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KENTUCKIANS AT WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE BEFORE 1861 WITH A SKETCH OF THE COLLEGE BEFORE THAT DATE

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It is with considerable misgiving that I attempt to shed light upon such an extensive subject in a single address. You will be lenient with me, I hope, in endeavoring to review the history of the second oldest college in the United States up to 1861, and in emphasizing the Kentucky students, at least twenty-seven in number, who were in attendance in that period. I can comment only upon a few salient occurrences in the college history, but I shall mention those that I think have affected the political and social thought of the Kentucky students. Here I may remark that I include among Kentucky students not only those born in Kentucky, but also those who were born in Virginia, educated at the college, and who later established themselves in Kentucky. The early college records being sadly incomplete, we are not always certain of the place from which our students came, and we are very deficient in our knowledge of the later lives of many students, being uninformed about hundreds, and especially of those who moved from Virginia to other states.[1] Alumni associations, such as we have today in all colleges, and which record the careers of former students, are a product of recent times.

In reflecting upon any subject relating to the Old Dominion, I am reminded of the well-known story of the young minister, who in his first year's service, had been giving his best thoughts to his parishioners, and was somewhat disturbed when one of the faithful of his flock, an elderly lady, complimented him upon the success of his first year's labor, but regretted that in his sermons, she had never yet heard him use that blessed word

"Mesopotamia." The blessed word in Virginia is "Jamestown," and I hasten to use it, the name of that little city that was the first English settlement in the United States in 1607, where English law, religion, and democratic government originated in our country. Only seven miles from Jamestown, which was the first capital of that vast forest known as Virginia, was a settlement as early as 1633 of several planters on a well drained tract, one hundred feet above sea level, called Middle Plantation, which later bore the name of Williamsburg.[2] It was only eighty-three years after the settlement of Jamestown, in the year 1690, after the continuous and deplorable neglect of religion and education in Virginia, by Charles I, Charles II, and James II, when some of the settlers at Middle Plantation, with a few others, conceived the idea of a college for their sons.[3] They sought for a place to which they could send their boys instead of transporting them to England at the age of eleven or twelve years, where they would have to remain five to seven years. Imagine the grievous parting from parents, brothers and sisters as the lad of twelve left his home with no travelling companion in a tobacco ship for England, where he was to live with strangers. As disease, and especially smallpox, lurked everywhere, he was indeed fortunate if he surmounted all hazards and returned home.[4]

With that proper respect that Englishmen have for law, those planters knew they must have a charter, with specific measures for founding and governing a college, and a provision for some source of income aside from what they could expect by local gifts. Like all past and present institutions of learning, they needed money. Fortunately, they selected a young Scot, Rev. James Blair, a minister who had been six years in Virginia, to go to England and intercede for a charter. With the power of church dignitaries, the Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, behind him, he presented his petition personally to the sovereigns, William and Mary, who graciously approved the plan and ordered the charter to be drawn. Blair spent a year and a half in pursuit of a charter, and returned with one dated February 8, 1693, which provided for a grant of twenty thousand acres of land in Virginia, and a cash gift of £1985. Mr. Blair had the advice, in framing the charter, of leading churchmen and educators, and among them John Locke.[5] Instead of being a mere duplication of an English school charter, it contained clauses that were heedful of the circumstances of Virginia at that time. The purpose of the college, as stated in the charter, was first, that the church in Virginia might be furnished with a

seminary of ministers of the gospel, second that the youth might be piously educated in good letters and manners, and third, that the Christian faith might be propagated amongst the Western Indians. In the charter was a clause that later proved to be of especial interest to Kentuckians, giving the college the office of Surveyor General of lands, that is the faculty was to have the authority to appoint surveyors, after examination.[6] The college was to receive one sixth of all the surveyors' fees. The principal surveyors of Kentucky were appointed by the college alone, or occasionally by the governor and council until 1787, when that authority was transferred to Transylvania Seminary.[7] These surveyors' commissions, which bear the signatures of the members of the faculty are sometimes mistaken for degree diplomas. An applicant who sought a surveyor's commission must take an examination before the faculty. He may have been a student at the college or he may not. George Washington, who never attended the college, appeared before the faculty when he was seventeen years of age in 1749, and received a surveyor's commission.[8]

Soon after the charter was granted, a building was erected, the one now known as the Wren building. This was damaged by a disastrous fire in 1705. Rev. James Blair was president from 1693 until his death in 1743, a term full of strife and bitterness, between members of the faculty, between the faculty and the officials of the government, and of indifference among the members of the governing board. All this is a familiar pattern in the early and sometimes later history of educational institutions. Several volumes might be written on this lamentable period alone. Mr. Blair was a man far above mediocrity. He had to contend with the self-seeking politicians of his time. The authorities in England, owing to their absolute faith in Blair's integrity, sustained him in his charges against certain royal governors.[9] In the language of our picturesque man of the world and philosopher of today, Charlie McCarthy, Blair "mowed down" three governors, giving him the highest batting average in the Colonial period. I must pass over the first fifty years. By the middle of the century the college was running along in a somewhat settled fashion. What was the organization of the college, what was taught, and how was it taught? In its administration there was something of the old monastic tradition that was still evident in Oxford and Cambridge at that time. All the teachers were English or Scottish University men and, with few exceptions, were ministers of the Church of England, until the

Revolution. There were four departments, first, the Indian school, separately endowed for teaching Indian boys seven and eight years of age for as long as they would remain.[10] These boys were taught the rudiments of an English education, or at least given the opportunity. They became lonely and homesick, and often times they ran away. There were usually only a few in the school, and sometimes none at all. This left the master of the Indian school, endowed by the Boyle fund, free to accept for pay little boys from Williamsburg families that he was to teach to read and write. The second department was the grammar school which had always the greater number of students. Boys from eleven and twelve to seventeen years of age were in this department. According to the English idea of a grammar school, and you recall that Samuel Johnson stated it concisely, when he said a grammar school was a place for teaching learned languages grammatically, it was incumbent to spend the first two years in learning the Latin grammar by heart, the third and fourth years in reading some of the Latin authors, and in learning the Greek grammar, explained in Latin terms, by heart. In the early days the effort was made to have the boys speak Latin throughout the day, in their rooms, at meals, in their games, and in all duties, taking as models the conversation in the *Select Colloquies* of Erasmus, and of Corderius, two textbooks used for many years in English schools, and indeed in American schools, where they were continued in use even as late as 1830. The third department was called the philosophy school, a two-year course, and this corresponded to what we call the four-year college course in American institutions today. The boys who survived the grammar school entered the philosophy school and could study logic, rhetoric, ethics, mathematics and natural philosophy, what we today call physics, and of course with some more Latin and Greek. The fourth department was the divinity course of two years in which was taught the Hebrew language, and what was termed the "commonplaces of divinity"; this department was for those planning to be ministers of the Church of England. The faculty consisted of seven, a president who did no teaching, a master of the Indian school, a master of the grammar school, a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, a professor of rhetoric, logic and ethics, a professor of Hebrew, and a professor of divinity. Obviously, the college was forced to adapt itself to Virginia needs and circumstances. Although in some respects it maintained the old monastic traditions that still cluttered, according to Edward Gibbon,

the grammar schools and universities of England, it was much more liberal than its prototypes.[11] One of the breaks with tradition was in regard to the marriage of professors. The president alone of the faculty was allowed to be married. The professors were allotted apartments in the Wren building without charge which they could furnish as they pleased. In the 1750 decade two of the professors, without permission of any college authority, were married, and lived with their wives and children in the Wren building. These two were dismissed, but on appeal to the Privy Council in England, a very conservative body usually, they were allowed to remain. The years from 1760 to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775 were years of advancing liberalism in politics and religion throughout Virginia, and especially in the college. Remember the small city of Williamsburg of about one thousand inhabitants was the metropolis and political center until 1780 of the boundless West and Northwest; here could be seen at times Cherokee and other Indian chiefs, the wealthy white Indian traders, pioneers from the settlements on the Holston, the New, the Monongahela, the Ohio and Kentucky rivers bent on new legislation affecting their interests;[12] here the merchants from all over the wide domain of Virginia gathered regularly twice a year to perform the function of a clearing house for tobacco notes, and to discuss prices and methods of business; here were issued every week two newspapers after 1766 until 1775, and from that time three newspapers,[13] independent of each other, but all bearing the same title *Virginia Gazette* containing news from abroad, and political and literary disquisitions, the only papers in all Virginia, until 1774, when a *Gazette* was established in Norfolk and continued for a year and a half; the proprietors of these papers were also publishers of pamphlets and books, and were general booksellers. Here came travellers from all the other colonies and from England. Here gathered the members of the House of Burgesses representing every section of the colony and here sat twice a year the General Court, the highest in the colony, before whose judges appeared the ablest attorneys. The little city was a laboratory of political science. The college students met many of these visitors, learned of the vast country to the west, and heard in the House of Burgesses the debates concerning the fundamental philosophy of government, in which occurred the violent appeals to the English Parliament for justice. In this period of upheaval of older ideas appeared in March 1760 a lad, Thomas Jefferson, from the wild West of that time, the moun-

tains of Albemarle County. He was in college two years and one month, a period determined by his board bill of £13 a year, which is still preserved in one of the few surviving records. He was a student of men, of books, and of events. His active mind absorbed everything at that time, as it did throughout his long life. Once in a while, in an educational institution, a natural-born teacher appears, one whose mind works clearly and concretely in imparting knowledge, and who can inspire his students with an everlasting zeal for learning, and for adapting that learning to the development of a wholesome, stable and influential life. Such a man was William Small, from one of the Scottish universities, and a professor at the college from 1758 to 1764. May I read Jefferson's own remarks about Small: "In the spring of 1760 I went to William and Mary College where I continued for two years. It was my great good fortune and what probably fixed the destinies of my life that Dr. William Small of Scotland was then professor of mathematics, a man profound in most of the useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners and an enlarged and liberal mind. He most happily for me became soon attached to me and made me his daily companion, when not engaged in the school; and from his conversation I got my first views of the expansion in science." Such a teacher recognizing an undeveloped genius in a country boy, we must place in the rank of genius.[14]

In the years immediately preceding the Revolution, the members of the faculty were not unanimous on the question of independence of the colonies. Two able and conscientious men, Samuel Henley and Thomas Gwatkin,[15] unable to agree with the powerful group of patriots, had the good judgment to resign and return to England. A third, Rev. John Camm,[16] was allowed to remain as president of the college until 1777. For the thirty-five years following, the Rev. James Madison was president and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and under his administration, most of our Kentucky boys attended the college, and carried home with them the deep impress of his scholarly and benevolent influence.[17] In May 1776 there gathered in Williamsburg that famous convention of Virginians that adopted, before any other colony, a resolution for independence, and framed the first constitution of Virginia, to which was prefixed George Mason's Declaration of Rights, Virginia's bright jewel in the history of constitutional government. What a wonderful opportunity the students of the college had in hearing those dis-

cussions, and in seeing the leaders of political thought from the mountains, from the piedmont, and from the tidewater. Can we doubt that those debates aroused their ambition to become legislators and public speakers? It was perhaps in preparation for the fulfillment of such aspirations, that a few of the leading students organized a secret literary and debating society, the Phi Beta Kappa.[18] I quote from the minutes of the first meeting:[19] "On Thursday, the 5th day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six and the first of the commonwealth, a happy spirit and resolution of attaining the important ends of society entering the minds of John Heath, Thomas Smith, Richard Booker, Armistead Smith and John Jones, and afterwards seconded by others, prevailed, and was accordingly ratified, and for the better establishment and sanctitude of our unanimity, a square silver medal was agreed and instituted, engraved on the one side with SP initials of the Latin Societas Philosophiae, and on the other with the Greek Initials of PBK."

We have the original minute book of the Society preserved in the William and Mary Library.[20] Among the questions debated were the following: The justice of African slavery; The cause and origin of society; Whether anything is more dangerous to civil liberty in a free state than a standing army in time of peace; Whether commonwealths or monarchies are most subject to sedition and commotions; Whether any form of government is more favorable to public virtue than a commonwealth. But the sad plight of Virginia in December 1780 when Arnold's troops were on the James River,[21] and threatening Williamsburg, led to the final meeting with this minute: "On Saturday, the 6th of January, a meeting of PBK was called for the purpose of securing the papers of the Society during the confusion of the times, and the present dissolution which threatens the University. The members who attended were William Short, Daniel C. Brent,[22] Spencer Roane,[23] Peyton Short and Landon Cabell.[24] They thinking it most advisable that the papers should not be removed determined to deliver them sealed into the hands of the College Steward to remain until the desirable event of the Society's resurrection, and this deposit they make in the sure and certain hope that the fraternity will one day rise to life everlasting and glory immortal."

Of the first fifty members of Phi Beta Kappa, William Short[25] and his brother, Peyton,[26] were leading members. William, the last president of the chapter, had the glory when in his

ninetieth year in 1849, a short time before his death, to sign the order for the renewal of the William and Mary chapter. He was an intimate friend of Thomas Jefferson, the two corresponding for forty years. So far as I know he never came to Kentucky, but his indirect connection with the state through his brother Peyton, who left descendants in the state, leads us to mention him in a paper on our Kentucky students. Peyton Short came, as you know, to the state as early as 1785, and became prominent in commercial and public capacities. His son, Dr. Charles Wilkins Short, was a beloved doctor,[27] a professor in Transylvania University, and a distinguished botanist. About twenty years ago, the late Miss Mary Short of Louisville, descendant of Peyton, presented to the College of William and Mary, the Phi Beta Kappa badge of Peyton, which was the only original one that had survived the years up to that time, a simple square badge hammered out of coin silver by the local silversmith. It is needless to say that the college preserves this as one of its choice treasures. John Brown,[28] and Joseph Cabell of Repton,[29] both later of Kentucky, were also founders of this first chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. Thomas Jefferson succeeded Patrick Henry as Governor of Virginia on June 1, 1779. The author of the Declaration of Independence was never known to be intellectually, in a perfectly composed and fixed state in his life. He was always planning for improvement in some field. On Dec. 5, 1779, he succeeded thru his influence as governor, in performing a major operation upon the educational system of Virginia. The governing board of the college, of which Jefferson was a member, enacted that the college should henceforth be a university. The Indian school and the grammar school were discontinued, thus eliminating boys under sixteen and also instruction in Latin and Greek; omitted from the new university was the divinity school on the ground that a free commonwealth like Virginia did not have the right to continue a theological course for a particular church. A department of modern languages, the first collegiate chair in the United States, was established; also a department of law, the first collegiate professorship in the United States; a department of medicine; a department of mathematics and natural philosophy; and lastly a department of moral philosophy, the law of nature and of nations, and of the fine arts. There was no professor of Latin or of Greek. Jefferson was not opposed to the teaching of the classics but to the method of teaching at that time; that is to have the pupil learn by rote the complexities of Greek and Latin grammar, with no effort to

humanize it. John Brown, first U. S. Senator from Kentucky, whose father was a Presbyterian minister in Rockbridge County, Virginia, was at college when the change was made. He at once began the study of law under George Wythe,[30] the head of the new department of law. Wythe, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a man of learning, a clear reasoner, a liberal in politics, sympathetic with young men, impressive and inspiring in his teaching, and of the strictest integrity. One of the ideals he taught was to keep individuals out of litigation, rather than to lead them into it. There are several letters extant which young Brown wrote to his good uncle, Col. Wm. Preston,[31] when in college in 1779 and 1780. In one letter, refering to Wythe, he says: "Mr. Wythe ever attentive to the improvement of his pupils, founded two Institutions for that purpose, the first is a moot Court, held monthly or oftener in the place formerly occupied by the Genl. Court in the Capitol. Mr. Wythe and the other professors sit as Judges. Our Audience consists of the most respectable of the Citizens, before whom we plead Causes given out by Mr. Wythe, lawyer like I assure you. He has formed us into a Legislative Body, consisting of about 40 members; Mr. Wythe is speaker of the House, and takes all possible pains to instruct us in the Rules of Parliament. We meet every Saturday and take under our consideration those Bills drawn up by the Committee appointed to revise the laws that we debate and alter (I will not say amend.) With the greatest freedom I take an active part in both these Institutions and hope thereby to rub off that natural bashfulness which at present is extremely prejudicial to me."[32]

Young Brown was an ardent student, and making progress when he was taken seriously ill. He wrote to his uncle October 27, 1780, and since it is indicative of the confused condition of the college and of the town a few weeks before Arnold's invasion,[33] I quote from it: "Dear Uncle I wrote you some time ago informing you of my bad state of health, at present I am in almost the same situation rather weaker owing to my great uneasiness of mind occasioned by the invasion of the English who have been expected daily in this town, which has rendered my situation the most truly distressing. Mr. Cocke with whom I board moves away tomorrow with his family, Mr. Madison is gone, the town almost deserted, no meat so that I run the risk of suffering for provision. I am so weak that I cannot leave my room in College which is entirely deserted by every student but one or two who are sick, everything conspires to make me

melancholy; my hired nurse this day has left me and I know not where to get another; I am unwilling to trouble my relations with vain complaints; I know that it is out of their power to assist me. I am reduced so low that in all human probability I shall not last many days perhaps not one. God I hope will be merciful to my immortal soul if it is his pleasure to remove me. I shall add no more but that I continue your dutiful nephew, John Brown. P. S. I cannot recommend it to J. Breckinridge to come here until he hears some more about it as it is more than probable that College will be suspended for some time. Mr. Madison talking of resigning his professorship, and the students are all turned soldiers and everything in the utmost confusion."[34] The despondent young man recovered and must have left college a short time before January, 1781. He continued his study of law under Jefferson in Albemarle County, and then settled in Kentucky in 1782. His distinguished career of many years in public life is well known. In 1787 he was a member of the Continental Congress, and when Kentucky was made a state he was chosen the first United States Senator. Williamsburg and the college were in continual agitation in 1781. Cornwallis with his army occupying it for ten days in June and then later the friendly French army for several months. Within a year or two after the Yorktown surrender, quiet settled upon the city, and the college reopened. Bishop Francis Asbury on one of his many missionary tours in Virginia came to Williamsburg. In his Journal of December 11, 1782, he says, "I rode to Williamsburg, formerly the seat of government but now removed to Richmond; thus the worldly glory is departed from it—as to divine glory, it never had any."[35] In this time young John Breckinridge,[36] first cousin of John Brown, took his law course at the college. He was a close friend of Jefferson and soon was chosen a member of the House of Delegates of Virginia. In 1793 he moved to Kentucky, was U. S. Senator from 1801 to 1805, and Attorney General in Jefferson's cabinet until his death in the prime of life in 1806. About 1784 or 1785, James Brown,[37] younger brother of John, studied law at the college. He settled in Kentucky in 1789 becoming secretary to Governor Shelby in 1792, and moving to Louisiana after its cession to the U. S., was U. S. Senator, and later U. S. Minister to France, 1823-29. James Brown and Henry Clay married sisters, and when Henry Clay began the practice of law, James was a constant adviser and friend. Buckner Thruston was a student at the college about 1784. His father was the Rev. Charles Mynn Thruston,[38] who

had attended William and Mary in 1753 to 1757; and in the Revolution, known as the "Fighting Parson," he rose to the rank of Colonel; there is no evidence he was ever in Kentucky; he was more closely identified with Louisiana. Buckner Thruston[39] moved to Kentucky in 1788, and from 1805 to 1809 was a U. S. Senator from the state; for the last thirty-six years of his life he was judge of the U. S. Circuit Court for the District of Columbia. In this galaxy of Virginians was George Nicholas[40] who attended college, just before the Revolution. After distinguished service in the Continental Army, he practiced law, moving to Kentucky in 1790, and became conspicuous as the framer of the first constitution of Kentucky in 1792. He was the first attorney general of the state, dying prematurely in 1799, the year following his strenuous support of the Kentucky resolutions. Needless to say that he was a most devoted friend of Jefferson. Joseph Cabell of Repton,[41] a classmate of John Brown, did not remove to Kentucky until 1811, when he settled in Henderson County, and died there in 1831. When George Wythe was appointed Chancellor of the High Court of Chancery in 1789, it was necessary for him to resign his chair at William and Mary and to make his home in Richmond. He was succeeded by St. George Tucker,[42] a William and Mary alumnus, learned in the law, a gentleman of much versatility, a devoted teacher, of convincing and impressive manner.

The two decades, 1790 to 1810, are conspicuous as a unique period in the history of the college. It was in that time that most of the Kentuckians were in attendance and please recall I include those Virginians who moved to Kentucky. There is George M. Bibb,[43] at college in 1795, later U. S. Senator from Kentucky, and Secretary of the Treasury under President Tyler; William T. Barry,[44] at college in 1804, who was a U. S. Senator from Kentucky, a close friend of Andrew Jackson, and Postmaster General under his administration; Joseph C. Breckinridge,[45] at college in 1803, Speaker of the Kentucky House of Representatives, prominent for many years in church and public affairs; Richard Clough Anderson, Jr.,[46] at college 1802 to 1806, nephew of George Rogers Clark, congressman from Kentucky, first U. S. Minister to Colombia; John J. Crittenden,[47] at college in 1805 to 1807, governor of the state, for several terms U. S. Senator, and Attorney General of the U. S.; John Thruston, at college in 1761-1764, one of the trustees of Louisville in 1789; T. T. Crittenden, at college in 1809, judge of U. S. District Court; Joseph H. Hawkins,[48] at college in 1807, speaker of the Ken-

tucky House of Representatives, in Congress from Kentucky 1814, 1815; George Croghan,[49] at college in 1809-1810, defender of Fort Stephenson in War of 1812, and inspector general of U. S. Army; his brother Dr. John Croghan,[50] at college in 1807 to 1809, one of the incorporators of what is now the Municipal Hospital of Louisville, and the owner of Mammoth Cave, who first developed and exhibited it commercially; Charles S. Todd,[51] at college in 1808-1809, son of Judge Thomas Todd,[52] charge to Colombia in 1818-1823, Minister to Russia, 1841-45; Norborne Beale,[53] at college in 1798, of whom I know little except that his wife and his wife's sister, Miss Elizabeth Maupin, died in Louisville; Benjamin Howard,[54] at college in 1797, in Congress from Kentucky 1807 to 1810, later appointed governor of Upper Louisiana, dying at an early age in 1814; Howard's brother-in-law John Thomson Mason,[55] in college in 1807, moved to Kentucky in 1812 and is remembered through his distinguished son Stevens Thomson Mason, first governor of Michigan; Carter Henry Harrison,[56] at college in 1817-1818, who died at Elk Hill, Fayette County, in 1825, leaving a son Carter H. Harrison, who became mayor of Chicago, and whose grandson of the same name, also held the same high office; Robert Carter Harrison,[57] in college in 1817-1818, moved to Kentucky, later to Missouri; Richard Southgate,[58] at college in 1819 to 1821, merchant and capitalist of Newport, Kentucky, grandfather of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, and whose name I include from its mention in the latter's autobiography. John W. Semple, in college 1819-1820, prominent Kentucky lawyer. There were two others from Kentucky, A. W. C. Logan at college in 1803, and Nathaniel Smith in 1808, of whose later life we know nothing. I would like to include George Rogers Clark,[59] Col. William Christian, and others, but forbear. They were, however, what we might term alumni "once removed," having received surveyor's commissions from the college or from the state with the sanction of the college. By a slight stretch of imagination, I might include Henry Clay as an alumnus who for three years, 1794 to 1797, was in George Wythe's office in the High Court of Chancery in Richmond, and there under the benign and fatherly guidance of Wythe, acquired a superior introduction to law.[60] I would like to think of the law office of George Wythe, after his removal to Richmond, in modern terms as the extension division of William and Mary College. There is no woman's name to include, because the college was not co-educational until 1918, but I will mention the name of one, the nearest to a co-ed, and that is

Miss Betsy Maupin,[61] the belle of Williamsburg around 1798, who tampered with the hearts of numerous students, and broke the hearts of several. Miss Betsy, so far as I know, without repentance or remorse, lived unmarried, and died in the home of her sister, Mrs. Beale, in Louisville, in 1847.

It would be impossible to mention all the Virginia sons and grandsons of William and Mary students who settled in Kentucky. There were many I am sure, but of them we have scant information. A list of such would be of inestimable value in the preparation of our college history. Two names, however, readily occur, Col. Alexander Scott Bullitt,[62] son of Judge Cuthbert Bullitt of the General Court of Virginia, and Joshua Fry[53] who was master of a famous Kentucky school and who was the grandson of Col. Joshua Fry, at one time a professor in the college.

The period 1790 to 1810 was unique in the history of the college. It might be called the French Revolution period because the French authors preceding and during the French Revolution were widely read by William and Mary students and influenced their thought in religion and politics in a very marked degree. Remember that the ideas of the American Revolution were also dominant in every student's mind. These two decades might also be called the Jeffersonian years.[64] The students hardly stopped short of making a deity of Thomas Jefferson. The average number of students was fifty. Probably four fifths belonged to that party known in Virginia as "Jacobins," supporters of the French Revolution, and one fifth to the party known as "Aristocrats." The students addressed each other as "Citizen," and dated their letters for example 1801, as year of the Republic 25. President Madison of the college did not use the expression "Kingdom of heaven," in his public prayers and sermons, but "republic of heaven." At a meeting of the students after the news of Washington's death was received,[65] there were six opposed to wearing crape in his memory. The authors read and discussed at this time, some of them textbooks, were Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason,* Shakespeare's *Works,* Duncan's *Elements of Logic,* Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind,* Thomas Rutherforth's *Natural Philosophy,* William Godwin's *Political Justice,* Adams *On Materialism,* Benj. Rush's *Essays,* Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric,* John Locke *On Government,* John Locke *On Toleration,* Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* J. J. Rousseau's *Works,* David Hume's *Essays,* William Lawrence

Brown *On Equality,* Montesquieus' *Works,* Vattel's *Law of Nations,* Coke's *Commentary upon Littleton,* Blackstone's *Commentaries* and *The Federalist.* An independent political and literary spirit arose among the students that led to occasional infraction of the college regulations. As exemplifying their "rights" they once in a while would set the town to "rights," as they termed it, by piling everything removable in Williamsburg into the middle of Duke of Gloucester Street.[66] Some of the excesses might be explained by youthful exuberance, but not all. The air was full of philosophical talk about rights, and a few of the boys misinterpreted it. There grew up at the college a strictly Jeffersonian attitude toward the freedom of individuals and the independence of political units. The Kentucky students of whom we have accurate information were imbued with the visions of a free and flexible political life, and in varying degrees of intensity maintained those views throughout their lives.

Jefferson established the elective system at the time he exalted the college to a university status, that is in December 1779, the first time it was attempted in any American college. Students were free to come and take what they wished. No preliminary credits were required. The boys could board and room in the Wren building or in town as they pleased. There was no recreation planned either by the college or by the boys themselves. They could play cards and billiards if they chose. They could and did drink at the taverns, a privilege withdrawn in later decades. Once or twice a year there was a barbecue, and of course throughout the year balls were given at the Raleigh Tavern, and at homes, and also there were dinner parties at homes to which the students were invited. There were foot races in the spring and summer, but the only game of which I find a record is the game of fives,[67] handball played against the wall of a house. Are we to be surprized that the William and Mary boys exploded once in a while, as they did at other institutions, where there was no sustained effort to provide recreation? One of the manifestations of a false pride and independent spirit was the frequent dueling. You can imagine what an unimportant and foolish cause might bring on a challenge.[68] The college authorities had a very strict rule that the principals and seconds of a duel should be expelled and their names published in the leading newspapers, but this did not prevent the practice. Expulsion for dueling was not considered a disgrace. In fact it was something of an honor.

In the novel *The Valley of the Shenandoah,* written by

George Tucker,[69] a former student, is a glowing account of Williamsburg in 1796: "Such another place, perhaps, does not exist where the pure pleasures of society can be enjoyed, without those banes which ordinarily attend it. For here one saw the advantages of wealth, without parade or rivalship, learning without pedantry or awkwardness, frankness without rusticity, refinement without insincerity or affectation, luxury unattended with gaming or any excess, and a free intercourse between the sexes, with the most perfect innocence and purity of manners. There might be other places in which they lived equally well, though that was not easy; but then one would find a good deal more of formality and punctilio. As to the state of manners in Williamsburg, there was a mixture of courtesy and ease, of frankness and politeness, of simplicity and delicacy, which partly resulted from its having been the former metropolis of the state, and in part from the peculiar circumstances that have been detailed; and as there was no theatre, no gaming in private houses, no public places of amusement, and no intrigues of any sort, society was cultivated and relished for its own sake."

In regard to dueling, here is an extract from the *Richmond Examiner* of April 9, 1803, touching a college duel: "Pursuant to the Statute entitled 'A statute for the wholesome government of the College,' publication is hereby made, that the following Students, viz., William Chapman, James Breckinridge, James B. Gilmer, and Thomas Preston have been expelled from this college, on account of a late duel, in which the two first mentioned were concerned as principals, and the other two as seconds. By order of the President and Professors."

When a student came to college, he usually bore a letter of introduction from an alumnus. Here is the letter from Benjamin Howard,[70] later Governor Howard of Upper Louisiana, introducing William T. Barry:[71] "Lexington, Nov., 6, 1803, to St. Geo. Tucker—The bearer Mr. Barry wishes to attend your lectures during the ensuing course and as I have experienced the advantages of your patronage while a student I cannot forbear soliciting an extension of it to him. He is a young man of much merit and considerable talents, and I have no doubt of your being pleased with him upon acquaintance." Here is a letter from Barry himself, written to one of his friends, when he was in college: "Feb 6, 1804 Mr. Tucker is a man more profoundly read in the Law perhaps than any lawyer of the present time. No person can with more ease and facility clear up or elucidate any knotty or abtruse point of law, and he not only possesses the

capability of doing it, but does it with willingness, and appears solicitous to communicate every information that he is possessed of . . . . I'll tell you how I employ my time generally. I rise about sun up, read until eleven o'clock, then go to the lecture room, the examinations[72] always detain me until two o'clock in the evening. I then return and dine about three o'clock. The rest of the evening I devote to exercise and company, until about seven o'clock at night when I commence reading again and continue at it until eleven o'clock, which is good bedtime. This is my general line of conduct, which is good but I do not always conform to it. Sometimes I read less, sometimes more. I attend Mr. Madison's lectures on Friday;[73] they are at once improving and highly gratifying. I thought at first I would not attend them, but give all my attention to Law, as Natural Philosophy is a subject not so immediately interesting. But I concluded that one day in the week would not be much, and that it would serve as a relaxation from my other studies. Besides, I might not have such another opportunity of extending my knowledge in that department of science. I imagine no person is better qualified to lecture on Natural Philosophy than Mr. Madison, and there is no college on the continent that has such extensive apparatus as this. I feel a little embarrassment in entering the company of ladies here, and I spend a good deal of my time in that way. It sometimes encroaches on my studies, but I take care that such encroachments shall be rare. I don't conceive the time I spend in this way altogether lost, for it will tend to give a polish to the manners, that is absolutely essential to enable us to glide smoothly through society."[74]

Here is an account of another duel in 1806. A dispute between Armistead T. Mason,[75] son of Gen. Stevens T. Mason,[76] and Bartholomew Henley led to a challenge. They were to fight with two pistols each, at only ten steps distance, and fire when they pleased. The seconds were getting the pistols in order in Mason's room when President Madison of the college, who had heard of it, appeared suddenly with a magistrate. Mason escaped. William Wirt,[77] at that time living in Williamsburg, having been a friend of Mason's father, had himself appointed a constable, and arrested Mason and became surety for $7500.00 for his good conduct. Happily this horrible affair was settled by friends of the two parties.

In November, 1807, a young man, Charles S. Todd,[78] son of Judge Thomas Todd,[79] brought the following letter of introduction to St. George Tucker, the professor of law: "Kentucky,

Frankfort, Nov. 26, 1807—Dear Sir The Young gentleman who will deliver this letter is Charles Todd the son of my intimate friend and relative Judge Todd who visits Wmsburg for the purpose of completing his education at the University of William and Mary & who will probably in due season attend your lectures. Permit me sir to introduce my young friend to your acquaintance as a young gentleman of virtuous morals and strict integrity and who I am not deceived by prepossession will in time do credit to that Seminary at which he intends to finish his education . . . . Harry Innes."[80] The letter to Charles from his father is interesting, indicating what "life with father," meant when the two were separated by seven hundred miles—"I am much gratified with the account of the hospitable reception you have met with in Virginia but I'm fearful your attention will be too much engrossed with it to attend to your studies. You have not informed me how you passed the examination at the July vacation, your silence forbodes against you, if so my pride will be wounded and I shall attribute your failure to your inattention, as all accounts from every quarter speak well of your capacity. Recollect the honor, the character and reputation of your country for talent and genius is in some measure resting on you—pride, ambition, nay, duty, demands of you an education. Show the proud Virginian that a child of the forest in the wilds of Kentucky can vie with him in mental acquirements, that nature is as fond and endows, her sons of the West, as liberally, as those of the East. Thomas Todd, Woodford, Ky., Sept. 25, 1808."[81] The following is a good example of the way President Madison, by his letter to Judge Todd, prevented a duel between Charles Todd and another student. "Fincastle,[82] Sep. 17, 1809—Dr. Sir The sincere regard which I have for your Son, both on account of his virtues and his talents will not permit me to withhold a communication which must be very interesting to you, and which he would, most probably, not make. Whilst at College, a disagreement took place between himself and another student. A challenge ensued. Your son, very correctly, postponed a meeting until the term at college was closed. I had too good reason to believe that a challenge had been given and that your son, yielding to the dreadful custom which has become so prevalent, would meet his adversary soon after he left college. Under this impression, I had him bound for one year and became his surety. But I fear an engagement exists, by which the parties are to meet in Tennessee, at the expiration of their respective recognizance; indeed from the conversation

which I have held with a very respectable student, I think that there is little doubt of such an engagement. In this situation, you will best know what precautionary measures ought to be adopted, and I do hope will be able to avert the calamity which might otherwise ensue. You will consider this communication as proceeding altogether from the most friendly disposition toward your son, and I trust he also will not view it in any other light. J. Madison."[83]

From 1820 to 1861, no student from Kentucky registered; Richard Southgate of Virginia,[84] who moved to Kentucky, was a student in 1819-1821. Without doubt, several of our alumni of that period settled in Kentucky, but if so, we have no record of them. We are open for information. George Wythe, Bishop Madison and St. George Tucker, leaders in the faculty, being emancipationists, there was little support, in their teaching, of slavery as a necessary economic system. In the 1820 decade, however, and thereafter there grew up, first under Dr. Thomas R. Dew,[85] and later under Professor Beverley Tucker,[86] a continuous defense of slavery as an economic system, and a support for the doctrine of an independent South. In May 1861, every student who was old enough, and every member of the faculty, entered the Confederate Army.[87]

Kentucky was the child of Virginia, the oldest English Colony, and was born in the travail of the American Revolution. Old Fincastle County of Virginia, a part of which was the Kentucky region, was decreed extinct in 1777 and divided into Kentucky, Montgomery and Washington counties. In 1780 Kentucky County was decreed extinct as a county, and the territory divided into Jefferson, Lincoln and Fayette counties.[88] Isolated as it was from the capitals Williamsburg and Richmond, it was forced to settle independently many of its problems. While battling with the British and Indians, on the north, until 1795, it was enmeshed in the machinations of the French and Spanish to the south. What critical and vital decisions were made, in the separation from Virginia in 1792, in the drafting of the first state constitution, and in the admission into the Union as the fourteenth state! With the extraordinary increase to 200,000 in population in the twenty years from 1780 to 1800, it may be doubted whether any other American Commonwealth has ever been confronted with such perplexities in its early years.

William and Mary College, now approaching its 256th birthday, is justly proud of the considerable number of distinguished Kentuckians that were trained in its halls and influenced by its

liberal ideas. These men, although in the bitter political controversies of the first half of the nineteenth century they may have swerved in some respects from the established Jeffersonian doctrine, yet to its substance, they remained true.

NOTES

In the note relating to any one of the eminent Kentuckians mentioned, it has been the purpose of the author to call attention to a few facts only of the individual's life. If a biographical sketch is in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* reference is made to it, with the name of the author. The reader will find at the end of each sketch in the *Dictionary* a helpful bibliographical note. The following abbreviations are used: H for Hening's *Statutes of Virginia 1619-1792;* V for *Virginia Magazine of History;* W(1) for *William and Mary Quarterly, Series 1;* W(2) for *William and Mary Quarterly, Series 2;* T for *Tyler's Genealogical and Historical Quarterly; DAB* for *Dictionary of American Biography.*

[1]Very little survived of the official correspondence of the Presidents and members of the faculty before 1854 when Benjamin S. Ewell succeeded Bishop Johns, as the head of the college. All matriculation books before 1827 are lost. The Journal of the Board of Visitors from 1693 to 1860 does not exist, except for a few meetings. A volume containing the minutes of the faculty, 1729-1784 is extant, but the entries are deplorably brief; for the years 1784 to 1817, a period when most of the Kentucky students attended the college, the minutes are missing. If there ever was a record book in which was entered the names of surveyors appointed by the faculty, it has been lost. In the past fifty years much has been discovered in English and American archives, and in a number of private and public depositories of documents. Some of these discoveries have been printed in the *Virginia Magazine of History,* in Series 1 and 2 of the *William and Mary Quarterly,* and in *Tyler's Genealogical and Historical Magazine.* No adequate history of the college has ever been published. No complete list of students can at this time be compiled. *A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors* was published in 1941 by the Library of the College, and may be obtained without charge by addressing the Librarian. The author of this contribution will be pleased to hear of any manuscripts relating to the college in private hands, which may be copied. As an example of the wide dispersion of valuable information about the college, the author of this contribution is happy to report the discovery by Miss Ludie J. Kinkead, Curator of The Filson Club, of an additional letter relating to the attendance of Charles S. Todd at college.

[2]For act concerning the first seating of Middle Plantation in 1633 see 1H208, 209. For act concerning removal of seat of government from Jamestown to Williamsburg, passed in 1699, see 3H197. Much has been written about Williamsburg since the beginning of the restoration of the city by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Dr. L. G. Tyler's *Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital,* published in 1907, is still a standard work, but of course it does not include the new information gleaned by historical investigators of the past forty years. The attractive volume *A Brief and True Report Concerning Williamsburg, Virginia,* by Rutherfoord Goodwin, 4th and enlarged edition, 1941, published for Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., summarizes the history, paying special attention to the restoration of the city. Owing to the loss of the James City County Court records, the history of Jamestown and Williamsburg must inevitably be shadowy.

[3]The Virginia Company earnestly sought to encourage religious activities and to establish facilities for education. After the dissolution of the Company by James I in 1624, there was never any special interest mani-

fested in education by his successors until William and Mary. There was an effort made by Virginians to establish a college in 1661 (2H25, 30, 37, 56). Knowing Sir William Berkeley's prejudice against schools, one need not remain in doubt as to the cause of this failure.

[4]For University men who came to Virginia, and for Virginians who attended English schools, see 2W(1) 22-24, 149-153; 6W(1) 173-176; 21V 196-199.

[5]James Blair was born in Scotland in 1655, son of Rev. Robert Blair. He attended Marischal College in Aberdeen, and later the University of Edinburgh, where he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1673. He came to Virginia in 1685, and was minister at Varina, in Henrico County. His career is sketched, with references by Dr. H. D. Farish in his Edition of Hartwell, Blair and Chilton's *Present State of Virginia and the College*, published in 1940, by Colonial Williamburg, Inc. Mr. Blair died in 1743, after fifty years as president of the College. Locke's letter to Blair, 16 October 1699 is printed in 15W(2) 248, 249. *See* Note 9.

[6]Charter, paragraph 16.

[7]12H642, passed 13 December 1787. For surveyor's fees in four counties now in West Virginia for the benefit of Randolph Academy *See* 12H 638-641, passed 31 December 1787.

[8]There is no record in the surviving college archives of the granting a commission as surveyor to George Washington; it was granted sometime in May, June or July of 1749, because on 20 July 1749, he presented his commission to the Culpeper County Court, as authority to survey in the County.

[9]Of Rev. James Blair, president of the college and commissary of the Bishop of London, no full and adequate biography has been published. For light on his quarrels with the governors see W. S. Perry's *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church, Virginia* 1870; and the same author's *History of the American Episcopal Church*, 1587-1883, 2v., 1885.

[10]H. L. Ganter, *Somes Notes on the Charity of the Honorable Robert Boyle*, with many notes, 15W(2) 1-39, 207-228, 346-384.

[11]Edward Gibbon, *Memoirs*, ed. by Henry Morley, London, 1891, page 64ff. The comments of Vicesimus Knox, on the universities in his *Liberal Education*, 10th ed. 1789, are not flattering: volume 2, pp. 138, 181, 205. Andrew Lang in his *Oxford, Historical and Picturesque Notes*, 1890, page 191ff, compares the unfavorable comments of the wealthy student Edward Gibbon about Oxford with the deep affection of the impecunious Samuel Johnson for that institution. Johnson was not always a placid and uncomplaining student; when fined for absence from a lecture, he replied, "Sir, you have sconced me twopence for non-attendance on a lecture not worth a penny." Courtlandt Canby, *A Note on the Influence of Oxford University upon William and Mary College in the Eighteenth Century*, 21W(2) 243-246. A. Bailey Cutts, *The Educational Influence of Aberdeen in Seventeenth Century Virginia*, 15W(2) 229-249.

[12]Lobbyists were in evidence at that time as at present; no bill could be presented to the General Assembly, without its substance being presented in the form of a petition, which had to be approved by a committee before a bill could be drawn. Many petitioners appeared personally in Williamsburg to look after their interests.

[13]In the time of the Revolution the scarcity of paper permitted three *Gazettes* a short time only. In the beginning of 1780, there were two *Gazettes*, but one ceased on April 8, 1780, and the other on Dec. 9, 1780. The city was left without a paper. This was on account of the removal of the capital to Richmond in April 1780. *See* W. C. Torrence's *Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia*, page 113ff; also L. C. Wroth, *William Parks*. The titles of books issued by the printers of the *Virginia Gazette* appear chronologically in Mr. Torrence's *Bibliography*. The *Gazette* in Norfolk was issued June 9, 1774 to Nov. 25, 1775. For a brief account of the different *Virginia Gazettes*, with location of existing copies, *See* Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 1947, pp. 1158-1163.

[14]Mr. Small returned to England after six years at William and

Mary. He had received his M. A. from Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1755, and in 1765 received his M. D. from the same college. He settled in Birmingham in the practice of medicine, and was highly successful. He died "of a fever" in 1775. Among his friends were Matthew Boulton, James Watt, John Baskerville, Erasmus Darwin, Thomas Day, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, James Keir, John Roebuck, Josiah Wedgwood. H. L. Ganter, *William Small, Jefferson's beloved Teacher,* 4W(3) 505-511.

[15]Samuel Henley (1740-1815) engaged in literary work on return to England. Translator of Beckford's *Vathek;* Principal of East India College at Hertford, 1805-1815. E. Alfred Jones, *Two Professors of William and Mary College* [Dr. Samuel Henley and Rev. Thomas Gwatkin] 26W(1) 221-231.

[16]Rev. John Camm (1718-1778) born in Yorkshire, England. Received his degree from Trinity College, Cambridge. His first connection with the college was in 1745, remaining with it for twenty eight years, the last six as president. A leader of the clergy in their contention against the two-penny act. A supporter of the Crown in the Revolution. Removed from the presidency in 1777. R. L. Morton in *DAB.*

[17]James Madison (1749-1812) Born near Staunton, Virginia. Graduated at William and Mary in 1771. Studied law under Wythe, but never practiced. Began to teach at William and Mary in 1773 and was chosen president in 1777, and remained in that position until his death. He was a man of marked scientific attainment. Elected bishop of the Episcopal Church of Virginia in 1790. G. M. Brydon in *DAB.* "I am pretty well assured that this college owes its present existence to his [Bishop Madison's] unwearied exertion in its favour." Garrett Minor to David Watson, 30V233. "As I was yesterday walking in the college garden in company with Bishop Madison, a little boy brought me your letter . . . . The pleasing manners of this place, would be sufficient to keep me here, but the advantages of the college, I should think would keep me here forever." Benjamin Crowinshield, a student from Massachusetts, to Dr. B. Lynde Oliver, May 30, 1804, 11W(2) 264-265.

[18]For notes about the five founders *See* 4W(1)245. Before the chapter disbanded on Jan. 6, 1781, fifty members had been initiated, and these fifty are usually referred to as the founders. There were only five who organized the Society and were present at its first meeting, and strictly these were the founders.

[19]The Minutes from Dec. 5, 1776, to the last meeting on January 6, 1781, are printed in 4W(1) 213-241.

[20]It is believed that the Minutes of the Phi Beta Kappa were surrendered by the steward to Landon Cabell, because the son of Landon, Dr. Robert H. Cabell, delivered them to the Virginia Historical Society in 1848. That society returned them to William and Mary in 1895, 4W(1) 213.

[21]Benedict Arnold commanded an expedition which arrived in Hampton Roads December 30, 1780; he moved up the James River and on January 3, the fleet was opposite Jamestown. He occupied Richmond January 5, 1781. He fell down the James to Portsmouth and sent out marauding expeditions; he returned to Petersburg and with General Phillips, destroyed stores and mills. Cornwallis, marching from the south, joined forces of Arnold and Phillips at Petersburg May 20, 1781; occupied Williamsburg June 25-July 4, 1781; retreated to Portsmouth. In the first week of August, he occupied Yorktown. The French Army was quartered in and near Williamsburg from September 1781 to April 1782.

[22]Daniel Carroll Brent (1759-1834) of Stafford County.

[23]Spencer Roane (1762-1822) Judge of General Court of Virginia, 1789-1794; Supreme Court of Appeals, 1794-1822.

[24]Landon Cabell (1765-1834) justice of the peace for many years in Amherst and Nelson counties, but "resisted all the efforts of his friends to draw him into public life." Alex Brown, *Cabells and their Kin,* pp. 231-233.

[25]William Short (1759-1849) Born in Surry County, Virginia. He was with Jefferson as private secretary and later secretary of legation in

France. Was in diplomatic service in Paris, The Hague, and Madrid from 1789 to 1795. Remained in France until 1810. Returned to the United States and lived in Philadelphia. Marie G. Kimball in *DAB*.

[26]Peyton Short (1761-1825) son of William Short and Elizabeth Skipwith. In 1787 married Maria, daughter of John Cleves Symmes. Elected to first Kentucky senate, 1792-96. Owned thousands of acres in Ohio and Kentucky. Sustained large financial losses in lands. Lived in Mississippi for a time. Married 2d, Mrs. Jane Churchill, returned to Kentucky, dying in Christian County.

[27]Charles Wilkins Short (1794-1863) Born in Woodford County, Kentucky. Student at Joshua Fry's school, and at Transylvania University. Received M. D. from University of Pennsylvania in 1815. Published much upon the plants of Kentucky. His home was Hayfield near Louisville. Mary L. Didlake in *DAB*.

[28]John Brown (1757-1837) Son of Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence meeting house in Rockbridge County, Virginia, for forty-five years, and Margaret Preston, sister of Col. William Preston. He first went to Princeton and was there when the American Army retreated through New Jersey. Was a volunteer in troops for some time. After leaving William and Mary, he read law with Thomas Jefferson, moving to Kentucky in 1782. Member of Virginia senate, 1784-88, of Continental Congress, 1787, 1788, U. S. Senator from Kentucky 1792-1805. E. M. Coulter in *DAB*.

[29]Joseph Cabell (1762-1831) Known as Joseph Cabell of Repton, from the name of his plantation Repton, on the south side of the James River in Virginia. He was one of the organizers of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and was a private in the college company that took part in the Yorktown campaign. Alex. Brown, *Cabells and their Kin,* pp. 248-253.

[30]No full life of George Wythe (1726-1806) has been published. The sketch in the *DAB* is by T. S. Cox, with excellent bibliography. The loss of his personal papers after his death will hardly permit an adequate biography.

[31]William Preston (1729-1783) principal surveyor of Fincastle, a vigorous patriotic leader in all frontier affairs before and during the Revolution. There is a sketch of Preston in J. A. Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia,* 1886, pp. 117, 118.

[32]The original letters are in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society. They have been printed, except one, in 9W(1)18-23, 75-83.

[33]"Since the Revolution, its former resources have been almost annihilated. From a revenue of 5 or £6000 Stg. a year, which arose principally from duties on articles of commerce, it now depends for its support upon the rent of 22000 acres of land, which in time will become considerable, but at present does not afford more than £500 sterlg . . . the doors of the University are open to all, nor is even a knowledge of the ant. languages a previous requisite for entrance. The students have the liberty of attending whom they please, and in what order they please, or all the different lectures in a term if they think proper. The lectures continue from October until April, and from May until August." Letter of Bishop Madison to Ezra Stiles, president of Yale. Aug. 1, 1780. 7W(2) 294.

[34]A company of students was organized and served in the Yorktown campaign.

[35]*Asbury's Journal,* New York, 1821, vol. 1, page 352.

[36]John Breckinridge (1760-1806) son of Robert Breckinridge and Letitia Preston, born on farm on which Staunton, Virginia, is built. Spent two years at William and Mary. In Virginia House of Delegates, 1781/82, 1783, 1784. Married Mary Cabell. Practiced law in Albemarle County, Virginia, until 1793, when he moved to Lexington, Kentucky. Attorney-General of Kentucky in 1795, member Constitutional Convention, 1798/99, U. S. Senator, 1801-1805, Attorney General of U. S. 1805. E. M. Coulter in *DAB;* Alex Brown, *Cabells and their Kin,* pp. 254-257.

[37]James Brown (1766-1835) Born near Staunton, Virginia, 1766, brother of Senator John Brown. Began practice of law in Frankfort, Kentucky. Secretary to Governor Shelby. After cession of Louisiana, moved to

New Orleans, and was Secretary of the Territory. U. S. Senator from Louisiana, 1813-1817, 1819-1823. Minister to France, 1823-1829. Died in Philadelphia in 1835. Melvin J. White in *DAB.*

[38]Charles Mynn Thruston (1738-1812) was for a number of years rector of a parish in Gloucester County, Virginia. Removed to what is now Clarke County, Virginia. Appointed captain of a company that he raised at beginning of Revolution. Wounded in service. Raised to rank of colonel. Moved to Tennessee, then to Mississippi, then in 1809 to Louisiana where he died. Buckner Thruston, his son, has an interesting biography of him in the *Southern Literary Messenger,* March, 1840, vol. 6, pp. 163-168.

[39]Buckner Thruston (1764-1845) was student at William and Mary in 1784-1786. There is a sketch in the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress,* 1774-1927.

[40]George Nicholas (1754?-1799) Born in Williamsburg. Colonel in Revolutionary Army. Served several terms in Virginia House of Delegates. Member of Virginia Convention for considering adoption of the Constitution in 1788. Member of Convention for adopting first Constitution of Kentucky, 1792. Close friend of Thomas Jefferson. Strong advocate of Kentucky Resolutions, 1798. Thomas P. Abernethy in *DAB.* Among the young men whom Nicholas encouraged when they were students in his law office were Joseph H. Daviess, Isham Talbott, Jesse Bledsoe, William Garrard, Felix Grundy, William B. Blackburn, John Pope, William Stuart, Thomas Dye Owings.

[41]Joseph Cabell of Repton. *See* Note 29.

[42]St. George Tucker (1752-1827), A. M. Dobie, in *DAB;* Mrs. George P. Coleman, *St. George Tucker, citizen of no mean city,* 1938.

[43]George M. Bibb (1776-1859) Born in Prince Edward County, Virginia. Attended both Hampden-Sydney and William and Mary Colleges. Moved to Lexington, Kentucky, in 1798. U. S. Senator, 1811-1814, 1829-1835. After some years of association with Andrew Jackson, he opposed him. Chancellor of Louisville Chancery Court, 1835-1844. Secretary of the Treasury, 1844, 1845. Died in Georgetown, D. C., 1859.

[44]William Taylor Barry (1785-1835) Born in Lunenburg County, Virginia. In United States Senate, 1814-1816. One of the leaders of the "New Court" party. Chief Justice of "New Court," 1825. Defeated for governor in 1828, but won the state for Andrew Jackson. Postmaster General 1829-1835. Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, but died on his way to Spain in 1835. Earnest advocate of an effective educational system in the state. E. M. Coulter in *DAB.*

[45]Joseph Cabell Breckinridge (1788-1823), son of John Breckinridge and Mary Cabell, born in Albemarle County, Virginia. At William and Mary in 1803. Graduated at Princeton in 1810, marrying daughter of Samuel Stanhope Smith, president of Princeton. Went to Kentucky in 1793. Speaker of Kentucky House of Representatives. Ardent Jeffersonian. Alex. Brown, *Cabells and their Kin,* pp. 533, 534.

[46]Richard Clough Anderson, Jr., (1788-1826) son of Major-General Richard Clough Anderson of the American Revolution and Elizabeth Clark, sister of George Rogers Clark. Practiced law in Kentucky. In Congress 1817-1821. On the "Old Court" side. In January 1823, appointed by President Monroe first Minister Plenipotentiary to Colombia. Died in 1826 on his way to attend a congress at Panama. His diary is in the Library of Congress; a microfilm copy in The Filson Club library. E. M. Coulter in *DAB.*

[47]John J. Crittenden (1787-1863). Born in Woodford County, Kentucky. Studied law under G. M. Bibb and after attending William and Mary began to practice in 1807. Major in War of 1812. Leading spirit of "Old Court" party. His daughter, Mrs. C. Coleman, has published a two volume account of his distinguished career as a lawyer, and of his service as governor and U. S. Senator. The Crittenden papers are in the Library of Congress. E. M. Coulter in *DAB.*

[48]Joseph H. Hawkins (-1823). Born in Lexington, Kentucky,

practiced law, in Congress, March 29, 1814-March 3, 1815. Engaged in mercantile pursuits, moved to New Orleans, 1819, and died in that city in 1823. *Biographical Directory of American Congress,* 1774-1927.

[49]George Croghan (1791-1849) son of William Croghan and Lucy Clark, sister of George Rogers Clark, defended Fort Stephenson with 160 men against a large British force August 1, 1813. *See Portfolio,* March 1815, pp. 212-220; *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications,* v. 12, 1903, pp. 375-410. A. T. Volwiler in *DAB.*

[50]John Croghan, physician son of William Croghan and Lucy Clark, sister of George Rogers Clark. Wrote his recollections, now in manuscript in The Filson Club library. Died in 1849 at Locust Grove, in Jefferson County. Bequeathed Mammoth Cave to his nieces and nephews.

[51]Charles Stewart Todd (1791-1871) Born near Danville, Kentucky. Studied law at William and Mary and also at Litchfield, Conn. Married daughter of Governor Isaac Shelby. Chargé d' Affaires to Colombia, 1820-23; Minister to Russia, 1841-1845. Died at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Irving L. Thomson, in *DAB.*

[52]Thomas Todd (1765-1826) Born in King and Queen County, Virginia. Moved to Danville, Kentucky, in 1786. Judge of Court of Appeals, 1801-1807. Associate Justice of U. S. Supreme Court, 1807-1826. George W. Goble in *DAB.*

[53]At what time Norborne Beale left Virginia, after his marriage to Miss Maupin, is not known. According to the first Louisville directory, printed in 1832, he was living at Jefferson and 2nd streets. His name appears as Norman.

[54]Benjamin Howard (1760-1814). Born in Virginia, his father moved to Kentucky just before the Revolution, and Benjamin grew up there. Congressman from Kentucky 1807-1810. Appointed by President Madison in 1810, Governor of the District of Louisiana, the organized part of the Louisiana Purchase after the Territory of Orleans had been cut off. In 1812 this district was renamed the Territory of Missouri and Howard was retained as governor. Resigned in 1813 to accept appointment of brigadier general in U. S. Army in region west of Mississippi River. E. M. Coulter in *DAB.*

[55]John Thomson Mason was in College about 1807, and 1808. He met in Williamsburg Elizabeth Moir, whom he married in 1809. His sister Catherine married William T. Barry, and the other sister married Benjamin Howard. Moved to Kentucky in 1812. Practiced law. Lived for a while in Michigan, later in Louisiana. His son, Stevens Thomson Mason (1811-1843) was first governor of Michigan. Kent Sagendorph, *Stevens Thomson Mason,* 1947. His daughter, Emily V. Mason (1815-1909), is remembered as a matron of several Confederate hospitals, and as an author; his granddaughter, Kate Mason Rowland, was the talented author of *Life of George Mason,* and *Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.*

[56]Carter Henry Harrison (1796-1825) attended William and Mary in 1817-18. Died at Elk Hill, Fayette County, Kentucky. His only child was Carter H. Harrison (1825-1893) born near Lexington, Kentucky, a graduate of Yale in 1845; admitted to bar in 1855, and began practice in Chicago. In Congress 1874-1879. Mayor of Chicago, 1879-1887, and again in 1893; his son Carter H. Harrison, born in 1860, was also Mayor of Chicago. Alex. Brown, *Cabells and their Kin,* 568-571.

[57]Robert Carter Harrison, born at Ampthill plantation, Virginia, 1800. At William and Mary in 1817-18. Moved to Kentucky, and was a member of the state legislature. Moved to Missouri. Alex. Brown, *Cabells and their Kin,* p. 573.

[58]N. S. Shaler. *Autobiography,* p. 17.

[59]There is in The Filson Club library the commission from the Commonwealth of Virginia to George Rogers Clark to act as principal surveyor in behalf of the Virginia State Line, Feb. 9, 1784. This is signed by the governor. On the reverse is the following: "We the President and professors of William and Mary College certify we have examined George Rogers Clark, gentleman, and find him able to execute the office. Dec. 29, 1783." 5W(2)311, 312.

[60]For an excellent account of the influence of George Wythe upon Henry Clay, when the latter was a clerk in the High Court of Chancery of which

Wythe was Chancellor and a student of law in Robert Brooke's office in Richmond, *see* Bernard Mayo, *Henry Clay*, 1937, Chapter I.

[61]8W(1) 154, 155; 30V230, 232, 236, 240, 246, 249.

[62]Alexander Scott Bullitt (1762-1816). Born in Prince William County, Virginia. Moved to Kentucky in 1784, settling in Jefferson County. Married daughter of Col. William Christian. Member of Convention of 1792, president of State senate until 1799, president of Convention of 1799, lieutenant governor in 1800. R. S. Cotterill in *DAB*.

[63]Joshua Fry conducted a school of his own in Mercer County, Kentucky; a famous teacher, and remembered for his kindness and good control of his students. *History of Kentucky*, Collins, vol. 2, p. 625.

[64]"Young Henry Clay and his fellow Kentuckians all but deified Thomas Jefferson, the 'Man of the People,' 'the Mammoth of Democracy.'" A toast was once drunk to George Washington in Kentucky in this period: "George Washington down to the year 1787 but no further." Bernard Mayo, *Henry Clay*, p. 83.

[65]Letter of J. S. Watson 24 December 1799, 29V151, 152.

[66]Whenever any disorder was reported at William and Mary College, the federalist newspapers in the North with considerable rejoicing, attributed it to the Jeffersonian principles which it was well-known were generally held by the faculty and students. In answer to a highly misleading account in the *New York Evening Post* of April 3, 1802, a letter was published in the *Virginia Argus* of Richmond, May 5, 1802, from which a few paragraphs are quoted: "Instead of attributing any disorder, which may have taken place, to the Jeffersonian system of religion, the College knows not what that system is. The College of William and Mary however, boasts of Mr. Jefferson, as one of her brightest ornaments; and will continue to boast, so long as virtue, & science, and pure republicanism, & the best interests of America, shall be cherished within her walls. Instead of party politics being the primary object of instruction in this college; not an instance, it is believed, since the establishment of the Federal government, can be produced, in which any one professor has ever attempted to influence the mind of a student, in the smallest degree, with respect to party-politics—no, sir, the politics which are here studied are those general principles of government which have their foundation in the impreceptible Rights of man, which the God of Nature has consecrated, which the revolution of America made known to the whole world, and which the people of this rising empire will never abandon. Instead of the desertion of science, in the College of William and Mary; it is submitted, whether mathematics, politics, civil law, deserve to be ranked in the estimation of the learned editor, among the sciences . . . . Instead of the foul source [as you say], from which have flowed so many evils; there exists in the College of William and Mary, a source, from which has sprung a Jefferson, a Giles, a Randolph, a Marshall, a Breckinridge and a thousand others, whose merits the people of America will not estimate by the paragraph of a newspaper. . . . [Signed] An Inhabitant of Williamsburg." *Virginia Argus*, May 5, 1802, 5W(2)62. In a letter to one of his friends, Bishop Madison says he was the author of this letter.

Student disturbances were frequent in all the colleges, even rebellion and riots. For an account of the "great rebellion," and the succeeding riot at Princeton in 1807, *see* Dr. T. J. Wertenbaker's *Princeton, 1746-1896*, page 138*ff*.

[67]"Mr. Madison's lectures, with which I am enamored, and without which I think no man can boast a good education . . . . Study is our principal amusement but sometimes we go out and take a game of fives against the old house. If a person comes here for improvement he must study hard, but if pleasure be his object, it is a fine place for spending money as ever I saw." David Yancey to Joseph S. Watson. June 6, 1795. 30V 223-225.

[68]In the information that has survived about college duels, the author has not found one instance in which the immediate cause of the challenge is mentioned.

[69]George Tucker (1775-1861) Broadus Mitchell in *DAB*.

[70]Benjamin Howard *Supra*, note 54.

[71]Wm. T. Barry *Supra*, note 44.

[72]The term "examination" evidently meant attendance at the lecture and

the discussion in class or "quiz" that followed, apparently a session of two or three hours in length. From 1779, when the college merged into a university, to 1861, the prevailing method of instruction was by lectures. The recitation method, by which a student was assigned a certain number of pages in a textbook, which he was supposed to master, and repeat in the classroom, was not approved.

[73]It would seem that President Madison gave his lecture in natural philosophy only once a week, which with the time consumed in experiments and discussion was several hours in length. The library of William and Mary College has several manuscript volumes of notes of Madison's lectures, each written by a different student. The equipment for experiment was equal to any in the United States at that time. Through the initiative of Professor William Small, the apparatus for teaching natural philosophy, that is physics, was the best that could be purchased in his time; to this President Madison had made a considerable addition.

[74]Barry's letters written when in college and later have been printed in 13W(1) 107-116, 236-244; 14W(1) 19-23, 230-241.

[75]Armistead Thomson Mason (1787-1819) was the son of United States Senator Stevens Thomson Mason. Armistead was appointed to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate 1816, 1817. He was killed in a duel with his brother-in-law John Mason McCarty in 1819.

[76]Stevens Thomson Mason (1760-1803) was United States Senator, 1794-1803. T. P. Abernethy in *DAB*.

[77]William Wirt (1772-1834). At that time living in Williamsburg. One of the counsel for prosecution in case against Aaron Burr in 1807, U. S. Attorney-General, 1817-1829.

[78]Charles S. Todd *Supra*, note 51.

[79]Thomas Todd *Supra*, note 52.

[80]Harry Innes (1752-1816) Born in Caroline County, Virginia; did not attend William and Mary. U. S. District Judge for Kentucky from 1789 until his death. His brother James (1754-1798) attended William and Mary in 1770-1772. A prominent lawyer in Virginia. Edward Wiest in *DAB;* and Armistead C. Gordon, Jr., in *Ibid.*

[81]Six letters from Thomas Todd to his son, March 8, 1808, to May 15, 1809, are published in 22W(1)20-29.

[82]It was the custom then as now for some of the residents of Williamsburg to spend the summer in the western part of the state.

[83]William and Mary College Archives, folder 128B.

[84]Richard Southgate. *Supra*, note 58.

[85]Thomas Roderick Dew (1802-1846), Broadus Mitchell in *DAB*.

[86]Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (1784-1851), Carl Bridenbaugh in *DAB*.

[87]There is a marble tablet in the main hall of the Wren Building erected to the memory of students and faculty who left college to enter the service of the Confederate States in May, 1861.

[88]Morgan P. Robinson, *Virginia Counties, those resulting from Virginia Legislation*, pp. 50, 101, 140, 170, 179, 233. A necessary manual for all those engaged in the study of Virginia and Kentucky history.