read the novels of Scott and Cooper, as they appeared from time to time. And I will tell you further, if you will promise not to mention it, that after the death of Colonel Lewis, his excellent wife—who was a strict member of the Episcopal church to her dying day, and who survived her husband thirty years—having the good of her grandchildren in view, quietly took down from the shelf Tom Jones and Roderic Random and put them into the fire. This was the best collection of the English classics which had then been made west of the Blue Ridge.

But it is as a public man that we must present Thomas Lewis before you. He early entered the House of Burgesses, and voted for Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and for the separation of the office of Treasurer from that of Speaker, two of the test questions of that age ; and he was a member of the Convention of 1775, when Henry's resolutions for arming the militia were adopted, and of the Convention of 1776, in which he presented a petition from the people of Augusta "representing the necessity of making the Confederacy of the United Colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages"—the first petition for absolute independence and for a permanent confederation of the colonies as States, presented to the Convention or to any other public body of that era. I call your attention to

this remarkable paper, not only for its political significancy, but because it was drawn and signed by the people of Rockbridge as well as of the present Augusta; for it was all Augusta then. In the Convention of 1776, Thomas Lewis was placed on the ever memorable committee which reported the declaration of independence of the 15th day of May, and on the committee which drew the Declaration of Rights and the first constitution of an independent state ever recorded in the annals of nations. Throughout the war of the Revolution he remained in the civil service, and conducted the affairs of the county with diligence and skill. In 1788 he was chosen a member of the Convention which ratified the present Federal Constitution, and voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument by the body for the reasons which I will detail in another place. This was the last public act which he performed; for in the space of eighteen months after the adjournment of the body, at the age of 72, on the 31st of October 1790, this good man passed away. He died at his home on the Shenandoah three miles from Port Republic, where his remains now repose.

He was a fine specimen of the physical man. I can almost imagine that I see him before me. His height was six feet, his frame large and sinewy, without a pound of useless flesh. His form was erect even in old age, and his walk was grave and stately. In early youth his hair was jet black; his eyes were also black, but throughout life he was so short-sighted as to require glasses, and he was thus prevented from taking that active part in the field which forms the principal characteristic of his gallant brothers. He was a model in all the domestic relations. The head of a family of thirteen children, whom he lived to see attain to maturity, he not only gave them the privileges of a liberal education but inculcated upon them by word and example the strictest principles of morality and religion. He was attached to the Episcopal Church, and in drawing his will, when he pointed out the place of his grave, he requested that the beautiful burial service of that church to be read over his coffin.

You are fortunate in having such a name on the roll of your trustees. If any one should inquire of a son of Washington College who Thomas Lewis was, let him answer that he was an

accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar, a true patriot, and a liberal christian; that his single vote in the House of Burgesses carried triumphantly through the fiercest resolution of Henry against the Stamp Act; that he was a member of that illustrious committee which reported Virginia's Declaration of Independence of the 15th of May 1776; that he aided in drawing the Virginia Declaration of Rights; and that he was a member of the committee which reported the first plan of government of an independent state recorded in human history.

ANDREW LEWIS.

But Andrew Lewis, the next name on your roll of trustees, won in his own day a reputation that eclipsed, at least in the eye of the multitude, the quiet intellectual fame of his elder brother Thomas. As he was the third son of the patriarch John Lewis, he was probably born about 1722, in Ulster, Ireland, and was doubtless well grounded in the elements of knowledge before he left the old country, and completed his course in Augusta in association with Thomas. At all events he was well instructed, and such was his standing that in 1775, when with Col. John Bowyer, another of your trustees, he took his seat in the convention of that year as a member from Botetourt, he was placed on the most important committees of the body. His military talents soon became conspicuous. He volunteered in the expedition to take possession of the Ohio region in 1754; was with Washington at Fort Necessity; commanded a company at Braddock's defeat;¹ commanded the Sandy Creek expedition in 1756; was made prisoner in the unfortunate enterprise under the British Major Grant against Duquesne, but was released when the French abandoned that post,² and vindicated on the spot the good name of the Virginia soldiers from the expressions of the British major. In 1768 he was a commissioner on the part of Virginia to conclude a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, New York, and in

¹ The Dinwiddie papers show that General Lewis was not at Braddock's defeat, but was on other duty. Capt. Peter Hogg probably commanded the company from Augusta. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta*, p. 64.—Eds.

² See *American Cyclopaedia*, article Lewis.

1774 he commanded the forces at Point Pleasant, and gained a victory which thenceforth freed our soil from the regular incursions of the savages. The effect of the battle of Point Pleasant has not been fully portrayed in our history, nor have I time to dwell upon it at present. The confluence of the Kanawha and the Ohio afforded the best point for the concentration of the Indians from the extreme South, and from the extreme North—from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was computed by a British writer, the year of the battle, that the number of Indian warriors within that vast territory could not fall short of one hundred thousand, and it was believed by prudent statesmen that England and France and Spain had each distinctive reasons for uniting the savages against the Colonists during the war of the Revolution; and it is not improbable that, but for the decisive battle of Point Pleasant, innumerable hosts of Indians would have poured down from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge, and that the battles of that era would have been fought in the shadow of the mountains. That battle, decided by the genius of Andrew Lewis, was conclusive; and it may be a subject of just pride to Washington College, that not only the commanding general on that occasion, but several of the principal officers also, were her early trustees—among them, the modest and able Fleming, who received a wound from which he never fully recovered, and Col. William McKee; and that another of the trustees, Col. Christian, who would have been commander-in-chief if he had arrived earlier, came to the field of battle at its close with reinforcements.¹

When the war of the Revolution began, Andrew Lewis was in the civil service of Virginia. As before observed, he was a member of the Convention in 1775, but when the military arrangements were made, he was called into the field. He received the appointment of brigadier-general from Congress, and commanded the forces that drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island, pointing with his own hand the piece that was first discharged against the British encampment. It was the eager wish of Washington that Lewis should have received the appointment of major-general instead of the officer who was appointed to that station, and he wrote most

¹ Capt. John Lewis was also there.—Eds.

earnestly to him to waive for the present the question of rank. But Lewis was of too lofty a spirit to overlook so manifest a slight, and in 1777 he resigned his appointment. He was then engaged in the civil service of the state, and in 1780, in returning from a visit to the seaboard, with a constitution impaired by exposure, he was taken ill and died before reaching his home, in his 58th year.

It was observed of the Virginians who composed the Congressional delegation of 1774, that they were fine specimens of the human form. Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, who looked like a representative of the old French noblesse; Harrison, whose grand figure seemed more fitted for the field than the council; Pendleton, whose tall and elegant person and graceful deportment, which were so conspicuous in the chair of a deliberative assembly,—were men of imposing stature; but it is doubtful whether any one of them approached the standard of Andrew Lewis. “He was,” says Col. John Stuart, who married one of his sisters, and who knew him intimately, “upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form was of the most perfect symmetry. He had a stern and invincible countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment which rendered his presence more awful than engaging. It was observed by the Governor of New York, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, that the earth seemed to tremble under him, as he walked along. His independent spirit despised all sycophantic means of gaining popularity, which never rendered more than his merits exacted.”

Should posterity, as they behold his stalwart statue on the Washington monument in Richmond, where he is to be seen in a hunting shirt and with a rifle in his hand, as a representative of Colonial Virginia—for this great man did not live to read the Treaty of Paris, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of his country—infer that he was the mere warrior, a Daniel Boone on a large scale, they will do great injustice to a character that only required a wider sphere to exhibit the heroism and the brilliant hardihood of antiquity. He held in the West the same elevated position as a soldier and a leader as Washington held in the East, and on him the eyes of the people were turned at every conjuncture. Before our recent troubles there was a scheme to rear a monument over his unmarked grave near Salem, in the

present county of Roanoke, then Botetourt, and I sincerely trust that it will be renewed and accomplished. And it should then happen that the history of Andrew Lewis, which is now only to be found in meagre and scattered details, be permanently recorded in a form acceptable to the people.

Such was Andrew Lewis—the companion of Washington in all his Indian campaigns, the hero of the most conspicuous Indian battle ever fought on our soil, and the man that Washington is reported to have said should have taken his place as the commander-in-chief of the armies of America.

SAMUEL LYLE.

Samuel Lyle was also a trustee of 1776, and a trustee of the incorporated institution. His immediate ancestor came from the North of Ireland and settled in Augusta between 1730 and 1740, and was a member of the Presbyterian church. Like the Lewises, the Lyles came from France to England prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The name is wholly French, and was originally written with an apostrophe between the article and the noun that compose the word. It is not unworthy of note, as an element in the formation of national character, that the Lewises, so conspicuous for valor and statesmanship, and that the Lyles and the Lacys, so eminent in the pulpit and in the school—the last of whom are inserted on the roll of Battle Abbey, and all of them the early and steady trustees and friends of your institution—should inherit the blood of the Latin race, and be able to trace their ancestral abodes to the land of the fig and the vine. On the list of names appended to the call of the Rev. Dr. Brown in 1753, your second rector, which is the Battle Abbey roll of Rockbridge, there are four Lyles, and among them is Samuel your trustee. He showed an intelligent zeal in promoting the welfare of the Academy in its earliest stages; for he was not only a trustee but its treasurer; and even in his old age he might have been seen driving up this hill swathed in flannel and in large warm overshoes, being quite infirm and crippled with rheumatism, and bearing the purse of your institution in his hand. He married Miss McClung, and a daughter of his married the Rev. Matthew Lyle. He was noted for his piety, and was for many years an elder in the church.

WILLIAM IRWIN.

He was a member of the Scotch-Irish family. His ancestors were from Pennsylvania, and settled in Rockbridge as Rockbridge now is. He was called to the congregations of Rockfish and Mountain Plains in 1772, and in that position he spent his entire ministerial life. He withdrew from the active labors of the pulpit in his latter years. It was in a case before Hanover Presbytery in which Mr. Irwin was concerned, that Dr. Waddell delivered in his defence a speech which is referred to in our own times as an extraordinary effort of parliamentary eloquence.

CHARLES CAMPBELL.

Among the Presbyterian trustees of 1776, and also the chartered trustees, was the venerable Charles Campbell. He was the son of Charles Campbell whose remote progenitor was Duncan Campbell. This Duncan, who never left Scotland, had three sons, Dougald, Robert and John, who removed to Ireland in 1700, and settled in Coleraine in the county Derry. Most of the descendants of these three brothers, between 1730 and '40, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and thence came to Augusta as Augusta then was. The descendants of Dougald are said to have settled in what is now Rockbridge; and three brothers, sons of Robert, namely, Hugh, John and Charles, settled in Augusta proper. Charles Campbell, your trustee, the son of Charles, was born in Rockbridge in 1741, married Mary Ann Downey, and both husband and wife lived to an advanced age, she dying in 1824, aged 82, and he in 1826, aged 85. Charles Campbell did not actively embark in political affairs, but commanded a company at the siege of York; and he delighted in old age to recount the details of the siege. He was noted for his piety, was fond of books, encouraged literary institutions, and trained his numerous sons and daughters in sound learning. One of his sons, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, who was a pupil of the Academy, a trustee, and for a short period its rector, was a good scholar, and a correct and graceful writer; and we owe to his pen not only a graphic account of the infant academy and of its early pupils, but a valuable historical memoir of the battle of

Point Pleasant. Charles Campbell, your trustee, who lived as late as 1826, is well remembered by many now living. He was about the middle size; and in his old age, as he sat as an elder in the New Providence church on the left of the pulpit, with his white hair flowing, decrepit with years, but firm in faith and zealous for the glory of God, he was a striking figure. He was long a magistrate, and did not hesitate to use the whole rigor of the law in repressing violations of the Sabbath. At your annual celebrations the good old man drove from his residence twelve miles distant to this hill in his carriage drawn by two rather old white horses, who rejoiced in the names of Grey and Goody, and listened with rapt attention to all the exercises of the day. He left numerous descendants, among whom is my valued friend Charles Campbell, who truly represents the literary zeal and the sterling integrity of his ancestor.¹

JOHN AND SAMUEL HOUSTON.

The name of Houston has been intimately connected with the Academy and the College from the beginning to the present day. It was Samuel Houston and Alexander Stuart that bestowed upon it forty acres of land each, for its site at Timber Ridge. John Houston, a trustee of 1776 and also of the incorporated body from 1784 to 1791, was of Scotch-Irish origin, and was one of the early settlers of Augusta. He cultivated his plantation on Hays's Creek, and lived a life of industry and piety.² It has been said that the true life of an ancestor is seen in his descendants; and if this be true, John Houston was fortunate. His attachment to the seminary was shared by his son Samuel, who was one of its pupils and for more than a third of a century one of the most influential trustees of the Academy and the College. Few men have left upon society a more pleasing impression than Samuel Houston. Soon after reaching manhood, he shouldered his musket and marched on foot from this town to Guilford Court House, and in the battle in that vicinity fired his rifle fourteen times. At the close of the

¹ Charles Campbell was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1808-10, and a member of the Virginia House of Delegates 1788-9.—Eds.

² He was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1786-'88.—Eds.

war, he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian church, and was settled in the High Bridge and Falling Spring congregations, in one or other of which he remained as long as strength allowed him to perform the duties of a pastor. In later life he was in appearance the model of a christian teacher and gentleman. He died in 1839, at the age of 81.

SAMPSON MATHEWS.

Among the trustees of 1776 is the name of Sampson Mathews. It is remarkable that for more than two hundred years the name of Mathews has held a prominent position in every great crisis of our history. During the protectorate of Cromwell one of our best colonial governors, and one of our thriftiest tobacco planters, was Capt. Samuel Mathews, who was said to have "kept a good house, lived bravely, and to be a true lover of Virginia." And during the Revolution of 1776, Col. Thomas Mathews not only held a respectable military command in the field, and was a major in the artillery regiment of practice commanded by Col. Thomas Marshall under the training of M. Loyauté, but was the speaker of the House of Delegates for many years; and so acceptable were his services in war and peace, that the General Assembly named a beautiful country overlooking the blue waters of the Chesapeake in his honor. But those of the name most conspicuous in the Valley at the birth of your institution were George and Sampson Mathews. Their ancestors were among the early settlers of Augusta, and were of the Presbyterian family. As they were not connected with the blood of the good old governor, or with that of Col. Thomas Mathews who had come over from St. Kitt's not many years before the Revolution, they probably came from Ireland and were of the Scotch-Irish race, but I cannot speak positively on the subject, as nothing exists in print bearing upon it, and I failed to obtain any family traditions. Of Gen. George Mathews I will only say in passing, that he was probably a pupil of the Academy under Alexander or Brown, that he fought bravely at Point Pleasant, at Brandywine, Germantown, and Guilford Court House; that he removed from Augusta to Georgia, where he was elected governor of that state and a senator of the United States, and through-

out whose whole course the moral and religious training of the Valley was ever to be seen.¹ But the sphere of Sampson Mathews, your trustee, was confined to Virginia. He too was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the infant academy, and mingled freely in politics. His name has become honorably connected with the Revolutionary era, not only from his active military and civic labors, but from the fact that he was one of the committee which reported to the freeholders of Augusta the patriotic resolutions of February 1775, of which I have spoken more than once. In 1778 he was elected to the Senate of Virginia by the Augusta district, and devoted his abilities to the performance of those difficult and delicate and most painful duties which devolved upon the Assembly before the victory of Yorktown had cheered the hearts and brightened the hopes of our people. As he was a pupil of the Academy in its leading stage, so he was an active friend of the institution in its more expanded state, and was chosen by the Presbytery one of its trustees. On withdrawing from the public councils he spent a quiet life on his estate, though of his latter days I have no specific information.² And I may mention by the way, that a descendant of his³ was a member of the House of Delegates in 1798-99, and 1799-1800, and that he voted, in company with George Keith Taylor, Gen. Blackburn, and Miller and Breckenridge and others whose names we cherish with a grateful pride untainted by political difference, against the resolutions of Col. John Taylor and the report of Mr. Madison.

COL. WILLIAM MCKEE.

Col. William McKee was another of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy under Brown, and became Sheriff of Rockbridge when a sherifffalty was the turn-

¹ Governor Mathews was never a senator. He was a member of the House in the first Congress.—Eds.

² He was the first High Sheriff of Bath county.—Eds.

³ Sampson Mathews, Jr., an alumnus of Liberty Hall, who with Gen. Blackburn represented Bath in the House of Delegates. Sampson Mathews, Sr., was the ancestor of Prof. A. L. Nelson of Washington and Lee University.—Eds.

pike that led to fortune. But though he accumulated a handsome property he never for a moment forgot the claims of his country. He marched with Col. Andrew Lewis, who engaged the services of Capt. Arbuckle, whom I well remember in his venerable old age, as a guide through the unbroken forests and dreary mountains, to Point Pleasant, and shared in the laurels of that glorious fight.¹ He entered the House of Delegates from Rockbridge, and was the colleague of Gen. Andrew Moore in the Virginia Convention of 1788, when he united with that gentleman in voting for the ratification of the Federal Constitution in opposition to the positive instructions of his constituents, who subsequently approved the act. I think I have said before that the votes of Thomas Lewis, William Fleming, Archibald Stuart, Zachariah Johnston, Andrew Moore, and William McKee, all of whom were your trustees and four of them pupils of the Academy, secured the ratification of the Federal Constitution by Virginia. Without their votes that instrument would have been rejected by the state. When, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the great hegira to Kentucky, which had begun some years before, was quickened and stimulated, and thousands bent their way to "the bloody ground," Col. McKee united with many of his neighbors and removed to the promised land. And there he spent his latter days. I have been told by one who saw him that he was a man of middle size, that he lived on Kerr's Creek,² and that he had a very long nose and a sharp chin, which might well become a keen Indian fighter who, having flogged the Indians in his youth, was ready to encounter the risks of Kentucky savages in his old age. He was a successful financier, and an able friend of the Federal Constitution.³

¹ Although a mere youth, he was in Washington's battalion at Braddock's defeat.—Eds.

² He lived three miles west of Lexington, on the farm afterwards owned by Dr. Baxter, President of Washington College.—Eds.

³ Colonel McKee died in Garrard county, Kentucky, in 1816, in the 84th year of his age. His son Col. Samuel McKee, an alumnus of Liberty Hall, represented Kentucky in the United States Congress 1809-17, and was also United States District Judge. His son Col. William R. McKee fell at the head of his regiment at Buena Vista; and his son Lieutenant Hugh W. McKee of the United States Navy was killed in a fight with the Coreans in 1871.—Eds.

COL. GEORGE MOFFETT.

Col. George Moffett was also one of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution, and well may his descendants cherish the merits of such an ancestor. He was the son of John Moffett, who came over from Ireland in 1730 and settled in Augusta near the Stone Church, and Mary Christian. He left four sons, Robert, John, George, and William, and one daughter, Mrs. Estill. He died while on a short visit to North Carolina, and was there buried. Our present office is confined to the third son George, who was born on his father's farm in Augusta in 1735, was probably taught by Mr. Alexander, the first rector of the Academy, and having laid the foundations of a good education, early embarked in active life. His first employment was that of Deputy Sheriff of Augusta. After his marriage with a sister of Col. Samuel McDowell, he engaged in agriculture, and being pious from his youth became a member of the Presbyterian church, and was actively engaged in missions of benevolence and piety. He is said to have been a man of fine personal presence. He took up his residence on Middle River, where he resided until his death in 1811. In 1760 he received an appointment which enabled him to render valuable service to his county. He was chosen captain of a military company, whose duty it was to protect the settlement against the Indians and recover from them their prisoners and stolen effects. In the discharge of these duties, which extended through a number of years, he had some severe fights, the bloodiest of which took place on the Falling Spring farm in Alleghany county. In 1774 he was at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was a true patriot, and engaged actively in the war of the Revolution. He accompanied his brother-in-law Col. McDowell, when that officer led the Augusta troops to the South, and fought gallantly at the battle of Guilford. But it was in his character as the chief of a band of active young men defending the county from the frequent incursions of the Indians that he gained his great distinction as a soldier. Forty years ago, as the traveller wandered through the county of Augusta, he soon found that one of the most popular themes of the aged people was the exploits of Col. Moffett, and especially his rescue from the possession of the Indians of his own

sister, Mrs. Estill, the mother of the late Judge Estill, and of others who had been captured at the same time. He overtook the Indians in a dense forest near the present Beverly, W. Va. There was another trait in the character of this good man worthy of notice. He was truly conscientious, and having some doubts on the subject of holding slaves as property, he emancipated his own. It is said that the experiment was not favorable to the blacks, and that he was afterwards inclined to approve the views held by his kinsman, Gen. Moore, who in the Assembly opposed the policy of emancipation as injurious to the liberated slaves themselves, so long as a general status of slavery existed in the commonwealth. He was always a pious man. In the incipient stages of the Academy he was appointed by the Presbytery to various offices which he fulfilled most scrupulously; and he was a member of that religious community; but, entertaining some scruples on certain points of doctrine, he withdrew from it; but at a later period, on mature reflection, he returned to the fold of his ancestors. He is described as being of commanding presence, of bland and genial manners, of pleasing address, and of great personal popularity.

He died in 1811, in his 76th year, universally esteemed, and left four sons, John, James, Samuel, and William, and four daughters, Mrs. Gen. McDowell who died in Kentucky, Mrs. Dr. James McDowell of North Carolina, Mrs. Kirk of Kentucky, and Mrs. Jas. Cochran of Augusta county. He was buried at Mount Pleasant, his residence.

MAJOR JOHN HAYS.

John Hays, one of your incorporated trustees of 1782, was a descendant of one of the men whose name is written on the Brown roll of 1753, and in early manhood was actively employed in defending the frontiers of Augusta. On the first outbreak of hostilities in 1776, he was appointed a captain, and, at the head of a company of young men recruited within the present limits of Rockbridge, with young Andrew Moore as his lieutenant, he marched to the North, and fought in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Nor did he return home empty-handed. He married a beautiful wife in Maryland, and pitching his tent on Hays's Creek in this county, turned his attention to the peaceful

pursuits of private life. Before the close of the war he rose to the rank of Major. I can not fix the date of his death, which was on his farm in Virginia, according to one authority, while another affirms that he removed to Tennessee, where his descendants now live.¹ But we know enough to honor his memory when we can say in a single sentence that he was a son of an early settler of Augusta, that he was a pupil of your infant institution, that he led his band of Valley boys gallantly in the contested fields of Pennsylvania and New Jersey under Washington, that under Gates he helped to achieve the victory of Saratoga, and that he was a trustee of Washington Academy.

WILLIAM WILSON.

William Wilson was a clergyman. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1751, and soon after was brought to Virginia by his father, who was of the Scotch-Irish race, and who settled about twelve miles east of this town. Young Wilson soon entered the Academy, then at Mount Pleasant, and was a most promising pupil. He was equally well versed in the languages and in mathematics, and at a later day students of theology applying for admission to the ministry dreaded his critical inquisitions. In 1780 he was ordained as the pastor of the Stone Church in Augusta, and there he spent his life in the zealous and able discharge of his ministerial duties. There was connected with him a singular mental phenomenon. He fell ill of an epileptic attack, and on his recovery he had for a season almost wholly forgot his mother tongue. As he had been a good Latin and Greek scholar before his illness, so the knowledge of these languages remained, and he was compelled to use them in seeking his daily wants, until he gradually recovered his English. He was skilled in mathematics, and solved problems for intellectual recreation in his old age. He belonged to that class of our early Presbyterian preachers who made their preparations carefully in the study, but took with them into the pulpit the heads only of their discourse, relying wholly on

¹ Maj. Hays died in 1808, on his farm on Hays's Creek, where A. A. McCormick now lives.—EDS.

the inspiration of the moment for their words and illustrations—a mode of speech which may serve to explain the effect and animation of the eloquence of our early preachers. He preached at intervals to a short time before his death. One of his last sermons was listened to by Dr. Speece, who succeeded him in the Stone Church, and that critical judge pronounced it “not inferior in vigor of thought, methodical arrangement, or animation of manner, to any that he had ever heard from him.”

JOHN WILSON.

There are two gentlemen named Wilson who were appointed trustees by the Presbytery and by the Assembly, that deserve a more respectful mention. It must have already appeared to you that to give a full description of your trustees, is to put forth some of the most interesting portions of the history of the colony and the commonwealth for more than the whole of one century and the third of another. The Wilsons were of the Scotch-Irish race, and were among the early settlers of Augusta. A representative of the race soon rose to prominence and distinction in the public councils. Our grandfathers had their local as well as general topics of contention as well as ourselves. In 1748 there was a serious project of removing the capital from Williamsburg. The country had enjoyed an unusually long interval of peace under the administration of Sir William Gooch, and the pugnacious propensities of the people impelled them to seek a vent in some quarter or other. Candidates were chosen with an especial view to remove the seat of government, and as Augusta seventy years later than 1748 sent the late Briscoe G. Baldwin to remove the capital to Staunton, so their ancestors in 1748 chose John Wilson to perform the same office, that is, to remove the seat of government, though I hardly think, to Augusta, where the Governor would be liable to be roasted whole, the Speaker of the House of Burgesses to be tomahawked, and the members to run the gauntlet through the Indian villages. The Augusta delegates did not succeed in their plans: the scheme was defeated; but John Wilson and John Madison had the opportunity of expressing their parting salutations on Sir William Gooch, who was then about to depart for Europe after a most popular

administration of twenty-two years. Ten years rolled on, and there came the most violent tornado of death and destruction that ever swept the Valley. In 1755 Braddock had been defeated, and then Grant was equally unfortunate, and consternation and slaughter universally prevailed. The Indians, stimulated by the French, had become most daring, passing by our forts, and carrying off women and children into a captivity little less formidable than death itself. The letters of Washington written at this period melt our hearts and draw our tears after the lapse of one hundred and twelve years, and are the most touching ever traced by his pen. He declared that he would most willingly yield up his own life as a sacrifice for a cessation of bloodshed and for peace. At this emergency, when the settlers were rushing from their Valley homes—for France as well as the Indians were fighting us—the people were determined to choose an Assembly of the ablest men whom the Colony contained. Then for the first time George Mason appeared in the public councils, and Pendleton and Washington himself, then at the age of twenty-six, were also chosen. It is recorded by Burke that it was the ablest body of men that had ever met in council in America, and he has put down the name of every member on his pages. To this body Augusta looked with an anxious eye, for she composed with Frederick the only two counties in the Valley, and she chose John Wilson and Israel Christian as her delegates. It is enough to say that her representatives performed their duty, and aided in taking those measures which ultimately led to the expulsion of the French from Canada, and the annexation of that province to the British dominions.

Sprung from such a stock, John Wilson, your trustee, evinced the deepest interest in your Academy as long as he lived. In 1770, being engaged in mercantile affairs, he was a member of the Merchants' Association, which was assembled in Williamsburg to take measures in defence of the rights and interests of the Colony, and carried into effect the resolutions of the body in Augusta. At his death he left a son, the late Captain William Wilson, who was the Treasurer of the Academy and the College for forty years.¹

¹ John Wilson was a bachelor and the uncle and guardian, not the father, of Capt. William Wilson.—Eds.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

The name that stands fourth on the list of the incorporated trustees would, if treated in the length and breadth of its antecedents and consequents, alone consume the time allotted to me at present. What a host of associations are conjured up by the name of Alexander! But I can dwell but a few moments on its history. William Alexander, your trustee, was the eldest son of Archibald Alexander, who came over from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1737, and removed to Augusta in 1747. William was born near Nottingham, Pennsylvania, in 1738, and was nine years old when he came to Virginia. He grew to manhood amid the hardships of a frontier life. He embarked in mercantile pursuits, and kept a store at the Point; but as all business was broken up by the Revolution, he acted as deputy to his father, who was sheriff of the county. He never engaged in public affairs. He is reported to have been in the Sandy Creek Voyage under Maj. Andrew Lewis; but it was his father and not himself who encountered the fearful exposure of that disastrous expedition. He was ever a warm friend of the Academy, which, on its removal to Lexington, was built on his grounds, and he was its treasurer as well as trustee for a number of years. He married Agnes Ann, a daughter of Andrew Reid, and left a family of three sons and five daughters, the last of whom has but recently deceased. He was a man of small stature, with black hair and black eyes, and on special occasions he was attentive to his dress. He was quick in his movements and talked very rapidly. While he lived in Lexington, his residence was not far from the site of the present Presbyterian church, if not directly upon it. In his old age, as he was walking in the street, he was struck by a stone thrown by an idle boy on one of his eyes, and he lost the use of it forever. We like to know how looked and walked and dressed and talked a man who was the father of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, and the grandfather of two such men as James Waddell and Joseph Addison Alexander.

CALEB WALLACE.

Caleb Wallace was a remarkable man among his contemporaries, and well deserved a position in the incorporated board, which he had already held by the appointment of Presbytery. The tide of Scotch-Irish emigration from Pennsylvania coursed mainly along the Valley, but there was a lesser stream that ran along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge to the county of Charlotte, and thence farther south, which bore on its way a number of worthy families, which were to send forth their representatives to succeeding times. On this eastern tide came the ancestors of the late Mr. Calhoun and of Caleb Wallace. Caleb was born in the county of Charlotte about the year 1750, on a creek which still bears his name, was graduated at Princeton in 1770, where he had the late ex-president James Madison as a college mate. Both were pious young men during their college course, were among the best scholars of their class, and enjoyed the confidence of Witherspoon. Both excelled in that cool and clear argumentation which was an invaluable weapon in the early stages of our Revolutionary contest and both brought their utmost powers to bear upon the question of a church establishment and religious freedom. When Wallace finished his course at college, he studied Theology and became a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Castle. In October 1774, he was ordained as the pastor of Cub Creek and Little Falling Run congregations. At the meeting in October, 1776, of the first general assembly under the constitution, he repaired to Williamsburg, and bore with him the memorial of the Hanover Presbytery, which professed the warmest zeal in the support of independence, but protested with equal earnestness against the continuation of the Episcopal church as an establishment. And here it should be said that the objections of the Presbytery lay not against the Episcopal church as a true church of our common Lord and Master, but against that or any other church whatsoever, even their own, as an establishment. Indeed Davies and Waddell and Graham have more than once expressed publicly their approval of the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It should seem at this day that the fourteenth article of the Declaration of Rights had settled the

question of church and state conclusively ; but it was soon seen that a bill to continue the establishment was introduced in the House of Delegates. Mr. Wallace exerted all his industry to prevent its passage, and, it is believed, appeared before the Committee on Religion and argued the question at length. In the prosecution of his purpose he remained eight weeks in Williamsburg. In 1779, having lost his wife, who was Miss Sally McDowell of Rockbridge, he removed from Cub Creek to Botetourt, where he remained until the close of the war. During the Revolution he upheld the cause of his country by his tongue and his pen. Several of his letters still extant attest his patriotic fervor. Writing in 1777 to the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of New Jersey, a noble Virginian, who fell untimely near the end of the war, and who, by the way, used to preach with pistols in his belt, as a price had been set on his head by the British,—Wallace says: "An American ought to seek an emancipation from the British king, ministry, and parliament, at the risk of all his earthly possessions of whatever name ; nor is it the fear of danger that has prevented my preaching this doctrine in the army at headquarters." He adds: "I meddle very little with matters of civil concern, only to countenance the recruiting business, as far as I have it in my power ; and sometimes I have a fight with the prejudices—I would rather say the perverseness—of such as are inclining to toryism among us ; but we have reason to rejoice that we have few such cattle with us."

In 1782 he removed to Woodford county, Kentucky ; and withdrawing from the ministry, he studied law, rose to distinction at the bar, and was chosen a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. He was appointed by the Assembly one of the Commissioners to settle the numerous claims in Kentucky against Virginia—a very delicate office, which he and his colleagues Fleming and McDowell executed promptly and satisfactorily. He married for his second wife a daughter of Israel Christian, and his descendants still reside in Kentucky. He possessed fine powers of disquisition, was a ready speaker, and maintained intimate relations with the first statesmen of the Revolution. He attained to a good old age.

JOHN TRIMBLE.

The eighth of the incorporated trustees was John Trimble. He was the son of James Trimble, who with his two brothers Alexander and John emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania. Alexander remained in Pennsylvania, and John settled in Kentucky, where his descendants still flourish. James, who was the eldest brother, came to Virginia not later than 1750, and settled on the farm and built a house not one hundred yards distant from the residence of Joseph Steele, Esq., one of your trustees for thirty years past. James died early and left a son John who was your trustee. John did not survive his father more than ten years, and died not very long after the date of the charter, leaving a widow who has recently departed from us in her 97th year.¹ He is still remembered as a man of the kindest feelings, of warm attachments to his relations and friends, and pure in all his transactions with the world. Some striking acts of his generosity are fondly remembered by his collateral relations. He was of the Scotch-Irish race, and was an advocate of churches, schools and academies. The fact that his name was enrolled in the charter is sufficient proof of his standing and moral and intellectual worth.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

Of Alexander Campbell, the sixth on the roll of incorporated trustees, I learn that he came from Pennsylvania, that he lived on Timber Ridge, that he always came on sacramental and academical occasions to Lexington, where he was the guest of Col. Andrew Reid, that he was a pious man and much interested in

¹ Mr. Grigsby has confounded John Trimble with Alexander Trimble, the husband of the lady to whom he refers, and who was his (Mr. Grigsby's) aunt. John Trimble married Mary Ann Alexander, the half-sister of William Alexander. She removed to Tennessee soon after the death of her husband. Her grandson John Trimble was Judge of the Nashville district, and represented the Nashville district in the United States Congress for several sessions. He died a few years ago at Republican Hill, near Nashville, at an advanced age.—EDS.

the cause of education, and that he lived until near the beginning of the present century.¹

ZACHARIAH JOHNSTON.

Among the trustees who, though not mentioned in the charter, were elected under its provisions a short time after its date, stands a name that was so long connected with the political and religious questions of that era, that I may be excused for dwelling a moment on it. I allude to Zachariah Johnston. He was born in Augusta between 1750 and '60, of parents who emigrated from Ireland and chose their homes in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy as well as a trustee, and gave indications of a strong and discriminating mind. He entered the House of Delegates during the Revolution, and gave up all his faculties to the purpose of shaping the new measures to a republican model. He accordingly supported with great earnestness the revised bills reported by Mr. Jefferson, which it was the policy of their opponents to keep on the table, or if called up, to emasculate them of their wisest provisions. It is well known that Mr. Jefferson, when he withdrew from the House to embark for France, left the care of the revised bills to Mr. Madison, who fully redeemed the confidence of his friend by the tact and patience and ability which he displayed in effecting their passage. He had indeed most strenuous coadjutors, and among those was Zachariah Johnston. His simple and unadorned but caustic and fearless logic, which was in strong contrast with the deep and elaborate speculations of Mr. Madison, was ever ready and was always effective. It was in 1785, when the act for establishing Religious Freedom was on its passage, that he made a capital speech, in which he took the ground which I have mentioned already more than once, and which was that the hostility of the Presbyterian population of the Valley to an establishment had no bearing upon the Episcopal church as a church of Christ, but that it was directed against an establishment of any church, even their

¹ Mr. Campbell died in 1805. He was for many years Surveyor of Rockbridge county, then an office of great importance. The late John L. Campbell, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Geology in Washington and Lee University, was his grandson.—EDS.

own, in connection with the state. A single passage only of Johnston's speech in the debate has been preserved, and I quote it to show not only his line of argument but his style of thought. "Mr. Chairman, I am a Presbyterian, a rigid Presbyterian as we are called; my parents before me were of the same profession; I was educated in that line. Since I became a man, I have examined for myself, and I have seen no cause to dissent. But, sir, the very day that the Presbyterians shall be established by law, and become a body politic, the same day Zachariah Johnston will be a dissenter. Dissent from that *religion* I cannot in honesty, but from that establishment I will." And his name goes down to posterity in favor of the passage of the act for establishing Religious Freedom. He was the colleague of Judge Stuart in the Federal Convention of 1788, which ratified on the part of Virginia the present federal constitution, and made an animated speech in its favor, which has been preserved entire, and which will speak for itself. Mr. Johnston was a man of religious temperament, of great simplicity of manners, and utterly void of hypocrisy and deceit. I wish I were able to present a domestic portrait of this good man; but my knowledge in that respect is very limited.¹

GEN. WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

As the student wanders through the gallery of the portraits of the early friends of Washington College, and gazes with fond delight on the faces of Graham, of Thomas Lewis, of Andrew Lewis the hero of Point Pleasant, of William Christian, of William Preston, of William Fleming, of Arthur Campbell, of Andrew Moore, of the Stuarts, father, brother and son, and of their well-known associates,—he seeks with eager interest another face, the face of a noble patriot who was connected with them all, not only in the political and military events of their age, but in their affection for your institution; and inquires, with a faltering voice: Where is Gen. William Campbell, and why is it that the

¹ Mr. Johnston removed from Augusta to Stone Castle, two miles south of Lexington, in 1793, and represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates in 1797–8, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the repeal of the obnoxious act of 1796 before referred to. He died at Stone Castle, January 7, 1800.—Ebs.

Hero of King's Mountain is not found among his compeers? Sad as the answer is and ever will be to the patriot heart of our country, it must be told. He was a pupil of the Academy, and displayed the deepest interest in its welfare and a magnanimous pride in his *alma mater*, but when, in 1782, the friends of the institution were seeking among our chief citizens for the names to be recorded in the charter, they thought of the name of Campbell, and then it came over them with all the intensity of a recent affliction, that the Hero of King's Mountain had gone down to his grave a few months before. While in command of his regiment at the siege of York, he was taken ill of a fever, and even before the flag of Britain was lowered on the ramparts, he fell, after a short and severe struggle with the most insatiable and remorseless of all conquerors. But though he died before the trustees were enrolled in your charter, where our fathers would have delighted to place him, let us perform that office in their behalf.

Gen. William Campbell was the son of Charles, who was of the race of the Campbells of whom I have spoken elsewhere. Charles Campbell married Margaret Buchanan, and died young, leaving one son, the hero of King's Mountain; and four daughters, one of whom married Col. Arthur Campbell who is the first named of the charter of 1782; a second married Capt. Taylor, the father of the late Judge Allen Taylor, another trustee of the College; a third married Mr. Richard Poston, and a fourth married Mr. Thomas Tate.

Gen. Campbell was born in the county of Augusta as it then was, in 1745, and was one of the early pupils of the Academy. On reaching manhood he was prompt to join in the measures of defence and attack against the Indians who infested the new settlements on the Holston, whither, on the death of his father, he had removed his mother and sister; and we trace him in the bloody fight at Point Pleasant, as marching in the respective campaigns of Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, and in other actions on the frontier, which called forth a vote of thanks from North Carolina. But it was on the seventh day of October 1780, that Col. Campbell and his gallant colleagues from North and South Carolina achieved that distinction which has connected his name inseparably with the war of the Revolution. I

cannot here say one word of the battle of King's Mountain, more especially as the affair has been so eloquently detailed by his distinguished grandson now living,¹ and have time to speak of its ever memorable effect on the spirits of the people. When Campbell and his colleagues led their forces against Ferguson, the South was almost conquered by the British. Despair darkened every bosom, and hope seemed to have gone out. Charleston had been taken in the preceding May, and on the 29th of the same month Col. Buford was defeated at Waxhaw, on the 16th of the following August Gen. Gates lost the battle of Camden, and on the 18th of the same month Sumter was surprised, and South Carolina was under the heel of Cornwallis. Amid such a scene of gloom and disaster the victory of King's Mountain shone forth like a rainbow in a tempestuous sky. Let dates, which are stronger than words, tell the wondrous tale. It was on the 7th of October, 1780, that Col. Campbell received from the hands of Capt. Dupeister, the senior officer on the death of Ferguson, the standard of England, which Ferguson fondly hoped to wave over the Valley of Virginia; on the 17th of the following January, Morgan fought the battle of the Cowpens; on the 15th of March occurred the battle of Guilford, which resulted in the retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington; on the 8th of the following September, the immortal field of Eutaw was fought and won; and on the 19th of October, Cornwallis surrendered at York.

But the services of Col. Campbell did not close with the battle of King's Mountain. He marched with his regiment to Guilford, and aided materially in that engagement. And in 1781 he joined Lafayette at Albemarle Old Court House and marched to the siege of York, but he died suddenly before the surrender. This last triumph was not reserved to the patriot, and at the age of thirty-six he was laid in his grave. That funeral was a solemn scene. The young and heroic Lafayette was seen bending in grief and tears over the coffin of his friend. That scene he never forgot. Forty-three years later he described to one of the descendants of Campbell that touching spectacle. Col. Campbell was buried at Rocky Mills, in Hanover, and when after many years his remains

¹ General John S. Preston.

were removed to his home in Washington, it was found that time had dealt gently with them.

In stature he had the proportions of a hero. He was over six feet in height; his frame was large and compact and muscular; his hair was inclined to red; his eyes were gray or a deep blue; his features were prominent, and his profile was said to be symmetrical. Indeed we are told by elderly men who knew him, that his grandson the late Col. William Campbell Preston of South Carolina was in his figure and movements a fair image of his illustrious ancestor. Col. Campbell was an affectionate son. Letters still extant show his tenderness to his mother and his generous conduct to his sisters. He married in 1775 a sister of Patrick Henry and left at his death a son, who died young, and one daughter, who married Gen. Francis Preston, second son of Col. William Preston. Of the children of this marriage, of whom the late Col. William C. Preston of South Carolina was one, there survive Col. John S. Preston of the same State, Col. Thomas L. Preston, and Mrs. Gen. Carrington of Albemarle county. I have said that he married the sister of Patrick Henry, who is said to have possessed the genius of her illustrious brother. Gen. Campbell is said to have been a man of quick and stern temper and was the terror of Tories, with whom, if caught in the act of treason, as at the battle of King's Mountain, he dealt peremptorily and condignly; but he never allowed himself to show any excitement in the presence of his wife.

WILLIAM MCPHEETERS.

William McPheeters, a trustee of 1776, was born in Pennsylvania in 1729, and was a son of a gentleman of the same name, who came from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and emigrated to Augusta about the year 1740. He settled at Bethel on the waters of the Middle River, near the North Mountain. He was a truly pious man, was an elder in the church of which the Rev. Archibald Scott, one of your trustees, was the pastor, and was a magistrate of Augusta and High Sheriff of that county 1788-90. His life was spent upon his farm in the employments of agriculture and in the interchange of good feelings with his neighbors. Like his Scotch-Irish brethren, he was impressed with the importance of education,

and especially of an educated ministry, and took a peculiar pride in fostering the Academy, of which his son, so long and so favorably known in Virginia and North Carolina, was a pupil.¹ He has left numerous descendants, the death of one of whom, who was remarkable for his genius and eloquence, has been lately lamented by the lovers of eloquence and piety in Missouri, and Kentucky, and Virginia.²

CONCLUSION.

And I come to a close. And when I had finished my specific task of recording the services of your early trustees and professors, I could not withhold a glance at their immediate successors Samuel L. Campbell, and Baxter, and Marshall, and Vethake, and Ruffner, and Junkin,—all of whom but one I knew, and all of whom are gone. And as I called up their images before me, it seemed as if I felt their living presence, and could behold the genial smile as they looked down on their beloved institution in its present palmy state—a state those good men longed to see but died without the sight—and could gather from them words of gratulation and cheer for every student within your walls and for every officer within your courts; and while they uttered words of encouragement and praise to all, I could catch from those lips, now touched with earthly guile no more, one glorious accord concerning him who led our armies through the late perilous war, and—the grandest of all his victories—made a lodgment in the inner hearts of a whole people; that in training the youth of his beloved country in the ways of wisdom and knowledge and peace, and in the “love of God that passeth all understanding,” he is winning a wreath as worthy as ever rested on his brow—a wreath whose beauty will not only shine in the eyes of living men, but will endure forever.

¹ The Rev. William McPheeters, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and a trustee of Washington College 1807-12.—Eds.

² The Rev. Samuel Brown McPheeters, his grandson, the distinguished Presbyterian minister of St. Louis, Mo.—Eds.

APPENDIX.

This valuable address was retained by Mr. Grigsby for several years after its delivery in 1870, to enable him to complete it by giving sketches of all the early trustees. He died, however, without doing so. We now add brief sketches of those omitted by him.—W. McL.

JOHN GRATTAN.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 to manage the Academy was John Grattan. He was born in Ireland, and was said to be of the same family with Henry Grattan the Irish Orator. While quite a young man he went to Scotland and there married a Miss Brown and soon afterwards came to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he resided several years. He moved to the Valley of Virginia and became a merchant in the town of Staunton. He participated in the meeting of the freeholders of Augusta, held on the 22nd of February, 1775, which passed the celebrated resolutions referred to by Mr. Grigsby.

While he was too old to bear arms during the revolutionary war, he was an ardent whig, and supported the cause with all the ardor of his nature. His son John Grattan was an officer in one of Virginia's regiments, and died in service in Georgia. He patented a large tract of land on the north branch of the Shenandoah, in what was then Augusta county, but afterwards Rockingham county. He built the first flour mill west of the Blue Ridge. The mill is still standing, and the old homestead, where he spent the latter part of his life, is owned by his grandson Judge George G. Grattan. When the county of Rockingham was formed in 1778 his residence fell into the new county, and he was commissioned one of the justices of the county court, being fourth on the list. He was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the old Covenanters faith, and was for many years an elder in old Augusta Stone Church. He died about 1790, leaving a son and several daughters. His son Robert Grattan commanded a company of cavalry that was sent to quell the whiskey insurrection in Western Pennsylvania. His son Maj. Robert Grattan remained at the old homestead in Rockingham, and was elected a Trustee of Washington College in 1854, and served until his early death in 1856.

One of the daughters of John Grattan married Col. Robert Gamble, an alumnus of the Academy and a distinguished officer of the Revolution. He commanded one of the companies that stormed Stony Point, and was the first to enter the fort when it was captured by General Anthony Wayne. One of Col. Grattan's daughters married the celebrated William Wirt; another married William H. Cabell, Governor of Virginia, and for many years a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

SAMUEL DOAK, D. D.

Samuel Doak was one of the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782, to supply vacancies in the body appointed in 1776. He was the son of Samuel Doak (the ancestor of Gen. Robert Doak Lilley, who served the University so zealously and efficiently as general agent) and Jane Mitchell, who emigrated very young from the North of Ireland and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania. After their marriage, they removed to Virginia and settled in Augusta county near the present village of Greenville. Their son Samuel was born in 1749. At the age of sixteen he was admitted to full communion in the Presbyterian Church of New Providence; and soon after commenced a course of classical study with Robert Alexander, who resided about two miles from his father's house. He continued in the school after it passed under the care of the Rev. John Brown, who was assisted by a Dr. Edmondson and Ebenezer Smith. In October, 1773, he entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775. Returning to Virginia, he married Esther Montgomery, sister of the Rev. John Montgomery who was appointed a trustee at the same time with him. Shortly after, he became a tutor in Hampden Sidney College, and pursued divinity under the Rev. John Blair Smith the President of the College. He was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery in October, 1777. He commenced preaching in Washington county, Virginia, and after remaining there some time he removed to Washington county, Tennessee, where he organized several churches and an institution of learning, which was chartered by the Legislature of North Carolina in 1788 under the name of Martin Academy, and was the first literary institution established in the great Valley of the Mississippi. In 1795 it was changed into a college and received the name of Washington. He continued President of the College until 1808, when he resigned in favor of his son, the Rev. John M. Doak, M. D., and removed to Bethel. During his presidency the College prospered

greatly and supplied the opportunities for education for ministers, lawyers and doctors in the early days of Tennessee. At Bethel he opened an academy to prepare youth for college, and named it Tusculum, where he passed the remainder of his days in usefulness and honor. He was a distinguished preacher and teacher, and died on the 12th day of December, 1830, in his eighty-second year. Foote, in his *Sketches of North Carolina*, quotes a gentleman who knew him well as saying: "His praise is in all the churches. During the Revolutionary War, he was a warm, decided, and uniform friend of civil and religious liberty, took part in the defence of his country, was a member of the convention that in 1784-5 gave rise to the insurrectionary state of Franklin; was upon the committee that reported an article of its constitution making provision for the support of learning; and to the close of life was still its devoted servant, advocate and patron. A rigid opposer of innovation in religious tenets; very old-school in all his notions and actions; uncompromising in his love of the truth, and his hostility to error or heresy, a John Knox in his character, fearless, firm, nearly dogmatical and intolerant; but no one has been more useful to church or state, except it be Hall or Coldwell in North Carolina, or Waddell in South Carolina and Georgia. A volume would not exhaust the incidents of his life."

REV. EDWARD CRAWFORD.

Edward Crawford was one of the Presbyterian trustees appointed in 1782 and was also elected a member of the incorporated body in 1791, and served until 1795. He was born in Augusta county, near Buffalo Gap, and was the son of Alexander Crawford and Mary McPheeters. He was a student at the Augusta Academy when under the care of the Rev. John Brown, and subsequently entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775, in the same class with Samuel Doak. He was a member of Lexington Presbytery at its organization on the 26th of September, 1786, and was the moderator of the Presbytery at its meetings in April and September, 1792, at Lexington and Harrisonburg. He preached in Randolph county and then in Botetourt. About 1795 he removed to Tennessee, and greatly assisted his old friend and classmate, Samuel Doak, in the conduct and management of Washington College, Tennessee, of which he was one of the chartered trustees. He preached for many years in Tennessee, and was a useful citizen, and especially a friend of education. The date of his death is unknown.

REV. ARCHIBALD SCOTT.

Rev. Archibald Scott was born in Scotland and emigrated to Pennsylvania at an early age. He was an agricultural laborer, but his religious deportment and the studious employment of all his leisure hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge attracted the attention of Dr. Cooper, a Presbyterian minister. Upon further acquaintance he encouraged him to commence a course of study for the sacred ministry. He pursued his classical studies under a Mr. Finley, whose course of instruction was extensive though principally confined to the classics. He then came to the Valley of Virginia and entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham. In 1777 he was licensed to preach the gospel with Edward Crawford and Samuel Doak. He became the pastor of Brown's Meeting House and North Mountain church, now known as Hebron and Bethel, and continued in this charge during his life. He was a devoted and earnest preacher, and exercised great influence in the church and in the community. He was appointed a trustee by Presbytery in 1782, and elected a member of the corporate body in 1784. He closed his useful life on the 4th day of March, 1799, at his residence, six miles southwest of Staunton. The University recognizes among its alumni many of his descendants.

JAMES McCONNELL.

James McConnell, one of the Presbyterian trustees of 1782, graduated at Princeton in 1773, and became a Presbyterian minister. He was pastor of Oxford, High Bridge and Falling Spring churches in Rockbridge county. After serving these churches for several years, he removed in 1787 beyond the Alleghanies.

BENJAMIN ERWIN.

Benjamin Erwin was one of the trustees appointed by Presbytery in 1782. He graduated at Princeton in 1776, and coming to Virginia was ordained by Hanover Presbytery in 1780 pastor of Mossy Creek and Cook's Creek churches. He died pastor of his first charge. Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., grew up under his ministry.

CAPT. JOHN LEWIS.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 was Capt. John Lewis at the Warm Springs. He was the son of Thomas

Lewis, of whom a sketch is given by Mr. Grigsby, and was born near Port Republic in the present county of Rockingham in 1749. He removed to the Warm Springs, and became the owner of that celebrated summer resort. He commanded a company in Col. Charles Lewis's regiment at Point Pleasant, and was dangerously wounded. He was subsequently an officer in the Revolution and was distinguished for his gallantry and devotion to duty. He died at the Warm Springs in 1788, at the age of thirty-nine, in the midst of a career of great usefulness.

JAMES McCORKLE.

James McCorkle was born in the north of Ireland, and emigrated to America and settled in Staunton, where he successfully pursued the business of a merchant. He joined the tide of emigration which set toward southwestern Virginia about 1770, and settled at Ingles Ferry on New River, where he engaged most successfully in merchandising. He subsequently became the owner of the splendid estate known as Dunkards Bottoms, in that part of Montgomery county comprised in the present county of Pulaski, and formerly owned by Israel Christian.

He was commissioned a justice of the peace by Gov. Nelson in 1773. Among his associates on the bench were Col. William Christian, Col. William Preston, Daniel Trigg and James McGavock. He was the High Sheriff of Montgomery county 1778-80. He was a leading citizen of southwest Virginia, and died and was buried in 1794, at Dunkards Bottoms.

JOSEPH WALKER.

Joseph Walker came with the first tide of emigration from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to the Valley of Virginia, and settled near the present town of Lexington. He was one of the three granters of the land upon which Liberty Hall Academy was built, which was burned in 1803, and the picturesque ruins of which can still be seen from the University. He afterwards removed to a large farm on Buffalo, including what is now known as Buffalo Mills. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace, was High Sheriff of the county, and was a ruling elder in both Monmouth and Falling Spring churches. He was appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782 a trustee, and was one of the trustees named in the charter. He continued to serve until 1815, a period of more than thirty years, and the records of the Board attest his punctual attendance, and his fidelity to duty. He was a

large man, of dark complexion, commanding in appearance, and rather taciturn. His wife was Jane Moore, the aunt of Mary Moore, the "Captive of Abb's Valley," who lived with him after her return from captivity. His daughter married the Rev. Samuel Houston referred to by Mr. Grigsby in his sketch of John Houston, and his grandson the Rev. Samuel R. Houston was for many years a member of the Board.

WILLIAM WARD AND JAMES TROTTER.

Of William Ward and James Trotter we have been able to get but little definite information. They were both doubtless born in the north of Ireland and came with the tide of immigration that set toward the Valley between 1740 and 1750.

William Ward lived in Augusta near Robert Alexander's school, and removed to South Carolina about 1779.

James Trotter settled in Augusta county near Mount Sidney about 1749. He subsequently removed to the neighborhood of the present village of Middlebrook, where he died about 1791. His son George Trotter laid out the village of Middlebrook and subsequently removed to Lexington, Kentucky.

JOHN LYLE.

Most of what is now known of this excellent man is derived from a memoir of him written by the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, but not published, and from an article by the same hand in the *Biblical Repertory* of April, 1848.

He was of the Scotch-Irish stock. His father, also named John Lyle, had emigrated from the north of Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century, and settled first in Pennsylvania. But after a time he removed to what is now Rockbridge county, Virginia, and fixed his abode on Timber Ridge, about three miles southwest of where the village of Fairfield now stands. The date of his removal to Rockbridge is not known; but it was certainly before 1753, for in that year he was one of the signers of the call of the Rev. John Brown to the pastorate of the Timber Ridge church.

John Lyle, the trustee, son of the emigrant, was born either in Pennsylvania or in Virginia, on the 10th of July, 1746. He grew to manhood and spent all the days of a long and useful life on Timber Ridge, where he owned a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands, being conscientiously opposed to becoming a slave-holder. Of

his personal appearance Dr. Alexander says: "John Lyle grew to be a large man, above six feet in height, and was what is vulgarly called raw-boned. His face was somewhat marked by small-pox; but his appearance was dignified and his countenance benignant." He seems to have taken but little part in military or political affairs; but was active in charitable work, and specially zealous in the cause of education and religion. In 1782 the Presbytery appointed him one of the trustees of Liberty Hall; in 1784 he became a member of the incorporated board, and for over thirty years thereafter he was one of the most earnest and active trustees of the Academy and the College, as the records testify. His private life was singularly pure and unselfish. Of his course as a church officer Dr. Alexander says: "As a faithful and efficient elder in the Presbyterian church I have never known his superior, if I have his equal. He had furnished his mind by diligent reading, with knowledge in all branches of theology; and was especially thoroughly conversant with the most judicious and spiritual authors on experimental religion." And in another connection he says:

"Elder John Lyle, as he was called to distinguish him from others of the same name, was in my opinion a man of eminent piety. In the period succeeding the war of the Revolution vital piety had sunk very low in the Valley of Virginia; most professors seemed to have little of the genuine spirit of religion; and fell into undue conformity to the world and its fashions and amusements. But during this time of general declension John Lyle and his wife stood forth as shining examples of vital godliness and holy living."

John Lyle died at his residence in Rockbridge, in September, 1815, in his 70th year. His wife was Flora Reid, a sister of Dr. Alexander's mother. The Rev. John Lyle, "the pioneer preacher of Kentucky," so prominent in the early history of the Presbyterian church in that state, was his son. Joel Reid Lyle of Paris, Ky., was another son. Both were pupils of the Academy.—D. C. L.

This completes the sketches of the trustees mentioned in the charter of 1782, and those previously appointed by the Presbytery.

Sketches of the trustees appointed since 1782 will be prepared and published from time to time in these papers.

W. McL.

ADDRESS
BEFORE THE
ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE,
June 29, 1843,
BY THE
REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.

Gentlemen, Alumni of Washington College:

It is a truth as fully established by experience as any other, that the human mind is eminently susceptible of improvement by culture. Indeed it cannot be denied that without some kind of education the intellectual faculties will not be developed; although the body might grow up to manhood, the mind would remain in a state of infantile feebleness. This truth is beautifully illustrated by a classic writer, who compares the uncultivated mind to the statue while it remains in the block of marble.

But although the necessity of education to improve the mind is acknowledged by all, yet there exists much difference of opinion respecting the best means of cultivating and strengthening the various powers and faculties which appertain to human nature. This is a subject on which knowledge can only be acquired by experience or the observation of facts. Here, mere theory is rather hurtful than beneficial. It is, indeed, by no means certain, that the best method of training and improving the faculties of the mind has been discovered. It would therefore be unwarrantable to assert that the systems of education heretofore in use were incapable of improvement. New discoveries may be made in

regard to the laws of mind, as well as those of matter ; but the difficulty in this investigation is, that we cannot make experiments with safety. The mind of every human being is too precious a material to be made the subject of experiments, to ascertain what improvements might be made in the methods by which it should be educated. No man would consent to have his son trained in some untried way, the effect of which could not be foreseen. There have, indeed, been many pretenders, who professed to be in possession of the secret of bringing forward the faculties of man much more rapidly, and of elevating them to a much higher standard, than can be done by the system in common use. But experience has taught the most credulous, that all such pretensions are vain. The common beaten track, along which so many have risen to eminence and celebrity, is, after all, the safest and best. When new discoveries are made in the science of education, they will probably be incidental, and should be cautiously and gradually introduced. It is not disputed that very extraordinary effects may be produced on particular faculties by an artificial method of training. I have seen boys taught on the Pestalozzian plan, who could perform wonders at the black board, in various kinds of intricate calculation ; but I never could ascertain that the youth thus educated ever rose to eminence in any profession or art. We know to what extraordinary feats of activity children have been trained, to qualify them to become successful mountebanks ; but would any judicious man suppose that children thus trained to perform prodigies could be better prepared than others to be useful farmers, mechanics, or soldiers ? And there is little reason to believe that a precocious and extraordinary development of the mental faculties, by an artificial process, will qualify a man successfully to perform the duties of those professions in society, which require the best exercise of the powers of judgment, invention, and accurate reasoning. It is probable that assiduous efforts to elicit the exercise of the intellectual faculties at a period earlier than that in which in the common course of nature they appear, are rather injurious than beneficial to the mind. A precocious child may excite the wonder of visitors, and gratify the vanity of parents and teachers, but can furnish no proof that this premature development will lead to superior intellectual energy. Such youth soon arrive at the acme of their

maturity; that is, the too early development of the faculties probably has the consequence of an early decay. It is a proverb in more languages than one—*soon ripe, soon rotten*. It is not meant to discourage early education, but to suggest, that the kind of training should be adapted to the age of the pupil. Children are capable, at a very early age, of improving culture, both intellectual and moral; but the judicious plan seems to be, not to attempt to forestall the process of nature, but to aid her by meeting the opening faculties with such exercise and nutriment as is suited to give them strength and a right direction. In cities, where the children of the better class of citizens are necessarily kept, most of their time, in the house, or in the school, their progress in learning is often surprisingly rapid until the age of fourteen or fifteen, but here most of them stop; and though so many make a good beginning, very few attain to eminence in classical literature; for this, however, other reasons may be assigned; [but it may not be useless to remark, that those parents judge wisely, who, having sons to educate, send them to a good school in the country. And where parents, residing in cities, are in circumstances to spend the summer months in the country, the effect on the minds as well as the bodies of their children will be very beneficial. The best part of education, as far as the mere vigor of body and mind is concerned, is derived from a familiar converse with the objects of nature.] Children reared from their infancy in crowded cities, and confined to school from the time they can speak and walk, have been fitly compared to plants raised in a hot-house. They are commonly precocious, and bring forth early fruit; but it has a sickly appearance, and never acquires much strength, but soon falls in decay; and the fruit thus produced wants the genuine flavor and fragrance of the same species when it comes to maturity in the open air and under the common influences of heaven. Injury may not only be done to the mind by attempting to force a too early maturity, but also by exercising unduly some one faculty, while the others are neglected. We know that particular muscles and members of the body may be strengthened at the expense of the other parts; but though this may be beneficial for the execution of some special work, it is for general purposes a disadvantage. And so the mind may, by a particular mode of treatment, acquire an extraordinary

vigor of some one faculty ; but such training is not judicious. A just balance, so to speak, should be preserved between all the faculties, so that while no one should greatly preponderate, no one should remain dormant. The memory being the first of our intellectual faculties which is developed, and being susceptible of continual improvement, it is more frequently cultivated unduly, or improperly, than any other. Indeed, in the earlier stages of education, the memory is principally the faculty with which the teacher has to do ; and the power which at this age it possesses of acquiring and retaining language should be carefully improved. But it is an error to suppose that such a memory may not be too retentive. Suppose a person to retain in memory, infallibly, every word and idea which ever entered the mind,—would such a memory be advantageous ? I think not. The mind of such a person would be encumbered with a multitude of useless ideas, which would be continually recurring, and associating themselves with other thoughts, so as to produce confusion and perplexity, and embarrass the reasoning faculty in its operation. A much more useful memory would be that which retained only important and useful things, while it let others slip. A good memory is the very opposite of a sieve, which suffers the wheat to fall through, but retains the chaff ; yet there are found among men, memories which greatly resemble the sieve ; for while they suffer good things to pass away they are very retentive of those ideas which are frivolous and corrupting. The art of mnemonics is curious, and has, by forming strong and arbitrary associations of ideas, performed wonders ; but I have never known anyone benefited by it. Indeed, I am of opinion that it is positively injurious, by fixing in the mind such associations as must be cumbersome and inconvenient ; especially in close reasoning, when it is desirable to exclude from our thoughts every irrelevant idea. If it were of importance for a man to be able to retain in memory long catalogues of names, such as the dynasties of princes, this art could afford much aid ; but in regard to such things and many others, it is better to have them in books than in minds. A memory tenacious of words in their order, is the lamest kind of memory ; while that which disregards words and retains ideas in their proper relations, in a comprehensive, systematic manner, is the best. The reason why many young men do not realize the expectations which their

recitations in college encouraged is, that they trusted too much to memory, while their judgment and reasoning faculty were but little exercised. In all cases where lessons are recited from text-books, the man of verbal memory will excel ; while a competitor who depends more on his own judgment may appear on a common examination far inferior, although in reality he may be much the superior of the two.

There is often a great mistake made even by intelligent teachers, in regard to the real talents of young men. The case of a mere verbal memory has already been brought to view ; but there is another no less common, when a scholar excels every other, in his class, in the quickness of his apprehension, and also in the celerity with which he commits his lesson to memory. Such persons always appear on recitations and examinations to great advantage, and are usually considered as possessed of superior mental endowments. But this judgment is often erroneous. Another may require much longer time to apprehend any new subject, but the very circumstance of its requiring a longer time for him to understand the point in question, leads him to take a more deliberate view of it, in all its bearings ; and it is proverbial, that that which is quickly memorized is readily forgotten, whereas that which is fixed in the memory by dint of effort it more apt to remain. Quickness of apprehension also is commonly united with volubility of speech ; while slowness in taking up a new subject is usually attended with a slow method of communication. Hence the former, though not really superior, enjoys great advantages in all hasty and superficial trials of talent and scholarship. And hence it comes to pass that in many cases college honors are no certain criterion by which to judge of the degrees of eminence to which students will arise when they enter upon their professional career. Men of slow movement are also under a greater necessity of improving all their time, and thus acquire habits of patient study and regular industry.

Of all qualifications in a student, there is none which is more certainly connected with future eminence than an inextinguishable thirst for knowledge—universal knowledge, as far as it is attainable. This very desire, however, may mislead, if not wisely directed ; as, for example, if a young man under its influence should undertake to pursue all kinds of knowledge at once. He would

waste his time and energies amidst a multiplicity of objects, and would become accurately acquainted with none. The principles of mental philosophy would lead to the conclusion that a man can pursue, advantageously, only one branch of knowledge at once, unless some other can be made to serve as a relaxation of the mind. Some successful students confine their attention so closely to one study, that they feel a kind of indifference to all others, and do not wish to be interrupted by anything else in the steady pursuit of their favorite object. Such men are commonly great in their own profession, but very deficient in general knowledge. I have known a man who was a profound lawyer, and thoroughly versed in all the intricacies of the legal profession, who knew no more of the improvements in modern science than a child. What he might have learned at college he had long since forgotten ; and when his eye met a scientific paragraph in the periodical papers which he perused, he would immediately turn away his attention to something else. Another, who practised at the same bar, was also accurately learned in all that related to his profession, and delighted in legal studies ; but he had a mind forever awake to every species of knowledge, and wherever he was he would find sources of information. An old volume in the window of a tavern, or even an old almanac, would be seized with avidity ; and he would derive some information from every book and every person with whom he came in contact. And here it may be remarked to the younger part of my audience, that there is scarcely a man, or woman, in the world, from whom something might not be learned. This thirst of knowledge, when it does not draw the mind off from the proper studies of our profession, may lead us, without any loss of time, to amass an amazing store of general knowledge, and will fit us to be entertaining and instructive to all with whom we may associate.

The maxim which should be adopted by all who have enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education is, not to suffer any acquisition which they have made to be lost. If it was worth acquiring, it is worth preserving, especially as this can be done with so much ease. Yet there is nothing in which the alumni of our colleges are, in fact, more generally censurable. Most of them no sooner leave their *alma mater* than they turn away their minds from all their college studies. They do not deliberately form the purpose to

forget all that they have learned, but they actually pursue the course which leads to this result. A very short space, every day, or even twice a week, would, employed in these studies, enable the student not only to preserve the learning which he had acquired, but to increase it. And if this course were immediately pursued, it would be, from the first, a pleasing relaxation from business, or from severe professional studies. But after a few years' neglect, this knowledge seems to be encrusted with so thick a coating of rust, that to commence an attempt to recover what is so entirely lost appears like beginning an education anew. But I wish to state one fact, which can only be learned by experience, and therefore is frequently unknown to the young,—which is, that knowledge, of any kind, which has been once possessed, however it may seem to be utterly obliterated, can easily be recovered. There is no need to go over the whole process of learning every thing anew in detail; but when the mind is a short time exercised in the reminiscence of a subject once known, suddenly the whole is revived as it formerly existed in the mind. This is an important law of the mind which should be extensively known.

It has appeared to me expedient, on the principle that perfection in any art or business depends very much on the division of labor, that every educated man should select some one branch of science or literature to which he would direct such special attention as to become master of it. By this means we should have men so skilled in every branch as to be capable of giving instruction on it either by lectures or from the press.

The field of learning has become so wide that no man can be accurate in his knowledge of every department. To excel in any particular branch, much time and attention must be devoted to it. And this special attention to some favorite object need not interfere with professional pursuits, nor with the steady pursuit of general knowledge. It might be made the amusement of vacant hours, which otherwise would run to waste. And if a man should never have occasion to make use of such knowledge by endeavoring to instruct others, still it would richly repay him for the time and attention bestowed upon it; as every one knows by experience how much more satisfaction the accurate knowledge of a subject affords, than that which is partial and superficial.

There was a time, in this country, when there was danger of the learned languages being excluded from a course of liberal education. The prejudice against the study of Latin and Greek was so strong, that many parents were borne along with the current, and actually insisted that their sons should be educated in the sciences and in English literature, while the Latin and Greek classics were laid aside. The influence which these sentiments obtained over public opinion may be judged of from the fact, that in the "Annals of Yale College, it is stated that in the year 1827, a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of so altering the regular course of instruction in this college, as to leave out of said course the study of the dead languages, substituting other studies, therefor." And in some other colleges, the Greek language was dispensed with, and some modern language substituted in its place. And the effect was to turn away the attention of youth from the dead languages, by which means classical learning has, in this country, been much retarded. But there is reason to hope that the tide has turned, and that now there is an increasing opinion that these languages are an important branch of a liberal education which cannot, without great injury, be laid aside. The arguments, however, in favor of excluding them are so popular, and have been handled so adroitly, that there are still some who consider this study as useless, or at least as far less valuable than many branches of science which might be substituted in their place. And it may be expected that objections will continue to be made to the common course pursued in our schools and colleges, on this account. It may therefore be proper briefly to remark, that the opinion which is hostile to the study of Latin and Greek as a part of liberal education, mistakes the primary object of education. The argument goes on the supposition that the accumulation of useful knowledge is the only thing to be considered in judging of the efficiency of different plans; whereas, the most important end of education is to develope, exercise, strengthen, and direct the several faculties of the mind. When these are well disciplined, the acquisition of every kind of knowledge will be easy; without it the accumulation of stores of knowledge will be of little value; or, to speak more correctly, the mind which has not been properly trained is incapable of acquiring the most important branches of

knowledge. It may be asked whether the mind may not be as well trained by learning other things, which may be turned to some useful purpose. To which we reply, that it has been found by long experience that the study of these ancient languages has the effect of exercising not only the memory but also the judgment. Besides, the compositions found in these languages are written with consummate skill ; and as specimens of exquisite taste, both in prose and verse, have nothing superior and scarcely any parallel in the writings of other nations. And a good taste in pupils is most effectually cultivated by intimate acquaintance with the best models. Our young men who possess a talent for the fine arts, judge wisely in going to Italy, where they have before them the most perfect specimens of the arts in every department. But as the exquisite poems, orations, and histories of the ancients are capable of being easily transported from place to place, and multiplied by the press, we have no occasion to go abroad for these, but every student may have them in possession in his own study, and by a daily familiarity with these models it cannot be otherwise but that the taste of the scholar will be gradually refined, and the judgment in regard to such matters be rendered correct.

One of the things in the state of our country which prevents the alumni of our colleges from rising to eminence in their respective professions is, that the demand for their services and the openings for employment are so great, that they are induced to enter into public life much too soon. It is indeed true that many continue to improve after engaging in the duties of public or professional life ; but it will be found that the degree of improvement will be in an exact ratio to the point from which they set out. The more knowledge a man has, the greater is his capacity for improving in knowledge. That man, therefore, who goes into public life with a mind well disciplined, and well furnished with professional and general knowledge, will rise faster than one who commences with lower attainments. As the professions which engage the attention of literary men become full, there will be an increasing necessity for those who aspire to honorable and useful distinction, not to venture on the theatre of public life until their minds are fully matured, and their knowledge enlarged and systematized. Hereafter men of superficial education and meagre attainments need not expect to

rise as did men of this description in former times : pre-eminence in any learned profession can only be expected now, by those who have devoted years to preparatory studies.

But while it is true that many young men improve after entering on the practice of their profession, there are others who never advance : they remain stationary or rather retrograde in their course. Such bring no honor to their profession, but rather disgrace ; and are commonly useless members of society.

In answer to all that has been said in favor of regular education and long continued preparation, it has been alleged, that some of our greatest men have reached to the eminence which they possess, without any regular course of liberal education, and without the habit of close and systematic study. The fact cannot be denied, and should be considered as an exception to a well established general rule ; and every one knows that a general rule is rather established than subverted by the existence of a few exceptions. In reply to the objection it is sometimes said, that, eminent as these characters are, they would have been more so, if they had enjoyed the advantages of a regular and liberal education. But the truth of this is not evident. I am of opinion, that some minds, peculiarly constituted, acquire greater power, and rise to greater eminence, by being thrown into circumstances favorable to the development and vigor of their faculties, than if they had been trained in the regular course of scholastic studies. But it would be folly to neglect regular education and attention to study and discipline, which for ages have been found useful to most, because a small number of men have arisen, by an uncommon road, to superior excellence, without having been trained in the usual way. I have seen a boy of six years of age, who had never learned the first rules of arithmetic, who could in a minute answer questions which a practised accountant could not answer in less than five or ten minutes ; but would it be wise for this reason to omit teaching children the common rules of arithmetic ? It is however true, that men whose minds rise to a high degree of vigor in an extraordinary way, do always labor under some peculiar disadvantages ; their knowledge, though great and accurate, is confined to particular branches, while other departments are left untouched. A distinguished man, in this state, informed me, a few days since, that

one of our greatest statesmen and most effective orators knew no more of the British poets than a child. That such a man should be ignorant of the higher mathematics and sublimer parts of astronomy, would not be wonderful, but that he should be unacquainted with Milton and Shakespeare is really surprising. One excellent end of a regular college education is, that the youth is carried through a circle of the sciences, and surveys the general condition of polite literature. It is important to have some general acquaintance with the encyclopedia of human knowledge, and with the present state of advancement in each particular branch.

The greatest difficulty which now occurs in conducting a liberal education is, to know how much to include in the college course. The field of learning has become so extensive, that an attempt to comprehend every branch would necessarily render the course superficial; and it should be a fixed principle in education, not to build a large structure upon a slender foundation. Solidity and strength should never be sacrificed for extent and variety. Some branches of knowledge, both useful and ornamental, must be omitted, or slightly touched, in our literary institutions; and by those who desire an acquaintance with them, may be better acquired in other places. The rule should be to render the student thorough in the elementary and fundamental parts, and to add, of others, as much as can be comprehended in the time allotted to the course; still giving precedence to those branches which are most important and useful.

It seems to me that the importance of education in all its stages requires that more qualified persons should devote their time and attention to teaching. The profession of an instructor in the lower and higher schools, should be held in much greater esteem, and more liberally remunerated, than they have been in time past. Well qualified instructors should constitute another learned profession, and should be considered as standing on equal ground with gentlemen of the other learned professions. But well qualified teachers we cannot have in sufficient numbers, unless seminaries for the education of teachers, and normal schools, be instituted. By means of these, education in the kingdom of Prussia has been placed on a better footing, and extended more generally to all classes of people, than in any country on the globe. What has

there been accomplished by a wise exertion of arbitrary power ought to be effected here by the voluntary and energetic action of the whole people. Great good often springs from small beginnings. The acorn grows up to be a sturdy oak in the forest. It is difficult to bring great schemes of benevolence into operation at once. Human wisdom is not sufficient to adapt them to all the varying contingencies which must be met. I like Dr. Chalmers' idea of beginning near home, and cultivating a small field thoroughly, and gradually enlarging our operations, and combining our efforts with those of others, as may be found convenient. The establishment of a good school for teachers, in this Valley, would be an enterprise deserving universal patronage, and could not but be a rich blessing to the country. And why would not this place be suitable for such an institution?

The most dangerous error on the subject of education which is becoming prevalent in this country is that of excluding religious instruction from our schools; especially from common schools. This error has been committed by some of the States of this Union which have done most for the general promotion of education.

As religion is the most important of all subjects, it may seem strange, at first view, that there should exist any objection to its being made part of every system of education. But there are some plausible objections, which deserve to be noticed. It is alleged that the minds of youth should not be prejudiced in favor of any religion, before the judgment has come to maturity; that the minds of children should be left unoccupied until they are capable of judging for themselves on this important subject.

If this plan were pursued on all subjects, as well as religion, it would put an end to the education of youth, and we see not why the objection is not applicable to every species of knowledge concerning which there can be any diversity of opinion. But the true and sufficient answer to this objection is, that the human mind cannot be kept free from the influence of all religious opinions and impressions, and if we neglect to inculcate sound principles, such as are erroneous and dangerous will be adopted. The only way to keep out error is to pre-occupy the mind with truth. The heart of man is like a rich garden, which, if neglected, will teem with

noxious weeds, to prevent the growth of which the ground must be cultivated and good seed must be sowed. And if it were possible to keep the mind entirely unoccupied until manhood, the consequence would be that the powers of the mind would remain dormant, and its condition more deplorable than if it had been occupied with any system of instruction whatever, for every such system contains much truth; and among Protestant Christians, the instructions given to children are generally composed of the most important and necessary truths. Besides, religion is as much needed by the young, as by those of mature age. And the inculcation of its doctrines cannot be neglected without the greatest injury to the child.

Another objection, now more popular and prevalent, is, that since the people are divided into so many sects and denominations in our country, religion cannot make a part of the system of education, without interfering with the creeds or consciences of one sect or another. This may be a valid reason for not teaching, in common schools, the peculiarities of any one denomination, but it is no reason at all why those things should not be taught in which all Protestants agree. As all admit that the Bible is true and the source of all correct information on the subject of religion, there can be no reasonable objection to having it read in schools. This ancient and sacred book should be studied, if for nothing else, as a most venerable record of antiquity. The truth is, no education can be complete, even as it relates to the early history of the world, and of ancient nations, without the Bible. The early histories of other nations do not reach back with any distinctness, even to the time when the history of the Old Testament closes; and the history of early times by all profane authors is so deformed with monstrous fables that it furnishes no real instruction. The only difficulty which arises from the use of the Bible in our schools is the opposition of the Romanists, who do not approve our version, and who, indeed, are unwilling to have their children made acquainted with the contents of the Holy Scriptures, except such parts as their priests choose to communicate. Their people have not the privilege which the Bereans enjoyed, of daily searching the Sacred Scriptures, to see whether what is taught by their teachers is true or not: they must believe everything with an implicit faith; so that for them,

ignorance is better than knowledge. But as it regards these people, the difficulty only occurs in our large cities and a few other places, where Papists abound. Happily, in most parts of our country, this class of people are not found, or in numbers so small that no exceptions need be made to accommodate them. And where they are numerous, they should be left to pursue their own course, undisturbed by the civil authority; and their children should be permitted to be gathered into schools of their own; but they should not be allowed to interrupt that course of instruction which is judged to be the most efficient, in a country where four-fifths of the people are Protestants. Religion, I repeat it again, is infinitely the most important and necessary part of education. Leave this out, and it will be doubtful whether our schools will not do more harm than good, for sound morality rests on religion as its basis.

Gentlemen of the Alumni, the object of your association doubtless is, to promote the permanent prosperity of your beloved and respected *alma mater*. The character and success of every literary institution depends very much upon its Alumni in two ways. First, they stamp its character by the talents, scholarship, and principles which they exhibit, when they come before the world, in their respective professions, and public occupations. In this way they honor or disgrace the place of their education, without any direct design to promote its prosperity, or the reverse; for the public must and will judge of a college or seminary, not by a few specimens favorable or unfavorable—but by the general character of her Alumni. The more eminent, then, gentlemen, you become, for wisdom and integrity in your several pursuits, the more honor will you reflect on your *alma mater*, and the want of ability or of virtuous principle in any of you, cannot fail, in some degree, to inflict a wound on her reputation. It may be, that more is expected of the Faculties of literary institutions, in disciplining the minds and moulding the characters of their pupils, than is reasonable; but the public possess no other means of appreciating the character and efficiency of such institutions, than the virtues and attainments of those instructed and trained in their halls; and the making this the criterion by which to judge of the comparative excellence of different colleges is fair, and devolves upon their

professors and teachers a responsibility which ought to be felt, and which cannot but be salutary to the community.

The other way in which the Alumni of a college may promote her prosperity is, by individual and associated effort to advance her interests. By defending her against calumny and misrepresentation ; by communicating information respecting the facilities and advantages of education which she possesses ; by lending their aid to give effect to applications to the Legislature, or to the public, for funds which may be needed ; and especially, by selecting some one object connected with her reputation and interests, which by their combined efforts they will promote. Such, for example, as the enlargement of her library. This is an object well worthy of the vigorous and persevering efforts of the Alumni of Washington College. There is no reason why American institutions for educating youth may not stand on a level with the most celebrated of Europe, with this one exception, that compared with theirs our libraries are small and meagre. Foreigners who visit our country, speak with contempt—as they justly may—of the insignificance of all the libraries in this country. Indeed, if they were all collected into one, it would not be so complete as the library of some single institution in Europe which might be mentioned. As to professors and teachers, there is no reason why our colleges should be inferior to theirs ; for it cannot be doubted, that American genius is not inferior to European ; and many of our young men study in the best institutions of foreign countries ; and it is not found difficult to induce Europeans who have acquired celebrity to come as professors to this country. But it will be long before we can vie with the European universities in the extent and richness of our libraries. No doubt our colleges are too much multiplied, but the evil will correct itself ; and, after a while, only those which are really needed will continue in operation ; and of these, those which shall possess the most extensive and valuable libraries will acquire a permanent pre-eminence. The attraction of distinguished and eloquent professors will be variable, but that college, or university, which shall establish a library superior to all others in the country, will possess a standing recommendation not only to students, but to able professors and authors, who need such a library to complete works of learning which may be profit-

able to the whole community. I cannot forbear, therefore, to recommend this object to the special attention of the Alumni of Washington College, now convened.

I cannot conclude this address without pronouncing a brief eulogy on the man who deserves to be called the Father of this College, and whose memory should be venerated by all its Alumni. I mean the Rev. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham was born in one of the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, and until the age of manhood was brought up in the business of agriculture, which he understood well and of which he was always fond. But at this period of his life, having undergone a great change in his religious views and feelings, he resolved to prepare for the work of the holy ministry. The obstacles in his way were, indeed, great, but being encouraged by the counsels and aided by the efforts and prayers of a most excellent mother, to whom he attributed in a great measure his success in this important enterprise, he ventured, under all discouragements, to go forward in endeavoring to obtain a liberal education, depending on the guidance and aid of Divine Providence. Having prepared himself to enter the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, he entered that institution, in company with a number of young men, who became eminent in the church or state. Among them as a scholar he stood pre-eminent; for during the college course he gained a whole year; that is he anticipated the studies of the senior year, before the class entered on them, and was permitted to retire from college till the time of the examination of his class, when he attended with them, and was graduated in the year 1773. As his father was unable, conveniently, to bear the expenses of his son while at college, he contributed to his own support, by teaching in the grammar school, then under the special direction of Dr. Witherspoon, the President of the college. Having completed his college course, he pursued his theological studies under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Roane, a pious and distinguished divine, who resided in the vicinity of his father. But, during the whole period of his education, he was constantly engaged in the study of theology. But, among all his teachers he gave the preference to his excellent mother; and has been heard to say, that he learned

more of practical religion from her, than from all persons and books beside.

When the Presbytery of Hanover determined to establish a school in this Valley, for the rearing of young men for the ministry, they applied to the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, then itinerating in the State, to recommend a suitable person to take charge of their school, upon which he at once recommended Mr. Graham; and at their request wrote to him to come on to the Valley of Virginia.¹ Before this time, a classical school had been taught at a place called Mount Pleasant, near to the little town of Fairfield. Here Mr. Graham commenced his labors as a teacher; and here we find the germ whence sprung this college. The acorn was then planted from which has proceeded the oak which is now spreading its branches abroad.

It was not long, however, before it was judged expedient to remove the infant school to Timber Ridge meeting house, where a convenient house for the Rector was built, and also an Academy and other small buildings for the accommodation of the students. A considerable sum was now raised, by subscription, for the purchase of books and a philosophical apparatus, and Mr. Graham was entrusted with the business of selecting and purchasing such articles as he should judge most useful and necessary; and accordingly, he took a journey to Philadelphia, and executed, judiciously, the trust reposed in him. He also took a journey into New England, to solicit benefactions for the rising Academy, and not without some success, though not considerable. At this time, the prospects of the infant institution were very encouraging, and if no untoward events had occurred, there is reason to believe that it would have speedily risen to great eminence and usefulness. But the revolutionary war having burst on the country, threatening ruin and desolation, the attention of all *true* men was turned to the defence of the country; and from no part of the United States, it is believed, did more young men enter the public service, than from this very region; for in this whole country, half a dozen could not be found who were not true friends to the liberty and independence

¹ At the same meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover at which Mr. Graham was appointed Rector, Mr. John Montgomery was appointed Tutor.

of the country. Not only the youth who would have commenced a course of education were taken, but even those already in the institution, fired with an ardent patriotism, laid down their books, and seized the sword and the rifle. And it may truly be said, that the patriotic fire burned in no bosom with a warmer flame than in that of the rector of this Academy. On a certain occasion, when by the invitation of the executive authority of the State it was resolved to raise a volunteer company of riflemen to go into active service, and there appeared much backwardness in the men to come forward, he stepped out and had his own name enrolled, which produced such an effect that the company was immediately filled, of which he was unanimously chosen captain, and all necessary preparations were made for marching to the seat of war; when Gen. Washington signified to the governors of the States, that he did not wish any more volunteer companies to join the army.

The abandonment of the houses erected at Timber Ridge appears to have taken place—though without authority—as a matter of necessity. The income from the Academy was small, and his salary for preaching to the two congregations of Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting House (now Monmouth) being paid in depreciated currency, it was impossible for him to support his family. He therefore resolved to return to farming, which, as has been said, he well understood. Accordingly, he purchased a small farm on the North River, within a mile or two of this spot.

The school at Timber Ridge was, however, continued for some time after Mr. Graham retired to his farm, and he endeavored to perform the duties of a rector, by visiting it and giving instruction several times in each week. But this being found very inconvenient to himself and disadvantageous to the school, after due deliberation, he resolved to relinquish the establishment at Timber Ridge, and to open a school in his own house. Here, the person who now addresses you, at an early age, commenced his course of classical learning. Even at this time, there was a respectable number of students in the school, most of them having reached the age and stature of men. After some time, a frame edifice was erected on ground given for the purpose, and the school was continued until, in the year 1782, application was made to the legis-

lature for an act of incorporation ; and accordingly, a number of trustees were formed into a body corporate, to have full charge of the Academy, which received the name of LIBERTY HALL ; which name it retained until it was endowed by General Washington, when his name was substituted for that which it had before borne. Before this donation was received, Mr. Graham had resigned his office of rector, or president ; though it is understood that he used all his influence to secure this important endowment ; and that he was the author of the letter addressed to General Washington, by the trustees, in favor of this institution.

Though Mr. Graham had some formidable opposers who had taken up strong prejudices against him, and although, after the close of the war, the character of the students who frequented the Academy was greatly deteriorated, and the difficulties which environed him were many and perplexing ; yet it must be conceded, that in resigning his important post at this time, he was not guided by his usual wisdom. Whatever be the character of youth, every civil and sacred interest requires that their education should be in the hands of pious men, and generally of ministers of the Gospel. And how can we hope for a reformation among the youth of our country, but by religious and moral instruction, and the exercise of salutary discipline. It is not expedient to bring distinctly into view, on this occasion, the disappointment which attended his favorite scheme of planting in the West a little colony of select families of like mind, who might live in peace, far from the contentions, bustle, and turmoil of the world. All such schemes must fail in the present state of human nature.

It is a remarkable fact, that this institution, although not honored with the name of a college, by its charter possessed all the powers of a college, being expressly authorized to grant literary degrees ; and although there were then no periodical commencements, yet in several instances the degree of bachelor of arts was granted, and in one instance, at least, publicly. The course of study in the Academy was precisely the same as that pursued at Princeton while Mr. Graham was a student in that college ; even the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon were copied, and studied by the students.

After this brief history, I will, as concisely as possible, give the character of this distinguished man, whose memory appears to be in danger of falling into oblivion.

Mr. Graham possessed a mind formed for profound and accurate investigation. He had studied the Latin and Greek classics with great care, and relished the beauties of these exquisite compositions. With those authors taught in the schools he was familiar, by a long practice in teaching, and always insisted on the importance of classical literature, as the proper foundation of a liberal education.

He had a strong inclination to the study of Natural Philosophy, and took pleasure in making experiments with such apparatus as he possessed ; and he had procured for the Academy as good an one as was then possessed by most of the colleges. In these experiments much time was employed, on which inquisitive persons, not connected with the Academy, were freely permitted to attend.

As he was an ardent patriot, and a thorough republican, the times in which he lived led him to bestow much attention on the science of government ; and one of the few pieces which he wrote for the press was on this subject. By some he was censured for meddling with politics, but it should be remembered, that at that time, this country, having cast off its allegiance to Great Britain, and declared itself independent, had to lay the foundation of governments, both for the States, and the nation ; and that the welfare of posterity as well as of the existing inhabitants of the country, was involved in the wisdom with which this work was done. The talents of every man capable of thinking and judging on such subjects, seemed to be fairly put into requisition. It is a sound maxim that men living at one time, must not be judged by the maxims of an age in which all circumstances are greatly changed. At the adoption of the federal constitution, which according to its original draft he did not approve, he relinquished all attention to politics during the remainder of his life.

The science, however, which engaged his attention more than all others, except theology, was the PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIND ! In this he took great delight, and to it devoted much time and attention. Though acquainted with the best treatises which had then been published, his investigations were not carried on so much

by books, as by a patient and repeated analysis of the various processes of thought as they arose in his own mind, and by reducing the phenomena thus observed to a regular system. The speaker is of opinion, that the system of mental philosophy which he thus formed, was, in clearness and fulness, superior to any thing which has been given to the public, in the numerous works which have recently been published on this subject. And it is greatly to be regretted that his lectures were never fully committed to writing, and published, for the benefit of the world. It was, however, a fault, in this man of profound thought, that he made little use of the pen. And it was also a defect, that in the latter years of his life he addicted himself little to reading the productions of other men; and perhaps entertained too low an opinion of the value of books.

But it is time that we should consider Mr. Graham as a theologian and a preacher. From the time of his ordination by the Presbytery of Hanover in 1775, he became a teacher of theology. Most of those who entered the holy ministry in this Valley pursued their preparatory studies under his direction. And after the great revival which commenced in this Valley in the year 1789, Mr. Graham had a theological class of seven or eight members under his tuition, which was kept up for several years. It was his custom to devote one day in the week to hearing the written discourses of these candidates, and to a free discussion of theological points. In these exercises he appeared to take great delight; and the students were always gratified and commonly convinced by his lucid statements and cogent reasonings. As most of those who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions in this incipient theological seminary are not now in the world, it may not be improper to say, that some of them rose to eminence in the church, and as professors or presidents of literary institutions. The influence which he gained over the minds of his pupils, while under his care, was unbounded. Seldom did any one of them venture to maintain an opinion different from those which he inculcated. Yet he encouraged the utmost freedom of discussion; and seemed to aim, not so much to bring his pupils to think as he did, as to teach them to think on all subjects for themselves. A slavish subjection to any human authority he repudiated; and therefore never

attempted to add weight to his opinions by referring to a long list of authors, of great name; but uniformly insisted, that all opinions should be subjected to the test of Scripture and reason. Some of his students have been heard to say, that the chief benefit which they derived from his instructions was, that by this means they were led to the free and independent exercise of their own faculties in the investigation of truth.

Mr. Graham, in his theological creed, was strictly orthodox, according to the standards of his own church, which he greatly venerated; but in his method of explaining some of the knotty points in theology he departed considerably from the common track; and was of opinion that many things which have been involved in perplexity and obscurity by the manner in which they have been treated, are capable of being easily and satisfactorily explained by the application of sound principles of philosophy. As a preacher, he was always instructive and evangelical; though, in common, his delivery was rather feeble and embarrassed, than forcible; but when his feelings were excited, his voice became penetrating, and his whole manner awakening and impressive. And his profound study of the human heart enabled him to describe the various exercises of the Christian with a clearness and truth which often greatly surprised his pious hearers; for it seemed to them as if he could read the very inmost sentiments of their minds; which he described more perfectly than they could do themselves. When it was his object to elucidate some difficult point, it was his custom to open his trenches, so to speak, at a great distance; removing out of the way every obstacle, until he was prepared to make his assault on the main fortress. Thus, insensibly he led his hearers along, step by step, gaining their assent first to one proposition and then to another, until at last they could not easily avoid acquiescence in the conclusion to which he wished to bring them. As a clear and cogent reasoner, he had no superior among his contemporaries; and his pre-eminence in the exercise of this faculty, was acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons.

It has been hinted that Mr. Graham had enemies, who often had influence to impede or thwart his favorite schemes; and candor requires that it should be acknowledged, that he sometimes

imprudently made enemies of those who might have been efficient friends, by too free an indulgence of satirical and sarcastical remarks ; which weapon he could wield with great power. And it must also be conceded, that towards his opponents he never manifested much of a conciliatory temper, but seemed rather disposed to stand aloof from them, and to set them at defiance.

In the government of youth, Mr. Graham was from the first a rigid and unyielding disciplinarian. He laid it down as a principle, that, at every risk, authority must be maintained ; and when this was by any one resisted, however formidable the student might be in physical strength, or however many might combine to frustrate the regular exercise of discipline, he fearlessly went forward in the discharge of his duty, and generally triumphed over all opposition ; and often inflicted severe castigation on the thoughtless persons who dared to rebel against lawful authority. Whether his rigor might not, in some instances, have been extreme, is a question on which judicious men would differ in opinion, and which need not be discussed.

As has been already hinted, the great error of his life was the relinquishment of the important station in which Providence had placed him, and for which he was so eminently qualified ; and that at a time of life when he possessed the ability of being more useful than at any former period. Having removed to the banks of the Ohio river, he fell into great embarrassments, in the midst of which he died, in consequence of a violent fever contracted by exposure to frequent, drenching rains, while on a journey to Richmond. In that city he breathed his last, in the house of his friend, the late Col. Robert Gamble : and his remains were deposited very near the south door of the Episcopal Church on the hill, over which a plain marble slab, with a short inscription, is placed.

The extent of the influence exerted by this one man over the literature and religion of this region, cannot be calculated. As the stream which fertilizes a large district is small in its origin, but goes on continually increasing until it becomes a mighty river ; so the influence of the Rev. William Graham did not cease when he died, but has gone on increasing, by means of his disciples, who have been scattered far and wide over the West and the South.

A debt of gratitude is due to him which cannot easily be repaid. Instead of a monument of marble, which has been richly deserved, an ample memoir of his life, with a particular history of this college in its various vicissitudes and conditions, and of some of its principal Alumni, educated under the tuition of Mr. Graham, would be a suitable tribute to his memory. And this work would seem to devolve naturally on some member of the Faculty. That it may be speedily undertaken, and faithfully executed, would no doubt be the ardent wish of every Alumnus present.

I wish also to preserve from oblivion the memory of the first tutor in this institution, after it was incorporated, Dr. James Priestley; a man of lively genius, and extraordinary attainments in some departments of literature. Mr. Priestley was the son of a poor but very pious man in this county. Mr. Graham having, in catechising the youth of his charge, noticed the readiness and accuracy with which this boy answered all the questions proposed to him, obtained the consent of his parents to take him into his own family, that he might give him a liberal education. The boy being endowed with a most retentive memory and a vivid imagination, soon became a distinguished scholar, and a tutor in the Academy. His memory was so extraordinary, that in hearing his pupils, he had no occasion to take a book into his hands. His principal attention was directed to Greek literature, in the accurate knowledge of which he greatly excelled. He sometimes entertained his pupils by spouting, with astonishing vehemence, the orations of Demosthenes, in Greek. Mr. Priestley devoted his whole life to the promotion of classical literature. The principal theatre of his labors was Georgetown, (District of Columbia,) Annapolis, and Baltimore, in the State of Maryland. In each of the forementioned places he established and superintended schools of a high grade of excellence.

His fame as a teacher of youth having spread extensively, he was selected as the first President of the Cumberland University, at Nashville, Tennessee. Here he spent the last years of his life; and though all were impressed with a high idea of his extraordinary learning, and his high qualifications as a classical teacher; yet he did not succeed well in organizing and arranging an infant college. He was indeed a very eccentric, though a very amiable

man ; and married a woman as eccentric as himself. Among the peculiar opinions which he fondly cherished, one was, that our future felicity would depend very much upon the degree of intellectual culture bestowed on the mind, as well as on its moral improvement ; an opinion which has been ingeniously maintained by a writer in one of our popular periodicals, recently.

Dr. Priestly possessed an enthusiastic ardor in favor of education which I have never seen surpassed ; and he succeeded in inspiring his pupils with something of the same. From him the speaker derived the first impulse in his literary course, and, therefore, he feels a pleasure in having this opportunity of paying a deserved tribute to the memory of a teacher, who was an ornament to this institution, in its earliest days.

In conclusion I would remark, that I feel myself this day placed in solemn circumstances. Of all those who were connected with this institution when I entered it, and for some years afterwards, whether as trustees, teachers, or students, there is not one remaining upon earth but myself. And very soon some other person who addresses the Alumni of Washington College may say the same in regard to those who now hear me. Time rolls swiftly on, and will soon bear on its rapid current the youngest and strongest among us to the ocean of eternity. Let us all then make it our chief care and study to prepare for an event which none can escape. While we are permitted to live, may we be found diligently fulfilling the duties of our respective stations in society ; endeavoring by all the means in our power to promote the welfare of our fellow creatures. Liberal learning is calculated to raise men not only above the gross pursuits of sensuality, but also to elevate them above the sordid pursuits of selfishness. Let us endeavor so to act, that on a retrospect of our lives, our conduct may meet with the approbation of our own consciences, and with the approbation of our God !

Having now finished what I wished to communicate, at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and lasting farewell of you all ; never again expecting to see the faces of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven's richest blessings attend you !

CONCLUDING NOTE.

The Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., in his life of his father the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, gives an account of the circumstances under which this address was delivered, which we now copy as a matter of interest to the reader :

“Notwithstanding the adverse prognostics of this letter (referring to a letter of Dr. Alexander to his sister, written in 1842, in which he expressed a doubt whether at his age and in the state of his health he would ever be able to visit Virginia again), he was permitted to revisit Virginia in the summer of 1843. On this occasion he delivered a discourse before the Alumni Association of Washington College, on the Commencement Day, June 29th. From the crowd of persons and the extreme heat, he was during the address seized with a faintness, which was alarming, and which made it necessary for him to be carried into the open air. No expostulations, however, could induce him to desist. He was especially desirous to say something in honor of his old teacher, Mr. Graham. He therefore returned and completed the delivery of the address. Its last words were these : ‘Having now finished what I wished to communicate at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and last farewell of you all ; expecting never again to see the face of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven’s richest blessings attend you !’ From the columns of a religious journal, published some time after the event, we derive the following statement : ‘I shall never forget some circumstances connected with his last visit to Virginia. It was the summer of 1843. He came, as he told me when I met with him, reckoning upon it as his last visit to his native region. Dr. Alexander opened the Commencement exercises with a short prayer. A generation long gone by seemed to be represented in him, and while he sat looking down upon the scene, and partaking of the varying emotions that swayed the auditory, I could not but fancy what thoughts and feelings must have been passing through his mind, far out of the range of those that were present to the minds of others there. He had been one of the early students of Liberty Hall Academy, under its first rector, William Graham, a man of eminent talents and piety, who well deserves to be honored as the father of learning in West Virginia, and who was the preceptor likewise of Baxter, Speece, J. H. Rice, and other men of note, both in church and state.

“In the afternoon the audience again filled the spacious building to hear Dr. Alexander, the most of them for the last time. The heat of the crowded house, and the effort of the occasion, coming after the fatigue and excitement of the morning, were too much for an aged man, like Dr. Alexander. He faltered in the midst of his discourse, grew pale, stopped and sank back into his seat, every heart in the vast assembly beating quick at such an interruption. In a few moments he rose, and renewed the effort; but it would not do. It was not long before he gave way, and had to be carried out of the house in his chair. He had listened in painful anxiety from the time that he had commenced speaking, and the feelings of the audience were now all absorbed in concern for him. Who could tell but that the cords of an aged and feeble man, too tensely stretched, might suddenly snap, and the scene wind up as a melancholy and thrilling event.

Friends gathered around him, and begged that he would leave the speaking that, with his consent, the address would be printed. He declared his intention of going on. It was then suggested that the address would be read by some person for him. But no, he persisted stubbornly, and as it almost seemed, obstinately. What was the secret of his pertinacity? He had an office to perform; he had a tribute to pay on that last occasion. And there, under the shadow of the old church, surrounded by the descendants of his own paternal family, and of his contemporaries, amidst the tombs of his own generation, and within a few yards of the graves of his own parents, he sat and read his tribute to Mr. Graham—the audience clustering around him, and hanging with fixed and tearful attention on his closing words. He sketched the character of Graham, spoke of his services to the cause of learning and religion, and concluded with a few impressive remarks, in which he spoke of himself as the sole survivor of the whole number of officers and students connected with Liberty Hall at the time of his entrance, and for two or three years afterwards, and exhorted those about him, as one who never expected to see them again, to seek salvation through the infinite merits of a Redeemer.

“The address has been printed. But it needs that one should have been present to feel the full impression of it, as delivered.

“That face and form, that group, the old church, the church-yard with its monuments, all seen amid the lengthening shadows of declining day, formed a scene for a painter's pencil. It was a most striking and appropriate picture for the last page of such a man's pilgrimage to the place of his birth and of his fathers' graves.

N. L.

“Concerning this visit, his eldest brother, Andrew Alexander, Esq., thus wrote: ‘We have been very much gratified with the visit of your father. There were frequently present the three brothers and two sisters. It is not common for so many aged brothers and sisters to meet the youngest being sixty-seven years old. It is not at all probable we shall ever again meet in this world.’ It is instructive to add at this present writing, only one of that venerable circle survives. *Life of Dr. Archibald Alexander*, pp. 554–557.

LD
5873
.WR

no. 2

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY
1890
Copy 2

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 2. — 1890

1. THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY
HON. HUGH BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D. DELIVERED JUNE
22, 1870.
2. ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON
COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.
DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.

Virginiana

L D

5673

W2

348766

NO. 2

1830

CCV4 2

VIRGINIA
ARCHIVE 70

PREFACE.

We now publish the address of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., on the "Founders of Washington College," delivered at the commencement on the 22nd day of June, 1870. The manuscript was retained by Mr. Grigsby for the purpose of completing it, but he died without doing so. We have added brief sketches of those omitted by him. The address is now published for the first time, and will be read with much interest by the friends of the university, and especially by the descendants of those who aided in founding this noble institution, which has attained proportions they little dreamed of.

We also publish with it the address of Dr. Archibald Alexander, delivered in 1843, which attracted so much attention when delivered and first published.

Other numbers of these Historical Papers will be published as soon as the material can be prepared.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,

WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,

HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,

Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,

October, 1890.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE: AN ADDRESS BY HON. HUGH
BLAIR GRIGSBY, LL. D., DELIVERED JUNE 22, 1870.

Introduction.....	1
Three Periods in the History of Washington College.....	2
First Settlers of the Valley.....	3
Origin of the Scotch-Irish.....	5
Influence of Knox and the Reformation on the Scotch-Irish.....	5
Emigration of Scotch-Irish to Pennsylvania.....	8
Removal thence to the Valley of Virginia.....	9
First Classical School in the Valley, 1749.....	9
First Rector of it—Robert Alexander.....	10
Rev. John Brown, second Rector.....	11
William Graham, his Assistant, 1774.....	12
Angusta Academy removed to Mount Pleasant.....	12
Trustees appointed by Presbytery.....	12
Trustees appointed under Charter of 1782.....	13
Gift of Washington.....	14
Sketch of William Graham... ..	14
Birth and Early Life.....	15
Determines to Study Theology.....	16
A Student at Princeton.....	16
Removes to Virginia, 1774.....	17
His Military Service.....	18
Resigns his Rectorship.....	19
Character of Graham.....	20
As Preacher.....	20
As Professor.....	21
As Politician.....	22
His Letter to Washington in behalf of Liberty Hall.....	25
His Course on Revocation of Charter of 1782.....	26

	PAGE.
His Opposition to Federal Constitution.....	27
Summary.....	30
Sketch of John Montgomery.....	33
Sketch of James Waddell.....	34
Sketch of Rev. Charles Cummings.....	38
Sketch of Col. William Fleming.....	40
Sketch of Col. William Preston.....	44
Sketch of Col. Arthur Campbell.....	49
Sketch of Col. William Christian.....	52
Sketch of Gen. Andrew Moore.....	56
Sketch of Col. Samuel McDowell.....	63
Sketch of Gen. John Bowyer.....	68
Sketch of Thomas, Alexander and Archibald Stuart.....	70
Thomas.....	71
Alexander.....	72
Archibald.....	73
Sketch of Thomas and Andrew Lewis.....	78
Sketch of Andrew Lewis.....	81
Sketch of Samuel Lyle.....	84
Sketch of William Irwin.....	85
Sketch of Charles Campbell.....	85
Sketch of John and Samuel Houston.....	86
Sketch of Sampson Mathews.....	87
Sketch of Col. William McKee.....	88
Sketch of Col. George Moffett.....	90
Sketch of John Hays.....	91
Sketch of William Wilson.....	92
Sketch of John Wilson.....	93
Sketch of William Alexander.....	95
Sketch of Caleb Wallace.....	96
Sketch of John Trimble.....	98
Sketch of Alexander Campbell.....	98
Sketch of Zachariah Johnston.....	99
Sketch of Gen. William Campbell.....	100
Sketch of William McPheeters.....	103
Conclusion.....	104

APPENDIX.

Sketch of John Grattan.....	105
Sketch of Samuel Doak.....	106

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE.
Sketch of Edward Crawford.....	107
Sketch of Archibald Scott.....	108
Sketch of James McConnell.....	108
Sketch of Benjamin Erwin.....	108
Sketch of Capt. John Lewis.....	108
Sketch of James McCorkle.....	109
Sketch of Joseph Walker.....	109
Sketch of William Ward and James Trotter.....	110
Sketch of John Lyle.....	110

ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, BY THE REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D., DELIVERED JUNE 29, 1843.

Education necessary.....	113
Methods of mental training.....	114
Overtraining of verbal memory.....	116
Mnemonics.....	116
Quickness of apprehension.....	117
Thirst for knowledge.....	117
Importance of classical training.....	120
Religious training.....	124
The Bible in schools.....	125
Alumni and <i>alma mater</i>	126
Importance of libraries.....	127
Sketch of Rev. William Graham.....	128
Sketch of Dr. James Priestly.....	136
Conclusion.....	137
CONCLUDING NOTE.....	138

THE FOUNDERS OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE.

*Mr. Rector and Trustees, Mr. President and
Professors, of Washington College :*

I have come in obedience to your request to aid you in commemorating the names and services of the good and great men who were the early patrons and friends of your institution, who, as Trustees, held the reins of government, or as Professors, filled your chairs, and who in the silent lapse of generations, and under the pressure of the ever-living and engrossing present, have almost passed from human memory. Your noble design to rescue from oblivion what might yet be known of your early founders, met with a cordial response from my heart. Your trustees were among the most eminent men of the age in which they lived. They were men whose valor won fields of battle, whose voices decided the fate of the greatest political measures which preceded the Revolution of 1776, who made and ruled the Revolution itself, and who aided in devising those measures necessary to secure the blessings achieved by that event. And when asked by our children to recount their deeds, and we turn to our histories, and even to the dictionaries of biography, we find but a meagre account of any one of them, and respecting the greatest number nothing at all. The task which I have undertaken involves some toil and research, but I felt in executing it that I was performing a filial duty. For if I be not a son of the Valley, I am a grandson, and as I pass from the Natural Bridge to Lexington I can trace the early homesteads cleared from the primeval forest by the hands of my fathers, and on an eminence overlooking the road is the grave of my grand-

mother, and at Falling Spring I read the inscriptions on the tombs of my great-grandfather and great-grandmother, of uncles and aunts, and cousins of every degree ; and the cemetery of this town holds the dear ashes of my beloved kindred, and has just received the fresh dust of a dear aunt who went down to the grave at the age of 96.¹ And I felt assured in the well-known courtesy of yourself and your associates, that you would be more inclined to approve what I have done, than to blame me for what I failed to do.

X The theme presents three well-defined historic periods : From 1749, the foundation of Augusta Academy—for Rockbridge had not then been set apart from Augusta—to 1782, when the charter was granted to Liberty Hall Academy ; from 1782 to 1860, the beginning of the late war ; and from 1860 to the present date.

Of these three great epochs you have assigned the first to me, and I have come to perform the office in what manner I may. And I think it just, not only to myself, but to this large and imposing auditory, to say at once that mine is not the office of the orator, but that of the historian. It is not mine to imitate the example of those who are wont to address you, on these festal days of the College, and to choose some fascinating theme from the realm of philosophy or from the kindling topics of the hour, to embellish it with flowing periods and striking illustrations, to amuse the mind with the play of logic or to regale the imagination with the creations of fancy, and to seek the applause justly accorded to him who touches the heart and fills the mind with pleasing images, and with the grace of action and with the witchery of words casts a spell not willingly to be dissolved over all who hear him. My office is strictly historical. I come to speak of the men and things of a time when forests covered nearly the whole of this beautiful and flourishing land, where so many cultivated farms delight the beholder, where so many handsome dwellings are seen, where so many human beings are gathered together, and are engaged in the various pursuits of human industry ; where a single library under the guardian care of its venerable high priest now contains more books than then existed from the Blue Ridge to the Pacific Ocean,

¹ Mrs. Martha Trimble.—Eds.

and from the Pennsylvania line to the Caribbean Sea.¹ I am come to speak of a time when the proudest building in the vast region sweeping from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi was built of logs or of rough rocks ; when the rich and the poor—if indeed the word rich can be applied to any of the brave and pious settlers of this region—lived in log cabins ; when the dwelling house, the school house and the church were log cabins ; and when this hill, now adorned with its numerous and elegant structures, and overlooking a compact and busy population, was one unbroken solitude. I come to speak of some of the men who felled those forests, who cleared these lands, who built the first churches, who opened the first schools, who laid deep in the general heart the love of letters and the fear of God, and who impressed on the minds of their children the elements of their own pure and lofty character. Let us inquire who they were ; let us follow them through their varied course ; let us observe their early and unabated efforts to build up a virtuous and enlightened State, and let us pause as we pass at their humble but honored graves, and thank God that our fathers were just such men as they were, and that their dust—ever to be approached with grateful tears and honored with the voice of praise—still reposes in our soil.

It is obvious that each of the three great periods which I have mentioned would require nearly as many hours as I have minutes at my disposal ; and it has occurred to me to be the best on the whole, after giving a synopsis of the first period, to recur to the Trustees of 1776 and those of the charter of 1782.

Before we speak of the origin of this institution, let us take a rapid glance at the character of the people who reared it, and who have made so great a figure in the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia. They were mainly what is commonly called Scotch-Irish, and were professors of the Presbyterian faith. But who were the Scotch-Irish ? Who were the people, that, wherever they were borne on the tumultuous tides of a various and constant emigration that rolled through the channels of centuries, carried with them a stout and stalwart frame of body, a clear head, a

¹ Mr. John W. Fuller, for more than half a century librarian of the Franklin Society, in the town of Lexington.—Eds.

physical courage that quailed not in the presence of a mortal enemy, a moral courage superior to disaster, indomitable industry, a scorn of ease, the love of letters, a thirst for freedom, and who inscribed on their banners the name of the Lord God of Hosts? To confine ourselves to the region of recorded history, we traverse a space of two thousand years, and read in the thrilling narrative of Cæsar his conflicts with the native Britons, and we take our seat in the trireme of Agricola as he coursed for the first time around the island of Britain, and gather from the pages of Tacitus the lineaments of that picture which the Roman general presented to his son-in-law, and which now thrills us with the intensity of its colors. From the Roman invasion to the date of the Norman Conquest in 1066, a period of a thousand years, both North and South Britain were subdued and overrun by the various hordes of the Scandinavian family; and as the Scottish rivers were as easily accessible by the ships of the piratical Northmen as the British, the Forth and the Tay were invaded simultaneously with the Humber and the Thames; and the names of places which were given by the Northmen still indicate the great historic era. I may mention the names of the craigs of East Binney and West Binney near the Forth, which were bestowed probably five hundred years before the Norman Conquest and still retain their Saxon inheritance. After the Norman Conquest, Scotland received a large accession of Anglo-Saxons from the South, who sought to escape the grasp of the conqueror. And thus, while the Southern part of the island was becoming modified in the course of generations by the blood and the language and the habits of the Normans, the simple Anglo-Saxon tongue and tastes prevailed in Scotland. Hence the purity of the Scotch language in its Anglo-Saxon aspect above the tongue of the English, which had become mixed with the dialects of the Latin race, and which is the boast of the Scotch to this day. I have mentioned these facts in order to set aside the common error of regarding the Scotch as wholly Celtic or Ancient British, instead of being in the main a component part of the Anglo-Saxon family.

The history of Scotland from the first landing of the Anglo-Saxons to the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots,—an interval of more than fifteen hundred years—presents the saddest portraiture of ignorance and blood and rapine and violence, variegated indeed

at intervals with passages of extraordinary splendor, which the historic muse ever drew for the warning and instruction of mankind. It was a scene of perpetual war—war within and war without. Its chiefs after the Conquest were Normans, such as Bruce, Wallace, Randolph, Campbell, Maxwell and the Stuarts ; and they assumed a jurisdiction little less than kingly. Even the present Queen of England, though she succeeded to the crown on the right of her Scotch ancestors, has in her veins the blood of William the Norman. Feuds existed for generations, and were handed down with the sword and the helmet of the ferocious ancestor. This pugnacious trait of the Scotch receives an illustration from the name of Blair, which signifies an open place ; but as every open place in the course of centuries had been the scene of a desperate rencounter it came to mean a field of battle.

Now the grave question arises, how from such a people, whose hands were stained by the gore of two thousand years, could spring that type of character which we call Scotch-Irish ? How could spring a people, who as we know them, have ever built in the same enclosure the fortress, the school house and the church ; who, during the succession of more than two centuries have held the sword in one hand, the Bible in the other ; whose valor subdued the foe in the open field and in the recesses of the forest, and whose piety filled their humble temples and homesteads with prayer and praise ? What produced so great a transformation in the character of the Scotch ?

One great era wrought the change and one master spirit ruled the decisive hour. That era was the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, that master-spirit was John Knox. That tall, gaunt man, sprung from the people, without a dollar of income save from a miserable stipend, surrounded by warlike nobles who were insensible to religious appeals, so unterrified by authority that it was said over his corpse by the regent Morton, "There lies one who feared the face of no man living,"—this man assailed the supremacy of that venerable religion whose foundations were laid deep in the old past, whose subjects were kings, and whose power, consolidated by the respect and piety of ages, embraced the entire realm of Christianity. Let us not be unjust to the Catholic Church. It unquestionably exerted a beneficial influence for many

centuries on the Scotch people. Apart from its invaluable services in preserving the records of the past, and in fostering a taste for letters, it was the only source whence, during the dreary millennium of the Middle Ages, the blessings of Christianity were conveyed to the people. It presented the only curb to the despotism of the feudal system, and softened its atrocities. It was kind to the peasant, and in his defence placed its finger not unfrequently on the crest of the haughtiest baron, and laid on monarchs the weight of its hands. In the valleys of Scotland that church raised those stately cathedrals whose very ruins excite the awe of the modern traveller, and even in the distant Hebrides it reared its magnificent structures, and on their altars kindled a flame that shone far and wide over those stormy seas; and the iron kings of Northern Europe beheld it and trembled, and with their dying aspirations implored that their bones might repose in the crypts of the temple of Iona.

It was during the fearful conflict with this church that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since. Intelligence is the soul of Protestantism; for it is needful first to know what a thing is, before we essay to make it what it ought to be. Hence the Scotch reformers taught their flocks with an earnestness and ruled them with a rigor unknown in our times. But Knox well knew that generations, however enlightened, pass away, and that Protestantism would pass with them unless the young were instructed with care in the rudiments of knowledge and in the doctrines of the faith. Hence the zeal of Knox in obtaining from the Scotch Parliament that ever memorable act which required a school to be kept in every parish, and which gave a new direction to the fervid genius of the people.

Both local and general causes stimulated the feelings and intensified the enthusiasm of the people. It was declared by a high authority that the Presbyterian form of government was the model of the purest republican simplicity, and that it was hostile to the genius of a monarchical system. The origin of the Reformation in Scotland also differed essentially from the origin of the Reformation in England. In the latter it proceeded from the King; in the former from the people. James, accordingly, on ascending the British throne made an early effort to remodel the Presbyterian

church. Then came in due succession the appointment of the thirteen Bishops, the assertion of the King to convoke at pleasure the General Assembly of the church, the banishment of one of the Melvilles and the imprisonment of the other, the Five Articles of Perth, and the Act of Uniformity. These and similar measures wrought the people to madness. And in the midst of this excitement was passed by the Scotch Parliament the Act of Security for the military organization of the realm, which made the people of Scotland a regulated army. Then look at the civil and religious contests of the reign of Charles the First, and the Protectorate. Look at the bloody persecutions of the Restoration, and especially during the viceroyalty of the Duke of York, when not less than 20,000 men, women, and we might add children, were put to death in a time of profound peace on account of religious nonconformity; and the earlier and the later emigrations to Ireland, where the colonists were beleaguered by a hostile church, and a hostile population. Thus from the period of the Reformation to the date of the departure of the Scotch-Irish for the shores of the New World, a period of a century and half, while the Scot clung to the Bible as the sheet-anchor of his faith, the fleshly weapon was rarely out of his hand; and it was during this long and terrific struggle that the Scotch character was developed such as we have known it since.

In the early part of the 18th century, there came a pleasing vision over the minds of the Scotch-Irish. They had ever been devoted to the employments of rural life, and to the doctrines of political and religious freedom, at least for themselves. They hailed with one accord the Revolution, which they termed glorious, and which placed William and Mary on the British throne. They cherished the tenderest affection for the House of Hanover, as did their descendants of Augusta down to our own Revolution, as their public documents of that period demonstrate. But during the reign of Queen Anne, and of the first and second Georges, though active persecution on the part of the British government no longer existed, the Scotch-Irish felt the cinctures of a religious policy that bound them severely. They were encompassed by the Catholic pale, by the pale of an established Protestant church to which they did not belong and which they were compelled to support, and by laws that bound the soil in perpetual entail; and they resolved to

go abroad. They had heard the history of the land of Penn. They were fascinated by reports of a vast territory resting on the sea in the East, and on a majestic river in the West, abounding in fertile valleys, in mountains that would remind them of their ancestral land, in mighty streams and bays penetrating into the recesses of the distant interior, and they heard, above all, of the glorious liberty of worshipping God without the interference of human authority. And they flocked by hundreds to the shores of the New World. It was vain to talk to them of savages. For two thousand years the Scotchman had rarely been without a weapon on his person or within his grasp. Fearlessly they plunged into the depths of the forests, settled farms, built forts and school houses and churches, and presented a formidable barrier to the progress of the Indian invader.

Such a population it ought to have been the pride of Pennsylvania to foster and increase. But in the progress of years there arose in that province a struggle for political power; and it was feared that the Scotch-Irish and the German immigrants would outnumber or control the proprietary element; and the results were taxes on immigrants, which were opposed by the cautious and far-seeing Franklin, a shameful and degrading inequality of representation in the Assembly, and a failure on the alleged ground of principle to protect the outer settlements from the ravages of the Indians. And thus the emigration to Virginia began and was quickened. To learn what the character of the Scotch-Irish of Pennsylvania was, what those people did to build up a great commonwealth in all the elements of knowledge, wealth and piety, we need only recall the names of those who distinguished themselves during the eighteenth century. What an instructive list is spread before us! Tennent and that log college that has done more to enlighten the human mind and to promote sound morals than the noble structure of Magdalen or of Christ's, whose towers have been pointing for centuries to the skies; Samuel Blair, Samuel Davies, who, though born in Delaware, was educated by Blair, John Rodgers, John Blair, Samuel Finley, Francis Allison, Robert Smith, Samuel Stanhope Smith, John Blair Smith, James Smith, who signed the Declaration of Independence, James Ross, John Rowan of Kentucky, Thomas McKean Fulton, the ancestor of the inventor of the steam engine,

at least in its application to boats, David Ramsay, Hugh Williamson, and hundreds of others of whom I have not time to tell.

How mysterious are the ways of Providence! Had the policy of Pennsylvania been liberal, very few of the Scotch-Irish family would have left her borders. She possessed thousands of acres of fertile lands; and the clanship of the Scotch would have kept them together. And there was religious freedom, not restrained, as with us it was, by the cautious provisions of the Act of Toleration, but without bound or measure. There would have been no emigration. The Valley of Virginia would have been kept back for more than the third of a century. There would have been no people from this region to have fought at Point Pleasant, on the heights of Saratoga, or at King's Mountain, or at Guilford, or at Eutaw, or at York. That those battles were fought by the aid of Valley men we owe to the fact, that the government of Pennsylvania was proprietary, and not, like our own, governed by the immediate representatives of the King and founded on the basis of a liberal county representation.

Simultaneously with the flow of the Scotch from Pennsylvania, there was a stream of emigration from our own East. Of these immigrants some were Scotch, who, under the patronage of Dinwiddie, sought to build up homes in the Valley; and some were English, who, having early settled in the counties of the seaboard, the society of which had become somewhat stereotyped in the forms of old England, desired fresh lands, comparative freedom from taxes, and a greater enlargement of religious privileges than were readily available under the established religion. Of the English who thus entered the Valley, were my own paternal ancestors. But the Scotch-Irish element predominated, and gave its hue to the general complexion of the settlement.

We now approach an event of as great significance as any recorded in the annals of a peaceful community. In 1749 was opened the first classical school west of the Blue Ridge. To teach the rudiments of the mother tongue, to teach the reading of the Bible, the Longer and Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Confession, those consummate achievements of human intellect, regarded only in a secular sense; to worship God in sincerity and truth—these were the first and natural impulses of a pious people.

But to mingle the music of Virgil and Horace, of Livy and Tacitus, of Homer and Sophocles, of Herodotus and Thucydides, of Demosthenes and Aeschines, with the clangor of the axe felling the forest trees, with the crack of the rifle and the yell of the Indian, and with that grander melody which flowed from the harp of the royal singer of Israel, was an event, if not wholly without precedent in the circumstances of the case, worthy of immortal praise. The site of this classical schoolhouse was two miles southwest of Greenville in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and which included Rockbridge, and its first teacher was Robert Alexander. That school was the origin of the noble institution whose massive buildings cast their shadows from this glorious eminence, whose professors have been for more than a century men of high intellect, of fervent piety, and of ardent patriotism, and whose pupils have upheld the torch of knowledge, of religion and of a generous civilization throughout our wide territory, and have shone in the sphere of private life, at the bar, in the pulpit, in the Senate, and in the courts of Europe.

And who was he who taught the infant mind to know those immortal productions of Greek and Roman genius which still surpass the finest achievements of later times, in that log house near the village of Greenville? His name was Robert Alexander. He was a man of thorough training in the schools, and he was a man of prayer. It is to the honor of the Scotch-Irish race that, as one of that family was the first to establish a classical school in the Province of Pennsylvania, so another of the race was the first to establish a classical school in the Valley of Virginia. And when I speak of that race, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that though myself Scotch on the maternal side, my ancestor, who was borne to this lovely country on the Virginia and not on the Pennsylvania stream, was English, and was sprung from an ancestor who came over to the colony at the date of the Restoration. I have already spoken of the various elements that made up the Scotch-Irish people. This is strikingly shown in the name of Alexander. It is the type of three or four distinct civilizations, which extend from the days of Homer to the present day. It recalls the palmy civilization of Greece, to which it belongs, a helper of men. From the Greek it passed into the Roman civil-

ization ; and thence it passed from the banks of the Tiber on the lips of Augustine to the banks of the English streams ; and many generations later than St. Augustine, it received a fresh introduction into Britain by the Norman, who, though originally a Northman, adopted the tongue of the Latin race. And so popular did it become in Scotland, that, as the Englishman is known by the sobriquet of John Bull, and the Frenchman by that of Johnny Crapeau, and the American by that of Brother Jonathan, so the Scotchman is known by the name of Sandy and Sawney, the popular abbreviation of Alexander.

But who was Robert Alexander ? He was a descendent in the fourth degree from that Archibald Alexander who, during the middle part of the seventeenth century, went over in a general emigration from Scotland to Ireland. A son of this Archibald had a son named William, and this William had four sons ; one of whom died, and the other three, Archibald, the grandfather of the late Archibald Alexander of Princeton, William, and Robert of whom we are now speaking, emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736, and after a short sojourn in that province, two of them, if not all, came through the Valley to Virginia in 1743. Robert was educated at Edinburgh, where the Latin and Greek classics and Mathematics were thoroughly taught, and he was probably as well qualified to discharge the duties of a professor in the languages and in mathematics as any professor in our own times. His age I do not know exactly, but as he came over in 1736 and died in 1787 it is probable that he lived beyond the period of the Psalmist. It is the duty of all of us to mark the grave of such a man with a durable and appropriate monument.

The successor of Robert Alexander was the Rev. John Brown, who was graduated at Princeton in 1749, and was a licentiate of Newcastle Presbytery. He was called to Providence and Timber Ridge Churches in 1753. The roll on which are inserted the names of those who called him has been fortunately preserved, and presents an interesting memorial of that generation. The names are 112 in number, and it is remarkable that nearly all of them are Saxon or Norman, though the Scotch-Irish blood has a great preponderance. It is stated that the academy in the time of Mr. Brown was successively removed a few miles westward, first to

near Old Providence, and then shortly before the Revolution to Mount Pleasant, near Fairfield, in the present county of Rock-bridge. He conducted the school until 1774, when he was assisted by William Graham, who, two years later, became the principal. Of Mr. Brown it is proper to say that he remained the pastor at New Providence forty-four years, that he married a daughter of John Preston, and that in his old age he removed with his sons to Kentucky, where he died in 1803, at the age of 75. His five sons were educated here and at Princeton. John was a member of the Continental Congress and of the first Congress under the present constitution. William, who was a promising physician, died early, in South Carolina; Samuel was an eminent professor in the medical school of Transylvania University, while James may be recalled by some now present as having performed a prominent part in public life, as the first Secretary of State of Kentucky, as the Secretary of Louisiana Territory, as a member of the Senate of the United States for ten years, during a part of which time he was the Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and as the Minister of the United States at the Court of France for six years. He died in Philadelphia suddenly on the 7th of April, 1835, in his seventieth year; and the students of Washington College may proudly claim him as one of their most distinguished alumni.

On the 6th of May 1776, the Presbytery of Hanover, under whose direction the school had been established, determined to remove the Augusta Academy, as it was then called, from Mount Pleasant to Timber Ridge, where a tract of eighty acres was offered as a site of the institution by Capt. Alexander Stuart and Mr. Samuel Houston, "the neighbors offering to build a hewed log-house, 28 feet by 24, one story and a half high, besides their subscriptions, and assuring of the probability that fire-wood and timber for building will be furnished gratis for at least twenty years." The body appointed the Rev. Wm. Graham, Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery his assistant; and chose a board of trustees consisting of—

1. Rev. John Brown,	4. William Irvin,
2. James Waddell,	5. Rector <i>ex officio</i> ,
3. Charles Cummings,	6. Mr. Thomas Lewis,

7. Col. William Christian,	16. Maj. Samuel McDowell,
8. Gen. Andrew Lewis,	17. Mr. William McPheeters,
9. Col. William Fleming,	18. Capt. Alexander Stuart,
10. Mr. Thomas Stuart,	19. Capt. William McKee,
11. Mr. Samuel Lyle,	20. Mr. John Houston,
12. Mr. John Grattan,	21. Mr. Charles Campbell,
13. Col. William Preston,	22. Capt. George Moffett,
14. Mr. Sampson Matthews,	23. Mr. William Ward,
15. Col. John Bowyer,	24. and Capt. John Lewis,

at the Warm Springs, of whom seven should constitute a quorum. The Presbytery also reserved to themselves the right of visitation forever, as often as they should judge it necessary, and of choosing the Rector and his assistant. And early in 1777 the Academy was removed from Mt. Pleasant to Timber Ridge. And at a meeting the Trustees on the 6th day of May 1776, "incited by the patriotic spirit of the day, directed that the record for that day be entitled Liberty Hall, as this Academy is hereafter to be called instead of Augusta Academy." In 1785, the Academy was again removed to near Lexington, to a stone building, which was destroyed by fire in 1803¹ but the picturesque ruins of which may still be seen. It was then removed to its present site within the limits of Lexington. In 1782, the Academy received a charter of incorporation, and was thenceforth under the legal control of the Trustees appointed by that instrument. The Trustees named in the charter of 1782 are :

Rev. William Graham, *Rector*.

Arthur Campbell,	William Christian,
Andrew Moore,	William Alexander,
Joseph Walker,	Alexander Campbell,
John Wilson,	John Trimble,
John Hays,	John Bowyer,
Samuel McDowell,	George Moffett,
William McKee,	James McCorkle,
Samuel Lyle,	Archibald Stuart,
Rev. Caleb Wallace,	Rev. John Montgomery,
Rev. William Wilson.	

¹The Honorable Sidney S. Baxter informed me that the Academy was burned about Christmas, 1802. He said either the day before or the day after Christmas, I have forgotten which.—W. A.

From the date of the incorporation of the Academy to 1796, the most important incident in the history of the College was the gift of one hundred shares of the James River Company bestowed by Washington on the institution, which occurred in the latter year, and soon after the name of Liberty Hall was changed to that of Washington Academy. The letter addressed to Washington, which presented the claims of the Academy to this generous endowment, and which doubtless influenced the mind of the Father of his Country in bestowing it upon the institution, was drawn by Graham, and is a masterly production. On the 25th of September of the same year, Graham in a letter to the Trustees resigned the office of Rector, which he had held for twenty-two years.

Such is a brief outline of the Academy from its foundation in 1749 to 1796, a period of forty-seven years; and if it had then ceased to exist—if the plough had passed over its foundations—if its charter had been given to the winds—it had accomplished an amount of good, which it would be difficult to overestimate. It directed the attention of a rising community, under circumstances the most unpropitious, to a large and liberal moral and intellectual culture. It sent forth hundreds of educated men who taught schools, who filled professorships, who brought the aid of science to the cause of the Revolution, who diffused in the domestic circle the blessings of learning and religion, who filled pulpits, who shone at the bar, in the halls of legislation, and at foreign courts, and whose influence on the mind and heart of man is felt at this moment, and will be felt in time to come.

WILLIAM GRAHAM.

The facts of the life of this great man are few. He sprang from a family which for a thousand years had been conspicuous in the annals of Scotland from the hovel to the palace, in arts, in arms, in eloquence, and in song. It was a daring man by the name of Graham that first broke through the wall of Agricola, which the Roman general had built between the firths of Clyde and Forth to keep off the incursions of the Northern Britons, and the ruins of which, still visible, are called to this day the ruins of Graham's Dyke. They were borderers, as distinguished from Highlanders,

and on one occasion three hundred of the family were banished to Ireland ; and it is not improbable that the blood of the fiery moss-trooper flowed in the blood of our Founder. One of the fairest personifications of the race may be seen from the pen of Sir Walter Scott in the Legend of Montrose. Michael Graham, the father of our William, emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania between 1720 and 1730 ; and on the 19th of December, 1746, in Paxton Township, about five miles from the present capital of Pennsylvania, William Graham was born. His parents were poor, and lived on the outskirts of civilization ; and young Graham had none of those early advantages which are so efficient in developing the faculties of the mind. He attended the common schools of the neighborhood when any such existed ; and until his 22d year he worked in the field with his father. Two things are told of him, that have no relation to each other, but which showed their effects in his subsequent life. He was fond of dancing ; and he probably engaged in a Highland fling, or cut a pigeon wing, or danced a hornpipe, as readily as any of his ancestors, who were famed for dancing, ever did before him, and with as much ease and grace as he afterwards displayed in solving by methods of his own the most abstruse problems of metaphysics, or in explaining a dark allusion in Juvenal, or a doubtful passage in Tacitus. The other was, that as his frontier home was ever liable to the inroads of the savages, he learned the use of the rifle, and he was as familiar with it, as he subsequently became with those other instruments of science which Hanover Presbytery and the good people of Augusta had procured in the midst of war and in the sacrifices of a mountain life, to promote the cause of a generous education. On one occasion at night the dogs about his father's frontier cabin began to bark, and one of his sisters detected the movements of Indians ; and the family determined to leave the house and make for the fort. With his musket loaded, and prepared for instant fight, young William headed the sally, and conducted the family in safety to the fort. And in this stern school of courage, he acquired that wonderful faculty, so often exhibited in his career, of stripping a subject of its present and temporary difficulties and of looking to distant results, which marked his course in the greatest political crisis of the age in which he lived.

At one-and-twenty that religious change which, at a later day, came over the gigantic mind of Chalmers, and which led the Scotch divine to lay all the wealth of the stars and the greenest garlands of philosophy at the foot of the Cross, came over the mind of Graham. He determined to study theology, and with only his own exertions to support him, and with only the light of a pious mother's love as a lamp to his path, he began the study of Latin. He first attended the school of the Rev. Mr. Roan and ultimately became a pupil of Finley. When he had mastered the elementary studies, he entered Princeton College, which was then radiant with the fame of its distinguished President, and with the genius of its students in the the different classes of the institution. Witherspoon, who was to sign the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, and who looked with kind feelings on the descendants of his own ancestral land, had the peculiar gift of inspiring young men with the love of study ; and in the Senior Class was Gunning Bedford, who was to sign the present Federal Constitution ; Hugh Breckenridge, James Madison and Samuel Spring ; in the Junior Class was William Bradford, afterward a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and Attorney-General of the United States ; Aaron Burr, afterwards Attorney-General of New York and Vice-President of the United States, who now, after a stormy life, sleeps beside the dust of his venerable father in the shadow of the vales of Princeton, and William Smith Livingstone, also prominent in public affairs ; and among his own classmates were Henry Lee, of Legion memory ; Morgan Lewis, afterwards Governor of New York and a member of the Senate of the United States ; Aaron Ogden, afterwards Governor of New Jersey and a member the United States Senate, and John Blair Smith, afterwards President of Hampden Sidney—a name still held in tender and affectionate remembrance in the region of Virginia in which I live, and ever to be held in honor by every lover of learning and piety in this Commonwealth. He took his degree in 1773 with his class, and it was observed that he held the same rank among his fellows that he afterwards maintained in every sphere in which he happened to move. And it should also be observed for the encouragement of genius struggling with those difficulties which so often attend it, that he mainly defrayed his college expenses by his

own industry. One incident near the close of his college life is so well told by Dr. Foote and is so honorable to the parties concerned, that I ought not to pass it over. At the approach of the final examination, your distinguished father, Mr. President,¹ who I have already said was a classmate of Graham, proposed to Graham that they should review their studies together. Graham, who was afraid that the lively genius of your father might lead him astray, was disposed to decline the invitation; but young Lee persisted and Graham consented, with the condition that no conversation should be introduced during the hour of study. When the examination was over, Lee came to his friend Graham's room, and said to him: "Well, Graham, I have passed a glorious examination; and I know that I am indebted for it in a great measure to you. What recompense shall I make you?" "None at all," said Graham. After some conversation Lee left the room and soon returned; and laying on the table Belshaw's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, immediately departed. Upon opening the volume Graham found a black line had been drawn through the name of Henry Lee, and underneath was written William Graham. The volume, says Dr. Foote, is still preserved by Graham's connections in Virginia. On leaving college Graham returned to his father's house, and entered on the study of theology, under his pastor, Mr. Roan, and in 1774 he was invited to engage in a classical school in Augusta, under the direction of the Rev. John Brown of whom we have already spoken, and accepted the invitation. In 1775 he was received as a minister of the Presbyterian Church by the Presbytery at Timber Ridge, and on the 6th of May, 1776, the headship of the Academy devolved upon him, with the title of Rector, and Mr. John Montgomery as his assistant. The system of teaching pursued by Mr. Graham during the twenty years that he presided in the Academy was well designed to develop the faculties of the mind, and to prepare young men to engage with efficiency in the active duties of life. He always insisted "on the importance of classical literature as the proper foundation of a liberal education," and a thorough training in mathematics, and the sciences and knowledges dependent upon

¹ Gen. Robert E. Lee was on the platform when this address was delivered.—Eds.

these two great departments. He also taught moral and intellectual philosophy, not as sciences complete in themselves, but as an introduction to theology, being the gates called Beautiful, leading to that glorious temple not built with human hands, and whose foundations are laid in the Divine Will. While he was familiar with the existing writers on the subject, and especially with the sermons of Bishop Butler, and had introduced into the school the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon, which he had studied in Princeton, he adopted the authority of no master, and worked out an elaborate system of his own, which no less a judge than Dr. Archibald Alexander declared "to be in clearness and fulness superior to anything which has been given to the public in the numerous works which have been recently published on the subject." When we reflect that Graham had only a few imperfectly educated students from the neighboring hills and homesteads around him, and in the absence of all emulation put forth his powers so grandly, we can readily imagine what he would have done if, like Dugald Stewart, or Thomas Brown, or Thomas Chalmers, he had been surrounded by classes of hundreds of highly educated young men and a daily auditory of eminent men, to quicken his powers, and to give full scope to the excursions of his genius. And while we concede that just supremacy to the skill of Graham which it so eminently deserves, it is proper to say that he was assisted by some competent tutors, among whom the name of James Priestly should not be omitted. He was a Rockbridge boy of poor parents, whose genius was detected by Graham, who was instructed by him, and who, having been chosen a tutor in 1783, devoted his talents to Latin and Greek literature, in which he acquired great eminence. He possessed the faculty of inspiring his pupils with a love of literature, and Dr. Archibald Alexander ascribes his love of study to the instruction of Priestly. This remarkable man became the president of the Cumberland University, and died while president of that institution.

During the Revolution, while Graham was engaged in teaching his scholars, and in preaching on Sundays, he was not indisposed to unite with his countrymen in repressing the inroads of the enemy. He regarded that contest as involving religious as well as political freedom, and believed it to be the duty of

all to sustain the common cause. There has ever been a strong spice of war in the Scotch clergy. When Gibbon assigned to Buchanan the credit of having first put forth the doctrine that Christianity might be defended by the sword, he overlooked the history of that church which, during the dismal millennium of the Middle Ages, diffused from its magnificent temples, whose ruins still interest the traveller, the light of Christianity over Scotland—a light, it may be, not as pure and as brilliant as it might have been, but still a blessed and glorious light in the midst of general darkness. On one occasion when a draft was to be made from the militia of Rockbridge, and when volunteers were backward in coming forth, Graham stepped forward and the complement was soon filled. He was elected captain, but the company was not called into service. It would be interesting to inquire what would have been the result if the genius of Graham had been turned to war. He had been inured to personal danger from his infancy, he was a strict disciplinarian, and he was better versed in the sciences than most of the officers of the Revolution. He might not have met with opportunities of distinction; or, like George Rogers Clark, who was teaching a school on the Rappahannock on the breaking out of the war, he might have added an empire to his country. His character would lead us to believe that he would have accomplished all that skill, patriotism and valor could achieve in the sphere in which he happened to move. Let us rejoice that his destiny confined him to the pulpit and to the professor's chair.

After twenty years of faithful service he resigned the office of Rector. He was induced to take this step from the want of adequate support for his family. The prime of life was gone, and he was poor. When he had paid his assistants, he had but little left for himself. He had reached the age of fifty, and had devoted his great talents to the cause of education; and he was solicitous to make some provision for his large and helpless family, before the approach of old age. With this view he purchased land on the Ohio; and it was his design to settle there with some chosen friends; and it was on business connected with this settlement that he rode on horseback from the Ohio to Richmond, where he was taken ill soon after his arrival, and died at the house of his friend, Col.

Gamble,¹ on the 8th of June, 1799, at the age of fifty-three. Near the south door of the Episcopal Church on Church Hill, within the walls of which Patrick Henry uttered those memorable words, "Give me liberty, or give me death," and near the ashes of George Wythe and Edward Carrington, now repose the mortal remains of your illustrious Rector.

He was above the middle stature, rather delicate than muscular in his proportions. His eyes were dark, and when he was roused, were brilliant and piercing. There was ease and grace in all his movements, and never for a moment did he lose the full command of his faculties. He had a great fund of wit, and his sarcasm was said under provocation to be scathing, and was a formidable weapon in debate. He was most amiable in private life, and was tenderly beloved by his friends. He possessed in a remarkable degree that moral courage, without which neither battles are won, nor colleges built, churches gathered together, nor opposition overcome, nor triumphs worth the winning ever won.

The character of Graham presents to the observer three distinctive aspects, which require a passing notice: that of a preacher, that of a professor, and that of a politician. As a preacher, he did not possess that blazing eloquence with which Massillon and Bourdaloue and some even of his own contemporaries kindled the passions of their auditory, and which filled the church with those eager and bustling crowds that were wont to witness the magical action of a Garrick or a Kean, or were overawed by the dignity of a Talma or a Kemble. There was a mixture of statesmanship even in his preaching. He looked to the law and the gospel as the rule of instruction. He saw neither the conflagration of Tully, nor the torrent of Demosthenes, nor the glow of passion, nor the polish of a dazzling rhetoric, in the Sermon on the Mount; and he brought to bear upon his audience the same conclusive demonstration of doctrine that from the chair of the professor made the darkest problems of moral and intellectual philosophy clear to the dullest comprehension. It is an eloquent testimony of the mind as well as the preaching of Graham that the profound sermons of Butler were his favorite contemplations. He was not, however, wholly insensible to the influence of the moment; but on venturing into

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

the realm of the passions it was plain that he felt that he was a trespasser and a wayfarer there, and his stern sense of duty rebuked him back into the region of demonstration and argument. The sermon which he preached at Briery in 1789 was never forgotten by those who heard it. It remained with them through life, and the recollections of it lived after they were within their graves. The beautiful text, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," is still known in the neighborhood of Briery, after eighty years, as Mr. Graham's text. But it was reason, not passion, instruction not declamation, that marked his preaching. "As a clear and cogent reasoner," said a distinguished pupil, "he had no superior among his contemporaries."

The chair of the professor was the throne from which Graham wielded his greatest influence on the minds of his generation. It was the main business of his life to teach, and he sought the best means of developing the faculties of the young. He was no pretender. He sought no royal, no rapid roads to knowledge. Nor did he seek to teach many things. He thought the great object of academical education was to discipline the powers and not to fill the mind with a multiplicity of acquirements. His great object was to form the mind, and to make it work out its own victories. He saw the force of language as an element of power in the affairs of men, and the advantage of a thorough mastery of his native language by every student; and he studied the proper mode of teaching it. He saw that the Greeks, who have left us the purest specimens of writing, studied no other tongue than their own; but he saw at the same time, both that their language was the most perfect that existed, and that, though resting on a Pelasgian foundation, the old dialect had been lost in the lapse of ages and a perfect tongue had taken its place. He saw that the Greek studied no other tongue than his own, because that tongue was in the main homogeneous and had attained to perfection. But in looking at the teaching of the Romans he saw that the policy of teaching a single tongue did not apply, and that the Roman student studied the Greek tongue with all his diligence from earliest youth, and studied it as a model to his dying day. And he saw the reason of this devotion. The Latin was a compound language. It rested indeed on an Etruscan base, but it borrowed from all literatures,

and especially from the Greek. Nor did it possess those models of eloquence, and history, and poetry, in which the Greek abounded ; and he saw that the ablest orators and poets and historians of Rome were those who were most intimate with the beauties of Greek literature. He then looked into the elements of our own tongue. He recognized it as not only the youngest in the family of languages, but that it was made up of more languages than any other ; and that it demanded a more critical study than had been devoted either in Greece or Rome to a foreign tongue. And, looking to the example of England, he observed that that system of education which had produced her Bacons and Newtons and Lockes embraced a thorough study of the Latin and Greek classics and of the mathematics between the ages of eight and eighteen. Hence he taught the Latin and Greek languages, and, as far as he could, the languages that lean upon them, and the mathematics, and, as far as he could, the sciences which lean upon them, with his utmost energy,—believing that a youth who was thoroughly drilled in those two great departments had laid a foundation on which he might raise any superstructure of active or of studious life that might be desired. Once especially did he rebuke from his presence that weak and wretched philosophy which impels a parent to seek instruction for his child in those elementary departments alone which may be supposed to bear upon the destined professions of the child, and, overlooking that broad and generous culture which is best adapted to develop all the faculties and to brace the mind for its highest achievements, to doom a son to inferiority through life, and to grovel in the lower regions of that system of society of which he might have been one of the proudest columns and most honored ornaments. Such was the system of Graham—a system which bore rich fruits in his own day, and which is felt through his distinguished pupils in our own times.

Eminent as Graham undoubtedly was in the pulpit and in the professor's chair, those who look closely into his character would be apt to conclude that, had his lot been cast at the bar and in the Senate, he would have been more eminent still. He lived at a time when all the intellectual men were in a greater or less degree politicians. The questions that brought on the Revolution of 1776, were almost wholly theoretical. We suffered from no act of posi-

tive oppression. When independence became imminent, the clergy took an active part in the contest. One of the profession was a member of the convention of 1776 ; another became a general ; and others engaged directly or indirectly in active service during the war ; and in the convention of 1788 there were two clergymen in the body. I have already mentioned the election of Graham as captain of a company. On another occasion he led a company to the seat of war. But the question which particularly interested clerical men was our legislation in respect of religion. When the scheme of an assessment for the support of religion was brought forward, and was sustained by Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other prominent men, Graham, who viewed even religious questions with the eye of a statesman, was not indisposed to approve it, and he was governed by the same reasons that led Henry to favor the policy.

The Revolution had almost entirely stripped the churches of their pastors. "At the beginning of the war," says Bishop Meade, "Virginia had ninety-one clergymen officiating in one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels ; at its close only twenty-eight ministers were found laboring in the less desolate parishes of the state." Patrick Henry saw this destitution and sought to relieve it by levying an assessment to be assigned by the taxpayer to what church he pleased.

To say that it was an Episcopal measure because Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee and other Episcopalians supported it, would be as far from the truth as it would be to assert that the Virginia resolution of independence, which was drawn, was reported to the house, and was carried by Episcopalians, or that the Declaration of Rights, which was also drawn, reported and carried by Episcopal votes, was an Episcopal measure. Had this scheme been adopted, our numerous church buildings would have been saved from ruin ; an intelligent and pious clergy would have dispensed the word of life to thousands who remained for an entire generation without the offices of religion ; and our people would have been prepared in some degree to withstand that torrent of infidelity which a few years later swept over Christendom, and the influence of which was felt in every corner of our territory. When, however, the religious controversy assumed a broader ground, he maintained the

widest views of religious freedom, and with his friend and neighbor, Andrew Moore, who represented Rockbridge in the Assembly, earnestly advocated the passage of the Act concerning Religious Freedom.

When the new State of Frankland, so called in honor of Franklin, whose advice was invoked in its hour of difficulty, was meditated within the corporate limits of North Carolina, Graham was requested to draught a form of government, and he prepared a paper for the purpose. He had ever regarded with profound admiration the genius of John Locke. Indeed, in the simplicity of their domestic habits, in the plainness and severity of their reasoning, in their superiority over the formal modes of the schools, there was a strong resemblance between them. In 1689, the year after the great British Revolution, Locke had drawn a constitution for the Carolinas, and Graham was called upon a century later to draw a plan of government for a part of the territory embraced by the constitution of his great predecessor. The constitution of Locke has come down to us; and it may be mentioned as an illustration, not of the age in which it was written—the age of Somers and of other great lawyers who were prominent in the British Revolution—but of the peculiarities of Locke, that his constitution declares that “it is a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward” in a court of justice. Graham’s plan is lost, unless it was the scheme that was adopted by the new commonwealth, and such may have been the case. But although it attracted great attention, and led to some noisy demonstrations, we do not know positively that it was laid before the convention of the new State. In that convention John Sevier, a Valley boy, and a hero of King’s Mountain, presided. David Campbell,¹ another Valley boy, was one of the three judges elected under the constitution, and Landon Carter, a tidewater boy from the banks of the lower James, was the speaker of the first Senate of the new government. These were friends and neighbors of Graham; and he did not hesitate to assist them in preparing a plan of government.² To carve a new

¹ An alumnus of the Academy.—Eds.

² Samuel Houston, a pupil of Graham’s, was a member of the convention and consulted him as to the constitution. Samuel Doak, an alumnus of the Academy, was also a member.—Eds.

State out of the territory of a State without the authority of law would be a grave and unjustifiable procedure in our own times. But in the case of Sevier and his associates it was substantially a work of self-defense. They were separated by hundreds of miles from the settlements; they were surrounded by savages who awaited a favorable moment of attack; they were beyond the protection of the laws. They had not a dollar in coin to pay taxes. And when the new government was established, its officers were paid mainly in the skins of wild beasts—the governor and the judges in fox skins, the sheriff in those of the mink, and other officers in those of coons and opossums; and though this gradation is not strictly correct, it is unquestionable that skins, domestic cloth, bacon, tallow and whiskey, according to a rate fixed by law, composed the main currency of the infant commonwealth. At all events, to justify Graham in his course respecting Frankland, it is sufficient to say that, four years later than the date of the birth of Frankland, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, Patrick Henry threatened to form a state out of the lower western tier of our own counties on the North Carolina line and of these identical counties that composed the State of Frankland. He preferred the solitudes of the interior, abounding in dark forests and untravelled streams, and inhabited by fierce savages and beasts of prey, with the protection of a flag of a single star on its folds, to the cultivated plains and magnificent waters of the East under the full blaze of the new federal system.

A fine exhibition of the ready tact and ability of Graham may be seen in the letter which he prepared in compliance with an order of the Board of Trustees with a view of laying before Gen. Washington the claims of Liberty Hall Academy to the benefaction which the Father of his Country designed, to use his own words, “to the use of a Seminary, to be erected in such part of the State as they (the Legislature) should deem most proper.” Here it is plain that there was no original purpose in the mind of Washington to fix upon a particular site. He left that question for the decision of the Assembly. But the letter of Graham settled it forever. That letter displays the qualities of a scholar, a patriot, and a statesman. It is wonderful to contemplate with what accuracy he foresaw the future and pictured before the imagi-

nation of Washington the very scene that is now before us. It is enough to say that the letter produced its desired effect; and that liberal benefaction was made which yields at this day three thousand dollars annually to your funds.

An incident grew out of the Washington endowment which throws so strong a light on the genius of Graham as to require a passing remark. At the session of the General Assembly succeeding that event, the General Assembly passed an act converting the Academy into a college bearing the name of Washington, and appointed a full board of visitors for the government of the same. This was done without the knowledge or consent of the Trustees incorporated by the act of 1782, and was wholly unconstitutional. It divested the institution of its lawful property and committed it to the control of others. It was plainly designed as an act of kindness by the Assembly. It raised the institution from an academy to a college, and it nominated a board of trustees of which any college might well have been proud. This act was the law of the land; and if the trustees appointed by its provisions had sought to take possession, we should have had the celebrated Dartmouth College case by anticipation by more than a score of years. The trustees of the Academy took the subject into consideration, and adopted a protest against the proposed change. That paper was drawn by Graham, and the arguments are those which were afterwards used by Daniel Webster in the case above mentioned. It must be stated, however, that though the present Federal Constitution was then in operation, Graham never could have consented to try a question of Virginia law before a Federal tribunal. The act was repealed at the next session of the Assembly. And it may be proper to say that a committee consisting of J. Wilson, Benjamin Grigsby and S. Houston, was instructed to have the title of Liberty Hall changed into that of a college, but for some reason the change was not made by the Assembly, though the name of Washington Academy was adopted; and it was not until 1813 that the name of the Academy was changed into that of Washington College.¹

¹ Mr. Grigsby is in error in attributing the authorship of this protest to Mr. Graham. Mr. Graham had severed his connection with the Academy before the obnoxious act was passed. The protest was drawn by the Rev. Samuel Brown,

But the most important political topic which engaged the attention of Graham was the expediency of adopting the present federal constitution. That was the first great event of a strictly political nature that stirred the American mind from its innermost recesses. The Declaration of Independence was a great conjuncture ; but it came when actual war had been raging more than a twelvemonth, and when the practical question of self-preservation and defense against the greatest military and naval power of the globe overruled every other. The federal constitution was framed by the general convention which held its sessions in Philadelphia from May to September, 1787 ; and was immediately reported to the States for their action upon it. Virginia called a convention to assemble in Richmond, in June, to take the new plan into consideration. In the interval of the two conventions, the State became one vast battle-field of debate. The most accomplished speakers appeared on the rostrum, in the pulpit after preaching was over, in the court yard and at the barbecue. It was seen soon after the smoke of the first sharp volleys had cleared away and left the scene open to the observer, that, with some remarkable exceptions on either side, the statesmen who had engaged actively in the Congress of the Confederation, who had presided on the bench of our new judiciary, and had taken an active part in the field, were inclined to support the new system ; while those eminent men who had swayed the councils of the colony and the commonwealth from the dawn of the revolution to the present date, and who were then in the full vigor of their faculties, were opposed to the adoption of the constitution without many and very thorough modifications. With the first party, at the head of which was Washington, the public men of the Valley took their stand. What the considerations were that impelled them to that course, I will state at length when I come to treat of one of your trustees, Gen. Andrew Moore. But Graham took sides with Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Mason and others, at whose feet Washington sat, as Paul sat at the

a member of the Committee of the Board of Trustees, and the manuscript draft is in the possession of his son, the Rev. William Brown, D. D. The points made in the protest as to the unconstitutionality of the act are substantially the same as those made by Mr. Webster in his great speech in the Dartmouth College case.—EDS.

feet of Gamaliel, for a quarter of a century then past. I may say in passing, as an element of no little influence in the case, that, with certain exceptions, the religious denomination to which Graham belonged adhered to the side of the constitution; while the Episcopalians and the Baptists leaned to the other side of the question. My present office is to point out the considerations which induced Graham to bring all his abilities to bear in opposing the adoption of the constitution. Like every other Virginian of that era, he loved the union of the States, and no one could see more distinctly than he did, the absolute necessity of that union to the preservation of public liberty. It was the general conviction of that day that the treaty of peace was only a truce on the part of Great Britain, who still held the western parts in palpable violation of the treaty of Paris, and was engaged in deep intrigues with the western tribes. The question then was, not whether there should be a union with the Northern States, but what should be the terms of that union, and whether those terms were contained in the instrument proposed for adoption. Graham thought that they were not, and he brought to the discussion all the researches of his industry and all the resources of his genius. He looked at the vast territory of Virginia, stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Ohio to the North Carolina line; and he saw, in our fertile lands, in our mineral wealth, in the number and grandeur of our streams, in our accessibility to the sea both on the west and on the east, and in our delightful climate, the elements for the formation of a mighty commonwealth.

He saw too, that in spite of the losses sustained by the war of the Revolution—losses in population, black and white, losses in all securities, losses in a currency which, having fulfilled its office of securing the public freedom, had sunk to nothing, and losses in many other things—that the State had been steadily advancing in wealth and numbers, from the date of Independence to the year 1788, with a rapidity then unknown in her history; and that her great seaport, which had been reduced to ashes at the beginning of the war, had risen in five or six years, as if touched by the wand of a magician, into four times her former dimensions, and into twenty times her former wealth, and presented to the eye a harvest of shipping which had never before been gathered in the harbors of

the new world. But Graham possessed a quality in an eminent degree which but few statesmen of any generation possess, that of embracing all the facts of a great era in all their significance; but he worked out the legitimate results of those facts for half a century to come; and when he had ascertained them with the accuracy of deliberate calculation, he brought them palpably before him with all the distinctness of a present spectacle. But the foundation of all that prosperity rested in his view upon the right of Virginia to lay her own taxes and to regulate her own trade at her own discretion. To surrender those powers so essential to the prosperity of a State, to any authority beyond her own limits, and especially to States whose white population exceeded her own at the date of cession, and which was likely to increase in a rapid ratio, while a large part of our own population was excluded by compact from all political significance whatever, seemed to Graham a sacrifice without precedent in history, and to the last degree dangerous. Nor did he overlook the fact, that the Convention which framed the new plan of government had been convoked expressly to amend the existing confederation, and that to sanction the action of such a body was substantially to surrender all hope of amending hereafter an existing form of government under special instructions to the representative. Hence, while John Blair Smith, the rival president of Hampden Sidney and his intimate friend, advocated the constitution in opposition to Patrick Henry on the court green of Prince Edward, and while there was an almost unanimous approval of that instrument by the religious denomination to which Graham belonged, he opposed it with all his zeal. And when, during the session of the Virginia convention, it was apparent that a great change had taken place in the public mind, and that efforts were making by the people to instruct their delegates in that body to vote against the constitution, he entered warmly into this mode of opposition and succeeded in obtaining a majority of the voters of Rockbridge opposed to that instrument, and forwarded the instructions to Richmond. The representatives of the county were Andrew Moore and William McKee, and both refused to obey them.¹ Had the delegates from

¹ Andrew Moore and William McKee were elected delegates to the Convention as advocates of the adoption of the Constitution. William Graham and

Rockbridge voted against the constitution, and had the delegates of only two of the other counties who represented constituents hostile to the instrument followed their example, that constitution would have failed to receive the sanction of the body, until it had received such amendments as were deemed indispensable by its opponents. Of the course of Gen. Moore and Col. McKee in refusing to obey the will of their constituents, I will speak presently. For his course on this occasion, Graham appealed to the verdict of posterity. Almost three generations have passed since the date of his action. We are now on the very hill from which he waged his war of opposition. Yonder is the highway along which the surging streams of voters from every homestead of the county rolled on their way to the court-house to record their names on the instructions. And we are that posterity in whose unborn bosoms he lodged his appeal. The experience of eighty-two years, pronounced by the tongue and the pen and the sword, is before us. And may we not declare, whatever may be our opinion on the question of the propriety of adopting the federal constitution, that the course of Graham was marked by profound ability, by a far-seeing statesmanship, and by a love of country, which neither the authority of great names, the blandishments of applause, the fear of present unpopularity, the frowns of the church to which he belonged and of which he was a devoted pastor, nor a sense of personal interest could intimidate or impair?

Such was William Graham. Cradled in the forests of the extreme frontier of civilization, and perpetually exposed to the incursions of savages, he spent his youth and early manhood in the toils and perils of the farm. Resolved to preach the gospel, and without the means of obtaining a liberal education, he sustains himself by his industry while he pursues his elementary studies. Having entered college, and called upon with his imperfect preparation to put forth all his powers to accomplish his daily task, and withal compelled to earn the means to defray his daily expenses, he wins the applause of Witherspoon, the warmest affections of his classmates, and takes his degree with the highest honors of the

John Hays were the opposing candidates. They were opposed to the adoption of the Constitution, and were defeated by a small majority.—Eds.

institution. Devoting his talents to the pulpit and to the chair of the professor, he becomes one of the most eminent divines of the age; and he solves the most abstruse problems in mental philosophy with a skill that has been praised by some of the most famous professors of that science in our own day. Living at the epoch when Virginia was passing, amid the shock of arms, from the colony to the commonwealth, and when republican institutions were to be established, he was as ready to march to the field of battle as he was to discuss schemes and to decide upon the best means of upholding the government in a time of peace, bringing to the discussion of every political question the ability and the wariness of the statesman, and advancing in his course, alike undismayed by the voice of authority and undazzled by the specious splendor of political systems. And while performing the great business of his life, in the double capacity of a servant of his Heavenly Master, and as a professor in various departments of science, and impressing on the minds of thousands the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith and the elements of a large and generous education, and building up an institution which should continue the good work for generations to come, this great man closed his career. And, as if the lesson of so pure and so august a life should be purified from the dross of selfishness, he died poor. The talents which would have wreathed his brow with the laurels of the forum and the senate, and filled his coffers with the glittering rewards of successful industry, were spent in a private sphere, and were devoted to his country and his God. The mere worldling—the man who regards riches as the grandest of earthly distinctions—may turn with disgust from the modest, self-sacrificing course of Graham, and even laugh at his folly. But compare the two men, and mark the result. Both look steadily to the distant future. The rich man who curls his lip at the moral beauty of a career devoted to science and religion at the sacrifice of his dazzling treasures, lays his own plans of immortality. He counts his houses, and he numbers the acres of his farms, and he tells over every dollar of his hoards, and he assigns to each of his children a sum which he deems sufficient to place them hereafter within the circle of a wealthy society. Death knocks at his door, and he is laid away amid the trappings of a costly mourning; and the pon-

derous marble is evoked from its mountain bed, and, invested by the chisel with the blazonry, it may be, of an ancient and honorable line, is placed over his ashes. But he dies as the fool dieth. His memory, unredeemed by a single spark of intellectuality, or by a feeling of kinship with his race, beyond the narrow confines of his family, decays with his body, and will be dwelt upon by the world at large with no more respect and affection than that of the beasts that bore his flouting cerements to the grave. How unwise in a moral and even in a pecuniary view the conduct of such a character ! He forgot altogether that he was a man and that the concerns of his fellowmen should find a lodgment in his bosom. He forgot that riches have wings and are ever ready to fly away. He forgot that the wealth of an ancestor, however vast, unless replenished by the industry of successors, rarely descends, under our institutions, to a third generation ; and that his children's children, but for the generous liberality and noble philanthropy of him whose poverty he rebuked from him, would be denied the privilege of sharing the choicest blessings of knowledge and civilization ; and he thus becomes in a few short years, in the persons of his descendants, a suppliant for the charity of him whose poverty was his scorn.

How different is the fame of a great Teacher, whose faculties, irrespective of the lucre that perisheth, at the sacrifice of private fortune, have been faithfully devoted, through a whole generation, to the moral, religious, and intellectual improvement of his race ! What a fragrance the memory of such a man sheds, not only around the sphere of his immediate labors, but over the State, and over the nation, whose ornament and dear delight he was and ever will be ! His field, in the impressive language of scripture, is the world. He makes the age in which he lives his own, and his fame looming grandly through the mists of centuries gains fresh sublimity from the progress of years, and shines with an ever increasing brightness on future generations. Though dead he yet breathes and moves in our midst in all his majesty, and he speaketh from the chair of authority, and with the lips of persuasion. Posterity bends with reverence at his grave, and looks with interest on the mouldering ruins of his infant seminary, and performs the delightful office of tracing the career of the thousands whose genius was

kindled by his instructions, who have cast the benignant light of letters and love around many a domestic hearth, whose swords have flamed on the field of battle, and whose enginery has crushed the beleaguered castle, whose eloquence has been heard in the pulpit, at the bar, and on the floor of deliberative assemblies, and decided the questions of the age, and whose patriotism, waked into vigor by his voice and example, has been the bulwark and the pride of their country. Future generations will delight to ascend the hill on which rested, amid the fallen trees of a primeval forest, and the narrow outspread of a sparse population, whose only defence was the log fort and the rifle, his humble Academy, and will delight to stray through the numerous edifices and the spacious halls which have arisen in its place; and when they pause to inspect the instruments of philosophy or the monuments of literature and science that are garnered in your treasuries, and behold the hundreds of pupils, the future guard and grace of their country, who have come hither from every part of our beloved south, and the able and accomplished men who filled the chairs of the institution, and recall the illustrious services rendered by them to their country amid the tempest of our great revolution, and in every sphere of intellectual exertion, they will feel and declare that all the glories which they behold, abounding and resplendent as they are, but serve to reflect with renewed brightness the genius of Graham, and that one of the fairest jewels in your crown of rejoicing, and in the treasury of his country, is the memory of your illustrious Founder.

Reminded at meeting of the Trustees, 1871, by
John A. Graham, D.D. JOHN MONTGOMERY.

John Montgomery, whose name is both on the Presbyterian and the chartered list of Trustees, was born in Augusta, and a graduate of Princeton in 1775. He was ordained as a minister in 1780, and accepted a call from Winchester, Cedar Creek and Opequon. After a residence of seven or eight years in this charge, he removed to the Pastures in Augusta, where he had inherited some property, and there spent the remainder of his life. Before he entered the ministry he was associated with Mr. Graham as a tutor in Liberty Hall. He is reported to have been a sound scholar, a popular

preacher, and always ready to promote the interest of the Academy. He lived to a good old age, and left numerous descendants.

Waddell
JAMES WADDELL. *Rapidan*

As I close, Mr. President, this sketch of Graham, and look over the honored names which are written on the roll of Trustees of 1776, names all of which are justly the pride of Western Virginia, and so many of which still live in their worthy descendants, I feel that the task of giving a meagre account even of their services is far beyond the limits of an occasion like the present, and that all that I can do is to take a passing glance as I go along. And after the name of the venerable Brown, the first of all is James Waddell. The pen of Wirt has made his name familiar to every reader, and I rejoice to say that it is still borne by worthy descendants. He was born of Scotch-Irish parents, in Ulster, Ireland, in July, 1739, and in the fall of the same year was brought over by them to Pennsylvania, in which colony he was educated under favorable auspices. Like Graham, he had the inestimable advantage of a pious mother whose religious training he never forgot. He made fair progress in his studies; but at the age of fourteen he met with an injury which incapacitated him for active labor, and led his parents to afford him the opportunities of a thorough education. He was hunting with his brothers, and chased a hare into a hollow tree. In the excitement of cutting him out, as his brother, says Dr. Foote, was bringing a blow with his axe, James thrust his hand under the edge, and in a twinkling it was severed almost in twain. Hastily gathering up the fingers and part of the hand, and pressing them to the stump, he ran to his parents. The mutilated hand was bandaged, and the wound healed; but the fingers and the lower part of the hand never afterwards increased in size, and were capable of very little action. Thus, as in the case of his eloquent contemporary, Drury Lacy, who lost his left hand in his youth by the bursting of a gun, the Virginia pulpit received two of its most distinguished ornaments.

He attended the Log College of Dr. Finley at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, and studied under the Rev. Mr. Campbell, who was noted for his skill in Greek. Young Waddell thus acquired

that skill in Latin and Greek, and especially in their prosody, which he retained through life, and a knowledge of the Hebrew. At the age of nineteen he left home to teach a school in South Carolina, and on his journey through Virginia called on the Rev. Samuel Davies. The immediate result of the interview was that Waddell agreed to accept a position as assistant in the school of the Rev. Mr. Todd, in the county of Louisa, and to study for the ministry. Another result was that he had the privilege of hearing Samuel Davies, and of lighting his own torch, as Patrick Henry had done before him, at the shrine of that brilliant luminary of the Presbyterian Church. An affectionate friendship existed between them, until it was ended by the early death of Davies.

In 1761 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel. His preaching became instantaneously popular. Before the end of the year he received four or five invitations to accept a pastoral charge. In the following year he accepted a call from Lancaster and Northumberland counties, where he remained until 1778, when he was called to Tinkling Spring, and afterwards divided his services between that church and the church at Staunton. After an interval of seven years, influenced by family attachments and domestic causes, he removed in 1785 to the then county of Louisa, near the present Gordonsville, where he remained till his death, which took place in September 1805, in his 66th year; and there he was buried.

In Waddell we have a fair specimen of the Scotch-Irish clergy, to whom Virginia is so deeply indebted on the score of education, of sound scholarship, of vital piety and of generous patriotism. He was critically skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and it is believed in French also, and in the literature of those tongues. It is to the immortal honor of the Scotch-Irish, that, cumbered as they were by the embarrassments of a new settlement in a wilderness distant from the sea, and exposed to its imminent dangers, they would not place the hands of their Presbytery on the heads that would not learn and could not teach, but guarded their pulpits with zealous care, and exacted a high order of attainments from every candidate for the ministry. It would form a characteristic picture of that era to present on canvas a committee of a Scotch-

Irish Presbytery, convened, it may be, in a log house, or in a building rudely constructed of the stones round and about, examining, hour after hour, a candidate for the ministry in the peculiarities of the Latin and the Greek and the Hebrew, in the metaphysical refinements of theology, and in a knowledge of general literature, before he was permitted to enter on a career that then frequently involved personal danger, at all times untiring and self-denying labors, and almost always limited comforts, if not positive poverty, to the very gates of the tomb. Excellent men! We now enjoy the results of their far-sighted wisdom and of their glorious self-denial. They thought not of present gain, but of the temporal and eternal welfare of those whom Providence had committed to their charge. They only thought of pure morals, of skill in interpreting the oracles of God, and of the diffusion of sound instruction and a pure religious faith among men. Let us ever respect the legacy which they have left us in their glorious example.

Waddell soon became known for his flowing eloquence and his apt illustrations drawn from his general reading. His tall and graceful form, his high pale forehead, his light blue eyes and his fair complexion, all heightened by a sympathetic feeling for that sad injury that had maimed him for life, arrested attention; and his voice, full and sweet, filled pleasantly the ear; and his action, at this period of his course, was polished and animated. From childhood his nervous system was delicate. At one period he could hardly lift a tumbler of water to his lips. But the great ailment of his life was the weakness of his eyes. Then came a cloud over his vision, and the researches of learning, and the light of day, and the faces of his wife and children could be seen no more. In this extremity the members of his family would read to him by turns; and in preparing his discourses he would choose his text, and have the context read to him, and the parallel passages from Cruden; and then "he would lie at full length, his right arm thrown carelessly over his head, his long fingers moving in measured beats, noting the vacuity or fulness of his thoughts, and the passage of time." After many years of total blindness there came a momentary relief. Seven years before his death, he visited Fredericktown, Maryland, with a view of being operated upon for cataract. "The

immediate effect of the operation," says Dr. Foote, "was less encouraging than had been anticipated, and he returned to his family with scarce the feeblest hope of ever seeing them, and the sweet light of heaven, again. After some time, when removing the bandages from his eyes, he thought he saw with some distinctness the divisions of the window sash, and called one of his daughters to pass her finger along the divisions of the window. By trial, he became convinced that he saw the outlines of objects correctly, though dimly. The excitement in the family was great as the word flew from child to child, '*Father can see!*' The servants caught the excitement, and '*Master can see,*' passed swiftly from mouth to mouth. He caused them all to pass in review before him that he might refresh his heart with a dim sight of those he had ever been used to look upon; and might gain some faint image of those who had been added to his household after the doors of vision had been shut, and of those too whose young bodies were rapidly increasing with their years. That was a day of rejoicing at Belle Grove. The eyes gradually recovered the power of vision sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, and to enable him to read with properly fitted lenses. But this visit of the blessed light of heaven was of short continuance; the cataract returned."

It was after this return of his blindness that Wirt heard him preach, and wrote that animated account which is printed in all the school-books, and is the staple of one of the most charming letters of the British Spy. Waddell is described in old age as being very tall and spare; his visage long, his forehead towering upward, his face thin, and his eyes blue. He wore long white top-boots, small clothes buckled at the knees, a long loose straight-bodied coat, and a white wig. He was seldom vehement in delivery; often excited, but never boisterous; often deeply pathetic in tone and manner; very courtly in his manners, and used much gesture with both hands.¹ Such was James Waddell, one of the first trustees of your infant institution.

The late Gov. James Barbour is reported to have said that Waddell was the most eloquent man he ever heard with the exception of Patrick Henry.

¹ Dr. Foote's Sketches of Virginia, p. 384.

THE REV. CHARLES CUMMINGS.

Next to Waddell on the list of the trustees appointed by the Presbytery stands the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings. He was in truth a representative of the Scotch-Irish race to which he belonged, of the clergy of the era in which he lived, and of that abnormal magistracy which was maintained during the Revolution in the shape of Committees of Safety, and which was the efficient means for promoting the public as well as the local interests of that struggle. He was born in Ireland about the year 1743, and in early manhood emigrated to Lancaster county in this state, and studied theology, and probably taught, in the family of Dr. Waddell. In 1765 he was licensed by Hanover Presbytery to preach the gospel, and in May 1767 he was called to "Major Brown's meeting-house" in Augusta, where he was duly ordained and installed. As a mark of his early promise it may be said that he received invitations to three different places before he was licensed. In 1773 he accepted a call from the congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring on the Holston. The names of those who invited him to this charge have been preserved by the care of the late Gov. David Campbell, and are published by Dr. Foote in his second volume. They are one hundred and thirty-eight in number, and embrace not only the ancestors of the people of South-west Virginia, but of thousands in all the Southern States. It is a valuable document in the genealogy of the Commonwealth.

Before leaving the Northern Neck Mr. Cummings had married Mildred Carter, a daughter of John Carter of Lancaster; and in 1773, then about thirty years old, he with his family took up his abode in the wilderness of the Holston. His congregations were liable to daily attacks from the Indians. Every Sunday morning, having neatly attired himself in the dress of a minister, he put on his bullet pouch, and with rifle in hand he rode to the meeting-house. There more than a hundred brave men, equipped for instant battle, with their families, were ready to greet him. A guard was set around the house, and Mr. Cummings ascended the pulpit, and taking off his bullet pouch, and carefully placing his rifle within easy reach of his right hand, conducted the usual services. Nor were these precautions idle. During the summer

months the Indians were very troublesome, and the families of the Holston Settlement were collected in log forts for safety. "The one," says Dr. Foote, "to which Mr. Cummings always carried his family was on the land of Capt. Joseph Black, and stood on the first knoll on the Knob road, south of Abington, and on the spot where David Campbell's gate stands. In the month of July, 1776, when his family were in the fort, and he with a servant and wagon and three neighbors were going to his farm, the party were attacked by Indians, a few hundred yards from the meeting-house. Creswell, who was driving the wagon, was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and during the skirmish the two other neighbors were wounded. Mr. Cummings and his servant-man Job, both of whom were well armed, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who hearing the fire, came to their relief, brought in the dead and wounded. A statement has been published in a respectable historical work that on this occasion Mr. Cummings lost his wig. I speak from the information of an eye witness [says Gov. Campbell] when Mr. Cummings came into the fort, in saying that the story has no truth in it." Throughout the Revolution Mr. Cummings was an ardent and active patriot. He was a member of the Fincastle Committee of Safety, and when the county of Washington was organized he was the indefatigable chairman of the Committee of that county.¹ Nor was he averse to actual war. When Col. Christian, in October, 1776, made a campaign against the Cherokees, Mr. Cummings attended the troops, preaching at the stations on the route, his rifle ever at his elbow, and thus was the first preacher of the gospel within the limits of the present Tennessee. As a preacher he was most successful in swelling the number of his flock. He preached for many years, and until very old, "to one of the largest, most respectable, and most intelligent congregations ever assembled in Western Virginia." He continued to preach at Holston until near the time of his death, which occurred in March, 1812, in his eightieth year, and left a large number of

¹ He was also a member of the committee, of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which reported the patriotic and independent address of the Freeholders of Fincastle, on the 20th of January, 1775, to the Continental Congress.—Eds.

respectable descendants. Gov. Campbell, who knew him personally, and had been brought up under his eyes, thus described him : "He was of middle stature, about five feet ten inches high, well set and formed, possessing great personal firmness and dignity of character. His voice was strong and had great compass ; his articulation was clear and distinct. Without apparent effort, he could speak to be heard by ten thousand people. His mind was good without any brilliancy. He understood his own system well ; spoke always with great gravity, and required it from all who sat under the sound of his voice. He could not tolerate any movement among the congregation after preaching commenced. He uniformly spoke like one having authority, and laid down the law and the gospel with great distinctness as he understood them." And we are told elsewhere that he was a rigid Calvinist of the Old School, strict and even stern in the observance of the Sabbath, and faithful in teaching his children and servants the catechism. For the rest, he has left behind him a gracious memory in the records of his church and in the annals of the Commonwealth.

COL. WILLIAM FLEMING.

Few men served their country with greater zeal and ability than Col. William Fleming, of Belmont, the name of his seat in Bote-tourt, which he had chosen in honor of one of his ancestral seats in Scotland, and which was added to distinguish him from William Fleming of Cumberland, whom some present may recall, as he was in his latter years on the bench of the Court of Appeals. William Fleming, though not Scotch-Irish, was Scotch, and was born in the town of Jedburgh, on the 18th day of February, 1729. His father was of the noble family of Fleming, who held the barony of Fleming and the earldom of Wigton, and were long famous in Scottish annals. The Flemings were Catholics, and embraced with eagerness the cause of the beautiful Queen of Scots ; and in the civil dissensions of her reign were so conspicuous that Sir Walter Scott introduces not only a female of the race as one of the confidential ladies of the Queen, but the then Lord Fleming as one of the chiefs who received Mary on her escape from Lochleven. When the titles of Lord Fleming and Earl of Wigton became extinct by the death of the last possessor without a lineal

male heir, it was believed that the claims of Col Fleming, if properly urged, would have been sustained by the House of Lords ; but our old patriot, who had voted to abolish entails in Virginia, when urged to prosecute his cause was wont to say that he had two objections to such a course : the first was that he preferred the institutions of a republic to those of a monarchy ; and the second was, that he had no idea of sacrificing his other children for the sake of his eldest son who was already well provided for. It is only necessary to say that the earldom of Wigton became extinct, and that at a subsequent period the title of Lord Fleming was revived in favor of one of the family.

Col. Fleming received a thorough training in Latin at a time when Greek was hardly known in the Scotch universities, and in some of his writings which I have seen shows some skill in philology. Having resolved to study medicine he entered the University of Edinburgh, where he completed his course. From his youth he seemed fond of adventure ; and having obtained the berth of surgeon's mate in the British Navy, was in a sharp action with a Spanish man-of-war, during which he received a cut on the face that was never obliterated. His vessel was captured and was taken into a Spanish port, where he and his comrades were treated with great barbarity. It was his good fortune to receive occasional supplies from a noble Spanish lady, whose name he could never learn ; and he has been heard to say in his latter days that he would never turn a human being from his door, if for no other reason lest such a person might possibly be descended from the Spanish lady. In his 26th year, impelled by a desire to visit new countries, and perhaps by the influence of the Scotch friends of Gov. Dinwiddie, who was then governor, he determined to visit Virginia, and reached James river in the summer of 1755, when the spirits of the people were depressed by the defeat of Braddock, and when it was believed that the western country would be the seat of a long and bloody war between England and her colonies on one part and France and probably Spain on the other. Within a month after his landing he resolved to lay aside his medical profession and embark in a military career. On the 25th of August, 1755, about six weeks after the defeat of Braddock, he received from Governor Dinwiddie the commission of ensign in Col. George Washington's Virginia regiment, and served under that officer throughout the whole

of that perilous period. In 1762 he was commissioned by the Governor lieutenant, and served under Major Andrew Lewis, at Fort Chizwell, and in several expeditions of that officer ; and in the same year he was appointed by Gov. Fauquier a captain in the regiment commanded by Col. Adam Stephen. In 1774 he was appointed colonel, and led his regiment to the Ohio with others under the command of Col. Andrew Lewis. At the battle of Point Pleasant he acted a prominent part. It is well known that Col. Andrew Lewis, chief in command, sent forth his brother, Col. Charles Lewis, and Col. Fleming, with a strong detachment in the direction of the approaching enemy, who received them with a destructive volley fired from their hiding places. Both Col. Lewis and Col. Fleming were wounded at the first fire ; but as Col. Lewis and other wounded officers were carried from the ground, Col. Fleming determined to remain at all hazards. When Col. Lewis was brought to the fort, it was soon seen that he was mortally wounded, and that gallant officer died in the course of the morning. The condition of Col. Fleming seemed equally desperate. He received three balls, one of which was in the wrist of the right arm, breaking the bone ; the second was higher up on the same arm ; and the third was in the breast. In his efforts to rally the men, he greatly aggravated the wound in the lungs. When he reached the fort surgical assistance was deemed useless ; and the attention of the surgeons, who were few in number, was directed to cases not thought wholly desperate. Meantime Col. Fleming, who had sunk from exhaustion, rallied a little, and by the aid of his servant dressed his own wounds. The ball in his lungs was never extracted, produced at times acute suffering as long as he lived, and disqualified him entirely from active military service. Whenever he exerted himself, the ball, which had made a cell for itself in the lungs, would appear to move upward the height of two inches, and then fall back again, inflicting severe pain in its progress.

Although unable to endure the active labors of war, he was engaged in the civil service throughout the Revolution. On the 4th of April, 1776, he was appointed by the Committee of Safety Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the County of Botetourt. On the formation of the constitution of the State, he was elected

to the Senate from the counties of Botetourt, Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. He was thus a member of the first General Assembly of the State, and voted in favor of Mr. Jefferson's bill to abolish entails, and of other measures designed to accommodate our institutions to a republican model. At a later period he was appointed by the Assembly one of a commission to adjust disputed land titles in Kentucky, and to settle all claims against the State of Virginia. He was chosen in 1780 a member of the Council and rendered efficient aid in rescuing the public archives from the torch of Tarleton.¹ In 1788 he was a member of the convention of that year called to decide upon the present Federal Constitution and for reasons already assigned voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument. This was his last act of public service. He had now reached the seventh decade of life, and his health had been much impaired by the exposure and the wounds of a military career on the land and on the sea. With the exception of occasional trips to Kentucky, where he owned much valuable land, he spent his last days in the bosom of his family at Belmont, and with the surroundings of a wealthy patriarch. In all his domestic relations he was truly fortunate and happy. Before his removal to Botetourt he married a daughter of Israel Christian of Augusta, one of the early settlers of Augusta, and the father of Col. William Christian, of whom I will speak presently. Seven of Col. Fleming's children reached maturity and survived him. And of these, two, a son and a daughter, were living in 1860.² Col. Fleming died at Belmont on the 5th of August, 1795, aged 66, and was buried in the family burial ground, where his grave, enclosed by a stone wall, may now be seen. It is especially due to the memory of Col. Fleming in its present connexion to state that he was a warm friend of schools and colleges. He took an active part in the success of Hampden Sidney. He urged upon the Assembly the expediency of a high school for the county of Kentucky, which was incorporated with the name of Transylvania, and he was a cordial friend and trustee of this institution. He was a

¹ As a member of the Council he acted as chief executive of the State for a time in 1781, in the temporary absence of Mr. Jefferson from Richmond.—Eds.

² One of his daughters married the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., for many years President of Washington College.—Eds.

lover of books, and owned a good library for that day. His copy of Tillotson, carefully read and annotated by him, is in the possession of his descendants. In stature he was about the middle size; his forehead broad and massy; his nose Roman; his profile strongly marked; his eyes were blue; and his hair dark until touched with years. His teeth were sound to his dying day. He was a patriot without reproach, a brave officer, of great eminence as a physician and surgeon, one of the best of husbands and fathers, and a man whose name and virtues would confer merit on any institution with which he was connected.

COL. WILLIAM PRESTON.

One of the early trustees of Liberty Hall before its incorporation was Col. William Preston, a name then confined to the straggling settlements of the Valley, but now well-known throughout the present Union. Who was William Preston? Come with me over the one hundred and thirty-five years last past, and I will answer the question. Let us attend the organization of the county court of Augusta, the Augusta of that day, stretching along the Blue Ridge to the North Carolina line, and from the Ridge to the Ohio and the Mississippi—and a glorious principality it was! That court was held on the 9th day of December, 1745, in the village of Staunton, which was so called, probably by John Lewis, in compliment to the wife of Governor Gooch, who had granted their patents to the early settlers; but whether the maiden name of Lady Googh was Staunton, or Staunton was the name of her English home, I am unable to ascertain. The commission from the Governor was read; and it appeared that John Lewis was appointed the presiding justice of the court. He was then 67 years old, but he was to live seventeen years more, and to see other counties carved out of his own. Born in the reign of Charles the Second, this venerable patriarch saw the entire reigns of James the Second, of William and Mary, of Queen Anne, of George the First, and of George the Second, and was to count two years of the reign of George the Third—the first king born on the soil of England since the birth of Edward the Sixth—and closed his career at Bellefonte, where his ashes now repose, at the age of

84. By the side of John Lewis sat Hugh Thompson, Robert Cunningham, James Kerr, and Adam Dickinson. John Madison, the father of the future bishop and the uncle of the future president, rises in his place and reads his commission from Thomas Nelson, Secretary of the Colony, as clerk of the new county ; for it was not until the date of the Revolution, thirty years later, that the courts assumed the power of appointing their own clerks. The court proceeded to appoint a sheriff, and John Patton was invested with that office. Thomas Lewis, another of your trustees, then in the full flush of manhood, having entered his 27th year, steps forward, and reads his commission as surveyor of the new county, under the sign-manual of President Dawson of William and Mary College, the successor of the venerable Blair in that institution, and is approved by the court. The court holds its sessions from month to month, and at the May term of the following year, 1746, occurred an incident which it is my present province to notice, and which I shall read in the words of the record.

"John Preston came into court and prayed leave to prove his importation, which was granted him ; and thereupon he made oath that, at his own charge, he had imported himself, Elizabeth his wife, William his son, and Lettice and Ann his daughters, immediately from Ireland into this colony, and that this is the first time of proving his said right, in order to partake of His Majesty's bounty for taking up land."

As we contemplate this December and May session of Augusta Court, how devotedly we wish that those patriarchs of our modern State, surrounded, as they then were, by the toils and the dangers of a savage wilderness, could have had a glimpse of the future of a century of years ; could have known that the record of a part of the proceedings of that day should be read on such an occasion as the present ; could have known that the name of Lewis would be honorably connected in peace and war with the greatest civil and military revolution of the eighteenth century ; that the name of Preston would be wreathed with the glories that genius and eloquence and valor could cluster about it ; that the names of Patton and Thompson and others would be more generally known than in their own time ; and that the name of Madison, which was

known in the colony even before the massacre of 1622, would shine with a radiance as enduring as the records of history !

We thus see that Col. William Preston was born in Ireland, and, as we have reason to believe, in the city of Dublin ; that he may have spent his first years in the shadow of Trinity College, where he played his pranks on that beautiful green which still attracts the admiration of the traveller. He was the only son of John Preston named in the record, who resided in Dublin,¹ and was engaged in mercantile pursuits, and who married a sister of Col. James Patton, of Donegal, Ireland. Col. Patton was a man of enterprise and vigor and was possessed of considerable wealth, and emigrating to Virginia before 1745 obtained from the governor for himself and his partners a grant of 120,000 acres of land in the Valley. He fixed his residence on the south fork of the Shenandoah, and also took up land in the present county of Montgomery ; and in 1755, while on a visit to his lands in that region, was slain by the Indians at Smithfield. The fate of John Preston was hardly more fortunate than that of Patton. He first settled at Spring Hill, afterwards occupied by Dr. Waddell, the blind preacher, and about the year 1743 purchased and occupied a tract afterwards owned by the late General Baldwin. Here in 1747, the year after he had proved his claim to land in virtue of his emigration, he died suddenly, and a neat monument now marks his place of burial. He left a widow and five children, all but one having been born in Ireland. One of his daughters married Robert Breckenridge, the grandfather of Robert and John Breckenridge, those eloquent divines of our own times. Another daughter married the Rev. Dr. John Brown, your second rector, whose eminent sons I have spoken of in their proper places, and concerning one of whom I may now say that, as the representative of the United States at the court of France, he announced to Louis the Eighteenth the celebrated utterance of his government commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine. Another daughter married Mr. Howard, whose eldest son was the first governor of Missouri ; and another married Mr. Smith and was the grandmother of the Mar-

¹ Mr. Grigsby is mistaken in saying that John Preston resided in Dublin. He was from Londonderry.—Eds.

shalls of Kentucky. Thus it seems that though John Preston lived but a short time in the new world, his posterity may be counted by hundreds.

But it is William, the only son of John Preston, that now demands our attention. He enjoyed those advantages of education within the range of a frontier settlement, and especially, as we may suppose, the instructions of Dr. Brown, his brother-in-law, who conducted your Academy. He soon exhibited talents which placed him in after life on a level with the prominent men of that day. At that era, prowess in Indian campaigns was one of the main tests of character, just as in our late contest a wound on the battlefield was a passport to the smiles of beauty. One of his early engagements was that of a surveyor under Washington, and there arose from this connection a friendly feeling between them that was cherished by Washington after the decease of Preston. In 1756 he accompanied Maj. Andrew Lewis in the Shawanese expedition, or the Sandy Creek voyage, as it is sometimes called, which involved greater hardships than any other of our incursions into the Indian territory, and which, though no enemy was present, had nearly resulted in the destruction of the whole party by starvation. The object of the expedition was confined to the breast of Major Lewis; but its aim probably was to build a fort between the Shawanese towns on the Ohio, to destroy those towns, and to punish a race of Indians, who, for a third of a century later than 1756, committed cruel murders within the settlements of Virginia. Of this expedition we fortunately possess an account from the pen of Col. Preston himself. It consisted of about 340. men, commanded by Captains Preston, Hays, one of your trustees, John Smith, Archibald Alexander, the grandfather of the celebrated divine, Robert Breckenridge, Woodson, Overton, Montgomery, and Dunlap, with Capt. Paris at the head of a number of friendly Cherokees; Maj. Andrew Lewis holding the chief command. Maj. David Stuart, the father of good old Col. John Stuart of Greenbrier, accompanied the party. It set out from Fort Fred-eric on the 18th of February, and passing the Bear Garden and Burke's Garden reached the head of Clinch on the 26th, and on the 28th the head of Sandy Creek, which was so crooked that in

15 miles the men were forced to cross it sixty-six times. Their stores were soon exhausted, and their numbers were too great to be fed by hunting. After enduring the utmost extremity of hunger, the men on the 13th of March refused to proceed further, and resolved to return home. Capt. Preston, though feeble from famine, and though his entire company (except the officers) had determined to return, was resolved to carry out the expedition, and proposed the killing of the horses for food; but the men replied that horseflesh might answer, if they were returning, to support them home; but that it was not proper diet to sustain men enduring every hardship on a long march against an enemy. The failure of the expedition was attributed partly to the foul play of the guides; but a sufficient explanation may be found in the fact that so large a body of men left Fort Frederic in winter for a journey of hundreds of miles through a trackless wilderness with provisions for sixteen days only. In this trying scene the conduct of Capt. Preston deserves the highest praise. Neither famine, nor the severities of the season, nor the toil of climbing mountains with tottering limbs, sufficed to dismay him. It was in such a school that Andrew Lewis learned that discipline which enabled him eighteen years later to conduct his army through forests equally dense and over mountains as rough, and at the end of a weary march to gain the battle of Point Pleasant; that Hays, your trustee, learned that intrepidity with which he led his Rockbridge boys to ply the rifle on the heights of Saratoga; and that Preston was taught those lessons of self-command which subsequently marked his course, and which were seen in his march against the Cherokees, at Whitsell's Mills, and at Guilford.

In May, 1774, he was a member of the House of Burgesses; and when Col. Christian was advised by Lord Dunmore to return home, and to use his endeavors to prevent the inhabitants from deserting their homes from fears of the Indian war then impending, and to collect forces for the emergency, he called Col. Preston to his aid, and spoke in warm terms of his energy and skill on that trying occasion. Col. Preston also marched with Col. Christian to the head of Clinch, and remained in active service until the close of October, when the troubles were for a time appeased by the suc-

cessful issue of the battle of Point Pleasant.¹ In 1780 he was engaged with Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell in their respective expeditions against the Cherokees. He was also at the battle of Guilford, and received the congratulations of Gen. Greene for his gallant conduct. Such was the efficiency of his service in protecting the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina, that the latter state gave him in conjunction with Col. Campbell a vote of thanks for his energy and enterprise.

He lived to see the close of the war of the Revolution, and died at Smithfield, in June, 1783, aged 53 years. He was said to have been a man of imposing presence and of a pleasing address, and to have maintained a serene temper amidst the worriments of the forest and of the field. His height exceeded six feet, his complexion was fair and florid. Like his father, who won the hand of an Irish heiress by the beauty of his person and the elegance of his deportment, Col. Preston was regarded as remarkably handsome. His disposition was humane, as was shown by his treatment of the Indians and the Tories. He was a member of the church; and while living at Smithfield, in Montgomery, would ride once a year as far as Staunton to commune in the Presbyterian church in that town. The style of his letters and of his other writings that have survived him evinces good taste; and a library quite respectable for the times attested his love for letters. Some verses of his which have been seen by persons now living are said to show that he was no unsuccessful votary of the Muses. He married and left eleven children, all of whom have held a high place in the esteem of the world. Of these, five were sons: John, Francis, the father of the late William C. Preston, of South Carolina, James, William and Thomas; and six were daughters: Mrs. Madison, Mrs. McDowell, Mrs. Hart, Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Floyd.

COL. ARTHUR CAMPBELL.

The name which holds the first place on your roll of incorporated trustees, and which justly maintains a prominence on the

¹ He was also a member of the committee of which Col. William Christian was chairman, which drafted the address of the Fincastle Freeholders in January, 1775.—Eds.

score of age and public service among his distinguished contemporaries, is that of Col. Arthur Campbell, of Washington county. He was the son of David Campbell, whose progenitor emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and thence to Virginia; and in 1742, in the present county of Augusta, Arthur Campbell was born. When a youth of fifteen he was engaged in protecting the settlers from the Indians; and having been stationed at a fort near where the road from Staunton to the Warm Springs crosses the Cowpasture river, when on one occasion he and his companions sallied forth on a short excursion, was taken prisoner by a party of Indians and remained with them for three years, traversing in that interval the entire region now forming the states of Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. This incident, which withdrew him from the opportunities of education and which subjected him to innumerable hardships, was overruled for the advancement of his own reputation and for the benefit of his country. He became intimately acquainted with the geography of the Northwest Territory, which Virginia afterward gained by her arms, and not, perhaps, without his counsels; he learned the habits and the language and the tactics of the Indians and acquired the capacity of enduring fatigue, which was beneficial in his subsequent career. It was also observed that some traits of character, which were ever afterwards observable, might be traced to this period. On his return home to his parents, who had long mourned him as dead, he applied himself to learning, with the energy of a fully developed character, and made remarkable progress in his studies. He had run off from the Indians on the northern lakes, and made his way through a wilderness of two hundred miles to a detachment of the British army that was marching into the Indian country, and he was immediately engaged as a guide. It was his mingling with the British officers, perhaps, that first led him to perceive the importance of knowledge to the attainment of permanent and thorough success. For his conduct in guiding the army he was presented with a thousand acres of land near the present town of Louisville, Kentucky. He pursued his studies with such success as to become in due time a ready and correct writer, and from his early manhood seems to have been a favorite with the General

Assembly, and to have received every manifestation of regard from the people.

A few years before the Revolution he removed with a brother and sister to a farm called the Royal Oak on the Holston river, then a wilderness and an Indian hunting ground; and in 1776 he was chosen by the county of Fincastle, which had been separated from Botetourt four years before, a delegate to the Convention of Virginia, which met in the city of Williamsburg on the 6th day of May. That body, which dissolved the relations of Virginia with the British crown and declared her absolute independence, which instructed her delegates in Congress to bring forward a similar measure in that body, and which framed the first written constitution of a free commonwealth, holds a distinguished place in human history. To have been one of its members, and to have aided in attaining its valuable results, is an honor beside which an inscription in the roll of Battle Abbey dwindles in the comparison, and which will be a pleasing and glorious record for ages to come. And it should be said in honor of your then infant institution, that not less than four of its trustees—Thomas Lewis, John Bowyer, Samuel McDowell, and Arthur Campbell—held seats in that Assembly. And although we know from private letters that there was a disposition on the part of some of the members to shrink from the decisive action of the hour, we also know that the trustees of Liberty Hall acted with the most determined men on that occasion.¹

Col. Arthur Campbell was also a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution, and was deeply interested in the religious and political questions discussed during that session, embracing those liberal views of which Mr. Jefferson was the representative.

On the organization of Washington county in January, 1777, he was appointed county lieutenant and commander-in-chief; and in 1779 joined Col. Sevier after the battle of Boyd's Creek with a regiment of Virginians, scouring the Cherokee country, and destroying their habitations. He returned home with a firm assurance that the punishment inflicted upon the Indians would secure

¹ He was also a member of the committee that drafted the address of the Freeholders of Fincastle in January, 1775.

the settlers for some time to come. In 1781, at the head of seven hundred mounted riflemen, he led an expedition against the Cherokees, which was entirely successful, and was the first experiment on a large scale of that mode of warfare. The result of the expedition was the negotiation of the Cherokee treaty of that date. His conduct on this occasion was reported to Congress by Governor Jefferson in most flattering terms, and was warmly praised by Girardin in his History of Virginia.

For thirty-five years Col. Campbell resided on his estate on the Holston, and during that time was county lieutenant and the commander of the 70th regiment. He then removed to Yellow Creek, Knox county, Kentucky, where he died of a cancer in the face at the age of sixty-nine. He married the third sister of Gen. William Campbell, the hero of King's Mountain, with whom in peace and war he was so intimately associated. Two of the sons of Arthur Campbell lost their lives during the war of 1812: Capt. James Campbell, who died at Mobile, and Col. John B. Campbell, who fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing under Gen. Scott.

Col. Arthur Campbell was six feet in height, of a grave and dignified demeanor, firm and positive in action, utterly regardless of the ordinary means of acquiring popularity, and though he had some bitter enemies he counted some of the first men of the age among his personal friends. His conversational powers were said to be unusual; and from his temperate mode of life, his presidency for the third of a century in a court of justice, his correspondence with eminent men, and his habits of study, his intellectual faculties were preserved in fine play to the end of his life.

COLONEL WILLIAM CHRISTIAN.

Among the earliest trustees of Liberty Hall, and second on the roll of the incorporated institution, stands the name of Col. William Christian. It was for almost an entire generation one of the foremost in war and peace in the annals of the west, when the west was within the limits of Virginia, and was bounded by the Ohio and Mississippi. He was the only son of Israel Christian, who was among the earlier settlers of Augusta, and was of Scotch-Irish

extraction. Israel Christian followed the business of a merchant, founded a large family, which was united in marriage with the most conspicuous persons of that era, and accumulated a fortune ample enough to endow his children with respectable wealth. He was esteemed by his fellow-citizens, and represented the county of Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1758, when George Mason was a young member from Fairfax, and Edmund Pendleton was another young member from Caroline, and George Washington was another young member from Frederick. This session of the House was one of the most important ever held in the colony, and was composed of the ablest men who had ever assembled in our councils. Of the proceedings of the body I have spoken elsewhere. Israel Christian died, I believe, before the Revolution, and left, besides his distinguished son William, several daughters, one of whom married Col. William Fleming, of Botetourt, one of your trustees; a second married Judge Caleb Wallace, another trustee; a third married Col. William Bowyer, of Botetourt; and a fourth married Col. Stephen Trigg, of Kentucky. Three counties in Kentucky named in honor of his son and two of his sons-in-law—Christian, Fleming and Trigg—afford a pleasing and lasting remembrance of family worth and distinction.

Col. William Christian was born in Augusta in 1743, was educated with great care by his father, and arriving at manhood was soon employed in the active schemes of offence and defence against the incessant attacks of the Indians. On the organization of the first two Virginia regiments in 1775, he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of the first, of which Patrick Henry was the colonel. To such distinction did he attain as a military man that in May, 1776, he was appointed colonel of the first battalion of Virginia militia, and commander-in-chief of an expedition against the Overhill Cherokee Indians, the troops under his command, consisting of two battalions from Virginia and one from North Carolina, which, with other men necessarily employed, composed an army of 1600 men—an extraordinary number for that period. Again in 1780 he commanded another expedition against the Cherokees, and at Double Springs was joined by troops from North Carolina under Col. Sevier, whose original name of Xavier shows his French extraction, and who was a son of the Valley of Virginia. These

marches against the Indians were always successful. In 1781, after the successful expedition of Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, when it was decided to make a treaty with those Indians, and when it was then not known to whom the authority belonged to make treaties with Indians who roamed through the territories of several states, an application was made to Gen. Greene to appoint a commission for the purpose; and that officer complied with the request, and placed Colonel Christian at its head. It consisted of Col. Christian, Col. Arthur Campbell, Col. William Preston, and Col. Joseph Martin, of Virginia, and of some able men from North Carolina.

But though called into military service at every emergency, he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and participated in the various stages of the disputes that led to the Declaration of Independence. In May, 1774, while in Williamsburg, when the Indian troubles were brewing that led to the Battle of Point Pleasant, he was earnestly entreated by Lord Dunmore to leave his seat in the house and hasten to the West to provide against the threatened danger. He accordingly hastened to the mountains and collected troops with which he marched to the seat of war. When he had successfully accomplished the object in view, he hastened to unite his forces with those of Col. Andrew Lewis; but before he reached Camp Union, the present Lewisburg, Col. Lewis had marched to the Ohio. It is stated by Campbell, though not sustained by other authorities, that if Christian had united his forces with those of Lewis, the chief command would have devolved upon him. He hastened his march, but did not reach Lewis until the midnight after the battle of Point Pleasant, when he found that every arrangement was made for the renewal of the fight next morning. Next day he marched to meet the enemy, who had withdrawn early at the close of the fight the evening before, leaving thirty-three dead bodies which they had not been able to throw into the Ohio.

Like most of the prominent military and political actors of his time, he owned large possessions in Kentucky, whither in 1785 he removed with his family and settled on Bullskin creek, and afterwards on Oxmoor creek, an estate which is still in possession of his family, near the site of the present city of Louisville. Here

his career was destined soon to end. In the year after his arrival a party of Indians stole a number of horses in his vicinity, and he determined to pursue them. He reached a spot near where the town of Jeffersonville in Indiana now is, where he overtook two of the Indians. Col. Christian was riding in front, and was followed by Col. Bullett, his son-in-law, and Major O'Bannon. As Col. Christian dismounted, preparatory to firing, he was shot and killed by one of the Indians; and at the same instant both of the Indians were shot and mortally wounded by Col. Bullett and Maj. O'Bannon. One of the company of the name of Kelly, who ran to tomahawk the Indian whose gun had not been discharged, but who had been mortally wounded, was shot dead by the Indian, who in a dying state sprang to his feet and discharged his rifle. The body of Col. Christian was conveyed home, and was buried in the graveyard on the plantation which is still owned by his grandson. A plain slab marks the spot, and is inscribed: "Col. William Christian was killed in an action with the Indians April 9, 1786, aged 43. This monument was erected to his memory by the filial piety of his son John Henry Christian, who died Nov. 5, 1800, aged 19." So with the century expired the last male heir of William Christian.

When the intelligence of his death was spread through Kentucky, which was then a part of Virginia, and through Virginia proper, and especially in the Valley, where his talents and services were so well known and admired, grief for the sudden extinction of such a master-spirit was profound and general. None felt the loss of such a man at such a conjuncture more keenly than his brother-in-law, Patrick Henry, who wrote to his sister in a strain of pious eloquence which had probably never before fallen from his pen, and which shows that the heart of the orator responded to the tenderest emotions of domestic love. "Would to God," said the sympathizing brother, "I could say something to give relief to the dearest of women and sisters. My heart has felt in a manner new and strange to me, insomuch that, while I am endeavoring to comfort you, I want a comforter myself. I forbear to tell you how great was my love for my friend and brother. I turn my eyes to heaven where he is gone, I trust, and adore with humility the unsearchable ways of that Providence which calls us off this stage

of action at such time and in such manner as its wisdom and goodness direct." And he concludes his letter : " For, indeed, my dearest sister, you never knew how much I loved you and your husband. My heart is full. Perhaps I may never see you in this world. Oh ! may we meet in that heaven to which the merits of Jesus will carry those who love and serve him. Such is the prayer of him who thinks it his honor and pride to be your affectionate brother."

Such was William Christian—a successful soldier, where other men would have yielded to despair, and a wise statesman. After the untimely death of Gen. Andrew Lewis, he was regarded as the first military genius of the West, to whom all eyes were turned at the approach of danger. Had he lived to behold the administration of Washington, who greatly esteemed him, he would have been appointed by acclamation to command those expeditions against the Indians which in other hands resulted so disastrously. It is pleasing to state that his descendants in Kentucky are numerous and respectable, and that the estate on which his ashes repose is still owned by his grandson.

GENERAL ANDREW MOORE.

The third name on the roll of incorporated trustees is that of one who long lived in this town, who often ascended this hill and mingled in your deliberations, who fought long and bravely in the armies of the North during the Revolution, who represented Rockbridge many years in the House of Delegates, who was the first representative of Rockbridge in the House of Representatives of the United States, who was the first representative of the Valley in the Senate of the United States, who spent his last days in the shadow of your college, and whose honored dust rests in yonder cemetery. Such a description can apply to one man only, and that man is Gen. Andrew Moore.

His grandfather was one of nine brothers who came over to this country from Ireland between 1740 and 1750, most of whom settled in South Carolina, and all of whom served in the war of the Revolution, in which more than one of them are believed to have fallen. When the brothers came over to America they brought with them an aged female ancestor who could remember the siege of

Derry, during which she had been driven under the walls of that city by the generals of James the Second—a policy which that cruel king adopted with a view of forcing the besieged to surrender; and she used to tell her descendants of the dead bodies beneath the walls, some of them with tufts of grass in their mouths, which they had torn from the earth to appease their hunger.

The father of Gen. Andrew Moore was David, who was an upright and industrious farmer, and who lived at a place in the northern part of Rockbridge, then Augusta, now called Cannicello, where in 1752 Andrew was born. His mother was Miss Evans, who was of Welsh descent. He probably received his early training at the Academy before it assumed the name of Liberty Hall, under the Rev. Dr. Brown, and in early life taught school for a short time; but seeking a more active sphere, he made a voyage to the West Indies, and was cast away on a desert island, where for three weeks his companions and himself were forced to feed, in the extremity of their hunger, on a species of lizard that abounded in the island; but were relieved from their fate by a passing vessel which brought them to the United States. He now turned his attention to law, and, either in the office of Chancellor Wythe in Williamsburg, or under his advisement, pursued his legal studies, and about 1774 obtained a license to practice law. But the courts were soon closed by the Revolution; and in 1776 young Moore entered the army as a lieutenant in a company that was afterwards attached to Morgan's Rifle Corps, of which John Hays, one of your trustees, was captain. It should be observed in passing, as creditable to Rockbridge, that as soon as Moore obtained his commission as lieutenant he went to a log-rolling in the neighborhood and enlisted nineteen men in one day, that being the whole number present capable of bearing arms. He soon obtained his complement of one hundred men, and was ordered to march to the North. Nearly his whole military life was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. In the last mentioned state he was actively engaged in the capture of Burgoyne's army, and was present with his company as a part of Morgan's corps in the battle of Saratoga, which resulted in the surrender of the British forces. After having obtained the rank of Captain, and having served three successive years, as there was a great number

of supernumerary officers, he resigned his commission, and returned home. He now entered the House of Delegates as one of the representatives of Rockbridge, and was a member when the Assembly was driven from Charlottesville by the cavalry of Tarleton.

He was now placed in a position in which he was to acquire his most shining titles to the public regard. The legislature of Virginia from 1780 to 1789, when he retired from the body, was one of the best schools of statesmanship ever offered to a young politician. In that interval nearly all the great questions of that era were discussed and decided. All the leading topics of a republican system in relation to foreign and domestic affairs came before the body. The expediency of a church establishment, assessments for the support of religion, paper money, the payment of taxes in kind, the confiscation of British debts, the regulation of the customs which each State controlled according to its interests, the new judiciary system, the expediency of forming the Articles of Confederation, and at a later day, of amending them, instructions to the delegates in Congress which involved a full discussion of foreign affairs, the mode and means of conducting the war, the military expeditions of the West, the disposition of the public land which extended to the Mississippi and the Northern lakes, the navigation of the Mississippi itself, were some of the topics which tasked the wisdom and the patience of the men of that era. And although our limits will not allow us to trace the course of Gen. Moore through this period with any degree of minuteness, it is due to his memory to say that, while he particularly distinguished himself in support of the act concerning religious freedom in all the phases through which it passed and recorded his name among those who carried this measure on its final passage, his votes on the test measures of that day, which were presented in the action of the House of Delegates on the bills of the revisors and otherwise, are most honorable to him, when viewed in the light which the experience of almost ninety years has cast upon them. He was a member of the Assembly when the resolution convoking the meeting at Annapolis to propose amendments to the existing Articles of Confederation was adopted, and when subsequently the resolution inviting the meeting in Philadelphia of the convention which framed the present Federal Constitution passed the House; and

when that instrument was presented to the States for approval, he was a member of the convention which in June, 1788, met in Richmond to discuss it, and voted to ratify the same in behalf of Virginia. One incident that occurred during the session of the Convention in 1788 is so illustrative of character as to require a passing notice. As the debate in the convention proceeded, the State at large shared in the excitement of the body. The opinions of the members were scrutinized by their constituents; and it became known in Rockbridge that Moore and his colleague, McKee, who was also a trustee of yours, were determined to vote for the adoption of the constitution. Accordingly the majority of the freeholders of the county, who were opposed to that instrument, drew up instructions to Moore and McKee, requiring them to oppose the constitution at all hazards, and forwarded them to Richmond. Those instructions Moore and his colleague refused to obey, and voted to ratify the constitution.¹ This was the first deliberate refusal of a representative to obey the instructions of his constituents that had then occurred in our history, and its flagrancy was the greater, as, unlike the cases of ordinary acts of Assembly, the deed was irrevocable. On his return home he gave his constituents an opportunity of punishing him by appearing as a candidate at the next election; and the result was that he received three votes to one of the opposing candidates. Had Moore and McKee, of Rockbridge, and Thomas Lewis, of Rockingham, Archibald Stuart and Zachariah Johnston, of Augusta, and William Fleming, of Botetourt, all of whom were trustees of Liberty Hall, voted against the ratification of the Federal Constitution, the fate of that paper would have been sealed. It is a fact in the history of this college and of the State, that the Federal Constitution was carried by the vote of the Trustees of Liberty Hall.

At the first election of members of the House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution, he was chosen from the Rockbridge district, and was successively elected till 1797, a period that embraced the entire administration of Washington. Being an active member of one of the two great parties that then divided the

¹ In the election of delegates to the convention the issue of the adoption or rejection of the constitution was distinctly made, and they were therefore clearly justified in refusing to obey instructions subsequently given.—EDS.

country, he declined a re-election to Congress, and with Madison and Giles entered the House of Delegates of Virginia, which was thought a more efficient field for fighting the battle which should determine the fate of the administration of the elder Adams. During his term in Congress he often spoke with ability on the complicated and irritating questions of the day, and ranged himself with the party which was then called Republican. It would be an interesting office to record his speeches and votes as I have traced them on the journals, but our limits wholly preclude the task. In 1798-'99 and 1799-1800, he sustained in the House of Delegates the resolutions of John Taylor, of Caroline, which were drawn by Mr. Madison, and the famous Virginia Report which has held so large a place in our political annals. On the election of Jefferson to the Presidency he returned to Congress and took his seat in the House of Representatives in 1803, in which he remained one year, when he was chosen by the General Assembly a Senator of the United States, in which office he served until 1809, when he withdrew from the body, and was soon after appointed United States Marshal for the district of Virginia, and held that office until his death, on the 14th day of April, 1821, in the seventieth year of his age.

Gen. Moore was in his day the representative man of the West. Every civil and military office within the gift of Virginia and the people was freely bestowed upon him. His public career began in 1776, and from that time to the date of his death, in 1821—a lapse of forty-five years—he can hardly be said to have been out of the public service. As a soldier, as a member of the House of Delegates, as a member of both Houses of Congress, as a brigadier and major-general, and as the United States Marshal of Virginia, he performed his various duties with the approbation of his country. Though passing the ordeal of twenty-nine elections in the course of his life, he was invariably successful, excepting that he failed to be elected a member of the former Executive Council by a single vote—an office which, had it been conferred upon him, he would have promptly declined. At an early date he was chosen brigadier-general, and in 1809 he was chosen major-general. He was a most successful lawyer; and there is now living a venerable

lady,¹ at the age of ninety, who can recall his return from distant courts with his saddle-bags full of coin, which he would empty on the bed, and, casting a corner of the quilt over the glittering mass, would leave it in charge of his wife. He was a man of a large frame, not above the middle height, with dark gray eyes, and at special times paid much attention to his dress, as was the case with all whom he associated with abroad. Towards the close of the last century and in the early part of the present, he wore ruffles not only on the breast, as was common in our own times, but at the wrists; and shorts buckled at the knee, and long silk stockings. When he took his departure for Congress, which held its sessions during his term of service in New York, Philadelphia and Washington, there was quite a stir in your pleasant town. A coach with four spanking bays would be driven up before his door, and on the box, neatly attired for a journey and skilled in the mysteries of the whip, would be seated Jim Berry, a white man, and in the rear of the coach would follow the baggage wagon, driven by one of his slaves. He married Sally, the eldest daughter of Col. Andrew Reid, who long survived her husband, and was known and loved by many within the sound of my voice. He was always the advocate of a thorough education, and observing the dawning genius of his young neighbor, Archibald Alexander, afterwards so celebrated as a divine, he earnestly exhorted him to proceed to Princeton and to pursue his studies in the college of New Jersey. And I may mention here a fact which has an intimate connection with this institution. It happened that when Washington received the grant of the James River shares from the State of Virginia, Moore was a member of the House of Representatives, and was sent for by the Father of his Country to be consulted about appropriating the shares to the use of some literary institution above the falls of the rivers. Gen. Moore presented the claims of Liberty Hall, and after a consultation with his colleague from the Washington district, the late Gen. Francis Preston, who united with him in urging upon Washington the claims of the Academy, he wrote to the trustees, who presented their case in the able argument already noticed in the sketch of Graham, and received that generous benefaction

¹ Mrs. McCampbell, the sister of Mrs. Moore.—Eds.

which you still enjoy. I may also add that he probably drew your charter, and certainly guarded and guided it in its passage through the Assembly. It was my fortune to see and know this noble patriot in his venerable old age. Rather more than half a century ago, and not long before his death, he visited Norfolk on official business, performing, by the way, the whole journey on horseback; and, young as I then was, I shall never forget the pleasing impression which he made upon me. He was the first human being I ever knew who was born west of the Blue Ridge, and who lived in the mountains; and to my simple inquiries about the mountains and the Indians he made kindly answers that gratified me much. He was cheerful in conversation, and although he was employed during the day with the perplexing details of business, in the evening at the house of my mother he appeared free from care, and with his pleasant address and charming talk gained the regard of us all. He ever enjoyed the cordial and unbounded confidence of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, all of whom survived him several years.

Such was Andrew Moore. Sprung from the Scotch-Irish race, he was ever true to its leading characteristics. His private life was without a blemish. In the flush of youth he participated in the battles fought in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and he saw the flag of Britain lowered on the hills of Saratoga, and the proud and confident hosts of Burgoyne with all their artillery and baggage the reward of the first great victory ever won by the arms of his country—a victory in the winning of which the corps to which he belonged rendered essential service. In the House of Delegates he was the constant friend and earnest advocate of civil and religious liberty, and actively upheld those laws that constitute the base of a Republican system. And in Congress, in both houses of which he held a seat for years, he never uttered a sentence or gave a vote that did not reflect credit upon his head and his heart, and that his descendants may not contemplate with a becoming pride. It is grateful to know that the name of such a man has been illustrated in the persons of his children, and is known and honored in our own times.

COL. SAMUEL McDOWELL.

We come to a particular name in the roll of the incorporated trustees which will ever be held in grateful remembrance in the Valley. Take from the history of this beautiful region the name of McDowell, and its connections with the Greenlees, the Reids, the Moffetts, the Prestons, the Moores, and others of whom I have not time to tell, but which your own memory will supply, what a blank would appear in that catalogue of stars whose light shines upon us so delightfully from every sphere of genius, moral worth, valor, true piety and high statesmanship, and which, we fondly hope, will shine upon our children for generations and ages to come!

The ancestor of the McDowells was Ephraim, who with his wife, both well stricken in years, with his daughter Mrs. Greenlee and her husband, and with his sons James and John, came from Ireland, by the way of Pennsylvania, to Augusta in 1737. They were of the Scotch-Irish race. The venerable parents went down to the grave early and in peace. John, the younger son, married Magdalene Woods, and was a skilful surveyor and man of business; and while engaged under favorable auspices in founding a fortune for his posterity, was slain suddenly by the Indians in 1743, near the junction of the North River with the James, near where the Paxton farm now is. Thus was he cut off, after a brief residence of six years in his new home. He was buried in the cemetery surrounded by a stone wall, which may still be seen near the main road leading from Staunton to this town, and in which a rude contemporaneous head-stone bears the inscription: "Here lies the body of John McDowell, deceased December 1743." He left two sons, Samuel, your trustee, and James; and a daughter Martha, who married Col. George Moffett, another of the worthiest of your trustees. Of James, the younger son of John, I will only say in passing that he married Miss Cloyd, and died in 1770, at the age of thirty-five, leaving three children, one of whom, James, married Sarah Preston, the granddaughter of John Preston, the ancestor of the Prestons, and the daughter of Colonel William Preston, another of your trustees, and whom you will recognize at once as the well known Col. James McDowell, whose dignified person was to be seen at your board at the annual celebrations of forty years, and

whom I can recall in his handsome suit of blue and buff as he entered your hall or sat on your platform nearly half a century ago; and whose memory will ever be fresh not only on account of his long and faithful services as a trustee of the college, but as the father of that eminent and ever to be beloved and lamented christian statesman, the late Gov. James McDowell, whose eloquence, uttered on the floor of Congress, has been likened to that of Fisher Ames when the illustrious orator of the north spoke in defence of the British treaty, and drew tears from the accomplished Winthrop then filling the speaker's chair as it has rarely been filled before or since; who, like his father, was a pupil and a trustee of your institution, and whose memory, as fresh and as perennial as these lovely mountains that look down upon his ashes, has woven one of the brightest chaplets for the brow of his *alma mater*, and for the brow of another, greater still, the common mother of us all.

But our present office is with Samuel, the eldest son of John, who was one of the trustees of 1776, as well as one of those of the incorporated institution. He was born in 1733 in Augusta, studied law, and, like most of his contemporaries of that era, took an active part in the different expeditions against the Indians. He was at the battle of Point Pleasant, where with his comrades he fought bravely. At the mature age of forty-one, after having served a period in the House of Burgesses, and witnessed the parliamentary conflicts that preceded the Revolution, he took his seat in the March convention of 1775, and brought with him to that body in connection with his colleague Thomas Lewis the truly patriotic resolutions drawn by the Rev. Mr. Balmain, and adopted by the freeholders of Augusta on the 22nd of the previous month, which made a decided protest against the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and highly approved the conduct of the first delegates to the Congress. These resolutions, strong and patriotic as they were, very wisely abstained from the introduction of topics which were then deemed premature, and had no direct relation to independence. They took the true ground held in the state papers sent forth by Congress and the House of Burgesses at that immediate period. Indeed, at that session of March, 1775, so far from thinking of independence, the convention adopted a resolution of thanks to Lord Dunmore which I now read: "Resolved,

unanimously, that the most cordial thanks of this colony are a tribute justly due to our worthy governor Lord Dunmore, for his truly wise, noble and spirited conduct on the late expedition against our Indian enemy; a conduct which at once evinces his Excellency's attention to the true interests of this colony, and a zeal in the Executive department, which no dangers can divert, or difficulties hinder, from achieving the most important services to the people who have the happiness to live under his administration."

Colonel McDowell was also a member of the convention of July of the same year, when the troubles were darkening, and when the animated contest occurred on the resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the colony into a posture of defence, and in support of which he uttered his famous exclamation, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Believing the plan of Henry to be more in unison with the demands of the moment than the grander and more costly scheme proposed by Col. Nicholas, he voted for the creation of the first two Virginia regiments and for Henry as commander-in-chief. { On his return home he had a tall poplar tree cut down and skinned, and set up in his yard as a liberty pole—the first visible standard of opposition to the British government ever reared in the Valley. }

In the Convention of December, 1775, he again took his seat, as the senior member of the Augusta delegation. The death of Peyton Randolph, who had presided in the previous conventions, and who had received the special thanks of Augusta, occurred in October, and the first duty of the body was to elect a successor; and when Paul Carrington proposed the name of Col. Pendleton, McDowell cast his vote for that gentleman. A few days after the meeting the battle of the Great Bridge took place, and Col. McDowell was one of those who gave cordial praise to Woodford for his gallant conduct on that occasion. Though Col. McDowell had approved the scheme of Henry in preference to that of Col. Nicholas at the preceding session, he now deemed war as imminent, and voted to raise seven additional battalions, and for the officers who should command them. He also voted for the reappointment of the Committee of Safety, which was charged with the executive duties of the Colony.

But it was in the May Convention of 1776 that Samuel

McDowell had the opportunity of connecting his name with some of the most memorable transactions of the eighteenth century. He and his colleague Thomas Lewis had brought with them from the county committee of Augusta a representation, as it is called on the journals of the Convention, which deserves a notice even in the rapid review which I am compelled to take of the most important events in our annals. It is the first deliberate expression of the policy of establishing an independent State government and a permanent confederation of the States which our parliamentary journals contain ; for, although several counties had expressed a resolution to sustain the Conventions in all measures which should be deemed necessary for the public weal, and had shown a spirit equal to every emergency, none had made so direct and so explicit a representation of the mode of redress which the crisis required. I quote the abstract of the representation which was offered by the Augusta delegates on the 10th of May, 1776, and which is thus rather rudely condensed on the journal of the Convention : "A representation from the Committee of the County of Augusta was presented to the Convention and read : Setting forth the present unhappy situation of the country ; and, from the ministerial measures of revenge now pursuing, representing the necessity of making the confederacy of the united colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages." This memorial was presented five days before the grand committee which had been previously appointed made that report recommending a declaration of independence and the formation of a State government wholly independent of the British Crown. This memorial from Augusta, as read to the House, I have never seen, nor do I believe that it has been seen by any one now living. It may possibly be found in the clerk's office of the present Augusta county, or in the archives of the clerk of the House of Delegates in Richmond, and deserves to be stereotyped as the Magna Charta of the West. It was the fortune of Samuel McDowell to vote in favor of a dissolution of the union with Great Britain, of the Declaration of Rights, and of the first written constitution of a free commonwealth. In all the measures of that

epoch he displayed wisdom and courage, and was most zealous in making preparation for the war then impending.

In October, 1776, he was a member of the first House of Delegates under the constitution and cordially coöperated with Jefferson and George Mason in carrying through the bill abolishing entails, and in regulating religion, and in putting the new State on a republican tack. This was the most important session of the Assembly which had then been held in the colony, and it is proper to say that Samuel McDowell embraced and carried out the broadest views of a Republican system. A single illustration will show that the impolicy of such laws as those which regulated entails and the right of primogeniture was no new thought of his. On the death of his father in 1743, more than the third of a century before the passage of the acts regulating descents and abolishing entails, he became the sole heir of all his lands; but instead of appropriating the whole to his own use, as was then invariably done by common consent, he divided the patrimony equally with his brother and sister. After leaving the Assembly he was employed in the military service; and at the battle of Guilford, where his eldest son John was also present, commanded a regiment from Augusta. During the engagement he showed great gallantry, and had the men under his command behaved with equal spirit, Cornwallis, who was nearly taken as it was, would have given us no more trouble. On that field McDowell beheld the daring valor of the British Colonel Webster, who was the life and soul of the opposing host, and who was destined to end his career on that field; and though we should speak in a subdued tone of a generous enemy, as Webster assuredly was, it is due to the truth of history to say, what has never before been uttered to the public ear, and what I have from the best authority, that, although that officer did not fall by the aim of a Scotch-Irish rifle, he yielded to the ball and eight buckshot of a long ducking gun fired by a Presbyterian elder, the late Col. William Morton, of Charlotte, whose father, little Joe Morton, of pious memory, was the first to receive Samuel Davies on his first visit to Charlotte, then a part of Lunenburg.

At the close of the war Col. Samuel McDowell removed to Kentucky, which, it must be kept in mind, was as much a county of Virginia as the neighboring county of Botetourt now is, where

he was chosen the circuit judge of his district, and served a long term on the bench, dying on the 25th of October, 1817, at the age of 84. At the time of his death it was estimated that he had more than one hundred descendants in Virginia and Kentucky. He married in early life Mary McClung, and a daughter of this marriage married Col. Andrew Reid, one of the heroes of Point Pleasant, and a lifelong patron of your college. And a son of Andrew Reid was that excellent citizen whose name has been so long bound up with that of Lexington far and wide, the late Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, who was for an entire generation the clerk of the court of Rockbridge, as his father had been before him, who was the ornament and dear delight of the social sphere, and who has but lately departed from us in the fulness of years and in the possession of those precious treasures which patriotism and unblemished worth and generous piety lead in their train; nor should I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid, who married Gen. Andrew Moore of whom I have already spoken at length, and who has not many years gone from us; and one of whose sons, having the full name of his great-grandfather Samuel McDowell, I had the honor of acting with in the public counsels of forty odd years ago, but whose full name I shall not mention, because he is living, and is sitting by my side, and seems to wax strong even in the midst of the years. Nor can I pass over a sister of McDowell Reid,¹ who at the age of ninety is still living not far from my own residence in Charlotte, and from whose words I have gathered many things which had otherwise been lost forever, and who presents to our modern eyes something of the image of her venerable ancestor.

GEN. JOHN BOWYER.

But, as the time presses, I must give my likenesses of the venerable founders of your institution on a smaller scale; and I now introduce a name which has been familiar in our councils for more than a hundred years, and which still exists among us. I speak of General John Bowyer. His ancestors emigrated early into Augusta, and were of the Scotch-Irish race, though, like most of

¹ Mrs. McCampbell.—Eds.

that race, they were from an Anglo-Saxon stock, and appear in the secular and religious records of the time. Michael Bowyer was one of the committee that reported the famous memorial of the freeholders of Augusta of February 1775, was a member of the House of Delegates under the new constitution, and ten years later voted for the act concerning Religious Freedom. But our present purpose is with Gen. John Bowyer, your trustee, who was born in Augusta, as Augusta then was, and received a liberal education. In his young days he taught school for a season, but after his marriage devoted his time to agriculture and to public life. In 1775, and subsequently, he was appointed by Presbytery to collect funds and perform other offices connected with the establishment of the Academy, and was one of the trustees of 1776, as also one of those under the incorporated institution.

He was now to enter on a political career that continued with occasional intermissions to the close of the century. In the March convention of 1775, he, with Andrew Lewis for a colleague, represented the county of Botetourt, and in the July and December conventions of the same year he also appeared as a representative from Botetourt, and thus bore a part in all those important measures that led the way to independence, and which I have mentioned already in detail. And in the memorable convention of May 1776, he took his seat with Patrick Lockhart as his colleague, his old associate Andrew Lewis having been appointed brigadier-general by the Congress. I have already intimated that there was a disposition shown by some of the members to recoil from the decisive measure of a declaration of absolute independence of the British Crown; but of this question, as well as of all others brought forward by the leaders of the Revolution, Gen. Bowyer was a consistent and steady supporter. When the first Assembly under the new State constitution met in Williamsburg in October 1776, he again took his seat in the body, and gave a cordial support to Jefferson, Mason, and Wythe, in devising and adopting those measures which a change from a monarchical to a republican system had rendered indispensable. He continued in the Assembly at intervals until the adoption of the Federal constitution of 1788, and cordially supported the bills reported by the revisors. As I have more than once detailed the nature of the bills passed

by the Assembly from the adoption of the State constitution to the close of the century, I will merely say, by way of a schedule of the public life of Gen. Bowyer, that he voted for the celebrated resolutions of Patrick Henry for putting the Colony into a posture of defence, and for organizing the first two Virginia regiments, and for the bill creating seven battalions, for the establishment of the Committee of Safety, for casting off the allegiance of Virginia to the British Crown, for the Declaration of Rights, and for the Establishment of a Commonwealth under a written constitution of its own; for the bill abolishing entails, and for other measures equally important in the organization of a republican government; closing his political career by recording his vote in favor of the resolutions of '98-'99, and for the famous report of '99-1800.

When the federal government went into operation, he acted with the Republican party, and opposed some of the leading measures of the Washington and Adams administrations. After the close of the eighteenth century he did not leave his beautiful home on Thorn Hill for any public employment, so far as I can ascertain, and died at an advanced age.¹ Though married twice, he left no children, and bequeathed his estate to his nephew. Yet, though the direct line of descent was broken, it may be observed as a historical fact, that in every organic State convention of Virginia since his decease the name of Bowyer has been borne by an able and patriotic representative.

THOMAS, ALEXANDER AND ARCHIBALD STUART.

We now come to a name which was borne by three friends and trustees of the Academy; and as they were closely connected by blood and were united in life in their affections to each other and to this college, so I will join them in the same sketch. Stuart is one of the oldest and most exalted names of Scotland; and if it cannot vie in antiquity with that of Douglas, "the dark gray man" of the Scottish legends, it rose higher in the scale of office, and for more centuries than I can tell, furnished kings for the throne, and

¹ He died in 1805.—Eds.

heroes for the field, and dames whose beauty flashed for a season from the throne of France as well as of Scotland, and dazzled every beholder, and impelled brave men and wise women to deeds which sicken and sadden our hearts to this hour.

The first of the race in Scotland was, as the name implies, a steward, a master of the household of the sovereign, an office which your Academy had in its earliest days and which my own grandfather filled ; and so faithfully did the Scotch steward perform his duty, that his descendants occupied that throne before which the ancestors had bent the knee ; and as he was a faithful steward so we may say that those who have borne his name in this lovely Valley have not forgotten the virtues of their distant progenitor, but have ever approved themselves most competent and faithful stewards of the interests which the people have committed to their charge. The Stuarts, not the men that our British ancestors expelled from the British throne, but your trustees of whom I have to give an account, are Thomas and Alexander Stuart, and Archibald, the son of Alexander. Thomas and Alexander were the sons of Archibald Stuart, who was of Scotch-Irish extraction, but was born in the north of Ireland, and when of age became concerned with one of the Irish *émeutes* of the earlier part of the eighteenth century. Compelled to leave Ireland, he came to Pennsylvania, where he remained seven years ; but having been relieved by a general act of amnesty, he sent over for his family, and in 1738 removed with them to the present county of Augusta. His wife was Janet Brown, a sister of the Rev. John Brown, the second Rector of the Academy. He was an industrious and successful farmer, and left to each of his children, as appears by his will on record in the clerk's office of Augusta, a competent estate ; having died in 1759. Of the three sons whom he left behind him, Benjamin, Thomas and Alexander, were descended many of those who have so long borne the name in Eastern as well as in Western Virginia. Thomas, whose name precedes the others on the roll of trustees, was born in Pennsylvania about 1732, and coming to Virginia with his father engaged in farming, and spent a useful and pious life, leaving a large family of sons and daughters, one of the latter of whom became the wife of the Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner, who was

the sixth Rector of the college, and whose learning and abilities were so much admired by his contemporaries.¹

210 - Major Alexander Stuart, the second of your trustees of the name, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1735, and at the age of four accompanied his father to Virginia. It is probable that he was a pupil of the Academy under Brown or Graham. When the war of the Revolution began, he entered warmly into the military service, and was a major of a regiment of Rockbridge and Augusta men at the battle of Guilford, and from some accident to the colonel led his men into the battle. During the engagement, in which he behaved with great gallantry, as I know on the authority of the late Gen. Blackburn who was present on the field, he received several wounds, had his horse killed under him, and fell to the ground. While thus prostrated and unable to extricate himself, he was made a prisoner, and was conveyed to one of the prison-ships lying off the coast of North Carolina, where he was confined for six months. He endured great hardships during his imprisonment, but was at length exchanged. He was a man of gigantic stature, and of extraordinary strength; and his sword, a most unsightly and ponderous weapon which common men would wield with difficulty, is still preserved, with the pistols which he used at Guilford, among the heirlooms of his descendants.

After the close of the war he lived quietly on his estate, ever attending punctually to the duties assigned him in relation to the Academy, and died in a good old age, beloved and respected by all; leaving four sons and several daughters. These sons were Judge Archibald Stuart of Augusta, ~~Judge Alexander Stuart of~~ Missouri, Robert Stuart of Rockbridge, and James Stuart whose descendants live in Mississippi. Before I speak of Judge Archibald, your trustee, I pause for a moment, under the impulse of a patriotic feeling which I am sure will not be censured here, on the name of the second son Judge Alexander Stuart. This gentleman was the father of the late Archibald Stuart of Patrick, who was in Congress from the district of that name, who was long a member of the General Assembly, and was a member of the Virginia Convention of 1829-'30. I was with him in public life forty odd

¹ Mrs. Ruffner was the grand-daughter, not the daughter, of Thomas Stuart. Her father was Captain William Lyle.—W. H. R.

years ago, and recall with interest his stalwart form, his manly bearing, and the fearlessness with which he expressed his opinions in debate. And he has another claim to our recollection—a claim that will never be forgotten—as the father of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart, who has a brilliant place in the history of that great contest which has recently closed—the grandest in the history of the race to which we belong, and which will be studied by posterity with feelings of admiration mixed with the tenderest emotion. And it may be stated at this literary celebration, as a coincidence in the ancestral relations of two of the gallant generals of the Southern Confederacy, that, as the ancestor of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston gave to the college of Hampden Sidney the land on which it was built, so the ancestor of Gen. James Ewell Brown Stuart bestowed upon your institution the ground which it occupied on its transfer to its present site, and of which Dr. Campbell has left so graphic a description.

But of the Stuarts on your roll the name of Judge Archibald Stuart holds the foremost rank. Your college was his *alma mater*; and as he grew in years and renown you called him to her side. Though thirty-eight years have passed since his death, there are some now present who can remember his dignified presence at your annual commemorations. He was, as before observed, the eldest son of Maj. Alexander Stuart and of Mary Patterson of Augusta, and was born about nine miles southeast of Staunton on the 19th day of March, 1757. His boyhood was spent in Augusta, but his father having removed to the neighborhood of Brownsburg in Rockbridge, Archibald became a resident of this county, and was one of the pupils of the Academy before it had assumed the name of Liberty Hall. In the fall of 1776 he became a student of William and Mary College, and was during a part of his college course an inmate of the family of Bishop Madison. In connection with the late Chief Justice Marshall, the late Judge Spencer Roane, the late Bushrod Washington, with Samuel Hardy, who died abroad suddenly in the public service and whose name Virginia has given to one of her counties, with John Nivison, and others who became eminent in the field and in the council, he aided in forming the Phi Beta Kappa Society, which gave a branch to Harvard, which still flourishes in other northern colleges, and which, though for

more than half a century extinct in the seat of its birth, has been reorganized in its early home. When lower Virginia was overrun by the enemy, and the college exercises were suspended, young Stuart was the president of the Society, and as such was entrusted with the seal of the institution. Having been forced to leave Williamsburg, he went to North Carolina, and joined the army a short time before the battle of Guilford, and under the command of his father was present in that engagement. During the battle he had the seal of the Phi Beta Kappa in his possession; and, as the Society became extinct in the college, he retained it during his life; and it was not until many years after his death that it was found in a secret drawer of an old escritoire, and was then restored by his son the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart to the Society, which, after a lapse of seventy-five years, had been revived in that college.

After leaving the army young Stuart pursued the study of the law with Mr. Jefferson, and, having obtained his license, settled first in Rockbridge. In the Spring of 1783 he was a candidate for the House of Delegates, and lost his election by thirteen votes; but visiting Botetourt on business two or three days after his defeat, the citizens of that county insisted on his being a candidate on the ensuing Monday, and elected him one of the members of the county. He took his seat in the House of Delegates in 1783, and was returned in 1784 and 1785 from Botetourt, when he removed to Augusta, which was his abode for the rest of his life.

The years which he spent in the House of Delegates were those in which, as we have stated more than once already, the test questions of a political system were to be discussed and decided. Mr. Jefferson, on leaving the State for the French mission, committed the revised bills which he had reported from the committee of revisors to the charge of Mr. Madison, and that gentleman was their coryphæus on the floor. There was an able and active opposition, especially on the subjects of religious assessments and religious freedom. Indeed, of all the acts reported by Mr. Jefferson, hardly excepting the statute of descents, the act concerning religious freedom was the most important. And after a tedious postponement its fate was to be decided at the session of 1785. Mr. Madison put forth all his powers in its support; and although not a word of the debate which took place on the 17th day of December

has come down to us, there is a recollection of an uncommonly tall young man with long dark hair and dark eyes, who wrestled manfully with the opponents of the bill, and sustained Mr. Madison through that perilous day. That young man was Archibald Stuart. The bill passed the House of Delegates by a vote of 74 to 20, and among its friends were three trustees of Washington College—Andrew Moore, Zachariah Johnston, and Archibald Stuart, all having been pupils as well as trustees of the institution. He represented the county of Augusta in the House of Delegates in 1786 and 1787, during which were passed the memorable resolutions convoking the meeting at Annapolis, and afterwards the convention in Philadelphia, which framed the Federal Constitution.

Having by his vote on these resolutions laid the corner-stone of the new federal system, he beheld with absorbing interest the progress of the superstructure; and when the new plan, which seemed so beautiful to the eye, with its checks and balances, was published to the world under the auspices of Washington, he resolved to enter the convention which Virginia had summoned to decide its fate. He was accordingly returned to the convention of 1788 by the county of Augusta, and voted in that body in favor of the constitution. A single fact will show the zeal which he displayed in securing the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Learning only a day before the election that the candidates for the convention in Botetourt would be chosen without an explicit pledge to vote for the ratification of the constitution, he mounted his horse and rode night and day, a distance of seventy-five miles, until he reached the court-house of that county. The poll was already opened, but he sought an intermission of the voting until he could address the people on the impolicy of sending uncommitted delegates to the convention; and such was the effect of the speech that the voters exacted from the candidates a pledge to sustain the constitution, which they faithfully redeemed.

On his return from the convention, he withdrew from public employments, and devoted his energies to the practice of the law, in which he was uncommonly successful. He watched, however, with intense solicitude the workings of the new Federal Constitution to which he was so much attached; and in the interpretation of its

powers coincided with the views of Mr. Madison, with whom during his term of service in the Assembly and in the Federal convention he had formed an intimate and affectionate friendship. Accordingly, in 1797, when it was seen that the battle for supremacy must be transferred from Congress to the legislatures of the States, he was chosen by the republican party to a seat in the Senate of Virginia; and in 1798-99 gave a cordial support to the resolutions of John Taylor of Caroline, which are now known to have been from the pen of Madison; but he did not vote upon the celebrated report drawn by Madison and adopted by the Assembly in the following year, as he had been elected in the interval a judge of the General Court.

On the bench of that court he sat for nearly the third of a century, and performed the duties of the office with ability and integrity and to the general acceptance of the people. It was the frequently expressed opinion of the late Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, who was himself distinguished at the bar, in the Senate, and on the bench, and whose manly form and genial spirit I recall as I visit this region of our State of which he was so long the bulwark and the dear delight, that "the judgment of Judge Stuart was but little if at all inferior to that of Chief Justice Marshall; and that if he had been placed in a position to require the constant exercise of all his faculties, he would have been one of the most eminent judges of his time."

It may be observed that, as Albemarle was one of the counties of Judge Stuart's judicial district, he often spent a night at Monticello with Mr. Jefferson, whose revised bills he had so earnestly defended on the floor of the House of Delegates, and whose administration he had so ably upheld. Their relations were intimate and confidential; and the form of a constitution for Virginia which Mr. Jefferson communicated to the Judge is still preserved among his papers. He was the Madison elector in 1808 and in 1812; the Monroe elector in 1816 and in 1820; the Crawford elector in 1824; and the Adams elector in 1828. When the judicial circuits were reorganized in 1831, he declined a reelection to his seat on the bench, and on the 11th of July of the following year this excellent man passed away.

In the intervals of his busy and arduous career he cultivated a

taste for literature and science. To him Mr. Wirt is indebted for some exceedingly graphic sketches of Patrick Henry and his contemporaries, with whom he had lived in intimate connection ; and it was from his reputation for mathematical science that the Assembly appointed him a commissioner with Gen. Martin and Chancellor Taylor to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky, and that in early life the mathematical chair in the College of William and Mary was offered for his acceptance. And I have always understood that he was one of those brilliant writers whose articles gave to the first volumes of the *Richmond Enquirer*, published in the earlier part of the present century, a reputation previously unknown in the annals of American journalism.

He never entirely relinquished the dress which was popular among gentlemen in the early days of the republic, and especially among those who were in the public councils, and from whom was exacted a stricter attention to the toilet than from the worthy burgesses of our own times. His hair was usually combed back from his forehead and ended in a queue. Until a short time before his death he wore breeches that buckled at the knee, and fair topped boots. In his latter days, his once dark hair had become white, and his appearance was commanding and venerable. In the general aspect of his person he is said to have had a strong resemblance to General Jackson, but was on a much larger scale. It was only in his old age that I saw and knew personally this estimable man. His appearance made a deep impression upon me, and his conversation was most engaging ; and as you listened to his clear and instructive talk, and especially as you rose to take leave of him, the feeling of respect and veneration which he inspired was softened by the reflection, that he was one of the few survivors of those great men who laid the foundations of our institutions, and gave them their form and presence, and nearly all of whom had gone before him, and that he could abide but a short time longer with us. And this fear was soon realized, as before the lapse of two years he departed from us. He married, in 1791, Miss Eleanor Baldwin, a daughter of Col. Gerard Briscoe of Frederick county, Virginia, formerly of Montgomery county, Maryland. Her two sisters married Dr. Cornelius Baldwin and

Judge Hugh Holmes—names well known to our State in literature and in law.

THOMAS AND ANDREW LEWIS.

And now, Mr. President, pausing for a moment at the name of the Rev. Charles Cummings, who was of the Scotch-Irish Pennsylvania stock, and who preached on the North Mountain, at Hebron, and at Bethel, and of William Irwin, of the same Pennsylvania stock, where his name still abides with honor, we come to the names of two brothers, who were prominent in their own day and generation in the East as well as in the West, and whose memory deserves to be held in lasting remembrance. What a crowd of recollections come upon us at the mention of the names of Thomas Lewis and his brother Andrew! They too were of the Scotch-Irish stock, at least on the maternal side, and came to the Valley by the way of Pennsylvania. They were sons of John Lewis, whose ancestor fled from France during the religious persecutions of the Protestants which culminated in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, and, it is believed, some time before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and settled first in Wales, and then in Ireland where John was born, and grew to manhood, and was the head of an interesting and prosperous family, when the rapacity and violence of his landlord forced him in self-defence to do a deed which drove him from his home, first to Oporto, and thence to Pennsylvania, and thence in the summer of 1732 to Virginia, bringing with him his wife and children. Thomas, who was born in the country of Dublin on the 27th of April 1718, and was the oldest son, was then fourteen years old. Let me say that the whole country west of the Blue Ridge on the arrival of John Lewis was then called Orange, and that it was not till 1745 that Augusta was set apart as a county. When that event occurred, John Lewis was one of the magistrates that arranged the county, and John Madison, the father of Bishop Madison and the uncle of the president, was the first clerk, and Thomas Lewis, your trustee, who was then twenty-seven years old, was appointed to the office of the first surveyor, then and long subsequently the highroad to wealth and distinction. We have no means of knowing his early

opportunities of acquiring knowledge ; but it is probable that he received a good elementary education in Ireland, and that his father obtained in his forest home the services of some redemptioner who drilled his children in the languages and mathematics ; for it is an indubitable fact, that Thomas Lewis was not only well skilled in the sciences but was a good belles-lettres scholar. It so happens that I can take you into his library and read over the titles of some of his books to you. On one shelf was Clarendon, and Bishop Burnet's history of the Reformation of his own times, and Baker's Chronicle, and the volumes of Rushworth, which our revolutionary fathers were wont to search for precedents in their early warfare with the pen ; and on another were Tillotson and Barrow and South, and the Bayle Lecture ; and on yet another were Milton and Dryden and Shakspeare, and the early dramatists, and the novels of Fielding and Smollett, which Lewis read, as we read the novels of Scott and Cooper, as they appeared from time to time. And I will tell you further, if you will promise not to mention it, that after the death of Colonel Lewis, his excellent wife—who was a strict member of the Episcopal church to her dying day, and who survived her husband thirty years—having the good of her grandchildren in view, quietly took down from the shelf Tom Jones and Roderic Random and put them into the fire. This was the best collection of the English classics which had then been made west of the Blue Ridge.

But it is as a public man that we must present Thomas Lewis before you. He early entered the House of Burgesses, and voted for Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and for the separation of the office of Treasurer from that of Speaker, two of the test questions of that age ; and he was a member of the Convention of 1775, when Henry's resolutions for arming the militia were adopted, and of the Convention of 1776, in which he presented a petition from the people of Augusta "representing the necessity of making the Confederacy of the United Colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting ; and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages"—the first petition for absolute independence and for a permanent confederation of the colonies as States, presented to the Convention or to any other public body of that era. I call your attention to

.

this remarkable paper, not only for its political significancy, but because it was drawn and signed by the people of Rockbridge as well as of the present Augusta; for it was all Augusta then. In the Convention of 1776, Thomas Lewis was placed on the ever memorable committee which reported the declaration of independence of the 15th day of May, and on the committee which drew the Declaration of Rights and the first constitution of an independent state ever recorded in the annals of nations. Throughout the war of the Revolution he remained in the civil service, and conducted the affairs of the county with diligence and skill. In 1788 he was chosen a member of the Convention which ratified the present Federal Constitution, and voted in favor of the adoption of that instrument by the body for the reasons which I will detail in another place. This was the last public act which he performed; for in the space of eighteen months after the adjournment of the body, at the age of 72, on the 31st of October 1790, this good man passed away. He died at his home on the Shenandoah three miles from Port Republic, where his remains now repose.

He was a fine specimen of the physical man. I can almost imagine that I see him before me. His height was six feet, his frame large and sinewy, without a pound of useless flesh. His form was erect even in old age, and his walk was grave and stately. In early youth his hair was jet black; his eyes were also black, but throughout life he was so short-sighted as to require glasses, and he was thus prevented from taking that active part in the field which forms the principal characteristic of his gallant brothers. He was a model in all the domestic relations. The head of a family of thirteen children, whom he lived to see attain to maturity, he not only gave them the privileges of a liberal education but inculcated upon them by word and example the strictest principles of morality and religion. He was attached to the Episcopal Church, and in drawing his will, when he pointed out the place of his grave, he requested that the beautiful burial service of that church to be read over his coffin.

You are fortunate in having such a name on the roll of your trustees. If any one should inquire of a son of Washington College who Thomas Lewis was, let him answer that he was an

accomplished gentleman, an elegant scholar, a true patriot, and a liberal christian; that his single vote in the House of Burgesses carried triumphantly through the fiercest resolution of Henry against the Stamp Act; that he was a member of that illustrious committee which reported Virginia's Declaration of Independence of the 15th of May 1776; that he aided in drawing the Virginia Declaration of Rights; and that he was a member of the committee which reported the first plan of government of an independent state recorded in human history.

ANDREW LEWIS.

But Andrew Lewis, the next name on your roll of trustees, won in his own day a reputation that eclipsed, at least in the eye of the multitude, the quiet intellectual fame of his elder brother Thomas. As he was the third son of the patriarch John Lewis, he was probably born about 1722, in Ulster, Ireland, and was doubtless well grounded in the elements of knowledge before he left the old country, and completed his course in Augusta in association with Thomas. At all events he was well instructed, and such was his standing that in 1775, when with Col. John Bowyer, another of your trustees, he took his seat in the convention of that year as a member from Botetourt, he was placed on the most important committees of the body. His military talents soon became conspicuous. He volunteered in the expedition to take possession of the Ohio region in 1754; was with Washington at Fort Necessity; commanded a company at Braddock's defeat;¹ commanded the Sandy Creek expedition in 1756; was made prisoner in the unfortunate enterprise under the British Major Grant against Duquesne, but was released when the French abandoned that post,² and vindicated on the spot the good name of the Virginia soldiers from the expressions of the British major. In 1768 he was a commissioner on the part of Virginia to conclude a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, New York, and in

¹ The Dinwiddie papers show that General Lewis was not at Braddock's defeat, but was on other duty. Capt. Peter Hogg probably commanded the company from Augusta. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta*, p. 64.—Eds.

² See *American Cyclopaedia*, article Lewis.

1774 he commanded the forces at Point Pleasant, and gained a victory which thenceforth freed our soil from the regular incursions of the savages. The effect of the battle of Point Pleasant has not been fully portrayed in our history, nor have I time to dwell upon it at present. The confluence of the Kanawha and the Ohio afforded the best point for the concentration of the Indians from the extreme South, and from the extreme North—from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was computed by a British writer, the year of the battle, that the number of Indian warriors within that vast territory could not fall short of one hundred thousand, and it was believed by prudent statesmen that England and France and Spain had each distinctive reasons for uniting the savages against the Colonists during the war of the Revolution; and it is not improbable that, but for the decisive battle of Point Pleasant, innumerable hosts of Indians would have poured down from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge, and that the battles of that era would have been fought in the shadow of the mountains. That battle, decided by the genius of Andrew Lewis, was conclusive; and it may be a subject of just pride to Washington College, that not only the commanding general on that occasion, but several of the principal officers also, were her early trustees—among them, the modest and able Fleming, who received a wound from which he never fully recovered, and Col. William McKee; and that another of the trustees, Col. Christian, who would have been commander-in-chief if he had arrived earlier, came to the field of battle at its close with reinforcements.¹

When the war of the Revolution began, Andrew Lewis was in the civil service of Virginia. As before observed, he was a member of the Convention in 1775, but when the military arrangements were made, he was called into the field. He received the appointment of brigadier-general from Congress, and commanded the forces that drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island, pointing with his own hand the piece that was first discharged against the British encampment. It was the eager wish of Washington that Lewis should have received the appointment of major-general instead of the officer who was appointed to that station, and he wrote most

¹ Capt. John Lewis was also there.—Eds.

earnestly to him to waive for the present the question of rank. But Lewis was of too lofty a spirit to overlook so manifest a slight, and in 1777 he resigned his appointment. He was then engaged in the civil service of the state, and in 1780, in returning from a visit to the seaboard, with a constitution impaired by exposure, he was taken ill and died before reaching his home, in his 58th year.

It was observed of the Virginians who composed the Congressional delegation of 1774, that they were fine specimens of the human form. Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, who looked like a representative of the old French noblesse; Harrison, whose grand figure seemed more fitted for the field than the council; Pendleton, whose tall and elegant person and graceful deportment, which were so conspicuous in the chair of a deliberative assembly,—were men of imposing stature; but it is doubtful whether any one of them approached the standard of Andrew Lewis. “He was,” says Col. John Stuart, who married one of his sisters, and who knew him intimately, “upwards of six feet high, of uncommon strength and agility, and his form was of the most perfect symmetry. He had a stern and invincible countenance, and was of a reserved and distant deportment which rendered his presence more awful than engaging. It was observed by the Governor of New York, at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, that the earth seemed to tremble under him, as he walked along. His independent spirit despised all sycophantic means of gaining popularity, which never rendered more than his merits exacted.”

Should posterity, as they behold his stalwart statue on the Washington monument in Richmond, where he is to be seen in a hunting shirt and with a rifle in his hand, as a representative of Colonial Virginia—for this great man did not live to read the Treaty of Paris, in which Great Britain acknowledged the independence of his country—infer that he was the mere warrior, a Daniel Boone on a large scale, they will do great injustice to a character that only required a wider sphere to exhibit the heroism and the brilliant hardihood of antiquity. He held in the West the same elevated position as a soldier and a leader as Washington held in the East, and on him the eyes of the people were turned at every conjuncture. Before our recent troubles there was a scheme to rear a monument over his unmarked grave near Salem, in the

present county of Roanoke, then Botetourt, and I sincerely trust that it will be renewed and accomplished. And it should then happen that the history of Andrew Lewis, which is now only to be found in meagre and scattered details, be permanently recorded in a form acceptable to the people.

Such was Andrew Lewis—the companion of Washington in all his Indian campaigns, the hero of the most conspicuous Indian battle ever fought on our soil, and the man that Washington is reported to have said should have taken his place as the commander-in-chief of the armies of America.

SAMUEL LYLE.

Samuel Lyle was also a trustee of 1776, and a trustee of the incorporated institution. His immediate ancestor came from the North of Ireland and settled in Augusta between 1730 and 1740, and was a member of the Presbyterian church. Like the Lewises, the Lyles came from France to England prior to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The name is wholly French, and was originally written with an apostrophe between the article and the noun that compose the word. It is not unworthy of note, as an element in the formation of national character, that the Lewises, so conspicuous for valor and statesmanship, and that the Lyles and the Lacys, so eminent in the pulpit and in the school—the last of whom are inserted on the roll of Battle Abbey, and all of them the early and steady trustees and friends of your institution—should inherit the blood of the Latin race, and be able to trace their ancestral abodes to the land of the fig and the vine. On the list of names appended to the call of the Rev. Dr. Brown in 1753, your second rector, which is the Battle Abbey roll of Rockbridge, there are four Lyles, and among them is Samuel your trustee. He showed an intelligent zeal in promoting the welfare of the Academy in its earliest stages; for he was not only a trustee but its treasurer; and even in his old age he might have been seen driving up this hill swathed in flannel and in large warm overshoes, being quite infirm and crippled with rheumatism, and bearing the purse of your institution in his hand. He married Miss McClung, and a daughter of his married the Rev. Matthew Lyle. He was noted for his piety, and was for many years an elder in the church.

WILLIAM IRWIN.

He was a member of the Scotch-Irish family. His ancestors were from Pennsylvania, and settled in Rockbridge as Rockbridge now is. He was called to the congregations of Rockfish and Mountain Plains in 1772, and in that position he spent his entire ministerial life. He withdrew from the active labors of the pulpit in his latter years. It was in a case before Hanover Presbytery in which Mr. Irwin was concerned, that Dr. Waddell delivered in his defence a speech which is referred to in our own times as an extraordinary effort of parliamentary eloquence.

CHARLES CAMPBELL.

Among the Presbyterian trustees of 1776, and also the chartered trustees, was the venerable Charles Campbell. He was the son of Charles Campbell whose remote progenitor was Duncan Campbell. This Duncan, who never left Scotland, had three sons, Dougald, Robert and John, who removed to Ireland in 1700, and settled in Coleraine in the county Derry. Most of the descendants of these three brothers, between 1730 and '40, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and thence came to Augusta as Augusta then was. The descendants of Dougald are said to have settled in what is now Rockbridge; and three brothers, sons of Robert, namely, Hugh, John and Charles, settled in Augusta proper. Charles Campbell, your trustee, the son of Charles, was born in Rockbridge in 1741, married Mary Ann Downey, and both husband and wife lived to an advanced age, she dying in 1824, aged 82, and he in 1826, aged 85. Charles Campbell did not actively embark in political affairs, but commanded a company at the siege of York; and he delighted in old age to recount the details of the siege. He was noted for his piety, was fond of books, encouraged literary institutions, and trained his numerous sons and daughters in sound learning. One of his sons, Dr. Samuel L. Campbell, who was a pupil of the Academy, a trustee, and for a short period its rector, was a good scholar, and a correct and graceful writer; and we owe to his pen not only a graphic account of the infant academy and of its early pupils, but a valuable historical memoir of the battle of

Point Pleasant. Charles Campbell, your trustee, who lived as late as 1826, is well remembered by many now living. He was about the middle size; and in his old age, as he sat as an elder in the New Providence church on the left of the pulpit, with his white hair flowing, decrepit with years, but firm in faith and zealous for the glory of God, he was a striking figure. He was long a magistrate, and did not hesitate to use the whole rigor of the law in repressing violations of the Sabbath. At your annual celebrations the good old man drove from his residence twelve miles distant to this hill in his carriage drawn by two rather old white horses, who rejoiced in the names of Grey and Goody, and listened with rapt attention to all the exercises of the day. He left numerous descendants, among whom is my valued friend Charles Campbell, who truly represents the literary zeal and the sterling integrity of his ancestor.¹

JOHN AND SAMUEL HOUSTON.

The name of Houston has been intimately connected with the Academy and the College from the beginning to the present day. It was Samuel Houston and Alexander Stuart that bestowed upon it forty acres of land each, for its site at Timber Ridge. John Houston, a trustee of 1776 and also of the incorporated body from 1784 to 1791, was of Scotch-Irish origin, and was one of the early settlers of Augusta. He cultivated his plantation on Hays's Creek, and lived a life of industry and piety.² It has been said that the true life of an ancestor is seen in his descendants; and if this be true, John Houston was fortunate. His attachment to the seminary was shared by his son Samuel, who was one of its pupils and for more than a third of a century one of the most influential trustees of the Academy and the College. Few men have left upon society a more pleasing impression than Samuel Houston. Soon after reaching manhood, he shouldered his musket and marched on foot from this town to Guilford Court House, and in the battle in that vicinity fired his rifle fourteen times. At the close of the

¹ Charles Campbell was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1808-10, and a member of the Virginia House of Delegates 1788-9.—Eds.

² He was High Sheriff of Rockbridge 1786-'88.—Eds.

war, he entered the ministry of the Presbyterian church, and was settled in the High Bridge and Falling Spring congregations, in one or other of which he remained as long as strength allowed him to perform the duties of a pastor. In later life he was in appearance the model of a christian teacher and gentleman. He died in 1839, at the age of 81. *Buried at High Bridge*

Buried in Bath

SAMPSON MATHEWS. *Rev. &c*

Among the trustees of 1776 is the name of Sampson Mathews. It is remarkable that for more than two hundred years the name of Mathews has held a prominent position in every great crisis of our history. During the protectorate of Cromwell one of our best colonial governors, and one of our thriftiest tobacco planters, was Capt. Samuel Mathews, who was said to have "kept a good house, lived bravely, and to be a true lover of Virginia." And during the Revolution of 1776, Col. Thomas Mathews not only held a respectable military command in the field, and was a major in the artillery regiment of practice commanded by Col. Thomas Marshall under the training of M. Loyauté, but was the speaker of the House of Delegates for many years; and so acceptable were his services in war and peace, that the General Assembly named a beautiful country overlooking the blue waters of the Chesapeake in his honor. But those of the name most conspicuous in the Valley at the birth of your institution were George and Sampson Mathews. Their ancestors were among the early settlers of Augusta, and were of the Presbyterian family. As they were not connected with the blood of the good old governor, or with that of Col. Thomas Mathews who had come over from St. Kitt's not many years before the Revolution, they probably came from Ireland and were of the Scotch-Irish race, but I cannot speak positively on the subject, as nothing exists in print bearing upon it, and I failed to obtain any family traditions. Of Gen. George Mathews I will only say in passing, that he was probably a pupil of the Academy under Alexander or Brown, that he fought bravely at Point Pleasant, at Brandywine, Germantown, and Guilford Court House; that he removed from Augusta to Georgia, where he was elected governor of that state and a senator of the United States, and through-

out whose whole course the moral and religious training of the Valley was ever to be seen.¹ But the sphere of Sampson Mathews, your trustee, was confined to Virginia. He too was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the infant academy, and mingled freely in politics. His name has become honorably connected with the Revolutionary era, not only from his active military and civic labors, but from the fact that he was one of the committee which reported to the freeholders of Augusta the patriotic resolutions of February 1775, of which I have spoken more than once. In 1778 he was elected to the Senate of Virginia by the Augusta district, and devoted his abilities to the performance of those difficult and delicate and most painful duties which devolved upon the Assembly before the victory of Yorktown had cheered the hearts and brightened the hopes of our people. As he was a pupil of the Academy in its leading stage, so he was an active friend of the institution in its more expanded state, and was chosen by the Presbytery one of its trustees. On withdrawing from the public councils he spent a quiet life on his estate, though of his latter days I have no specific information.² And I may mention by the way, that a descendant of his³ was a member of the House of Delegates in 1798-99, and 1799-1800, and that he voted, in company with George Keith Taylor, Gen. Blackburn, and Miller and Breckenridge and others whose names we cherish with a grateful pride untainted by political difference, against the resolutions of Col. John Taylor and the report of Mr. Madison.

COL. WILLIAM MCKEE.

Col. William McKee was another of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, was born in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy under Brown, and became Sheriff of Rockbridge when a sheriffalty was the turn-

¹ Governor Mathews was never a senator. He was a member of the House in the first Congress.—Eds.

² He was the first High Sheriff of Bath county.—Eds.

³ Sampson Mathews, Jr., an alumnus of Liberty Hall, who with Gen. Blackburn represented Bath in the House of Delegates. Sampson Mathews, Sr., was the ancestor of Prof. A. L. Nelson of Washington and Lee University.—Eds.

pike that led to fortune. But though he accumulated a handsome property he never for a moment forgot the claims of his country. He marched with Col. Andrew Lewis, who engaged the services of Capt. Arbuckle, whom I well remember in his venerable old age, as a guide through the unbroken forests and dreary mountains, to Point Pleasant, and shared in the laurels of that glorious fight.¹ He entered the House of Delegates from Rockbridge, and was the colleague of Gen. Andrew Moore in the Virginia Convention of 1788, when he united with that gentleman in voting for the ratification of the Federal Constitution in opposition to the positive instructions of his constituents, who subsequently approved the act. I think I have said before that the votes of Thomas Lewis, William Fleming, Archibald Stuart, Zachariah Johnston, Andrew Moore, and William McKee, all of whom were your trustees and four of them pupils of the Academy, secured the ratification of the Federal Constitution by Virginia. Without their votes that instrument would have been rejected by the state. When, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the great hegira to Kentucky, which had begun some years before, was quickened and stimulated, and thousands bent their way to "the bloody ground," Col. McKee united with many of his neighbors and removed to the promised land. And there he spent his latter days. I have been told by one who saw him that he was a man of middle size, that he lived on Kerr's Creek,² and that he had a very long nose and a sharp chin, which might well become a keen Indian fighter who, having flogged the Indians in his youth, was ready to encounter the risks of Kentucky savages in his old age. He was a successful financier, and an able friend of the Federal Constitution.³

¹ Although a mere youth, he was in Washington's battalion at Braddock's defeat.—Eds.

² He lived three miles west of Lexington, on the farm afterwards owned by Dr. Baxter, President of Washington College.—Eds.

³ Colonel McKee died in Garrard county, Kentucky, in 1816, in the 84th year of his age. His son Col. Samuel McKee, an alumnus of Liberty Hall, represented Kentucky in the United States Congress 1809-17, and was also United States District Judge. His son Col. William R. McKee fell at the head of his regiment at Buena Vista; and his son Lieutenant Hugh W. McKee of the United States Navy was killed in a fight with the Coreans in 1871.—Eds.

COL. GEORGE MOFFETT.

Col. George Moffett was also one of the trustees of 1776 and of the incorporated institution, and well may his descendants cherish the merits of such an ancestor. He was the son of John Moffett, who came over from Ireland in 1730 and settled in Augusta near the Stone Church, and Mary Christian. He left four sons, Robert, John, George, and William, and one daughter, Mrs. Estill. He died while on a short visit to North Carolina, and was there buried. Our present office is confined to the third son George, who was born on his father's farm in Augusta in 1735, was probably taught by Mr. Alexander, the first rector of the Academy, and having laid the foundations of a good education, early embarked in active life. His first employment was that of Deputy Sheriff of Augusta. After his marriage with a sister of Col. Samuel McDowell, he engaged in agriculture, and being pious from his youth became a member of the Presbyterian church, and was actively engaged in missions of benevolence and piety. He is said to have been a man of fine personal presence. He took up his residence on Middle River, where he resided until his death in 1811. In 1760 he received an appointment which enabled him to render valuable service to his county. He was chosen captain of a military company, whose duty it was to protect the settlement against the Indians and recover from them their prisoners and stolen effects. In the discharge of these duties, which extended through a number of years, he had some severe fights, the bloodiest of which took place on the Falling Spring farm in Alleghany county. In 1774 he was at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was a true patriot, and engaged actively in the war of the Revolution. He accompanied his brother-in-law Col. McDowell, when that officer led the Augusta troops to the South, and fought gallantly at the battle of Guilford. But it was in his character as the chief of a band of active young men defending the county from the frequent incursions of the Indians that he gained his great distinction as a soldier. Forty years ago, as the traveller wandered through the county of Augusta, he soon found that one of the most popular themes of the aged people was the exploits of Col. Moffett, and especially his rescue from the possession of the Indians of his own

sister, Mrs. Estill, the mother of the late Judge Estill, and of others who had been captured at the same time. He overtook the Indians in a dense forest near the present Beverly, W. Va. There was another trait in the character of this good man worthy of notice. He was truly conscientious, and having some doubts on the subject of holding slaves as property, he emancipated his own. It is said that the experiment was not favorable to the blacks, and that he was afterwards inclined to approve the views held by his kinsman, Gen. Moore, who in the Assembly opposed the policy of emancipation as injurious to the liberated slaves themselves, so long as a general status of slavery existed in the commonwealth. He was always a pious man. In the incipient stages of the Academy he was appointed by the Presbytery to various offices which he fulfilled most scrupulously; and he was a member of that religious community; but, entertaining some scruples on certain points of doctrine, he withdrew from it; but at a later period, on mature reflection, he returned to the fold of his ancestors. He is described as being of commanding presence, of bland and genial manners, of pleasing address, and of great personal popularity.

He died in 1811, in his 76th year, universally esteemed, and left four sons, John, James, Samuel, and William, and four daughters, Mrs. Gen. McDowell who died in Kentucky, Mrs. Dr. James McDowell of North Carolina, Mrs. Kirk of Kentucky, and Mrs. Jas. Cochran of Augusta county. He was buried at Mount Pleasant, his residence.

MAJOR JOHN HAYS.

John Hays, one of your incorporated trustees of 1782, was a descendant of one of the men whose name is written on the Brown roll of 1753, and in early manhood was actively employed in defending the frontiers of Augusta. On the first outbreak of hostilities in 1776, he was appointed a captain, and, at the head of a company of young men recruited within the present limits of Rockbridge, with young Andrew Moore as his lieutenant, he marched to the North, and fought in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. Nor did he return home empty-handed. He married a beautiful wife in Maryland, and pitching his tent on Hays's Creek in this county, turned his attention to the peaceful

pursuits of private life. Before the close of the war he rose to the rank of Major. I can not fix the date of his death, which was on his farm in Virginia, according to one authority, while another affirms that he removed to Tennessee, where his descendants now live.¹ But we know enough to honor his memory when we can say in a single sentence that he was a son of an early settler of Augusta, that he was a pupil of your infant institution, that he led his band of Valley boys gallantly in the contested fields of Pennsylvania and New Jersey under Washington, that under Gates he helped to achieve the victory of Saratoga, and that he was a trustee of Washington Academy.

WILLIAM WILSON.

William Wilson was a clergyman. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1751, and soon after was brought to Virginia by his father, who was of the Scotch-Irish race, and who settled about twelve miles east of this town. Young Wilson soon entered the Academy, then at Mount Pleasant, and was a most promising pupil. He was equally well versed in the languages and in mathematics, and at a later day students of theology applying for admission to the ministry dreaded his critical inquiries. In 1780 he was ordained as the pastor of the Stone Church in Augusta, and there he spent his life in the zealous and able discharge of his ministerial duties. There was connected with him a singular mental phenomenon. He fell ill of an epileptic attack, and on his recovery he had for a season almost wholly forgot his mother tongue. As he had been a good Latin and Greek scholar before his illness, so the knowledge of these languages remained, and he was compelled to use them in seeking his daily wants, until he gradually recovered his English. He was skilled in mathematics, and solved problems for intellectual recreation in his old age. He belonged to that class of our early Presbyterian preachers who made their preparations carefully in the study, but took with them into the pulpit the heads only of their discourse, relying wholly on

¹ Maj. Hays died in 1808, on his farm on Hays's Creek, where A. A. McCormick now lives.—Eds.

the inspiration of the moment for their words and illustrations—a mode of speech which may serve to explain the effect and animation of the eloquence of our early preachers. He preached at intervals to a short time before his death. One of his last sermons was listened to by Dr. Speece, who succeeded him in the Stone Church, and that critical judge pronounced it “not inferior in vigor of thought, methodical arrangement, or animation of manner, to any that he had ever heard from him.”

JOHN WILSON.

There are two gentlemen named Wilson who were appointed trustees by the Presbytery and by the Assembly, that deserve a more respectful mention. It must have already appeared to you that to give a full description of your trustees, is to put forth some of the most interesting portions of the history of the colony and the commonwealth for more than the whole of one century and the third of another. The Wilsons were of the Scotch-Irish race, and were among the early settlers of Augusta. A representative of the race soon rose to prominence and distinction in the public councils. Our grandfathers had their local as well as general topics of contention as well as ourselves. In 1748 there was a serious project of removing the capital from Williamsburg. The country had enjoyed an unusually long interval of peace under the administration of Sir William Gooch, and the pugnacious propensities of the people impelled them to seek a vent in some quarter or other. Candidates were chosen with an especial view to remove the seat of government, and as Augusta seventy years later than 1748 sent the late Briscoe G. Baldwin to remove the capital to Staunton, so their ancestors in 1748 chose John Wilson to perform the same office, that is, to remove the seat of government, though I hardly think, to Augusta, where the Governor would be liable to be roasted whole, the Speaker of the House of Burgesses to be tomahawked, and the members to run the gauntlet through the Indian villages. The Augusta delegates did not succeed in their plans: the scheme was defeated; but John Wilson and John Madison had the opportunity of expressing their parting salutations on Sir William Gooch, who was then about to depart for Europe after a most popular

administration of twenty-two years. Ten years rolled on, and there came the most violent tornado of death and destruction that ever swept the Valley. In 1755 Braddock had been defeated, and then Grant was equally unfortunate, and consternation and slaughter universally prevailed. The Indians, stimulated by the French, had become most daring, passing by our forts, and carrying off women and children into a captivity little less formidable than death itself. The letters of Washington written at this period melt our hearts and draw our tears after the lapse of one hundred and twelve years, and are the most touching ever traced by his pen. He declared that he would most willingly yield up his own life as a sacrifice for a cessation of bloodshed and for peace. At this emergency, when the settlers were rushing from their Valley homes—for France as well as the Indians were fighting us—the people were determined to choose an Assembly of the ablest men whom the Colony contained. Then for the first time George Mason appeared in the public councils, and Pendleton and Washington himself, then at the age of twenty-six, were also chosen. It is recorded by Burke that it was the ablest body of men that had ever met in council in America, and he has put down the name of every member on his pages. To this body Augusta looked with an anxious eye, for she composed with Frederick the only two counties in the Valley, and she chose John Wilson and Israel Christian as her delegates. It is enough to say that her representatives performed their duty, and aided in taking those measures which ultimately led to the expulsion of the French from Canada, and the annexation of that province to the British dominions.

Sprung from such a stock, John Wilson, your trustee, evinced the deepest interest in your Academy as long as he lived. In 1770, being engaged in mercantile affairs, he was a member of the Merchants' Association, which was assembled in Williamsburg to take measures in defence of the rights and interests of the Colony, and carried into effect the resolutions of the body in Augusta. At his death he left a son, the late Captain William Wilson, who was the Treasurer of the Academy and the College for forty years.¹

¹ John Wilson was a bachelor and the uncle and guardian, not the father, of Capt. William Wilson.—Eds.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

The name that stands fourth on the list of the incorporated trustees would, if treated in the length and breadth of its antecedents and consequents, alone consume the time allotted to me at present. What a host of associations are conjured up by the name of Alexander! But I can dwell but a few moments on its history. William Alexander, your trustee, was the eldest son of Archibald Alexander, who came over from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1737, and removed to Augusta in 1747. William was born near Nottingham, Pennsylvania, in 1738, and was nine years old when he came to Virginia. He grew to manhood amid the hardships of a frontier life. He embarked in mercantile pursuits, and kept a store at the Point; but as all business was broken up by the Revolution, he acted as deputy to his father, who was sheriff of the county. He never engaged in public affairs. He is reported to have been in the Sandy Creek Voyage under Maj. Andrew Lewis; but it was his father and not himself who encountered the fearful exposure of that disastrous expedition. He was ever a warm friend of the Academy, which, on its removal to Lexington, was built on his grounds, and he was its treasurer as well as trustee for a number of years. He married Agnes Ann, a daughter of Andrew Reid, and left a family of three sons and five daughters, the last of whom has but recently deceased. He was a man of small stature, with black hair and black eyes, and on special occasions he was attentive to his dress. He was quick in his movements and talked very rapidly. While he lived in Lexington, his residence was not far from the site of the present Presbyterian church, if not directly upon it. In his old age, as he was walking in the street, he was struck by a stone thrown by an idle boy on one of his eyes, and he lost the use of it forever. We like to know how looked and walked and dressed and talked a man who was the father of the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, and the grandfather of two such men as James Waddell and Joseph Addison Alexander.

CALEB WALLACE.

Caleb Wallace was a remarkable man among his contemporaries, and well deserved a position in the incorporated board, which he had already held by the appointment of Presbytery. The tide of Scotch-Irish emigration from Pennsylvania coursed mainly along the Valley, but there was a lesser stream that ran along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge to the county of Charlotte, and thence farther south, which bore on its way a number of worthy families, which were to send forth their representatives to succeeding times. On this eastern tide came the ancestors of the late Mr. Calhoun and of Caleb Wallace. Caleb was born in the county of Charlotte about the year 1750, on a creek which still bears his name, was graduated at Princeton in 1770, where he had the late ex-president James Madison as a college mate. Both were pious young men during their college course, were among the best scholars of their class, and enjoyed the confidence of Witherspoon. Both excelled in that cool and clear argumentation which was an invaluable weapon in the early stages of our Revolutionary contest and both brought their utmost powers to bear upon the question of a church establishment and religious freedom. When Wallace finished his course at college, he studied Theology and became a licentiate of the Presbytery of New Castle. In October 1774, he was ordained as the pastor of Cub Creek and Little Falling Run congregations. At the meeting in October, 1776, of the first general assembly under the constitution, he repaired to Williamsburg, and bore with him the memorial of the Hanover Presbytery, which professed the warmest zeal in the support of independence, but protested with equal earnestness against the continuation of the Episcopal church as an establishment. And here it should be said that the objections of the Presbytery lay not against the Episcopal church as a true church of our common Lord and Master, but against that or any other church whatsoever, even their own, as an establishment. Indeed Davies and Waddell and Graham have more than once expressed publicly their approval of the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It should seem at this day that the fourteenth article of the Declaration of Rights had settled the

question of church and state conclusively; but it was soon seen that a bill to continue the establishment was introduced in the House of Delegates. Mr. Wallace exerted all his industry to prevent its passage, and, it is believed, appeared before the Committee on Religion and argued the question at length. In the prosecution of his purpose he remained eight weeks in Williamsburg. In 1779, having lost his wife, who was Miss Sally McDowell of Rockbridge, he removed from Cub Creek to Botetourt, where he remained until the close of the war. During the Revolution he upheld the cause of his country by his tongue and his pen. Several of his letters still extant attest his patriotic fervor. Writing in 1777 to the Rev. Mr. Caldwell of New Jersey, a noble Virginian, who fell untimely near the end of the war, and who, by the way, used to preach with pistols in his belt, as a price had been set on his head by the British,—Wallace says: “An American ought to seek an emancipation from the British king, ministry, and parliament, at the risk of all his earthly possessions of whatever name; nor is it the fear of danger that has prevented my preaching this doctrine in the army at headquarters.” He adds: “I meddle very little with matters of civil concern, only to countenance the recruiting business, as far as I have it in my power; and sometimes I have a fight with the prejudices—I would rather say the perverseness—of such as are inclining to toryism among us; but we have reason to rejoice that we have few such cattle with us.”

In 1782 he removed to Woodford county, Kentucky; and withdrawing from the ministry, he studied law, rose to distinction at the bar, and was chosen a judge of the Supreme Court of that State. He was appointed by the Assembly one of the Commissioners to settle the numerous claims in Kentucky against Virginia—a very delicate office, which he and his colleagues Fleming and McDowell executed promptly and satisfactorily. He married for his second wife a daughter of Israel Christian, and his descendants still reside in Kentucky. He possessed fine powers of disquisition, was a ready speaker, and maintained intimate relations with the first statesmen of the Revolution. He attained to a good old age.

JOHN TRIMBLE.

The eighth of the incorporated trustees was John Trimble. He was the son of James Trimble, who with his two brothers Alexander and John emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania. Alexander remained in Pennsylvania, and John settled in Kentucky, where his descendants still flourish. James, who was the eldest brother, came to Virginia not later than 1750, and settled on the farm and built a house not one hundred yards distant from the residence of Joseph Steele, Esq., one of your trustees for thirty years past. James died early and left a son John who was your trustee. John did not survive his father more than ten years, and died not very long after the date of the charter, leaving a widow who has recently departed from us in her 97th year.¹ He is still remembered as a man of the kindest feelings, of warm attachments to his relations and friends, and pure in all his transactions with the world. Some striking acts of his generosity are fondly remembered by his collateral relations. He was of the Scotch-Irish race, and was an advocate of churches, schools and academies. The fact that his name was enrolled in the charter is sufficient proof of his standing and moral and intellectual worth.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL.

Of Alexander Campbell, the sixth on the roll of incorporated trustees, I learn that he came from Pennsylvania, that he lived on Timber Ridge, that he always came on sacramental and academical occasions to Lexington, where he was the guest of Col. Andrew Reid, that he was a pious man and much interested in

¹ Mr. Grigsby has confounded John Trimble with Alexander Trimble, the husband of the lady to whom he refers, and who was his (Mr. Grigsby's) aunt. John Trimble married Mary Ann Alexander, the half-sister of William Alexander. She removed to Tennessee soon after the death of her husband. Her grandson John Trimble was Judge of the Nashville district, and represented the Nashville district in the United States Congress for several sessions. He died a few years ago at Republican Hill, near Nashville, at an advanced age.—Eds.

the cause of education, and that he lived until near the beginning of the present century.¹

ZACHARIAH JOHNSTON.

Among the trustees who, though not mentioned in the charter, were elected under its provisions a short time after its date, stands a name that was so long connected with the political and religious questions of that era, that I may be excused for dwelling a moment on it. I allude to Zachariah Johnston. He was born in Augusta between 1750 and '60, of parents who emigrated from Ireland and chose their homes in Augusta, was a pupil of the Academy as well as a trustee, and gave indications of a strong and discriminating mind. He entered the House of Delegates during the Revolution, and gave up all his faculties to the purpose of shaping the new measures to a republican model. He accordingly supported with great earnestness the revised bills reported by Mr. Jefferson, which it was the policy of their opponents to keep on the table, or if called up, to emasculate them of their wisest provisions. It is well known that Mr. Jefferson, when he withdrew from the House to embark for France, left the care of the revised bills to Mr. Madison, who fully redeemed the confidence of his friend by the tact and patience and ability which he displayed in effecting their passage. He had indeed most strenuous coadjutors, and among those was Zachariah Johnston. His simple and unadorned but caustic and fearless logic, which was in strong contrast with the deep and elaborate speculations of Mr. Madison, was ever ready and was always effective. It was in 1785, when the act for establishing Religious Freedom was on its passage, that he made a capital speech, in which he took the ground which I have mentioned already more than once, and which was that the hostility of the Presbyterian population of the Valley to an establishment had no bearing upon the Episcopal church as a church of Christ, but that it was directed against an establishment of any church, even their

¹ Mr. Campbell died in 1805. He was for many years Surveyor of Rockbridge county, then an office of great importance. The late John L. Campbell, LL. D., Professor of Chemistry and Geology in Washington and Lee University, was his grandson.—Eds.

own, in connection with the state. A single passage only of Johnston's speech in the debate has been preserved, and I quote it to show not only his line of argument but his style of thought. "Mr. Chairmán, I am a Presbyterian, a rigid Presbyterian as we are called; my parents before me were of the same profession; I was educated in that line. Since I became a man, I have examined for myself, and I have seen no cause to dissent. But, sir, the very day that the Presbyterians shall be established by law, and become a body politic, the same day Zachariah Johnston will be a dissenter. Dissent from that *religion* I cannot in honesty, but from that establishment I will." And his name goes down to posterity in favor of the passage of the act for establishing Religious Freedom. He was the colleague of Judge Stuart in the Federal Convention of 1788, which ratified on the part of Virginia the present federal constitution, and made an animated speech in its favor, which has been preserved entire, and which will speak for itself. Mr. Johnston was a man of religious temperament, of great simplicity of manners, and utterly void of hypocrisy and deceit. I wish I were able to present a domestic portrait of this good man; but my knowledge in that respect is very limited.¹

GEN. WILLIAM CAMPBELL.

As the student wanders through the gallery of the portraits of the early friends of Washington College, and gazes with fond delight on the faces of Graham, of Thomas Lewis, of Andrew Lewis the hero of Point Pleasant, of William Christian, of William Preston, of William Fleming, of Arthur Campbell, of Andrew Moore, of the Stuarts, father, brother and son, and of their well-known associates,—he seeks with eager interest another face, the face of a noble patriot who was connected with them all, not only in the political and military events of their age, but in their affection for your institution; and inquires, with a faltering voice: Where is Gen. William Campbell, and why is it that the

¹ Mr. Johnston removed from Augusta to Stone Castle, two miles south of Lexington, in 1793, and represented Rockbridge in the House of Delegates in 1797–8, and was chiefly instrumental in securing the repeal of the obnoxious act of 1796 before referred to. He died at Stone Castle, January 7, 1800.—Eds.

Hero of King's Mountain is not found among his compeers? Sad as the answer is and ever will be to the patriot heart of our country, it must be told. He was a pupil of the Academy, and displayed the deepest interest in its welfare and a magnanimous pride in his *alma mater*, but when, in 1782, the friends of the institution were seeking among our chief citizens for the names to be recorded in the charter, they thought of the name of Campbell, and then it came over them with all the intensity of a recent affliction, that the Hero of King's Mountain had gone down to his grave a few months before. While in command of his regiment at the siege of York, he was taken ill of a fever, and even before the flag of Britain was lowered on the ramparts, he fell, after a short and severe struggle with the most insatiable and remorseless of all conquerors. But though he died before the trustees were enrolled in your charter, where our fathers would have delighted to place him, let us perform that office in their behalf.

Gen. William Campbell was the son of Charles, who was of the race of the Campbells of whom I have spoken elsewhere. Charles Campbell married Margaret Buchanan, and died young, leaving one son, the hero of King's Mountain; and four daughters, one of whom married Col. Arthur Campbell who is the first named of the charter of 1782; a second married Capt. Taylor, the father of the late Judge Allen Taylor, another trustee of the College; a third married Mr. Richard Poston, and a fourth married Mr. Thomas Tate.

Gen. Campbell was born in the county of Augusta as it then was, in 1745, and was one of the early pupils of the Academy. On reaching manhood he was prompt to join in the measures of defence and attack against the Indians who infested the new settlements on the Holston, whither, on the death of his father, he had removed his mother and sister; and we trace him in the bloody fight at Point Pleasant, as marching in the respective campaigns of Col. Christian and Col. Arthur Campbell against the Cherokees, and in other actions on the frontier, which called forth a vote of thanks from North Carolina. But it was on the seventh day of October 1780, that Col. Campbell and his gallant colleagues from North and South Carolina achieved that distinction which has connected his name inseparably with the war of the Revolution. I

cannot here say one word of the battle of King's Mountain, more especially as the affair has been so eloquently detailed by his distinguished grandson now living,¹ and have time to speak of its ever memorable effect on the spirits of the people. When Campbell and his colleagues led their forces against Ferguson, the South was 'almost conquered by the British. Despair darkened every bosom, and hope seemed to have gone out. Charleston had been taken in the preceding May, and on the 29th of the same month Col. Buford was defeated at Waxhaw, on the 16th of the following August Gen. Gates lost the battle of Camden, and on the 18th of the same month Sumter was surprised, and South Carolina was under the heel of Cornwallis. Amid such a scene of gloom and disaster the victory of King's Mountain shone forth like a rainbow in a tempestuous sky. Let dates, which are stronger than words, tell the wondrous tale. It was on the 7th of October, 1780, that Col. Campbell received from the hands of Capt. Dupeister, the senior officer on the death of Ferguson, the standard of England, which Ferguson fondly hoped to wave over the Valley of Virginia; on the 17th of the following January, Morgan fought the battle of the Cowpens; on the 15th of March occurred the battle of Guilford, which resulted in the retreat of Cornwallis to Wilmington; on the 8th of the following September, the immortal field of Eutaw was fought and won; and on the 19th of October, Cornwallis surrendered at York.

But the services of Col. Campbell did not close with the battle of King's Mountain. He marched with his regiment to Guilford, and aided materially in that engagement. And in 1781 he joined Lafayette at Albemarle Old Court House and marched to the siege of York, but he died suddenly before the surrender. This last triumph was not reserved to the patriot, and at the age of thirty-six he was laid in his grave. That funeral was a solemn scene. The young and heroic Lafayette was seen bending in grief and tears over the coffin of his friend. That scene he never forgot. Forty-three years later he described to one of the descendants of Campbell that touching spectacle. Col. Campbell was buried at Rocky Mills, in Hanover, and when after many years his remains

¹ General John S. Preston.

were removed to his home in Washington, it was found that time had dealt gently with them.

In stature he had the proportions of a hero. He was over six feet in height; his frame was large and compact and muscular; his hair was inclined to red; his eyes were gray or a deep blue; his features were prominent, and his profile was said to be symmetrical. Indeed we are told by elderly men who knew him, that his grandson the late Col. William Campbell Preston of South Carolina was in his figure and movements a fair image of his illustrious ancestor. Col. Campbell was an affectionate son. Letters still extant show his tenderness to his mother and his generous conduct to his sisters. He married in 1775 a sister of Patrick Henry and left at his death a son, who died young, and one daughter, who married Gen. Francis Preston, second son of Col. William Preston. Of the children of this marriage, of whom the late Col. William C. Preston of South Carolina was one, there survive Col. John S. Preston of the same State, Col. Thomas L. Preston, and Mrs. Gen. Carrington of Albemarle county. I have said that he married the sister of Patrick Henry, who is said to have possessed the genius of her illustrious brother. Gen. Campbell is said to have been a man of quick and stern temper and was the terror of Tories, with whom, if caught in the act of treason, as at the battle of King's Mountain, he dealt peremptorily and condignly; but he never allowed himself to show any excitement in the presence of his wife.

WILLIAM MCPHEETERS. *Bellevue*

William McPheeters, a trustee of 1776, was born in Pennsylvania in 1729, and was a son of a gentleman of the same name, who came from Ireland to Pennsylvania, and emigrated to Augusta about the year 1740. He settled at Bethel on the waters of the Middle River, near the North Mountain. He was a truly pious man, was an elder in the church of which the Rev. Archibald Scott, one of your trustees, was the pastor, and was a magistrate of Augusta and High Sheriff of that county 1788-90. His life was spent upon his farm in the employments of agriculture and in the interchange of good feelings with his neighbors. Like his Scotch-Irish brethren, he was impressed with the importance of education,

and especially of an educated ministry, and took a peculiar pride in fostering the Academy, of which his son, so long and so favorably known in Virginia and North Carolina, was a pupil.¹ He has left numerous descendants, the death of one of whom, who was remarkable for his genius and eloquence, has been lately lamented by the lovers of eloquence and piety in Missouri, and Kentucky, and Virginia.²

CONCLUSION.

And I come to a close. And when I had finished my specific task of recording the services of your early trustees and professors, I could not withhold a glance at their immediate successors Samuel L. Campbell, and Baxter, and Marshall, and Vethake, and Ruffner, and Junkin,—all of whom but one I knew, and all of whom are gone. And as I called up their images before me, it seemed as if I felt their living presence, and could behold the genial smile as they looked down on their beloved institution in its present palmy state—a state those good men longed to see but died without the sight—and could gather from them words of gratulation and cheer for every student within your walls and for every officer within your courts; and while they uttered words of encouragement and praise to all, I could catch from those lips, now touched with earthly guile no more, one glorious accord concerning him who led our armies through the late perilous war, and—the grandest of all his victories—made a lodgment in the inner hearts of a whole people; that in training the youth of his beloved country in the ways of wisdom and knowledge and peace, and in the “love of God that passeth all understanding,” he is winning a wreath as worthy as ever rested on his brow—a wreath whose beauty will not only shine in the eyes of living men, but will endure forever.

¹ The Rev. William McPheeters, D. D., a distinguished Presbyterian minister, and a trustee of Washington College 1807-12.—Eds.

² The Rev. Samuel Brown McPheeters, his grandson, the distinguished Presbyterian minister of St. Louis, Mo.—Eds.

APPENDIX.

This valuable address was retained by Mr. Grigsby for several years after its delivery in 1870, to enable him to complete it by giving sketches of all the early trustees. He died, however, without doing so. We now add brief sketches of those omitted by him.—W. McL.

JOHN GRATTAN.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 to manage the Academy was John Grattan. He was born in Ireland, and was said to be of the same family with Henry Grattan the Irish Orator. While quite a young man he went to Scotland and there married a Miss Brown and soon afterwards came to America and settled in Philadelphia, where he resided several years. He moved to the Valley of Virginia and became a merchant in the town of Staunton. He participated in the meeting of the freeholders of Augusta, held on the 22nd of February, 1775, which passed the celebrated resolutions referred to by Mr. Grigsby.

While he was too old to bear arms during the revolutionary war, he was an ardent whig, and supported the cause with all the ardor of his nature. His son John Grattan was an officer in one of Virginia's regiments, and died in service in Georgia. He patented a large tract of land on the north branch of the Shenandoah, in what was then Augusta county, but afterwards Rockingham county. He built the first flour mill west of the Blue Ridge. The mill is still standing, and the old homestead, where he spent the latter part of his life, is owned by his grandson Judge George G. Grattan. When the county of Rockingham was formed in 1778 his residence fell into the new county, and he was commissioned one of the justices of the county court, being fourth on the list. He was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the old Covenanters faith, and was for many years an elder in old Augusta Stone Church. He died about 1790, leaving a son and several daughters. His son Robert Grattan commanded a company of cavalry that was sent to quell the whiskey insurrection in Western Pennsylvania. His son Maj. Robert Grattan remained at the old homestead in Rockingham, and was elected a Trustee of Washington College in 1854, and served until his early death in 1856.

One of the daughters of John Grattan married Col. Robert Gamble, an alumnus of the Academy and a distinguished officer of the Revolution. He commanded one of the companies that stormed Stony Point, and was the first to enter the fort when it was captured by General Anthony Wayne. One of Col. Grattan's daughters married the celebrated William Wirt; another married William H. Cabell, Governor of Virginia, and for many years a Judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia.

SAMUEL DOAK, D. D.

Samuel Doak was one of the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782, to supply vacancies in the body appointed in 1776. He was the son of Samuel Doak (the ancestor of Gen. Robert Doak Lilley, who served the University so zealously and efficiently as general agent) and Jane Mitchell, who emigrated very young from the North of Ireland and settled in Chester county, Pennsylvania. After their marriage, they removed to Virginia and settled in Augusta county near the present village of Greenville. Their son Samuel was born in 1749. At the age of sixteen he was admitted to full communion in the Presbyterian Church of New Providence; and soon after commenced a course of classical study with Robert Alexander, who resided about two miles from his father's house. He continued in the school after it passed under the care of the Rev. John Brown, who was assisted by a Dr. Edmondson and Ebenezer Smith. In October, 1773, he entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775. Returning to Virginia, he married Esther Montgomery, sister of the Rev. John Montgomery who was appointed a trustee at the same time with him. Shortly after, he became a tutor in Hampden Sidney College, and pursued divinity under the Rev. John Blair Smith the President of the College. He was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery in October, 1777. He commenced preaching in Washington county, Virginia, and after remaining there some time he removed to Washington county, Tennessee, where he organized several churches and an institution of learning, which was chartered by the Legislature of North Carolina in 1788 under the name of Martin Academy, and was the first literary institution established in the great Valley of the Mississippi. In 1795 it was changed into a college and received the name of Washington. He continued President of the College until 1808, when he resigned in favor of his son, the Rev. John M. Doak, M. D., and removed to Bethel. During his presidency the College prospered

Done

greatly and supplied the opportunities for education for ministers, lawyers and doctors in the early days of Tennessee. At Bethel he opened an academy to prepare youth for college, and named it Tusculum, where he passed the remainder of his days in usefulness and honor. He was a distinguished preacher and teacher, and died on the 12th day of December, 1830, in his eighty-second year. Foote, in his Sketches of North Carolina, quotes a gentleman who knew him well as saying: "His praise is in all the churches. During the Revolutionary War, he was a warm, decided, and uniform friend of civil and religious liberty, took part in the defence of his country, was a member of the convention that in 1784-5 gave rise to the insurrectionary state of Franklin; was upon the committee that reported an article of its constitution making provision for the support of learning; and to the close of life was still its devoted servant, advocate and patron. A rigid opposer of innovation in religious tenets; very old-school in all his notions and actions; uncompromising in his love of the truth, and his hostility to error or heresy, a John Knox in his character, fearless, firm, nearly dogmatical and intolerant; but no one has been more useful to church or state, except it be Hall or Coldwell in North Carolina, or Waddell in South Carolina and Georgia. A volume would not exhaust the incidents of his life."

REV. EDWARD CRAWFORD.

Edward Crawford was one of the Presbyterian trustees appointed in 1782 and was also elected a member of the incorporated body in 1791, and served until 1795. He was born in Augusta county, near Buffalo Gap, and was the son of Alexander Crawford and Mary McPheeters. He was a student at the Augusta Academy when under the care of the Rev. John Brown, and subsequently entered Princeton College, where he graduated in 1775, in the same class with Samuel Doak. He was a member of Lexington Presbytery at its organization on the 26th of September, 1786, and was the moderator of the Presbytery at its meetings in April and September, 1792, at Lexington and Harrisonburg. He preached in Randolph county and then in Botetourt. About 1795 he removed to Tennessee, and greatly assisted his old friend and classmate, Samuel Doak, in the conduct and management of Washington College, Tennessee, of which he was one of the chartered trustees. He preached for many years in Tennessee, and was a useful citizen, and especially a friend of education. The date of his death is unknown.

REV. ARCHIBALD SCOTT.

Rev. Archibald Scott was born in Scotland and emigrated to Pennsylvania at an early age. He was an agricultural laborer, but his religious deportment and the studious employment of all his leisure hours in the acquisition of useful knowledge attracted the attention of Dr. Cooper, a Presbyterian minister. Upon further acquaintance he encouraged him to commence a course of study for the sacred ministry. He pursued his classical studies under a Mr. Finley, whose course of instruction was extensive though principally confined to the classics. He then came to the Valley of Virginia and entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham. In 1777 he was licensed to preach the gospel with Edward Crawford and Samuel Doak. He became the pastor of Brown's Meeting House and North Mountain church, now known as Hebron and Bethel, and continued in this charge during his life. He was a devoted and earnest preacher, and exercised great influence in the church and in the community. He was appointed a trustee by Presbytery in 1782, and elected a member of the corporate body in 1784. He closed his useful life on the 4th day of March, 1799, at his residence, six miles southwest of Staunton. The University recognizes among its alumni many of his descendants.

JAMES MCCONNELL.

James McConnell, one of the Presbyterian trustees of 1782, graduated at Princeton in 1773, and became a Presbyterian minister. He was pastor of Oxford, High Bridge and Falling Spring churches in Rockbridge county. After serving these churches for several years, he removed in 1787 beyond the Alleghanies.

BENJAMIN ERWIN.

Benjamin Erwin was one of the trustees appointed by Presbytery in 1782. He graduated at Princeton in 1776, and coming to Virginia was ordained by Hanover Presbytery in 1780 pastor of Mossy Creek and Cook's Creek churches. He died pastor of his first charge. Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., grew up under his ministry.

CAPT. JOHN LEWIS.

Among the trustees appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1776 was Capt. John Lewis at the Warm Springs. He was the son of Thomas

Lewis, of whom a sketch is given by Mr. Grigsby, and was born near Port Republic in the present county of Rockingham in 1749. He removed to the Warm Springs, and became the owner of that celebrated summer resort. He commanded a company in Col. Charles Lewis's regiment at Point Pleasant, and was dangerously wounded. He was subsequently an officer in the Revolution and was distinguished for his gallantry and devotion to duty. He died at the Warm Springs in 1788, at the age of thirty-nine, in the midst of a career of great usefulness.

JAMES McCORKLE.

James McCorkle was born in the north of Ireland, and emigrated to America and settled in Staunton, where he successfully pursued the business of a merchant. He joined the tide of emigration which set toward southwestern Virginia about 1770, and settled at Ingles Ferry on New River, where he engaged most successfully in merchandising. He subsequently became the owner of the splendid estate known as Dunkards Bottoms, in that part of Montgomery county comprised in the present county of Pulaski, and formerly owned by Israel Christian.

He was commissioned a justice of the peace by Gov. Nelson in 1773. Among his associates on the bench were Col. William Christian, Col. William Preston, Daniel Trigg and James McGavock. He was the High Sheriff of Montgomery county 1778-80. He was a leading citizen of southwest Virginia, and died and was buried in 1794, at Dunkards Bottoms.

JOSEPH WALKER.

Joseph Walker came with the first tide of emigration from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, to the Valley of Virginia, and settled near the present town of Lexington. He was one of the three granters of the land upon which Liberty Hall Academy was built, which was burned in 1803, and the picturesque ruins of which can still be seen from the University. He afterwards removed to a large farm on Buffalo, including what is now known as Buffalo Mills. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace, was High Sheriff of the county, and was a ruling elder in both Monmouth and Falling Spring churches. He was appointed by Hanover Presbytery in 1782 a trustee, and was one of the trustees named in the charter. He continued to serve until 1815, a period of more than thirty years, and the records of the Board attest his punctual attendance, and his fidelity to duty. He was a

large man, of dark complexion, commanding in appearance, and rather taciturn. His wife was Jane Moore, the aunt of Mary Moore, the "Captive of Abb's Valley," who lived with him after her return from captivity. His daughter married the Rev. Samuel Houston referred to by Mr. Grigsby in his sketch of John Houston, and his grandson the Rev. Samuel R. Houston was for many years a member of the Board.

WILLIAM WARD AND JAMES TROTTER.

Of William Ward and James Trotter we have been able to get but little definite information. They were both doubtless born in the north of Ireland and came with the tide of immigration that set toward the Valley between 1740 and 1750.

William Ward lived in Augusta near Robert Alexander's school, and removed to South Carolina about 1779.

James Trotter settled in Augusta county near Mount Sidney about 1749. He subsequently removed to the neighborhood of the present village of Middlebrook, where he died about 1791. His son George Trotter laid out the village of Middlebrook and subsequently removed to Lexington, Kentucky.

JOHN LYLE.

Most of what is now known of this excellent man is derived from a memoir of him written by the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander of Princeton, but not published, and from an article by the same hand in the *Biblical Repertory* of April, 1848.

He was of the Scotch-Irish stock. His father, also named John Lyle, had emigrated from the north of Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century, and settled first in Pennsylvania. But after a time he removed to what is now Rockbridge county, Virginia, and fixed his abode on Timber Ridge, about three miles southwest of where the village of Fairfield now stands. The date of his removal to Rockbridge is not known; but it was certainly before 1753, for in that year he was one of the signers of the call of the Rev. John Brown to the pastorate of the Timber Ridge church.

John Lyle, the trustee, son of the emigrant, was born either in Pennsylvania or in Virginia, on the 10th of July, 1746. He grew to manhood and spent all the days of a long and useful life on Timber Ridge, where he owned a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands, being conscientiously opposed to becoming a slave-holder. Of

his personal appearance Dr. Alexander says: "John Lyle grew to be a large man, above six feet in height, and was what is vulgarly called raw-boned. His face was somewhat marked by small-pox; but his appearance was dignified and his countenance benignant." He seems to have taken but little part in military or political affairs; but was active in charitable work, and specially zealous in the cause of education and religion. In 1782 the Presbytery appointed him one of the trustees of Liberty Hall; in 1784 he became a member of the incorporated board, and for over thirty years thereafter he was one of the most earnest and active trustees of the Academy and the College, as the records testify. His private life was singularly pure and unselfish. Of his course as a church officer Dr. Alexander says: "As a faithful and efficient elder in the Presbyterian church I have never known his superior, if I have his equal. He had furnished his mind by diligent reading, with knowledge in all branches of theology; and was especially thoroughly conversant with the most judicious and spiritual authors on experimental religion." And in another connection he says:

"Elder John Lyle, as he was called to distinguish him from others of the same name, was in my opinion a man of eminent piety. In the period succeeding the war of the Revolution vital piety had sunk very low in the Valley of Virginia; most professors seemed to have little of the genuine spirit of religion; and fell into undue conformity to the world and its fashions and amusements. But during this time of general declension John Lyle and his wife stood forth as shining examples of vital godliness and holy living."

John Lyle died at his residence in Rockbridge, in September, 1815, in his 70th year. His wife was Flora Reid, a sister of Dr. Alexander's mother. The Rev. John Lyle, "the pioneer preacher of Kentucky," so prominent in the early history of the Presbyterian church in that state, was his son. Joel Reid Lyle of Paris, Ky., was another son. Both were pupils of the Academy.—D. C. L.

This completes the sketches of the trustees mentioned in the charter of 1782, and those previously appointed by the Presbytery.

Sketches of the trustees appointed since 1782 will be prepared and published from time to time in these papers.

W. McL.

Indie McLaughlin
18th August 1881
Digitized by Google

ADDRESS
BEFORE THE
ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

June 29, 1848,

BY THE
REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D.

Gentlemen, Alumni of Washington College:

It is a truth as fully established by experience as any other, that the human mind is eminently susceptible of improvement by culture. Indeed it cannot be denied that without some kind of education the intellectual faculties will not be developed ; although the body might grow up to manhood, the mind would remain in a state of infantile feebleness. This truth is beautifully illustrated by a classic writer, who compares the uncultivated mind to the statue while it remains in the block of marble.

But although the necessity of education to improve the mind is acknowledged by all, yet there exists much difference of opinion respecting the best means of cultivating and strengthening the various powers and faculties which appertain to human nature. This is a subject on which knowledge can only be acquired by experience or the observation of facts. Here, mere theory is rather hurtful than beneficial. It is, indeed, by no means certain, that the best method of training and improving the faculties of the mind has been discovered. It would therefore be unwarrantable to assert that the systems of education heretofore in use were incapable of improvement. New discoveries may be made in

regard to the laws of mind, as well as those of matter; but the difficulty in this investigation is, that we cannot make experiments with safety. The mind of every human being is too precious a material to be made the subject of experiments, to ascertain what improvements might be made in the methods by which it should be educated. No man would consent to have his son trained in some untried way, the effect of which could not be foreseen. There have, indeed, been many pretenders, who professed to be in possession of the secret of bringing forward the faculties of man much more rapidly, and of elevating them to a much higher standard, than can be done by the system in common use. But experience has taught the most credulous, that all such pretensions are vain. The common beaten track, along which so many have risen to eminence and celebrity, is, after all, the safest and best. When new discoveries are made in the science of education, they will probably be incidental, and should be cautiously and gradually introduced. It is not disputed that very extraordinary effects may be produced on particular faculties by an artificial method of training. I have seen boys taught on the Pestalozzian plan, who could perform wonders at the black board, in various kinds of intricate calculation; but I never could ascertain that the youth thus educated ever rose to eminence in any profession or art. We know to what extraordinary feats of activity children have been trained, to qualify them to become successful mountebanks; but would any judicious man suppose that children thus trained to perform prodigies could be better prepared than others to be useful farmers, mechanics, or soldiers? And there is little reason to believe that a precocious and extraordinary development of the mental faculties, by an artificial process, will qualify a man successfully to perform the duties of those professions in society, which require the best exercise of the powers of judgment, invention, and accurate reasoning. It is probable that assiduous efforts to elicit the exercise of the intellectual faculties at a period earlier than that in which in the common course of nature they appear, are rather injurious than beneficial to the mind. A precocious child may excite the wonder of visitors, and gratify the vanity of parents and teachers, but can furnish no proof that this premature development will lead to superior intellectual energy. Such youth soon arrive at the acme of their

maturity; that is, the too early development of the faculties probably has the consequence of an early decay. It is a proverb in more languages than one—*soon ripe, soon rotten*. It is not meant to discourage early education, but to suggest, that the kind of training should be adapted to the age of the pupil. Children are capable, at a very early age, of improving culture, both intellectual and moral; but the judicious plan seems to be, not to attempt to forestall the process of nature, but to aid her by meeting the opening faculties with such exercise and nutriment as is suited to give them strength and a right direction. In cities, where the children of the better class of citizens are necessarily kept, most of their time, in the house, or in the school, their progress in learning is often surprisingly rapid until the age of fourteen or fifteen, but here most of them stop; and though so many make a good beginning, very few attain to eminence in classical literature; for this, however, other reasons may be assigned; [but it may not be useless to remark, that those parents judge wisely, who, having sons to educate, send them to a good school in the country. And where parents, residing in cities, are in circumstances to spend the summer months in the country, the effect on the minds as well as the bodies of their children will be very beneficial. The best part of education, as far as the mere vigor of body and mind is concerned, is derived from a familiar converse with the objects of nature.] Children reared from their infancy in crowded cities, and confined to school from the time they can speak and walk, have been fitly compared to plants raised in a hot-house. They are commonly precocious, and bring forth early fruit; but it has a sickly appearance, and never acquires much strength, but soon falls in decay; and the fruit thus produced wants the genuine flavor and fragrance of the same species when it comes to maturity in the open air and under the common influences of heaven. Injury may not only be done to the mind by attempting to force a too early maturity, but also by exercising unduly some one faculty, while the others are neglected. We know that particular muscles and members of the body may be strengthened at the expense of the other parts; but though this may be beneficial for the execution of some special work, it is for general purposes a disadvantage. And so the mind may, by a particular mode of treatment, acquire an extraordinary

vigor of some one faculty ; but such training is not judicious. A just balance, so to speak, should be preserved between all the faculties, so that while no one should greatly preponderate, no one should remain dormant. The memory being the first of our intellectual faculties which is developed, and being susceptible of continual improvement, it is more frequently cultivated unduly, or improperly, than any other. Indeed, in the earlier stages of education, the memory is principally the faculty with which the teacher has to do ; and the power which at this age it possesses of acquiring and retaining language should be carefully improved. But it is an error to suppose that such a memory may not be too retentive. Suppose a person to retain in memory, infallibly, every word and idea which ever entered the mind,—would such a memory be advantageous ? I think not. The mind of such a person would be encumbered with a multitude of useless ideas, which would be continually recurring, and associating themselves with other thoughts, so as to produce confusion and perplexity, and embarrass the reasoning faculty in its operation. A much more useful memory would be that which retained only important and useful things, while it let others slip. A good memory is the very opposite of a sieve, which suffers the wheat to fall through, but retains the chaff ; yet there are found among men, memories which greatly resemble the sieve ; for while they suffer good things to pass away they are very retentive of those ideas which are frivolous and corrupting. The art of mnemonics is curious, and has, by forming strong and arbitrary associations of ideas, performed wonders ; but I have never known anyone benefited by it. Indeed, I am of opinion that it is positively injurious, by fixing in the mind such associations as must be cumbersome and inconvenient ; especially in close reasoning, when it is desirable to exclude from our thoughts every irrelevant idea. If it were of importance for a man to be able to retain in memory long catalogues of names, such as the dynasties of princes, this art could afford much aid ; but in regard to such things and many others, it is better to have them in books than in minds. A memory tenacious of words in their order, is the lamest kind of memory ; while that which disregards words and retains ideas in their proper relations, in a comprehensive, systematic manner, is the best. The reason why many young men do not realize the expectations which their

recitations in college encouraged is, that they trusted too much to memory, while their judgment and reasoning faculty were but little exercised. In all cases where lessons are recited from text-books, the man of verbal memory will excel ; while a competitor who depends more on his own judgment may appear on a common examination far inferior, although in reality he may be much the superior of the two.

There is often a great mistake made even by intelligent teachers, in regard to the real talents of young men. The case of a mere verbal memory has already been brought to view ; but there is another no less common, when a scholar excels every other, in his class, in the quickness of his apprehension, and also in the celerity with which he commits his lesson to memory. Such persons always appear on recitations and examinations to great advantage, and are usually considered as possessed of superior mental endowments. But this judgment is often erroneous. Another may require much longer time to apprehend any new subject, but the very circumstance of its requiring a longer time for him to understand the point in question, leads him to take a more deliberate view of it, in all its bearings ; and it is proverbial, that that which is quickly memorized is readily forgotten, whereas that which is fixed in the memory by dint of effort it more apt to remain. Quickness of apprehension also is commonly united with volubility of speech ; while slowness in taking up a new subject is usually attended with a slow method of communication. Hence the former, though not really superior, enjoys great advantages in all hasty and superficial trials of talent and scholarship. And hence it comes to pass that in many cases college honors are no certain criterion by which to judge of the degrees of eminence to which students will arise when they enter upon their professional career. Men of slow movement are also under a greater necessity of improving all their time, and thus acquire habits of patient study and regular industry.

Of all qualifications in a student, there is none which is more certainly connected with future eminence than an inextinguishable thirst for knowledge—universal knowledge, as far as it is attainable. This very desire, however, may mislead, if not wisely directed ; as, for example, if a young man under its influence should undertake to pursue all kinds of knowledge at once. He would

waste his time and energies amidst a multiplicity of objects, and would become accurately acquainted with none. The principles of mental philosophy would lead to the conclusion that a man can pursue, advantageously, only one branch of knowledge at once, unless some other can be made to serve as a relaxation of the mind. Some successful students confine their attention so closely to one study, that they feel a kind of indifference to all others, and do not wish to be interrupted by anything else in the steady pursuit of their favorite object. Such men are commonly great in their own profession, but very deficient in general knowledge. I have known a man who was a profound lawyer, and thoroughly versed in all the intricacies of the legal profession, who knew no more of the improvements in modern science than a child. What he might have learned at college he had long since forgotten; and when his eye met a scientific paragraph in the periodical papers which he perused, he would immediately turn away his attention to something else. Another, who practised at the same bar, was also accurately learned in all that related to his profession, and delighted in legal studies; but he had a mind forever awake to every species of knowledge, and wherever he was he would find sources of information. An old volume in the window of a tavern, or even an old almanac, would be seized with avidity; and he would derive some information from every book and every person with whom he came in contact. And here it may be remarked to the younger part of my audience, that there is scarcely a man, or woman, in the world, from whom something might not be learned. This thirst of knowledge, when it does not draw the mind off from the proper studies of our profession, may lead us, without any loss of time, to amass an amazing store of general knowledge, and will fit us to be entertaining and instructive to all with whom we may associate.

The maxim which should be adopted by all who have enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education is, not to suffer any acquisition which they have made to be lost. If it was worth acquiring, it is worth preserving, especially as this can be done with so much ease. Yet there is nothing in which the alumni of our colleges are, in fact, more generally censurable. Most of them no sooner leave their *alma mater* than they turn away their minds from all their college studies. They do not deliberately form the purpose to

forget all that they have learned, but they actually pursue the course which leads to this result. A very short space, every day, or even twice a week, would, employed in these studies, enable the student not only to preserve the learning which he had acquired, but to increase it. And if this course were immediately pursued, it would be, from the first, a pleasing relaxation from business, or from severe professional studies. But after a few years' neglect, this knowledge seems to be encrusted with so thick a coating of rust, that to commence an attempt to recover what is so entirely lost appears like beginning an education anew. But I wish to state one fact, which can only be learned by experience, and therefore is frequently unknown to the young,—which is, that knowledge, of any kind, which has been once possessed, however it may seem to be utterly obliterated, can easily be recovered. There is no need to go over the whole process of learning every thing anew in detail; but when the mind is a short time exercised in the reminiscence of a subject once known, suddenly the whole is revived as it formerly existed in the mind. This is an important law of the mind which should be extensively known.

It has appeared to me expedient, on the principle that perfection in any art or business depends very much on the division of labor, that every educated man should select some one branch of science or literature to which he would direct such special attention as to become master of it. By this means we should have men so skilled in every branch as to be capable of giving instruction on it either by lectures or from the press.

The field of learning has become so wide that no man can be accurate in his knowledge of every department. To excel in any particular branch, much time and attention must be devoted to it. And this special attention to some favorite object need not interfere with professional pursuits, nor with the steady pursuit of general knowledge. It might be made the amusement of vacant hours, which otherwise would run to waste. And if a man should never have occasion to make use of such knowledge by endeavoring to instruct others, still it would richly repay him for the time and attention bestowed upon it; as every one knows by experience how much more satisfaction the accurate knowledge of a subject affords, than that which is partial and superficial.

There was a time, in this country, when there was danger of the learned languages being excluded from a course of liberal education. The prejudice against the study of Latin and Greek was so strong, that many parents were borne along with the current, and actually insisted that their sons should be educated in the sciences and in English literature, while the Latin and Greek classics were laid aside. The influence which these sentiments obtained over public opinion may be judged of from the fact, that in the "Annals of Yale College, it is stated that in the year 1827, a committee was appointed to inquire into the expediency of so altering the regular course of instruction in this college, as to leave out of said course the study of the dead languages, substituting other studies, therefor." And in some other colleges, the Greek language was dispensed with, and some modern language substituted in its place. And the effect was to turn away the attention of youth from the dead languages, by which means classical learning has, in this country, been much retarded. But there is reason to hope that the tide has turned, and that now there is an increasing opinion that these languages are an important branch of a liberal education which cannot, without great injury, be laid aside. The arguments, however, in favor of excluding them are so popular, and have been handled so adroitly, that there are still some who consider this study as useless, or at least as far less valuable than many branches of science which might be substituted in their place. And it may be expected that objections will continue to be made to the common course pursued in our schools and colleges, on this account. It may therefore be proper briefly to remark, that the opinion which is hostile to the study of Latin and Greek as a part of liberal education, mistakes the primary object of education. The argument goes on the supposition that the accumulation of useful knowledge is the only thing to be considered in judging of the efficiency of different plans; whereas, the most important end of education is to develop, exercise, strengthen, and direct the several faculties of the mind. When these are well disciplined, the acquisition of every kind of knowledge will be easy; without it the accumulation of stores of knowledge will be of little value; or, to speak more correctly, the mind which has not been properly trained is incapable of acquiring the most important branches of

knowledge. It may be asked whether the mind may not be as well trained by learning other things, which may be turned to some useful purpose. To which we reply, that it has been found by long experience that the study of these ancient languages has the effect of exercising not only the memory but also the judgment. Besides, the compositions found in these languages are written with consummate skill ; and as specimens of exquisite taste, both in prose and verse, have nothing superior and scarcely any parallel in the writings of other nations. And a good taste in pupils is most effectually cultivated by intimate acquaintance with the best models. Our young men who possess a talent for the fine arts, judge wisely in going to Italy, where they have before them the most perfect specimens of the arts in every department. But as the exquisite poems, orations, and histories of the ancients are capable of being easily transported from place to place, and multiplied by the press, we have no occasion to go abroad for these, but every student may have them in possession in his own study, and by a daily familiarity with these models it cannot be otherwise but that the taste of the scholar will be gradually refined, and the judgment in regard to such matters be rendered correct.

One of the things in the state of our country which prevents the alumni of our colleges from rising to eminence in their respective professions is, that the demand for their services and the openings for employment are so great, that they are induced to enter into public life much too soon. It is indeed true that many continue to improve after engaging in the duties of public or professional life ; but it will be found that the degree of improvement will be in an exact ratio to the point from which they set out. The more knowledge a man has, the greater is his capacity for improving in knowledge. That man, therefore, who goes into public life with a mind well disciplined, and well furnished with professional and general knowledge, will rise faster than one who commences with lower attainments. As the professions which engage the attention of literary men become full, there will be an increasing necessity for those who aspire to honorable and useful distinction, not to venture on the theatre of public life until their minds are fully matured, and their knowledge enlarged and systematized. Hereafter men of superficial education and meagre attainments need not expect to

rise as did men of this description in former times : pre-eminence in any learned profession can only be expected now, by those who have devoted years to preparatory studies.

But while it is true that many young men improve after entering on the practice of their profession, there are others who never advance : they remain stationary or rather retrograde in their course. Such bring no honor to their profession, but rather disgrace ; and are commonly useless members of society.

In answer to all that has been said in favor of regular education and long continued preparation, it has been alleged, that some of our greatest men have reached to the eminence which they possess, without any regular course of liberal education, and without the habit of close and systematic study. The fact cannot be denied, and should be considered as an exception to a well established general rule ; and every one knows that a general rule is rather established than subverted by the existence of a few exceptions. In reply to the objection it is sometimes said, that, eminent as these characters are, they would have been more so, if they had enjoyed the advantages of a regular and liberal education. But the truth of this is not evident. I am of opinion, that some minds, peculiarly constituted, acquire greater power, and rise to greater eminence, by being thrown into circumstances favorable to the development and vigor of their faculties, than if they had been trained in the regular course of scholastic studies. But it would be folly to neglect regular education and attention to study and discipline, which for ages have been found useful to most, because a small number of men have arisen, by an uncommon road, to superior excellence, without having been trained in the usual way. I have seen a boy of six years of age, who had never learned the first rules of arithmetic, who could in a minute answer questions which a practised accountant could not answer in less than five or ten minutes ; but would it be wise for this reason to omit teaching children the common rules of arithmetic ? It is however true, that men whose minds rise to a high degree of vigor in an extraordinary way, do always labor under some peculiar disadvantages ; their knowledge, though great and accurate, is confined to particular branches, while other departments are left untouched. A distinguished man, in this state, informed me, a few days since, that

one of our greatest statesmen and most effective orators knew no more of the British poets than a child. That such a man should be ignorant of the higher mathematics and sublimer parts of astronomy, would not be wonderful, but that he should be unacquainted with Milton and Shakespeare is really surprising. One excellent end of a regular college education is, that the youth is carried through a circle of the sciences, and surveys the general condition of polite literature. It is important to have some general acquaintance with the encyclopedia of human knowledge, and with the present state of advancement in each particular branch.

The greatest difficulty which now occurs in conducting a liberal education is, to know how much to include in the college course. The field of learning has become so extensive, that an attempt to comprehend every branch would necessarily render the course superficial; and it should be a fixed principle in education, not to build a large structure upon a slender foundation. Solidity and strength should never be sacrificed for extent and variety. Some branches of knowledge, both useful and ornamental, must be omitted, or slightly touched, in our literary institutions; and by those who desire an acquaintance with them, may be better acquired in other places. The rule should be to render the student thorough in the elementary and fundamental parts, and to add, of others, as much as can be comprehended in the time allotted to the course; still giving precedence to those branches which are most important and useful.

It seems to me that the importance of education in all its stages requires that more qualified persons should devote their time and attention to teaching. The profession of an instructor in the lower and higher schools, should be held in much greater esteem, and more liberally remunerated, than they have been in time past. Well qualified instructors should constitute another learned profession, and should be considered as standing on equal ground with gentlemen of the other learned professions. But well qualified teachers we cannot have in sufficient numbers, unless seminaries for the education of teachers, and normal schools, be instituted. By means of these, education in the kingdom of Prussia has been placed on a better footing, and extended more generally to all classes of people, than in any country on the globe. What has

there been accomplished by a wise exertion of arbitrary power ought to be effected here by the voluntary and energetic action of the whole people. Great good often springs from small beginnings. The acorn grows up to be a sturdy oak in the forest. It is difficult to bring great schemes of benevolence into operation at once. Human wisdom is not sufficient to adapt them to all the varying contingencies which must be met. I like Dr. Chalmers' idea of beginning near home, and cultivating a small field thoroughly, and gradually enlarging our operations, and combining our efforts with those of others, as may be found convenient. The establishment of a good school for teachers, in this Valley, would be an enterprise deserving universal patronage, and could not but be a rich blessing to the country. And why would not this place be suitable for such an institution?

The most dangerous error on the subject of education which is becoming prevalent in this country is that of excluding religious instruction from our schools; especially from common schools. This error has been committed by some of the States of this Union which have done most for the general promotion of education.

As religion is the most important of all subjects, it may seem strange, at first view, that there should exist any objection to its being made part of every system of education. But there are some plausible objections, which deserve to be noticed. It is alleged that the minds of youth should not be prejudiced in favor of any religion, before the judgment has come to maturity; that the minds of children should be left unoccupied until they are capable of judging for themselves on this important subject.

If this plan were pursued on all subjects, as well as religion, it would put an end to the education of youth, and we see not why the objection is not applicable to every species of knowledge concerning which there can be any diversity of opinion. But the true and sufficient answer to this objection is, that the human mind cannot be kept free from the influence of all religious opinions and impressions, and if we neglect to inculcate sound principles, such as are erroneous and dangerous will be adopted. The only way to keep out error is to pre-occupy the mind with truth. The heart of man is like a rich garden, which, if neglected, will teem with

noxious weeds, to prevent the growth of which the ground must be cultivated and good seed must be sowed. And if it were possible to keep the mind entirely unoccupied until manhood, the consequence would be that the powers of the mind would remain dormant, and its condition more deplorable than if it had been occupied with any system of instruction whatever, for every such system contains much truth; and among Protestant Christians, the instructions given to children are generally composed of the most important and necessary truths. Besides, religion is as much needed by the young, as by those of mature age. And the inculcation of its doctrines cannot be neglected without the greatest injury to the child.

Another objection, now more popular and prevalent, is, that since the people are divided into so many sects and denominations in our country, religion cannot make a part of the system of education, without interfering with the creeds or consciences of one sect or another. This may be a valid reason for not teaching, in common schools, the peculiarities of any one denomination, but it is no reason at all why those things should not be taught in which all Protestants agree. As all admit that the Bible is true and the source of all correct information on the subject of religion, there can be no reasonable objection to having it read in schools. This ancient and sacred book should be studied, if for nothing else, as a most venerable record of antiquity. The truth is, no education can be complete, even as it relates to the early history of the world, and of ancient nations, without the Bible. The early histories of other nations do not reach back with any distinctness, even to the time when the history of the Old Testament closes; and the history of early times by all profane authors is so deformed with monstrous fables that it furnishes no real instruction. The only difficulty which arises from the use of the Bible in our schools is the opposition of the Romanists, who do not approve our version, and who, indeed, are unwilling to have their children made acquainted with the contents of the Holy Scriptures, except such parts as their priests choose to communicate. Their people have not the privilege which the Bereans enjoyed, of daily searching the Sacred Scriptures, to see whether what is taught by their teachers is true or not: they must believe everything with an implicit faith; so that for them,

ignorance is better than knowledge. But as it regards these people, the difficulty only occurs in our large cities and a few other places, where Papists abound. Happily, in most parts of our country, this class of people are not found, or in numbers so small that no exceptions need be made to accommodate them. And where they are numerous, they should be left to pursue their own course, undisturbed by the civil authority; and their children should be permitted to be gathered into schools of their own; but they should not be allowed to interrupt that course of instruction which is judged to be the most efficient, in a country where four-fifths of the people are Protestants. Religion, I repeat it again, is infinitely the most important and necessary part of education. Leave this out, and it will be doubtful whether our schools will not do more harm than good, for sound morality rests on religion as its basis.

Gentlemen of the Alumni, the object of your association doubtless is, to promote the permanent prosperity of your beloved and respected *alma mater*. The character and success of every literary institution depends very much upon its Alumni in two ways. First, they stamp its character by the talents, scholarship, and principles which they exhibit, when they come before the world, in their respective professions, and public occupations. In this way they honor or disgrace the place of their education, without any direct design to promote its prosperity, or the reverse; for the public must and will judge of a college or seminary, not by a few specimens favorable or unfavorable—but by the general character of her Alumni. The more eminent, then, gentlemen, you become, for wisdom and integrity in your several pursuits, the more honor will you reflect on your *alma mater*, and the want of ability or of virtuous principle in any of you, cannot fail, in some degree, to inflict a wound on her reputation. It may be, that more is expected of the Faculties of literary institutions, in disciplining the minds and moulding the characters of their pupils, than is reasonable; but the public possess no other means of appreciating the character and efficiency of such institutions, than the virtues and attainments of those instructed and trained in their halls; and the making this the criterion by which to judge of the comparative excellence of different colleges is fair, and devolves upon their

professors and teachers a responsibility which ought to be felt, and which cannot but be salutary to the community.

The other way in which the Alumni of a college may promote her prosperity is, by individual and associated effort to advance her interests. By defending her against calumny and misrepresentation ; by communicating information respecting the facilities and advantages of education which she possesses ; by lending their aid to give effect to applications to the Legislature, or to the public, for funds which may be needed ; and especially, by selecting some one object connected with her reputation and interests, which by their combined efforts they will promote. Such, for example, as the enlargement of her library. This is an object well worthy of the vigorous and persevering efforts of the Alumni of Washington College. There is no reason why American institutions for educating youth may not stand on a level with the most celebrated of Europe, with this one exception, that compared with theirs our libraries are small and meagre. Foreigners who visit our country, speak with contempt—as they justly may—of the insignificance of all the libraries in this country. Indeed, if they were all collected into one, it would not be so complete as the library of some single institution in Europe which might be mentioned. As to professors and teachers, there is no reason why our colleges should be inferior to theirs ; for it cannot be doubted, that American genius is not inferior to European ; and many of our young men study in the best institutions of foreign countries ; and it is not found difficult to induce Europeans who have acquired celebrity to come as professors to this country. But it will be long before we can vie with the European universities in the extent and richness of our libraries. No doubt our colleges are too much multiplied, but the evil will correct itself ; and, after a while, only those which are really needed will continue in operation ; and of these, those which shall possess the most extensive and valuable libraries will acquire a permanent pre-eminence. The attraction of distinguished and eloquent professors will be variable, but that college, or university, which shall establish a library superior to all others in the country, will possess a standing recommendation not only to students, but to able professors and authors, who need such a library to complete works of learning which may be profit-

able to the whole community. I cannot forbear, therefore, to recommend this object to the special attention of the Alumni of Washington College, now convened.

I cannot conclude this address without pronouncing a brief eulogy on the man who deserves to be called the Father of this College, and whose memory should be venerated by all its Alumni. I mean the Rev. WILLIAM GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham was born in one of the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, and until the age of manhood was brought up in the business of agriculture, which he understood well and of which he was always fond. But at this period of his life, having undergone a great change in his religious views and feelings, he resolved to prepare for the work of the holy ministry. The obstacles in his way were, indeed, great, but being encouraged by the counsels and aided by the efforts and prayers of a most excellent mother, to whom he attributed in a great measure his success in this important enterprise, he ventured, under all discouragements, to go forward in endeavoring to obtain a liberal education, depending on the guidance and aid of Divine Providence. Having prepared himself to enter the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, he entered that institution, in company with a number of young men, who became eminent in the church or state. Among them as a scholar he stood pre-eminent; for during the college course he gained a whole year; that is he anticipated the studies of the senior year, before the class entered on them, and was permitted to retire from college till the time of the examination of his class, when he attended with them, and was graduated in the year 1773. As his father was unable, conveniently, to bear the expenses of his son while at college, he contributed to his own support, by teaching in the grammar school, then under the special direction of Dr. Witherspoon, the President of the college. Having completed his college course, he pursued his theological studies under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Roane, a pious and distinguished divine, who resided in the vicinity of his father. But, during the whole period of his education, he was constantly engaged in the study of theology. But, among all his teachers he gave the preference to his excellent mother; and has been heard to say, that he learned

more of practical religion from her, than from all persons and books beside.

When the Presbytery of Hanover determined to establish a school in this Valley, for the rearing of young men for the ministry, they applied to the Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, then itinerating in the State, to recommend a suitable person to take charge of their school, upon which he at once recommended Mr. Graham; and at their request wrote to him to come on to the Valley of Virginia.¹ Before this time, a classical school had been taught at a place called Mount Pleasant, near to the little town of Fairfield. Here Mr. Graham commenced his labors as a teacher; and here we find the germ whence sprung this college. The acorn was then planted from which has proceeded the oak which is now spreading its branches abroad.

It was not long, however, before it was judged expedient to remove the infant school to Timber Ridge meeting house, where a convenient house for the Rector was built, and also an Academy and other small buildings for the accommodation of the students. A considerable sum was now raised, by subscription, for the purchase of books and a philosophical apparatus, and Mr. Graham was entrusted with the business of selecting and purchasing such articles as he should judge most useful and necessary; and accordingly, he took a journey to Philadelphia, and executed, judiciously, the trust reposed in him. He also took a journey into New England, to solicit benefactions for the rising Academy, and not without some success, though not considerable. At this time, the prospects of the infant institution were very encouraging, and if no untoward events had occurred, there is reason to believe that it would have speedily risen to great eminence and usefulness. But the revolutionary war having burst on the country, threatening ruin and desolation, the attention of all *true* men was turned to the defence of the country; and from no part of the United States, it is believed, did more young men enter the public service, than from this very region; for in this whole country, half a dozen could not be found who were not true friends to the liberty and independence

¹ At the same meeting of the Presbytery of Hanover at which Mr. Graham was appointed Rector, Mr. John Montgomery was appointed Tutor.

of the country. Not only the youth who would have commenced a course of education were taken, but even those already in the institution, fired with an ardent patriotism, laid down their books, and seized the sword and the rifle. And it may truly be said, that the patriotic fire burned in no bosom with a warmer flame than in that of the rector of this Academy. On a certain occasion, when by the invitation of the executive authority of the State it was resolved to raise a volunteer company of riflemen to go into active service, and there appeared much backwardness in the men to come forward, he stepped out and had his own name enrolled, which produced such an effect that the company was immediately filled, of which he was unanimously chosen captain, and all necessary preparations were made for marching to the seat of war; when Gen. Washington signified to the governors of the States, that he did not wish any more volunteer companies to join the army.

The abandonment of the houses erected at Timber Ridge appears to have taken place—though without authority—as a matter of necessity. The income from the Academy was small, and his salary for preaching to the two congregations of Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting House (now Monmouth) being paid in depreciated currency, it was impossible for him to support his family. He therefore resolved to return to farming, which, as has been said, he well understood. Accordingly, he purchased a small farm on the North River, within a mile or two of this spot.

The school at Timber Ridge was, however, continued for some time after Mr. Graham retired to his farm, and he endeavored to perform the duties of a rector, by visiting it and giving instruction several times in each week. But this being found very inconvenient to himself and disadvantageous to the school, after due deliberation, he resolved to relinquish the establishment at Timber Ridge, and to open a school in his own house. Here, the person who now addresses you, at an early age, commenced his course of classical learning. Even at this time, there was a respectable number of students in the school, most of them having reached the age and stature of men. After some time, a frame edifice was erected on ground given for the purpose, and the school was continued until, in the year 1782, application was made to the legis-

lature for an act of incorporation ; and accordingly, a number of trustees were formed into a body corporate, to have full charge of the Academy, which received the name of **LIBERTY HALL** ; which name it retained until it was endowed by General Washington, when his name was substituted for that which it had before borne. Before this donation was received, Mr. Graham had resigned his office of rector, or president ; though it is understood that he used all his influence to secure this important endowment ; and that he was the author of the letter addressed to General Washington, by the trustees, in favor of this institution.

Though Mr. Graham had some formidable opposers who had taken up strong prejudices against him, and although, after the close of the war, the character of the students who frequented the Academy was greatly deteriorated, and the difficulties which environed him were many and perplexing ; yet it must be conceded, that in resigning his important post at this time, he was not guided by his usual wisdom. Whatever be the character of youth, every civil and sacred interest requires that their education should be in the hands of pious men, and generally of ministers of the Gospel. And how can we hope for a reformation among the youth of our country, but by religious and moral instruction, and the exercise of salutary discipline. It is not expedient to bring distinctly into view, on this occasion, the disappointment which attended his favorite scheme of planting in the West a little colony of select families of like mind, who might live in peace, far from the contentions, bustle, and turmoil of the world. All such schemes must fail in the present state of human nature.

It is a remarkable fact, that this institution, although not honored with the name of a college, by its charter possessed all the powers of a college, being expressly authorized to grant literary degrees ; and although there were then no periodical commencements, yet in several instances the degree of bachelor of arts was granted, and in one instance, at least, publicly. The course of study in the Academy was precisely the same as that pursued at Princeton while Mr. Graham was a student in that college ; even the manuscript lectures of Dr. Witherspoon were copied, and studied by the students.

After this brief history, I will, as concisely as possible, give the character of this distinguished man, whose memory appears to be in danger of falling into oblivion.

Mr. Graham possessed a mind formed for profound and accurate investigation. He had studied the Latin and Greek classics with great care, and relished the beauties of these exquisite compositions. With those authors taught in the schools he was familiar, by a long practice in teaching, and always insisted on the importance of classical literature, as the proper foundation of a liberal education.

He had a strong inclination to the study of Natural Philosophy, and took pleasure in making experiments with such apparatus as he possessed; and he had procured for the Academy as good an one as was then possessed by most of the colleges. In these experiments much time was employed, on which inquisitive persons, not connected with the Academy, were freely permitted to attend.

As he was an ardent patriot, and a thorough republican, the times in which he lived led him to bestow much attention on the science of government; and one of the few pieces which he wrote for the press was on this subject. By some he was censured for meddling with politics, but it should be remembered, that at that time, this country, having cast off its allegiance to Great Britain, and declared itself independent, had to lay the foundation of governments, both for the States, and the nation; and that the welfare of posterity as well as of the existing inhabitants of the country, was involved in the wisdom with which this work was done. The talents of every man capable of thinking and judging on such subjects, seemed to be fairly put into requisition. It is a sound maxim that men living at one time, must not be judged by the maxims of an age in which all circumstances are greatly changed. At the adoption of the federal constitution, which according to its original draft he did not approve, he relinquished all attention to politics during the remainder of his life.

The science, however, which engaged his attention more than all others, except theology, was the PHILOSOPHY OF THE MIND! In this he took great delight, and to it devoted much time and attention. Though acquainted with the best treatises which had then been published, his investigations were not carried on so much

by books, as by a patient and repeated analysis of the various processes of thought as they arose in his own mind, and by reducing the phenomena thus observed to a regular system. The speaker is of opinion, that the system of mental philosophy which he thus formed, was, in clearness and fulness, superior to any thing which has been given to the public, in the numerous works which have recently been published on this subject. And it is greatly to be regretted that his lectures were never fully committed to writing, and published, for the benefit of the world. It was, however, a fault, in this man of profound thought, that he made little use of the pen. And it was also a defect, that in the latter years of his life he addicted himself little to reading the productions of other men; and perhaps entertained too low an opinion of the value of books.

But it is time that we should consider Mr. Graham as a theologian and a preacher. From the time of his ordination by the Presbytery of Hanover in 1775, he became a teacher of theology. Most of those who entered the holy ministry in this Valley pursued their preparatory studies under his direction. And after the great revival which commenced in this Valley in the year 1789, Mr. Graham had a theological class of seven or eight members under his tuition, which was kept up for several years. It was his custom to devote one day in the week to hearing the written discourses of these candidates, and to a free discussion of theological points. In these exercises he appeared to take great delight; and the students were always gratified and commonly convinced by his lucid statements and cogent reasonings. As most of those who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions in this incipient theological seminary are not now in the world, it may not be improper to say, that some of them rose to eminence in the church, and as professors or presidents of literary institutions. The influence which he gained over the minds of his pupils, while under his care, was unbounded. Seldom did any one of them venture to maintain an opinion different from those which he inculcated. Yet he encouraged the utmost freedom of discussion; and seemed to aim, not so much to bring his pupils to think as he did, as to teach them to think on all subjects for themselves. A slavish subjection to any human authority he repudiated; and therefore never

attempted to add weight to his opinions by referring to a long list of authors, of great name; but uniformly insisted, that all opinions should be subjected to the test of Scripture and reason. Some of his students have been heard to say, that the chief benefit which they derived from his instructions was, that by this means they were led to the free and independent exercise of their own faculties in the investigation of truth.

Mr. Graham, in his theological creed, was strictly orthodox, according to the standards of his own church, which he greatly venerated; but in his method of explaining some of the knotty points in theology he departed considerably from the common track; and was of opinion that many things which have been involved in perplexity and obscurity by the manner in which they have been treated, are capable of being easily and satisfactorily explained by the application of sound principles of philosophy. As a preacher, he was always instructive and evangelical; though, in common, his delivery was rather feeble and embarrassed, than forcible; but when his feelings were excited, his voice became penetrating, and his whole manner awakening and impressive. And his profound study of the human heart enabled him to describe the various exercises of the Christian with a clearness and truth which often greatly surprised his pious hearers; for it seemed to them as if he could read the very inmost sentiments of their minds; which he described more perfectly than they could do themselves. When it was his object to elucidate some difficult point, it was his custom to open his trenches, so to speak, at a great distance; removing out of the way every obstacle, until he was prepared to make his assault on the main fortress. Thus, insensibly he led his hearers along, step by step, gaining their assent first to one proposition and then to another, until at last they could not easily avoid acquiescence in the conclusion to which he wished to bring them. As a clear and cogent reasoner, he had no superior among his contemporaries; and his pre-eminence in the exercise of this faculty, was acknowledged by all unprejudiced persons.

It has been hinted that Mr. Graham had enemies, who often had influence to impede or thwart his favorite schemes; and candor requires that it should be acknowledged, that he sometimes

imprudently made enemies of those who might have been efficient friends, by too free an indulgence of satirical and sarcastical remarks; which weapon he could wield with great power. And it must also be conceded, that towards his opponents he never manifested much of a conciliatory temper, but seemed rather disposed to stand aloof from them, and to set them at defiance.

In the government of youth, Mr. Graham was from the first a rigid and unyielding disciplinarian. He laid it down as a principle, that, at every risk, authority must be maintained; and when this was by any one resisted, however formidable the student might be in physical strength, or however many might combine to frustrate the regular exercise of discipline, he fearlessly went forward in the discharge of his duty, and generally triumphed over all opposition; and often inflicted severe castigation on the thoughtless persons who dared to rebel against lawful authority. Whether his rigor might not, in some instances, have been extreme, is a question on which judicious men would differ in opinion, and which need not be discussed.

As has been already hinted, the great error of his life was the relinquishment of the important station in which Providence had placed him, and for which he was so eminently qualified; and that at a time of life when he possessed the ability of being more useful than at any former period. Having removed to the banks of the Ohio river, he fell into great embarrassments, in the midst of which he died, in consequence of a violent fever contracted by exposure to frequent, drenching rains, while on a journey to Richmond. In that city he breathed his last, in the house of his friend, the late Col. Robert Gamble: and his remains were deposited very near the south door of the Episcopal Church on the hill, over which a plain marble slab, with a short inscription, is placed.

The extent of the influence exerted by this one man over the literature and religion of this region, cannot be calculated. As the stream which fertilizes a large district is small in its origin, but goes on continually increasing until it becomes a mighty river; so the influence of the Rev. William Graham did not cease when he died, but has gone on increasing, by means of his disciples, who have been scattered far and wide over the West and the South.

A debt of gratitude is due to him which cannot easily be repaid. Instead of a monument of marble, which has been richly deserved, an ample memoir of his life, with a particular history of this college in its various vicissitudes and conditions, and of some of its principal Alumni, educated under the tuition of Mr. Graham, would be a suitable tribute to his memory. And this work would seem to devolve naturally on some member of the Faculty. That it may be speedily undertaken, and faithfully executed, would no doubt be the ardent wish of every Alumnus present.

I wish also to preserve from oblivion the memory of the first tutor in this institution, after it was incorporated, Dr. James Priestley; a man of lively genius, and extraordinary attainments in some departments of literature. Mr. Priestley was the son of a poor but very pious man in this county. Mr. Graham having, in catechising the youth of his charge, noticed the readiness and accuracy with which this boy answered all the questions proposed to him, obtained the consent of his parents to take him into his own family, that he might give him a liberal education. The boy being endowed with a most retentive memory and a vivid imagination, soon became a distinguished scholar, and a tutor in the Academy. His memory was so extraordinary, that in hearing his pupils, he had no occasion to take a book into his hands. His principal attention was directed to Greek literature, in the accurate knowledge of which he greatly excelled. He sometimes entertained his pupils by spouting, with astonishing vehemence, the orations of Demosthenes, in Greek. Mr. Priestley devoted his whole life to the promotion of classical literature. The principal theatre of his labors was Georgetown, (District of Columbia,) Annapolis, and Baltimore, in the State of Maryland. In each of the forementioned places he established and superintended schools of a high grade of excellence.

His fame as a teacher of youth having spread extensively, he was selected as the first President of the Cumberland University, at Nashville, Tennessee. Here he spent the last years of his life; and though all were impressed with a high idea of his extraordinary learning, and his high qualifications as a classical teacher; yet he did not succeed well in organizing and arranging an infant college. He was indeed a very eccentric, though a very amiable

man ; and married a woman as eccentric as himself. Among the peculiar opinions which he fondly cherished, one was, that our future felicity would depend very much upon the degree of intellectual culture bestowed on the mind, as well as on its moral improvement ; an opinion which has been ingeniously maintained by a writer in one of our popular periodicals, recently.

Dr. Priestly possessed an enthusiastic ardor in favor of education which I have never seen surpassed ; and he succeeded in inspiring his pupils with something of the same. From him the speaker derived the first impulse in his literary course, and, therefore, he feels a pleasure in having this opportunity of paying a deserved tribute to the memory of a teacher, who was an ornament to this institution, in its earliest days.

In conclusion I would remark, that I feel myself this day placed in solemn circumstances. Of all those who were connected with this institution when I entered it, and for some years afterwards, whether as trustees, teachers, or students, there is not one remaining upon earth but myself. And very soon some other person who addresses the Alumni of Washington College may say the same in regard to those who now hear me. Time rolls swiftly on, and will soon bear on its rapid current the youngest and strongest among us to the ocean of eternity. Let us all then make it our chief care and study to prepare for an event which none can escape. While we are permitted to live, may we be found diligently fulfilling the duties of our respective stations in society ; endeavoring by all the means in our power to promote the welfare of our fellow creatures. Liberal learning is calculated to raise men not only above the gross pursuits of sensuality, but also to elevate them above the sordid pursuits of selfishness. Let us endeavor so to act, that on a retrospect of our lives, our conduct may meet with the approbation of our own consciences, and with the approbation of our God !

Having now finished what I wished to communicate, at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and lasting farewell of you all ; never again expecting to see the faces of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven's richest blessings attend you !

CONCLUDING NOTE.

The Rev. James W. Alexander, D. D., in his life of his father the Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, gives an account of the circumstances under which this address was delivered, which we now copy as a matter of interest to the reader :

“Notwithstanding the adverse prognostics of this letter (referring to a letter of Dr. Alexander to his sister, written in 1842, in which he expressed a doubt whether at his age and in the state of his health he would ever be able to visit Virginia again), he was permitted to revisit Virginia in the summer of 1843. On this occasion he delivered a discourse before the Alumni Association of Washington College, on the Commencement Day, June 29th. From the crowd of persons and the extreme heat, he was during the address seized with a faintness, which was alarming, and which made it necessary for him to be carried into the open air. No expostulations, however, could induce him to desist. He was especially desirous to say something in honor of his old teacher, Mr. Graham. He therefore returned and completed the delivery of the address. Its last words were these : ‘ Having now finished what I wished to communicate at this time, I must, my beloved friends, take a solemn and last farewell of you all ; expecting never again to see the face of most of you in the flesh. May Heaven’s richest blessings attend you ! ’ From the columns of a religious journal, published some time after the event, we derive the following statement : ‘ I shall never forget some circumstances connected with his last visit to Virginia. It was the summer of 1843. He came, as he told me when I met with him, reckoning upon it as his last visit to his native region. Dr. Alexander opened the Commencement exercises with a short prayer. A generation long gone by seemed to be represented in him, and while he sat looking down upon the scene, and partaking of the varying emotions that swayed the auditory, I could not but fancy what thoughts and feelings must have been passing through his mind, far out of the range of those that were present to the minds of others there. He had been one of the early students of Liberty Hall Academy, under its first rector, William Graham, a man of eminent talents and piety, who well deserves to be honored as the father of learning in West Virginia, and who was the preceptor likewise of Baxter, Speece, J. H. Rice, and other men of note, both in church and state.

“ In the afternoon the audience again filled the spacious building to hear Dr. Alexander, the most of them for the last time. The heat of the crowded house, and the effort of the occasion, coming after the fatigue and excitement of the morning, were too much for an aged man, like Dr. Alexander. He faltered in the midst of his discourse, grew pale, stopped and sank back into his seat, every heart in the vast assembly beating quick at such an interruption. In a few moments he rose, and renewed the effort; but it would not do. It was not long before he gave way, and had to be carried out of the house in his chair. I had listened in painful anxiety from the time that he had commenced again, and the feelings of the audience were now all absorbed in concern for him. Who could tell but that the cords of an aged and feeble life, too tensely stretched, might suddenly snap, and the scene wind up with a melancholy and thrilling event.

“ Friends gathered around him, and begged that he would leave off, suggesting that, with his consent, the address would be printed. He declared his intention of going on. It was then suggested that the rest should be read by some person for him. But no, he persisted strangely, and as it almost seemed, obstinately. What was the secret of his pertinacity? He had an office to perform; he had a tribute to pay on that last occasion. And there, under the shadow of the old church, surrounded by the descendants of his own paternal family, and of his contemporaries, amidst the tombs of his own generation, and within a few yards of the graves of his own parents, he sat and read his tribute to Mr. Graham—the audience clustering around him, and hanging with fixed and tearful attention on his closing words. He sketched the character of Graham, spoke of his services to the cause of learning and religion, and concluded with a few impressive remarks, in which he spoke of himself as the sole survivor of the whole number of officers and students connected with Liberty Hall at the time of his entrance, and for two or three years afterwards, and exhorted those about him, as one who never expected to see them again, to seek salvation through the infinite merits of a Redeemer.

“ The address has been printed. But it needs that one should have been present to feel the full impression of it, as delivered.

“ That face and form, that group, the old church, the church-yard with its monuments, all seen amid the lengthening shadows of declining day, formed a scene for a painter's pencil. It was a most striking and appropriate picture for the last page of such a man's pilgrimage to the place of his birth and of his fathers' graves. N. L.

“Concerning this visit, his eldest brother, Andrew Alexander, Esq., thus wrote: ‘We have been very much gratified with the visit of your father. There were frequently present the three brothers and two sisters. It is not common for so many aged brothers and sisters to meet; the youngest being sixty-seven years old. It is not at all probable that we shall ever again meet in this world.’ It is instructive to add, that at this present writing, only one of that venerable circle survives.”—*Life of Dr. Archibald Alexander*, pp. 554–557.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY

LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

HISTORICAL PAPERS

No. 3.—1892

1. THE SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLERS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA: ALUMNI ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON COLLEGE, JULY 1, 1859. BY COL. BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN.
2. NOTES ON WASHINGTON ACADEMY AND WASHINGTON COLLEGE: PREPARED IN 1873, AT THE REQUEST OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION. BY HON. SIDNEY S. BAXTER.
3. MEMORIAL TRIBUTES TO THE REV. GEO. A. BAXTER, D. D.
4. SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES, CONTINUED.
5. SAMUEL AND WILLIAM LYLE, JAMES RAMSEY, JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEES; WILLIAM MCCLUNG, AND MANY ALUMNI. BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.

UNIVERSITY
OF VIRGINIA

BALTIMORE:
JOHN MURPHY & CO.
1892.

Virginia

LD

5873

W2

320939

NO.3

1292

COPY 2

VIRGINIA
AIRSAY TO

PREFACE.

This number contains the valuable address of Col. Bolivar Christian on "The Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia," now nearly out of print; Notes on Washington Academy and Washington College, by the Hon. Sidney S. Baxter; Memorial Tributes to the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D.; and a continuation of Sketches of Trustees.

In preparing these Sketches we have been greatly aided by the Rev. William Brown, D. D., Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, Judge William P. Houston, and William H. Ruffner, LL. D. These will be continued in succeeding numbers.

We hope to publish in the next number a continuation of Dr. Ruffner's history of the institution by his son Dr. William Henry Ruffner.

WILLIAM McLAUGHLIN,

WILLIAM A. GLASGOW,

HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE,

Committee.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY,

February, 1892.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLERS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA: ALUMNI ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA., JULY 1, 1859. BY COL. BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN, OF STAUNTON, VA.

What the term Scotch-Irish implies.....	3
Scots transplanted to Ulster under James I.....	4
Persecutions while yet in Scotland.....	4
Condition of Scotch-Irish in Ulster.....	6
Migration to Pennsylvania.....	6
Removal to the Valley of Virginia.....	7
State of the Valley at that time.....	7
Characteristics of the Early Settlers.....	9
Rev. John Craig.....	11
Bishop Burnet's description of Scotch Covenanters applicable to early Presbyterian Congregations in the Valley.....	12
First Vestrymen of Augusta parish dissenters.....	14
Extracts from Court Records of Augusta County.....	15
Court-house and Jail described... ..	18
Gabriel Jones, the King's Attorney.....	19
Certain Items of County Levies.....	20
Samples of Sheriffs' Returns.....	21
Indian Incursions.....	23
Augusta Companies in the Indian Wars.....	24
Instances of Indian magnanimity.....	26
Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas.....	27
Pontiac's War.....	28
Cornstalk described.....	30
Battle of Point Pleasant.....	30
Death of Cornstalk.....	31
Address of Freeholders of Fincastle County to Continental Congress.	33
Instructions of Freeholders of Augusta County to their Delegates in Convention.....	34

	PAGE.
Address of Freeholders of Botetourt County.....	36
The Battle of Guilford.....	37
The Battle of King's Mountain.....	38
Tarleton's Raid.....	39
Various Memorials from Hanover Presbytery.....	41
Conclusion	42
 NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON ACADEMY AND COLLEGE, FROM 1799 TO 1829: PREPARED IN 1873, AT THE REQUEST OF THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, BY HON. SIDNEY S. BAXTER.	
Law incorporating Washington College repealed.....	45
Dr. Baxter appointed Professor.....	45
Dr. Baxter elected Rector.....	46
Mr. Blain elected Professor.....	46
Burning of Liberty Hall Academy.....	46
Purchase of College Grounds.....	47
Dr. Baxter made President of Washington College.....	48
John Robinson's Bequest.....	48
Resignation of President and Professors.....	49
Course of Study under Dr. Baxter.....	49
Mode of Instruction.....	50
Mental Discipline the aim.....	51
Prejudice against Study of Ancient Languages.....	52
Methods of Discipline.....	52
Sketch of Dr. Baxter.....	53
Sketch of Rev. Daniel Blain.....	55
Sketch of Rev. Andrew Herron.....	56
Sketch of Rev. Henry Ruffner, D. D.....	56
Sketch of Mr. Edward Graham.....	57
Endowments of the College.....	58
Stock of the James River Company.....	58
The Cincinnati Fund.....	60
 NOTICES OF THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND WORK OF DR. BAXTER PUB- LISHED AFTER HIS DEATH:	
By Rev. Stuart Robinson, D. D., in the <i>Watchman of the South</i>	65
By Rev. John H. Boccock, D. D.: Address before the Society of Alumni of Union Theological Seminary, June, 1848.....	69
By Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., in the <i>Staunton Spectator</i> , 1846.....	71
By Rev. William Brown, D. D., in <i>The Central Presbyterian</i>	75

SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES.

	PAGE
Rev. Samuel Carrick. By W. McL.....	85
Thomas Edgar. By W. McL.....	86
Rev. James Mitchel. By W. McL.....	87
Rev. Samuel Houston. By W. P. H.....	88
Rev. John P. Campbell, M. D. By W. McL.....	89
Dr. Samuel L. Campbell. By W. McL.....	93
Col. James McDowell. By Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, of Princeton, N. J.	95
Benjamin Grigsby. By W. McL.....	115
Rev. Samuel Brown. By W. B.....	116

SAMUEL AND WILLIAM LYLE, JAMES RAMSEY, JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEES; WILLIAM MCCLUNG AND MANY ALUMNI: OR, THE LYLE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE. BY WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER, LL. D.

Family of Samuel and William Lyle.....	130
The Four Immigrant Lyles.....	133
Matthew Lyle, Immigrant.....	134
John Lyle, Immigrant.....	138
Daniel Lyle, Immigrant.....	140
Samuel Lyle, Immigrant.....	142
William Lyle, Trustee.....	146
Dr. James Ramsey, Trustee.....	157
Rev. John Montgomery, Trustee.....	159
The Valley of the North River.....	162
Application and Concluding Remarks.....	164

THE SCOTCH-IRISH SETTLERS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON COLLEGE,

LEXINGTON, VA., *July 2nd, 1859.*

DEAR SIR:—

The Association of Alumni of this Institution, wishing to give to the Address with which you favored them last evening as permanent a form and as wide a circulation as possible, appointed the undersigned a Committee to transmit to you the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the thanks of this Association be tendered to BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN, Esq., for the very entertaining and instructive Address to which we have just listened with so much pleasure, and, in order that others besides the large and intelligent audience in attendance may have the benefit of the interesting and important matter in which it so richly abounds, that a Committee of three members be appointed to request a copy for publication.”

While we hereby express the wishes of those we have the honor to represent, we add our own earnest solicitations that you will comply with the request embodied in the foregoing resolution.

We are, with high regard, your Fellow-Alumni,

ALPHONSO SMITH,
JOHN L. CAMPBELL,
GREENLEE DAVIDSON.

To Col. BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN, *Staunton, Va.*

STAUNTON, July 29th, 1859.

Gentlemen:

Although conscious of the imperfections in the address you request for publication, yet as it was written for the Alumni of Washington College, I feel that they have a right to dispose of the manuscript as they shall determine.

If it may awaken the attention of others to its subject, the object of its preparation will be accomplished; and if other facts illustrating the settlement of this

Valley may be thus elicited and communicated to the Society of Alumni or to some proper person for preservation, its wider publication may be permissible.

While it has seemed unnecessary to encumber the MS. with notes of reference, I have been careful to state nothing but on authentic tradition, or as corroborated by reliable history. The plan of the Address was to omit all familiar history not indispensable to embody the floating traditions and unpublished incidents concerning the Scotch-Irish of Augusta. The sources of information are the fading memories of the old settlers; the records of the courts and of the Virginia Legislature; Henning's Statutes; American Archives; the various histories of Scotland and Ireland, of Virginia and the adjoining States; and the Sketches of Monette, Foote, Kercheval, Davidson, Collins, Chambers, and others.

Appreciating the kindly manner in which you have conveyed the request of the Alumni Association—I remain, with friendly esteem, yours truly,

BOLIVAR CHRISTIAN.

To Messrs. ALPHONSO SMITH, JOHN L. CAMPBELL, GREENLEE DAVIDSON,
Committee of Alumni Association, Lexington, Va.

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ALUMNI:

Our Alma Mater was born of the habitual esteem for learning among the Scotch-Irish settlers of this Valley. It had a genial nurture in the classic taste and training of their pastors—hereditary exemplars for their people, not more in piety than in political virtue. Its primal dowry was a tribute from the Father of his Country to patriotism and valor, so long and often illustrated under his own eye, from the fatal day of Braddock's defeat till Freedom's crowning conflict on the plains of Yorktown.

The Alumni of Washington College may well find it a fitting duty to trace out, in all its associations, the unwritten history of the Scotch-Irish Settlers in the Valley of Virginia. Of this race most of the Alumni are themselves direct descendants, and dispersed as they now are in every part of this continent, it can be but a labor of love for each to gather as he may, even from the four winds

themselves, some Sybilline leaves, or floating traditions, to illustrate a history rich in story of brave men and noble deeds—

——“Sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longâ
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.”

Let us then in a spirit of filial love—akin to that of the pious *Æneas*—attempt the task of rescuing from impending oblivion ever so little of the honored memory of our fathers before it be too late forever. Let us patiently, for the sake of the charity of the undertaking, wander awhile, like Old Mortality, among the graves of the past, and with humble but persistent effort retouch the fading tombstones of virtue.

We propose not to travel along the broad highways of History, but mostly on a more rugged route, amidst remote forests and rude mountains, where only weird Tradition has her trackless haunts. We will attempt not in this brief hour to treat such a theme in artistic style, but only to present, as we have gathered, something of the traits and incidents characteristic of the people and the times in the early days of our Valley, and to leave to some more epic pen to trace the moving story in all its fair proportions and poetic contrasts—from the simple wigwam homes, the virgin prairies, and forest-covered mountains of this new world, far back to its origin amidst the moors and time-honored highlands of Ancient Scotland, where—

“Splendor falls on castle walls
And snowy summits old in story.”

The familiar term Scotch-Irish implies, not the amalgamation of distinct Scotch and Irish families, but, like Anglo-Saxon and Indo-Briton, simply that the people of one country were transplanted into the other. The Scotch-Irish settlers in the Valley of Virginia are direct descendants of the Scotch who colonized the North of Ireland during the religious troubles of Great Britain, from the reign of Henry VIII. continuously to the time of William III.

Their lineage is more distinctly traced from the date of the unsuccessful rebellion of the Earls of Tyrconnel and Tyrone, that

forfeited to the British crown the factious province of Ulster. Thither James I. transplanted colonies of Scotch and English during the early part of the seventeenth century. The Rev'd Andrew Stewart, a cotemporaneous writer, records, that "of the English not many came over, for it is to be observed that being a great deal more tenderly bred at home in England, and entertained in better quarters than they could find in Ireland, they were unwilling to flock thither except to good land, such as they had before at home, or to good cities where they might trade; both of which, in those days, were scarce enough here. Besides, the marshiness and fogginess of this island were still found unwholesome to English bodies. The King, too, had a natural love to have Ireland planted with Scots, as being, besides their loyalty, of a middle temper between the English tender and the Irish rude breeding, and a great deal more likely to adventure to plant Ulster." . . . Among these colonists are mentioned the Ellises, Leslies, Hills, Conways, Wilsons and others, "gentlemen of England and worthy persons"—and the Forbesees, Grahams, Stuarts, Hamiltons, Montgomerys, Alexanders, Shaws, Moores, Boyds, Barclays and Baileys, described as "knights and gentlemen of Scotland whose posterity hold good to this day." And here, this evening, I may well repeat this quaint encomium in the presence of many of their lineal posterity, still bearing with honor the same names and "holding good" to this day—two full centuries later.

In the channel thus opened the tide of emigration fluctuated from Scotland to Ireland throughout the succeeding century, swollen too long and often from the ruthless persecutions of the unflinching Covenanters by the faithless Charles and his successors, down to the time of the momentous revolution of 1688, which placed the Presbyterian Prince of Orange on the throne of Great Britain.

The history of these people while yet in Scotland, written in the blood of their sufferings, illustrates a character which bore fruit for their descendants in later years and other lands. Under the extraordinary trials and intense excitement of the times they exhibited devotion to their principles of faith and freedom to a degree readily magnified by their enemies and exaggerated almost to insane fanati-

cism. Many of them, men of high estate of the nobility of Scotland, sacrificed everything for the common cause, undergoing a persecution which, in the opinion of Bishop Burnet himself, "surpassed even the merciless rigors of the Duke of Alva." Proclaiming, in a loyal petition to a perjured King, that "the only desire of our hearts is for the preservation of true religion amongst us, which we hold far dearer than our lives and fortunes," they resisted to the bitter end the canons and liturgy prepared by the impious Charles without the sanction of any church; driven from their time-honored kirk, they still gathered in conventicles like Maybole, and Ayr, and Remfred, and Teviotdale;—renewing, ever and anon, with heartiest zeal, their fealty to their fathers' "SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT,"—that *Magna Charta* of Scottish rights,—and rallying under their "brave banners," emblazoned at once with the ancient thistle of Scotland and the shibboleth of their own faith in the famous golden letters, "FOR CHRIST'S CROWN AND COVENANT,"—they awaited, undaunted, the wrath of tyranny defied. Overborne at last by the oppressor's power, goaded by the insolence and cruel tortures of Claverhouse, and Carstairs, Sharp, Dalzell, and Drummond, too many sealed their testimony with their blood, and the survivors of the red fields of Bothwell-moor, Airmoss, and Pentland Hills, homeless and hopeless, sought a resting place and refuge amid the fens and bogs of Ulster.

"Ah, days by Scotia still deplored !
 When faithless king, and bigot lord,
 On their own subjects drew the sword.

* * * * *

"But FIRM in faith of Gospel truth,
 Stood hoary age, and guileless youth,
 Against oppressors void of ruth,
 In cold blood killing wantonly.

"Their preachers silent and deposed,
 Their house of prayer against them closed,
 Homeless, on mountain heaths exposed !

But though in dark adversity,
 Their harps were NOT on willows hung,
 But tuneful still, and ever strung,
 Till mountain echoes round them rung
 To notes of bravest melody."

They and their descendants, thus saved as by fire, would scarce submit patiently to like oppression in their new-found homes in Ireland. Under the rule of William and Mary, Queen Anne, and the Georges, their condition here was endurable only for its contrast with their former sufferings,—the equivocal consolation of the companions of Ulysses, "*tulimus duriora*." Strained constructions of the Act of Toleration;—tithes and taxes on the wreck of their estates to support an established church, not of their choice;—restraints in the exercise of their cherished opinions;—disabilities and degradations to be endured for conscience' sake;—peculiar dangers from dwelling amidst such bitter and powerful enemies of their faith, already malignantly gloating over one massacre, and muttering threats for more,—all combined to make them an unhappy and restless people.

It was then that, like the delusive whisperings of hope in the captive's dream, prophetic tidings came wafting across the wide ocean, that in the far-off forests of America the Huguenot and Puritan had found a refuge from persecution and "full freedom to worship God." And though the tempest-tossed Eagle-Wing, years before, had so trustingly sailed from the same shores only to be driven back a wreck—as their fathers feared and believed by the warning hand of Providence—they yet remembered that the frailer Mayflower, freighted with the hopes of others tried like themselves, had passed over the deep waters in safety. They trusted that now the fullness of time for their departure had come, that the measure of their afflictions in this land was full, and a home in this new world would fulfil, for their relief, the promise of their God, so often hopefully dwelt upon in all their congregations:—"For thou, O God, hast proved us; and thou hast tried us as silver is tried; thou broughtest us into the net, thou laydest affliction upon our loins; thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water, BUT THOU BROUGHTEST US OUT UNTO A WEALTHY PLACE."

Gathering what little of worldly gear was left from out of their troubles; many with naught save the Bible, but which alone had so often before, in their sorrowful history, seemed to suffice for even more than spiritual sustenance in many a dreary day—precious as is the one draught of sweet water that cheers the patient camel

through the weary wastes of the desert—sadly but trustfully they turned away, as they well knew *forever*, from the homes and the graves of their fathers and fathers' fathers for long centuries gone. Without any known or definite destination within that distant land to which they turned, they hopefully embarked, and in long and wearisome voyages crossing a wide and fathomless ocean that rolled its waves like the dark waters of Lethe over all the crowding memories of their past, they only knew that now their anchors dropped upon the silent shores of another continent, within whose trackless forests they fondly hoped to find at last that peace for body and soul elsewhere so vainly sought. The outcasts of Eden were not more desolate—

“Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

It was upon the banks of the Delaware they landed, and some rested for a season in the province of Penn, naturally looking for sympathy from a people who in the old world had suffered like themselves for conscience' sake. Others, following their native instincts, passed on towards the blue mountains whose towering peaks and waving outlines along the distant horizon recalled the memories of their childhood's home among the hills and heath-clad highlands of Scotland. Ascending the tops of the Kittocthinny—the Indian term for Blue Ridge—they gazed with charmed eye upon this lovely Valley, blooming in all its pristine beauty before them, as on “some fairy land they'd longed to see.” It fulfilled their fondest dreams of that promised land of peace, as it lay enwrapped in its primal silence, broken only by the sighing of winds among the forest trees, the song of birds, and the sounds of murmuring waters. The long lines of mountain peaks, fading away in distant view, stood ranged on either side like guardian sentinels, while clouds of purple and of gold, gathering along the loftiest crests, hung around the blue horizon like waving banners of welcome.

Tradition relates that the various Indian tribes long held this Valley sacred as a neutral hunting ground. The growth of forest trees was prevented by annual firings at the close of the hunting season, and thus its fertile soil by each returning summer would

spread the waving grass over all its plains, and the flowering dogwood, the redbud, azalea, rhododendron, and laurel would crown all its hills with beauty. Lowing herds of buffalo, the stately elk, and the graceful deer in countless numbers found their favorite haunts among the green pastures and beside the still waters of this beautiful vestal land. Like the classic isle of Leuce, it was a modern Elysium, where the forest warriors, elsewhere foes, might here in perfect truce pursue together the pleasures of the chase. Here the wanderers found a genial home, and within a short score of years following their first permanent settlement in 1732, spread along the banks of the Opequon and Cedar creek in the Northern portion of the Valley, and soon over all the waters of the Cohongoruton, and far up its branches to the triple forks of the silvery Sherando.¹ Pressing on southward and westward, they settled the sources of the James and the Roanoke, the Greenbrier, and the head waters of the Holston.

The government of Virginia with a wise policy encouraged these infant settlements by liberal grants of choice lands, total exemption from taxation for a term of years, and guaranty for freedom in all their forms of religious worship. Thus was secured for the frontier a bold and hardy and loyal people, a palisade of defence in savage warfare, and a proper nursery for pioneers to push her empire westward to the inviting valley of the Mississippi.

The mountain boundaries of this isolated land stood as obstacles alike to visitors from abroad and wanderers from their own folds. Settled in clusters of families of the same faith and fatherland, strangers to all others on this side the broad Atlantic, their social desires were satisfied solely within the confines of their own new homes. The luxuriant soil, and abundant game of the forests, afforded in profusion the comforts of their simple life. The pack-horse now and then wending a solitary way across rugged mountains and through trackless forests to the distant cities of Newcastle or to Williamsburg, "when they needed money to pay their quitrents,"² measured their commercial intercourse with the outside world.

¹ Original Indian name for Shenandoah, or "Silver Water."

² Deposition (in old chancery suit in Augusta) of Mrs. Greenlee, daughter of Ephraim McDowell, the first permanent settler in Rockbridge, and ancestor of Governor McDowell.

They could but be a peculiar people. With all the piety, they had none of the ascetic sanctity of the Puritan; with a jealous sense of honor, they had something like the chivalry of the Cavaliers, yet without wealth they escaped the enervating influences of luxury. The common sacrifices of all their fortunes in long contests with the oppressor in their native country left all poor alike, and a common suffering and kindred sympathies subdued all social distinctions. Their untiring struggles for freedom of thought and life, "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son," had brought through succeeding generations a physical and mental training that made them independent in spirit, self-reliant in strength, and "hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve." True types of their ancestral Scottish character, which ever shows to most advantage in adversity, and has been well likened to the sycamore of their native hills, that scorns to be biased in its growth by sun or wind or tempest, but shoots its branches defiantly in every direction, shows no weather-side to the storm, and is broken before it will ever bend.

Religious observance, if not innate, was at least their second nature. Like faithful Abraham, they built the altar wherever they pitched the tent. The Bible mostly furnished their library of faith and of philosophy, enclosing Rouse's version of David's psalms for their poetry. Every tradition extant shows how these sacred words were interwoven like golden threads in all their daily discourse. When the captive survivors of the Kerr's Creek massacre, in this (Rockbridge) county, reached the Shawnee towns on the banks of the Muskingum, the Indians in cruel sport called on them to sing. Unappalled by the bloody scenes they had already witnessed, and the fearful tortures awaiting them, within that dark wilderness of forest where all hope of rescue seemed forbidden, undaunted by the fiendish revellings of their savage captors, they sang aloud with the most pious fervour from the 137th Psalm, as they oft had done in more hopeful days within the sacred walls of old Timber Ridge Church:

"On Babel's streams we sat and wept when Zion we thought on,
In midst thereof we hanged our harps the willow trees among,
For then a song required they who did us captive bring,
Our spoilers called for mirth and said, a song of Zion sing."

From this very familiarity with these sacred psalms, it may well be feared they did not always apply them in such sanctified use as expressions for solace in sorrow ; but in the fulness of heart in other emotions the mouth might well speak these ready words, and naturally enough in the confidential language of faithful love. A lineal descendant tells how his ancestor, when a disconsolate lover because not allowed to visit the lady of his heart from the opposition of her parents, contrived still to interpret his love by the words of the sweet singer of Israel—"closing the correspondence" with the stanza from the 63d Psalm :—

"Oh daughter take good heed, incline and give good ear,
Thou must forget thy kindred all, and father's house most dear,
Thy beauty to the king shall then delightful be,
And do thou humbly worship him, because thy lord is he."

On this hint she acted, and returned to "the king" her answers in kind. On a concerted day the daring lover dashed before the house on a strong charger, and in full view of "brothers and kinsmen and all," like another Lord Lochinvar :—

"So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprung,
She is won, they are gone, over bank, bush, and scaur,
They'll have fleet steeds to follow *that* young Lochinvar."

They had constant controversies over doctrines and texts of the Bible. The oldest newspaper extant in Augusta county contains an advertisement by a lay member of the "Stone Church," appointing a day on which he proposed to discuss his tenets in regard to a certain text, and inviting all who differed in opinion to meet him then and there.

When these men commenced a controversy it was ever most stoutly and persistently maintained ; for they were seldom convinced against their will, and if vanquished, would argue still. An old resident of Hays Creek, in Rockbridge county, contended all his life for his particular theory, as to what tribe of Indians were interred in the mound on that Creek ; and on his death-bed made it his most solemn request to be buried on the hill facing the Indian graves, that he might, as he said, be "the first to see the truth of his theory *established* at the resurrection."

The ministers of the Gospel were true exponents of their people's characteristics. The Rev. John Craig, a Master of Arts of the University of Edinburgh, was for one-third of a century pastor of the "Augusta Church." He walked five miles to service on every Sunday, and in time of the Indian troubles carried a rifle on his shoulder. "Preaching" commenced at 10 o'clock, A. M., and with a recess of one hour at midday was continued till sunset. One of his sermons, still extant, is divided into fifty-five heads. Walking ever in the example of the upright man of David's psalm, he "spoke truth in the heart," and was "moved not" even in the least thing from the straightest line of integrity. In choosing the site for a church, the congregation disregarded his opposition, and the "Tinkling Spring" was selected; whereupon he declared that "none of that water should ever 'tinkle' down his throat"; and for thirty years he kept his word,—through his long sermons, in the parching summer days, never once allaying his thirst with a drop from that cool and limpid spring—

"For though he promise to his hurt
He makes his promise good."

Brave and patriotic, after Braddock's disastrous expedition had left the Valley exposed to the raids of the ruthless savages, and the helpless inhabitants in utter consternation were counselling safety in flight, his Journal, yet extant, says, "I opposed that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith, and noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; and withal a lasting blot forever on all our posterity." He advised the building of forts in convenient places for refuge. His appeal and example had its effect, "for my own flock," he adds, "required me to go before them in the work, which I did cheerfully, though it cost me one-third of my estate; but the people followed, and my congregation, in less than two months, was well fortified." And they maintained their homes most bravely through all the fiery trials of these times. Honored forever among all their posterity be the name of the noble and pious old patriot! Surviving the subsequent struggles of his adopted country for the freedom he so

dearly prized, he fell at last like fruit fully ripe, but mourned by all, and leaving a memory to be revered, and examples of life and faith that like all

—“the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust.”

Let him be taken as the type and ante-type of the Presbyterian preachers of the Valley, for time will fail to tell of Brown, and Wilson, and Waddell, and Scott, and Graham, and many others; men of thorough learning and approved piety, whose names their descendants should not willingly let die, whose appeals for patriotism will echo in this land while its everlasting hills abide, whose lessons of piety and faith will be effectual for time and for eternity, whose canonized memory will remain among their successors as a monument forever, and stand before them like that lofty “tower which David builded for an armory, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers,—shields of mighty men.”

A description of the old covenanters of Scotland, in “Burnet’s Own Times,” will, in many particulars, singularly illustrate the life of the Scotch-Irish settlers of this Valley, and show an unadulterated descent, and most tenacious maintenance of the customs of their ancestors. Bishop Burnet can scarcely be accused of partiality, and amidst all his charges of affectation, fanaticism and enthusiasm, we may well believe he gives a faithful picture of the old covenanting congregations of his day, by its strong family likeness to the early Presbyterian congregations of this Valley. Of the covenanting ministers ejected by the Glasgow Act, he writes, “they were a grave and solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their tempers sour. But they had an appearance that created respect. They used to visit their parishes much; were full of the Scripture, were ready at extempore prayer, and had brought the people to such a degree of knowledge, that cottagers and servants would have prayed extempore. Their ministers brought their people about them on Sunday nights, where the sermon was talked over; and every one, women as well as men, were desired to speak their own experience; and by these means they had a comprehension of matters of religion greater than I have seen among people of that sort anywhere. The preachers went all in one *tract*, of raising

observations on points of doctrine out of their text, and proving these by reasons, and then of applying those, and showing the use that was to be made of such a point of doctrine, both for instruction and terror, for exhortation and comfort, for trial of themselves upon it, and for furnishing them with proper directions and helps. And this was so methodical that the people grew to follow a sermon quite through every branch of it. As they lived in great familiarity with their people, and used to pray and talk oft with them in private, so it can hardly be imagined to what a degree they were loved and revered by them. They kept scandalous persons under a severe discipline: for breach of Sabbath, for an oath, or the least disorder in drunkenness, persons were cited before the church session, that consisted of ten or twelve of the chief of the parish, who, with the minister, had this care upon them,—and were solemnly reproved for it.”

The unexplored records of the courts held for Augusta county, at Staunton, and the church-warden's book for Augusta parish, furnish materials, scanty as they are, that illustrate the lives and characters of this peculiar people. For the purposes of history these records are necessarily insufficient, but give here and there in the technical and curt recitals of court proceedings some incidental contemporaneous facts which can be confirmed, explained and expanded from other sources; while around them all the mellow light of tradition still falls to impart to these quaint old papers something of the sanctity and value of the illuminated manuscripts of the middle ages.

The court of Orange county had jurisdiction, and its Clerk's office was for a whole decade the depository of the title deeds, and such other papers pertaining to this territory as indispensable necessity required to be recorded. In the year 1738 all Virginia west of the Blue Ridge was laid off into two counties, called Frederick and Augusta, in honor of the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Augusta. Frederick embraced the northeastern portion of the Valley, while Augusta extended throughout the West “to the utmost limits of Virginia.” The inhabitants were exempted from “all public levies for ten years;” but in 1742, “at the humble suit of the inhabitants of Augusta,” an act passed “appointing James Patton, John Christian, and John Buchanan to levy a tax on each tithable, to pay for destroying wolves, relieving the poor, building bridges, and clearing roads” within said county.

The church-warden's book for the Parish of Augusta, commences early in the year 1746. It was doubtless difficult, if not impossible, at that date for the freeholders to find "twelve able and discreet men of the county" from choice "conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England" to serve as their vestry. It is not surprising, therefore, that probably all of the vestry elect were "dissenters," and certainly some of the number who continued as vestrymen for the succeeding quarter of a century were all the time ruling elders in the Presbyterian churches of Augusta.

In that day of little sectarian excitement between Protestant denominations, it was not so unusual in any part of Virginia to find dissenters take with the oath of secular office a declaration of conformity to the doctrine of the established church, and yet retain their connection with dissenting denominations. The first twelve vestrymen elected by the freeholders of the county in 1745 were all, perhaps, descendants, and some bore the family names of conspicuous Presbyterian covenanters of Scotland; and for over twenty years no notice by the vestry or the Assembly is taken of the fact of their being non-conformists. The usual oaths of conformity were meantime taken, but the vestrymen remained zealous dissenters. But on the 21st of November, 1767, the following appears on the vestry book: "Ordered, that a minute be taken that the following vestrymen hath subscribed a declaration in Vestry, to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, according to law, viz: Col. John Buchanan, Mr. Geo. Matthews, Mr. James Lockhart, Mr. John Buchanan, Mr. John Archer, Mr. John Page, and Mr. Wm. Fleming, and enter their dissent against Mr. Israel Christian's signing the proceedings of this Vestry, as he refused signing the declaration in Vestry." The proceedings were signed by all as before, but on the "21st November, 1789, it is ordered that Mr. Thomas Madison be chosen vestryman in room of Capt. Israel Christian, and Capt. Peter Hogg in room of Maj. Robt. Breckenridge, the said Breckenridge and Christian having refused subscribing to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." (Signed) WM. PRESTON,¹ Clerk of Vestry.

¹"Maj. Breckenridge" was ancestor of the Breckenridges of Kentucky, and "Wm. Preston" ancestor of William C. Preston, of South Carolina. Geo. Matthews was afterwards Governor and United States Senator of Georgia, and Wm. Fleming an acting Governor of Virginia.

In November, 1769, the Assembly passed an Act "dissolving the Vestry of the Parish of Augusta," because "it is represented that a majority of the Vestry are dissenters, &c.," and ordering "an election of twelve new vestrymen." But this Act seems to have been totally disregarded by the "freeholders," the same vestrymen continuing in office long after. The office of vestryman was in effect not a religious one, but simply to discharge the duties of a magistrate of police, of overseers of the poor, to lay the county levies, and to collect fines for "swearing," "drunkenness," and other "foibles," which official duties, from the frequency of their "returns," must have occupied no little of their surplus time. The Vestry was finally dissolved during the revolutionary war.

The first court for Augusta County was held at Staunton on the 9th of December, 1745. The magistrates and officers were appointed by the Crown of England, through the Governor of the colony. The court when once organized went to work with a will, and, true to Scotch-Irish instincts, seem to have executed with a special vengeance the Act of Good Queen Anne, "for the effectual suppression of vice, and punishment of wicked blasphemers and dissolute persons." This Act seems to have been construed by them as cumulative of the divine decalogue, the "presentments" being made mostly in the order of the offences therein denounced. And the court meted out to unfortunate offenders the full measure of the law, in all its bearings. Some extracts, taken at random through a series of years from the records, will illustrate at once the character of the courts and of the people.

May 17th, 1746.—The grand-jury, by James Trimble, foreman, made the following "presentment," among others similar :

"Robert Harper, for being drunk, and swearing 3 prophane oaths."

"Col. Thomas Chew, [a lawyer,] and John Bramham, [deputy sheriff,] as common swearers."

"James ——, as a disturber of the common peace of the neighbors by carrying lies ; and also as a common lyer."

"Valentine Sevier,¹ for swearing 6 prophane oaths."

¹ Father of General John Sevier, Governor of Tennessee, and of the revolutionary "State of Frankland."

"John Bramham, [deputy Sheriff,] for prophanely desiring God to damn Capt. George Robinson and his company."

"Edward Bogle, for damning the court, and swearing four oaths in their presence," was "put in the stocks for two hours, and fined 20 shillings."

November 28th, 1750.—The Grand Jury presented, among others, "Samuel Hutts, for breach of the Sabbath in singing prophane songs."

"James Frame, for a breach of the Sabbath in unnecessarily travelling ten miles."

"Jacob Coger, for breach of the peace by driving hogs over the Blue Ridge on the Sabbath day."

Very many presentments were for "being drunk," and the fines therefor averaged about 5 shillings—such appearing to have been about the market price for the privilege. Where the opportunity for the expensive luxury was afforded may be inferred from the following orders of court, establishing rates for ordinary-keepers in 1746, 1747 and 1748 :

"Ordered, that the several and respective Ordinary-keepers in this county do sell and entertain according to the under-mentioned Rates, and that they presume not to take or demand more of any person whatever—

	£	s.	d.
For a hot diet.....	00	0	9
" Cold diet.....	00	0	6
" Lodging, with clean sheets.....	00	0	3
" Lodging, with Feather-bed and clean sheets.....	00	0	3½
" Stabledge and fodder, a night.....	00	0	6
" Corn or oats, the gallon.....	00	0	6
" Madeira wine, the quart.....	00	4	0
" Punch, the quart, with <i>white</i> sugar—three gills of Rum, and so in proportion for a greater or lesser quantity.....	00	1	3
" Ditto do with <i>brown</i> sugar.....	00	1	0
" Rum and all cordial spirits, the gallon.....	00	5	0
" Whiskey, the gallon, and so in proportion, (well made).....	00	6	0
" Whiskey punch, the quart, with <i>white</i> sugar.....	00	1	0
" Ditto do <i>brown</i> sugar.....	00	0	9
" Virginia ale, the gallon, and so in proportion.....	00	1	4
" Cider, the gallon, Bottled or otherwise.....	00	2	0

	£.	s.	d.
For Apple or peach Brandy, the gallon.....	00	2	0
" New England Rum, the gallon.....	00	1	6
" French Brandy, the gallon.....	00	5	0
" Sangaree, the quart.....	00	0	7½
" Port wine, the quart.....	00	0	7½
" Claret, the quart bottle.....	00	0	7½

"JOHN MADISON, Cl. Curizæ."¹

The court, after arranging such a bill of fare as the foregoing, could but be lenient on occasion to such as were unwarily led into temptation, and we find the following entry in point :

"May 17th, 1753.—Order'd that ye presentm't ag'st Patrick Shirkey for being drunk be dismissed—the court being of opinion that it was inadvertently done, he being an honest fellow."

Whatever else might be said of this county court, it cannot be alleged they were anywise wanting in the virtue of loyalty, as the following and other like entries on their records will show :

"Feby : 10th, 1746.—The Court being informed that James McClune hath spoke treasonable words, it is ordered that the sheriff bring him before the Court to answer for the same."

"May 17th, 1749.—Jacob Castle being accused by the oath of Adam Harman for threatening to goe over to and be aiding and assisting to the French against his Majesty's forces, as appears by precept under the hand of John Buchanan and George Robinson, gentlemen, it's ordered that the sheriff take the said Castle into custody."

Nov. 27th, 1751.—The Grand Jury present Owen Crawford for drinking a health to King James, the Pretender, and refusing to drink a health to King George.

Owen found it good for his own "health" to leave the country before the trial could be held, and the presentment was dismissed subsequently "on motion of the King's Attorney."

March 17th, 1756.—"Francis Farguson being brought before the court by warrant under the hand of Robert McClanahan, gent, for damning Robert Dinwiddie, Esqr.," [then Governor of the

¹ Father of Bishop Madison.

Colony,] “for a Scotch peddling puppy”—was found guilty, but “excused on apologizing and giving security to keep the peace.”

The Court, moreover, seems to have had as loyal an appreciation of its own dignity, as would appear from more than one order akin to the following concerning one of its “female subjects,” who must herself have been a lineal descendant of the famous Janet Geddes, of Gray Friar’s memory :

“May 17th, 1754.—Anne, wife of——, having come into court, and abused William Wilson, Gent., one of the Justices for this County, by calling him a rogue, and that on his coming off the bench ‘she would give it to him with the Devil’—it’s ordered that the sheriff take her to the ducking stool.”

This imposing Court had jurisdiction over a territory comprising all the counties of Western Virginia, (except Frederick,) and also what now constitutes adjoining States; its jail was filled with offenders from as far as the city of Pittsburg, now in Pennsylvania. The court usually met at 7 o’clock in the morning and sat till night. As curiosity may well exist to know something of the state in which these dignitaries of the British Crown were accustomed to sit, it may fortunately be gratified by the following extract from one of its *Grand Jury presentments* :

“At a court con’d and held for Augusta county, May 21st, 1748.

“The grand jury made the following presentment :

“We have viewed and Examined this Court-house and prison, and find the court-house to be thirty-eight feet three inches long, and eighteen feet three inches wide in the clear, built with logs hewed on both sides, not layed close, some of the cracks between the logs quite open, four or five inches wide and four or five feet long, and some stopped with chunks and clay, but not one quite close; two small holes cut for windows, but no glass nor shutters to them; the inside not finished nor fitting for his Majesty’s Judicature to sit. The Jury Rooms too small and not furnished with tables, benches, &c., fitting for a grand and petty jury to sit; and no part of it finished as it ought to be, excepting only the roof, which was lately repaired.

"The prison to be twenty-two feet three inches long, and seventeen feet three inches wide, from outside to outside, built with square logs near one foot thick, holes at ye corners and elsewhere two or three inches wide, and so poorly dove-tailed at the corners, that it would be a very easy matter to pull it all down. The chymney that was formerly built in a very poor manner, now part of it is down, so that there is an open way to the roof which a man might easily break with his foot or hands.

"For which reasons we present them.

"WM. CHRISTIAN, foreman."

Although George Wythe, the Pendletons and others "qualified and took their places at the bar," as lawyers, some as early as 1747, they do not appear to have been regular practitioners; and the people seem to have been at more inconvenience for lawyers then than is now the case at the Staunton bar, as would appear from the following order of court:

"August 28th, 1751.—On petition of Andrew Bird, &c., that James Porteus in his lifetime brought suit for him against Peter Scholl, and that said Scholl hath imployed Gabriel Jones and John Harvie, Gents., the only attornies that attend this bar, and praying that one of said attornies be assigned him. Ordered that John Harvie, Gent, be assigned," &c.

An order of court was entered as early as February 12th, 1746, which does not appear from the records to have ever been rescinded, and the court at the present day might find it profitable, as a source of revenue at least, and of consternation to the bar, to enforce. It is to be hoped the necessity for such an order is no greater now than it should have been then with their only two attorneys.

"February 12th, 1746.—Ordered that any attorney interrupting another at the bar, or speaking when he is not employed, forfeit five shillings."

Gabriel Jones was the first, and for years the only lawyer residing in the county. He lived near the present town of Port Republic, in Rockingham county, and the road he travelled to court was opened, in 1746, by an order for "laying off a road from the clerk's office," long kept at Port Republic, "to the court-house,"

and is still known as "the lawyer's road." His influence with the court was naturally great, and he was justly regarded as indispensable. It is a current tradition that the late Judge Holmes, when a young man, mischievous and witty, once as opposing counsel provoked Mr. Jones into such a furious passion that he became very profane. The court consulted long as to what should be done; to punish "Squire Jones" was out of the question, but the dignity of the bench and the majesty of the law had to be preserved, and finally the presiding justice pronounced as the decision of the court, "That if Mr. Holmes did not quit worrying Mr. Jones, and making him swear so profanely, then Mr. Holmes should be sent to jail."

The county levies, as laid by the courts, are also suggestive of historic incidents:

On the 20th November, 1746, the levy was laid on 961 tithables, at "34 pounds of tobacco, or 2 shillings and 1 penny per poll." In 1747 the levy was on 1670, in 1750 on 2122, in 1752 on 2317 tithables.

The usual subjects of county expense were "premiums on wolves' heads,"—"salary of the deputy attorney of the king," [Gabriel Jones]—"Burgesses' wages," [James Patton]—and the following as a standing item, viz: "To Robert McClenahan to find small beer; candles; to keep the court-house in order; to find stabledge for Justices', attornies', and officers' horses, 1600 pounds of tobacco."

In a levy made November 19th, 1755, are the following items:

"To John Harrison for burying some Robbers by him killed; and for expenses to Dr. Lynn for dressing the wounds of one of them, 640 pounds. "To John Harrison for going for a coroner, and other expenses about the above mentioned Robbers, 310 pounds of tobacco." Making about \$10 in money for the complete job—and no further notice appears on the records concerning this killing of "some Robbers." But at a court held previously, viz: February 19th, 1751, is this entry, "The petition of John and Reuben Harrison, praying a reward for killing two persons under the command of Utes Perkins, who were endeavouring to rob them, was read and ordered to be certified."

From these, and other frequent entries concerning "Utes Perkins and his followers," it is obvious, that during several years about that date there was an organized band of robbers within the then limits of Augusta county. It is not known that any tradition is extant concerning the matter. In 1744 an Act of Assembly was passed, "to punish horse-stealing, and receivers of stolen cattle and horses," and recites in one section that "the crime of horse-stealing is of late years much increased, especially in the frontier counties of this colony," &c., &c. This has reference doubtless to Augusta, and it is probable that "Perkins and his company" were principally horse thieves, as entries show that they generally appeared with horses in possession.

The sheriffs' returns upon unsatisfied executions were likewise illustrative of the times. Discarding such classic technicalities of the profession as "Nulla bona," and "non est inventus," and the like, they adopted a more practical and pointed style. A few specimens must suffice :

"August 15, 1749.—*Our Sovereign Lord the King vs. Sam'l Stalnaker, ca. sa.*—Not executed by reason of badness of the weather and freshets.

"RO. BRECKINRIDGE, D. S."

"*Elliott vs. Johnson.*—Not executed by reason of the flux being in the house.

"RO. BRECKINRIDGE, D. S."

"Nov'r, 1752.—*Williams vs. Bulger.*—Not executed by reason of an axe.

"JOHN LEWIS, D. S."

"May 1753.—*Williams vs. Bulger.*—Not executed by reason of a gun.

"J. LEWIS, D. S."

"Nov'r, 1756.—Not executed by reason the defendant outrode me, so that I could not catch him.

"SAMPSON MATTHEWS, D. S."

"Feb'y, 1758."—Very many returns are made. "Not executed by reason the river is not rideable.

"WM. BOWYER, D. S."

"Feb'y 1763.—*Reed vs. Clendening*.—Not executed by reason the fellow gave me heel play.

"GEORGE SKILLERN, D. S."¹

"Nov'r, 1762.—*Young vs. Greer*.—Not ex'd. Issue this against cousin again, and perhaps after next court we may have better luck.

"G. SKILLERN, D. S."

But the "luck" seems to have remained with "cousin" throughout, judging by the following returns in the same case :

"Feb'y, 1763.—This is my friend's—issue it again, and I shall storm his castle once more.

"GEO. SKILLERN, D. S."

"June, 1763.—Issue this against the body once more, and I will lie at his house all night but I will have him.

"GEO. SKILLERN, D. S."

The sheriffs were also evidently disposed to exercise equity powers "on horseback" in those days, as the following returns would indicate :

"*Schall vs. Miller*.—Executed, but it is wrong. Mr. Jones can inform you.

"WM. LUSK, D. S."

"Dec'r 22d, 1756.—*Ramsay vs. Burton*.—Not executed by reason the defendant produced his receipt from Israel Christian, Gent., for £30, on account of a judgment obtained by said Christian and John Ramsay against the deft.; and R. W. Renix informed me that he was by when *Christy* gave the receipt, and Ramsay at the same time, who was agreed to put a stop to the suit against Burton, and that there should be no further proceedings on it.

SAMPSON MATTHEWS, Sh'ff."

But this "interlocutory decree" seems to have been unavailing, as there was the following subsequent return in the same case at that term, which ought to have been as satisfactory as the plea in the "cracked kettle case."

¹ Afterwards General Skillern of the Revolution.

"Ramsay vs. Burton.—Not executed by stress of water, and deft. swore if I did get over to him, he would shoot me if I touched any of his estate ; also he is gone out of the county.

"SAMPSON MATTHEWS, Sh'ff."

From 1755 to 1759—the years immediately succeeding Braddock's direful defeat—and thence almost continuously to "Dunmore's war" in 1774—very many returns were substantially like the following, and indicative of the dangers of the times :

"Nov'r, 1756.—Not executed by reason the way was dangerous for Indians.

"S. MATTHEWS, Sh'ff."

"Feb'y 1758.—Not executed by reason of the enemy Indians ranging so that I can't get up where the defendant lives.

"WM. BOWYER, D. S."

"March 28th, 1758.—Not executed by reason of the heathen Indians ranging so that I can't get up there.

"WM. BOWYER, D. S."

But these record books disclose for the history of this people a page of far more serious import. Brief cotemporaneous entries on many a leaf indicate the date of the dreaded Indian incursions into this Valley—and mark the places of the bloody massacres remembered long with mourning among their descendants to the third and fourth generation. Names of men, and captains of companies, in numbers that will surprise their posterity of to-day, appear on these pages, through the long period of thirty years, with short intervals of uncertain peace, as actively engaged in aggressive and defensive war with their wily and relentless forest foes.

Stretched along the frontiers ; separated by mountains and by miles of forests from the seat of their colonial government, whence only succor could be claimed ; poorly provided with means of defense—they were left in their own unaided strength exposed to all the troubles engendered by the long and bitter contest between the French and English nations for supremacy in the West. But they bore the brunt most bravely, and stood, withal, a sure rock of defense to dash back the merciless wave of savage warfare from the hearth-stones of the East.

"Expeditions," composed of hundreds of men, appear from these records to have "gone out as rangers on the frontiers," at periods of which history makes no other mention than in the few unnoticed acts of the assembly, which acknowledge and encourage such services. Companies of "Rangers," "Independents," and "Volunteers," under such captains as the Lewises, McClenahans, Cunninghams, Prestons, Dickinsons, Dunlaps, Alexanders, and others, armed with their own rifles, and equipped at their own expense, penetrated the dark forest in all directions, to punish and disperse the marauding parties of savages, who, for real or fancied wrongs, in times otherwise of peace, with scalping-knife and torch fell upon defenceless families to murder and destroy, and again disappear as stealthily as the panther and wolf to their distant lairs.

Thinly settled as was Augusta in 1754, a company, under Captain Lewis, was sent to join the youthful Washington in his first battle at the Great Meadows. In Braddock's ill-starred defeat, in 1755, the "backwoods riflemen" of Augusta, under the eye of Washington, were most effective in staying the sad fortunes of that fatal day. In 1756, at the call of the Government, a most formidable force marched from the county to invade the distant country of the Shawnese, and had already reached the Ohio, when, to their great chagrin, they were recalled by the colonial governor,¹ and had to retrace their perilous route for hundreds of miles through a deep snow and a mountain wilderness—their provisions exhausted, and dependent for food only on the game and the wild nuts of the forest, and finally on the flesh of their pack-horses and the leather of their rude saddles; but the skill and intrepidity of their able commander, Andrew Lewis,² led them to their homes at last, but worn-out with fatigue and starvation. And again, in 1758, a battallion of these hardy riflemen, under their favorite leader, marched to the distant banks of the Ohio, and, hearing the firing at the battle of "Grant's hill," they pressed on contrary to orders, and reached the field in time to save the defeated Highlanders from inevitable slaughter. In 1760, in Colonel Bouquet's successful expedition to the Muskingum towns, and all throughout Pontiac's

¹ This is an error. Dinwiddie did not recall the troops. See Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County*, p. 87; also *Historical Papers*, No. 2, p. 48.—Eds.

² His statue is one of the group for the Virginia Washington Monument.

long war, and afterwards against the Cherokees of the South, company after company went from Augusta. And on the 10th of October, 1774, the bloody drama was at last closed in the utter rout of the Indian forces, in a pitched battle, fought hand to hand, "from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve," by over one thousand on either side, of these hardy forest warriors, on the ever memorable field of Point Pleasant.

The individual distress that attended such times as these may well be yet remembered with horror. The families and firesides of these frontier soldiers on the long expeditions were necessarily left almost defenceless. In the single summer of 1758 as many as sixty persons in the county of Augusta were massacred in their homes. Their fields were uncultivated, and whole settlements were often reduced almost to famine, but still they fought on bravely, with a patriotic devotion of the best years of their lifetime to their country. It was doubtless true of many, as tradition yet tells of Charles Lewis—that very flower of forest chivalry, who fell so untimely while leading the van at Point Pleasant—that during the Indian wars, for ten long years, he was not permitted to remain as much as a month at any one time with his family and his home.

Though history has no sufficient record of these frontier wars, it must not be inferred that they were any the less formidable. So far away in the uninhabited forests, the ear of history could scarce catch the sound of the battles, and no earthly eye was witness, save that of the wheeling vulture and hungry wolf, awaiting the expected prey. They were fought only in the direst necessity for fighting, amidst nothing but its horrors, against savage foes, a fierce unrelenting struggle for very life and death, with no hope for relief or respite in the bitter strife, until only the king of terrors should decide; fought, too, all without the accustomed incentives of other battlefields, nor cheered by fame's prophetic voice, nor "glory's thrill," which, more than trumpet's blast, stirs the blood to chivalrous deeds, elevates war awhile above its cruelties, almost "makes ambition virtue," and inspires the soul with that true heroism to brave—

"the perilous hour,
Whatever the shape in which death may lower,
For FAME is there to tell who bleeds,
And HONOR's eye marks daring deeds."

But there is no need to dwell on the horrors of such warfare. The very term Indian—so euphonious in itself—has become a synonym with savage. The thrilling tales of these fearful times, told in every nursery throughout this Valley, awaken the earliest fears of our infancy, and “run moulten still in memory’s mould.” There is more danger that the inflamed imagination may do an injustice at once to the Indian and the white warrior, and to the character of the contest itself. The Indian, though savage, was not a wild beast, and mercy and humanity could not be altogether disregarded; nor must the dire scenes enacted be tried by the rules of civil warfare. Much might be told to extenuate, if not atone for, the cruelties committed; much of provocation to these free-born spirits of the forest; much to inflame their native thirst for vengeance, and but too many deeds of indiscriminate murder, like that which fired the forest-born eloquence of Logan—the Mingo chief—to tell his wrongs to all coming times, “in thoughts that breathe and words that burn.” The untutored Indian, in his rude forest life, devoid of all motives to soften or conceal his passions, displays but the common weakness of man’s nature in colors the more vivid only because on simpler ground. Nemesis, the Goddess of Vengeance, has her votaries in every age and every clime.

Imagination may too well supply the horrors of this savage warfare, and it would be a more gracious task, if time permitted, to relieve the dark shades of the picture, and farther illustrate the story with some of the many traditions that show these warriors of nature were not to be despised either as friends or as foes. If savage life had vices, it was not all devoid of virtues. Their history is full of touching incidents of magnanimity, from the romantic tenderness of Pocahontas in shielding the adventurous Smith from the war-clubs of Powhatan, down to the times and the homelier tales of generous deeds towards the settlers of this Valley. If we shudder at their brutal sport in making their captives “run the gauntlet,” we can but smile withal over the story of young Schoolcraft, who, on receiving the first blow as he entered the “gauntlet,” turned lustily to fight the Indian who struck him, when all the others at once left the lines, crowded round the boy, and encouraged him in the contest, until he conquered the Indian; and forthwith he was released, to become a privileged favorite in the tribe. At

the bloody massacre on Kerr's Creek, in Rockbridge county, an Indian, while scalping Thomas Gilmore, was knocked down by Mrs. Gilmore with an iron kettle; another Indian ran with uplifted tomahawk to kill her, and was only stopped by the one who lay bleeding from the blow she had given him, calling quickly to him, "don't kill her, she is a good warrior"; and this magnanimity in a savage saved her life.

Tradition in the Trimble family of Augusta tells that the beautiful farm yet in their possession was shown their ancestor by an Indian, in return for some favor done him long before in the woods of Pennsylvania, and that for many years afterwards, when the Indians appeared in this neighborhood for murder and rapine, that family was always unmolested—though visited, and a draught of fresh milk from the dairy and a mess of hominy invariably demanded and taken, as a token of peace. The families of Bumgarner, Croft, and some others, obtained by treaty from the Indians permission to settle and hunt upon the Monongahela river; but when the war of 1774 commenced, Governor Dunmore sent a message to warn them that if they remained all would be killed. An Indian who happened to hear it delivered, replied most indignantly to the messenger, "tell your king he is damned liar; Indian no kill these men." And the families in fact remained there unharmed throughout all the horrors of that bloody war.

So comparatively silent is history concerning this border warfare, that few appreciate how formidable were the Indian warriors in battle. Their personal daring, ferocity, and untiring thirst for revenge may be known, but they are regarded still as ignorant savages, unskilled to conduct campaigns, and contend in associated armies against the trained troops of civilized life. The fallacy of this idea could be readily shown, but it must suffice here to glance only at the characteristics of the principal chieftains that led them in these wars, and whose devotion to the interests of their people, wisdom in council, skill in strategy and chivalric boldness in battle, have left a fame and "a name to other times" that may well rival the glory of the proudest heroes of the world.

The "great Emperor Pontiac," the war-chief of the Ottawas—the most influential of the Northern tribes—was the first who appeared in the hostile field against the settlers of this Valley. He

was described by one writer who knew him, as "a person of remarkable appearance, of singularly fine countenance, and of commanding stature." Another says he "habitually wore an air of princely grandeur;" and "the many acts of magnanimity which illustrated his life might have made him a fit comrade for the knights of the middle ages." Another adds, that "in point of native talent, courage, magnanimity, and integrity, he will compare without prejudice with the most renowned of civilized potentates and conquerors."

He first appears in history, in 1746, as the leader of the Indian forces that successfully defended the French in Detroit against an attack of hostile tribes. In the Acadian wars, in 1747, he fought with the French, as the leader of the Indian allies, against the English, and he was the most conspicuous chieftain in the defence of Fort Duquesne. And on that ever memorable morning of the 9th July, 1755, when the crystal waters of the Monongahela glittered with the sheen of burnished arms and brilliant uniforms of the British troops, under the brave but boastful Braddock, all unconscious that the silent forests covered with its shadows a host of hidden foes—it was Pontiac who devised that fatal ambuscade, and headed the allied bands of Indians and French that rushed down on the devoted army, "like the wolf on the fold"—left eight hundred men lifeless on that field of blood, and drove the survivors back in utter affright to Fort Cumberland, "the farthest flight," says Smollet, "that any army ever made."

The war of 1763, known in history as "Pontiac's war," was one of the most comprehensive ever conceived in all the annals of Indian warfare, and fell with its greatest fury on the settlements of the Valley, and throughout the West. Pontiac visited in person most of the Northern nations, and his influence was felt from the Mizpacs of Nova Scotia to the Cherokees of the South. More than twenty tribes assembled at his call in the council of Niagara, where his wonderful natural eloquence, through winning appeals to the pride and even the superstitions of the Indian warriors, soon enlisted all enthusiastically in his as a common cause.

Pontiac, himself, planned the entire campaign, assigning the time, the tribe, and the war-chief to attack each one of the English posts on the extended frontier from Canada to Carolina. It was

most promptly put in execution : nine British forts were surprised and captured in rapid succession, the trading posts were all destroyed, and the captives murdered. The forts which withstood the assault were beleaguered for weary months by hostile savages without, and appalled by gaunt famine within. Marauding parties pushed far into the panic-stricken settlements, and committed the memorable massacres of Muddy Creek and the Big Levels on the Greenbrier and Roanoke, in Virginia, and in one merciless slaughter depopulated the whole Valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania.

This daring and determined war of the red men of the wilderness called forth the utmost strength of the colonies and the strongest support of the mother country to conquer it. Finally, General Broadstreet's successful foray quelled the savages of the North ; and in the South, the brave and skilful Colonel Bouquet, in command of the provincial troops, among whom were many companies from the county of Augusta, pushed far into the Indian country on the Muskingum and Ohio, and compelled the savages to sue for peace. But Pontiac, scorning to come to any terms, retired to the tribes of Illinois, and while engaged in rallying another general movement, was assassinated by a traitor Indian, whose whole tribe was afterwards totally exterminated by the Ottawas, in revenge for the death of their great chieftain. A distinguished writer says that "the memory of the great Ottawa chief is yet held in reverence among the Indians of the West, and whatever the fate which may await them, his name and deeds will live in their traditional narratives, increasing in interest as they increase in years."

The peace which ensued the death of Pontiac was, to the frontier settlers, one in name only. Too many bitter memories of the bloody war, just closed, rankled in the savage breasts to allow the fell spirit of revenge so suddenly to submit at the command for peace. The beautiful "Indian Summer," when the brilliant hues of autumnal leaves robe the mountains as with the very banners of peace, was the leisure season of the Indian, and the hereditary time for his annual hunting carnival in these valleys. Such, too, was the fatal time selected for incursions by predatory parties of Indians, year after year, and their path was so often marked by murder and rapine, that the whites were provoked to as fierce retaliations, until finally another "Indian war" blazed out along all the borders of Virginia.

The Shawnese war-chief, Cornstalk, in youth a follower of Pontiac, was the principal leader in this later war, and may be taken as the type of the other chieftains, only less distinguished, but whom time will not permit us to mention. In the sphere for which he was designed, Cornstalk was one of Nature's masterpieces—a consistent advocate of peace, but a thunderbolt in war, bravest in action, most sagacious in camp, and most eloquent in council. The Shawnese, of whom Cornstalk was emperor, "held all other men, Indians as well as whites, in contempt as warriors in comparison with themselves, and were assuming and imperious in the presence of all others not of their nation." Cornstalk was their fitting type and chieftain. He is described as "distinguished for beauty of person, for agility and strength of frame, in manners graceful and easy, and in movement majestic and princely."

The famous battle of Point Pleasant, so mournfully familiar to the memory of the descendants of those engaged in it, was the most noted pitched battle ever fought with the Indians upon this continent. Cornstalk commanded the Indian force, which was composed of over one thousand picked warriors, the flower of their tribes. The time and the ground for the battle were selected by Cornstalk with the most consummate sagacity. He designed to cut off by surprise the army of General Lewis, while worn out with the fatigue of its long march through the mountain wilderness, before the approaching reinforcement under Colonel Christian could arrive, and before it could form a junction with the main body of Virginians under Lord Dunmore, who was marching leisurely along the open road of Braddock's expedition. The battle was begun at early dawn, and was most fiercely fought until the sun sank behind the western hills. An actor in the scene says, "the long lines of the opposing armies, stretching for a mile between the banks of the Kanawha and the Ohio, were often within twenty feet of each other, and for a time the fight was hand to hand with tomahawk and war-club and knife, in deadly struggle." The towering form of Cornstalk was constantly seen passing rapidly along the Indian lines, and his clear commanding voice was distinctly heard above the din of battle, cheering his braves with his battle-cry, "BE STRONG!—BE STRONG!" One of his warriors appearing to falter, the stern chief, with a blow of his own tomahawk, was seen

to cleave the coward's skull. Nothing but the obstinate bravery and desperate courage of Andrew Lewis and his experienced officers and hardy men, could have withstood this fierce onslaught; but their unflinching valor triumphed, and the confident Indian was driven back across the Ohio, never again to appear in battle array on the unconquered soil of Virginia.

In the conference for peace which followed this battle, he extorted the highest praises from the English officers for his remarkable eloquence. "When Cornstalk rose to reply to Lord Dunmore," says Colonel Wilson, (a British officer present,) "he was in no wise confused or daunted, but spoke in a distinct and audible voice, without stammering or repetition, and with peculiar emphasis. His very looks, while addressing Dunmore, were truly grand, yet graceful and attractive." As he advanced and became excited his voice rose in swelling cadence until he could be distinctly heard over all the camp-ground. Colonel Wilson adds, "I have heard the first orators in Virginia—Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee—but never have I heard one whose powers of delivery surpassed those of Cornstalk."

The well known story of his death, which occurred but a few years later, so little to the credit of those concerned, was but characteristic of the chieftain himself. Faithfully regarding the treaty of peace, he visited the fort at Point Pleasant to warn the garrison of the efforts of British agents to incite the Indians to take up arms against the Virginians in the revolutionary war. But Cornstalk was detained as a hostage, and his son, the young chief Ellinipsico, in filial devotion, came to the fort to share his father's confinement. A reckless party of soldiers, infuriated at the murder of a comrade by a prowling Indian, alleged to have been a companion of Ellinipsico, rushed to avenge themselves on the helpless hostages. Cornstalk seeing their approach, and having on that same morning expressed a presentiment of approaching death, readily divined their object, and after saying encouragingly to Ellinipsico, "My son, the Great Spirit has seen fit that we should die together, and has sent you here to that end, it is his will, let us submit, it is all for the best," he turned undauntedly, to meet his murderers, and baring his bosom, received seven balls in his body and fell lifeless at their feet. He was the last of a long line

of forest warriors since the days of Powhatan, who, on Virginia's soil, had illustrated, amidst all their cruelties, the loftiest virtues of Nature's heroes; with him departed the spirit and prestige of Indian power forever on this frontier, and the long and bloody drama was fittingly closed with the scene of his death, as he lay thus on the very field of his fame and his greatest battle:—

“—— the lord of all
The forest heroes; trained to wars;
Quivered and plumed, and lithe and tall,
And seamed with glorious scars.”

With such an eventful close of the border hostilities the settlers of this Valley might well hope to repose calmly at last in the sunlight of peace; but the lurid flashes of these forest wars had scarce faded behind the hills of the West, when their Eastern skies grew dark along all the horizon with the gathering clouds of the revolutionary contest for their country's freedom. But here the headlands of history come into view, and in accordance with the plan of this address, to trespass little on such well known ground, we but linger awhile where we may yet gather some floating traditions, or less known incidents, that farther exhibit the traits of this Scotch-Irish race.

Though wearied and wasted by their long conflicts with their forest foes, and welcome as rest might well have been, still they greeted the coming struggle most cheerily, although against the mother country and the most imperious power of the old world, since it became necessary to secure the rights of conscience and of liberty, which they and their fathers had so long and ever so unceasingly sought. To show the spirit, still worthy of their descent, in which they ripened for the coming revolution, we need but quote, so far as space permits, from the “addresses” of their public meetings of the day, not published as yet in any formal book of history. Augusta was, by this date, sub-divided into the counties of Boteourt and Fincastle, and they who moved in these meetings were the same men, and their immediate descendants, who came from the heart of original Augusta—that “*officina gentium*” for the West.

On the 20th of January, 1775, months before the famous “Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence,”—itself the work of the

Scotch-Irish of North Carolina—the freeholders of Fincastle, through their committee, consisting of Colonel William Christian, as chairman, Rev'd Charles Cumings, Colonel William Preston, Captain Stephen Trigg, Major Arthur Campbell, Major William Ingliss, Captains Walter Crockett, John Montgomery, James McGavock, William Campbell, Thomas Madison, Daniel Smith, William Russell, Evan Shelby and William Edmundson, presented an address to the Continental Congress containing these sentiments :—

“ Had it not been for our remote situation, and the Indian War in which we were lately engaged to chastise these cruel and savage people for the many murders and depredations they committed amongst us, now happily terminated, we should, before this time, have made known our thankfulness for the very important services you have rendered your country.

* * * * “ We assure you, and all our countrymen, that we are a people whose hearts overflow with love and duty to our lawful Sovereign George III., whose illustrious House, for several successive reigns, have been the Guardian of the civil and religious rights and liberties of British subjects as settled at the glorious Revolution ; that we are willing to risk our lives in the service of His Majesty for the support of the Protestant Religion, and the rights and liberties of his subjects, as they have been established by Compact, Law and Ancient Charters. We are heartily grieved at the differences which now subsist between the parent State and the Colonies, and most ardently wish to see harmony restored on an equitable basis, and by the most lenient measures that can be devised by the heart of man. Many of us and our forefathers left our native land, considering it as a Kingdom subjected to inordinate power, and greatly abridged of its liberties ; we crossed the Atlantic and explored this then uncultivated wilderness, bordering on many nations of Savages, and surrounded by Mountains almost inaccessible to any but those very Savages, who have incessantly been committing barbarities and depredations on us since our first seating the country. These fatigues and dangers we patiently encountered, supported by the pleasing hope of enjoying those rights and liberties which had been granted to *Virginians*, and were denied us in our native country, and of transmitting them inviolate to our posterity ;

but even to these remote regions the hand of unlimited and unconstitutional power hath pursued us to strip us of that liberty and property, with which God, nature and the rights of humanity have vested us. We are ready and willing to contribute all in our power for the support of His Majesty's Government, if applied to constitutionally, and when the grants are made to our Representatives, but cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal British Parliament, or to the will of a corrupt British Ministry. We by no means desire to shake off our duty or allegiance to our lawful Sovereign, but on the contrary, shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of a Protestant Prince, descended from such illustrious progenitors, so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our Religion as Protestants, and our Liberties and Properties as *British Subjects*.

"But, if no pacific measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us out of those inestimable privileges, which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to slavery, we declare that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power upon earth but at the expense of our lives.

"These are our real, though unpolished sentiments, of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die." (Am. Archives, 1775.)

The Freeholders of Augusta county, assembled in Staunton on the 22nd day of February, 1775, chose MR. THOMAS LEWIS and CAPT. SAM'L McDOWELL as delegates to represent them in Colony Convention at the town of Richmond, on the 20th day of March, 1775. "Instructions" were drawn up by Rev. Alex. Balmain, Sampson Matthews, Capt. Alexander McClenachan, Michael Bowyer, Wm. Lewis, and Capt. George Matthews—portions of which are as follows :

"To Mr. Thomas Lewis and Capt. Sam'l McDowell :

"The Commissioners of Augusta county, pursuant to the trust reposed in them by the Freeholders of the same, have chosen you to represent them in a Colony Convention, proposed to be held in Richmond on the 20th March, instant. They desire that you may consider the people of Augusta county as impressed with just senti-

ments of loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty, King George, whose title to the Imperial Crown of Great Britain rests on no other foundation than the liberty, and whose glory is inseparable from the happiness of all his subjects. We have also a respect for the parent state, which respect is founded on religion, on law, and the genuine principles of the Constitution. On these principles do we earnestly desire to see harmony and a good understanding restored between Great Britain and America. Many of us and our forefathers left our native land, and explored this once savage wilderness, to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature. These rights we are fully resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve; nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger, to any Ministry, to any Parliament, or any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented, and in whose decisions therefore we have no voice.

* * * * And as we are determined to maintain unimpaired that liberty which is the gift of Heaven to the subject of Britain's Empire, we will most cordially join our countrymen in such measures as may be deemed wise and necessary to secure and perpetuate the ancient, just, and legal rights of this Colony and all British America.

"As the state of this Colony greatly demands that Manufactures should be encouraged by every possible means, we desire that you use your endeavors that Bounties may be proposed by the Convention for the making of Salt, Steel, Wool-Cards, Paper and Gun-Powder; and that, in the meantime, a supply of Ammunition be provided for the Militia of this Colony. * * * A well regulated Militia is the natural strength and stable security of a free government, and we therefore wish it recommended by the Convention to the officers and men of each county in Virginia to make themselves masters of the military exercise, published by order of his Majesty in the year 1764.

"Placing our ultimate trust on the Supreme Disposer of every event, without whose gracious interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the Convention that some day, which may appear to them most convenient, be set apart for imploring the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD on such plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving *America*, happy, virtuous and free."

The address of the Freeholders of Botetourt, about the same date, is very similar in sentiment and construction with the foregoing, and concludes as follows: "In these sentiments we are determined to live and die. We are too sensible of the inestimable privileges enjoyed by subjects under the British Constitution, even to wish for a change, while the free enjoyments of those blessings can be secured to us; but, on the contrary, can justly boast of our loyalty and affection to our most gracious Sovereign, and of our readiness in risking our lives, whenever it has been found necessary, for the defence of his person and government.

"But, should a wicked and tyrannical Ministry, under the sanction of a venal and corrupt Parliament, persist in acts of injustice and violence towards us, they only must be answerable for the consequences. Liberty is so strongly impressed on our hearts, that we cannot think of parting with it but with our lives. Our duty to GOD, OUR COUNTRY, OURSELVES, AND OUR POSTERITY, all forbid it. We therefore stand prepared for every contingency."

These addresses have the ring of the true metal; and they display a spirit still living in these people that proved an unadulterated descent from their patriot ancestors of the past. The same independence in thought, resolute maintenance of right, and loyalty to a just government; but an ever-jealous vigilance of tyranny, bold defiance of unrighteous power, prompt resistance of all encroachments on liberty and conscience, and still crowning all a constancy in faith and deep reverence for religion to shed a golden glow over all their daily deeds.

It is believed that, in point of time, the very first paper presented to the continental Congress, distinctly proposing a separation from the government of Great Britain, was one from this people of Augusta: but, unfortunately, the paper itself cannot now be found. The very early date of the addresses quoted, prepared by a people so remote from the commercial and social heart of the colonies, as to be the last to feel the practical evils of oppression, proves not merely the promptness with which they made and met the issue, but that the impulse with them was one of PRINCIPLE alone. And such growing evidence of sympathy from the distant backwoods might well send an electric thrill through the breast of every patriot in their common country, uniting all in a common cause, with a

common pledge to each other of their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

From apprehensions too well justified by bitter experience in the past, that the treacherous Indian might forego his treaty of peace, and again fall upon a defenceless frontier, few troops were taken from the Valley in the early part of the Revolution: but, singly, many joined the army; and although losing their identity as a class, became distinguished as soldiers and officers—the Lewises, Matthews, Campbells and others, in the highest ranks, skilled by long service in the border wars, winning imperishable renown in their country's history.

On the fields of the Cowpens and Guilford some organized companies from the Valley of Virginia were engaged, and bore the brunt of the battle like veterans. Armed each with his own trusty rifle, and skilled in its use from earliest boyhood; familiar with the most perilous forms of warfare from experience with their savage foes; inspired by patriotic zeal in their cause, and brave by very nature, even if undisciplined, they must still have been most effective troops. Some British prisoners asked, after the battle of Guilford, to be shown one of the guns used by these companies, and viewing it¹ with intensest interest exclaimed, that "God and law should forbid the use of such deadly weapons." The Rev. Samuel Houston, a private in the Rockbridge company, "admits" in his Journal, yet extant, that he discharged his rifle "fourteen times"—making once for every ten minutes that "the contest lasted." The others doubtless did as much; and such riflemen were accustomed to fire only with fatal aim. It is yet told, and well believed among their descendants, that these men "scarcely 'lost' a single ball in all that battle." With other light armed militia they were posted in the front lines, and commenced the action; but a panic seized the troops stationed as their support, and the Valley riflemen were left standing alone. Tradition tells that Capt. Tate, who commanded

¹The identical gun is in possession of John Brownlee, Esq., of Augusta, whose father bore it in the battle: its weight is over ten pounds; length of barrel three feet, eight inches; total length five feet; weight of ball about 20 to the pound. An entry on the records of the county court assesses the value of the arms lost by the death of Capt. James Tate in the battle, viz.: "a rifle gun, £6, a silver hilted sword, £7 10 s."

the Augusta company, mortified at the cowardice of the desertion, feigned not to hear the order then sent his company to retreat, and stood his ground fighting till himself and great numbers of his men fell dead upon the field, and Tarleton's resistless cavalry cut through their thinned ranks. The British General, Cornwallis, made special inquiry, after the battle, concerning "the rebel troops that were stationed in the apple orchard and fought so furiously"; and the American commander, General Greene, afterwards said to Maj. Alex. Stuart, of this Regiment, that there was a time in the fortunes of that day, when, if he only could have foreseen the unflinching bravery and fatal fire of these mountain riflemen, he would have annihilated the army of Cornwallis.

The memorable battle of King's Mountain was won by men of this same race; many of whom, like their gallant leaders—Campbell, Shelby and Sevier—were born or reared in Augusta, tried in her forest conflicts, and conspicuous in the bloody battle of Point Pleasant. The "mountain men" of North Carolina and Tennessee were of the same stock; and it is probable that all engaged in the action were immediate descendants of the Scotch-Irish Settlers. General Wm. Campbell, the chief commander, wore upon the field the same trusty sword his grandfather bore in the Highlands of Scotland. The leading incidents of the battle are characteristic of the people themselves. When the news came that Ferguson and his formidable band were invading their mountain homes, their intrepid spirit was aroused to instant resistance. They awaited not to organize an equal army, and march in solid column against their formidable foe: nor needed they any baggage trains or camp equipage to delay and encumber their movement. Their tried rifles ever hung ready in their reach; their strong steeds were saddled at the word; the sound of the invader's approach was their call to the field, and their instinctive rallying place was the front of the foe. "All of a sudden," says a chronicler in Ferguson's army, "a numerous, fierce and unexpected enemy sprung up in the depths of the desert; the scattered inhabitants of the mountains assembled without noise or warning, daring, well mounted, and excellent horsemen." The numbers assembled reached two thousand, but lest the enemy should evade them, nine hundred of the best mounted pushed on—many of the officers in the ranks as private volunteers

—and soon brought Ferguson to bay on that fatal mountain, “from which he boasted that all the rebels from hell could not drive him.” But, in a short hour the haughty Briton and his army were surrounded and pressed in affright upwards to the mountain’s crest; his men fell like leaves before the leaden hail; the fiery circle closed faster around him, and soon his own white horse came careering, riderless, down the mountain side, and his surviving troops threw down their arms in unconditional surrender. But now that the victory was won, the work of this improptu and patriot army was over. The few words of the historian, Irving, truthfully tell the remainder of the characteristic story: “This victorious army of mountain men, did not follow up this signal blow. They had no plan of campaign; it was a spontaneous rising of the sons of the soil to revenge it on its invaders; and having effected their purpose, they returned in triumph to their homes.”

And nearer our own homes tradition loves still to tell of another time when the “sons of the soil” rose in patriotic ardor to avenge it on the threatening invader. The dashing Tarleton, at the head of his “legion of devils,” mounted on the swift race-horses pillaged from the stables of the planters in Eastern Virginia, swept up the valley of James river and the Rivanna, made a descent upon Charlottesville, and into the very portals of Monticello, driving the Governor of this proud Commonwealth, a refugee, into the forests of Albemarle, and the Legislature in hasty flight across the mountains to Staunton—the frontier town of the State. Flushed by his successes, it was thought he would follow in pursuit and invade this mountain-girt valley, never as yet profaned by the foot of a foreign foe.

And on one quiet Saturday evening, when the rural inhabitants were resting from the labors of the week, and awaiting with accustomed reverence the holier rest of the coming Sabbath, an express rider came dashing across the mountain with the startling tidings that Tarleton was already approaching towards Rockfish Gap. The express passed on his way a house where religious service was holding, and one who was then present, and yet lives in a green old age, tells with faithful memory how the pious and patriotic pastor (Rev. Archibald Scott) at once, in thrilling tones, invoked his people to rally all their strength, and, with their lives in their

hands, drive back the invader. The wives and daughters he hastened to their homes to help prepare their husbands, brothers and lovers for the defense of their firesides and their honor. By nightfall, the men, mounted on what horses could be had, or on foot, were all moving towards the mountain gap, armed with their ready rifles, but some, for want of better weapons, carrying their mowing scythes and iron-forks, saying as they went, "we will 'turn our plough-shares into swords, and our pruning-hooks into spears,' to meet the invader of our land."

The alarm spread with the speed of the fiery cross along their ancestral highlands of ancient Scotland, and by early morning the whole Valley was in motion, not as was their wont on that sacred day to gather in the houses of prayer, but in the familiar sentiment of their fathers, that "resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," they marched forth with the blessings and under the command of their patriot pastors, who, on that day, hesitated not to exchange the Bible and the pulpit for the sword and the saddle. And soon all along that misty mountain's top there bristled an armed host that might well have dismayed a stouter heart than Tarleton's. We may almost be forgiven the vanity of wishing that he had not been turned from the attempt, well believing, from the temper which rallied such a host, that the proud Tarleton would have met a resistance in that unconquerable spirit—that courage never to submit or yield—which would have immortalized our own mountain pass with a victory memorable as that of the Swiss Morgarten, or if defeat, itself still glorious as that which forever hallows the ground where—

"—— the unconquered Spartans still are free,
In their proud chanel of Thermopylæ."

No wonder the immortal Washington, ever remembering the ready patriotism of the men of Augusta, who had stood by his side so valiantly on the fields of his youthful fame, and had won laurels for themselves in an hundred other battles, should have paid them the tribute of recommending their favorite leader, Andrew Lewis, for the commander-in-chief of the American armies. No wonder that in the darkest days of the patriot cause, when the bravest despaired, he still hopefully relied on the men of these mountains,

and appointed the last refuge and rallying-place for freedom's followers among the fastnesses of Augusta. And no wonder that he has left the priceless legacy to them and their children's children forever, to found in their midst this noble Seminary of learning, a blessing to increase in every rolling year, a memento at once of his patriotism and wisdom to be cherished as long as his own immortal memory endures.

But if time permitted, it might well be shown that it was not only in arms they magnified and honored themselves and their country. When all for which they had taken the field was won, and the bugles sang truce at last, these unceasing worshippers at the shrine of liberty rested not until they had secured from the government of their own adoption all their long-sought rights of religious as well as civil liberty. True to the sentiments inherited from the highlands of Scotland, and the shores of Ulster, they were still most ardent and zealous and persistent advocates for a charter of religious freedom. The Presbytery of Hanover, having a large constituent proportion within this valley, moved in the matter as early as 1773, and again at Timber-ridge Church in Rockbridge, in 1775, and presented an able memorial in 1776 to the General Assembly for the "removal of every species of religious as well as civil bondage." Again in 1777, assembled at Timber-ridge, they earnestly "remonstrated against a general assessment for any religious purpose," declaring that its "consequences are so entirely subversive of religious liberty, that if they should occur in Virginia we should be reduced to the melancholy necessity of saying with the Apostles in like cases—'Judge ye whether it be best to obey God or man,'—and of acting as they acted." In 1780 another like memorial went up from old Tinkling Spring, in Augusta; another in May, 1784, from Bethel in Augusta; another in October, 1784, from Timber-ridge; and on the 10th of August, 1785, from a "General Convention at Bethel Church," in the midst of old Augusta, was started that famous petition to which 10,000 signatures were attached, and was finally instrumental in securing, on the 17th of December, 1785, the "inestimable statute for religious freedom"—under which, in the prophetic words of the memorialists themselves, "civil and religious liberty go hand in hand, and our latest posterity will bless the wisdom and virtue of their fathers."

But the plan of this discourse concludes it where the worn channels of history so widen to the view. The incidents illustrating the characteristics of the settlers of this beautiful valley have been traced from the uncertain sources of the stream, arising far back in the sequestered retreats of tradition, until at length it has emerged on the more open tracts of Time, and rolls its deepening waters broad and clear in the sunlight of history.

The gleanings we have gathered may suffice, in some more skillful hand, to weave for their memory an enduring garland of glory. Enough may now have been given to illustrate their leading traits of activity of intellect, independence of spirit, fervency of patriotism, and perseverance of valor, and all adorned with a deep reverence for religion almost innate. These virtues may not have been adjusted in proportion, or polished into perfect harmony, but they were appropriate to the sphere of such simple life, and must command admiration for the solid strength and bold relief in which they stand, finishing upwards ever with the graces of piety and faith—like some old cathedral of the ruder ages, sublime for its very boldness of outline and massive strength of foundation and pillar and wall, while gracefully from every loftiest part still springs the “taper spire that points to heaven.”

For more than half a century these people were passing through troubles, through wars and rumors of wars; enduring cruel tortures on the heaths of Scotland, sore distresses in the fens of Ulster; terrors by day and night; deadly struggles with savage foes in the forests of America, and resistance to the bitter end against the oppressions of England. Now they might well trust that their trials were ended, and find at last the peaceful sunset of their life radiant with the thought that their sufferings had not been in vain, but had won for their children that priceless blessing they so long had vainly sought—FREEDOM! and in its holiest sense, “FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, FREEDOM OF SOUL, salient, fathomless, and perennial spring of all other freedom.”

The three-score years allotted to life had silvered the heads of the earliest settlers of this now peaceful valley, and like grain fully ripe, they were fast falling before the scythe of the relentless Reaper. But they had honestly filled up the full measure of life, and having fought a good fight, and finished the work given them

to do, they could now lie down in the tomb as to peaceful sleep and pleasant dreams. Hallowed be their memories forever ! The clods of the valley rest lightly on their graves—their forms

“— are dust,
Their good swords rust,
Their souls are with the Saints, we trust.”

Well might lofty columns of marble be reared to honor their worth, and the pen of epic poet tell the story of their heroic lives. But at the least, let their memory be embalmed in the hearts of their descendants, and their examples be perpetuated in practice as faithfully as they received and transmitted them from honored sires in other lands ; and let each and all again be invoked to strive with jealous and persistent effort to rescue something of their history from the fast gathering shades of oblivion, and so shall they contribute to rear them a monument more enduring than marble or brass. Indian tradition tells that “when a brave warrior had fallen, it became a sacred duty for each member of the tribe as he passed to throw a handful of earth upon the tomb ; that thus they honored his memory from age to age, till by their pious tributes that tomb became the mighty mound upon our western plains.” So let their descendants honor the memory of the brave settlers of this Valley ; so let that memory grow from age to age with increasing magnitude, till like that lofty mound upon the level prairie, it stands out green and beautiful against the horizon of time. •

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON ACADEMY AND COLLEGE FROM 1799 TO 1829.

Prepared in 1873, at the Request of the Alumni Association,

By the HON. SIDNEY S. BAXTER.

I.

These notes are prepared from memory, without reference to documents, and in the midst of professional engagements. They may be in some respects inaccurate, and must contain many imperfections, for which the writer begs indulgence.

In 1797, the law erecting Liberty Hall Academy into Washington College was repealed. By the second section of the repealing law the name of the institution was changed to Washington Academy. The only copy of this act known to be in existence is in the first volume of the old record of the Academy, perhaps on pages 194-5.

After the resignation of Mr. Graham the Academy sunk to a low point. The Rector, Dr. S. L. Campbell, was a physician engaged in an extensive practice. He acted as president of the board of trustees, and did not superintend the instruction of the pupils. That duty was confided to a tutor. The number of students dwindled down to five or six.

In 1798 George A. Baxter was elected professor of mathematics. At that time he was principal of New London Academy, a flourishing institution, with a large number of students. Mr. Daniel Blain was his assistant. They removed to Lexington, and were accompanied by a large number of students. Students came from other places, until the number became quite respectable.

In 1799 Mr. Baxter was elected rector. Mr. Blain was elected professor of languages, either then or in 1802. He certainly was all the time connected with the academy, and faithfully discharged his duty to it.

At this time the academy was much in debt; and all efforts to obtain a permanent loan failed. Its pressing necessities were relieved by the trustees either temporarily advancing money or giving their own notes for the debts, and by contributions from its friends. The James River fund was unproductive, and the only resources of the institution were tuition fees and contributions from the friends of education. Certain salaries were promised to the rector, professor, and tutor or assistant professor, but the tuition fees were insufficient to pay the whole of them; and then they were applied to the payment of the tutor and professor; the rector bearing the deficiency, and relying on his private means to make out his support. The contributions obtained were applied to the increase of the library and the payment of debts. The duty of traveling to solicit aid fell on the rector, whose preaching talents, energy, and address rendered him quite successful.

In 1802 the first dividend of 3 per cent., or \$600, was received from the stock of the James River Company. Another of the same amount was received in 1803; and, for reasons to be mentioned in the history of that fund, no more were received until about 1811 or 1812. The dividends, it is believed, were applied to the payment of debts.

In December, 1802, the rector went to lower Virginia to solicit funds in aid of the library. On the evening of the 24th of December, 1802, when he was in Norfolk, the old stone academy was burned. The furniture, apparatus and library were nearly all destroyed. Only a few books and some philosophical instruments were saved.

By this calamity the academy lost all its valuable property; and was reduced to as great destitution as when it commenced. But no thought of abandoning it was entertained. The rector and Mr. Blain felt that the donation of General Washington imposed on them a sacred duty to sustain the institution and preserve that fund inviolate. Hopes were also entertained that the funds of the Cincinnati Society would be given to the institution. It is believed

that General Morgan, before his death in 1802, had informed the rector that this destination of the funds was desired by him, and the rector believed similar views were entertained by General Porterfield, General Zane, Judge Marshall, Colonel Gibbons, General Matthews of Norfolk and other influential members of the society. They determined to make every sacrifice, and use every effort to sustain the academy, and they were nobly seconded by the trustees. Every proposition to use or mortgage the James River stock was rejected as inconsistent with the sacred character of the donation. It was determined to preserve this fund unimpaired and unencumbered, and to rebuild and sustain the academy by its high reputation and the exertions of the teachers and the liberality of the public.

A new house had been built by John Newcomer for a tavern on Jefferson street in Lexington. The house was immediately rented, and the exercises of the school recommenced in it.

The land on which the old stone academy stood, and a small brick house on it, were exchanged with Mr. Andrew Alexander for two acres near Lexington, and twenty-eight more acres were purchased from him, in all thirty acres, the present college grounds. The citizens of Lexington, according to their means, subscribed liberally to the academy. The citizens of Rockbridge, Augusta, Botetourt, Amherst, Albemarle, Winchester, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and Norfolk responded liberally to the appeals made to them. The lot was paid for, the new buildings erected, the arrears of debt incurred gradually paid off; and the apparatus and library replaced by these exertions.

This state of things continued until the James River Company recommenced paying dividends, which was about 1811 or 1812.

During this time the rector was pastor of the churches of Lexington and New Monmouth. His promised salary from them was one hundred pounds Virginia currency. Mr. Blain was pastor of Oxford and Timber-ridge at a similar salary. The tuition fees were £5 Virginia currency each session. Out of these the salaries of the rector, professor and tutor were to be paid. The rector followed the rule previously adopted by him. The salaries of the professor and tutor were always to be paid; and whenever a deficiency occurred, the rector bore it. After the James River

Company resumed the payment of dividends the salaries were regularly paid.

It may not be improper to state, the great and constant demands on the time of the rector and president withdrew his attention from his private affairs ; and many of the most valuable lands devised to his wife by her father in Kentucky were lost for want of attention. But he was sustained under all his sacrifices and in all his exertions by feeling that he was performing his duty to the institution and preserving the legacy of Washington sacred to its purposes. He was also cheered by the hope that by preserving the high character of the institution he was aiding his friends and its friends to secure the Cincinnati fund. These feelings caused him to refuse several most flattering applications to remove to other institutions and congregations.

In 1812 an act of the Legislature was passed, raising Washington Academy to the rank of a College. ~~The Rector was to be called President.~~ The Board continued Mr. Baxter as President and Mr. Blain as Professor of Languages, and created a new professorship of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. The duties of this department had heretofore been discharged by the Rector. They were thereafter to be discharged by the new professor. Mr. Edward Graham was elected Professor of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry and Astronomy. Soon after the college attained a firm basis, Mr. Blain, who had labored most faithfully to sustain it in its darkest hours, was taken sick, and after a lingering illness, died in 1814. During his sickness his duties were faithfully performed by Mr. Henry Ruffner, then a tutor or assistant professor, afterwards a professor and President of the College.

In 1816 Rev. Andrew Herron was elected Professor of Languages. He resigned in 1818, and Mr. Ruffner was elected his successor. He continued in office till 1829.

The dividends of the James River Company were at first small, but they continued to increase until the sums annually received by the College were more than sufficient to meet the salaries and the prudent incidental expenses of the College. The surplus was then accumulated to erect new buildings which were much needed.

Mr. John Robinson died about 1826 and devised his estate to the College. Under the careful and judicious management of

Colonel S. McD. Reid, the acting executor, this estate was closed and in 1829 yielded a handsome sum to the College. The James River stock yielded a handsome annual revenue. The Cincinnati fund was then as secure as the efforts of the College could make it. Dr. Baxter, feeling the objects for which he had so long labored were attained, desired to resign. To enable the Trustees to place the College under a new and enlarged organization suitable to its increased pecuniary prosperity, all the professors resigned in 1829.

II.

The life of a professor or teacher of youth is one of sameness. The incidents of to-day are precisely similar to those of yesterday ; and the events of one session are a repetition of the events of the preceding one. There can be nothing striking or sensational in the history of such a life. Yet as the alumni may desire to know something of the course of study pursued in this institution and of the professors in its former days, a sketch of these points will be attempted.

I. Arrangement of course of studies.—The writer has always been informed that when Mr. Baxter took charge of the academy there was no regularly arranged course of study. He and Mr. Blain organized the academy into schools or departments. The student might enter any of them he chose, if he was qualified to do so. If he completed the course in those departments with credit he was entitled to a certificate of proficiency in those departments. To entitle him to the degree of A. B. it was necessary he should complete the course in all the departments with credit. This arrangement was approved by the trustees and entered of record.

I have not a copy of this record, nor even a memorandum of its date, but it must be either in 1802 or 1803. I respectfully request it may be searched for and a copy filed with this sketch. I desire this because I believe it is substantially the plan adopted by Washington and Lee University. It continued in operation till 1820.¹ In the absence of records I must state the division of these departments from memory.

¹See Historical Papers, No. 1, pp. 91, 92.

1. Mental and moral Philosophy, Laws of Nature and Nations, Constitutional Law, Logic, Rhetoric and Belle Lettres. This department was under the sole charge of the Rector.

2. Mathematics. The course was Algebra, embracing its higher branches; Trigonometry, plane and spherical; Surveying, embracing heights, distances, etc.; Geometry; Natural Philosophy, including Physical Science, etc.; Astronomy; and Chemistry. This department was under the charge of the Rector. After the Cincinnati Society in 1807 passed their first resolution to give their funds to Washington Academy on the dissolution of the society, and on condition there was established a military school in which should be taught at least the science of fortification and gunnery, this school was established and placed under the charge of the Rector. In this school fortification and gunnery and navigation were taught. I remember Bowditch was the text-book in navigation. I do not remember the text-books in fortification and gunnery, though I well remember it was in this school I first learned something of Cohorn and Vauban.

3. Languages. This embraced a full course of Latin and Greek, and instruction to those who desired it in Hebrew and French. This department was under the charge of the Professor of Languages, Mr. Blain. To this department was attached the Grammar School. In this school were taught the elements of Greek and Latin, Arithmetic, and the elements of the English language and Geography. This department was under the immediate care of the tutor, or assistant professor, subject to the supervision of the professor and rector.

The mode of instruction was by recitation from text-books; care was taken to prevent these recitations from degenerating into mere exercises of the memory. Questions were put, and conversations had, to induce the students to think on the subjects of the lessons; to give them all recent information on the subjects of the lessons; to induce them to search for and apply to the subject all the information that could be derived from collateral and analogous subjects. This mode of instruction brought the mind of the teacher more directly in contact with the mind of the pupil, and enabled him to solve any doubts the pupil might have and to fix more firmly in his mind the knowledge acquired. The text-books were

the most approved standard works on the subjects taught. They were at that day the well arranged, accurate, matured productions of able men, who had devoted many years to the study of the subject. The pupil had therefore before his mind the most excellent works on the subject. The professor who reflected on the subjects taught, and was diligent in acquiring information, would have much to communicate that would excite the investigation of the pupil and arouse in him a desire to attain the high standard of the author.

In the system of teaching by lectures, the professor, having prepared his course of lectures, repeated them to each succeeding class. One danger in the lecture system was, that when the lecture was once prepared the professor would not incur the labor of preparing a new course. He would be tempted to rest on his first course. That, in all human probability, would be inferior to the most improved text-book. The professor's lecture would be the highest standard of attainment placed before the pupil, and he would be in danger of measuring his attainment by an inferior standard.

The system of departments or schools was preferred to a college curriculum for several reasons: 1. The means of a young man seeking an education might be limited, and he could not attend college for the four years necessary to pass through the curriculum. He then must enter the course with all the disadvantages of an irregular student. 2. The student and his parents might desire he should receive an education to prepare him for some particular pursuit, or his mind might have a greater capacity for some branch of education than for others. The department system enabled the professors to aid him in attaining the highest degree of proficiency he could master in these branches without neglecting others of importance.

II. The great object of education in Washington Academy and College was thorough mental discipline. By this was meant such habits of attention, earnest, persevering and well trained application of the mind of the students to the subjects taught, as would invigorate the intellect, and fix the subject of study accurately and firmly in the mind; and thus enable the student to use his acquirements, in after life, with readiness, confidence and security, and to apply the powers of a well-trained mind to the further acquisitions needed in after life.

There existed at that day a great prejudice against the study of dead languages as part of an academic or collegiate course. Of this prejudice the Rector never partook. He always considered them an important element in mental discipline. The parts, forms and structure of languages were closely connected with the operations of the human mind. The study and the application of the elements of language to the varying forms of speech, in different nations and in different stages of civilization, the capacity of clothing thought in expressions adapted to the purposes of the speaker in the exigencies of business life, afford an extensive field for training the intellect. He considered the study of the Latin and Greek languages necessary to the perfect mastery of the English language; and he thought the study of the Greek and Roman classics incited the student to study the geography, history, political institutions, manners and customs of those nations, and enlarge the sphere of his knowledge and thought. No prejudice ever existed against the study of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, the Laws of Nature and Nations, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric, Belle-Lettres, Astronomy, and Chemistry; and instruction in all these branches of study was faithfully given.

In 1813 the branches of Astronomy and Chemistry were assigned to the new professor; the other branches remained under the charge of the president; and the duties were discharged by him until 1829. That he discharged his duties well, was testified by the high character of the institution; the number of distinguished men produced by it; and the great esteem and veneration in which he was held as an instructor. The writer has met with many men, eminent in church and state affairs and in professions, who ascribed much of their success in life to the instruction and mental training received from Dr. Baxter. He has received many acts of kindness from distinguished men which were testimonials of their veneration for his father.

III. The discipline of the institution was based on the assumption that all the students of the college were young gentlemen; that by cultivating the moral principles and the habits of gentlemen, united with mental acquirements, their success in after life would be secured, as far as collegiate education would secure it. They were taught that a sacred regard for truth was the corner-stone of

the character of a gentleman. To this was to be added proper knowledge of their own rights and their duties to others. They were taught to maintain their own rights with dignity, firmness and prudence, to respect the rights and feelings of others, and always to behave with propriety, courtesy and kindness.

Idleness was discouraged. Industry in study was urged. Innocent mischief, not vicious or immoral, which did not interfere with the studies or exercises of the college, was passed by as unknown; or if this could not be done was gently rebuked. When the offenses were more serious, private conversations and moral influences were used as correctives. But when they assumed the form of flagrant rebellion against the authority or discipline of the institution, or when they were tainted with immorality, which rendered the offender an unfit associate for his fellow students, he was decidedly and firmly dealt with.

The Rector, afterwards President, lived on the College grounds; the other professors did not. On him therefore, with the aid of the tutors, fell chiefly the duty of maintaining the discipline of the institution. To do this he sought, by all proper means, the friendship and confidence of the students, and under all circumstances sought to act as their guardian, guide and counsellor; and often when the conduct of the students was frank, manly and honorable, the offense was entirely forgiven.

IV. From this statement it is apparent that the duties discharged by the Rector and President were, during his entire connection with the institution, extremely arduous. And this leads to some sketch of his mental powers and habits.

The writer regrets that this cannot be done by some one else; but as he has been requested to make such a sketch he will try to do so.

III.

REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

The mind of Dr. Baxter was highly gifted by nature. The extensive grasp, originality, fertility and independence of his thought, his acuteness of perception, his power of analysis, his systematic, logical, accurate, lucid and condensed powers of statement, his im-

agination, the purity of his taste and the soundness of his judgment, were all of the highest order of intellect. All these high gifts of mind were cultivated by assiduous and unremitting application. He possessed in an eminent degree the rare faculty of concentrating all his powers of mind on any subject he undertook to study or investigate. When he read any standard work the whole powers of his mind were applied to and absorbed in it. When he had completed the work, the whole system of the author, the sources and character of his information, the accuracy, logic and force of the argument, and the soundness of the conclusions of the author were all well considered and weighed and stored away for future use. It was rarely necessary for him to review a book he had once read with care, and he often said he never had time to read carelessly. If he approved a book it became incorporated with his modes of thought on the subject; if he disapproved it, it seemed to be laid away in his memory for future inquiry and criticism.

His mind was active and untiring. He never rested on his present attainment in any subject, but was always reaching after further light and information; and he studied with avidity every new and valuable work he could obtain on any of the subjects connected with his duties. He was a great economist of his time, and never postponed till to-morrow what he could do to-day. He was thus enabled to keep up with the progress of science and literature in all the departments entrusted to him.

In prose literature and poetry his imagination and taste were highly cultivated. His memory was stored with passages from classic writers. His habits of study were peculiar. When he had not a book in hand, he seemed to delight in reviewing his mental stores in soliloquies, and these soliloquies often assumed the form of dialogues. In these dialogues any objections to matters of science and literature were discussed *pro* and *con*, and the soundness of his own previous conclusions was frequently reviewed. It was often his habit to recite passages from classic authors, and in his dialogues to subject them to criticism.

From an injury sustained in early life, walking became irksome to him as his years increased, and this, with increasing corpulence, inclined him frequently to seek a recumbent position. But whatever might be the position of his body, his mental activity never seemed to cease.

He quoted authors but seldom, either in his sermons or his recitation room. When he quoted in his recitation room, it was either to induce the pupils to study diligently the works quoted, or by judicious criticism to guard them from errors or faults of style or principles in the author. In his sermons and in the instruction of his pupils, it was obvious his thoughts were derived from and refined by his familiarity with the greatest and best writers. It ought to be added, that his mind was richly stored from and indeed richly imbued with the Holy Scriptures, and themes from them were often the subjects of his soliloquies. Both in preaching and in the instruction of his pupils he possessed in an eminent degree the faculty of stating the most abstruse and difficult problems in simple and lucid forms, which rendered them plain and acceptable to the most common understanding.

Of the course of Dr. Baxter after he resigned the Presidency of the College it would be out of place to speak here extensively, but it may not be improper to say, that soon after his resignation he was elected Professor of Christian Theology in the Union Theological Seminary. He discharged the duties of that office to the satisfaction of the pupils, the trustees, the churches, and the public. In the academy, the college, and the seminary, he was honored and venerated as an apt instructor of youth. As a minister of the gospel he was always one of the most highly esteemed members of the Synod of Virginia. And in the latter part of his life no minister of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia, or perhaps in the Southern States, had greater influence or was more venerated and honored.

REV. DANIEL BLAIN.

The name of the Rev. Daniel Blain ought always to be honored by the alumni of this institution. I regret I cannot speak of him from personal recollection; but from information derived from many sources I will attempt a brief notice of him.

Mr. Blain was a man of more than average intellect. His mind was highly cultivated, especially in the branches of learning connected with his professorship; but it was as an instructor he was most eminent. He was familiar with the dead languages, English literature, &c., and was a good French scholar. He had a pecu-

liarly happy manner of explaining to his pupils the most difficult passages and questions they encountered, and in improving and cultivating their taste in the classics, and exciting them to extend the range of their inquiries into all the subjects connected with ancient literature. His manner to the students was kind. He always treated them as gentlemen, and sustained his authority by the firmness, gentleness and dignity of his manner, rather than by force. He was assiduously devoted to his duty, and cheerfully encountered every labor and sacrifice necessary to sustain the character of the institution and to attain the purposes common to the Rector and himself, namely, the preservation of the Washington donation undiminished and unencumbered.

He was pastor of the churches of Oxford and Timber Ridge. His sermons were carefully prepared and his ministrations always acceptable to the people. He died in 1814 in the meridian of life and before he had attained the full measure of the reputation his talents, industry and fidelity entitled him to ; but he saw before his death the Washington donation on firm ground and becoming valuable to the College.

His death was greatly mourned by all the friends of the college and by the entire community. It was a sore bereavement to the President. With him Mr. Blain had been associated as assistant professor for seventeen years, and during all that time there had not been a jar between them.

REV. ANDREW HERRON.

The Rev. Andrew Herron succeeded Mr. Blain as professor of Languages. He was a minister of the Associate Reformed Church. He was educated at Cambridge, Mass., and unquestionably was a man of ability and learning much above mediocrity. As an instructor and disciplinarian his success did not equal his talents and attainments. He soon manifested dissatisfaction with his duties as professor, and resigned the second year.

REV. HENRY RUFFNER, D. D.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Ruffner, afterwards Dr. Ruffner. Dr. Ruffner was an alumnus of the institution. As assistant professor during the sickness of Mr. Blain and until the

election of Mr. Herron, he had rendered very valuable services to the College. As a scholar he was remarkable for the accuracy, extent and solidity of his learning. His powers of communicating instruction were very great. He was firm, but patient and gentle. He understood well everything taught, and was quick to perceive defects in the knowledge and views of the pupil. He was assiduous in explaining and removing difficulties in the minds of his pupils. His perseverance and kindness often won the most wayward youths to close attention to study, and incited the dullest to exertion. In the discipline of the College he was a very valuable auxiliary to the President. His justice, firmness and kindness gave him great influence over the students, and that influence was always beneficially exerted.

Dr. Ruffner continued to be a professor of the College until 1829, when the President and professors resigned. Under the new organization, Dr. Ruffner was re-elected to his former professorship. At this time Dr. Ruffner had not reached the meridian of life. His reputation was great and rapidly growing. He continued to be professor until he was elected President.

The course of Dr. Ruffner after the re-organization of the institution is not within the limits of the present sketch. The writer must content himself by saying Dr. Ruffner fulfilled the promise of great usefulness and distinction hoped for him from his early course. His thorough, extensive and solid knowledge, his great ability and power, and his pure classic taste as a writer, his high capacity as an instructor, and his eminence as a preacher in the denomination to which he belonged, made him one of the most prominent men of Virginia. As a professor and President of the College he served the institution with great credit to himself and usefulness to the public. He reflected honor on the institution as one of its alumni.

It is hoped some one better acquainted with Dr. Ruffner's services to the institution in this part of his life, and with more full materials, will furnish to the alumni a proper sketch of him.

MR. EDWARD GRAHAM.

Mr. Graham was educated under the care of his brother, William Graham, the former Principal of Liberty Hall Academy. His intellect was of a high order, and his attainments accurate and

extensive. He was an assistant in Liberty Hall and Washington Academies, and afterwards principal of New London Academy. He studied law, was licensed, and about the beginning of the present century settled in Kanawha county, where his practice became extensive. He followed his cases to the District Court at the Sweet Springs, where he was highly esteemed as a lawyer. He removed to Rockbridge county and was establishing himself in a good practice when he was elected professor in the College.

Mr. Graham was thoroughly acquainted with the principles of the sciences taught by him, and in his recitation room he was always instructive, and deeply interested his pupils.

IV.

THE ENDOWMENTS.

It remains to give some history of the two principal funds of the College.

The donation of General Washington was 100 shares of the stock of the old James River Company, of the par value of \$200 per share, or at par \$20,000, but which might be greatly increased by the amount of tolls received from the work. The company was incorporated in 1784. I think the act is in the 11th volume of Hening's Statutes at Large. It is not now before me. I state from memory some of its provisions.

The company was required to connect the lower or tide-water navigation of James River with the upper navigation above the falls. To do this they were required to make a canal round the falls to Westham, five miles above Richmond, so as to connect the tide-water with the river at and above Westham.

From that point they were required to improve the river by sluices so as to render it navigable for boats drawing at least one foot of water, to Crow's Ferry, two miles above Buchanan.

The company commenced its work, and in 1796 completed a canal from Westham to a basin constructed by them in Richmond. The Company then commenced receiving tolls, but I believe these tolls were applied to the payment of debts; and the first dividend of 3 per cent. was paid in 1802, and a second of the same amount was made in 1803.

At this time the basin in Richmond was not connected with tide-water and but little had been done in improving the sluice navigation above Westham. When the Company commenced declaring dividends, it excited great indignation along the river, and the Legislature by an act passed in 1803 compelled the Company to complete the improvement required by the charter. To do this, it had to construct locks from the basin to tide-water, and carry up the sluice navigation to Crow's Ferry. This work required all the available means of the Company until 1811 or 1812. Of course during this time no dividends were made. The dividends were at first small, but increased in amount. I believe they never did amount to 10 per cent. But by completing the work according to the charter, the Company acquired the right to the level of the stream and to all the water that could be used for navigation in any form. This right the State could not, by the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, deprive it of except by complying with the terms of the original charter. Those terms were, I think, that the State could resume the corporate rights granted to the Company by paying the Company a dividend of 12 per cent. for the twelve years first after the expiration of thirty years, and 15 per cent. annually thereafter forever.

The work required by the charter of 1784 was after its execution considered wholly inadequate to the wants of the State. But no improvement could be executed without either confiscating or acquiring the property of the James River Company. In 1818 a compact was entered into between the State and the James River Company, by which, in consideration of the surrender by the company of its chartered rights, the State pledged its faith to pay to the stockholders in the old Company 12 per cent on their stock for twelve years from 1820, and 15 per cent annually forever after 1832.

In 1820 an act was passed providing for a more enlarged improvement of the river, and the old James River Company was made the trustee to execute this improvement. In 1823 the State dispensed with the agency of the old James River Company and determined to carry on the improvement by commissioners. In the act of 1823 the faith of the State was again pledged to the stockholders of the James River Company for the payment of the dividends, and they were charged on the treasury. In 1831 the State

incorporated the James River and Kanawha Company, and sold them the property and rights derived from the old Company for \$1,000,000, and again pledged its faith for the payment of this dividend. See the series of those acts in the supplement to the Revised Code of 1819.

It will thus be seen the rights of Washington and Lee University to the James River fund rest on solemn contracts founded on valuable consideration and not on any gratuitous donation of the State. They are under the sanction of the Constitution of the United States, and probably constitute a lien on the property of the James River and Kanawha Company capable of being enforced by suit.

As many of these statements are from memory, I will state my opportunities of information. I was elected a director of the James River and Kanawha Company in 1831, and in performing the duties of that office, and also of Attorney General, I was compelled to make myself familiar with the history of the old James River Company.

CINCINNATI FUND.

It is much to be regretted that the records of the Cincinnati Society are lost; as memorials of the Virginia officers of the Revolution they were of great value and interest to the historian or biographer.

As these records were given to Washington College with the funds of the Society, a brief statement of the mode of the loss must be made. These records came with the funds of the Society to the hands of the treasurer of the State in 1824. They were a part of the verdict of the jury in the case of *Burfort vs. the Security of Baker*, in 1829. They were sent with the appeal on that case to the Court of Appeals and were used by the counsel and by the judges in the arguments of *Wilson vs. Burfort*, treasurer. (2 Grat-tan, 134.) Referring to the reporter's note, page 151, it appears the records never came to his hands. The then clerk of the Court of Appeals always said he believed they were abstracted by some of the numerous agents who were hunting for Revolutionary claims against the Government. I know they were earnestly hunted for by the officers and friends of the College, but unsuccessfully.

This statement is made to relieve the College and its friends from all censure for the loss of these records.

In the absence of the records, the most authentic statement of the Cincinnati fund is in the case of Wilson *vs.* Burfort, treasurer, (2 Grattan, from page 136 to page 167). On page 135 it appears by the 12th section of the constitution of the Cincinnati Society, the funds at each State meeting should be loaned to the State, and the interest only was to be applied annually to the purposes of the Society; and if difficulties occurred in process of time in executing the intentions of the Society, the Legislatures of the several States were requested to make such equitable disposition of the funds as might be most correspondent with the original design.

This constitution was the constitution of the General Society.

This plan was not adopted by the Virginia State Society. See Allen's opinion, 154.

In 1807 the Cincinnati Society of Virginia adopted a resolution which in effect was: That when the Society was so reduced in numbers as to prevent a general meeting every three years on the 4th of July, it should be the duty of the members of the standing committee to declare the difficulties contemplated by the 12th section had occurred, and they should then make the following ultimate disposition of the funds:

That the whole of the funds be presented to Washington Academy, on the express condition that there shall be established in said seminary a military school in which shall be taught at least the science of fortification and gunnery. And in failure of this condition, the funds to be vested in the Commonwealth, to be given to some other institution. But all existing pensions are to be charged on the fund.

At a meeting of the Society in 1813 a resolution was passed requesting the Legislature to receive the funds into the treasury to execute the resolution of 1807. And in pursuance of this resolution the standing committee procured the passage of the act of 1813. See this act quoted on page 132 of 2nd Grattan.

Meetings of the Society continued to be held every three years till 1818, which was the last meeting. See some of their meetings noticed by counsel, pages 147, 151, and by Judge Allen, page 157.

In 1821-22 the standing committee took steps to transfer the funds of the society to the treasurer, subject to the payment of pensions and by authority of the act of 1814. In 1824-25 these funds were received by the treasurer. Dilapidations of these funds having occurred in 1826 and 1827, two suits were instituted in the general court, and judgments obtained in 1829. Appeals were taken to the Court of Appeals by Baker's securities. I found the cases on the docket in 1836 when I became Attorney General.

There were thirty odd securities to the two bonds who were necessary parties to the suit, and it was therefore difficult to get the case before the Court. They were finally heard in 1845. Judgment was rendered against the securities in the first bond for \$6,268.11 with interest from January 1st, 1826, and on the other bonds judgment was rendered for \$1,775.60 with interest from January 1st, 1828.

After these judgments the sureties applied to the Legislature to relieve them, and ultimately the Legislature assumed the payment to the college and relieved the sureties. The payment thus made constitutes the Cincinnati fund.

From a statement made to me by the Rector of the Academy and President of the College, and from statements made to me by friends of the members of the Society and by members themselves, especially by the Hon. Francis T. Brooke, I think the following outline history of the fund correct:

The question of the ultimate disposition of the funds of the Society was agitated in the latter part of the last century soon after General Washington's donation. The friends of the Academy were active. In addition to the officers named before in this sketch, I have heard General Harry Lee, father of General R. E. Lee, and Colonel Carrington of Richmond named as active friends of the Academy. General Andrew Moore, as a member of the Legislature, of Congress, of the United States Senate, and Marshal of the State, had great influence in procuring the first donation and preventing a change afterwards. Captain Watts of Bedford, I have been informed, did much to secure the donation.

Two things operated against the institution: 1st. The desire of some to divide the funds among the poor and necessitous members of the society. 2nd. The claims of other institutions.

These things made the struggle in 1807 an arduous one. The struggle was renewed at every meeting of the society until 1818, when it was finally ended.

Many members who had voted against the Academy in 1807 refused afterwards to change the destination of the funds. Judge Brooke, who gave me this information, said he was one who so acted ; but others continued the struggle till 1818.

In 1817 the opposition was very active, and to meet the assaults made the trustees of the College directed the President and Mr. Graham to prepare a statement of the funds of the Academy and College from its begining to that time. Such a statement was prepared, approved by the Board, and one copy was forwarded to the Society and one was ordered to be preserved. Both these copies, I fear, are lost.¹

Undoubtedly the example of Washington had much influence on the final vote ; but the fidelity with which that fund was preserved and the high character of the institution also had great influence on the decision of the Cincinnati Society.

Judge Brooke informed me the establishment of the Cincinnati class in the Academy, and the statement made by the trustees, also had great influence.

The vote in 1818 was unanimous, and the question put at rest. But the fund could not be rendered available until the death of the pensioners. And the accidents stated in the case of *Wilson vs. Burfort* delayed the receipt of the fund until about 1850.

I have made the statements in this sketch with all the care and reflection engagements in my profession would permit me. I believe they are correct and present a truthful review of the history of the institution from 1799 to 1829.

¹ This statement is preserved on the record of the Board of Trustees.—Eds.

MEMORIAL TRIBUTES TO THE REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

The following notices of Dr. Baxter appeared after his death.

From the "*Watchman of the South*," supposed to be by the Rev. STUART ROBINSON, D. D.

GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

"The memory of the just is blessed." Affection to the past, and benevolence to the present and future, unite in erecting a monument to departed excellence. It is the peculiar felicity of the good man, that his usefulness does not die with him. His memory remains as a sweet savor behind him, and though dead, he yet speaks—elevating and purifying those of after times. His example stands as a model of generous emulation to the young, and as a source of honest pride to the old.

He therefore has always been a benefactor to his own and after times, who has perpetuated the memory of worth. And Old Mortality, as delineated by the greatest of novelists, was doing the work of a true patriot, as well as an enthusiastic lover of the past, when he bent over the half obliterated records on the tombs of his ancestors, and sought to revive the evidence of their illustrious deeds. And in this good work, whatever is done must be done quickly. The lights which guide us in delineating the characters of the departed are continually and rapidly going out in the darkness of the past.—"Time's effacing fingers" sweep over the traces they have left behind them, and soon those whose records might have afforded an instructive chapter in the great history of man,

may be described in the melancholy language, "*stat magni nominis umbra*"—he stands the shadow of a mighty name. The uncertain babbling of tradition, the dim and indistinct tracery of popular belief, are the only mementos left us.

The name that stands at the head of this article has suggested these reflections. And how strange, how painful, to think of him as one who *was*. But yesterday and I was sitting at his feet—his "bland and noble countenance" shone upon me to cheer the hours of laborious investigation, and his pure and peaceful wisdom directed my footsteps in the way of knowledge. But now he belongs to a departed race, and to the mighty men of old. His sun was eclipsed when it shone with the greatest brightness. In the full maturity of his transcendent talents, and while exercising an incalculable influence for good, his mantle fell from him, and his spirit returned to Him who gave it. The stroke that removed him was unexpected. The last letters that I had received spoke most cheerfully of his improved health. What was my consternation when a friend came into my chamber with the announcement, "Dr. Baxter is dead!" Alas for our Southern Zion, alas for the Church of God! "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth: for the faithful fail from among the children of men." This sentiment was echoed by ten thousand hearts.

Months have now elapsed since his death, and I have confidently expected that some of his associates in usefulness would give the church a delineation of his character. But I have been disappointed. A few short obituary notices are the only tribute to his memory, save that indelible one written in the hearts of his friends, and that which exists in the most important *acts* of our church during its late stormy period. Be mine, then, the voluntary task of gathering those fragments which may be of use in assisting his successors to form an estimate of his unique and admirable character. The delineations will no doubt be coarse, for the hand that gives them is inexperienced, but the hand will be guided by affection and reverence never felt in conjunction for any other man I have ever known.

The necessity for promptness in collecting traits of character in a permanent and tangible form, which exists in all such cases, is peculiarly strong in the present instance. Perhaps no man of his

talents and standing has left fewer writings as monuments of his greatness. He was pre-eminently unambitious. An acquaintance of considerable intimacy for years did not develop a single instance in which he seemed to court the public gaze. He never thrust himself forward. He never took a more prominent stand than circumstances compelled him to assume. But when thus forced into a conspicuous station, his resources were always adequate to the occasion. For such circumstances he was peculiarly fitted, by a quick penetration and comprehensive grasp of mind, which enabled him to meet an unexpected subject as if it had been maturely investigated. He never seemed to be taken unawares. In the confusion of desultory debate, he stood armed at all points, and the weapons of argument, or ridicule, or humor were ever at hand. In the whole course of my pupilage under him, I never knew him to postpone an answer to an objection. The most skilful cavils that could be collected from our own minds or from books never seemed to possess anything of novelty for him, but were met and exploded as old antagonists, the secret of whose weakness was well understood. The whole vast stores of his mind, all that he had read or thought, seemed completely at command. He required no time to parade his arguments or burnish his weapons. And this quickness in the perception of truth gave him a readiness in detecting and exposing fallacy. I have seen arguments proposed to him with an air of triumphant confidence, and then promptly met with a simplicity and clearness which convinced even the objector. And the answer was always accompanied by a kind good humor which robbed defeat of its chagrin.

His memory was singularly retentive. The most minute facts and arguments seemed rooted in his mind. Any one who has conversed with him about books or men must have observed this trait. He once repeated to me a large part of a poem of considerable length, and on being asked when he had read it last, answered, "About forty years ago."

Another distinguishing feature of his character was his imperturbable good humor. The vexations of a lecture room, arising in part from the dulness or indolence of pupils and in part from a self-confident dogmatical spirit that often distinguishes the learner, are well known. But even these could not destroy the serenity of his tem-

per. Though he often sported with a frivolous argument, he was always kind to the objector. Even an impertinent cavil I have seen met by the same meek forbearance. But the writer of these lines has observed him closely in still more trying circumstances—when those whom he esteemed friends opposed and bitterly vilified him for actions which he deemed essential to the welfare of the Church. But even personal unkindness did not move him. With open hand and open heart he still courted a return to amity. For a debater he was perhaps too confiding and credulous. His own open fairness, and his superiority to trick and finesse, led him to expect the same qualities in his antagonist, and he sometimes suffered by his charity. He was an illustration of a passage to be found in a discriminating author. “It has been remarked,” says Abercrombie, “that a turn for acute disputation, and minute and rigid criticism, is often the characteristic of a contracted and prejudiced mind, and that the most enlarged understandings are always the most indulgent to the statements of others—their leading object being to discover truth.”

As a writer, his style was uniform, yet always elevated—a table land, without hills or valleys. It was the opposite of all pomp and parade. He relied for success on the force of truth presented in the clearest light. When he had given a fair view of an argument he did not loiter around it to adorn and beautify it. He left it to produce its own effect, unaided by elegance of diction. Nor did he pause to guard it against every little cavil; he seemed satisfied if it was based on truth; he did not even carry it out into all its legitimate ramifications, but threw it out with an air that seemed to say that it had cost him too little labor to be regarded with much fondness. His eye seemed to be fixed on the thing to be proved, and he hastened to it with an impatience of all delay. He marched boldly on in the highway of argument, nor turned aside to subdue every petty outpost. He never skirmished, he wielded no small arms. But every volley came booming on with the destructive force of heavy ordnance. Every new sentence contained a new idea, every step was an advance towards the goal.

As a preacher he exhibited the same general characteristics. He had too little ornament and too much thought, to be very attractive to the mass of hearers, if they were strangers. For though he

wielded the club of Hercules, it had not a single wreath to adorn it. It often required a cultivated as well as attentive mind to follow the rapid flow of his thoughts; but to such minds, his sermons were both an intellectual and a spiritual feast. His preaching was evangelical and practical, and his advice to the inquiring bore the stamp of scriptural authority and wisdom.

But in the sacred family circle he was most engaging. There he was unrivalled. The stories of his mind and the treasures of his heart were poured out with lavish profusion. And I have often left his fireside with an impression of his intellectual power, equal if not superior to that made by his public efforts. Such is the idea I have formed of the man we mourn, though at first prejudiced against him. Peace to his memory. The rancor of party spirit will let him sleep undisturbed, and even his enemies will be tempted to do him justice. For even one of his warmest opposers said of him in debate, even when his name had not been hallowed by death, that "God had few such servants on earth."

ALUMNUS.

Extract from an address delivered before the Society of Alumni of Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward county, Virginia, at the Annual Commencement June 13th, 1848, by the Rev. JOHN H. BOCK, D. D.

But to others of us who came later here, there arises the vision of another face and form, a brow in whose massy proportions nature had carved nobility, a countenance in which with the native beamings of a giant intellect Divine Grace had blended a sacred tenderness, which adored and trembled, and loved and wept, like some holy and sweet-spirited infant. We remember him in the pulpit—how the blood flushed his face, and the tears suffused his eyes, when his own or another's tongue depicted the awful retributions which await unbelieving sinners. As some one passing Dr. Payson's church after his decease pointed over to it and said, "There Payson prayed," so as we pass the neighboring church, the words paraphrase themselves to our thoughts, and we feel, "There Baxter wept." We remember when sometimes he came to the prayer room, late by a minute, and found us singing :

"To hear the sorrows thou hast felt,
Dear Lord, adamant would melt."

or some such hymn of contrition, how the sentiment, especially if it savored deeply of the cross of Christ, would at once thrill into his heart, and send forth its witnesses, the crimson and the tears, even before he reached his seat. We remember, too, on occasions when his spirit was fairly awakened, how we watched the light which came from his many-sided mind in the enthusiasm of its epic power of grandeur; and saw him as some Hercules, walking in the realms of Reason and Logic, hurl down pinnacle and battlement, and wall and foundation, of some fortress of untruth, by successive blows, without any visible throes of exertion; or sweep away the foundation of some castle of folly at a single trenchant stroke; and then proceed with the meekness of a child to build in its place a clear, shining structure of truth, from which only the image of the Divine Saviour might be reflected; or we followed him as guide into some region of thought which had seemed a dim and doubtful labyrinth before, and saw by the light which he carried how it assumed the order and clearness of a Grecian city built for a daylight dwelling-place. And in those times of fiery trial, when brethren were unhappily alienated from brethren, and party contests rose around the very altar connected with the very glories of the temple, we watched him with a confidence rendered half prophetic by a recollection of the past, as he went through ordeal after ordeal; and we had already foretasted the result when he came out as gold of the seventh refining. Every one who ever enjoyed his instructions probably remembers what visions he would sometimes present of the awful solemnities of Eternity and the glory of the exalted Saviour, and then take pains to hide himself behind the humblest question or remark of his humblest pupil. And we all must reflect with regret how the creations and achievements of his mighty mind—I take leave to say on this occasion, as mighty a mind as I can well conceive of, in the possession of a mere mortal—are in the main utterly lost to the Church, from his rooted aversion on all occasions to any show of self.

On the times of the Second President, only a single remark will be offered. It is, that under him the Seminary was called on, as a

denominational school, to make its election between fountains of wild bewildering waters on the one hand, and the ancient crystal wells of truth on the other ; between a spirit of fancied improvement, which was indeed one of startling innovation, on the one hand, and the ancient and tried order of the Lord's house on the other. And it is believed that almost every subsequent week and month has been demonstrating that he and the worthy guardians of the Institution who stood shoulder to shoulder with him, made their election wisely and well. There may have been things to regret in those days, because the storm was wild and loud and long ; and perfection is not an attribute of mortals even in times of quiet. But now that it is overpast, it is too plain to be doubted that there have come to us from it righteousness, and peace, and order, an example not deserving to be soon forgotten of the heroic love of truth ; an instance in which the spirit of God lifted his flaming and zealous standard according to the ancient promise of his word ; and a new proof, added to the many which were already found in the history of spiritual affairs in this world, that his hand will not desert those to whom anything is better than deranged order and corrupted truth.

From the *Staunton Spectator*, 1846. By the Rev. B. M. SMITH, D. D.

WASHINGTON COLLEGE, LEXINGTON, VA.

Mr. Editor.—In the three preceding numbers, I have endeavored to give a brief outline of the early history of Washington College. The facts and historical data which have been exhibited, touching its paternity, cannot be questioned. Permit me to retrace my hasty steps for a moment, that I may bring to view, a little more in detail, the operations of this institution during the presidency of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D.

Dr. Baxter while yet a young man was chosen to preside over this rising institution about the time that it received the name of Washington Academy and its first endowment from "the Father of his Country." He continued its President more than thirty years, during which time it had its seasons of adversity as well as

prosperity. Its seasons of adversity, however, compared with those of prosperity, resemble the occasional cloud that may be seen on a bright day in summer to flit across the disk of the sun, which only obscures his light partially, and but for a moment. In proof of this I refer to a long list, although imperfect, of Dr. Baxter's pupils, which lies before me. Here are the names of many that this institution has educated, and prepared to fill the highest stations in the fields of usefulness and fame ; hundreds remain to this day, although some have fallen asleep. And were it not that delicacy forbids to eulogize those who are alive, and in the spring-tide of usefulness and career of fame, I would spread before the community a few scores of those distinguished names. Such an *exposé* would prove that the Alumni of Washington College are no disgrace to their beloved and respected *alma mater*. In point of talents, scholarship, principles and usefulness in their respective professions and occupations, they exhibit as much ability, and sustain as high a reputation, as the Alumni of any other institution generally do. The grade and reputation of any school may be ascertained by the general character of its Alumni. It is as true of schools as of men—"by their fruits ye shall know them." On this test we throw Washington College, without a moment's demur, knowing assuredly that she shall pass the ordeal triumphantly. Upon every scroll of fame which we unroll since the memorable year of 1776, we find the names of her Alumni inscribed. Go to the Senate of the United States, and there you will find of her sons ; go to the House of Representatives, and there you will be fascinated with the eloquence of those who have enjoyed her instructions ; go to the legislative halls of any of the States, South or West, of our own State, and you will be permitted to listen to the counsels of many of her pupils ; go to the Bench and Bar of the States just referred to, and you will find many of her Alumni adorning the higher walks of jurisprudence. Her Alumni who belong to the medical profession are numerous and highly respectable ; the lustre which they reflect, by their profound skill in medical science, upon their *alma mater*, is sufficient to deter any man of common sense from speaking lightly of her. The number of her Alumni who have entered the ministry

of the gospel in the Presbyterian Church is greatly to her honor and praise. The devoted men who founded this College have not been disappointed. Fondly did they hope, and most devoutly did they pray, that she might become "a nursing mother" to the Presbyterian Church—and so she has. Hundreds have gone from her venerable halls to proclaim the everlasting gospel, some of whom have been, and some are now, Presidents in our Theological Seminaries and Colleges. Among the early graduates of Washington Academy is found the name of the Rev. John H. Rice, D. D., one of the greatest men and most profound scholars that our church or country ever knew. Go East or West, North or South, and you will find in the ministry of the church just referred to, men of piety, talents, learning and influence, who have received their education at this College. The time has come to make an *exposé* of these matters, and to inform the community that this school is worthy of their confidence and patronage. That she might have accomplished more and done better, I concede, but that she has achieved so much and done so well is a matter of profound gratitude. To inquire into the reasons why she has not been more prosperous is foreign to my purpose. I remark, however, in passing, that if all those who are under lasting obligations to her, and owe her all they know, had used their influence and efforts in promoting her interests; by communicating information respecting the facilities and advantages of education which she possesses, she would, doubtless, have accomplished more.

It is deeply to be regretted that no one has undertaken to furnish the community with a sketch of the life and character of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D., a man to whom this institution owes a great deal, and whose memory deserves to be venerated by all its Alumni.

Permit one who has enjoyed the inestimable privilege of sitting under his ministry eight years, seven of which he was a member of his church, to close this number with a brief sketch of his character. Dr. Baxter was descended from respectable parents who resided in Rockingham county, Virginia, where he was born July, 1771. At an early age he manifested a strong attachment for literary pursuits. And whilst yet a young man, having undergone a great change in

his religious views and feelings, he resolved to make a full surrender of himself to God and prepare for the work of the holy Ministry. He was a pupil of Mr. Graham, and graduated at the 'Log College' before it received the name of Washington Academy. He was President of Washington College more than thirty years, and Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Lexington thirty-three years. I do not disparage Dr. Baxter's able, pious, and learned co-adjutors and successors either in this College or Church, when I say that both owe a debt of gratitude, and perhaps something more, to his memory, which is not likely soon to be discharged. Dr. Baxter was inaugurated Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, April 11, 1832, in which office he continued until his death, which occurred April, 1841.

Dr. Baxter was a great and good man. As a man of genius and a scholar he was distinguished, as an orator and a preacher he was unsurpassed; as an instructor he was eminent and successful; and as a man and a christian, those who know him best will be the first to speak his praise. For native powers of mind, he will be ranked among the first men in the history of our Church and Country. In the acquisition of knowledge the efforts of his mind were singular and extraordinary. In mathematics, logic, rhetoric, history and theology his knowledge was extensive and profound. In the entire command of his thoughts he excelled most men. His taste was correct and refined, his judgment solid, his views comprehensive, and his reasoning faculties powerful and commanding. He possessed uncommon powers to please and instruct. His knowledge was not confined to a single science, or to one branch of literature; it was varied, profound and extensive. As a pulpit orator he had few equals, and was surpassed by none. As a preacher he was esteemed a *model*. His eloquence was of the most commanding, dignified and impressive order. He was in style, taste, power, gesture and argument, the finished and consummate orator. He was wise to win souls, and was greatly successful in his efforts to bring men to a knowledge of "the truth as it is in Jesus." The Holy Spirit honored and blessed his ministry by the conversion of many souls in numerous revivals of pure and undefiled religion. To such revivals of religion he was an enlightened and warm friend. In a word, he was a man of devoted and fervent

piety ; “mighty in the scriptures ;” mighty in the knowledge of “the faith once delivered to the saints ;” mighty in the history of the Church ; mighty in sound wisdom and discretion ; mighty in that noble, comprehensive character given by the pen of inspiration to a minister of old—“he was a good man and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith,” and through his instrumentality “much people was added to the Lord.”

And yet, notwithstanding his greatness, he was as simple as a child, and as easy of access as one altogether unconscious of any merit. He was confiding in his friendship, sincere in his professions, and always charitable and forgiving. His humility was real, his life unostentatious, and his frame of mind devout. “He was a burning and a shining light.”

The decease of this inestimable man called forth testimonials of respect from various institutions and ecclesiastical bodies with which he was connected. His death was a sad stroke to many a sorrowing and smitten heart. He was greatly beloved and universally lamented.

Such is a feeble outline of the character of the Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D. Thousands will attest its truth. The writer speaks what he knows, and testifies what he has seen and heard.

From the *Central Presbyterian*. By REV. WILLIAM BROWN, D. D.

REV. GEORGE A. BAXTER, D. D.

[The reminiscence found below, in which this venerated name is prominent, was published under the head of Editorial Correspondence in the *Central Presbyterian* in 1865. It was, however, just after the resuscitation of the paper, and when the mails of the country were not open to half its readers. On this account the writer has the more willingly complied with numerous requests for the republication of the article. Some unessential changes have been made. The scene referred to was so extraordinary as almost unavoidably to awaken a suspicion that the description is overdrawn ; especially when the age of the writer at the time is called to mind. It is only natural to think that the account gives the impressions then received by a highly excited youthful mind, but that it is really, though undesignedly, an exaggeration. But the statement

which the Rev. Dr. Plumer has been so kind as to furnish will be a satisfactory safeguard upon that point. His letter we here subjoin :]

COLUMBIA, S. C., *October 24th, 1867.*

Rev. WM. BROWN, D. D.:

My Dear Brother,—When you first published your recollections of a meeting near Strickler's Spring, in Virginia, I was very much impressed with its accuracy. I have recently read it over again, and I am satisfied that I could not alter a sentence to make it more truthful, as far as it goes. You have given us the central figure and actor. If it were right I could add to the sketch others. You yourself were then a little boy. You sat near me, and I could hardly look at the preacher without seeing you. I read your emotions as distinctly as I ever read those of any person. At no great distance sat your excellent mother, and near to her that wonderfully experienced Christian, the mother of Rev. Wm. G. Campbell. A little further on was a group of College boys, who had come there without any serious purpose. But they were awed into solemnity.

I earnestly request you to republish the account of that solemn scene. Those who have read it will be glad to read it again. Those who have never read it will be glad to peruse it for the first time.

Very fraternally yours,

WM. S. PLUMER.

A REMINISCENCE OF EARLY LIFE.

On Saturday, August 25, an unexpected providence led my way over the North mountain to the Rockbridge Alum Springs, whence, after spending only a few hours at this famous fountain of health, my course was down Dunlap's Creek¹ until within sight of Goshen Depot, on the Covington and Ohio railroad. Here, making a sudden turn to the right, I was in a little while involved in the depths of Strickler's Gap. After many travels through the mountain passes of Virginia, I must say that none of them makes so deep an impression upon me as this. That through the Blue Ridge, along the noble

¹ Bratton's Run.

James, exceeds it in some respects ; chiefly because you have there the sight of a great river—here only one of its branches. But, taking into account the extreme narrowness of the defile, the stupendous mountains and crags almost hanging over you, and of course the great depth of the gorges in view, the sudden, surprising turns of the road, the wonderful bendings and interlappings of the ridges, suggesting a doubt whether a way can be found to get through—I do not hesitate to place it before all I have ever visited. It is truly a scene of wildness and grandeur which the beholder cannot soon forget. The effect on the present occasion was the greater, because my ride of six miles on horseback through these deep, silent shades was alone, and during the last hours of a calm and hot day in summer. For as I emerged into the great valley at Strickler's Springs, and turned to catch a side view of the old familiar Jump close to my left, the last rays of sunlight were leaving its lofty peak. It was an admonition to hasten on my journey. But suddenly a reminiscence of years long gone by seized and bound me as if by some magic power, and for a time entirely banished the thought of everything else. And well it might be so ; for was I not standing on holy ground ? The North river, after so long threading its doubtful way from head-springs hid behind interminable mountains, just here suddenly breaks through the last, the one forming the western boundary of our wide, and fertile, and beautiful Valley of Virginia—in its whole length and breadth surely one of the very loveliest upon earth. Now, as if freed from long, oppressive struggles, and “rejoicing as a strong man to run a race,” it strikes its course south and obliquely across the Valley, for about thirty miles, till swelled by many tributaries its waters are mingled with the James as it enters its magnificent highway through the Blue Ridge. It was here at this spot immediately on the right of the road—on this beautiful grassy level where it suddenly touches the mountain, which rises abruptly and so high that it seems almost to hang over us—it was here that I witnessed more than forty years ago a scene which some of the people of Rockbridge yet speak of, and which certainly was one of memorable interest. Never can it be forgotten “while I have any being.” As no account of it has ever been published, I will attempt a description ; conscious, however, that it is a very inadequate one.

The time to which I refer was about the year 1822, and the day was one on which the communion of the Lord's Supper was to be administered; interesting services and largely attended, having been held for some days preceding. The Sabbath was one of loveliness such as the climate of Virginia often gives in September, especially among the mountains. The assembly was immense. Carriages were then rarely to be met with, and the multitudes came entirely on horseback and on foot. They had poured over from Kerr's Creek and down Walker's Creek and Hays Creek; they had come down through Strickler's Gap, from the Pastures and other places behind the mountains; they had gathered from Lexington, from Timber Ridge, from Fairfield and from New Providence. It was a time of uncommon religious awakening over the country, the hearts of the people were deeply moved by "power from on high," and not only the utmost good order, but the utmost solemnity also, was to be marked even by a casual observer. The church on the river, now called Bethesda, was at that time without a house of worship, but was then and for many years after under the care of the Rev. Andrew B. Davidson. Whether on the present occasion he preached in the morning I cannot now certainly recollect, but he conducted most of the communion services in his usual fervid and impressive manner. A very large number were admitted to the church upon profession of their faith, and sat down for the first time at the table of the Lord. In the great congregation of that day might be seen the newly convicted sinner, the stricken penitent, the rejoicing convert, and the riper joy of older Christians—all mingled together, and making it a communion season long to be remembered. Surely it was a scene for angels as well as men to look upon!

When the morning services were about closing, it was announced from the stand that Dr. Baxter would preach in the afternoon. After a short intermission the singing of a hymn was the signal for the congregation to assemble again; which was done promptly—it might even be said eagerly. No one seemed to have departed; hardly a straggler could be seen. Many there were negroes, to whom a suitable place was assigned; and it may be proper to mention here that during this revival a very large number of them were added to the various churches around. Altogether it was a

wonderful assembly. From the preachers' stand in the grove to the foot of the mountain, and as it had been in the forenoon, seated on the rocks for twenty or thirty yards up its steep side, there was a dense mass of human faces, upon which one all absorbing interest was depicted. What a responsibility to stand forth as the ambassador of Christ to such a crowd, and beseech men to be reconciled unto God!

The worship before the sermon seemed peculiarly edifying, and well suited to give a right direction to the feelings of the people. Dr. Baxter gave out the 17th Psalm—a favorite one with him. It contains these striking verses:

“What sinners value I resign;
Lord, 'tis enough that thou art mine:
I shall behold thy blissful face,
And stand complete in righteousness.

This life's a dream, an empty show;
But the bright world to which I go
Hath joys substantial and sincere;
When shall I wake and find me there?

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,
Till the last trumpet's joyful sound;
Then burst the chains with sweet surprise,
And in my Saviour's image rise.

O glorious hour! O blest abode!
I shall be near and like my God:
And flesh and sin no more control
The sacred pleasures of the soul.”

Had it been but yesterday I could hardly call to mind more vividly the tone of voice, and at times the quivering lip, and the whole countenance with which these verses were read. As they were heard that day, sung by almost unnumbered voices to the tune of “Old Hundred,” “the sound was as the noise of many waters.” When it was ended, Dr. Baxter gave out for his text that striking passage in Isaiah lvii, 20, 21: “But the wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.” He was then in the very prime of life, his mighty powers of intellect in their full maturity, and his religious sympathies, always quick and tender,

were now overflowing ; for his heart was all aglow with the revival pervading the country. I was then only a little boy eleven years old ; but having recently united with the Church, my interest was intensely excited, and I can remember distinctly to this day the general outline of the discourse.

He first stated briefly but with great clearness and force, who were meant by the wicked ; that it included all who were alienated from God. He next demonstrated from the nature of his moral government, and the constitution he had given to man, the absolute impossibility of such persons enjoying any true peace. This position he confirmed by reciting the confessions of Rousseau, Voltaire and Hume, together with some striking cases coming under his own observation.

He then turned with a most searching appeal to those of his hearers still unreconciled to God, asking whether their consciences did not often testify that they had never found the happiness they craved. Here the emotions of the preacher, which at various points of the discourse he had with much effort controlled, became almost overpowering. His benignant face was bathed in tears ; for like Paul, and Whitfield, and others of the same spirit, he often thus besought men. It was, in fact, sometimes with great difficulty and after a considerable pause he could find utterance. Under this appeal the whole congregation was deeply moved, and many of the stout hearted were melted like wax. His own feelings, though still under intense action, at length found vent, and were more calm. With unspeakable solemnity he next pointed the class he was addressing to the future. If they had been like the troubled sea in the past, what could they expect in a dying hour, and a day of judgment ! Here he recited Jeremiah xii, 5 : " If thou hast run with the footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with horses ? and if in the land of peace, wherein thou trustedst, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan ? " If in this world of mercy, said he, a sense of guilt, and apprehensions of the wrath of God, make you sometimes so unhappy, how will it be in that hour when mercy is departing forever ? when such a sense of avenging justice shall seize upon you as will *completely reverse the very instincts of nature itself ?*

In illustration of this last point, he added—"Suppose, as you are seated here this moment, you should see the heavens above suddenly gathering blackness, and feel the earth, under some mysterious power, trembling beneath your feet; and you who are seated upon the mountain should feel it shaking to its foundation; and looking up to its top, we should see it nodding to its fall. What would nature dictate? We should all flee in horror from the fated spot. But how completely will all this feeling be reversed to the impenitent at the last day! O, you will then say to the mountains and to the rocks, '*Fall on us*, and hide us from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of his wrath is come, and who shall be able to stand?'"¹

This was the substance, and in the most material parts the language used. I do not think it possible to convey to others an adequate idea of the impression immediately produced. The effect was indescribable. Something, however, may be gathered from a simple statement of what I witnessed. I was sitting with other boys close by Dr. Baxter, on the edge of the platform, and facing the vast assembly. From the very beginning of his sermon their attention had been riveted. It had increased with every step in the preacher's advance, until a more complete absorption in the subject, and consequently forgetfulness of everything else, can hardly be imagined. The emotion of the crowd now reached its climax, and an amazing one it was. I have since beheld many assemblies deeply wrought upon under a sense of eternal things, but never a scene to be compared to this. Many sitting below and on the mountain side at once rose up, and I can testify that I saw a number of persons turn to see if the mountain was not really about to fall. Indeed, so wrapt was my whole soul in the subject, that I also for a moment looked up in apprehension of such a catastrophe. The concluding hymn I had often heard before, but never with such an awful view of the last judgment.

"That awful day will surely come,
The appointed hour makes haste,
When I must stand before my Judge,
And pass the solemn test."

¹ It was probably from early habit that Dr. Baxter, though usually quite accurate in this respect, gave the words "tremble" and "wrath" the pronunciation of *trimble* and *wroth*.

Among all the instances noticed in history, where a whole multitude were swayed like a forest before some mighty wind, I doubt whether there is a more remarkable one than this. When Demosthenes

“Wielded at will that fierce democracy,
Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece,”

his hearers in a pitch of excitement cried out, “Let us go to meet Philip!” But what was this compared with the cry of burdened sinners, “What must we do to be saved?”—compared with even one lost son saying, “I will arise and go to my father!” The warfare in a single heart is more tremendous in its whole nature and results than “every battle of the warrior with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood.” The eternal salvation of one soul outweighs all the interests of time.

It is true that the power on the hearts of the people during this memorable day was divine; but the Holy Spirit of God commonly uses means suited to the end designed. It was so here. If the universal judgment of the most competent men who knew him may decide, Dr. Baxter had endowments of mind, and powers as a preacher, surpassed by none, and equalled by few of his great cotemporaries. Of his piety, exceeding modesty and great worth, it were superfluous to say anything. Many can still call to mind his majestic presence, his kindling eye, and a head molded so grandly as to “give the world assurance of a man.” His theme, too, on the occasion of which I speak, was exactly suited to his cast of thought, and his sonorous voice rang through the grove and along the mountain like the sound of a deep-toned trumpet. When with all this you consider the place, the great congregation, and the great religious awakening over the country, it may be understood in some measure how well suited these agencies and circumstances were to bring on this awful impression, and carry on the work of mercy and salvation. Still it was not the less divine. “There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.” Certainly I must ever remember the scene here imperfectly presented as one of the most interesting of my life. I have ventured the sketch, believing it will be a reminiscence not without interest to many, and especially, because it recalls a memorable

incident in the life of a great and good man so much loved and revered.

Passing out from the shadow of the mountain, and riding in the last twilight of evening down the river to the Rockbridge Baths, the reflection was a natural one : Where are now the people gathered together on that communion Sabbath ? A few remain until the present time ; concerning most, the wind hath passed over them and they are gone—long since have they joined the still greater congregation of the dead, and passed to their judgment before God. The voice of those who on that day preached the unsearchable riches of Christ, is hushed. In fact, of all the ministers then in the Presbytery of Lexington, I can think of but three who are now among the living ; the Rev. John McElhenny, D. D., the Rev. John D. Ewing, and the Rev. James Morrison—old pilgrims, each leaning thoughtfully on his staff at the banks of Jordan.

Dear old Rockbridge ! a place where any might be thankful he was born. With a scenery so bold and charming as hardly to allow a sister in the family to vie with her ; with a region where indeed the Lord most plentifully “sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills ;” with a people who from the first filled it with sanctuaries and schools ; the home of Graham, and Alexander, and Baxter, and Ruffner, and McDowell and Stonewall Jackson—the great and the good ; and of multitudes unknown to fame, “whose record is on high”—may blessings be forever upon thee !

And may the days soon return when among all our afflicted but not forsaken churches the word of the Lord, as in the days of old, shall “have free course and be glorified.” “Return, O Lord, how long ? And let it repent thee concerning thy servants. Oh satisfy us early with thy mercy ; that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.”

SKETCHES OF TRUSTEES.

When the Trustees met on the 6th of August, 1784, they found several vacancies in their body. John Trimble since the organization of the Board had departed this life; Samuel McDowell, Caleb Wallace and William Christian had removed or were about to remove to Kentucky; John Montgomery had removed to Opequon church in the lower Valley; and George Moffett and James McCorkle, on account of their distance from Lexington and their advanced age, were unable to attend the meetings of the Board. These all retired, and Archibald Scott, Charles Campbell, John Houston, James Ramsey, John Lyle, Thomas Edgar and Samuel Carrick were elected to supply the vacancies. Sketches of Archibald Scott,¹ Charles Campbell,² John Houston,³ and John Lyle,⁴ who held appointment under the Presbytery, have heretofore been given. It is proposed to continue sketches of succeeding Trustees in these papers.

SAMUEL CARRICK.

Samuel Carrick was born in Adams County, Penn., and was a student at Liberty Hall under Mr. Graham, and was one of those who received the degree of A. B. in 1785. He entered the Presbyterian ministry and was ordained by Hanover Presbytery. He ministered to several churches in the Valley of Virginia, and was chiefly instrumental in organizing Lebanon church in Rockbridge county. He was elected a Trustee in 1784, and served until 1791. About that time he removed to Tennessee, where he was greatly distinguished as a preacher and teacher. He also organized

¹ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 108.

² Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 86.

³ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 85.

⁴ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 110.

Lebanon church in Tennessee, and the church in Knoxville. He was chosen by the Legislature the first President of Blount College at Knoxville, now Tennessee University, and continued to manage that institution with great success until his death in 1809.

Foote, in his sketches of North Carolina, quotes a gentleman who knew him as saying: "Rev. Samuel Carrick, equally orthodox, and not less learned or devoted to the service of his master"—he is running a parallel with Mr. Doak—"nor yet more liberal, tolerant and refined. He had a great deal of urbanity, much of the *suaviter in modo*, less of the *fortiter in re*, dressed neatly, behaved courteously, grave, polite, genteel, in short he was a model of an old fashioned southern gentleman, and had evidently been (as all Presbyterian clergymen of that day were, and ought still to be) *well raised*."—W. McL.

THOMAS EDGAR.

Among the Trustees elected in 1784 was Thomas Edgar, of Greenbrier.

He was born either in Bedford or Rockbridge, September 27th, 1750, married Ann Mathews, the daughter of Archer Mathews, of Rockbridge, and removed to Greenbrier. He was the Surveyor of Greenbrier from 1780 to 1784. He removed to Rockbridge in 1784 and on the 6th of August of that year was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall. He was also appointed a Justice of the peace for Rockbridge. In 1791 he returned to Greenbrier and retired from the Board of Trustees. After his return to Greenbrier he was appointed a Justice for that county, and continued to serve as such until his death, often presiding over the court. In 1799 he became the owner of the St. Lawrence farm on Greenbrier river, where the town of Ronceverte now stands, and where he died on the 15th of July, 1822.

Mr. Edgar was a man of the highest character and strictest integrity, and enjoyed the fullest confidence of the community in which he lived. He was a man of small stature and delicate constitution, but capable of great labor. He left several children, and many of his descendants have occupied useful and honorable positions in life. His grandson, Col. George M. Edgar, was a distinguished officer in the Confederate army. His grand-daughters Mrs. Ann Randolfe

and Miss Kate Edgar have been successful teachers and Mrs. Randolph is now a missionary in China. Another grandson, James Withrow, Esq., is a prominent citizen of Greenbrier, has been Presiding Justice of the county, and has represented the county in the Legislature.—W. McL.

JAMES MITCHEL.

James Mitchel was born in Piqua, Pennsylvania, on the 29th day of January, 1747. He was the son of Robert Mitchel, who emigrated from the North of Ireland, and subsequently removed to Bedford County, Virginia, where he lived to be eighty-five years of age. He had thirteen children, of whom not one died less than seventy. James Mitchel entered Liberty Hall Academy under Mr. Graham, and was one of the pupils at Mount Pleasant at the time so graphically described by Dr. Samuel L. Campbell.¹

In 1780 Mr. Mitchell was licensed to the ministry by Hanover Presbytery. In 1782 he married Frances, the daughter of the Rev. David Rice, and soon afterward removed to Kentucky and engaged in preaching and teaching. He returned to Virginia and preached awhile at Hat Creek and Concord. He removed again to Kentucky, and was instrumental in the formation of Transylvania Presbytery. He was appointed the first teacher in Transylvania Seminary, which was opened in February, 1785, near Danville.

Soon afterward he was called to the church at Peaks of Otter, in Bedford County, Virginia, and was installed pastor of that church in March, 1786, where he remained until his death on the 27th day of February, 1841, in his 95th year.

On the 10th day of October, 1791, Mr. Mitchel was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall Academy, and continued until 1807, when he retired from the Board.

Three of his sons-in-law and one grandson were Presbyterian ministers. Foote, in his *Sketches of Virginia*, thus describes Mr. Mitchel in his old age: "At the meetings of the Virginia Synod, for about the first forty years of the nineteenth century, might have been seen a wrinkled, white-haired man of low stature, with head and shoulders large enough for a taller frame; his manners simple,

¹ Historical Papers, No. 1, p. 107.

his dress approaching the antique, always neat and becoming, whom all called Father Mitchel, and no one could tell when he was not so called. To him the members of the Synod were especially kind and attentive and respectful, beyond what age from its own gravity might demand. A stranger might inquire: Is he the accredited head of a Seminary? a leading theologian? a debater? a principal man in some of the great enterprises of benevolence? a pleader of the cause of humanity in some interesting department? No, none of these. He pleads a cause, and has pleaded but one all his active life; pleads it with simplicity, with earnestness and with success; pleads it in his daily life, and from the pulpit. That cause is the cause of the Lord Jesus Christ, the messenger of mercy to sinful man: that he pleads always, and everywhere, with a warm heart and trumpet voice. Boasting no great stores of learning of any sort, he preached the Gospel from the year 1781, in his 34th year, till the year 1841, in his 95th year."—W. McL.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.

Samuel Houston was born on Hays Creek, in Rockbridge County, Va., January 1, 1758. He was the son of John Houston and Sarah Todd. He attended the schools in his neighborhood, and entered Liberty Hall Academy November 22, 1776, and graduated with the degree of A. B. in 1780. He commenced the study of theology under Rev. William Graham, but entered the army as a private in 1781, and was in the battle of Guilford C. H., where he was distinguished for his coolness and bravery.

He was received as a candidate for the ministry by Hanover Presbytery in November, 1781, and licensed in 1782. In 1783 he accepted a call to Providence congregation, in Washington County, and was ordained in August of the same year. In 1785 he was one of the ministers forming Abingdon Presbytery, and represented that body frequently in the meetings of Synod, being a member of the first Committee to which the proposal for the formation of a General Assembly was referred. Rev. William Graham was also a member of this Committee.

Mr. Houston took a prominent part in the agitation looking to the formation of the State of Tennessee. He was a member of the

convention which attempted to form the State of Frankland, and was a member of the Committee which drafted the proposed constitution.

In 1789 Mr. Houston removed from Tennessee, and accepted a call to the churches of Falling Spring and High-bridge, in Rock-bridge County, Va. These churches he served for many years, and at the same time conducted a classical school with great success. In 1822 he resigned the pastorate of Falling Spring, but ministered to the High-bridge congregation until his death. He became totally blind some years before his death, but continued his ministry to the satisfaction of his people. He died January 20, 1839, aged 81 years. He was twice married; first to a Miss Hall, who lived but a few months; and secondly, to Miss Margaret Walker, a daughter of Joseph Walker, Esq.

Mr. Houston was an earnest evangelical preacher, and a model pastor. He was a polished writer, and frequently contributed articles, on various subjects, to "Niles' Register" and other publications of the day.

In personal appearance Mr. Houston was tall, erect, and square shouldered, particular in his dress, and dignified in his deportment. He lived respected by all with whom he was associated, and died lamented.

He was elected a Trustee of Washington College on the 7th of October, 1791, in place of his father, John Houston, and served until 1826. He was secretary of the Board of Trustees from 1791 to 1809. "He was one that cherished Washington College in the days of its greatest weakness and depression."

A sketch of Mr. Houston can be found in the 2nd Series of Foote's Sketches of Virginia, from which the closing sentence above is taken.—W. P. H.

REV. JOHN P. CAMPBELL, M. D.

John Poage Campbell was born in Augusta county, Virginia, in 1767. He was the son of Robert Campbell and Rebecca Wallace, who resided near the old Stone Church. When he was thirteen years of age his father removed to Fayette county and thence to Mason county, Kentucky. Having the advantages of the best

schools he entered Hampden Sidney College and graduated about 1788. He then studied medicine with his kinsman Dr. David Campbell, a native of Virginia and a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. Having determined to give himself to the ministry he entered the Theological department of Liberty Hall, then in charge of Mr. Graham, and completed his course in 1792. Dr. Archibald Alexander was his classmate.

In 1792 Mr. Campbell was licensed by Lexington Presbytery and became the co-pastor with Mr. Graham of New Monmouth, Oxford and Timber Ridge churches in Rockbridge. He was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall on the 27th of April, 1793, and resigned on the 1st of September, 1795, upon his removal to Kentucky. During his membership in the Board he was a most faithful, efficient and zealous Trustee, attending during this period fourteen meetings of the Board.

Upon his removal to Kentucky in 1795 he took charge of the churches of Smyrna and Flemingsburg, in Fleming county. He afterwards exercised his ministry in various places, among which were Danville, Nicholasville, Cherry Springs, Versailles, Lexington and Chillicothe, and in the year 1811 he officiated as chaplain of the Legislature.

Dr. Campbell was married three times. His first wife was a Miss Crawford of Virginia: his second a Miss Poage of Kentucky: his third a daughter of Col. James McDowell of Lexington and a grand-daughter of Judge Samuel McDowell, a sketch of whom has been given in these papers.¹ In the summer of 1814 he was actively engaged in medical practice, and in botanical and antiquarian research, and was still preaching with his accustomed impressiveness and vigor, when he contracted a cold from exposure, which in a few months terminated his brilliant and useful career. "On the 14th of November, 1814," says Dr. Collins, "when just forty-six years old, this great man—great as linguist, naturalist, antiquarian, and divine—was laid to rest."

Dr. Campbell was a ready and prolific writer and many of his productions were published. The most striking of these were "Letters to a Gentleman of the Bar." "In them," says Dr.

¹ Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 63.

Pickett in his sketch, "he undertook to review the work of Dr. Erasmus Darwin, and anticipated Sir Benjamin Brodie and Professor Tyndall of our own day in the detection of the germinal ideas from which the Darwinian theory of Evolution is derived." "It had been thought," says Dr. Campbell, "that a vast accession of light had flashed upon the world when the author (Dr. Erasmus Darwin) published his celebrated work. It was hailed as a new era in philosophy. . . . But the philosophy was not new; the design of the poetic exhibition was not new: nor did the manner of the author possess a shadow of a claim to novelty. The doctrines had long before been taught by Protagoras, Strabo, Democritus and Leucippus. Epicurus had improved on the Democritic philosophy, and his admirer and disciple, Lucretius, had touched its various themes in a fine style of poetic representation. All that Dr. Darwin did was to moderate the doctrines of the atomic philosophy and embellish them with the late discoveries made in botany, chemistry and physics."

Dr. Campbell was a man of extraordinary talents. He was able, learned and cultured. He defended his church in the troublous times of Kentucky from the assaults of enemies from without and schismatics from within.

Davidson, in his History of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, says he "possessed an acute and discriminating mind. He was an accurate and well-read theologian; and excelled as a polemic, although in the judgment of his friends he allowed himself to indulge in too much asperity. Quick to detect the weak points of an enemy, and to unravel the fallacies of a sophist, his controversial writings exercised a powerful influence in their day. . . . Dr. Campbell was a man of fine taste and devoted to criticism and Belles Lettres. His style was elaborate and elegant; and he courted the muses not without success. He wrote verses and played on the flute, and one of his published discourses was on Sacred Music. A graceful and energetic elocution, and a delivery not fluent but animated, combined with solid matter and a sprightly style, gave him great reputation in early life as a preacher. . . . The opinion of the literary world was very flattering. Dr. Archibald Alexander, who was intimate with him during his theological studies, pronounced his talents fit for any station. Dr. Dwight, with whom he became acquainted on

a journey to Connecticut in 1812, spoke in the highest terms of his intelligence and scholarship. Dr. Cleland has described him as one of the most talented, popular and influential ministers in the country, and pre-eminent among the Kentucky clergy. Nassau Hall was about to confer upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity when death prevented the intended honor."

Dr. Thomas E. Pickett, in his sketch of Dr. Campbell, from which we have already quoted, quotes Rev. Dr. Edward P. Humphrey as saying: "As a preacher, he was distinguished for weight of matter, brilliant diction, the flashing of a deep set, blue eye, elegance of style and gracefulness of delivery." Dr. Humphrey speaks of him as "the defender of the faith." "Somebody must fight or everybody would run away; and Campbell was one whose courage rose with the exigencies of the contention. He was a veteran to be sent to the front, and an adversary whom nobody would despise a second time."

Dr. Pickett further says: "Dr. Louis Marshall,¹ himself an eminent scholar, regarded Dr. Campbell as a man of extraordinary gifts and accomplishments. He connected himself with the church under Campbell's eloquent ministrations; he followed him with eager delight in his brilliant controversial career; he bore generous testimony to his accomplishments as a scholar and divine; he omitted no proof of his profound admiration for his talents and attainments; and in token of his personal and particular appreciation named after him his youngest son."

We conclude this sketch with another extract from Dr. Pickett's sketch giving a personal description of Dr. Campbell. "In person he was tall, slender, and graceful, his countenance was composed, thoughtful, and grave; his complexion clear and pale; his carriage manly and erect. His eyes, which were his most remarkable feature, were dark, penetrating, and singularly expressive. His manner was easy, affable, and unaffected, and though in the presence of strangers it was slightly tinged with reserve, it always invited confidence, and inspired respect. His social qualities made him everywhere a welcome guest. He was a brilliant conversationalist, and an accomplished musician, discoursing learnedly upon

¹ Formerly President of Washington College.

the musical art, and playing charmingly upon the flute. His social gifts, in a word, were of so high an order, and so finely adapted to the cultivated circles in which he moved, that it is no disparagement to the society of his choice to assume that he was one of the most accomplished men of his time and the *doctor admirabilis* of his day.”¹—W. McL.

DR. SAMUEL L. CAMPBELL.

Samuel Legrand Campbell was born in the year 1766 in Rockbridge county. He was the son of Col. Charles Campbell, an officer of the Revolution, a member of the General Assembly, and for many years a Trustee of Liberty Hall. He lived between Brownsburg and Fairfield, and a sketch of him has been given in these papers.² The house in which he resided has been standing within the last few years. When duties were resumed at Liberty Hall after the Revolution young Campbell entered as a student, and graduated in 1788, receiving the degree of A. B. His diploma is still in possession of one of his descendants.³

Soon after graduating he attended the medical college in Philadelphia with which Dr. Benjamin Rush was connected, and graduated with great distinction. He returned to Rockbridge and commenced the practice of his profession. His practice soon extended all over the county of Rockbridge and into the neighboring counties of Botetourt, Bath and Augusta. He attained great distinction as a skilful and successful physician, and secured the unbounded confidence of his patients. In early life he married Sarah, daughter of William Alexander and sister of the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D. D., of Princeton. He resided at Rock Castle, three miles west of Lexington. He built the stone house there which was recently burned.

He was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall on the 23rd of October, 1793, and served faithfully and efficiently until his resignation on

¹ In the preparation of this sketch we have been greatly aided by Dr. Thomas E. Pickett's admirable sketch of Dr. Campbell, Davidson's History of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, and Mr. Thomas Marshall Green's "Historic Families of Kentucky."

² Historical Papers, No. 2, p. 85.

³ Charles L. Wilson, of Buchanan, Va.

the 15th of January, 1799. During an interregnum in the Rectorship, which had been filled by the chief Professor or President, he was elected Rector on the 17th of October, 1798, and served until the inauguration of Dr. Baxter in 1799. The chartered rights of the Academy being assailed it was deemed prudent and wise to keep the Rectorship filled.

He was elected Treasurer on the 19th of October, 1796, and served until February 28th, 1803, when he was succeeded by Capt. William Wilson, who held the office for thirty-seven years.

Dr. Campbell was greatly interested in the cause of education, and was a staunch friend of Washington College both in its periods of prosperity and in its days of adversity. A sketch of the institution from his visit to it as a boy to a short time before his death, written in graceful style, was republished in these papers.¹ He was noted for his wit and culture, and frequently contributed to the journals and magazines of the day. He wrote a graphic Memoir of the Battle of Point Pleasant, copious extracts from which are made by his nephew Charles Campbell in his History of Virginia.²

Dr. Campbell left four sons and three daughters. His sons were all educated at Washington College and received the degree of A. B. Charles Fenelon Campbell graduated in 1823, removed to Ripley, Ohio, practiced the law with success, became Probate Judge, was a useful and influential citizen, and died in 1864. William M. Campbell graduated in 1825, removed to St. Louis, Mo., where he became the Editor of the Evening Gazette, and was a prominent member of the House of Delegates, Senate, and Constitutional Convention of Missouri. He was a lawyer, writer, and statesman of ability, and died in 1850. Samuel Davies Campbell graduated in 1830. He entered the Presbyterian ministry, was Pastor of churches in Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and died at Geneva, Ala., in 1863. John A. Campbell graduated in 1839, became a physician, and died in Platte County, Mo., in 1882. One of his daughters married Dr. Robert McCluer, another the Rev. Nathaniel C. Calhoun, both alumni of the institution; and the third John S. Wilson, Esq., a prominent citizen of Buchanan.

¹ Historical Papers, No. 1, p. 107.

² Campbell's History of Virginia, p. 582.

Dr. Campbell died at Rock Castle on the 24th day of April, 1840, and was buried in the old cemetery at Old Monmouth, long known as Hall's Meeting House. A contemporaneous notice of his death justly says that "he was a gentleman, a scholar, and a philanthropist, and one of that rare class of men who lived through life without reproach and died without an enemy."—W. McL.

COL. JAMES McDOWELL.

A whole century and more had swept on since the discovery by Columbus when John Smith sailed with the one vessel left of his little fleet of three, through Hampton Roads, and forty miles up James River, and landing his "four carpenters, twelve laborers and fifty-four gentlemen"—the remnant of the 105 brave Britons with whom he had started three months before—made at Jamestown, in 1607, the first settlement in North America. The young colony had a fearful struggle for mere existence, but it held on to life and hope, and, in a very few decades, drew toward it constantly increasing reinforcements from the seething political discontent of the land they had left. Royalist malcontents under the Protectorate, poor younger sons of nobility, and mere adventurers sought in this new world that civil liberty and better fortune and exciting enterprise which were denied them at home. And England herself, having crowded her prisons with offenders—not always against morals, but rebels for the most part against the whims and oppressive policy of her sovereigns and their advisers, themselves no paragons of fidelity to law, either human or divine—took this opportunity to empty them by transporting their inmates into Virginia and selling them as slaves for a period of time to the colonists. Doubtless they proved very acceptable, for an early historian remarks that there were even in that early settlement "men whose hands blistered under the use of the axe."

Succeeding these came the poor Huguenot, his garments still red with the blood of Bartholomew's eve; and, by the time the last quarter of its first one hundred years was reached, 1675, Eastern Virginia, from the Chesapeake Bay and Potomac to the mountains, was a flourishing appanage of Great Britain with a population of 20,000 people, having the security and enjoyment of all those prin-

ciples of government which the mother-country exercised at home, and which she had gathered and sifted and molded into the very best form that her learning and experience in political science, during the progress of a millenium and a half in civilization, had made possible. As yet the new colony seemed content that the long waving blue line on her western horizon should bound alike her possessions and her ambition for discovery and conquest. No one had been so daring as to climb those blue mountains, or to penetrate their seemingly impenetrable gaps. But in 1716 Governor Spotswood, with the gentlemen of his staff and their retainers, and a company of rangers, in all about fifty men, made a determined attempt to see the wonders lying beyond the great ridge, and, after many days of difficult progress, scaled the mountains at Swift-Run Gap, and got the first sight of the beautiful Valley of Virginia! After taking possession of it in the name of George I., Spotswood returned, covered with glory, to the capital, and hastened to his royal master the news of his splendid success. The choleric old King, in recognition of this brilliant exploit, and still more in consideration of the extensive domain thus added to the crown, bestowed the order of knighthood on his representative across the sea, and sent as further token of his approbation a miniature golden horseshoe with the commemorative legend: "*Sic jurat transcendere montes.*"

These trophies seemed to meet the ambition and extinguish the enterprise of the Governor, for we hear of no further official effort upon his part in this direction. But his successor, Gov. Gooch, impressed by the value of the new territory, sought eagerly to occupy and develop it. In 1730 he advertised it as widely and rapidly as the times permitted, and by grants of land on easy terms offered abundant inducement to new-comers. The most noted of these were the Beverley Manor charter for 150,000, and Borden's Grant for 100,000 acres.

The political condition at home was an eminent ally to this movement. Years before, the Church of England had pursued the Scotch Presbyterians with such bitter persecution as that they fled for refuge and religious freedom to the north of Ireland, where in the county of Donegal, province of Ulster, they congregated in a kind of Presbyterian colony. These Dissenters, supporters of the Pro-

tectorate, were, of course, bitter enemies to the royal house of Stuart. Indeed I am not sure that they did not add to their strict Calvinistic creed an article anathematizing an English bishop and a Stuart king ;—and surely we could find it in our hearts to excuse them if they had. They had, however, yielded a reluctant homage to William of Orange, despite his co-sovereignty with a wife of the despised race, and had sealed it with their blood at Londonderry in 1689. Subsequently they declared for the Hanover dynasty ; but politically and religiously they still groaned under heavy burdens and stood a tip-toe for any change that promised relief.

Hope of rest beyond the sea dawned upon them at last, and, for a whole decade before the offers of Gov. Gooch in the Valley of Virginia had been made, a full tide of emigration had swept thousands across the Atlantic, into the interior of Pennsylvania. These Scotch-Irish, that is, the children of Scotch parents born in Ireland, were, very numerous, descended from the clans of Scotland and inherited their strong sense of kinship, and their gregarious habits. They moved in families when they did move, and thus retained and handed down their very marked characteristics. It was in this way that they had come and planted themselves in America.

During the time of this exodus the lower end of the Valley of Virginia near the headwaters of the Potomac and Shenandoah had been entered by energetic men from the neighboring States and a few settlements had been made ; but beyond mere “prospecting parties,” to avail of a modern phrase, no white men had broken the solitude of the upper country. There the buffalo still roamed at will, and the bear and wolf and deer had unchallenged range over hill and dale of that lovely region watered by the north and south tributaries of the James. It was in this portion of the Valley that the land companies I have mentioned were chiefly interested ; and it was to the site of the present city of Staunton that John Lewis came, and taking up 2,000 acres of the Beverley Manor grant built a house upon it, and, removing his family to it from Lancaster, Pa., in 1732, became the earliest householder in that part of the State.

The accounts of their kinsman John Lewis influenced one of the McDowell families which had some years before, possibly in 1729 or 1730, emigrated to western Pennsylvania, to desert their home there and seek a new one near him on Beverley’s Manor. And in

the autumn of 1738, Ephraim McDowell, with his two sons John and James, and his son-in-law James Greenlee, plunged into the trackless wilderness and, as best they could, followed in the direction of John Lewis. A few pack horses carried their indispensable cooking utensils, farm implements, and seed corn. Tents sheltered them at night, fires kept off the prowling lords of the forest, and if they, as so many of those pious emigrants did, gathered under the open sky for their family worship, it is easy to believe that the stars kept sentinel while they slept. After journeying some days they were joined by a solitary traveller who asked for companionship and shelter during the night. This incident changed all their further history.

The stranger proved to be Benjamin Borden, from the State of New Jersey, holder of the famous land grant; who, finding out that John McDowell was a surveyor, and had his instruments with him, immediately employed him as his assistant in laying off his tracts, agreeing to give him, in payment for his services, a thousand acres under his charter, and his father and brother and brother-in-law two hundred each. The next day, when the parties reached Lewis's house, this agreement was formally signed and sealed.

Leaving Lewis, the pioneer party, turning southward from Beverley's Manor, cut their way slowly through the tall grass and matted pea-vine until there came into view the rare spectacle—for the country was poorly wooded—of a high ridge of fine forest trees. Toiling towards this refreshing height, and mistaking the north branch of the James, which they crossed, for the main river, Ephraim McDowell halted his party on Timber Ridge. Here, as rapidly as possible, they built log cabins, then sent for their wives and children, and made the first settlement in Rockbridge County. The McDowells and Greenlees were such energetic assistants of Borden in carrying out the terms of his grant, that in two out of the ten years allowed, they had erected ninety cabins; and, following their Scotch instinct, had drawn towards them either direct from Scotland or by way of Pennsylvania numbers of their own relatives. And thus the Scotch Macs, in their endless combinations, and other Scots who were not Macs, were the earliest to wake the echoes of those old hills, by the sounds of civilized industry and the songs of Christian worship.

As Ephraim McDowell, in descendants of his own name, and in other names as honorable, is so inwoven in the development and history of Rockbridge County and the State of Virginia, and has had such agency in founding and fostering Washington and Lee University, it is only fitting that we pause and put on record here the little that has been rescued from the past by a recent industrious chronicler of his family—Mr. T. M. Green.

When the morning broke over that singular national system known as the Clans of Scotland there emerges from its mists a bold individual named Dugall. By and by he wins his way to the headship of a warlike clan, which as the centuries pile up attains historical prominence, and his name after a number of orthographical gymnastics, whether Gaelic, or Celtic, or Norwegian, nobody can tell, appears as Macdougall.

In very early times this tribe owned an estate so large and rich as that it became the entire portion of one son, who, after a while grew into such strength and fame as to create out of his branch of the family a new clan, called the Macdougals of Lorn, deriving the name from his handsome patrimony. It was not easy in the rude condition of human society then existing for a dainty morsel of land to remain long under one ownership; especially was it difficult under the moral code that "might makes right," inherited by these clans from their pirate ancestors, and, for a wide stretch of years, kept in vigorous exercise. We wonder, as we see the little kingdom twined around by poetry and romance, at the secret power that kept it firm within the grasp of the original owner during all those mighty convulsions and changes in the minds and affairs of men which had transformed the wild Highland clansmen into the earnest-minded Presbyterian followers of John Knox. Whatever it was, however, it was beguiled into surrender by Sir Colin Campbell, who, about the middle of the 16th century, bore away, in loving triumph, as his wife, the fair Macdougall heiress with all her ancestral titles and demesnes. And, forever since, her blood and her wealth have gone to enrich what I cannot but regard as the cormorant clan of McCallum More. But if her title yet remains the highest decoration in the Dukedom of Argyll, from the standpoint of to-day we can look at it without cavil or regret. For, in free America where every man is a sovereign, and in our gallant

Virginia where every woman is a queen, coronets and crowns do not wear the insignia of the greatness that we have lost, but that of the evils from which heroic fathers have delivered us. And this idyl, like the bit of point lace carefully wrapped in linen and lavender from the boudoir of poor Josephine, has no value beyond that of furnishing from the confused rubbish of a boisterous past a scrap of an ornament for a modern story.

From the best authority within my reach I have assumed the correctness of the lineage that I have traced of the McDowells of the United States, though the changes in the name have been so bewildering as to make it extremely difficult to keep step with them. The family is mentioned as devoted to civil and religious liberty and as active participants, under the standard of McCallum More in the series of struggles which led to the expulsion of the Stuarts and the rise of the Commonwealth. But we have no notice of individual names until about 1670, when we come to this statement:—"One of the most respectable of the colonists from Scotland who settled in the north of Ireland during the Protectorate had, among other children, a son named Ephraim, which of itself would indicate the stock of the Covenanters. On the 9th of December, 1688, when McDonnell of Antrim approached the walls of Londonderry, Ephraim McDowell, then sixteen years of age, was one of the young Scotch Presbyterians who flew to the defence of that heroic town, and assisted in closing the gates against the native intruding Irish. During the memorable siege which followed, in which the preacher George Walker and the brave Murray at the head of their undisciplined fellow citizens successfully beat back the besiegers, young Ephraim McDowell was conspicuous for gallantry in a band where all were heroic."

Escaped from the intense rigors of that famous siege, two years after, in 1690, we find our gallant soldier lad, with unabated zeal, in the victorious army of William III. in the decisive battle of Boyne. In the subsequent times of peace, however, we lose sight of him, and when he reappears, the high qualities of his early career strengthened, and his political and religious independence intensified under the experience and years that have piled up between sixteen and sixty, it is as an emigrant, with his family of grown-up children, seeking a home, first in Pennsylvania, and then, as I have narrated,

in Virginia. All is silent between these periods. What his occupation, and how he succeeded in it, we are not told. Nor do we learn what was the great motive that uprooted him in one place and inspired him to run the venture of a pioneer settler in another so distant. All is left to conjecture. But we may safely infer that, whatever his mode of life may have been, it was not only sufficiently remunerative to present to us his son John as a well equipped surveyor, but abundantly adequate to sustain his subsequent demands upon it for transportation, for his experiment at living in Pennsylvania, and for his removal and final settlement in Rockbridge. And thus, while the retrospect furnishes no glamour of social elevation or of conspicuous wealth, it makes such a show of fidelity to conscience ; of energy and enterprise ; of thrift and rugged monied independence ; of self reliance and courage, as to deserve the admiration and win the esteem of his descendants. Though near seventy when he planted himself on Timber Ridge, he is spoken of by one historian as being a "great road-maker ;" and by another as "having made the first road from Borden's grant over Rockfish gap."

Thus, even as an old man, he was wide-awake to the interests of the community, and by his practical wisdom and skill in opening a way of communication between the eastern and the now rapidly filling western section of the state, greatly advanced the social, commercial, and political relations between them.

The writer I have cited before concludes a notice of him as follows :—"Ephraim McDowell died about 1775 in the 104th year of his age. He had accumulated a large estate, and was highly regarded by all for his intelligence, usefulness, and probity, wielding a singular and beneficent influence among the intrepid and independent spirits by whom he was surrounded, and retaining the possession of all his faculties to the last." He survived both his sons.

Of John the oldest son, the surveyor above mentioned, I will quote from this same authority a short paragraph :—

"In the autumn of 1737 John McDowell was in the prime of a vigorous manhood ; a man of mark among men as self reliant as the world ever saw. After settling in the beautiful country chosen by himself and family for their future he was active in colonizing the

lovely Valley of Virginia with his kinsmen and co-religionists of pure Scotch blood. Of proved courage he soon received a military commission from Governor Gooch, but scarcely had he commenced to enjoy the fruit of his labor and daring, when he was killed, with eight of his men, in a fight with the Indians on Christmas day, 1742. He with the others was brought to the house of his father for burial, and they are said to have been buried in a common grave." This can hardly be so, as for a very long time there remained, near to where his father was afterward buried, a rude block of lime-stone with this inscription.

" HERE LYES
THE BODY OF
JOHN MACK DOWELL
DECEASED, DECEMBER
1742."

He left three children, Samuel, James and Sarah. Samuel, who was but seven years old when his father was killed by the Indians, was bred amid the dangers and excitements of pioneer life. And, surely, no better training for high endowments of mind and character could have been desired than that furnished by those troublous times. Beyond the reach of high school or college, this youth nevertheless had the singular advantage of finding an excellent teacher in a colonist neighbor. From him he received an amount of education which enabled him to express himself in forceful and even elegant English, both in speaking and in writing, in his varied career as soldier, as political leader, as member of the House of Burgesses, as representative of the people of Augusta County (when all west of the Blue Ridge was Augusta), and in the different conventions called to meet the several crises of that seething chapter of Indian hostility and British oppression which, in 1776, culminated in the open revolt of the nation. He was instrumental, too, in the pacific creation of the new state of Kentucky out of the old "Kentucky District" of Virginia; and held the highest judicial offices in it, being one of the first circuit court and one of the first district court judges of the new state, to which Washington, under whom he had served as a soldier, added the appointment of United States

judge. Judge Samuel McDowell became identified with its progress, and conspicuous in every phase of its early history. He was therefore, in all the early story of his house, its most eminent man, and by his public virtues, no less than by his private worth, gave permanence and distinction to his family and name.

His grandson, Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, in his day, was, in public spirit, in weight of character, in breadth of personal influence, one of the first, if not the very first, citizen of our own Lexington ; where his memory will ever be cherished with pride and affection mingled with pain that, by the death, one after another, of his three sons, in the fair promise of their early manhood, there was none left to bear the name which in his own person and that of his father had been the synonym for integrity and honor in his native place for near a century. But I must not be beguiled by my warm life-long memories into the domain of some other chronicler.

The second son of John and youngest brother of Judge Samuel McDowell was James, who was born in 1740, three years after the settlement of his father and grandfather in what is now Rockbridge county.

In the hope of learning more of the history and character of my ancestors from their own letters, I patiently overhauled, recently, a large box of family papers, and was rewarded by drawing from the very bottom of it a small time-stained little package containing two military commissions! They were made out to "James McDowell, gent.," duly signed by "Francis Fauquier," colonial governor of Virginia, and dated from Williamsburg ; one as "ensign in company of Capt. Hogg," the other as "lieutenant in company of Capt. McDowell," both of Augusta county, in the years 1758 and 1759. Where to place this rising young color-bearer in our genealogical column excited anxious inquiry, but at last I fitted him into the right niche as the James above mentioned.

He married Elizabeth Cloyd of that wide Kent and Cloyd connection in Montgomery county, and died at thirty-one, leaving three children, namely : Sarah, who married her cousin Major John, son of Judge Samuel McDowell, and lived in Kentucky ; Elizabeth, who married David McGavock, and moving to Nashville, Tennessee, founded the large and influential family of that name, representatives of which yet remain there ; and one son, James.

These yellow papers become valuable as recording the only public service of this young life. And yet he must have inherited, along with the military spirit of his fathers, much of their energy and business sagacity, for he left a very large and scattered landed estate, which could not have been simply his inheritance, but must have been, to a noticeable extent, acquired by purchase, or by the development of his heritage by singular skill and good management. His only son,

JAMES McDOWELL,

was born at Cherry Grove, Rockbridge County, August 1st, 1770, and probably in the house of his great-grandfather, Ephraim McDowell, who was yet living. His father died the year after he was born, and in all those important early years of development in which the foundation of a boy's character is laid he seems to have been left entirely to the training of his mother. Those were hard times, too, before and after and during the war of the Revolution. To provide a bare subsistence so far in the interior, taxed every energy and exhausted every resource. Nevertheless, the mother seems to have discharged her duty with vigorous fidelity. The youngest child and only son, she steered clear of the danger of allowing him to become the mere pet of the home; and, judging from revelations long after made, she must from the beginning have taught him that he was the *man* of the family,—the protector of his mother and sisters.

No matter how dark his worldly circumstances, we may always trust the old Scotch-Irish Presbyterian for a schoolmaster and a preacher. It is a part of his religion to educate his children. If he could leave them nothing else, the power to read the Bible for themselves he considered an admirable heritage. And so it happened, that on Timber Ridge there was an excellent school, with a most accomplished scholar at the head of it. This was Liberty Hall under Rev. William Graham. More than a hundred and twenty years ago old Nassau Hall sent out this young alumnus as a specimen of the literary training of her day. If in the splendidly equipped Princeton University of the present he could enter the race with '92, we would look with great anxiety on Commencement day to see whether the old graduate or the new wore her crown of honor.

To this school the wise mother sent her son, and here his gifts of mind, which were of no mean order, were expanded and trained. But in the hardships and disorders of the times, with the care of the household upon his young shoulders, and the need to save from utter wreck the matted mass of the family possessions, he found other and more severe schoolmasters and greater scope for all his powers. Under their tuition he became the prompt, resolute, self-reliant, vigilant, strong-willed, responsible, public-spirited, influential citizen of the future. A man of high and wide endeavor, not alone for himself but for others. His compeers and associates bred in the same schools partook of the same characteristics, and when I have said that he was a man of mark among men of the same caste, in a single sentence I have furnished my description.

At the age of twenty-three he married Sarah Preston, a daughter of Colonel William Preston, of Montgomery county, and granddaughter of John Preston "the ship master of Dublin," who with his wife and five children emigrated with his brother-in-law, Col. James Patton, from Donegal county, Ireland, to Augusta county, Virginia, in 1735. John Preston made a home near Staunton, where, in 1742, he died. He belonged to a patriotic family, his father being one of seven brothers who, in 1688, came into Ireland with William III. in defence of Protestantism. Three of these brothers were killed in his service, probably in the siege of Derry. He was himself an excellent, pious man, who braved the hardships and dangers of pioneer life in a new country for that freedom of conscience which he could not enjoy in the old. He became the honored American ancestor of a very wide-spread connection. But of all his female descendants, however accomplished and conspicuous, there is not one, in mind and character superior to the one I have named.

James McDowell took his wife to the ancestral home in which he had lived with his mother, but in a few years he deserted it for a new one which he built nearer to the highway and which is the Cherry Grove of to-day. Here his three children were born:—Susan Preston, who married Mr. William Taylor, a lawyer from Alexandria, who became Member of Congress from the district of which Rockbridge is a part; Elizabeth, who was the wife of Colonel Thomas Hart Benton, thirty years Senator from Missouri;

and James, Governor of Virginia, and her Representative in Congress. It was the abode of a generous hospitality, and the seat of a benign influence in many directions.

He had early grasped his father's affairs, disentangling and settling the most of them. But that guillotine of the law, the statute of limitation, had cut off large claims before he had attained his majority. Still he had his hands full with what remained. Under the law of primogeniture then in force, these lands were his. His sisters, long before married, were settled, as I have said, one in Kentucky, the other at Nashville, Tennessee. As soon as the property was in condition for such action, he selected from the finest and most promising body of land he ever possessed—an estate of three thousand acres in the blue-grass region of Bourbon county, Kentucky—a thousand acres, and divided it between them, taking a sort of fatherly care to secure it to their children after them.

No native Highlander ever had more the spirit of a clansman than he. He was neighbor to all the county and friend and helper to all the friendless and helpless. When twenty-one he was commissioned a justice of the peace, and thus gained an insight into the cares and difficulties of those around him. He was a strong tempered and stern man, whose condemnation and anger were not to be lightly risked; yet such were his justice and generosity that all confidence was placed in him, and, as was to be expected in the long administration of his office as magistrate, his word grew to be the law of the neighborhood and the end of debate in the thousand ever-recurring small questions among the people. His interest extended to their material welfare also. He was not merely a farmer, proceeding in hum-drum ways, but an intelligent, enterprising agriculturalist, seeking both improved methods and means of tillage. In proof of this there drops from the papers a short correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, an authority on agriculture as well as on state-craft and literature, on the best kinds of wheat, and the best ways of cultivating them. He was also careful to introduce fine varieties of all the fruits which the soil and climate would permit, and fine breeds among his flocks and herds. His best endeavors, however, were far above these. He was an interested and active promoter of education. In 1796, he was made trustee of Liberty Hall, and from that time until his death in 1835 he devoted to it

most earnest care and thought; and had the pleasure of seeing it bloom out into Washington College, and become an established seat of high learning. And, in obtaining the rhetorical skill of his son in writing the will of Mr. John Robinson, he had the greatest agency in securing the large endowment of his whole estate to the College, as long ago as 1826.

In 1818, when Mr. Jefferson was seeking a location for the then projected University of Virginia, the watchful Board of Trustees of Washington College met, and resolved to offer to the Board of Commissioners of the University to make over to them all their funds and property, if they would adopt Lexington as the site of the new institution. Col. McDowell was appointed to present this resolution to the Commissioners, and to urge the claims and pretensions of Lexington to the much coveted honor. Although the ambition of Washington College suffered by the failure of this movement, doubtless the general good of the cause of education in the State was promoted by it, as in the course of time it has gained two universities instead of one.

It is pleasant to observe in that early day that the educational claims of women were neither forgotten nor neglected. While sending his son, only eight years old, with singular judiciousness to Brownsburg as a boarding scholar in the house of the Rev. Samuel Brown—what a splendid chance for a boy that seems, as we look over the long line of pious men and women who, from that generation to the present, have been in the fore-front of the highest learning and noblest work of the Southern Presbyterian Church!—and while helping a proud young nephew in a distant university by an advance of the requisite means (the only way in which he would accept his aid), Col. McDowell was also energetically planning for his daughters, by uniting with other gentlemen similarly circumstanced in establishing in Lexington a school of a high order for girls.

Considering the times, an excellent building with ample accommodation was provided, a capable teacher was secured, and in January, 1808, the Ann Smith Academy, named in honor of its first principal, was fairly launched. It became a benefaction to a wide range of country, and, in its long history, in view of the more flashy inducements of its city competitors, has maintained its old repute with remarkable steadiness.

Col. McDowell never wore any political honors. I cannot discover that he ever made any effort to obtain them. He was a staunch Federalist in a Republican county, and it may be that the smallness of his party clipped the wings of his ambition.

He was High Sheriff of Rockbridge from 1812 to 1814; and for some time Inspector of the Public Revenue, though I cannot get at the date of this service.

After a long period of exasperation on both sides, the United States, on the 18th of June, 1812, formally declared war with England. The great Northern lakes and our Canadian border became the scenes of, excepting the fierce battle at New Orleans, the greatest violence. Yet it seemed the policy of Britain to keep blockading squadrons along our Atlantic coast, which ravaged the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, especially bearing down upon small villages and unarmed men, creating the utmost alarm and distress. Of course the Governors of these States were energetic in providing for their defense.

With his characteristic promptness and vigor, Col. McDowell gathered "one whole regiment of 1,200 men, and on November 14, 1812, reported at Lexington and offered their services to the President of the United States!" They were accepted, and in July, 1813, we find them in camp near Richmond awaiting orders. In view of the condition of affairs on the coast, above alluded to, General Taylor at Norfolk urges that no effort be relaxed in its defence. "Therefore it is," says Col. McDowell in a letter to his family, "that I am appointed to command a large regiment of at least 1,200 men, to be so organized and equipped that they can, with the greatest celerity, pass from place to place whenever their presence is needed: a kind of flying camp. My labor will be great, as I shall use every power I possess to meet the expectations and wishes of my government." Their calculations of the movements of the enemy led them to expect a campaign of immediate and active service. They were sent to Westmoreland court-house, a week after the above was written, and kept in constant excitement by the passing up and down on the Potomac of the English fleet of twenty-one vessels, having on board a land force, it was estimated, of upwards of two thousand men. These made a feint of landing at several points, but their threats were not carried out. One good effect of

this manœuvring, however, was that it gave the commander of the opposing force a chance to take the measure of his men, which he was quick to use. And how it resulted he tells us in a letter to his wife, from which I quote as follows :—

“The alarms on the 20th and 23rd gave me a good opportunity of judging whether the men I command will fight. The first alarm had every appearance of seriousness ; and I do assure you, that I did not see a pale face, or the smallest expression of timidity. It was difficult to find enough men willing to stay with the baggage and plunder left behind.” But this sniff of an engagement was all they ever knew of the active service they were so eager to enter. They were never under fire ; never in a fight. They moved from point to point on James river, and on the peninsula between the York and James, those brave mountain men, suffering from the unhealthy climate and the usual exposures of camp life for many months ; pertinaciously and faithfully performing their duty till the day of discharge came. Doubtless their presence, by keeping the enemy in check, was as effectual a defense of that threatened quarter of the country, as any victory in a hard fought battle. But soldierly sagacity and loyalty win no renown without the test of action. History deigns scant space to a service that is not red with the blood of the foe ; and the plaudits of the people only reach the ears of those who bear away as highest tests of gallantry the startling decorations of scalp and scar.

During these months, made burdensome by the strain of expectancy and the irritation of compelled inactivity, we get from Col. McDowell's home correspondence pleasant glints of his care of his men and thoughtfulness of the anxious hearts they had left behind them. His letters to his wife and children were health bulletins from the camp to the neighborhood ; and we cannot wonder that, under the slow mail system of the period, made slower by reason of the war, the horn of the stout post-rider, after his journey of ten days or more from Richmond, should be the signal for a crowd to gather at the post-office in little Fairfield where he empties his pouch and spreads the latest news from the endangered coast.

Coupled with these reassurances to the wives and mothers of his soldiers are frequent exhortations to his son upon the subject, of all others, dearest to his hope and ambition. And yet how singularly

they fall upon my ear! "Tell James," he says, "to be very diligent in his studies. He must relax no effort in making full preparation for college. I am making every inquiry about Yale, and the necessary arrangements for sending him on." I need only pause to say that this plan was soon carried into effect, and that the son on his way to New Haven paid a visit to his father at his temporary encampment at Ellicott's Mills.

At last the articles of peace were signed, December 24, 1814, at Ghent. Our "flying camp" was disbanded, and officers and men were glad to exchange "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war"—short rations and ragged garments—for peace and whatever was left to them of the comforts of home. The country had been poor before the war; it was naturally much poorer afterwards. There was difficulty in meeting its monied engagements with the troops. Indeed, many of its brave boys went home penniless. Not so, however, with the flying camp. Its Colonel stood at the door of the Treasury in inexorable demand for the well earned wages of his regiment; and although there was some trying delay, had the pleasure of seeing every man home with his money in his pocket!

These years of public duty did not pass entirely unrecognized by the state. Many years after, in 1834, when, by the death of General James Breckenridge, of Botetourt, a brigadier generalship became vacant, Col. McDowell was spoken of for the place. But he had long been an invalid, and when the Legislature convened he could with difficulty mount and dismount from his horse. Nevertheless his name was prominent in the canvass, and his claims were warmly advocated when the election came. "All the delegates from the Brigade in caucus," says Mr. Hugh A. Garland to Mr. James McDowell, then a member of the House of Delegates, who communicates it to his father in the letter before me, "admitted your paramount claim on the score of rank and service, and some were willing to waive even the objection on account of your health that you might receive what you were entitled to, the expressed evidence of your country's esteem." But neither Col. McDowell himself, nor his son for him, was ready to accept an office even though tendered "in the light of a vote of thanks—a compliment for services *done* and not *expected*—" when he was

unequal physically to the full discharge of its duties. Therefore he declined the nomination. Yet when the vote was called, his fellow-countryman and life-long political opponent of his son, General Charles P. Dorman, while advocating the claims of another, "alluded," so the letter continues, "to Colonel McDowell's superior services and qualifications handsomely and justly, declaring 'that but for a dispensation of Providence which had broken down his health, there was not only no man in the Brigade but no one in the Nation whom he would prefer for the office, or who was so eminently entitled to it.'"

Across the long years I lifted my hat to General Dorman in grateful emotion.

The wisdom of Col. McDowell's decision could not be doubted; for in scarce more than a year,—September 15th, 1835,—he died. For a century the McDowells had lived at Cherry Grove, where old Ephraim had settled in 1738; and very naturally it seemed that Col. McDowell belonged to the neighborhood and it to him. From his boyhood, for he was but just twenty-one when appointed, till his death, he was the great judicial functionary of his end of the county. Had he lived under the present county court system of Rockbridge he would have worn the title of "Judge." As it was then, he seems to have had the prestige without the title. He was devoted to the people in all their interests, and, doubtless, in the forty-five years in which he held the balance for them in their domestic and financial and whatever other difficulties sprang up, he must, while maintaining the peace, have done much towards raising the standard of honor and morality. And a life with such aims received recognition, in the universal esteem and confidence of the whole community.

Stern as he was in reality and in aspect, Col. McDowell nevertheless made his home delightful, not only to a wide circle of guests, but to the narrow and more intimate one of his own and his wife's young kindred, who, as old men and women, recalled their school days and visits to Cherry Grove, as full of pleasure. His hospitality was singularly genuine and gracious; free from parade, and extended with cordial kindness to all classes of people. There is a story current in the family of his bringing a very forlorn man in to dinner and placing him at table next to himself. Everything passed

quietly until the dessert appeared, one feature of which was a variety of preserved fruits served in the very small glass dishes then fashionable. Several of these were put on a waiter and handed to each person with the idea that he should help himself from one or more of them. On this occasion, when the guest was approached, in prompt unconsciousness he took one dish and put it on his plate. His host instantly did the same thing, not giving the surprised servant a chance for even a gesture of correction, nor the girls present a moment for their amusement to break into a smile on their faces. The man never was aware of his gaucherie, and could not estimate the delicate attention which had spared him that angry poignancy of feeling against which no transgressor of social etiquette is proof, no matter how small the offense, nor how high and mighty the offender.

And, as illustrating his kindness in more pronounced ways, one of his nephews used to relate with great vim an incident in one of his early visits to him.

A rumor came in, one day, he said, that a newly married wife had been badly treated by her husband. They were a pair of plain neighbors. No matter; the "old Colonel" started up in wrath, went in pursuit of the young man, and in a few sentences of most expressive Saxon made him understand that if the offence was repeated, the wife would find a defender in him. It is needless to say, there was never a call for another visit. What a pity there are not "old Colonels" around in these no better days!

His grandsons enjoyed above all things their annual autumnal trip on horseback, the horses doubtless being presents from him, with their grandfather to his estate in Greenbrier. He laid himself out to please them, and was the merriest of the party. And in a winter which his son's family of small children spent at Cherry Grove, he was by no means a stern guardian sapping by his severity the juices out of their little lives, but seemed to take delight in their presence; would sing, they thought, the most wonderful songs, and tell the most thrilling stories, for the entertainment of the bigger ones, whilst the youngest, Lewis Marshall, the bright little boy who died the year after, was just wrapped in all the tenderness of the old man's nature, and was the very joy of his life.

I will risk pardon for a personal reminiscence.

Once when my grandfather was at Colalto, I, a little girl of perhaps ten, sat near him in the hall, without, however, noticing him. Suddenly he called me to help him rise from his chair, and threw his hand out to me. I ran to him, seized his hand, and as I tugged at him with my small strength, in a free way sang to him, in a tone of personal application, a song I was fond of, which ran thus :—

Here's a cross to make you smart
On your breast you may bear it;—
Just o'er your little heart
I advise you to wear it;
And I hope that no other
Cross e'er will come near it.
Yes, I do; yes, I do, &c.

And the good wish in the chorus repeated in a rollicking kind of tune was quite effective. Before I finished he sank back in his chair, his eyes full of tears, and overcome with emotion. My amazement, by a flash of light, photographed on my young memory the tender picture that I look at to-day.

My sketch would be unfinished if I omitted to speak of Colonel McDowell's personal appearance. He inherited from his father his fine physical gifts. He was six feet two inches in height, sinewy, strong, and active, without a pound of superfluous weight, and with a dignity of bearing which made him a singularly distinguished looking person in every assembly. He was "a much handsomer man than his son" was the judgment of his son's wife; and my own memory of the fine figure, even after disease had preyed upon it, forces me into a reluctant agreement with her.

Col. John T. L. Preston, whose widowed mother and her children had been, of all the relatives, the most cherished and familiar, would often in later life say that "he had never known any father but Uncle McDowell." And as I turn the faded pages of the old correspondence I notice how punctually this apparently severe old gentleman repairs to the scene of family exigence, and standing, without one word of censure or irritation, among his brothers-in-law, places alongside the trouble in hand his purse, his business repute, and his energetic counsel. And this, too, at the entire change of important property plans of his own and of his sons. This, however, was

characteristic of him. He withheld no sacrifice of personal feeling or comfort in following whatever course of action his sense of right marked out for him. His strong mind rapidly reached clean-cut convictions, and then no covenanting ancestor, with the stake in view, ever followed them with more prompt or intrepid obedience. Of all men he hated temporizing. His mind and his hand worked almost simultaneously. In proof of this I mention the following fact: In the early part of the century the enormous peach and apple and cherry orchards at Cherry Grove made large contributions to the resources of the farm by the sale of brandy and other liquors;—and no gentleman thought any harm of the traffic. About that time the first wave of temperance reform swept up the Valley of Virginia. A meeting on the subject was held near him, and Colonel McDowell attended it. The arguments of the speaker wrought a powerful and immediate change in his mind, and with his ready, bold promptness he brought the whole business to a full and final stop!

In closing my sketch, it gives me especial pleasure to avail of a graphic account of Colonel McDowell from my kind friend, the Rev. Samuel W. Blain, whose childhood and youth were spent in Lexington, where the saintly life and pious labors of his mother and the honored usefulness of his father in the College and as pastor of a neighboring church live among the precious memories of the long ago.

Living now in Louisville, Ky., at the age of eighty-four, he writes to me thus:—

“I recollect perfectly the person of Col. McDowell, and I know that he was in his day the most eminent man in his county—a county distinguished above most others for the high moral worth and general intelligence of its people. The County Court of Rockbridge, with the venerable form of your grandfather at its head as presiding magistrate—that is the form it comes up before me—received and was entitled to the reverence given to the Supreme Court of the United States; for his associates were worthy to sit by their Chief. As Colonel of the regiment we boys, who were always on the ground at general muster, looked upon him with veneration, and admiration too; for we thought when we saw him pass along before the men, his head bare, that he was exactly like Washington at the head of his army. But he lived in quiet, in his beloved home and amongst

his own people, and desired neither office nor notoriety. Your idea is mine, too, that he possessed qualities to impress and mould those around him, but of his works and their results there is no record that men can read. Is it not thus with the finest characters, and of deeds the noblest and purest and best? But your grandfather did leave fruit which all men could see. He left one noble son whose name was known throughout the land, and I know that he aided greatly Mrs. Preston in training her son for honor and usefulness.

"On one of my visits to Cherry Grove, he and John Preston and myself were together in the little eastern porch. It was then I first felt that I knew him—he was gentle and kind and so respectful to us young fellows that awe was turned into love. He told us of his father and grandfather and of early events which I have forgotten. He spoke of his having given up the use of tobacco after chewing for over fifty years, and John related how it happened. They were together on a trip to Greenbrier. At a house where they stopped John found a tract on the use of tobacco, which he read aloud to his uncle. As soon as the reading was ended the Colonel announced his purpose to give up his tobacco then and there. This is an incident which shows the honesty of his mind, his openness to truth, and his promptness in acting according to his convictions. . . . I delight in thinking and talking of your grandfather's generation and that just preceding it. They were great and wise people—men and women alike. They laid the foundations of society on a rock."

He was buried in the old burying ground a mile from his house, by the side of his ancestors. I well remember how the sobs of the coachman, his body-servant, shook the carriage as he followed the body of his dear old master to the grave. His grandchildren in affectionate respect have erected a monument upon the spot.

S. C. P. MILLER.

Princeton, New Jersey.

BENJAMIN GRIGSBY.

Benjamin Grigsby was born in Orange county, Virginia, on the 18th day of September, 1870. He was of English descent. His father, James Grigsby, removed to Rockbridge about the close of

the Revolution and settled at Fancy Hill. He was the steward of the academy for a while.

Benjamin Grigsby entered Liberty Hall Academy and completed his course about 1789. He was the contemporary and intimate friend of Archibald Alexander. He studied divinity under Mr. Graham and was licensed by Lexington Presbytery on the 28th day of April, 1792. Thomas Poage and Matthew Lyle were licensed at the same time. After laboring for a while as a missionary under the care of the Synod of Virginia, in company with Archibald Alexander, in south side Virginia, he removed to Greenbrier in 1794 and took charge of the churches in Greenbrier and Monroe counties. In July, 1795, he was ordained to the full work of the gospel ministry, at Lexington, and continued to minister to the churches in Greenbrier and Monroe until 1804, when he removed to Norfolk and became the first Pastor of the Presbyterian church in that Borough, as it was then called.

Mr. Grigsby was elected a Trustee of Liberty Hall Academy on the 5th day of April, 1796. He served faithfully until after his removal to Norfolk, when on account of the distance from Lexington and the imperfect means of communication he resigned in 1807.

Mr. Grigsby died of yellow fever, in Norfolk, October 6th, 1810, leaving an only son, Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, LL. D., whose graceful pen has adorned these pages.

Mr. Grigsby was distinguished for his ability as a preacher. His social qualities were of a high order, and he mingled much with the people of his charges. He was singularly faithful and devoted to duty and sacrificed his life in ministering to the sick and afflicted when the dreadful epidemic of yellow fever visited Norfolk in 1810.—W. McL.

REV. SAMUEL BROWN.

The county of Bedford, Virginia, is remarkable for the number of eminent ministers of the gospel that were either born or nourished in its bosom. Among these may be mentioned the names of Bishops Otey and Cobbs of the P. E. Church, Bishop Early of the M. E. Church, Jeremiah Jeter, D. D., and Jesse and Daniel Wit, brothers and ministers in the Baptist communion.

In the Presbyterian Church we have the names of James Turner, Conrad Speece, D. D., John H. Rice, D. D., Benj. H. Rice, D. D., and Samuel Brown, the subject of the biographical sketch here presented. He was born in the year 1766. His father, Henry Brown, and his mother, whose maiden name was Alice Baird, resided a few miles west of the village of New London. They were of Scotch-Irish lineage and formed a part of that large emigration from the north of Ireland which first settled in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and afterwards moved in a great stream southward, depositing a part of its population east of the Blue Ridge.

Our knowledge of the early history of their son Samuel is confined almost to a statement given by Daniel Wit, who resided in the town of Liberty, and who married the sister of the subject of this sketch.

The first advantages which he enjoyed in the way of mental culture were at schools where the first branches of an English education were taught. He indulged in such sports as were common at schools, but was entirely free from profanity and was of exemplary morals. Mr. Wit says: "He was the fondest boy of his books and the best scholar I ever knew." He often expressed a desire to obtain a liberal education, but the circumstances of his father were not such as to enable him to give his children better advantages than would barely fit them to transact their own business in the ordinary affairs of life. About the year 1785 there was a school taught by a Mr. Bromhead in which the higher branches of an English education, such as English grammar, geography, surveying, etc., might be obtained. This was not the case in schools generally at that day. To this school he earnestly requested his father to send him; but his father did not think his circumstances would justify the expense of boarding his son from home, and declined granting the request. The son being very urgent, the father thought to end the matter by telling him that to enable him to do so it would be necessary to sell a yoke of oxen. But such was his desire to learn, that to this measure he strongly urged his father. By some means not now known, he attended the school. Being possessed of extraordinary talent, and of fondness for the science of mathematics, and having obtained a magnetic needle, he fitted it to a compass of his own con-

struction, and with this, for the want of a better, he practised surveying for his own improvement.

In 1788 he went to Kentucky in company with a number of young friends. The journey was made on foot as far as the Falls of the Great Kanawha, where there was a settlement consisting of only a few families. Here, with the help of such tools as they could procure, the parties felled a large poplar tree, and made for themselves what is styled a dug-out canoe. In this they descended the Kanawha and Ohio rivers to Maysville, Kentucky, where the party dispersed. Mr. Brown went to Paris, where he was engaged in teaching for a year, and then returned to his father's house in Virginia. Soon after this he went to school to Rev. James Mitchel, who resided in the neighborhood of his father. About this time there was a great religious awakening over that part of the country, chiefly under the agency of Rev. Drury Lacy. Mr. Brown became one of the subjects of renewing grace. In 1790, boarding in the family of his brother-in-law Mr. Wit, he began the study of Latin, under a Mr. Andrew Lyle from Rockbridge county. He was succeeded by Rev. Matthew Houston from the same county, who afterwards removed to Ohio and became a Shaking Quaker. Not long after this he became a student at Liberty Hall Academy.

In 1791 he was taken under the care of Old Hanover Presbytery, and in 1793 he was licensed to preach the gospel. Soon after this he was engaged as a missionary under the supervision of a committee appointed by the Synod of Virginia. The field of his labor was mainly in the county of Lancaster, which had been left vacant by the retirement of Rev. James Waddell to the county of Augusta. Mr. Brown continued in this service for three years. In 1796 he was dismissed from the Presbytery of Hanover to the Presbytery of Lexington, and in the same year, having received a call to the New Providence church, he preached his first sermon there, June 5th, 1796, from 2 Cor. iv : 1, 2 : "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not, &c."

This year he was elected a trustee of Liberty Hall, and served until his death. The records show that he was a very faithful trustee, regular in attendance, and wielded great influence.

In 1798 he was united in marriage to Mary Moore, whose eventful life is well known as recorded in *The Captives of Abb's Valley*.

It is enough for the present to say that she was a model of all that a minister's wife ought to be, and that she was indeed in every respect a help meet for her husband.

The congregation of New Providence was at that time, and still continues to be, one of the largest and most respectable in the Synod of Virginia. The quiet scenes of life surrounding the country pastor do not attract the admiration of the world at large, yet, viewed in connection with their real nature and results, it is impossible to overstate their intrinsic importance. The faithful labors of a godly pastor take hold of the mightiest cords of social life, and extend to worlds beyond the grave. The field to which Mr. Brown was now called, and which he occupied for twenty-two years, was such as completely satisfied his aspirations.

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife
His sober wishes never learned to stray ;
Along the cool, sequestered vale of life,
He kept the noiseless tenor of his way."

It has been suggested by some that his attainments in theological knowledge were not altogether such as his most judicious friends hoped for. Let it be remembered that although the congregation was large the salary of the pastor was only \$400. His family was growing rapidly on his hands, as may be seen from the fact that when the eleventh child was born the oldest was only seventeen years of age. To this may be added another fact, that he was a man of feeble constitution. His thirst for knowledge and fondness for study were exceedingly ardent, but a close application for two days in succession always brought on a severe indisposition in the form of heart-burn. This required him to desist. Under these circumstances a resort to some other sources of subsistence was simply a matter of necessity. He undertook, therefore, to a moderate extent, the superintendence of farming, and was also engaged in teaching a classical and elementary school. Among his pupils were the late Gov. James McDowell, Hon. Samuel McDowell Moore, and David E. Moore of Rockbridge, and Gov. A. G. McNutt of Mississippi. Those were days when theological seminaries were hardly instituted, and resort was had to more private instruction. Such was Mr. Brown's reputation in the study of

divinity that his abilities were recognized in this line of service. Among his students may be mentioned the names of Samuel B. Wilson, D. D., late Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, John McElhenny, D. D., of Lewisburg, W. Va., and Isaac Anderson, D. D., the founder of Maryville College, Tenn. These, as indeed his pupils generally, were accustomed to speak of the ability and high character of their teacher with enthusiastic admiration.

In 1797 an event occurred which excited much interest at the time, and in connection with which Mr. Brown bore an important part. In February of that year the Legislature of Virginia abolished the charter of Liberty Hall Academy, and organized another charter and another Board of Trustees. The precise influences under which this measure was conducted may not be certainly known nor is it necessary in this place to inquire. It is enough to say that its effect was to awaken immediately a determined resistance on the part of the Board of Trustees. They were unanimous in considering it a flagrant usurpation of power by the Legislature. Several meetings were held concerning it, and among other things determined was the appointment of a committee to draw up a remonstrance and send a copy to other incorporated institutions in Virginia, inviting them to co-operate with Liberty Hall in resisting an act so unjust and injurious. Samuel Brown was appointed a member of this committee, and the paper adopted is known to have been in his hand-writing; and it is almost certain that he was the author of it. Although a brief document, it embodies concisely the great principle so fully presented in the celebrated case of Dartmouth College.

In the autumn of 1816 Mr. Brown made an extended visit to what was then the western part of our country. Though deeply attached to his congregation, he found a large family was growing on his hands, for which he hoped a better provision could be made by a removal to the west; and also that he might find there a very large field of usefulness as a minister of the gospel. His intimate friend Dr. Baxter was meditating a similar movement, which however was not carried out. Mr. Brown left his home in the month of September, in company with four or five personal friends, all on horseback. They passed first into the state of Kentucky, then across the river through Indiana, Illinois, and finally into Missouri,

then a territory. After travelling extensively over such parts of that country as were most inviting, Mr. Brown made up his mind finally against any change of his home. Steamboat navigation on the Mississippi was just beginning, and from the location of St. Louis, then but little more than a trading post, he clearly foresaw that a great city would certainly spring up in that place. Moreover, he was offered the purchase of a large portion of the land on which St. Louis now stands, for the sum of \$1,500. In writing home to his wife and announcing his determination, he said that he might by a removal to that country leave all his children comparatively well off as to worldly possessions, but he would not for any earthly consideration expose them to the deplorable contamination there besetting society.

The wisdom of this decision was fully sustained by subsequent events. Reaching home about Christmas, in 1816, and having purchased a more productive farm on Hays Creek, about two miles west of the village of Brownsburg, his attention was to a considerable extent engaged in its improvement, and especially in building a commodious dwelling for his family.

We must now approach the closing scenes of this good man's life. While in Missouri he was a welcome guest in the family of Judge Beverly Tucker, then residing in that part of the country, and whose wife was a cousin of Mrs. Brown. While there he suffered a brief but severe attack of pain. But it was doubtless the forerunner of that which afterwards proved suddenly fatal. In the fall of 1818 the time for the services connected with the administration of the Lord's Supper at New Providence were appointed to begin on Thursday, the 8th of October. On that day the pastor of the church preached as usual. According to the custom then prevailing in many of the churches there was no preaching on Friday, but the day was observed as a time of fasting and prayer. On Saturday morning Mr. Brown expected to preach again, and all the servants being busily engaged on the farm he went down into the meadow to bridle a horse. Upon his return to the house he suffered from an attack of severe pain in the region of the heart, similar to the one experienced in Missouri. In a little time, however, he was relieved, and enabled to proceed to the church, about two miles distant. He was, however, aware of his danger, and taking with him a medical work

then much in use, he explained the whole matter to the elders of the church privately, admonishing them of the extreme uncertainty of his life. He preached that day, and on the morning of the next day, the Sabbath, administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

It was the custom at that time to have a second service after a short interval. It was a singular coincidence that on Saturday his forenoon discourse was a lecture on the last chapter of Revelation, which was the last of a course that had commenced with Genesis. From various causes he had been prevented for several Sabbaths from delivering this lecture. There was unusual solemnity and power in that discourse, and deep feeling was manifested when speaking of the solemn account which he must render at the bar of God for what he had spoken in explaining and enforcing the truths of the Bible. He made a solemn appeal to the Searcher of Hearts that he had honestly endeavored to declare the whole counsel of God. In administering the Lord's Supper on Sabbath he was so carried away with his feelings in his address to the communicants at the last table, that he forgot to distribute the cup, and was about to close the service when one of the elders reminded him of the omission. On Sabbath afternoon and on Monday he delivered two discourses, which were regarded as sermons of unusual ability, and were for a long time spoken of by the congregation as amongst the most striking they had ever heard from him. On Tuesday he ate a hearty dinner and soon after engaged in some active exercise connected with the building of his new dwelling house. This brought on an attack of pain in the heart, and in an agony of suffering he hastened to the old habitation then occupied by his family and about a hundred yards distant. Such remedies as were at hand were applied, but as the suffering grew more intense and his countenance more ghastly, he exclaimed, "Oh, I cannot stand this," and in less than half an hour the work of death was accomplished and he ceased to breathe. The distress in which his family was immediately plunged, cannot be adequately described. Rev. John H. Rice, an intimate friend of the deceased, was on his way to the meeting of the Synod of Virginia in Staunton on the following Thursday. The Evangelical Magazine of December, 1818, edited by Dr. Rice, contains a description of the burial of the deceased pastor, and nothing could be more appropriate than its insertion as follows :

"The record of the incidents of this day (14th of October) presents something like a map of human life. In the morning we were gay and cheerful, amusing ourselves with remarks on the country, on the comparative genius and habits of our countrymen, and a thousand things just as the thoughts of them occurred, anticipating a joyful meeting in the evening with some well-tried, faithful and beloved friends ; when suddenly as the flash of lightning breaks from the cloud, we were informed of the almost instantaneous death of one of the most valuable of men—the Rev. Samuel Brown. The road which we should travel led by the house in which he was accustomed to preach, and on inquiring for it, we were asked if we were going to the funeral ! Thus as in a moment was hope turned into deep despondency, and gladness of heart exchanged for the bitterness of sorrow."

"We journeyed on in mournful silence interrupted by occasional remarks which shewed our unwillingness to believe the truth of what had been announced, and how reluctantly hope takes her departure from the human bosom. It might have been a fainting fit, an apoplectic stroke, mistaken for the invasion of death, and still he might be alive. The roads trampled by multitudes of horses, all directed to the dwelling of our friend, dissipated these delusions of the deceiver, and convinced us of the sad reality. Still, however, when we arrived at the church and saw the people assembling and the pile of red clay, the sure indication of a newly opened grave, thrown up in the church yard, it seemed as though we were for the first time assured that Samuel Brown was dead. Only a few of the people had come together on our arrival. Some, in small groups, were conversing in a low tone of voice, interrupted by frequent and bitter sighs, and shewing in strong terms how deeply they felt their loss ; others, whose emotions were too powerful for conversation, stood apart, and leaning on the tombstones, looked like pictures of woe. Presently the sound of the multitude was heard. They came on in great crowds. The elders of the church assisted in committing the body to the grave. After which, solemn silence, interrupted by smothered sobs, ensued for several minutes. The widow stood at the head of the grave surrounded by her children, exhibiting signs of unutterable anguish, yet seeming to say, 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth

good unto him.' After a little time, on a signal being given, some young men began to fill the grave. The first clods that fell on the coffin gave forth the most mournful sounds I ever heard. At that moment of agony the chorister of the congregation was asked to sing a specified hymn to a tune known to be a favorite one of the deceased minister. The voice of the chorister faltered so that it required several efforts to raise the tune; the whole congregation attempted to join him, but at first the sound was rather a scream of anguish than music. As they advanced, however, the precious truths expressed in the words of the hymn seemed to enter into their souls. Their voices became more firm, and, while their eyes streamed with tears, their countenances were radiant with Christian hope, and the singing of the last stanza was like a shout of triumph. The words of the hymn are well known,

'When I can read my title clear.'—

"By the time that these words were finished the grave was closed, and the congregation in solemn silence retired to their homes. We lodged all night with one of the members of the church. The family seemed bereaved as though the head of the household had just been buried. Every allusion to the event, too, brought forth a flood of tears. I could not help exclaiming, 'Behold how they loved him.' And I thought the lamentation of fathers and mothers, of young men and maidens, over their departed pastor, the most eloquent, affecting eulogium that oratory with all its pomp and pretensions could pronounce. After this I shall not attempt panegyric.

"Let those who wish to know the character of Samuel Brown go and see the sod that covers his body wet with the tears of his congregation."

The history of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia presents in goodly number the names of eminent ministers of the gospel. They were men who bore the high character belonging to a godly life, and they were also men of high intellectual endowments, such as commanded the respect and confidence of others moving in the higher walks of society. It is, however, much to be lamented that what remains as the production of their pens, is so very scanty.

They were *preachers* and not *writers*. This was emphatically so with Mr. Brown, and it is impossible to form a correct judgment of

what he really was, except so far as the deficiency is supplied by the testimony of his contemporaries. Under this view we conclude the present sketch by selecting the following extracts. The first is from the late Thomas H. Walker, a very intelligent ruling elder in New Providence, and on terms of intimate friendship with his pastor.

“Mr. Brown’s talents, according to the common opinion, and that is my own, were of a very high order, and his judgment in all matters was sound and practical. In cases where it seemed difficult to arrive at a correct decision, he seemed to seize with facility the true view ; and the clearness of his statements hardly failed to bring others to concur with him. His preaching was impressive and interesting. In his personal appearance he was tall and lean, his eyes sunk deeply in his head. His voice though not sweet, was distinct ; his manner earnest, seeming to be inspired by deep conviction of the truth and importance of his subject. His gestures, according to my recollections, were few, but appropriate. In his addresses from the pulpit he was eminent for strength, conciseness and perspicuity. Argumentative more than declamatory, he convinced the judgment of his hearers. Plain, instructive and practical in his discourses, he brought the principles of the Bible to bear upon the conduct of his people in all their relations. He also held forth very strongly the great Calvinistic doctrines of the Scriptures. He preached ‘repentance toward and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.’ He dwelt prominently on the total depravity of human nature, and on the necessity of regeneration. He frequently became very much animated in preaching, and sometimes the tears were seen to trickle down his cheeks. His sermons were short generally. I have heard people complain sometimes that they were too short, but never that they were too long. When he preached two sermons on the Sabbath, as he did in the summer, his last sermon was generally considered the ablest.

“The longer he lived among his people, the more they became attached to him. He mingled amongst them on easy and familiar terms ; took an interest in their welfare both temporal and spiritual. His conversation was interesting, and, to use a current phrase, he was the soul of the company in which he was. He was a man that never shrunk from any responsibility that properly belonged to him

in any circumstances in which he was placed ; and his opinions probably carried more weight with them than those of any other man in this end of Rockbridge county. He was a very kind husband and was always heard to speak of his wife in the most affectionate manner, and he reposed in her judgment and opinions great confidence. His piety was undoubted. He died universally lamented ; in the prime of life, in full intellectual vigor ; in the midst of his usefulness and when the love of his people towards him so far from abating was becoming deeper and stronger.”—Foote’s Sketches, Second Series, pp. 67, 68.

In the year 1836 the writer of this sketch requested Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of Princeton, New Jersey, to furnish him with some reminiscences of Samuel Brown. He very kindly complied with this request, and from his letter the extracts below are copied.

It may be safely affirmed that no man in this country had a more ample knowledge of its distinguished ministers, and that no one was more likely both from character and habit to give a fair expression of his opinion respecting him. Taking this into view his testimonial concerning Mr. Brown must be regarded as of extraordinary significance.

“PRINCETON, N. J., *May 17th*, 1836.

“*Dear Sir :*

“I seize the first convenient opportunity of complying with your request, in furnishing you with some reminiscences respecting your father, for whom I entertained a high esteem, and indeed a sincere and warm friendship, which I have good reason to believe was reciprocal. I first became acquainted with him when he came to Lexington to pursue his studies in the Academy out of which grew Washington College. I was then a student of theology under the tuition of the Rev. William Graham. Your father commenced his classical studies late, and with a view to the ministry ; I, although several years younger, was licensed to preach some time before he had finished his studies. Our intercourse related chiefly to our spiritual concerns, and we used much freedom in the mutual communication of the various religious exercises of our minds. His mind appeared at that time to be deeply imbued with a genuine

spirit of piety, and I found his conversation to be uniformly edifying. Indeed, I am now of opinion that I derived more benefit from the conversation of Samuel Brown than I ever did from that of any other person, not merely upon our first acquaintance, when we were both students, but more especially after we had entered the ministry. On one occasion, I spent several weeks in delightful intercourse with him in Lancaster county, in the northern neck of Virginia. I am able even at this distance to call to mind some of the topics on which we conversed. Afterwards, when I was settled in Charlotte, he visited me more than once, and frequently we met at Synod. After he was married and settled at New Providence, having some leisure, I visited him at his own house, and spent several days in his company, in December, 1801. The last meeting I had with your esteemed father was in Philadelphia after my removal to that city; when he came up as a delegate to the General Assembly; on which occasion he preached for me an able and delightful sermon on the foundation, nature, and objects of the Christian's hope. It was on the Sabbath afternoon after our Communion, and I thought that I had never heard the subject so ably treated; and the discourse, though profound, was so clear that all could understand it, and was delivered with a holy glow of feeling which was far above any natural pathos, and its effect very different from that of mere rhetoric, however excellent. I also recollect a sermon which he preached at Hampden-Sidney when I resided there, immediately after the Communion. The text was, 'Surely, O God, thou wilt slay the wicked.' On this subject also, on which it is so difficult to preach properly, he seemed to me at the time to excel anything which I had heard.

"Your father was as profound as well as an original thinker, and on all subjects he seemed to me to arrive at sound opinions. His mind was not rapid in its operations, but sure and deliberate and independent. Though always modest, he called no man master; and when he had once made up his mind, he seldom found occasion to change his opinion.

"His benevolence was unusually strong, and so were all his natural affections. He was remarkably free, above most men that ever I knew, from envy and suspicion, yet he formed a just estimate of the real talents and characters of his acquaintances. His

prudence and fidelity were such that all who were favored with his friendship could confide in him without reserve. The Rev. Samuel Brown owed much more to a habit of impartial and profound thinking than he did to books. I recollect that one of his acquaintances observed to me that he seemed to have a cast of mind more nearly resembling that of President Edwards than any person that he had ever known. Although so intellectual, patient and profound in research, he possessed uncommon ardor of mind, and engaged vigorously in everything to which he turned his attention.

“I remain affectionately yours,

“A. ALEXANDER.”

The immediate posterity of Samuel Brown consisted of eleven children—eight sons and three daughters. None of these are now living except the writer of this memorial. The more remote descendants are at this date quite numerous, and are very widely scattered. To enter here into any particulars concerning them would be unsuitable and impracticable. This much it may be proper to record, that wherever found, they are, with very few exceptions, known to be men and women leading a righteous life in all godliness and honesty, walking in wisdom's ways, which are pleasantness, and her paths, that are peace.—W. B.

**SAMUEL LYLE, WILLIAM LYLE, JAMES RAMSEY,
AND JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEES:
WILLIAM McCLUNG, AND MANY ALUMNI;**

OR,

**THE LYLE CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON
AND LEE UNIVERSITY.**

By WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER.

The faculty and educational apparatus constitute the central force in the onward movement of a literary institution, but there are many ancillary forces which should be kept in vigorous operation. Dr. Kirkpatrick once said to the Board of Trustees: "If we would make sure of the future of this institution, we must hold our Alumni with hooks of steel." And it may be added, with a change of figure: If we would hold them we must not only catalogue them, but we must weave their names into the web of College history, and thus let them and their children see that they are not to be forgotten; that they are to have a place in both memory and affection; that in fact they have become a part of an undying fraternity, coeval with the institution itself. Just this fostering work has been begun by Washington and Lee University. May it increase!

In an important sense the prime source of influence is the governing board. It, too, needs to invoke the potent forces of history to do justice to its deceased members, to maintain the efficiency of the living body, and to trace and exhibit the important results which may flow from both official and personal influence.

Hence the value of such memoirs as are now in course of publication in these historical papers ; and hence the effort of the present writer, as will be seen, not only to describe certain Trustees, four of whose names head this article, but to mention related contemporaries, and to trace the leading lines of influence emanating from them and uniting with other lines, branching endlessly, and bearing fruit in various directions. Could this sort of genealogical history be worked out in a set of family monographs, the dry bones of an official record would become a living host.

THE FAMILY OF SAMUEL AND WILLIAM LYLE.

On the Board of Trustees have been three Lyles. Two of them were father and son, and their terms, one succeeding the other, covered the period from the origination of the Board, in 1776, to the year 1835—sixty years save one. Fifteen Lyles are mentioned among the Alumni. Thirty-two of Lyle lineage appear under other names, and a large number by marriage might be added.

The immediate family of Lyles, now small in Rockbridge county, was once one of the largest and best, and in all the branches they were active friends of the College. The Lyle blood and influence became largely merged in other families. By marriage it became connected with the Alexanders, Stuarts, Grahams, McClungs, Ramseys, Reids, Paxtons, McDowells, Lacys, Ruffners, Montgomerys, Moffetts, Donalds, Campbells, and many others. If all the influence growing out of this blood and affinity be considered it will be seen that the Lyle element in the history of the College is worthy of commemoration.

The Lyles came to America from the north of Ireland with the first settlers of what is now Rockbridge county, as is shown by a list containing the name of a Lyle, made in 1742, only five years after the first regular immigration. The transatlantic relations of the family have been partly made out, and Mr. Oscar K. Lyle, of New York city, who is our authority on this point, hopes to make complete the connections running back many centuries.

Mr. Grigsby declares that the name is wholly French, and was originally written with the apostrophe between the article and the noun composing the word ; and also that the family came to Eng-

land before the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The name exists in France at present, and one form of the spelling is the same as the one we employ. The name exists also in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Western Islands, and is variously spelled. Mr. Thomas M. Green, in his *Historic Families of Kentucky*, in mentioning the Rockbridge Lyles, says: "The names of Lyle, Lisle, Lyell, are identical; those who bear them spring remotely from the same stock. Their common origin is in the name *de l'Isle*—of the island—which indicates that in the ages wrapped in clouds, the common ancestor was one of the Lords of the Western Islands. In Scotland, still, the names are found among the higher gentry."

The best information we have on the subject is embodied in the following letter, which I have just received from Mr. Oscar K. Lyle, which contains many points of interest, and shows how great an amount of labor he has expended on the subject, and how hard it is to reach settled conclusions:

Letter from Mr. Oscar K. Lyle Concerning the Pre-American History of the Lyle Family.

NEW YORK, February 19, 1892.

In cheerfully complying with your request for the result of my inquiries into the Lyle ancestry, I will say that the surname of Lyle, varied in its orthography, is a territorial one—that is, one having its origin in the possessions, location or place of abode of the several families adopting it. In its earliest form, before the period of introduction and adoption of surnames in what is now Great Britain, the ancestors of those now bearing it were denominated *de insula*, of the island. So far back as in the eleventh century this *de insula* is applied as a descriptive term or appellation to families then living in the Islands of Wight and Ely, in England, and of Bute, in Scotland. That any connection existed between these several families, or that any one of them is traceable to companions of William the Conqueror, is probably beyond ascertainment. In the train of the victorious Norman, and among the names inscribed on the famous Roll of Battle Abbey, were individuals bearing names from which the present Lyle surname could be, and to some extent is, no doubt, derived. But if *de insula* originated in the several families alluded to, because of their connection with the islands mentioned, it is not in order to claim from its translation that the Lyle surname and race are of Norman origin. The Normans introduced surnames into England. But it was a long period before their general adoption.

Before the conquest the written language and records of the English and Scots were in Latin. Education was limited to a few, and mainly confined to the church and clergy introduced by the Romans, who had long held sway. Under Norman

rule there was very generally a translation of Latin into Norman-French. History seldom treats of the uneventful lives of a common people, and I found no little interest, while tracing the several families of *de insula*, in noting the many changes giving us the Lyle surname of to-day from the *de insula* of over eight hundred years ago. The rendering of the Latin into Norman-French gave *de l'Isle*; Norman rule ended, the *de* was dropped, and thus appears what one can readily recognize as leading to the present form. With all its age, the name is not a common one.

The Lyles settling in Rockbridge county, Virginia, then Augusta county, from traditions current among their descendants, were thought to have been of those leaving Scotland during the troublous times of the seventeenth century, and to have sought in Ireland a refuge from religious persecution. Because of similar traditions attaching to many of their neighbors, and to most of the families constituting the earliest community in Rockbridge county, I very naturally expected to find them in some way descended from the family long resident in the west of Scotland and originating in the Isle of Bute. Of these Lyles some mention is made so far back as 1057 A. D. This ante-dates the Norman period.

So far as any definite tracing can be asserted for the Rockbridge Lyles, one Samuel Lyle, of Browndodd, in the county Antrim, in Ireland, about 1650 married a Janet Knox, of Knoxtown, in that same county. The Knox family is unmistakably Scotch, and the barony of that name in Renfrewshire was in close proximity to the barony of Lyle. This was getting so near to the time of passing into Ireland it did appear I was on the right track, and it was my hope to find it so upon farther inquiry. This Samuel Lyle had, with other issue, sons James and Robert. James appears, from such information as I possess, to have been the father of Matthew, John and Daniel Lyle, immigrants; and it is said that the immigrant Samuel was the son of Robert. I am unwilling to proclaim this without the privilege of change or withdrawal after further investigation. That three of the immigrants were brothers agrees with family traditions, but Samuel's relationship to the others is not satisfactorily determined.

Matthew Lyle married in Ireland. On the records of a church in Larne, near Belfast, is found an entry reading, "Matthew Lyle and Esther Blair, proclaimed to marry, September 18th, 1731." This was our immigrant to Rockbridge. Esther Blair traces to a Brice Blair, who married in Scotland an Esther Peden, a relative of the distinguished Alexander Peden, who in his day enjoyed much distinction as a Presbyterian preacher, and suffered many trials because of it. Brice Blair was one of those Covenanters who were hunted out of Scotland and sought refuge in Ireland. He settled near Larne, at a place now known as Mount Hill, and narrowly escaped destruction in the massacre of 1640. Esther was a great-grandchild of this Brice Blair, of excellent lineage, and a fair representative of the Scotch-Irish stock. She had a younger sister, whose name was Martha. This Martha left Ireland unmarried, and presumably accompanied the Lyles to America. I feel reasonably certain she was the same Martha Blair who was the wife of John Paxton; and thus is opened up an ancestral line to their many descendants. In my opinion, the acquaintance between the immigrant Lyles and the Paxtons began after the former left Ireland. No Paxtons appear to have lived near the home of the Lyles in county Antrim. Daniel Lyle married a Pax-

ton in America. The wife of John Lyle is thought to have come with him from Ireland. Samuel Lyle married Sarah McClung in Virginia. He held the office of purchasing agent, for Rockbridge county, for supplies for the Revolutionary army, his son William being an officer therein. The coming of the Lyles to America was not far from 1740. Matthew probably preceded the others to Virginia, though all may have left Ireland together. Pennsylvania was then the land of promise to the large immigration, and many tarried there before finally settling elsewhere.

Matthew Lyle's name is one of those to a petition addressed to Governor Gooch, then Colonial Governor of Virginia, in July, 1742, praying that he will issue a Captain's commission to John McDowell, with authority to raise a company to defend the infant colony "in ye back parts of Virginia" from the "violence of the heathen," as all the Indians were called. This is the earliest date I have found on record of our Lyles, and from the fact that but one of the four was a signer of the petition, I conclude that he was the only one then on Borden's Grant.

Matthew Lyle died in 1774. He left a daughter in Ireland who came to Virginia in 1775 as the wife of Matthew Donald, her second husband. The Donalds are a very old family, tracing to the Isle of Skye. They are a part of the great clan MacDonnell, who, in earlier days, enjoyed the distinction and title of Lords of the Isles.

Yours truly,

OSCAR K. LYLE.

After this general account of the early history of the family, I will proceed to trace the several branches as they developed in this region, especially in their relations to Washington and Lee University. In so doing, it will be proper to repeat in their appropriate connections some facts mentioned in Mr. Lyle's letter, and originally derived from him by me.

THE FOUR IMMIGRANT LYLES.

So far as known all the Lyles of Rockbridge were descended from the four men whose names are mentioned by Mr. Oscar Lyle. All these names are appended to the call to Rev. John Brown in 1753—the Battle Abbey roll of Rockbridge, as Mr. Grigsby called it. This call, written with touching pathos and the eloquence of deep conviction, and signed by one hundred and sixteen of the best citizens of Rockbridge as it now is, was an important link in the chain of events which ended in the establishment of Liberty Hall Academy, for it brought to this part of the country the Rev. John Brown, who was a strong promoter of classical education, and who

followed Robert Alexander in personally conducting or maintaining a classical school at one of his churches, then called New Providence, now Old Providence, which stands on top of the watershed which divides the valley of the Shenandoah from that of the James, and is but one mile southwest from the site of Robert Alexander's school. After William Graham came in 1774, Mr. Brown's connection with the school became less intimate, but he continued as the official guardian and inspector until 1776, when the first board of trustees was appointed, and his name placed at the head of the list.¹

The four Lyles who assisted in bringing Rev. John Brown to Virginia were Matthew, John, Daniel and Samuel. The first three were brothers, according to the best information we have; the last, Samuel, is locally believed to have been the nephew of the others.

MATTHEW LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

The probable descent of Matthew and others from Samuel Lyle of Browndodd in Ireland, the proclamation of the banns between him and Esther Blair in the church at Larne in 1731, and the signing of his name to a petition to Governor Gooch in 1742 from the first settlers of Borden's Grant, have already been mentioned in Mr. Lyle's letter. The ancestry of Matthew's wife has also been noticed. It is worthy of remark that in the above mentioned petition, Matthew Lyle's name is spelled incorrectly, which seems to show that it was written by the hand of another. It is to be assumed that he is to no degree responsible for the remarkable orthography which characterizes the document.

The next record we have is on the books of the Court of Augusta county, dated May 20, 1748, and is in these words:—"On the motion of Matthew Lyle, yts ordered to be certified that they have built a Presbyterian Meeting House at a place known by the name of Timber Ridge, another at New Providence, and another at a place known as Falling Spring." All these churches are in the present county of Rockbridge.²

¹For the call to Rev. John Brown, see Foote's Sketches of Virginia, Second Series, p. 94.

²Dr. Alexander in his autobiography says that the name New Providence was applied to the first meeting house erected by the congregation, and the term New

Matthew's numerous descendants intermarried with the Alexanders, Lyles of Samuel, Paxtons, McDowells, Lacys, and others, and touch the history of the College at numerous points. His grandson Rev. Matthew Lyle of Prince Edward county, an alumnus of the Academy, without application on his part was elected in 1816 Professor of Languages to succeed Rev. Daniel Blain ; but he declined to leave the field where he was already most usefully employed. Rev. Drury Lacy in Sprague's *Annals* writes of him :—"Mr. Lyle was endowed with a sound, discriminating mind, and was possessed of inflexible firmness, and great energy and decision of character. Honesty was the very texture of his soul. In domestic life he was affectionate ; as a neighbor, kind. But he appeared to the greatest advantage in the pulpit. His sermons were remarkable for clearness, conciseness, and energy. By some judicious hearers he was preferred to all other preachers. He was perhaps never known to deliver an indifferent sermon ; nor did he ever fall into confusion or embarrassment. He uniformly preached without notes. In social intercourse Mr. Lyle had a benignity of manner, and a lively pleasantness of remark, accompanied with sallies of wit, which rendered him an exceedingly agreeable companion. His departure left a wide chasm in the society in which he was so long the guide and ornament."

was intended to distinguish it from a church called Providence in Pennsylvania, near Norristown, from which many of them came. Hence we must infer that the church now called Old Providence is the successor of the New Providence which was reported to the Court by Matthew Lyle, and which certainly was erected at the place on or very near the top of the divide of the waters, now called Old Providence. The history of the changes seems to be this. The original site proving to be inconvenient, and the time having come for the erection of a better building than the log house in which they first assembled, the congregation voted to remove to a point some three miles distant on Hays Creek, where they erected a stone house, after using a temporary structure for a short time. This remains the site of the New Providence church, though two brick buildings have succeeded the one of stone. About the year 1789 a portion of the congregation, offended at the introduction of Watts' Psalms, as told by Dr. Henry Ruffner in his history of Washington College, seceded and returned to the former site, where they were organized into a separate congregation under the name Old Providence. This congregation still continues at the old spot, though now worshipping in a stone building.

The interesting record of the Court concerning Matthew Lyle, is furnished by Mr. Waddell in his highly valuable work on Augusta County.

Rev. Matthew Lyle's son James, who became a highly useful and popular physican, living in Farmville and practising in a number of the surrounding counties, was an alumnus of Washington College. He was the father of Mrs. Annie McKinney, wife of the present Governor of Virginia. Rev. Matthew's son Samuel removed to Texas, and in 1844 sent his son, Thomas M. W. Lyle, to Washington College. Thomas became a physician and cotton planter, but his career was brought to a sudden and peculiarly sad termination on the battle field of Gettysburg. What was his exact fate has never been ascertained.

Inasmuch as the Lyle women bear an honorable part in the history we are pursuing, it may be mentioned that Mary Paxton Lyle, a daughter of Capt. John Lyle, the son of the first Matthew, became the wife of Col. James McDowell, who was the son of Col. Samuel McDowell, at one time a member of the College Board, and founder of the Kentucky branch of the McDowells. James went west with his father, and did his full share in giving to the family the distinguished position which it took and has held. The immediate household of James is represented as one of unusual attractiveness. In his *Historic Families of Kentucky*, Mr. Green says of the daughters of Col. James McDowell and Mary Paxton Lyle, that "they were all not only women of intelligence and culture, but were of their generation the most graceful and beautiful women of Kentucky."

One of these daughters, Isabella, married Rev. John Poage Campbell, one of the most brilliant men in America, who was first a student, and afterwards a Trustee, of Liberty Hall Academy.

Another daughter of Capt. John Lyle, namely, Esther Lyle, married Joseph Paxton, of Rockbridge county, and their daughter Isabella married Robert S. Campbell of Timber Ridge. He was a son of Alexander Campbell, a highly intelligent Scotchman, a Trustee of the College, and County Surveyor, as well as farmer on land bought of Capt. John Lyle. Two of the sons of Alexander Campbell are mentioned in the Catalogue of Alumni, namely, Dr. Samuel R. Campbell, who died a surgeon in the Confederate service, and Rev. Wm. G. Campbell, who died in 1881 at the age of 82. There were two other sons of Alexander Campbell, namely, James and Addison, who like all the rest were men of great strength

of will and of great moral firmness. The late Wm. A. Donald was a grandson of Alexander Campbell, and a student of the College. This family of Campbells first improved the justly celebrated Rockbridge Alum Springs; a part of which they inherited from Alexander Campbell, who was half owner of the property, which included a large body of mountain land.

Robert S. Campbell, whose wife, as above stated, was Isabella Paxton, granddaughter of Capt. John Lyle, was the immediate progenitor of the family of this name which has been so closely identified with this institution for three generations. Mr. Campbell educated all of his large family. One of his daughters married Capt. Wm. C. Hagan, an alumnus and a descendant of the first John Lyle. Mr. Campbell's sons and grandsons were all educated here, and deserve to be mentioned *seriatim*.

1. Alexander Paxton Campbell, the eldest son, spent most of his life usefully as a classical teacher. His son Robert is a lawyer.

2. John Lyle Campbell, LL. D., the late distinguished professor of Chemistry and Geology. He, of course, educated all his sons at Washington College. These sons have all done credit to their Alma Mater, and they have been steady and true in their attachment. (a) The eldest of Prof. J. L. Campbell's sons is John Lyle Campbell, the present treasurer of Washington and Lee University, who married a descendant of Samuel and William Lyle, and of President Ruffner. (b) The second son was Edmund Douglas Campbell, a gifted young man who died in 1880, soon after entering the medical profession. (c) Next, Robert Fishburn Campbell, the pastor of Buena Vista Presbyterian Church, who also married a descendant of the Lyle trustees, a daughter of William H. Ruffner, formerly a trustee, and granddaughter of President Ruffner. (d) Harry Donald Campbell, Ph. D., Professor of Geology and Biology in Washington and Lee University.

3. James D. Campbell, the third son of Robert S., a handsome and talented young man, was a teacher and publisher in North Carolina, and died 1865.

4. Rev. Samuel Blair Campbell, who has been usefully employed as preacher and teacher in southwest Virginia, Tennessee and Texas.

5. Rev. William Addison Campbell, D. D., the well known pastor and evangelist of tide-water Virginia; at one time assistant

professor of mathematics in Washington College. Two of his sons graduated here, Rev. Wm. Spencer Campbell of Henrico county, and Leslie Lyle Campbell, who has just completed with distinction a post-graduate course.

On the list of alumni we recognize but one other descendant of the first Matthew Lyle, namely, Wm. K. Donald, who was captain of the 2nd Rockbridge Artillery, C. S. A. He is still in active life. It is probable that other descendants of Matthew Lyle might be found on the catalogue; but all have been mentioned that are known to the writer. A similar remark may be applied to lists yet to be given.

JOHN LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

This John Lyle, like the other three immigrants, was a farmer on Timber Ridge. His contribution to the academic interest was his son John for trustee, and three grandsons as students, besides what came in by collateral relations. The trustee John, mentioned in high terms by Dr. Alexander as "Elder John Lyle," was a man of stately presence and great moral influence, of whom a sketch appeared in No. 2 of the Historical Papers. He kept in the College circle by marrying Flora Reid, a lady as admirable in her sphere as he was in his.

Elder John's son Andrew was a young man of fine natural endowments of body and mind. After finishing the course of study at the Academy he had resolved to teach for a year or two and then return and study divinity under Mr. Graham. But, while conducting a classical school at Liberty, Bedford county, Va., he was seized with a bilious fever, and carried off in a few days, in the flush of early manhood. One of his pupils at Liberty was the subsequently distinguished Samuel Brown, who although no relation succeeded Rev. John Brown as pastor of New Providence Church. Rev. Samuel Brown also had a classical school, in which some eminent men received the beginnings of their college course. Mr. Brown became a College trustee, and the father of seven sons, five of whom were educated at Washington College; one of these, Rev. William Brown, D. D., became a trustee, as did also his brother-in-law, Rev. James Morrison; to whom may be added Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., who married Samuel Brown's granddaughter.

Elder John's second son, Rev. John Lyle, spent his professional life in Kentucky, chiefly in Paris, where he made a strong and wide impression as a minister, and as the teacher of a large female school, which he established. He established also a newspaper, a bookstore, and a printing office from which he issued some books. All of these various interests he seems to have managed successfully. His motive in multiplying this class of instrumentalities is given by Rev. Robert Stuart in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, thus—"He was pre-eminently a benefactor to the cause of education in the West. Having an ardent thirst for knowledge, and being a thorough scholar, especially in the languages, he was intent on doing his utmost for the intellectual as well as moral improvement of the rising generation." The Hon. Chilton Allen, member of Congress from Kentucky, says—"As a teacher he was singularly devoted to the improvement of his pupils, and had an admirable talent at communicating knowledge in an easy and impressive manner. I think that his labors in this way accomplished more than those of any other teacher I have known." Mr. Allen continues—"As a preacher he addressed himself more to the understandings of his hearers than to their passions. Mr. Lyle not only had no tendency to enthusiasm, but very little patience with it. He once attended a camp meeting conducted by ministers of his own denomination, at which there was much lengthy and vociferous praying. Mr. Lyle bore with their praying as long as he could; but one morning he broke out upon them in one of the most eloquent and impressive exhortations I ever heard. It gave great satisfaction to calm people, and produced a happy effect."¹

Dr. William H. McGuffey thus describes Mr. Lyle's appearance: "He was one of the most venerable and dignified looking gentlemen I ever saw. Much above the ordinary stature,—erect in form, with an expanded chest, and a remarkably fine head, surrounded by a profusion of hair entirely white, and which he wore long, flowing down to his shoulders,—with an elastic step and commanding mien, he could not have been mistaken in any company or by the most careless observer for an ordinary man."

¹ This quotation and the one concerning Matthew Lyle are both somewhat condensed.

Mr. Lyle had three sons, one of whom, Joel, was so remarkable that George W. Williams, Esq., thus speaks of him: "I cannot close this sketch of the father without a passing tribute to the son. I have never seen a man with whom I became acquainted, who was in intellect the superior of Joel A. Lyle. He learned the most abstruse principles of law without labor, and apparently by intuition. Had he lived he would have been one of the brightest ornaments of the bar. His career of greatness and usefulness, however, was closed at its beginning. He was the soul of honor, and the impersonation of virtue."¹

Trustee (or Elder) John Lyle had another son, who was an alumnus of this institution, namely, Joel Reid Lyle, who also went to Kentucky, and became associated with his brother John, at Paris, where he became the editor of *The Western Citizen*, the newspaper heretofore mentioned. This paper is, I think, still published. Joel was a man of ability. He had three sons, one of whom also became an editor, and all were influential citizens.

These three brothers, combining the strong intellect of the Reids with the scholastic and philanthropic tendencies of the Lyles, were an honor to their lineage and to their Alma Mater.

DANIEL LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

Under No. 134 of the Catalogue another Rev. John Lyle is recorded. This was the son of Daniel. He was a soldier in the battle of Point Pleasant, and commenced his professional education somewhat late in life. This was the John Lyle so often mentioned by Dr. Alexander in his autobiography. These two, at one time, constituted Mr. Graham's entire class in theology. During their theological training an incident occurred which is worthy the notice of young orators. I will give it in Dr. Alexander's language. The Presbytery had given Mr. Graham permission to exercise his students in public exhortation, and the début of these young theologues was to occur at the house of John T. McKee, on Kerr's

¹ Rev. John Lyle is sketched with more or less fulness in *Sprague's Annals*, in the *Princeton Review* by Dr. Archibald Alexander, in *Davidson's History of the Presbyterian Church of Kentucky*, and in *Foote's Sketches, Second Series*, and he is mentioned by Green.

Creek, October 20, 1790. Dr. Alexander sketches the occasion as follows :

"The thing was new in that part of the country and many came together. I was exceedingly apprehensive that I should utterly fail, and not be able to say anything, for I had never spoken in public except what I had committed to memory. I had once attempted to speak in a juvenile debate, without the least success. We arrived at the place early in the evening, and retired to the grove. When we returned to the house Mr. Lyle appeared to be much animated and elevated. He told me that he had a remarkable flow of thought, and seemed confident of a prosperous issue ; which only discouraged me the more, as I was weighed down with a heavy burden. After singing and prayer, Mr. Graham called first upon Lyle, who arose with an awful cloud upon his brow, seized fast hold of the chair upon which he had been sitting, and with many contortions of countenance forced out a few words, but his flow of thought had deserted him. He hemmed and groaned, rolled up his pocket handkerchief into a ball, made a few convulsive gestures, and sat down. After another prayer and hymn, I was called upon. Although I did not know a word I was to utter, I began with a rapidity and fluency equal to any I have enjoyed to this day. I was astonished at myself, and, as I was young and small, the old people were not less astonished."

Mr. Lyle, though never a great preacher, became a very useful man. After itinerating for a time by appointment of the Presbytery, he settled for life in Hampshire county, now West Virginia, where he not only preached, but, Lyle-like, conducted a school at Springfield, which Dr. Foote speaks of as having attained "great celebrity." Thus was afforded another illustration of how a literary institution scatters the living seeds of knowledge to germinate and grow in unnumbered and often unnoticed places. Mr. Lyle married a Miss Glass, a near relative of Dr. Foote's first wife. This lady was a sister of Rev. Joseph Glass, who was an alumnus of Liberty Hall Academy. Mr. Lyle died in 1807.

Two other descendants of Daniel Lyle are in the Catalogue, namely, Rev. George Tate Lyle and Rev., previously Judge, John Newton Lyle. These are sons of Newton Lyle, a descendant of Daniel.

SAMUEL LYLE, IMMIGRANT.

Samuel Lyle, according to the testimony of his descendants, came to this country when a youth at the solicitation of his uncle Daniel, who has just been mentioned. This was about the year 1745. He was without fortune, but being intelligent, industrious and managing, he soon was able to buy from Borden two hundred and thirty-five acres of good land, for which he received a deed in 1751, and on which he immediately erected a pioneer's cabin. He always had a strong literary taste, but, owing to his scantiness of means and the scarcity of books in the settlement, he would have suffered for lack of opportunity for gratifying this appetite, had he not found a friend in Archibald Alexander, the progenitor of the distinguished family which has made such an impression upon the country. Mr. Alexander had the best library in the colony, and he gave to young Lyle the free use of his books. But Samuel could find time for reading, besides Sundays, only at night and before daybreak in the morning. He was an enthusiastic reader, and this taste went with him through life. He became so noted for his intelligence, that Rev. Drury Lacy wrote of him that he was "a man of uncommon worth, and of extensive reading." This was also attested, as regards both points, by the public trusts conferred upon him.

Young Lyle's career was successful from the first. His mind, his character, his influence and his fortune developed rapidly. He became a large landholder, at the same time a merchant, an elder in the church, a magistrate of the first court held in the new county of Rockbridge, a home-purchaser of supplies for the Revolutionary army, and a trustee of the first organized academy established in the Scotch-Irish settlements; was appointed by the Presbytery as one of the committee for raising the means for supporting the Academy, and afterward appointed a trustee by the Legislature; was made treasurer of the institution, which office he held until his bodily infirmities unfitted him for its duties; and during the twenty years of his service as trustee, especially in the earlier part of it, was apparently the most active and devoted of all the members. In all this we see the culmination and practical application of those intellectual, moral and business qualities which he had cultivated so resolutely under the adversities of his early life.

Mr. Lyle, about 1751, married Sarah McClung, an admirable woman, amiable, bright, and remarkable for her neatness—belonging to one of the best of the many excellent families among the Scotch-Irish people. There seem to have been at least two separate, and yet, no doubt, closely related families of McClungs among the immigrants to Borden's Grant. William McClung was at the head of one of these families, and was the father of Mrs. Samuel Lyle. The family of William McClung was an important one, and touched the College at many points. He was on the first bench of elders in Timber Ridge Church, which was organized in 1746. Though acting during the pastorate of Rev. John Brown, his name, for some unexplained reason, does not appear on the list of signers to the call, but it does appear on the subscription list for the following year.

Mr. McClung was married twice, and his family was large, and became well connected. His daughter Susan married a son of Robert Alexander, who is now listed as the first rector of Washington and Lee University. Another daughter married Col. Samuel McDowell, heretofore mentioned. He was the brother of Col. James McDowell, who was the father of Gov. James McDowell, both of whom were trustees. The marriage of Samuel McDowell and Mary McClung occurred in 1754, and among the children was Magdalen, who became the mother of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid. Wm. McClung's son John, who was a half-brother to Mrs. Samuel Lyle, married a daughter of Archibald Alexander the first, and sister of William Alexander, the father of Dr. Archibald Alexander, and a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy. John McClung had eleven children. One of his sons, Joseph, was a highly respected citizen, who lived to a great age. He was the father of Dr. James McClung, well known in Rockbridge county as a successful physician and an excellent man. Two of the sons and a son-in-law of the latter were alumni of this institution.

Another son of John McClung was Judge William McClung, an alumnus, who removed to Kentucky, where he became highly distinguished, and married the sister of Chief Justice Marshall, and of Dr. Louis Marshall, former president of Washington College. Judge McClung had two sons, one a clergyman and the other a duellist and orator; each of whom was distinguished in his line.

John McClung's daughter Elizabeth married Robert Stuart, son of Major Alexander Stuart and brother of Judge Archibald Stuart.

John McClung's daughter Margaret has left an astonishing reputation for beauty and fascination. It is reported on good authority that as many as forty horses at once were sometimes seen hitched to the fence whilst their riders were paying court to the lady within. She finally accepted Robert Tate, the grandfather of the former trustee Wm. M. Tate.

It is an interesting fact that this John McClung and his brother-in-law James Lyle, who married Hannah Alexander, were the building committee who superintended the erection of the present Timber Ridge Church, whose heavy limestone walls have defied the storms of one hundred and thirty-six years. The contractor for the work was Daniel Lyle, who put up a more enduring structure than did John Lewis who built the first church in Staunton. The question as to the spot to which the Academy was removed from Mt. Pleasant, is settled by Dr. Henry Ruffner, who says in the centennial address he delivered in the Timber Ridge Church in 1856, that Liberty Hall Academy stood there by the side of the Church.

Returning now to the career of Samuel Lyle, I remark that besides an enduring record of personal success, he enlarged and perpetuated his influence in his descendents. He had six children, all of whom became heads of families, most of whom were well known in their day, and are not yet wholly forgotten. Their descendants abound among us; fifteen or twenty of them are recorded on the roll of College students under different names.

Samuel Lyle's eldest son, William, married the daughter of a trustee, Thomas Stuart, a man of wealth, influence and public spirit. William Lyle himself became a trustee, as will be particularly noted in a separate sketch.

The second son, James, who married Miss Margaret Baker of Winchester, was a lawyer by profession. He no doubt attended Augusta Academy, as may be inferred not only from the intelligence, means and educational zeal of his father, but from the education he himself exhibited in many ways. He acted as clerk of the board of trustees for ten years. He was also the first Clerk of the District Court, which met in Staunton, where he resided for some years. In 1793 he qualified as a lawyer in Lexington; but soon

after was cut off by death before reaching middle life. During his residence in Staunton his interest in education may be inferred from the fact that he was a member of the first board of trustees of the Staunton Academy. His only child, Juliet, married Abram Smith, of Rockingham, who married successively the daughters of three county clerks (namely, of Rockbridge, Augusta and Rockingham), one of which ladies was the sister of Col. Reid. All three of these clerical families had relations with the College.

Mary, Samuel's third child, married John Dalhouse, an Augusta farmer, whose daughter, Julia, married Thomas Montgomery, as will be enlarged upon hereafter when sketching John Montgomery.

Samuel Lyle's fourth child, Jane, married Dr. James Ramsey, concerning whom something more is said in the sequel.

The fifth child, Elizabeth, married Michael Graham, brother of Wm. Graham, rector, and of Edward Graham, trustee and professor. Her colloquial eloquence is noted by Dr. Archibald Alexander, in his autobiography, and it was said of her by one who knew her well, that "she was a very talented, literary and pious woman, and a great theologian." Her theological faculty was communicated to her son, Rev. Samuel Lyle Graham, D. D., who after acquiring his literary education at Washington College became a learned professor in Union Theological Seminary; and in time bestowed his two daughters on clergymen. Another of Elizabeth Lyle's sons was Dr. Wm. L. Graham, of Bedford county, who was also an alumnus of this institution. Mr. Claytor, a recent alumnus, is another descendant.

Sally, the sixth and last child of Samuel Lyle, married her cousin Rev. Matthew Lyle, of whom some account has already been given. So much for Samuel Lyle's descendants.

Mr. Lyle himself was a great sufferer from rheumatism, and yet not being wholly disabled he continued to attend to business. He attended meetings of the board at least occasionally up to the time of his death in 1796; and a committee, of which he was a member, met at his house within a very short time of his death, for the purpose of conferring with Alexander McNutt, who proposed to make a large donation of lands in Nova Scotia to the College.¹

¹ See articles published by Wm. A. Glasgow in certain newspapers in 1887.

The exact date of Mr. Lyle's demise is not known. He was present at the committee meeting, at his house, August 22, 1796, and he is not mentioned again. His son William took his seat as a member of the board, October 19, of the same year ; hence it seems fair to conclude that the son was chosen to succeed the father, and that the demise of the father occurred in or very near to September, 1796. He was about 70 years of age. He was evidently one of those clear sighted, large hearted, constitutionally busy men, who took no holidays, and was always so interested in what he was doing that he worked incessantly and spontaneously without feeling his work to be a burden. If he could not do one thing he would do another, but it was always something useful. His appropriate life work was all done, and well done. Whatever he undertook in the line of family or fortune, was prospered, not because he was luckier than anybody else, but because he planned wisely, considered every detail, and never slackened his hand until his purpose was accomplished ; and the same principles he carried into his public duties. As literature was the passion of his early life, so did he work for its general diffusion, and so far as we are informed the last service of his life was in seeking to promote this cause. Few men of his day were so honored and useful. He died in the harness, leaving an unstained record.

WILLIAM LYLE, TRUSTEE.

William Lyle, son of Samuel, was born about 1752. He grew up at home on Mill Creek, making good use of his educational opportunities, taking part in the operations of the farm, and, no doubt, of the store also : thus being fitted for his subsequent career as both merchant and farmer. John Henry, an old college servant of fine character, told me when I was a boy, that Capt. Wm. Lyle when a young man was famous as a wrestler ; in fact, that he never failed to throw his man on the first trial, but that when his antagonist had once discovered how it was done, subsequent results were not so infallible. Were the domestic habits of young men the same then that they have become since, we might conclude that young Lyle's reputation was gained at the Augusta Academy, and so it may have been ; but this evidence is not in itself sufficient, inas-

much as in those days athletic sports were common among men generally. George Washington, who never attended school after he was fifteen, was, when a young man, noted for his running, leaping and throwing stones.

William Lyle was, when a grown man, of middle height, thick-set, very active, with a handsome countenance, indicating benevolence and a respectable grade of talent. In his family he was considerate and affectionate. There are interesting traditions illustrating his neighborly kindness, and also his prowess. He contracted the habit of reading, as did all the members of his father's family, and thus, as is ever the case with reading people, he became an interesting member of society.

He was a soldier of the Revolution, but our information on the subject is scanty ; from which I infer that his services were not very marked, or very prolonged. There is a tradition that at one time he was on LaFayette's staff, which is not improbable considering the fact that Rockbridge troops were in the command of the French General, but my only certain information is that he was appointed lieutenant in the first company raised in Rockbridge county, in 1775 ; but we have no proof that it was ever called to the field. He was in the Southern campaign of 1781. He is reported to have been in the battle of Cowpens, and if so, was with Green's army before the arrival of that company of Rockbridge militia which has been criticised for returning home without leave after the battle of Guilford, and yet no doubt they would in a great measure be vindicated if all their reasons were known. When the draft was made the heroic Samuel McDowell objected to it for good reasons. Capt. Lyle was probably already there and held the position in Green's army of adjutant and commissary. In battle he was an active staff officer, and in the battle of Guilford he was peculiarly exposed, having to carry orders between the lines from one end to the other, and thus was able to learn by immediate comparison the difference in the music made by the American and British bullets.

The Rev. Samuel Houston, of Rockbridge county,—then a divinity student,—who became a trustee of Washington College, and father of Rev. Samuel R. Houston, also a trustee, was among the Rockbridge men in the battle of Guilford, and fired his rifle

with deliberate aim fourteen times. The Rockbridge company was on the left flank, and the British attack was made on the centre, which for a time rendered it apparently doubtful whether the Rockbridge men would be called into action. At this juncture Capt. Lyle, who was riding rapidly in front of the line, was hailed by young Houston, who showed the greatest eagerness to take part in the fight, and wanted to know of Capt. Lyle as to the prospect of the battle coming to that part of the line. He was soon gratified, and soon showed that he was fully in earnest in wanting a chance at the enemy.

After the war Capt. Lyle was a magistrate. In the years 1814 and 1815 he held the office of High Sheriff. In 1789 he commanded a militia company. He was always in request on the 4th of July, when the surviving soldiers were dined, wine and eulogized abundantly. I remember one of these occasions, when I, a small boy, was visiting at Oakley, and accompanied my grandfather to Lexington on what was then the truly "Glorious Fourth." It was about the year 1834, when he was over 80 years of age. Scarcely had we dismounted, when a party of gentlemen waited on Capt. Lyle, and invited him to join the squad of Revolutionary soldiers, who were about to enter the procession then forming on Main street. After some hesitation he consented, and presently I saw him marching in the little company of old soldiers—a dozen perhaps, all bent with age—their rear brought up by the gigantic figure of Ailstock, of mixed breed, who marched, ate and drank with the rest. Ailstock's supreme hour was after the barbecue, when, full of the "O be joyful," he stood at the street corner surrounded by a crowd, and discoursed enthusiastically of General Washington, and of all he saw and did during the great war. Ailstock had done good service, and was an interesting character; maugre his constitution of two bloods not often mixed.

Soon after the war Capt. Lyle took possession of his Oakley estate, which was given to him by his father, but enlarged, as there is reason to believe, by purchases from him. On the 29th of July, 1784, he married Julia Ann Stuart, daughter of Thomas Stuart of Stuart's Draft, who, as before stated, was a trustee of Liberty Hall Academy. Mr. Stuart's brother Alexander and his nephew Judge Archibald Stuart were also trustees, and were all sketched by Mr. Grigsby.

About 1786 Capt. Lyle removed to Lexington, and engaged in merchandizing. His residence was on the corner where now stands the Presbyterian church, and his store on the diagonal corner. Here he remained for ten years. In February, 1796, he married his second wife, Elizabeth Lyle of the family of Matthew (her mother an Alexander); and soon thereafter he returned to the country. This is the year he was made trustee of Liberty Hall, then called Washington Academy. It is of record that the trustee board met occasionally at his house in Lexington. For forty years save one, Capt. Lyle did faithful service to the institution. He was present at one hundred and ten meetings of the board, and like his father seems to have been specially useful in matters of business. Two years before his death he formally resigned: thus showing his usual practical wisdom.

It is a melancholy sight to see an old man, or indeed any worthy man, holding on to a place after everybody else sees that he ought to resign. But few men have the grace of resignation; whereas it is needed in a great many cases. It is a rare power to be able to see just when is the right moment to step out of an office. The old are almost sure to hang on too long. A proper amount of appropriate and satisfactory service, is the only equitable claim any man can have on the public position he may hold. And on this point it is far better to be over-sensitive than obtuse.

The trustee board of this College has never suffered more than usual from "dead wood," and it has always had some devoted members, from Samuel Lyle to Judge McLaughlin. And as a body it has always been composed of men of superior ability and the highest standing; men, too, who had usually large interests of their own; and yet they have given their services freely, without fee, or any reward except the satisfaction of serving a great cause. The early trustee had a task much more difficult and discouraging than is required of the trustee in these comparatively halcyon days. Let any one follow the history of that trustee board which carried the Academy through the starving time of the old Revolution, and the decades immediately following it; see their abundant and often disagreeable labors, extending to the smallest minutiae; and he will see how richly these men deserve to be remembered and honored.

But to return to the subject in hand—Capt. Lyle was led to return to the country by two sad occurrences ; namely, the burning of the town, and the death of his father.

The great fire in Lexington occurred in 1796. It commenced on the lot next above the one now occupied by the new Methodist church, where there was a stable which was set on fire in the morning by the pipe of the negro hostler, or, as some say, from fire under a wash kettle. The stable was well filled with hay, and a high westerly wind was blowing. The blaze was seen when it was quite small, but the wind in a moment fanned it into a roaring flame, and carried a storm of sparks toward the body of the town. All the houses, on both sides of Main street, were burned, down to and including the Court House square,—which area included the best built part of the town, the town not having been laid off on so extensive a scale as that on which modern towns are projected. The original plat of Lexington was 1300 feet long and 900 feet wide.

Capt. Lyle's buildings were all destroyed. He was absent at the time on one of his trips to Philadelphia. Before starting he said to his family what he had never said before—"If a fire occurs in my absence, save my account books." When the cry of fire was heard, his wife ran across the street to the counting room, and saved his books. Persons came in to help, and made rather more than the usual number of ridiculous blunders in trying to save property ; but whilst the building was burning a slender young lady darted into the front door of the store, unrolled a web of carpeting between the counters, piled broad cloths, silks, and laces upon it, and bringing the ends of the carpet together dragged the pile out to the middle of the street, and saved it. In her noble zeal she performed a feat worthy the prowess of a powerful man. I have forgotten her name, but her residence was on the corner nearly opposite to the Baptist church.

In a short time Capt. Lyle returned, with his family, to the paternal home, where he remained with his mother until he built the Oakley mansion, a comfortable brick house in what was then a grove of oaks, four miles north-east of Lexington. Here he took up his residence permanently, and lived the life of a farmer in easy circumstances. The dwelling and part of the land are now owned by the Sterrett family.

During his sojourn at the old homestead a remarkable instance of acuteness of hearing occurred in connection with the death of General Washington. Capt. Lyle had a servant girl named Phillis, who all her life heard sounds inaudible to other people. On this occasion Phillis was in the yard and her master in the porch. Suddenly she called out, "Master! General Washington is dead! I heard a man tell Mr. Trevy." A messenger was sent, who learned that a passing wagoner had called out to Mr. Trevy this news. The space between the wagoner and the girl was about one mile. Dr. Alexander tells us that the clarion voice of "Silverfist" Lacy could be heard a mile, but it is not reported that any one ever heard his language at that distance.

On a subsequent occasion the auditory sensitiveness of Phillis created some excitement. She and others heard a party of horsemen passing by the Oakley mansion at a very late hour of the night, along the private road. The next day it was reported that a grave had been robbed in Timber Ridge graveyard. Such desecration had never occurred before, and the ire of the church people kindled at once. The family at Oakley at once suspected that the mysterious cavalcade through the farm was the procession of the ghouls. Nobody had seen them and not a word had been spoken, but as usual, Phillis's ears were wide open, and she heard enough to satisfy her that they rode new saddles; she knew the difference between the "crying" of old and new leather. This remark was carried to Lexington, and led to the identification of the party. This was about 1824. The rest may be inferred. Nobody was hurt. The common sense of mankind is forgiving toward science.

Captain Lyle's father had avoided the error of most of the early settlers, who regarded the Timber Ridge lands the best in the country, because the ridge was well timbered, whilst other lands were covered with "brush." In fact the brush lands were the best, and had been burnt off by the Indians for the sake of the fine pasturage that afterward came up. "Old Uncle Tommy Walker" told me that Borden had offered to sell the narrow bottoms along Hays Creek for what was equal to fifty cents an acre, provided the purchaser would take for nothing two acres of hill land for every acre of bottom, in order to relieve him of the royal tax on lands that he considered worthless. These rejected hill lands were among the best in

the Valley of Virginia. Borden insisted that John McDowell should locate on Hays Creek the thousand acres he was to get for surveying Borden's Grant ; but McDowell would not go to the " Barrens," as these fine lands were called, and brought suit for the tract on Timber Ridge, which finally he got, much to the chagrin of the great proprietor, who wanted that particular tract for his own use. Samuel Lyle fixed upon Mill Creek, and especially the West side, and he could scarcely have done better. The Oakley tract included a large body of this good Trenton Limestone soil. Its chief glory in its best days was the watered meadow of more than a mile in length. Both meadow and farm have since been so cut up by sales, divisions, and change of roads as to be no longer recognizable.

Capt. Lyle, according to the fashion of the day, had a house full of children ; but in number they reached only the moderate figure of twelve ; six of whom were sons and six daughters. Two of the children died in early life. Of his five sons who grew to manhood, four were educated at Washington College ; the fifth received an injury which affected his mind. His five daughters received the best education that the country afforded ; chiefly at Ann Smith Academy.

Samuel W. Lyle, the eldest son of Capt. William, married Margaret Alexander, a descendant of the first Archibald on one side, and on the other, of Duncan Campbell, a highly intelligent Scotchman, who was a brother of Alexander Campbell, the trustee, who has been mentioned. Mr. Samuel W. Lyle was an independent farmer, with mills and watered meadows ; a man who always paid when he promised ; an elder who was as devoted to Timber Ridge church as his father and grandfather had been ; a man of overflowing wit and sound sense. He dwelt for eighty years on the hills of Mill Creek, cheerful and contented with his best of wives, whom he playfully called " Blossom," and a goodly number of children. He sent two of his sons to Washington College ; one of whom is Duncan Campbell Lyle, M. A. of Washington and Lee, afterward a student at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, now the well known principal of the McDonogh School.

Capt. Lyle's second son was James Gamble, who, after finishing his education at College, studied law, and practised successfully at Wetumpka, Alabama. He was a good lawyer and an excellent man. His wife was Elvira McClung, whose mother was a sister of Dr.

Archibald Alexander, and whose father was Capt. Henry McClung, a captain in the war of 1812, and a trustee of Washington College.

The third son, William A., a strikingly handsome and graceful young man, died in Staunton at twenty-six, just as he had begun the practice of law. He studied law at the College of William and Mary.

John Blair, the fourth son, who, like his brother William, did not marry, lived in Lexington, and had an automatic bookstore, that is to say, one that was left often to itself with a request lying on the counter to the effect that if any one wanted any thing in the store he could take it, provided he would make the proper entry on the slate! John was too fond of society, too jovial, too philanthropic to care much for money, or to be an attentive business man. It made him happier to give than to make; and the size of his gifts was measured by his feelings, rather than by his ability. Under a warm appeal for an ordinary object I have known him to plunge his hand into his pantaloons pocket, which was his money drawer, and bring out the hand as full as it could hold of silver change, and drop it into the collection basket. He died about the time he got to the bottom of his pocket. But whilst his chief book account was that of profit and loss, his moral record was rich in heavenly words and noble deeds. No church was ever blessed with a better elder. Few richer voices ever led the music in the sanctuary. No better friend ever watched over the weak and the erring. He was indifferent to money because of his greater regard for the salvation of men. He and Col. John T. L. Preston were life-long friends, and when he died Col. Preston requested that he might be laid in his cemetery lot, and on his tombstone he inscribed the rare tribute—"He was the bravest man, the truest friend and the best Christian ever known to him who has erected this stone to his memory."

Capt. Lyle's daughters also bore close relations to the College. They were intelligent, beautiful and attractive, and for many years Oakley was thronged with visitors. Nearly all the daughters in marrying strengthened their ties to Washington College. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Major John Alexander, who was a trustee; and her only son, William Lyle Alexander, was educated at Washington College, and still lives a cheerful octo-

genarian near Clifton Forge, where for many years the roar of his water-blast furnace and the thunder of his great tilt-hammers reverberated in that wild gorge and among those wonderful arches of Medina Sandstone.

The next daughter, Sarah Montgomery, was in her youth a distinguished pupil of that gifted and popular lady, Miss Ann Smith, the founder of Ann Smith Academy. When, about 1810, the present academy building was to be erected, Miss Smith laid the first brick in the foundation, Miss Sarah Lyle the second, and Miss Betsy Reid the third. This last mentioned lady was the sister of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, the well known trustee and treasurer of the College, and became the second wife of Major John Alexander. She contributed two sons to the catalogue, one of whom, John McDowell Alexander, became a trustee. Sarah Lyle, or Sally, as she was generally called, married Henry Ruffner about the time he took the chair of languages, in 1819, and died in 1849, seven months after Dr. Ruffner had resigned the presidency, so that her whole married life was spent in the closest association with the College. It is not for me to speak of the rare gifts and graces of this remarkable lady, who was the presiding genius in a wide circle of cultivated people.

Her two sons, William Henry and David Lewis, both were graduated at College, and, as heretofore mentioned, two of her granddaughters married alumni, and a grandson was a student.

Capt. Lyle's third daughter, Julia, married John B. Hart, of Albemarle county, an "old Virginia gentleman" in the best sense, whose acquaintance she made whilst he was a student at Washington College, showing that some of the young ladies of Lexington of a *former* generation had a way of capturing students.

Capt. Lyle's fourth daughter, Martha Alexander, or Patsy, as she was usually called, whose precious memory is fresh in the old homes of Lexington, reached the very focus of College relationship when in her young womanhood she married Dr. Archibald Graham, who was not only one of the brightest men of his day, but was more variously connected with the College than almost any other person. He was himself an alumnus, as was his brother, Dr. William Alexander Graham, the inventor of the carbon dioxide fire extinguisher, and the hero of Judith Bensaddi, and also his

brother Edward, who died whilst he was a theological student. These three were sons of Professor Edward Graham, who was trustee as well as professor, and brother of the rector, William Graham, and who married Margaret Alexander, who belonged to the centre of the "Alexander clan." Dr. Graham and Patsy Lyle sent four sons and three grandsons to College. The sons whose names are found in the Catalogue are: 1. William Lyle, who was a captain in the Confederate service. 2. Edward Lacy, M. D., who was a popular and skilful physician in Lexington, whose two sons Samuel Jordan, of Florence, Ala., and Edward Lacy, a merchant of Lexington, both now prosperously engaged in business, are also on the roll of the College. 3. John Alexander, M. D., who is still attending to his large and select practice in Lexington. His first wife was a daughter of Wm. M. Tate, a descendant of Wm. McClung, and a man of fine intelligence, who was both trustee and alumnus of the College. His second wife is a daughter of the deeply lamented Professor John L. Kirkpatrick, D. D., who was a Nestor in wisdom and excellence, though he sometimes wielded the satiric thong of Juvenal. He was one of the Alexander clan by marriage. 4. James McDowell, a lawyer of poetic genius, who died young. The fifth son, Archibald, is not on the College catalogue, but is on another roll of honor as captain of the Rockbridge Battery of artillery. He married a descendant of Rev. Dr. McElhenny, the Apostle of West Virginia, who received his A. B. and his D. D. from Washington College, and who sent many a student here from his Lewisburg Academy. Dr. Archibald Graham's eldest child, Margaret, married Samuel C. Robinson, of Richmond, a man of extraordinary genius, and sent her son Archibald Graham here to be educated.

Capt. Lyle's fifth and youngest daughter, Elizabeth Hannah, postponed matrimony until after the death of her father, when she became the second wife of Rev. B. M. Hobson, whose first wife had been the daughter of Rev. Matthew Lyle.

Thus ends the list of Capt. Lyle's children, who in their influence, their marriages and their descendants exhibited their inherited identification with the College, and furnish a striking illustration of how blood and affinity may operate in establishing and permanently sustaining a literary institution.

Before concluding, it may be worth while to mention two or three more circumstances in the life of Capt. Wm. Lyle. Though always pure and upright in life, he declined to connect himself with the church during the earlier period of his manhood, because his habit of using ardent spirits, according to the custom of the times, was not perfectly under his control ; but as his boys grew up he was seized with such a dread lest they should acquire the drinking habit from his example, that he banished the decanter from the sideboard, and entered upon a course of total abstinence, which he rigorously maintained through life. Soon afterwards he made a profession of religion, and, like his father and his son, became an elder in old Timber Ridge church.

An almost incredible lapse of memory once occurred with Capt. Lyle, and, so far as we know, with all the members of his large establishment. The arrival of the Sabbath was unnoticed, and all the operations of the farm and house went on as usual until sometime in the afternoon, when a passing neighbor reminded the family that this was the Lord's Day. Of course work was immediately suspended, and all hands were mustered to receive the explanation, and also the order to observe the next day, Monday, as a Sabbath ; which was strictly attended to.

Capt. Lyle's appearance in his old age was singularly venerable. His countenance was refined and beautiful ; white, silken hair adorned his shapely, well-poised head ; a kindly light shone from his blue eyes ; and only gentle words in gentle tones came from his lips. He and his quiet, fitting companion spent their latter days together chiefly at the hearthstone—he with his newspapers, she with her knitting or her little flax wheel ; but until near the last, he never gave up his habit of daily, or twice a day, mounting his blooded gray filly, so gentle with him, so fiery with me ; of going on Sunday to the old church, even when his deafness prevented him from hearing a word of the service ; and of riding to Lexington to get the mail and see his daughters, calling at Major Alexander's by the way. Often he had to be lifted from his horse ; and when in the field I have seen his negro men lift him from his saddle, and bring him home in a farm wagon. He died at about 86 years of age, and was buried at the old church. He had served his God and

his generation as faithfully, and left a name as unsullied, as his father had done.

The general characteristics of the Rockbridge Lyles belonging to past generations were of the best, and yet not strikingly salient. They were social and gentle in spirit, and yet courageous in maintaining their convictions. They possessed clear judgment, ready wit, and the gift of speech, without usually being either profound or brilliant. Intelligent, and some of them scholarly, they were inclined to the quiet pursuits of agriculture and the learned professions, rather than to trade or to public office. They were decided Whigs and active citizens without ever having produced a politician. That they were promoters of education and religion need scarcely be remarked. They were undeviating Presbyterians, yet neither uncharitable nor controversial. They were always ready to take part in good works, but were without vanity or ambition. In short they belonged to that class of good, substantial, intelligent, conservative people, who are the main dependence of every community for the support of all its most important interests.

DR. JAMES RAMSEY, TRUSTEE.

James Ramsey, who served on the board of trustees for twenty-two years, was the son of William Ramsey, a large landholder of Rockbridge county. The father did a good service to the church by liberally aiding a Scotch youth, Archibald Scott, to obtain an education, and thus projecting four generations of ministers.

Dr. James Ramsey was a well educated man. Probably he commenced his classical education at Liberty Hall Academy, his father's residence being only about four miles from the school; but the war troubles had begun to produce effects which soon afterward disorganized the school for a time, and this may have caused his father to send James to William and Mary College. All that we know on this point is that in 1777 the name James Ramsey appears on the roll of that College. Dr. Ramsey was a man of force, and is said to have been a good physician. He was certainly a man of substance. Like his father he was a large landholder. Among other tracts he at one time owned the Green Forest estate, which is now a part of the city of Buena Vista; but the permanent home of his family was

on the Big Calf Pasture River, his lands being on both sides of the line between Rockbridge and Augusta—a large tract, which has been subdivided, but is still chiefly if not wholly owned by his descendants.

Dr. Ramsey married Jane Lyle, daughter of the first Samuel, February 16, 1786, at the same time and place with the marriage of Michael Graham to Elizabeth Lyle, the sister. Two of Dr. Ramsey's children and one of his grandchildren married into the well-known Gamble family of Augusta county. Robert Gamble, the American head of this family, had two grandsons who were closely connected with Washington College. One of these was Col. Robert Gamble, who, although a captain, commanded a Virginia regiment at Stony Point, and served to the end of the war, chiefly in the main army under Washington. After the war he and his brother-in-law Robert Grattan engaged in mercantile business in Staunton until 1793, when he removed to Richmond; where he became a wealthy merchant and a highly influential citizen. His residence was on the beautiful hill which bears his name. Col. Gamble was unusually well educated at Liberty Hall Academy; and it was to his hospitable home that William Graham went when he reached Richmond at the end of his last ill-fated journey and there gave up his strong and noble life. One of Col. Gamble's daughters married that distinguished and charming gentleman Judge Wm. H. Cabell, of the Court of Appeals, whose sister was the mother of Miss Sally Hare of Nelson county who became the wife of Col. Samuel McDowell Reid, and the mother of Mrs. Prof. James J. White and Mrs. Col. J. D. H. Ross; and who was a lady of rare grace and loveliness. Col. Gamble's two sons both went to Florida, and his grandsons Dr. Cary Breckenridge Gamble and Wm. Cabell Gamble were both alumni of this institution.

Col. Gamble's brother John married a sister of the eminent Rev. Wm. McPheeters, D. D., who was an alumnus and also a trustee of this institution, and progenitor of distinguished men. Two of Dr. McPheeters' grandsons are in the Catalogue. John Gamble's son, Rev. James Gamble, whom Green speaks of as "an able Presbyterian divine," was educated at Washington College, and married the daughter of Dr. James Ramsey and Jane Lyle. They removed to Georgia, where their daughter married Rev. Alexander B. McCorkle, who was originally a Rockbridge man belonging to an excellent

family of substantial Scotch-Irish farmers, and was educated at Washington College; two of his sons, namely, Alexander G. McCorkle and Wm. P. McCorkle, were educated here, and the latter took the "Gazette Medal" in 1875. Two other descendants of Dr. Ramsey married Gambles, but bore no special relation to the College. Three of Dr. Ramsey's grandsons were killed in battle. Two daughters and one granddaughter married Presbyterian ministers. His posterity are numerous, and are scattered from Pennsylvania to Texas, though a goodly number of them remain on their ancestral lands.

REV. JOHN MONTGOMERY, TRUSTEE.

John Montgomery, student, tutor, and trustee of Washington College, including the antecedent schools, belonged to an Augusta family, and in all probability was the son of the John Montgomery whose name is signed to the call to Rev. John Brown and is on the New Providence subscription for 1754. This relationship seems to be plainly implied in the letter from Rev. Samuel Houston, given by Foote. The family residence was then near to Old Providence church, which, as heretofore remarked, is on Timber Ridge, a short distance from the county line, but on the Augusta side. Here the grammar school was first revived after Robert Alexander's failing health compelled him to give it up. Old Providence church is only one mile from the spot where Alexander's school was kept. John Montgomery the father, and his brother-in-law Houston, were among the founders of this Old Providence school. Here John Montgomery, the subject of this sketch, commenced his classical education. Thence he went to Princeton College, and enjoyed the great privilege of studying under Dr. John Witherspoon. When he became a candidate for the ministry in 1777, Mr. Graham introduced him to Hanover Presbytery as "a young gentleman of the county of Augusta, who had finished his education at the college of New Jersey, in 1775." It was in October, 1775, that he was appointed by the Presbytery as Mr. Graham's assistant at Mount Pleasant. He there taught until the academy was removed to Timber Ridge church, in 1777, at which time he accompanied Mr. Graham to the church, and here continued to teach until his licensure.

to preach the Gospel, in 1778, after which he devoted himself to the duties of his sacred calling. Mr. Montgomery was among the best scholars of his day, a good teacher, and personally popular.

His first settlement as a preacher was over a group of three churches in Frederick county, namely, Winchester, Opequon, and Cedar Creek—a most historic region from the days of the Indians to our own day. Here he continued until 1789; when, much to the regret of his congregations, he came to the western part of Augusta county, where he settled for life on his “inherited lands,” near Deerfield, on the Big Calf Pasture river, some ten miles above the lands of Dr. Ramsey. The congregations of Lebanon and Rocky Spring constituted his pastoral charge. Dr. Foote says of him: “He was a very popular preacher, a good scholar, an esteemed relative and an amiable man.”

Mr. Montgomery married Agnes Hughart, and became the father of eleven children, which was about the canonical number. The most of these with their posterity bore relations more or less intimate to the College.

His daughter, Miss Hetty Montgomery, was Prof. A. L. Nelson's first teacher. She was a most attractive lady, and somewhat late in life became the wife of Rev. James C. Wilson, pastor of Tinkling Spring church, and an alumnus of Washington College.

John Montgomery, son of Rev. John, married Elizabeth Nelson, an aunt of Prof. Nelson, and became the mother of seven children, five of them sons. Two of these sons went into business in Richmond, Va., and the other three in Lewisburg, West Va., where they were honored and influential citizens. One of them, James, was the father of Col. Wm. G. Montgomery, an alumnus of Washington and Lee University, who and a brother are now important citizens of Birmingham, Ala.

Thomas, another son of Rev. John Montgomery, lived near the old home, where he had his farm and his mill, but seemed to prefer his violin to either. Prof. Nelson, when a boy coming from school, once found him sitting on a log in the woods, alone, half a mile from his house, playing the violin “for dear life,” and he continued to play for some time for little Aleck's amusement and his own. This happy musician, though not regularly intemperate, did not despise an occasional inspiration from the honest still of some

worthy Scotch-Irish brother—the nascent anti-alcohol reformation not having yet taken firm hold of the people of the Pastures. Thomas loved Julia Dalhouse, the granddaughter of the first Samuel Lyle, and they entered upon a long and happy wedded life; and reared an admirable family of children. Their sons, William and Edwin, were agreeable and popular Christian gentlemen, and inherited their father's musical talent, though they employed it differently. They performed the beautiful service of leading the church music for years at Rocky Spring church, standing behind a desk in front of the pulpit, and facing the congregation; William singing the air, and Edwin the base. Prof. Nelson's two uncles, William and James Guy, had preceded them in the same office, and on great occasions all four would sing together. No lady was ever admitted to that choir! William, one of the two brothers, was the father of Eugene Irvine Montgomery, who was a student, and took the Young Prize Scholarship, at Washington and Lee University in 1876; and it may be added, was the father also of a daughter, Agnes Hetty, who inherited the musical talent of the Montgomerys, and who is now the wife of Mr. David B. Taylor, a prosperous Baltimore merchant and one of the directors of the Lexington Development Company.

Thomas Montgomery's daughter Mary Jane married Robert J. Glendy, the great cattle dealer, who lives at the former home of Gen. Blackburn, the Wilderness, a beautiful spot hid away among the mountains near the border of Bath and Augusta. Their son Thomas H. Glendy was a student at this University. This family of Glendys is the same as that of the eloquent preacher, Rev. John Glendy, who was invited from Staunton to Washington City by Thomas Jefferson, and became the chaplain in turn of both houses of Congress.

Two sons of Rev. John Montgomery, William and Hughart, became physicians; the one lived in Lexington, and the other partly in Deerfield and partly in Lexington. They were both educated at Washington College; both were men of fine talents, and of the highest standing as physicians; though neither was as temperate as might have been expected. Dr. Hughart Montgomery had the musical taste characteristic of the family, but he was not so fond of singing Watts' Psalms as he was of singing the odes of Horace in the original. He amused himself by teaching young Nelson to sing some

of these odes. At that time the future mathematical professor knew not a word of Latin, but afterwards he was pleasantly surprised to find these old songs in Horace. Might it not have been this association with the Montgomerys that awoke in young Nelson that musical talent and tendency which led him into his long career of usefulness as choir-leader, which will go down in the records of history along with his fame as a mathematical professor!

Dr. Hughart Montgomery, in conjunction with Dr. Wm. A. Caruthers, established a drug store in Lexington; but afterward united with his brother-in-law Eugene Irvine in building and operating Estelline furnace—so named for his beautiful sister. But they failed, like nearly all the old iron masters, because they were so far from market, and had to depend for transportation on bad wagon roads, and small boating streams on whose banks would often accumulate the product of many months of smelting and forging, awaiting a freshet.

I have known many of the Montgomerys, and heard them much talked of in my early days; which long since fixed in my mind that they were uncommonly good people; and their goodness was of the lovely kind. There was that indescribable something about the family that made people love them and trust them. The name, too, has a historic ring in it, and very likely these Montgomerys had the right to emblazon their stationery with ensigns armorial. I know not whether this be certainly true, but I do know that in the higher heraldry of worth their sweetness and virtue entitle them to a nobler rank than their unobtrusive modesty would ever permit them to claim.

THE VALLEY OF NORTH RIVER IN ITS HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

The Big Calf Pasture river has been mentioned as flowing through the lands of John Montgomery and James Ramsey. This and its twin stream, the Little Calf Pasture, form the North river, or north branch of the James, which flows diagonally across Rockbridge from north to south, and with its tributaries drains a region full of interest, historic and physiographic, which should long ago have stirred the pen of the historian and the muse of the poet.

The Big Calf Pasture, the main stem, heads in Augusta, on the water-shed which divides the waters flowing toward the James from those flowing toward the Shenandoah. Thence it flows southward into Rockbridge through a pastoral region, bordered by meadow flats between mountain ridges, passing the well named Goshen, below which it receives its bucolic congener, the Little Calf Pasture, and with their united waters, now called North river, enters the long, rugged and tortuous defile, walled with lofty cliffs of Medina sandstone, adorned with azalea, kalmia, rhododendron, and many a curious shrub, vine and stunted tree,—the defile once called Strickler's Gap, now known as Goshen Pass; which so charmed Commodore Maury that he expressed the hope that when his time came to go the way of all flesh his body might be carried through Goshen Pass when the laurels were in bloom. After miles of rushing and roaring the river emerges from the mountain, through the gap between Jump Mountain and the Hog Back, into the Great Valley, at a point now called Wilson's Springs, where a delightful sulphur spring rises in a small island in the river bed. This spring was deeded to the public forever by our trustee Andrew Alexander, whose name ought never to have been supplanted by any other, however worthy. Hurrying out into the valley, the river in two miles passes the Rockbridge Baths, where comes in from the northeast Hays creek, in whose valley stands New Providence church and many old homes which were once inhabited by early friends of Washington College. Farther on comes in, from the west, Kerr's creek with its thrilling history; and soon after we reach the flower-decked and cedar-fringed cliffs, the green hills and the matchless scenery of Lexington. But we cannot stop now at this, the centre of all, and can only add that here the river receives Woods creek from the south and Mill creek from the north, the latter heading near the historic Timber Ridge church. On goes the river, winding among its blue limestone cliffs and fertile slopes, washing the border of lands once owned by strong men, and along its whole course propelling mills and factories. At five miles below Lexington it receives the apparently misnamed South river, which comes from the northeast, flowing rapidly down between Timber Ridge and the Blue Ridge mountains. In three miles more it passes the magic Buena Vista, which stands on two farms once owned by

College trustees, namely, Green Forest, which has already been mentioned as once the property of Dr. Ramsey, and Hart's Bottom, once the possession of that appreciative Irish bachelor, John Robinson, who set an example which should have been more frequently followed in giving every thing he had to the College. All honor to the memory of John Robinson! In ten miles more the river, swelled in its volume by the influx of Buffalo creek, in whose basin stands Falling Spring church, one of the first three erected in Borden's Grant, finally reaches the beautiful mountain-framed site of Glasgow, and there joins the main James just before it enters the wild gorge of the Blue Ridge, and dashes its waters over the quartzite ribs of Balcony Falls.

APPLICATION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Here, in this North River basin, whilst it was yet crossed by Indian trails, settled a large section of that column of Scotch immigrants from the North of Ireland who came to this region in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the middle of the area, and lying wholly in this basin, was Borden's Grant, which measured out 92,000 acres. The Pastures on the northwest, and the South River valley on the southeast, and so much of the immediate valley of North River as lies below the mouth of South River, were outside of Borden's Grant; but these outside sections were settled soon after the first occupation of the country. The settlers were a highly civilized people, devoted alike to education and religion, and craving civil and religious liberty. Industrious and thrifty, schooled in danger and hardship, resolute and unconquerable, they came to this wilderness not as scouts, gold-hunters or cow-boys, but as a well-ordered community, bringing their wives and children, and establishing the cardinal institutions of Christian civilization along with their pioneer homes. They belonged to the race of people who even then had in full operation in Scotland the first and only system of universal education in Europe. They believed in a free Bible and in the ability to read it, in the right of private judgment, in liberty of worship, and in the supremacy of the people over the government. They hated tyranny in every form, and distinctly held the doctrine avowed by John Knox to Mary Queen

of Scots, that if rulers transcended their bounds they were to be resisted by force. Still, they were not turbulent: they loved best to pursue the arts of peace, and they were devoted to family life.

When these people came to the mountains of Virginia, liberty of worship was sorely interrupted in the Eastern part of the State, but the Scotch-Irish preserved their freedom from the first. Though ever ready to discharge their full duty to the government, their course was a silent protest against oppression of every kind. More than a century previously they had removed from Scotland to the North of Ireland to dwell as strangers among a wild and hostile people, but hopeful, because they carried the royal pledge of freedom, which was perfidiously broken. As soon as the way opened, large numbers of them left the country cursed with a landed oligarchy, the domination of one church over other churches, and test oaths in religion. They preferred to try new dangers and hardships, but with a better prospect for an independent career. They fought the Indians and the French, but the enemy from which they had suffered most in the past, and from which they had most to fear in the future, was the government of Great Britain! Hence when the great controversy came with the mother country, the very first to utter the word independence were the Scotch-Irish; and after civil freedom had been won, the first voice lifted for the freedom of religion was from the Scotch-Irish; and be it noted that the Scotch-Irish of Augusta, Rockbridge, and Botetourt counties were not a whit behind their fellow countrymen in North Carolina.

In the early years of the settlement of this region great difficulty was experienced in getting both preachers and school-teachers. The first school on the ground of what is now Lexington was taught in a small log building erected for the purpose near the spot where now stands the railroad depot. It was opened in 1776, the same year that the log college was going up on Timber Ridge. This little seminary of learning was taught by John Reardon, a classically educated young Irishman, who had been transported for crime, sold in Baltimore to pay for his passage, and bought by William Alexander. The young man had a large school, including some well grown boys. Previously the neighborhood school was beyond the river, near the site of East Lexington; and others on Timber

Ridge. When there was no school near enough to be attended from home, children were sometimes sent to be boarded in the neighborhood of a school.

Upper schools were established in all the Scotch-Irish settlements, from which grew colleges at an early period in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Tennessee, as well as in Virginia. The germ of Washington and Lee University was planted on the watershed heretofore mentioned, and from the time it was removed to the neighborhood of New Providence until now, its domestic history has belonged to the basin of North River.

Looking only at the present one could not understand how strong was once the rural population of this region. It has gone through three stages, and is now entering upon a fourth. First was the pioneer period, in which there was abundance of land and food, but a scarcity of the means and appliances of an advanced civilization. It was an economical, hard-working, homespun period ; in which, next to the daily and pressing necessities of self-preservation, the people were most concerned to lay the foundations of religion, education, and civil liberty. This covered the period of Indian raids, of pre-Revolutionary wars, and of the great contest with England ; and lasted say to the year 1800.

The second period extended to 1861. At its opening the proportion of even moderately wealthy men was very small, and, owing to wars, dangers and hardships of many kinds, the general progress had been slow. But now with peace, safety and liberty, the country entered upon a career of prosperity. Excepting the small collection of well-to-do people always to be found about the court house, the substantial, educated, prosperous people were in the country. Slaves were introduced in increasing numbers, and whilst food and clothing were cheap, they added greatly to the wealth of the landholders ; but, as has always been the case, slavery relaxed the energies of the ruling classes ; and with more abundant means, better houses were built, a more elaborate style of living was introduced, and more time given to social life.

Prosperity gradually came to schools and colleges. Secondary schools were multiplied. A better class of female schools came into being. Increased attention was given to the general education of the people. Liberty Hall became Washington College, and her

previous poverty was exchanged for ease and independence; the faculty was enlarged, the course of study improved, the grade of scholarship elevated, and the number of students quadrupled.

The third period is the one since the war. It has been a strange mixture of adversity and prosperity. The evolution of the College is familiar to all. As with the old Revolution so with the war of 1861-5, the adversity which threatened death led to a new and stronger life. But the people have had a hard time. The loss of men, the loss of property, the growth of old debts, the acquired habits of free living, and the loss of former habits of labor, seemed to bring almost universal ruin. The class of "country gentlemen" was broken down almost entirely. If their lands were not sold for debt, the owners had generally to come down to hard work and plain living. In many cases families moved away from their lands and rented them out. Owing partly to the war, but more to costly living, the most of the wealthy country families of half a century ago have come down to poverty, their lands sold, and their children scattered. This great change is very sad to those who remember the former times, and also very unfortunate in its public aspects.

But there are many redeeming and most encouraging features in the present situation. The advantages of free labor are very great, and will show themselves more and more. The homely habits and unconquerable industry of our present rural population are not only worthy of all praise, but will gradually restore prosperity and intelligence. Soon they will be able to patronize the colleges more liberally. Education has enlarged its patronage ground, and diversified its forms; and out of this will grow diversified occupations, liberality of spirit, immigration, towns and cities, varied manufactures, improved agriculture, art, science, and every branch of intellectual and social culture. And in connection with all this will be developed an increasing demand for the highest attainments in every branch of university instruction. Happy the institution that already stands upon so broad and firm a base as Washington and Lee University!

10

ALDEK
a return of the
ind
DUE

T6E EH2 000 XN

